

# Play It Like It Is

fiddle and dance studies  
from around the north atlantic

edited by ian russell and mary anne alburger

# Play It Like It Is

Fiddle and Dance Studies  
from around the North Atlantic

# The Elphinstone Institute

Occasional Publications 5

General Editor – Ian Russell

1. *After Columba – After Calvin: Community and Identity in the Religious Traditions of North East Scotland*  
edited by James Porter

2. *The Bedesman and the Hodbearer: The Epistolary Friendship of Francis James Child and William Walker*  
edited by Mary Ellen Brown

3. *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*  
edited by Ian Russell and David Atkinson

4. *North-East Identities and Scottish Schooling  
The Relationship of the Scottish Educational System to the Culture of North-East Scotland*  
edited by David Northcroft

5. *Play It Like It Is  
Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic*  
edited by Ian Russell and Mary Anne Alburger

Elphinstone Institute Occasional Publications  
is a peer-reviewed series of scholarly works in ethnology and folklore.  
The Elphinstone Institute at the University of Aberdeen was established in 1995  
to study, conserve, and promote the culture of North-East and Northern Scotland.

# Play It Like It Is

Fiddle and Dance Studies  
from around the North Atlantic

Edited by

Ian Russell and Mary Anne Alburger

The Elphinstone Institute  
University of Aberdeen  
2006

Copyright © 2006 the Elphinstone Institute and the contributors

While copyright in the volume as a whole is vested in the Elphinstone Institute, copyright in individual contributions remains with the contributors.

This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License. To view a copy of this license, visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>.



The moral rights of the contributors to be identified as the authors of their work have been asserted in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

ISBN 0-9545682-3-0

Cover design by Thomas A. McKean  
Cover photograph © 2006 Owen Logan,  
'Paul Anderson at the Mouth of the Dee'  
Typesetting by the Elphinstone Institute  
Printed by Alden Group Limited

First published in 2006 by  
The Elphinstone Institute  
University of Aberdeen  
MacRobert Building  
King's College  
Aberdeen AB24 5UA

# CONTENTS

1	Crossing boundaries <i>Ian Russell and Mary Anne Alburger</i>	1
2	Fiddle tunes in eighteenth-century Wales <i>Cass Meurig</i>	6
3	'Fiddles at dawn': the three ages of Manx fiddle music <i>Fenella Bazin</i>	14
4	English fiddling 1650-1850: reconstructing a lost idiom <i>Paul E. W. Roberts</i>	22
5	Unravelling the birl: using computer technology to understand traditional fiddle decorations <i>Stuart Eydmann</i>	33
6	The fiddle and the dance in Fife: the legacy of 'Fiddley' Adamson, father and son <i>Catherine A. Shoupe</i>	42
7	Folk music revivals in comparative perspective <i>Richard Blaustein</i>	50
8	The growth of the organized Fiddlers' Movement in Halland, Sweden, during the twentieth century <i>Karin Eriksson</i>	61
9	From Swedish folk music to world music: Johan Hedin's transition from keyed fiddle player to modern composer <i>Jan Ling</i>	69
10	Making the music dance: dance connotations in Norwegian fiddling <i>Jan Petter Blom</i>	75

*Play It Like It Is: Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic*

11	Rufus Guinchart and Emile Benoit: two Newfoundland fiddlers <i>Evelyn Osborne</i>	87
12	'If you want to win, you've got to play it like a man': music, gender, and value in Ontario fiddle contests <i>Sherry Johnson</i>	94
13	Bringing it all back home? Issues surrounding Cape Breton fiddle music in Scotland <i>Liz Doherty</i>	102
14	Music on the margins: fiddle music in Cape Breton <i>Burt Feintuch</i>	110
	Bibliography	121
	Contributors	132
	Index	134

# 1

## Crossing boundaries

IAN RUSSELL and MARY ANNE ALBURGER

Although this is not an extensive collection, the papers relate to most of the major themes that have preoccupied researchers of traditional music in Europe and North America since the Second World War. In the context of the fiddle (and related dance), the authors variously consider the topics of: revitalisation, revival, and re-creation; marginalisation, diaspora and repatriation; gender and competition; organisation and institutionalisation; landscape and cultural tourism; localisation, hybridity, and acculturation; the interrelationship with dance; social context and markers of identity; repertoire, accompaniment, instrumentation, and virtuosity. The focus on the fiddle is entirely appropriate since in many of the cultures of the communities bordering the North Atlantic the instrument has been (and remains) pre-eminent as the chosen vehicle of performance for repertoire and style in traditional music contexts for the past three centuries or more.

This book is the direct product of an international celebration of fiddle music and dance that was held in Aberdeen, 25-29 July 2001. The North Atlantic Fiddle Convention was conceived as a combination of a festival and an academic conference around the theme of 'Crossing Boundaries' supported by workshops, interviews and 'market place' events. It was an ambitious formula and a heady mixture, and, for those who experienced it, the springboard for subsequent collaborations and enterprises, both artistic and academic. Perhaps the potency of the event, from both scholarly and artistic perspectives, was the main reason why it has taken until 2006 to repeat the formula. One of the original aims was that the celebration might achieve the momentum to roll out across the North Atlantic from West Sweden to Nova Scotia, and this may yet be realized with the possibility of the NAFCo vision materialising in Newfoundland in 2008.

The Convention was located in Scotland at Aberdeen, firstly because of the North-East's prominence in Scottish fiddling, secondly because of the importance of cultures of the Scottish diaspora in terms of fiddle music, and thirdly because of the city's significance as a gateway to Europe and North America enhanced by its standing



as Europe's oil capital. This conception interpreted the seas not as 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. There are some well known instances of this cultural interchange, notably the ringing strings of Shetland echoing the sympathetic strings of the Norwegian Hardanger Fiddle, *hardingfele*, and the transformation of an older Scottish repertoire in the hands of Cape Breton fiddlers; but less well known is the Anglo-Scottish cross-fertilization of reels in West Swedish fiddle repertoire manifested in the form known as *engelska*, or the simple fact that the Scots rather than the Irish provided the single most significant cultural input into Appalachia and its fiddle styles.

Our volume opens with three historical papers that reflect the evolution of the tradition through many significant stages and developments, not the least of which was the introduction of the modern instrument – the 'violin' – from Cremona in Italy in the later part of the seventeenth century. The three Welsh manuscripts discussed by Cass Meurig reflect this technological innovation, in that she detects both an older more local repertoire that had been played on earlier instruments, notably the *crwth*, and a more modern cosmopolitan one that was largely introduced to Wales in the wake of the introduction of the 'improved' instrument.

A similar juxtaposition of repertoires is identified by Fenella Bazin, who recognizes in the fiddle music of the Isle of Man older influences: Norse (via Shetland), and more modern ones, such as English and Scottish. Paul E. W. Roberts, like Bazin and Meurig, works from fiddlers' manuscripts and other sources and presents here a picture of pre-Victorian English fiddling prior to the influx of popular European dance music. Using an extensive sample of manuscripts, Roberts goes beyond repertoire analysis to identify markers of style and performance, including bowing, ornamentation, and extemporisation. (Several of these manuscripts have been archived for the Village Music Project, see [www.village-music-project.org.uk](http://www.village-music-project.org.uk).) It is clear that the three authors of these papers see the legacy of various manuscript collections as a valuable resource for contemporary players, and as a means by and through which Welsh, Manx, and English fiddling can be revitalized and reconnected with past traditions to generate a more distinctively national style with growing confidence in its historical accuracy.

Undoubtedly, markers of style distinguish local and regional fiddle traditions and set them apart from universal formalized classical violin techniques. They can also provide links with performance styles across the centuries, arguably predating the introduction of the modern instrument. One such marker is the musical decoration which the Scots call the 'birl', and Stuart Eydmann's paper provides an insight into the structure and interpretation of this motif, with the help of computer technology.

Whereas the fiddle traditions of England, Wales, and the Isle of Man are seen to have been weakened by factions, fractiousness, and discontinuities, the Scottish experience has seen fiddle playing flourish and adapt over the course of more than two and a half centuries. Catherine A. Shoupe's case study, from the Scottish Kingdom

of Fife, deals with the symbiotic relationship of fiddle and dance, particularly as communicated through the persons of Alexander and William Adamson, father and son, itinerant dancing masters there for many years. In Shoupe's work, the teaching of Scottish social dance is recorded and considered as oral history, particularly through its role in the continued maintenance of deportment and manners, an educational role that Shoupe identifies in the Adamson family's teaching and practice, which form direct connections with eighteenth-century traditional dancing, and the professional dancing masters that made it possible.

The gradual development of groups dedicated to preserving styles of fiddle playing through organisations that promoted some aspects, while sometimes prohibiting others, were a significant phenomenon in twentieth-century North American and northern European cultures. These movements preserved and reinterpreted those aspects of tradition which they deemed to be worthy, believing them to be at risk of eclipse by more popular mass music movements, such as jazz and rock 'n' roll. Richard Blaustein's wide-ranging survey examines common motivations for some of these groups, including the desire to emphasize national and regional differences in style and repertoire as a bulwark against relentless modernity and technological change. In Karin Eriksson's study of the Fiddlers' Movement in Halland, Sweden, these motivations are identified, though the focus shifts to the way the tradition is transforming into new music in both classical and popular music contexts. Whereas Eriksson's and Blaustein's essays are concerned with musical communities, the role of the individual is at the centre of Jan Ling's paper. This examines the ways in which the flare of a leading player of the keyed fiddle (the *nyckelharpa*), Johan Hedin, was able to transform perceptions of his instrument from one confined in regional traditional music, and largely a curio, into one perfectly at home in the creative arena of contemporary world music.

An important theme of the 2001 conference was the interrelationship of fiddle music and dance, which has produced uncomfortable tensions between the two as an increasing amount of fiddle music is presented on the concert stage (and in bar-room or pub sessions), detached from the original context of dancing and (further back in history) the delivery of orally transmitted ballads, which is now unknown in Britain, and perhaps an omen for the future. There is nothing new about this 'contemporary' trend; Neil Gow, for example, performed his music in both dance and salon settings in the eighteenth century, much of the energy and rhythm in both settings informed by the 'lift' of the music – that which lightens the dancer's steps, and is crucial to music played for Scottish traditional dance. Such, from Norwegian dance experience, is the starting point for Jan Petter Blom's discussion, which goes beyond the functional purposes of the music to explore and analyse the ways in which the dance informs and characterizes what the fiddler plays, the opposite role to Gow, but both are, and remain, interdependent.

There can be no doubt about the importance of dance to the two Newfoundland fiddlers Rufus Guinchard and Emile Benoit, discussed by Evelyn Osborne, for such was the context of much of their music. Moreover, their playing was

nearly always accompanied by dance, in the form of the patter of their own feet (*'podorhythmie'*), a defining characteristic of fiddling from these two exemplars from Francophone Canada.

Another aspect of fiddling divorced from dance is the competition circuit, the contemporary context for many young Canadian fiddlers. Sherry Johnson has experienced this both as a competitor (step dancer and fiddler), and a judge. Through her research with other female contestants, she examines the recent history of competitive events, the gendered discourse surrounding performance, and the inherent asymmetries in the inequality still rife in the ways in which female participants are perceived.

Another example of insider knowledge, one of the strengths of this collection, is brought to these essays by fiddler-scholar Liz Doherty's contribution, an illustration of the value of this type of contribution. Doherty examines, and questions, the popular contention that Cape Breton fiddle music today in some way represents the fiddle music of eighteenth-century Scotland. Drawing on her doctoral fieldwork in Nova Scotia and her background knowledge of the Scottish fiddling scene (from her Donegal-born standpoint), she examines the relationships between the Cape Breton and Scottish traditions, through the testimony of several active exponents, thereby shedding light on the nature of diasporic cultures, and their view of themselves.

The final paper, one of the keynote contributions of the 2001 conference, also focuses on Cape Breton, and is similarly based on contemporary ethnographic research. Here the culture of the island is considered in its contemporaneous geographical context, being on the margins of North America, rather than in its diasporic and historical context. Burt Feintuch considers this to be the key to understanding the province's phenomenal success in nurturing its traditional music and, as he notes, one of the reasons for the vitality of the music is, of course, in its function as dance accompaniment. He goes on to examine the role of the family, social and economic factors, issues of local identity, and the growing influence of cultural tourism.

The value of this volume is not in radical new theoretical perspectives, nor is it in any way definitive or comprehensive; it does, however, offer a refreshing and thoughtful addition to a literature that is all too sparse. The contents, taken as a whole, help to build a picture not just of isolated minor musical subcultures, but rather of a greater tradition that is characterized by interrelationships, is deeply rooted, and currently thriving. The growing number of young people, as well as lifelong learners, taking up the instrument, achieving proficiency with traditional repertoires, and keenly promoting their performances, bears testimony to the fiddle's contemporary relevance. This is, similarly, the case for traditional dance.

The research presented here on fiddle and related dance traditions helps us to understand the whys and wherefores of these phenomena, as well as to help answer questions such as 'how did we get here?' and 'where is here?' Similarly, the maintenance of richness and diversity in the face of increasing homogenisation of style is clearly a dilemma. As fiddlers and audiences cross cultural and physical

boundaries, what can be discovered about the changes: 'what is being diminished?' 'what is being enhanced?'; 'what are the synergies of today?', and 'where are the creative energies to be found?' As Feintuch rightly concludes, the challenge of maintaining local identity is a fine balancing act of three interactive forces: community aesthetics and values, external economic pressures, and mass market influences. Our collection demonstrates that in understanding the voice of the fiddle, what it represents, and what it stands for, we recognize that it resonates far more widely, and fundamentally, in cultural terms than the immediate performance and audience milieu. In this respect, the integrity and validity of each of our authors' contributions is respected in the honesty and openness of our title: 'Play It Like It Is'.

*We would like to thank: the authors for their contributions; participants in the North Atlantic Fiddle Convention 2001 for providing the forum for the ideas developed in this book; Thomas A. McKean and Malcolm Reavell for their guidance with typesetting and artwork; the peer reviewers for their thoughtful comments; Frances Wilkins for help with referencing; and the Elphinstone Institute and the University of Aberdeen for giving the volume an imprint.*

## Fiddle tunes in eighteenth-century Wales

CASS MEURIG

Wales is not a country immediately associated with fiddle playing. Famous for harp playing and choral singing, it is often forgotten that at one time the Welsh also had a thriving fiddle tradition. The violin probably arrived in Wales around the beginning of the seventeenth century, where it co-existed for a time with earlier stringed instruments such as the *crwth* or *crowd* (a six-stringed bowed lyre), the viol, and earlier types of fiddles. The height of its popularity was the eighteenth century, when the fiddle could be heard at fairs, itinerant dramas, weddings, funerals, and domestic merry-making, as well as in the houses of the gentry.<sup>1</sup> Towards the end of the century, religious revivals brought a sharp decline in the number of fiddle players in Wales. During the years which followed fewer and fewer people took up the instrument, until by the first half of the twentieth century the tradition of playing predominantly orally-transmitted folk tunes on the fiddle was mainly in the hands of a few Gypsy families.<sup>2</sup>

Within the last twenty years there has been a renewal of interest in Welsh fiddle playing, and there are now a considerable number of fiddlers playing Welsh tunes both in amateur sessions and professional bands. The current repertoire includes a good deal of orally-transmitted material, mainly from harp-playing and Welsh-language singing traditions. In addition, in their search for their own musical heritage, fiddlers have turned to the printed and manuscript collections of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Wales, with the aim of reviving a native Welsh repertoire as played during the heyday of Welsh fiddling. The following survey of the contents of the major sources of information regarding the repertoire of the eighteenth-century fiddlers may suggest to what extent such a repertoire ever really existed.

By the early eighteenth century, Welsh music had undergone a major period of modernisation. Well into the sixteenth century, musicians were still playing instruments and music which belonged in essence to the Middle Ages, under a system which recognized different classes of musicians from common minstrels to graduate musicians of considerable status. Graduates were required to master a highly conservative repertoire for harp and *crwth* known as *cerdd dant* ('string

music'); some of this music has survived in harp tablature in the manuscript of Robert ap Huw of Anglesey, copied c. 1613, whilst the titles of other pieces are known to us from contemporary grammars.<sup>3</sup> This music was archaic when the violin first reached Wales; by the eighteenth century it had virtually disappeared, along with the instruments which played it. The violin brought with it new, fashionable tunes from across the border which had very little to do with the old Welsh repertoire.

### **The Richard Morris MS**

The first major source of information on the repertoire of the Welsh fiddlers consists of four lists of Welsh and English tune titles made by Richard Morris of Anglesey around the year 1717, when he was fourteen or fifteen years old.<sup>4</sup> Richard could play the fiddle or viol, or possibly both; he entitled the second of his lists 'The names of the tunes that I can sing on the viol', and noted elsewhere in his manuscript the year in which he started to play the fiddle (it is worth noting that the terms 'fiddle', 'viol' and 'crwth' were used interchangeably in Wales during this period).<sup>5</sup> He recorded the names of 379 different tunes but unfortunately included no musical notation, probably because he knew the melodies by ear. To judge by their titles, less than a quarter of the Richard Morris MS tunes are likely to be Welsh in origin, and only a very few have any obvious connection with the earlier native string repertoire; for example, two titles which include the word '*dugan*' (probably a corruption of '*erddigan*', a form of music represented in Robert ap Huw's manuscript).<sup>6</sup> Over three quarters are probably English in origin, along with a few Scottish and Irish items. Many are found in the numerous books of country dances published in London at the time; others are ballad tunes and popular songs of the English theatre, such as 'Lilliburlero' and the Scots song 'Jenny Making Hay'. Clearly, early eighteenth-century Anglesey was not isolated from contemporary British musical fashions.

### **The John Thomas MS<sup>7</sup>**

The second source of Welsh fiddle repertoire is the manuscript of John Thomas, 1752.<sup>8</sup> John Thomas came from North-East Wales, to judge by the dialect of his Welsh, and appears to have been a working fiddler rather than an amateur collector of tunes. He wrote down 526 tunes, most of which are in modern notation. A small proportion are in an idiosyncratic form of violin notation probably invented by himself, consisting of a kind of musical shorthand in which notes appear as note-heads with ascending and descending passages written vertically, joined by lines to indicate the direction of the melody. Key, tonality and pulse are not shown and only the bare bones of the melody are recorded; it seems to have worked as an *aide-mémoire* to remind him of tunes he already knew by heart. In addition, he made several lists of tune titles which include a further forty tunes which he did not trouble to notate; these may have been the tunes with which he was most familiar.

His manuscript tells a similar story to Richard Morris's. The overall proportion of Welsh tunes in the manuscript is around 25%, although the figure is slightly higher amongst the listed tunes. Only a handful can claim any connection with the



Figure 1 A page from the John Thomas MS, fol. 68r.

old *cerdd dant* repertoire; among these is 'Drugan Troed Tant', or 'Erdigan Tro'r Tant' as it is found in other contemporary collections ('The *erddigan* of the turn of the string'), whose title harks back to the old 'tro tant' harp tuning. The majority of the melodies are country dance tunes and minuets from across the border, a considerable number

copied from books such as John Walsh's *Caledonian Country Dances* Vol. II (1737), although most seem, by the irregular nature of their notation, to have been written down from oral tradition. There are also a number of tunes in this idiom which appear to be Welsh compositions, such as the pretty minuet '*Morfa Rhuddlan*' (see Figure 1). Evidently, Welsh musicians had by then turned their hands to writing tunes according to the new fashion. Unlike Richard Morris, John Thomas included a limited number of pieces by popular composers of the day such as Handel, which he seems to have copied from printed sources.

John Thomas's manuscript also contains a large number of song tunes, most of which are of English or Scottish extraction, but some of which are Welsh. These include both ballad tunes and melodies used for the singing of Welsh-language 'floating stanzas' in the tradition known as *canu penillion*.<sup>9</sup> It seems that one of the fiddler's functions was to accompany singers, continuing a tradition of bowed accompaniment to singing which stretches back to the days of the *crwth*. The ballad tunes are perhaps the most interesting part of John Thomas's repertoire, three examples of which can be seen in Figure 1 ('*Gwêl Adeilad*', '*Mentra Gwen*' and '*Brynie'r Werddon*'). The majority seem by their notation to have been recorded from oral tradition, although he was probably not a singer himself, since he records no verses. However, numerous contemporary ballads have survived which are indicated in their titles to have been sung to tunes recorded by John Thomas. By setting verses from these ballads to the melodies as they are found in the manuscript, it becomes evident that the tunes have been adapted perfectly to the rhythms of the Welsh language, and, in the case of some of the English and Scottish tunes, have changed considerably from their originals; this is the case for '*Gwêl Adeilad*', which began its career as an early seventeenth-century ballad tune entitled 'See the Building' (the Welsh title is a direct translation).<sup>10</sup> John Thomas's repertoire can be seen as a regional variant of a pan-British popular tradition, with Welsh tunes forming a core element of the tunes he knew best.

### **Welsh music in London**

Meanwhile, to digress from fiddle collections for a moment, by the mid-eighteenth century Welsh tunes had begun to be published in London. Capitalising on new markets for printed music (and part of a network of expatriate Welshmen), the harpists John Parry and Edward Jones between them published seven books of tunes between 1742 and 1820.<sup>11</sup> Their volumes contain a much higher content of Welsh tunes than either Richard Morris's lists or John Thomas's manuscript, and far fewer English and Scottish country dance tunes. Although this might suggest that the Welsh harpists' repertoire was more Welsh than that of the fiddlers, since the books published in London had an antiquarian and a commercial agenda in mind, they may not necessarily represent the true state of popular music in Wales at the time in the same way as the grass-roots evidence of Richard Morris and John Thomas.



Both John Parry and Edward Jones are clearly aiming to authenticate the antiquity of the Welsh musical tradition. Many tunes are printed with footnotes supplying pseudo-historical pedigrees (often extending back to the Dark Ages), and in the later publications, English and Scottish tunes are given Welsh-language titles. The ballad tune 'Consumption', for example, was called '*Gorweddwch Eich Hun*' ('Lie Yourself Down'), whilst 'The King's Own Farewell' was translated to '*Ymadawiad y Brenin*' and 'Crimson Velvet' became '*Cwyn Brython*' ('The Briton's Lament'). However, John Parry and Edward Jones did secure the preservation and promotion of that element of the Welsh repertoire which was 'made in Wales' (and which included some genuinely old material), and succeeded in forging a new Welsh identity for part of the remainder of the eclectic rag-bag of tunes popular at the time.

### **Influence of published music**

The printed collections of Welsh music were highly influential, not only on the London-Welsh intelligentsia, but also on musicians at home. One such musician was the fiddler Morris Edward, whose manuscript is dated 1778/9.<sup>12</sup> All that is known of Morris Edward is that he was paid two guineas for playing the fiddle at Bodorgan Manor in Anglesey for a fortnight, and that he may have subscribed to John Parry's third book, *British Harmony* (1781). Edward certainly had access to *British Harmony* as well as to John Parry's first book, *Antient British Music* (1742), and Edward Jones's *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards* (1784), since he copied tunes from all three volumes.

Around three-quarters of Morris Edward's 158 tunes are probably of Welsh origin, a far higher proportion than the earlier fiddle collections. Most are tunes in 3/4 or common time, rather than the lively 6/8 country dance tunes which make up the majority of John Thomas's repertoire. Some bear the names of earlier dance forms such as the galliard and almain; others, such as '*Cynsêt Griffith Rowlant y Crythor*' ('Griffith Rowland the Crowther's Conceit'), claim connections with older strands of Welsh music and may originally have been played on the crwth (see Figure 2). His choice of repertoire may have been due to the personal tastes of the families for whom he played, such as the Meyrick family of Bodorgan. They seem to have had a particular interest in Welsh music, but were probably not typical of the Welsh gentry, most of whom were rapidly losing interest in their national heritage. A more likely explanation is that Morris Edward, like John Parry and Edward Jones, was considerably more interested in Welsh tunes in particular than popular music in general, and that his manuscript was more of an antiquary's collection than a working book.

Despite Morris Edward's evidence, it seems most unlikely that popular musical taste in Anglesey had veered away from English and Scottish country dance tunes towards older Welsh melodies, given the increased traffic between Wales and England. Other Welsh manuscripts provide evidence of the continuing popularity of English tunes in Wales towards the end of the century. A tune book signed 'Richard Hocknill, Late fighting cocks Oswestry, Salop July 31 1780', for instance,

consists mainly of English dance tunes, while a collection signed 'John Evans Errwddu Darowen Montgomery 1796' contains sacred music and English dance tunes.<sup>13</sup> Around the beginning of the nineteenth century, the harpist Evan Jones of Gorlan, Llanrwst ('Ifan y Gorlan') compiled a manuscript containing numerous new dances from over the border, such as waltzes and quadrilles, as well as Welsh tunes; in addition, several early nineteenth-century manuscript collections which passed into the possession of the Richards family of Darowen contain a mixture of English and Welsh tunes.<sup>14</sup> Evidently, English tunes did not cease to be played in Wales. Morris Edward's manuscript seems rather to show the influence of the antiquarian movement on educated musicians in Wales, and in particular the impact of the books of John Parry and Edward Jones.



**Figure 2** A page from Morris Edward's manuscript, University of Wales, Bangor MS 2294, p. 27

To conclude this brief survey, it is clear that a large percentage of the popular fiddle repertoire of eighteenth-century Wales consisted of country dances and

ballad tunes from over the border. By the latter half of the century some of these had 'gone native' to the extent that they were published as Welsh tunes in John Parry's and Edward Jones's collections, complete with Welsh titles and bogus pedigrees. At the same time, there was a movement to save the last remnants of the older native repertoire. Nineteenth-century Welsh collectors were to continue the trend, publishing older tunes alongside the new and giving Welsh names to popular English and Scottish tunes. The Welsh cultural revival had succeeded in claiming a part of the mongrel instrumental repertoire of Wales, bestowing upon it a new genealogy.

What of the modern musician keen to revive the repertoire of the old Welsh fiddlers? The majority of players, unaware of the complex history of the music in the Welsh collections (or turning a blind eye to it), are happy to accept the tunes at face value. The tune 'Butter and Peas', for example, which was popular all over Britain and is found in English and Scottish sources well before it is attested in Wales, is commonly accepted as Welsh on the grounds that at some point in its career in the oral tradition it acquired the transliterated title '*Pwt ar y Bys*'. Country dance 'standards' such as this form a substantial part of the current Welsh fiddle repertoire, and perhaps rightly so, since they are part of the Welsh musical heritage even if many were not composed in Wales. But there is, of course, nothing distinctively Welsh in style about such tunes. As a result, some players have begun to seek out older tunes with stranger melodies and more unfamiliar rhythms that they feel may hold a stronger national identity. The desire to establish a Welsh repertoire continues, in much the same spirit as it did in the eighteenth century. The fiddle collections remind us that a good deal of that repertoire has crossed some boundaries along its way.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> On the function and livelihood of the eighteenth-century fiddlers, see Cass Meurig, 'The Fiddler in Eighteenth-Century Wales' *Welsh Music History*, 5, ed. Sally Harper and Wyn Thomas (Bangor, 2002), pp. 22-40.
- <sup>2</sup> For an early twentieth-century account of some nineteenth-century Welsh fiddlers, see W. Meredith Morris, *Famous Fiddlers*, ed D. Roy Saer (Cardiff: Welsh Folk Museum, National Museum of Wales, 1983). On Gypsy fiddlers, see Eldra and A. O. H. Jarman, *The Welsh Gypsies: Children of Abram Wood* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1981).
- <sup>3</sup> Robert ap Huw's manuscript is reproduced in Henry Lewis, ed., *Musica*, British Museum Additional Manuscript 14905, facsimile edn (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1936).
- <sup>4</sup> T. H. Parry-Williams, *Llawysgrif Richard Morris o Gerddi* (Caerdydd [Cardiff]: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1931), pp. 66-67, 80-81, 85-86; 104-107.
- <sup>5</sup> Parry-Williams (1931), pp. 30, 214.
- <sup>6</sup> Other tunes with older connotations are '*Hun Gwenllian*', which may be identified with '*Y Ddigan Hun Wenllian*' listed by Robert ap Huw (H. Lewis, 1936), p. 109 and '*Sidanen*' which occurs in a list of tunes probably connected with music for the Christmas festivities at Lleweni manor, Denbighshire c. 1595 (Bangor MS Gwynedd 4, p. 130) and in a list of 40 '*Lute Leasons*' written by Philip Powell of Brecon in 1633 (Cardiff MS 3.42, p. 157).

CASS MEURIG *Fiddle tunes in eighteenth-century Wales*

- <sup>7</sup> Cass Meurig, ed., *Alawon John Thomas: A Fiddler's Tune Book from Eighteenth-Century Wales* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 2004).
- <sup>8</sup> J. Lloyd Williams MS 39, National Library of Wales, published with notes on the tunes and their historical and musical context as Cass Meurig (ed.), *Alawon John Thomas: A Fiddler's Tune Book from Eighteenth-Century Wales* (National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth 2004). A full analysis of John Thomas's manuscript can be found in Cass Meurig, 'The Music of the Fiddler in Eighteenth-Century Wales: A Study of the Manuscript of John Thomas' (PhD thesis, University of Bangor, 2001).
- <sup>9</sup> Literally 'the singing of stanzas', *canu penillion* refers to the Welsh tradition in which individual 'floating' stanzas could be sung in a number of possible ways to a variety of different melodies played by an instrumentalist. In 'Northern-style' *penillion* singing the singer entered several bars into the tune and improvised a simple counter-melody, continuing to the end of the tune without pause, whereas in the 'Southern style' he entered at the beginning of the tune and might add an interlaced or following refrain. Both styles are represented in the John Thomas manuscript.
- <sup>10</sup> The earliest extant version of the tune occurs in a virginal set of c. 1600-1625; for a comparison of the two versions see Meurig, 'The Music of the Fiddler in Eighteenth-Century Wales', p. 174.
- <sup>11</sup> John Parry, *Antient British Music* (London, 1742); John Parry, *British Harmony, being a Collection of Antient Welsh Airs* (Ruabon/London, 1781); John Parry, *A Collection of Welsh, English and Scotch Airs* (London, 1761); Edward Jones, *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards* (London 1784; 2nd ed., London, 1794); Edward Jones, *The Bardic Museum of Primitive British Literature* (London, 1802); Edward Jones, *Hen Ganiadau Cymru* (London, 1820).
- <sup>12</sup> MS 2294, University of Wales, Bangor.
- <sup>13</sup> Cwrt Mawr (Music) MSS 6 and 9, National Library of Wales.
- <sup>14</sup> 'Ifan y Gorlan' MS: J. Lloyd Williams MS 49; Richards family MSS: Cwrt Mawr (Music) MSS 15, 21 and 50; National Library of Wales. An interesting manuscript dated 1793 with a slightly higher Welsh content is Cwrt Mawr (Music) MS 12, National Library of Wales, which consists mainly of ballad tunes.

## 'Fiddles at dawn': the three ages of Manx fiddle music

FENELLA BAZIN

As early as the 1650s, visitors to the Isle of Man were commenting on the islanders' love of the fiddle.<sup>1</sup> Why, they asked, was there an absence of harps and bagpipes, when there were such strong traditions in the surrounding countries?

The importance of the fiddle to the Manx tradition can be illustrated by 'Mylecharaine's March', a dramatic and sometimes dangerous stick dance performed by a team of men accompanied by a fiddler. At the end of the dance, the musician's head is 'cut off' but the fiddler is resurrected and the head becomes an oracle, consulted particularly on matters of love.<sup>2</sup> Could this perhaps be the Manx version of the tale of Orpheus, also traditionally a string player, whose head continued to sing even after he was decapitated? Folk tales also tell of the survival of their music after the deaths of string players, even as recently as the 1930s.<sup>3</sup>

Manx traditional fiddle music falls into three distinct periods. Up to the beginning of the eighteenth century, the traditions surrounding Manx fiddle playing seem to have had much in common with the fiddle music of Shetland and Western Norway. By the end of the century the modern fiddle had been adopted and musicians were equally at home performing music from mainstream Europe or from the Manx tradition. The old style had generally died out by 1913, although there was a strong antiquarian interest and composers such as the brothers Harry and Haydn Wood were using the tunes in orchestral arrangements. During the 1970s there was a renewed interest in traditional music, fuelled by the re-establishment of the interceltic festival *Yn Chruinnaght*,<sup>4</sup> so that by the 1980s it was clear that a new, distinctively Manx style of fiddle playing was emerging.

In this paper I shall be exploring the social and cultural upheavals that led to these significant changes. The three ages of Manx fiddle music were shaped by musicians who crossed language, social and stylistic boundaries and who consequently enriched the island's musical life.

Nowadays, the Isle of Man has a population of around 80,000, far higher than at any time in the past. It has been growing steadily since the 1980s and for some time it has been found necessary to build a new primary school each year, reflecting the increasing proportion of young families. Unemployment is low; in May 2006 it

stood at less than 1.5%. Thanks to the Viking colonization of a thousand years ago, the island has its own parliament, Tynwald. It is not part of the United Kingdom and has only an associate membership of the EU. Tynwald makes its own laws and raises its own taxes and receives no outside funding. Until 150 years ago, most of the population would have been bilingual, with Manx as the language of the home and English as that of commerce. Even today, the laws have to be promulgated in Manx and English at the open-air ceremony on 5 July, the old Midsummer Day.

### **Before 1650**

Nowadays we regard the sea as a barrier; in the past, water, whether oceans or rivers, was a highway that linked island to island and continent to continent. High ground, scrubland, and marshes were the real barriers. So it is hardly surprising that a thousand years ago the Isle of Man came under the rule of Scandinavians, who swept across the North Sea from Western Norway, then island-hopped along the Hebrides, finally settling on the fertile plains of the Isle of Man, from where they could control the northern part of the Irish Sea. Their influence lasted around 450 years and their legacy is in the island's parliament Tynwald, personal names such as Corkill, place-names like Colby and Snaefell, Viking ship burials, and a remarkable collection of carved crosses, many with runic inscriptions. It would therefore not be surprising if strands of Norwegian music had also survived the centuries. The island's traditional music still retains elements that I am almost sure date from this period. One of the greatest tunes is remarkably similar to that sung at the wedding of King Erik Magnusson and Margaret of Scotland in 1281.<sup>5</sup> But those most closely resembling the fiddle music of Western Norway are also linked with folk tales. A variant of the Manx tune 'Bollan Bane' is very like a melody that Heinrich Meyer reported hearing in Norway in 1695.<sup>6</sup> Both are linked with similar 'netherworldly' stories, of powerful music heard in mountain regions. The Manx version also belongs to a popular fiddler, who, for all his undoubted talent, had difficulty in memorising a tune, perhaps suggesting that it was in an unknown idiom. This same experience became only too familiar to those who attended the workshops during the 2001 NAFCo conference.

The result of this early Scandinavian influence is one way to interpret the comment made by the seventeenth-century writer. Although this was a period when the modern Italian violin had hardly made an impression beyond southern Britain, the writer was struck by two things. In spite of the strong instrumental traditions of all the surrounding countries, there were in the island no harps or pipes, but, he goes on to say, 'there is scarce a family but can more or less play upon [the Violyne].'<sup>7</sup> Could the Norwegian connection be a way of explaining this curious situation? It is, in fact, a boundary of knowledge that I hope to cross in future research.

### **1700–1950**

Whilst magic continues as a recurring theme in stories related to fiddle music, the fiddler's important role in major life events such as births, weddings, and deaths

is much more clearly documented and accessible after 1700. In addition to music manuscripts, there are newspaper accounts and literary sources which have details of names, anecdotes, published compositions, descriptions of performances, and, for the twentieth century at least, recordings.<sup>8</sup> Manx musicians were living through great social and political changes. The English influence, which the Earls of Derby had exerted on the island from around 1400, was considerably weakened by the Dukes of Atholl, who from 1736 until 1765 and again from 1793 until 1830 ruled the island as Lords and, later, Governors of Man. Documentary evidence in the form of a manuscript from 1804 shows clearly that the Atholls' political presence had a strong influence on the island's music, at least at the level of those in the groups that mixed socially with the Atholls and Murrays.<sup>9</sup> The Manx traditional repertoire of tunes also shows a strong Scottish influence, though this could be due to any number of other causes. In favourable conditions the island is only a couple of hours' sailing from the coast of southern Scotland and there were as a consequence a variety of trading and personal connections. The popularity of Scottish music during the eighteenth century would also have had an important effect on professional and amateur musicians. A study of the Scottish content of the Manx traditional repertoire would be a useful and interesting research project.

By the nineteenth century, many Manx men and women were bilingual, as Gaelic was still the language of most homes with the increasing use of English as the language of commerce. This was reflected in their choice of music. Until the early 1800s, there is little evidence that the musicians themselves distinguished between Manx and non-Manx music. There were certainly tunes like the all-pervading 'Mylecharaine',<sup>10</sup> that had an underlying political meaning but, on the whole, melodies were played simply because they fitted the occasion. Fiddlers then, as now, were very adaptable, happy to play at a village 'hop' one evening, an Assembly Ball the next, as part of a church band for psalms and anthems on a Sunday morning, and in the *Messiah* in the evening. This versatility indicates not only the ability but the willingness to cross any number of boundaries: stylistic, social, language, and religious. They were happy to play country tunes to an audience that might well be Gaelic-speaking Methodists, then move to the music of the high Baroque, playing to an audience that consisted largely of English-speaking Anglicans.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the island was flooded every summer with tourists from the industrial areas of northern England and central Scotland. They brought with them new musical demands, offering yet more boundaries for the musicians to cross. The visitors were hungry for the popular tunes of the music halls and dance palaces. Suddenly there was a demand for full-time musicians, who were needed to play in bands and orchestras during the season and were able to earn a living by teaching during the remaining eight months of the year. A steady stream of musicians from Britain and further afield arrived in the island, simultaneously creating a fashion for new music and meeting the needs of increasingly sophisticated audiences. Fashion demanded novelty. In the island's new capital of Douglas, traditional music was edged out by international styles and melodies. These changes

can be charted by trawling through Manx newspapers of the period, by analysing the advertisements for new music, new teachers, assembly balls, concerts – a deluge of musical activity which overwhelmed the music making of earlier in the century.<sup>11</sup> The activities of these musicians are well documented.<sup>12</sup>

For descriptions of the 'old-fashioned' country fiddlers we have to rely on contemporary observers such as diarists and novelists. They have left us some wonderful descriptions of instinctive musicians who were able to move audiences to tears, and of less accomplished players whose attempts were 'half dance, half hymn'.<sup>13</sup> We also have accounts of town fiddlers, who, like Tommy Nichol, roused the populace at dawn on Christmas Day and were generally rewarded for their efforts with gifts of wine and meat, though occasionally with abuse by those who had celebrated not wisely but too well the previous night.<sup>14</sup>

The memory of the island's old fiddle tradition gradually began to fade, although it was still kept alive in an unexpected area. Harry Wood was a fine Yorkshire-born musician who dominated Manx music for half a century, until the 1930s. His arrangements for string orchestra of Manx traditional tunes were heard by hundreds of thousands of summer visitors. But it was his brother Haydn, composer of such popular songs as 'Roses of Picardy', whose versions of Manx fiddle music have crossed more boundaries than could have been imagined a hundred years earlier. In his orchestral compositions *Mannin Veen* and *A Manx Rhapsody*, he used traditional fiddle tunes such as 'Bollan Bane' and introduced a tune called 'The Manx Fiddler', which I think might have been his own variation of a medieval carol, '*Tra va ruggit Creest*' ('When Christ was born'), still popular in the island today. This music crossed yet another boundary when it was taken by emigrants to North America, where the band arrangement of *Mannin Veen* has been much played and recorded.<sup>15</sup> Descendants of Manx emigrants still draw on the Manx repertoire, clothing the traditional tunes in new styles.<sup>16</sup>

### **1975 to the present**

By the time of Haydn Wood's death in 1959, it appeared that Manx fiddle music too had more or less died out. With the exception of a few players who were called upon to accompany Manx dancers, most island violinists were involved in dance or show bands. But, towards the end of the 1970s, the charismatic and determined Mona Douglas revived the *Chruinnaght*, a festival of Manx performing and other traditional arts.<sup>17</sup> Although almost eighty years old, Mona managed to inspire or cajole a number of people to support the revival, which began in a relatively small way in 1977 with a re-enactment of a Manx wedding. This was not a real wedding but an entertainment that included a procession with music (traditionally a fiddler on horseback, as in Norway and parts of Scotland) and a wedding 'breakfast', shared by the participants and audience alike.

The following year the festival expanded to become 'interceltic' and welcomed musicians from Cornwall and Ireland. This year also saw the introduction of competitions for music and dancing, events that were held in relaxed, informal



settings but, nonetheless, resulted in increasingly higher standards of performance. The *Chruinnaght* coincided with several developments, including the publication by Colin Jerry of traditional Manx tunes, the collection of which was attributed to Dr John Clague (1854–1908),<sup>18</sup> and the quiet but far-reaching work of Mike Boulton, a teacher at the primary school in Ramsey, where the festival was held. The first year saw only a dozen or so young instrumentalists competing but, as the years have gone on, the numbers have expanded dramatically. To begin with, the young musicians were mainly devoted to tin whistles and guitars, but other instruments gradually emerged, including fiddle players, many of whom were the product of the Isle of Man Board of Education's scheme for instrumental tuition. These youngsters were uninhibited by the sort of boundaries that had arisen in earlier decades, where there had been sharp distinctions between 'classical' and 'popular' music. Like their nineteenth-century predecessors, these fiddlers were equally happy playing in symphony orchestras or at sessions. Initially greatly influenced by Irish groups such as the Cassidys, they gradually developed their own styles, incorporating a range of influences including jazz, so that by the late 1990s there was a whole new generation of fiddle players still in their teens, who were composing new material and making exciting new arrangements of old tunes.

Through their music-making they have crossed all sorts of boundaries. Because of the progress of the 1970s and 1980s, they have succeeded in breaking through yet another boundary. During the severe economic recession of the 1950s and 1960s, when the tourist industry began to fail and emigration appeared to be draining the island of its talent, some Manxmen and women rejected all things Manx. In a situation familiar to many islanders, it was felt that the future lay in adopting other cultures. However, beginning in the 1990s, there has been a marked revival in enthusiasm for the island's culture and language and, through their music, young people are conveying their enthusiasm to audiences of their contemporaries who are excited by the music itself, and not just because of what it represents. Adam Rhodes, David Kilgallon, and Katy Lawrence have all shown determination and originality in their approach to the tunes and the techniques.<sup>19</sup> But fiddle-playing is not confined to this young generation. Bernard Osborne, former head of the island's peripatetic instrumental service, has long played traditional music. David Callister,<sup>20</sup> Mick Kneale, Phil Gawne, and Robin Boyle are also making a significant contribution to the new tradition.

## **Conclusions**

Of the three ages of Manx fiddle music, the first might well date to the Norwegian settlement in the island. The second owes its origins to an instrument and, to some extent, a repertoire that also belongs to mainland Europe. The third era, less than two decades old, is perhaps too new for it to be possible to stand back to assess its real origins and impact with any confidence. But there is no doubt that it owes its existence to a complicated series of factors. A flourishing economy enables continued government support for free instrumental tuition in schools. There is a widespread

revival of interest in Manx culture, based mainly on the work of the nineteenth-century collectors who recorded a rich heritage of traditional music. Today's musicians also travel to many countries to see other musics live. They can also access music on disc, or over the Internet, or learn new tunes from publications possible only because of the availability of comparatively low cost modern technology.

The present revival of interest in fiddle playing is unexpected. The Isle of Man has always had a wealth of musicians, but the greatest emphasis has always been on the voice, a tradition that still thrives today. For many years, all types of instrumental music, except perhaps piano-playing, wallowed in the doldrums. Then in the 1980s, among traditional musicians at least, instrumental music resurfaced, initially focusing on whistles, guitars, harps and uilleann pipes, instruments notably absent from the island in the seventeenth century. Fiddles soon followed and now there is, not a revival, but a renaissance of Manx music.

Thus, over the centuries of Manx fiddle music, many boundaries have been crossed. Cultural boundaries have certainly been overcome. Music could well have been an important factor in the final shift from Manx Gaelic, as the introduction of new music encouraged the use of English. Interestingly, this move has been mirrored in modern times, when many people have been encouraged to learn Manx Gaelic through their discovery of traditional music. With the introduction in the early 1700s of compulsory education, literacy became highly prized. Music was an important route through which a miner or farm worker could aspire to self-improvement. Social boundaries, though much less important in the Isle of Man than, say, in England, were broken down still further by music. Instrumental skills, too, meant that many could supplement their income and find themselves in situations where they could improve the physical as well as the cultural quality of their lives. Political boundaries were crossed, too. Amateur musicians, many of them fiddlers, became local preachers, learning skills that enabled them to influence large crowds and lead labour reforms in the early twentieth century.

Many of the papers in this volume have referred to cultural revivals. The Manx antiquarian movement in the nineteenth century was principally literary and historical. There were, of course, eminent collectors of Manx music, but I wonder if they might have unwittingly actively discouraged the traditional musicians. The reasoning, I suggest, could well have gone along these lines: 'If what we are doing is of interest to antiquarians, it follows that we must be old-fashioned and need to be more modern in our approach'. The custodians of the past erected a barrier that any modern Edwardian of the new twentieth century simply ignored. The traditional fiddlers and the ageing singers were suddenly made self-conscious and, like Adam and Eve, felt that they had to cover their nakedness. Manx Gaelic was abandoned at the same time. The opportunities for progress and prosperity rested in the new culture that emanated from Great Britain and the British Empire. Where once barriers had been crossed by music, the antiquarians had suddenly created one that was almost insuperable. New music had swamped the old and it would take almost a century before it could be reborn.

**Notes**

- <sup>1</sup> James Chaloner, *A Short Treatise on the Isle of Man in Daniel King's Vale Royall* (London: John Streeter, 1656), p. 5.
- <sup>2</sup> For a more detailed description of the dance, see Mona Douglas, 'Manx Folk Dances: Their Notation and Revival', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 3 (1937), 110–16 (p. 114).
- <sup>3</sup> Fenella Crowe Bazin, ' "The devil once a fiddler made": The Connection Between Manx, Scottish and Norwegian Music' in *Mannin Revisited: Twelve Essays on Manx Culture and Environment*, ed. Peter Davey and David Finlayson (Edinburgh: Scottish Society for Northern Studies, 2002), pp. 151-160.
- <sup>4</sup> Re-born in 1977, this festival of traditional music, dance, arts, crafts and literature was inspired by the energetic Mona Douglas (1898-1987). In its present form, the event embraces contributions from the other Celtic countries.
- <sup>5</sup> Nils Grinde, *A History of Norwegian Music*, trans. W. H. Halverson and D. Johnson (Lincoln, Nebraska; London: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), p. 22.
- <sup>6</sup> Grinde, p. 95.
- <sup>7</sup> Chaloner, p. 5.
- <sup>8</sup> Fenella Crowe Bazin, 'Music in the Isle of Man up to 1896' (PhD thesis, Liverpool, 1995), pp. 161–95 and 225–74.
- <sup>9</sup> John Moore's 1804 manuscript is a collection of 97 tunes, of which at least half are to be found in Scottish sources. Many of these are scored for what appears to be two violins (or violin and flute) and cello. The results of this research will be published in 2006 by the Centre for Manx Studies in its Research Report series, in collaboration with the Manx Heritage Foundation.
- <sup>10</sup> Fenella Crowe Bazin, ' "Mylecharaine": A Forgotten Call to Nationhood' in *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*, ed. Ian Russell and David Atkinson (Aberdeen: Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, 2004); and ' "The Promised Land": Music in the Isle of Man as a Weapon for Social, Political and Religious Reform in the 19th Century', in *Islands: Dream and Reality*, ed. P. J. Davey, A. Hamer and F. C. Bazin (forthcoming).
- <sup>11</sup> Bazin, 1995, p. 225–38.
- <sup>12</sup> Bazin, 1995, p. 225–38.
- <sup>13</sup> John Quine, *The Captain of the Parish* (London: William Heinemann, 1897), p. 346.
- <sup>14</sup> *Isle of Man Examiner*, 24 December 1926, p. 8.
- <sup>15</sup> For example, *The Northern Illinois University Winds and Percussion*, Vol. 2, Music Educator's DR Inc. CD, DIDX 035719, 1995.
- <sup>16</sup> For example, The Beehive Band, *Hymns, Songs and Fiddle Tunes of the Utah Pioneers*, Honeybee Recordings, CD HBCD3024-1, 1997.
- <sup>17</sup> Fenella Bazin, *Mona Douglas: A Tribute* (Isle of Man: Manx Heritage Foundation, 1998), pp. 96–113.
- <sup>18</sup> Dr Clague's Notebooks, Manx Museum Library MSS 448A/448B and J66/7270-3. These have traditionally been attributed to Dr John Clague but recent work by R. C. Carswell (forthcoming) and the author show conclusively that the collection owes its existence to a number of people, including W. H. Gill and his brother Deemster Frederick Gill.
- <sup>19</sup> Examples of their styles can be found on *The Light House: Contemporary Manx Music*, Manx Heritage Foundation, cassette tape MHFC4, 1998).

FENELLA BAZIN *'Fiddles at dawn': the three ages of Manx fiddle music*

- <sup>20</sup> Of particular importance was the recording made by Mactullagh Vannin, cassette tape, Dirt Music, 1986. This was a seminal recording which was to profoundly influence succeeding generations of Manx musicians. The group has recently re-formed and reissued most of the tracks, plus an additional six, under the title *Twisted Roots*, Manx Heritage Foundation MHF CD4, Isle of Man, 2004.

## English fiddling 1650-1850: reconstructing a lost idiom

PAUL E. W. ROBERTS

The popular dance music of pre-Victorian England was dominated by the fiddle and a repertoire of jigs, reels, and hornpipes, similar to the one we now associate with Scottish and Irish tradition. This rich musical culture was largely swept away in the middle decades of the nineteenth century by a wave of new music: from brass bands and accordions to imported ballroom dances.

Sources for this older music are fragmentary and limited. Period art and literature contains scattered information. Recording and documentation of twentieth-century English fiddlers was minimal but what there is contains much of relevance. The hundreds of country dance collections published between 1650 and 1850 are an invaluable source, though they were largely aimed at professionals working the gentry market and only document a limited area of vernacular music making.

Above all, the manuscript tune collections compiled by some of the old fiddlers themselves open a very direct window into the world of pre-Victorian fiddling, though even this source has limitations, in particular a strong social, regional, and chronological bias. These books were typically the work of a distinctive minority (a working-class elite of independent craftsmen), they mostly come from the north, and they date overwhelmingly to the very end of our era, in particular the twenty years from around 1820 to 1840. The contents – when compared to the handful of eighteenth-century manuscripts, or to various literary references to the repertoire of country fiddlers – suggest a music heavily defined by time and social group. Moreover, we should not automatically equate the music of these respectable artisans with the music of the archetypal fiddler of period art and literature, an altogether much more disreputable character.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, by careful use of all available sources we can still find out a lot about pre-Victorian English fiddling. In particular, I believe it is possible to pinpoint the key elements from which period fiddle styles would have drawn, and to stage by stage reconstruct an archetype.

### **Part 1: The reconstruction**

#### *Instrument and stance*

For most of this period the violin itself was a different instrument to the one we

know, its neck shorter and angled differently, the bass bar lighter, the soundpost thinner, the bridge flatter. It used gut strings and lacked the chin rest. The bow was shorter and straighter. Nor was it held in the modern stance. It was held against the chest or shoulder or under either side of the chin, typically sloping downwards, and gripping with the left hand not the chin. The bow was held with a variety of different grips, and it seems some fiddlers moved the violin as well as the bow, a technique probably inherited from the medieval fiddle.<sup>2</sup>

### *Tuning*

Also inherited from the medieval fiddle were several alternative tunings, in particular ADAE, AEAE, and AEAC#. Although these so-called 'cross-tunings' seriously restrict the choice of key, they have definite advantages for the dance player – increasing volume, making fingering easier, and adding harmonic colour. It is hard to estimate how common and widespread the practice of cross-tuning was. The old collections are probably not a good guide, because cross-tuning presents problems of notation, fiddlers might see no need to specifically refer to it, and the books reflect the most progressive fiddling of the time. Such archaic pre-violin techniques would probably be most common where they would be least documented – lower down the social scale, in remoter districts, and further back in time (they are certainly commoner in the older collections). I would tentatively suggest a similar situation to twentieth-century Appalachia, with the most old-fashioned players habitually using cross-tunings, many fiddlers using them occasionally, and the most progressive fiddlers hardly using them at all.<sup>3</sup>

### *Bowing – tone*

Modern classical bowing is heavily concerned with tone and precision, seeking a rather rich tone and a clean overall sound. The dance fiddler has different priorities – rhythm, energy, and volume – and twentieth-century fiddlers in England and elsewhere tended to use a fairly heavy, dynamic attack, producing a hard, thin tone and often a rather 'dirty' sound. This was probably as true of the eighteenth century as of the twentieth. Where the old fiddlers gave any conscious attention to tone, they would presumably have followed the model of baroque art violin, the human voice.<sup>4</sup>

### *Bowing patterns*

Bowings are often marked in the old tune books, and it seems that in their pursuit of rhythm, fiddlers used a number of distinct bowing patterns, in particular the one American fiddlers call the 'Nashville shuffle'. This pattern may have been as basic to old-time English fiddling as it still is to old-time Anglo-American fiddling. Imagine a common-time tune divided throughout into groups of four quavers: the first two notes in each group are played on one bow stroke, the next two on separate strokes, giving a flowing but driving feel with an accent on the offbeat.<sup>5</sup>

Also very common was the repeated two-note slur – in a group of four quavers one and two are slurred together, then three and four, and so on. This

pattern was used for 3/2 as well as common-time tunes. An important variant of this was used in playing dotted or 'Newcastle style' hornpipes. In a basic group of four notes, the first is played on a separate bow, then 2 and 3 slurred, then 4 and 5, and so on. Several twentieth-century English fiddlers were recorded using this pattern on undotted tunes as well, where the short pause between the slurs gives a choppy, lightly syncopated feel. Although the books rarely give instructions as to bow direction, when playing dotted hornpipes, it seems, the natural down-up pattern would sometimes be reversed.<sup>6</sup>

Bowings are less commonly notated with jigs, which is probably significant. The commonest figure we find is a 6/8 variant of the Nashville shuffle. In the basic group of three quavers, the first two or last two are slurred. Sometimes we find passages where all three quavers are slurred, giving a rather sensuous feel, and toning down the characteristic bounciness of 6/8. Occasionally whole tunes make heavy use of these devices but in general they seem to occur in short passages and to have been more a form of passing decoration. My impression is that jigs were largely played with one bow stroke per note, and it may be significant that in the USA such bowing is sometimes called 'jig bow', whatever the time signature.<sup>7</sup>

### ***Bowing – chordal decoration***

The playing of drones and double-stops was fundamental to the medieval fiddle: some were even built with sympathetic drone strings. Many twentieth-century English fiddlers also played with a continual drone or used heavy double-stopping. So this was almost certainly an important feature of the centuries in between. We cannot, however, presume all fiddlers always played this way. The Italian single-string sonata style must have come over with the violin and been adopted by some players. Some of the more complex music in the old books (variation sets, competition hornpipes, tunes in flat keys) would not only be difficult to play with heavy double-stopping, they would lose clarity. In twentieth-century England heavy 'droners' rarely played the more complex hornpipes, while single-string players showed an equally strong predilection for them, paralleling the American distinction between drone-inclined 'breakdown fiddlers' and single-string inclined 'hornpipe' fiddlers. I would suggest that the use of drones or heavy double-stopping was very common, but that the more progressive or technically advanced players probably tended towards single-string playing.<sup>8</sup>

### ***Fingering – melodic decoration***

Twentieth-century English fiddlers were very sparing in their use of grace notes, but it is clear that some pre-Victorian players made extensive use of a wide variety of gracings, including long semi-quaver runs between melody notes, the movement the Scots call the *birl* (the same note bowed rapidly several times), and a series of decorations that were shared with period art music, in particular the *mordent* (made by playing the main note and an adjacent note before the melody note), the *turn* (the

same figure as the modern Irish *roll*, played by hitting first the note above then the note below the melody note), and the *shake* or *trill* (the repeated beating of the note above, or sometimes below, the melody note). Vibrato in this period was regarded as a variant of the trill and only used as an occasional decoration. In general, these gracings seem to have been performed fairly fast, but contemporary accounts make plain they could be given a variety of speeds. Played slowly or between notes they start to become indistinguishable from the long semi-quaver runs that also figure prominently in the old books. Different gracings were also spliced together to extremely elaborate effect – the shake was often resolved in a turn for example.<sup>9</sup>

Traditional musicians tend to use gracings spontaneously and inconsistently and we cannot expect the old tune books to show the true levels of decoration. The reality was probably a range from very plain to very elaborate, encompassing a variety of regional styles, themselves subject to family and individual preferences. But there is no doubt that some old English fiddlers used extremely elaborate decoration because there still exist some early mechanical organs that were programmed to imitate them: as close to a time machine with a tape recorder as we can get. Some of these use complex gracings and long semi-quaver runs almost to the point of arrhythmic clutter, a style of playing which has survived into the twenty-first century in the hands of the Clough school of small-piping.<sup>10</sup>

### *Melodic variation*

Runs could be seen as a form of melodic variation rather than as grace-noting, and were very much a feature of the long variation set – elaborate multi-part variations on a melody or its chord structure, typically containing around 6 to 12 strains, though 20 or more were not unknown. Such variations were often called ‘divisions’ because one basic technique was to divide up the notes of the melody. Division playing was widespread up to around the mid-eighteenth century, but sets still occur in nineteenth-century fiddle manuscripts and the form has survived amongst small-pipers into the present day.

Our concern is with style not repertoire. What brings the variation set within our remit is the importance of improvisation. Sets were often standardized, written down, and memorized, but at the heart of the form lay spontaneous improvisation. In the seventeenth century several ‘idiot’s guides’ were published to help the less talented fake this. These describe a phenomenon very like jazz. We learn that several fiddlers might improvise together Dixieland style, or take breaks in Swing style. One book describes the practice of calling out ‘breve’ very like the jazz practice of calling ‘fours’ where each player takes four bars in turn. Sometimes variations were improvised over an extempore bass line without reference to a specific melody. Even the language used has uncanny echoes – when the seventeenth-century composer Mathew Locke refers to ‘the tearing of a consort into pieces with divisions, an old custom of our country fiddlers’, I can almost hear Bob Wills shouting ‘tear it up boys!’<sup>11</sup>



### *Some extremes of variation*

Beyond the melodic variation set lies the playing of descriptive variation sets like 'The Fox Chase'. These are sometimes referred to, but rarely notated, presumably because of their dependence on improvisation, trick effects, and a cavalier attitude to conventional structure and rhythm. The latter could be brought to bear on simpler pieces too. Twentieth-century English fiddlers were very given to adding colour to ordinary dance tunes with both light syncopation and what the Americans call 'crooked' playing – deliberately interfering with conventional structure by cutting or adding notes, bars or longer passages. Both syncopation and crookedness are reasonably common in the old manuscripts, and given that they were compiled by the most formally educated and hence probably the most rigid players, these techniques may have been even more common than the books suggest – particularly syncopation, which is both very amenable to spontaneous introduction and notoriously difficult to notate.<sup>12</sup>

### *The stave*

Staff notation is designed to give explicit instructions in the areas of key, mode, metre, tempo, and accenting. Many of the stylistic subtleties that distinguish the playing of one individual or region from another lie in these areas and here the stave is rather a crude tool. It tells us that English fiddlers played mostly in G, D, A and the easy minors and in first position, but that during our period the use of harder keys like C, F, Bb, E, Cm, and Gm and experimentation with second and third position became increasingly common, paralleling developments in art music – in which some fiddlers were clearly very interested.<sup>13</sup> They played in a variety of metres including 6/4, 9/4, 3/2, 3/8, and 12/8 as well as the more familiar 6/8, 9/8, 4/4, 2/4 and 3/4, and they were not as averse to changing the metre, mode, or tempo of a specific melody as seems the case today. And, if the stave does not reveal the subtle differences in accenting and phrasing that are an important feature of personal and regional style, it does reveal some not so subtle ones like the use of the 'Scotch snap' (which in written music appears in England almost one hundred years before Scotland) and the evolution in parts of the north of the dotted or 'clog' hornpipe in a process analogous to the evolution of the strathspey-reel in Scotland.<sup>14</sup>

### *The archetype*

Having outlined some common and widespread features of pre-Victorian English fiddle style, perhaps we can put them together to describe an archetype – a kind of composite English fiddler of around 200 years ago.

He held his fiddle against the chest or shoulder or under either side of the chin, sloping downwards and gripping with the left hand, and using various bow grips. He used both standard tuning and cross-tunings. He played mainly in G, D, and A, and in first position, but sometimes utilized both the harder keys and shifting. He used a variety of bowing patterns, especially the 'Nashville shuffle' and both the repeated two-note slur and its 'Newcastle' variant. He made plentiful use of drones

and double-stops, but was familiar with the single-string sonata style, especially for the more complex pieces. He decorated with an impressive mix of gracings including the birl, the *mordent*, the turn, the shake, and long semi-quaver runs that at times almost broke up the rhythm. Sometimes he liked to play a bit crooked or to throw in a little syncopation. He played with a greater variety of time signatures than today and with probably a more flexible attitude to metre, tempo, rhythm, and accenting. He also delighted in the playing of divisions or long variation sets: if good enough he would spontaneously improvise his variations, sometimes in a jazz-like small group context. And, if he was of a progressive bent, he maintained a certain interest in art music and its techniques.

In modern terms this sounds remarkably like a hybrid of older-style Appalachian, western Irish, and Scots fiddle styles, which, it seems to me, has important implications, transcending the parochial concerns of English musical antiquarianism.

## **Part 2: 'And beyond'**

Not only are many of the stylistic features outlined in this discussion still to be found in related traditions, to some extent they now demarcate the boundaries between them. Turns, mordents, and trills are now seen as peculiarly Irish; the birl, the snap, and a respect for classical aesthetic and technique as distinctively Scots; the Nashville shuffle bow, cross-tuning, the heavy use of drones and double-stopping, and a fondness for crookedness, syncopation, and improvisation, as archetypally American. Given that all these features can be found in pre-Victorian English fiddling, it begins to appear almost as a 'missing link'.

In the eighteenth century, England was one of the most densely populated countries in the world; around 80% of Britons were English, white Americans were probably around 70% English in origin, and an Irish population around half that of England included a substantial minority of fairly recent English origin.<sup>15</sup> Thus the English must have played a central and influential role in this music that is hard to imagine nowadays, and probably did have a greater variety of fiddle techniques and styles than their neighbours. But demographics are not the whole story. On closer examination it seems that a certain standardization and simplification has been taking place in Irish, Scots, and American fiddling over the last 200 years and that many of the stylistic features outlined here in an old English context were once fairly widespread and general – often well beyond the Anglo-Celtic world.

The stance was common to Europe during the Baroque era, among art violinists as well as fiddlers, and aspects of it still survive in many areas of Europe and America.<sup>16</sup> The main cross-tunings and the 'Nashville shuffle' bowing pattern were not only known in several other European traditions, they were used in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European art music.<sup>17</sup> Droning and double-stopping are widespread features of vernacular bowed instrumental technique throughout the world, and were formerly more common in both Irish and Scots music than today.<sup>18</sup> Turns, *mordents*, trills and other gracings were shared with both baroque art violin

and several European vernacular traditions.<sup>19</sup> The birl was common to the entire British Isles and was formerly common in America.<sup>20</sup> Decorative runs are also common in old Scots collections and are still used by some Irish players.<sup>21</sup> The 'Scotch snap' was found throughout Europe, sometimes with similar regional associations (in France and Italy it was the 'Lombard snap'), which are probably just metaphors for archaism and rusticity.<sup>22</sup> Respect for classical aesthetic and technique has always existed among the more progressive fiddlers everywhere.<sup>23</sup> Long variation sets are found in old Irish and Scots collections too and there are many European parallels, while syncopation, crookedness and improvisation are found throughout the world. Indeed, medieval European dance music seems to have been largely improvised, one reason for its scarcity in written sources.<sup>24</sup> It would seem, in fact, that in the past there was a greater degree of commonality than is the case today, particularly within the British Isles and their American colonies, to some extent within Europe generally, and even between art violin and vernacular fiddling.

We can draw lines between human beings anywhere we choose. Whether national frontiers are always the most meaningful places to do so, in the study of popular culture, is questionable. Indeed, the widespread equation of traditional music and national identity seems to me positively misleading. It has not only tended to obscure the kind of supra-national commonality discussed above, it has tended to play down the crucial importance of the sub-national – of regional, local, family, individual, class, and generational differences – and to ignore the reality of distinctive cultural regions that straddle the frontiers, like the Anglo-Scots border country and the 'Bristol channel zone' of south-west England, south Wales, and south-east Ireland. This is not to deny the reality of a national dimension, but 'National' fiddle style should perhaps be seen as the sum total of all the varied styles found within a given political border rather than as something monolithic, homogenous, static, self-contained, and totally unique.

This paper has examined in detail the main stylistic features of English fiddling in the pre-Victorian era, and has given, I hope, some idea of its richness and variety. It may seem perverse to turn round at the end and emphasize the areas of wider commonality, but it is time scholars started biting this particular bullet. Political and other boundaries have never stopped fiddlers from extending and developing their music, and, unless we follow their example, our understanding of their music will always be partial and stunted.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The Village Music Project website ([www.village-music-project.org.uk](http://www.village-music-project.org.uk), hereafter VMP) contains a large number of these manuscripts and some printed collections and is currently the single most important resource for anyone studying historical English fiddle music. The following tune collections have also been consulted: Private Collection, Unattributed Fiddle Manuscript (Staffordshire, c. 1810-40); School of Scottish Studies, John Rook MS (Carlisle, c. 1840); *The Ironbridge Hornpipe: A Shropshire Tune Collection from John Moore's Manuscripts*, ed. by Gordon Ashman (Blyth: Dragonfly Music, 1991); *The*

- Complete Country Dance Tunes from Playford's Dancing Master (1651- c.1728)*, ed. by Jeremy Barlow (London: Faber Music, 1985); *Tunes, Songs & Dances from the 1798 Manuscript of Joshua Jackson, North Yorkshire Cornmillier and Musician*, ed. Bowen and Shepherd (Ilkley: Yorkshire Dales Workshops, 1998); *The Dorchester Hornpipe: Thirty Four Country Dance Tunes from the Manuscript Music Books of Thomas Hardy*, ed. Joan Brocklebank (Dorset County Museum, 1977); *Old English Country Dances Gathered from Scarce Printed Collections and from Manuscripts*, ed. Frank Kidson (London: William Reeves, 1890; repr. Louth: Celtic Music, 1983); *The Joseph Kershaw Manuscript: The Music of a 19<sup>th</sup> Century Saddleworth Fiddle Player*, ed. Jamie Knowles ([UK]: Inwac, 1993); *A Sussex Tune Book*, ed. Anne Loughran and Vic Gammon (London: English Folk Dance and Song Society, 1982); Thomas Marsden, *A Collection of Original Lancashire Hornpipes Old and New Containing Divisions upon Each* (London: Henry Playford, 1705); *Lawrence Leadley the Fiddler of Helperby: The Life and Music of a Yorkshire Fiddler*, ed. James Merryweather and Matt Seattle (Newbiggin: Dragonfly Music, 1994); *John of the Greeney Cheshire Way: The Famous Double Hornpipes of Lancashire and Cheshire*, ed. John Offord (London: Friends of Folk Music, 1985); John Peacock, *A Favorite Collection of Tunes with Variations Adapted for the Northumberland Small Pipes, Violin or Flute* (Newcastle: W. Wright, c.1805; repr. Newcastle: Northumbrian Pipers Society, 1980); *The Master Piper: Nine Notes that Shook the World, A Border Bagpipe Repertoire Prick'd down by William Dixon AD 1733*, ed. Matt Seattle (Newbiggin: Dragonfly Music, 1995); *Wm. Mittell His Book. Being a Collection of Dancing Tunes for the Flute, Violin, Oboey etc.*, ed. Dave Roberts (Tiverton: Timespan Music, 1993); *The Great Northern Tunebook: William Vickers Collection of Country Dance Music*, ed. Matthew Seattle, 3 vols (Blyth: Dragonfly Music, 1985-87); *Wessex Tune Book: Folk Dances from a Manuscript Book Belonging to the Family of Thomas Hardy*, ed. Elna Sherman, 2 vols (Boston, MA; Schott, 1963); *Lincolnshire Collections Volume 1: The Joshua Gibbons Manuscript*, ed. Peter D. Sumner (Grimsby: Breakfast Publications, 1997); *The Musical Heritage of Thomas Hardy Volume 1*, ed. Roger Trim (Blyth: Dragonfly Music, 1990); *Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1772* (London: Longman, Lukey & Co., 1772); *One Long Whitson Holyday: Country Dance Tunes from an 18<sup>th</sup> Century Northamptonshire Hall*, ed. Richard York (Northampton: Lizard's Music, 1991).
- <sup>2</sup> Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols (London: Macmillan, 1980), XIX, 823-24, 827-28, 831, 833-45; David Cameron, *The English Fair* (Stroud: Sutton, 1998), pp. 44-45, 122; Reg Hall, *I Never Played too Many Posh Dances: Scan Tester Sussex Musician* (Rochford: Musical Traditions, 1990), p. 18; *Musical Traditions*, 8 (1990), 14; *Musical Traditions*, 10 (1992), 19-20; *Traditional Music*, 2 (1975), 21-22; *Musical Traditions*, 3 (1976), 20.
- <sup>3</sup> *New Grove*, VI, 529, XVII, 56-59; Barlow, *Playford's Dancing Master*, pp. 70-7-1, 102; Marsden, *Lancashire Hornpipes*, pp. 2, 27; Offord, *Greeney*, pp. 32, 58, 59, 60; John Playford, *The Division Violin* (London: 1685), no. 1; 'Gregg's Pipes', *24 Country dances for 1772*.
- <sup>4</sup> *New Grove*, XIX, 832; Paul Roberts, 'Facundo Gonzales', *Musical Traditions*, 2 (1984), 29; Mark Wilson, essays accompanying *The Art of Traditional Fiddle*, Rounder Heritage CD 1166-11592-2, 2000; and *The Rover's Return: Traditional Fiddle Music of Cape Breton Vol. 2*, Rounder CD 7038, 2002.
- <sup>5</sup> VMP, Mittell (Kent) MS: WM 017; Moore (Tyneside) MS: JMT 006, 007, 008, 011, 026, 027, 041, 054, 059, 063, 066, 106, 111, 012 [112], 115; Spencer (Leeds) MS: GS 110; Watson (Norfolk) MS: GHW 060-064, 070, 078; Ashman, *Ironbridge*, pp. 31, 47; Bowen, *Jackson*, p. 57; Merryweather, *Leadley*, pp. 35, 36, 39; Sherman, *Wessex*, I, 10, 12, *Wessex*, II, 1, 4; Trim, *Hardy*, no. 43; 'A Professional Player' [William Honeyman], *The Violin: How to Master It*

*Play It Like It Is: Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic*

- (Edinburgh: Honeyman, 1892), Ch. 9; David Reiner, *Anthology of Fiddle Styles* (Pacific, MO: Mel Bay, 1979), p. 13.
- <sup>6</sup> VMP, Winder (Lancashire) MS: JWDM 09, 44; Ashman, *Ironbridge*, p. 26; Bowen, *Jackson*, pp. 18, 31; Honeyman, *The Violin*, Ch. 9; Merryweather, *Leadley*, pp. 55, 56; Marsden, *Lancashire Hornpipes*, pp. 1-30; Jim Rutherford, 'Corn Rigs', in *North Country Rants and Reels*, Folktracks Cassette FCS-60-121, 1977; Stephen Baldwin: *English Village Fiddler*, Leader LP LED 2068, 1976; Harry Lee, 'The Breakdown', in *Boscastle Breakdown: Southern English Country Music*, Topic LP 12T240, 1974.
- <sup>7</sup> Alan Kaufman, *Beginning Old Time Fiddle* (New York: Oak Publications, 1977), p. 29.
- <sup>8</sup> *New Grove*, VI, 529, XIX, 832-33; Stephen Baldwin: *English Village Fiddler; A Devonshire Fiddler: Local Village Country Dances Fred Pidgeon of Stockland*, Folktracks Cassette FSA087, 1975; *The Earl Soham Slog*, Topic LP 12TS374, 1978.
- <sup>9</sup> VMP, Barnes (Cumbria) MS: Notes/Carlisle Fiddle Tutor, CFT 07, 10, 35, 43, 45, 49, 53, 66, 83, 84; Fox (East Yorkshire) MS: CJF 188; Jackson (Lancashire) MS: HSJ 015, 027, 119, 120, 133, 143, 163, 175; Mittell (Kent) MS: WM 086, 090, 108, 129; Moore (Tyneside) MS: JMT 030, 048, 094; Tildsely (Lancashire) MS: TLY 031, 033, 037, 038, 044, 079; David Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century* (Edinburgh: John Donald, [1984]), p. 31; Frederick Niecks, *Dictionary of Musical Terms* (London: Augener, [1884]), pp. 38-53; Peacock, *A Favorite Collection*, nos. 10, 24, 26, 27, 29, 35, 36, 37, 39; Seattle, *Vickers*, I, nos. 31, 34, 37, 43, 49, 74, 75, 94, 156, 161, 181, 196; York, *Whitson Holyday*, nos. 1-22.
- <sup>10</sup> C. J. Ormston and J. Say, *The Clough Family of Newsham: 200 years of Northumbrian Piping* (Newcastle: Northumbrian Pipers' Society, 2000); *Golden Age of Mechanical Music*, Vol. 2: *Parry's Barrel Organ*, Saydisc LP SDL234, 1973; Tom Clough, 'Holey Ha'penny', 'The Keel Row', in *Holey Ha'penny: Classic Recordings of Traditional Music from the North-east of England*, Topic LP 12T283, 1976.
- <sup>11</sup> VMP, Barnes (Cumbria) MS: CFT 10, 21, 26, 41; Fox (East Yorkshire) MS: CJF 102, 112, 182; Moore (Tyneside) MS: JMT 018, 024, 070, 083, 108; School of Scottish Studies, John Rook (Carlisle) MS; *New Grove*, V, 509-11; Ashman, *Ironbridge*, p. 8; Francis Collinson, *Traditional and National Music of Scotland* (London: Routledge, 1966), p. 243; Marsden, *Lancashire Hornpipes*, pp. 1-30; Merryweather, *Leadley*, p. 48; Ormston & Say, *Clough Family*; Peacock, *A Favorite Collection*, pp. 1-24; John Playford, *The Division Violin* (London: 1684); Seattle, *Dixon*; Christopher Simpson, *The Division Violist* (London, 1659); Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 5 vols (London: T. Payne, 1776; reprint in 2 vols, New York: Dover, 1963), see 'Yellow Stockings' at [www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/YEL\\_YM.htm](http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/YEL_YM.htm).
- <sup>12</sup> VMP, Browne (Cumbria) MSS: BF13 005, 024 [ignore editing], 049; Mittell (Kent) MS: WM 006; Moore (Tyneside) MS: JMT 108; Spencer (Leeds) MS: GS 035; York, *Whitson Holyday*, no. 14; Harry Lee, 'Flowers of Edinburgh', in *Boscastle Breakdown*; Walter Bulwer, 'Off She Goes', in *English Country Music*, Topic LP 12T 296, 1976.
- <sup>13</sup> VMP, Moore (Tyneside) MS: JMT 001, 014, 028, 035, 036, 038, 042, 049, 054, 082, 083, 012 [112], 117, 122; Spencer (Leeds) MS 086-88; Ashman, *Ironbridge*, nos. 2a, 2b, 37a, 38, 44a, 44b, 46, 51-54, 55b, 64, 65a, 69b, 70-71, 76, 77, 81-83a, 85a, 94-95, 96-97, 104, 111a; Bowen, *Jackson*, pp. 71-72; Merryweather, *Leadley*, nos. 19, 25, 31, 32, 34, 37, 38, 40, 45, 67, 81, 88, 92, 94, 96-101, 103, 104, 116, 120.
- <sup>14</sup> VMP, Spencer (Leeds) and Watson (Norfolk) MSS; *New Grove*, XVII, 67-68; Barlow, *Playford*, p. 10; Honeyman, *The Violin*, Ch. 9; Merryweather, *Leadley*, pp. 28-40; *Ryan's Mammoth Collection* (Boston: Howe, 1883; repr. ed. P. Sky, Pacific, MO: Mel Bay, 1995), pp. 119-160 (pp. 154-160); Seattle, *Vickers*, III, 'conclusion'.

- <sup>15</sup> Donald Akenson, Forrest & Ellen McDonald, and Thomas Purvis, 'The Population of the United States, 1790: A Symposium', *William and Mary Quarterly*, series 3, 41 (1984), 85-135; American Council of Learned Societies, 'Report of Committee on Linguistic and National Stocks in the Population of the United States', in *Annual Report for the Year 1931* (Washington DC: American Historical Association, 1932); repr. as *Surnames in the United States Census of 1790: An Analysis of National Origins of the Population* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1969), pp. 107-25; Bureau of the Census [USA], *A Century of Population Growth from the First Census of the United States to the Twelfth* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), Ch. XI; Nicholas P. Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580-1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Nicholas P. Canny, 'The Marginal Kingdom: Ireland as a Problem in the First British Empire', in *Strangers Within the Realm*, ed. Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), pp. 35-66; John Davies, *A History of Wales* (London: Penguin, 1994), p. 315; David H. Fischer, *Albion's Seed* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 609, note 9; T. W. Freeman, *Pre-Famine Ireland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 15, 50; B. J. Graham and L. J. Proudfoot, *A Historical Geography of Ireland* (London: Academic Press, 1993), pp. 123-57, 160, 194-5, 399-438; E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *A Population History of England 1541-1871* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 527-35, 563-87.
- <sup>16</sup> *New Grove*, XIX, 823-4, 833; *Musical Traditions*, 2, (1984), 27; *Musical Traditions*, 3 (1984), 3; *Musical Traditions*, 6 (1986), 55, 61; *Musical Traditions*, 10 (1992), 8, 11, 26, 34, 47, 48, 55; *Transylvania: The Band Plays On*, Nigel Finch and Anthony Wall, directors, BBC, 1991; Wilson, *Traditional Fiddle*; Wilson, *The Rover's Return*.
- <sup>17</sup> *New Grove*, XVII, pp. 56-59; Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music*, Ch. 4; Collinson, *National Music*, p. 227; Wilson, *Rover's Return*; *The Gow Collection of Scottish Dance Music*, ed. Richard Carlin (New York: Oak, 1986), nos. 240, 255; Honeyman, *The Violin*, Ch. 9; *Selected Duets for Flute, Vol. 1*, ed. Himie Voxman, Educational Library No. 177 (Miami: Rubank, [n.d.]), pieces by Devienne, Geminiani, and Anon; *Tom Hughes and His Border Fiddle: Fiddle Music from the Scottish Borders*, Springthyme LP SPR 1005, 1981. The earliest use of the Nashville shuffle I have found so far is in the work of the great baroque violinist Francesco Geminiani (1687-1762): see Voxman.
- <sup>18</sup> Roberts, 'Gonzales'; Patrick Kelly, 'Foxhunter's Reel', in *Ceol an Chlár Vol 1: Traditional Fiddle Music from West Clare, c. 1980*. CCE LP CL17; Pat White, 'I'm Leaving Tipperary' and Packie Dolan, 'Grove Hornpipe', in *Farewell to Old Ireland: Music of the Early Irish Immigrants Recorded in the U.S.A.*, Proper Records CD Properbox 3, 1999; *The De'il in the Kitchen: Auld Scots Fiddle Music*, Folktracks Cassette FSC60, 1978.
- <sup>19</sup> Frederick Niecks, *A Concise Dictionary of Musical Terms* (London: Augener, [1884]), pp. 38-53.
- <sup>20</sup> John Geoghegan, *The Compleat Tutor for the Pastoral or New Bagpipe...* (London: Longman, Lukey & Co., [c.1775]), p. 7; National Library of Scotland, Skene MS, Adv 5.2.21; Mark Wilson, 'Producer's Note', in Dwight Lamb, *Joseph Won a Coated Fiddle*, Rounder CD 0429, 1999.
- <sup>21</sup> NLS, Skene MS; Carlin, *Gow Collection*; Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music*; *O'Farrells Pocket Companion for the Irish or Union Pipes...adapted for the Pipes, Flute, Flageolet and Violin* (London: Goulding [c. 1810]; repr. Pat Sky: Chapel Hill NC, 1999); Patrick Kelly, 'Banish Misfortune', in *Ceol an Chlár*.
- <sup>22</sup> *New Grove*, XVII, 67-68.
- <sup>23</sup> Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music*, pp. 1-13; Sky, *Ryan's Mammoth Collection*, pp. 174-76; Wilson, *The Rover's Return*.

*Play It Like It Is: Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic*

- <sup>24</sup> NLS, Skene MS; *New Grove*, XIX, 833, 847; Collinson, *National Music*, pp. 205-206; Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music*, Chs 1-3, 7; *O'Farrells Pocket Companion*; Breandan Breathnach, *Folk Music and Dances of Ireland*, rev. edn (Cork: Mercier Press, 1996), p. 33.

## Unravelling the birl: using basic computer technology to understand traditional fiddle decorations

STUART EYDMANN

Traditional fiddle music written down in conventional Western musical notation only provides a guide to how the music is actually played. Similarly, written descriptions of technical and stylistic characteristics of a performance can help supplement the musical score but can only go so far in recording or communicating what is actually happening. In Scotland, however, the unrivalled heritage of notated and published traditional fiddle music, which was supported by an early and popular high level of musical literacy, has had long term implications for both the transmission and the content of the music involved. Consequently, for many musicians the printed page takes precedence. Through paper-centred education, formal recitals, recording, broadcasting, and competitions, notes written on staves have come to define the ‘authorized’ and to dictate the assumed ‘traditional’ ways of doing things.

A recent example from my own experience bears this out. I agreed to give a few informal fiddle lessons to a friend, a highly competent musician who has come to the fiddle after a conventional violin education. Like many late learners, he is highly enthusiastic, questions everything, and is keen to learn from any source available. He came to me because he was having trouble playing birls. The birl is a common decoration in Scottish traditional instrumental music, a motif of three short successive notes of the same pitch that is normally notated as two semi-quavers followed by a quaver (see Figure 1).



**Figure 1** The Birl

The student had all the printed resources he needed, and was making progress, but was unable get the birls to sound as he wanted; something was lost between the page and the player. He had also listened to a wide range of fiddlers, but how the birl actually sounded eluded him. The players’ performances also complicated how he perceived the birls, since the musicians often added birls which were not



written down, or substituted individual notes for birls which were actually printed in the music. My friend's musical training had given him no preparation for this state of affairs, and although he could accurately sight-read at speed, that was of little assistance. I found that only by playing the birl for him on the fiddle was I able to communicate at least one way of performing it.

This experience provided the impetus for the present research, concerning how the birl might be explained and understood, and how this, and other, micro-elements of traditional fiddle performing style might be examined in order to provide insights into wider themes.

### **The birl**

In the Scottish fiddle tradition, when the birl commonly appears within a melody the figure is often referred to as a 'birlin' [birling] note. Some Scottish fiddlers prefer the term 'shiver', which no doubt reflects the bowing action employed, perhaps related to the 'shake', an eighteenth-century term for a trill.

The birl also occurs as 'gracings', extra notes which the player can interpolate at will, in order to ornament, vary by substitution, or otherwise add interest to their playing. Since the figure is sounded very quickly, it slips into the melody without noticeably disrupting the pulse of the music, and brings liveliness and variety to it.

This does raise the problem of description: that is, whether or not such notes should be classed as ornaments in the classical sense, as additions or embellishments to a given melody. In the fiddling and piping traditions the boundaries between the melody and the ornamentation are often blurred. With the pipes, in particular, the gracings have often become thought of as, or required to be, indistinguishable from the tune itself. Many performers who have learned the music by ear, and many listeners, may not think in terms of melody and ornamentation being separate, but, instead, perceive the piece as a complete sequence of notes.

In some ways, the onomatopoeic term birl, with (in Scots) a rolled 'r', suggests the rapidly repeating notes involved in the performed figure. Birl in Scots also means 'to revolve rapidly, to whirl round, dance; make a rattling or whirring sound' (*Concise Scots Dictionary*). The word may also be a portmanteau form, blending 'birr' and 'whirl'. According to the prevailing dialect it can be pronounced as 'birl', 'birel', 'burrel' or other variants. In North America 'birling' is a lumberjack's term, probably imported from Scotland, for the sport of balancing on, and spinning, floating logs. As a gracing, the birl also exists in the bagpipe tradition. On the Scottish great Highland bagpipe, repeated notes are not possible on an open ended chanter (the fingering pipe) without introducing shorter notes of a different pitch between them, due to the continuous column of air produced by the bag. As a consequence, standardized fingerings provide groups of grace notes of different pitches, to more easily solve this technical problem. The piper's birl is a particularly distinct gracing involving the repetition or 'doubling' of the low A by twice sounding rapidly the low G note, the lowest of the chanter scale, before each A using the little finger of the lower hand.

In a well-executed birl one should hear a crisp rippling sound not unlike the 'trrr...' produced with a rolled tongue, and the playing of a birl is often taken as a measure of a piper's mastery of the instrument.

Fiddlers who follow the pipe tradition can, consciously or subconsciously, imitate the sound of the pipes in appropriate pieces through the use of birls on the A string. Being an open string, the possibility of fingering ornamentation with lower and higher notes is limited and therefore the birl is sounded through bowing. It is fascinating to speculate on where it was heard first – on fiddle, pipes or even through Gaelic or Scots speech patterns – and how it came into the native idiom, although the bagpipe seems to offer the strongest case. David Johnson argues for the bagpipes:

Fiddle and pipe birls are certainly historically connected, though it is not clear which instrument copied the effect from which. It is noticeable, however, that fiddle birls occur almost exclusively in 'pipe style' pieces up to 1750 or so. One of the pieces in 'Bagpipe humour' in the Skene manuscript of 1717, for example – *Cauld Kail* in Aberdeen – is given with three different versions of the 2nd strain, and two of these contain birls.<sup>1</sup>

Johnson goes on to note that Skene's comments (between the lines of music) suggest that fiddlers were still experimenting with birls at that time. Elsewhere, Mary Anne Alburger has shown how the birl has long been linked to the music of the Highlands when she notes the high frequency of the figure in Angus Cumming's *Collection of Strathspeys or Old Highland Reels of 1780*, the first collection published by a person from Strathspey, where, the publisher claimed, 'this species of Scottish music is preserved in the greatest purity'.<sup>2</sup>

In considering the origin and absorption of the birl I am drawn to Hugh Cheape's suggestion<sup>3</sup> that our traditional dance music may have developed in Medieval times from a common stock of native motifs, figures, fragments and phrases used spontaneously by the early pipers to construct or improvise highly personal 'tunes' on the spot in a manner still found in some Eastern European cultures. Thus the birl could have been just one of a number of structural motifs which, over time, became fixed in individual melodies, and also survived as ornaments. This concept might also help account for the great similarity of a number of early dance tunes and the occurrence of the same motifs in many traditional airs.

As part of the basic building-blocks of the Scottish tradition, the birl can also be heard in varying degrees in the fiddling of cultures in close musical contact with Scotland. The birl is not generally identified with the music of Shetland, but it is heard there as an ornament in the playing of some individuals on archive recordings and also present in the melodies of more recent, mainland Scotland, influenced by compositions such as Shetlander Tom Anderson's reel, 'Da Grocer' (see Figure 2).<sup>4</sup>

In Ireland, the birl is heard primarily in the fiddling of the most northern counties, in particular Donegal, but has since passed into wider currency with the



**Figure 2** 'Da Grocer'

development of a generic Irish fiddle style. There, the birl is known as the 'treble' and 'trebling', similar to the 'tripling' found in the bagpipe graces, and now also heard on instruments other than the fiddle. Interestingly, there is an Irish reel, 'The Reel with the Beryl', a version of the tune known in Scotland as 'Drowsy Maggie', recorded from concertina player Elizabeth Crotty of Kilrush, Co. Clare in the 1950s,<sup>5</sup> that presumably takes its name from the Scottish term. Inevitably, birls are also heard in the Scottish bagpipe and Highland repertory of Cape Breton, where birls are termed 'burls', 'cuts', 'da-da-dums', 'doodles', or '*geàrrraidhean*' (Scottish Gaelic for 'cuttings' in pipe music). Some Cape Breton fiddlers on commercial recordings appear to make a special feature of the birls in their playing, and the motif is common in the melodies of recent compositions such as 'The Trip to Windsor'.<sup>6</sup>

Taken together, these examples lead me to suggest that the birl can serve as an indicator of Scottish musical dissemination, one at least as valuable as repertory and tune families whose distribution has been recorded to date. It would be fascinating to investigate the incidence of the birl in other fiddle traditions, particularly those which have not been touched by the Highland bagpipes.

There is ambiguity, though about the birl, since publishers and transcribers of fiddle music, and writers on the subject, do not all agree on the nature and relevance of the figure. Although written as two semi-quavers followed by a quaver, David Johnson rightly points out that this does not properly reflect how the birl is heard, suggesting that it is more akin to two demi-semi quavers and a dotted quaver, and ethnomusicologists such as Peter Cooke and Peggy Duesenberry have found it necessary to write it this way in their transcriptions (see Figure 3).



**Figure 3** Birl as notated by Peter Cooke and Peggy Duesenberry

Then there is the issue of just how the birl should be performed. According to James Scott Skinner (1843-1927) it should be played: 'near the point of the bow... don't grip the bow too tight.'<sup>7</sup> James Hunter states that it is: 'like a little drum roll' and 'is best executed by playing near the point of the bow and giving a subtle flick of a loose wrist'.<sup>8</sup> North-East fiddler Alastair Hardie says that it should be: 'executed

at the point of the bow and with a quivering movement of the hand, the stroke could be likened to an abbreviated form of the tremolando (the rapid reiteration of a note), particularly associated with orchestral string playing).<sup>9</sup> Hardie also recommends 'a slight stiffening of the right fore-arm'.<sup>10</sup> However, David Johnson also writes that 'A fiddle birl is taken in separate bows near the point, the bow moving less than a centimetre each way. As with the bagpipe birl, the listener hears it not as individual notes, but as a kind of ripple.'<sup>11</sup> Of the Cape Breton fiddling tradition, MacGillivray states that the birl:

may be bowed in either of two methods: (1) with alternating up and down strokes of the bow, or (2) with one stroke in a single direction. The most adept fiddlers can 'cut' as effortlessly bowing downwards as they can upward. The best 'cuts' result from the wrist action of the player, not the shoulder motion.<sup>12</sup>

In my opinion, no written description can capture exactly how the birl is bowed, and in any case, no two players I know do it the same way. It is just one of these things in the tradition which is best demonstrated or worked out for oneself after careful observation, listening and guidance.

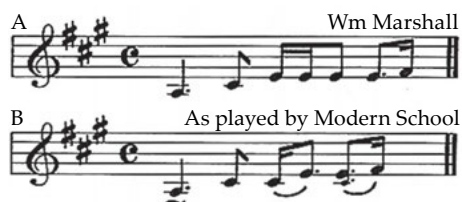
The issue of just when the birl should be used is also problematic. In *The Fiddle Music of Scotland*, Hunter omits the birl from his chapters 'The Scottish Idiom' and 'Hints on Bowing Technique', relegating it to a footnote to a Scott Skinner tune.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, the birl is not included in Collinson's *National and Traditional Music of Scotland*.<sup>14</sup>

Those involved in editing the earliest published collections of fiddle music would no doubt have known and assumed a wide knowledge of traditional practice and would have kept birls to a minimum in the interest of clarity on the printed page, and in the face of the difficulties of accurate notation and the prevailing technical and economic constraints of printing. Most of the collections of Scottish fiddle music currently in print have tended to recycle the settings from older collections with few containing versions taken down from actual contemporary performance. The printed collections have therefore tended to hide the true incidence of the birl in the tradition and, given its absence from the page, those who have learned and taught by the book have come to assume that they are not, and by extension, should not be there.

There is also evidence that the birl was just too traditional for some editors, players, and propagandists who sought to promote a more refined Scottish music. Thus, the revivalists and 'improvers' of the mid-nineteenth century onwards worked to iron out many ornaments and stylistic elements of the tradition they perceived as uncouth. In some cases, the birl was replaced with dotted figures, which were thought more 'modern', more classically 'violinistic' (and therefore better), and perhaps also more North-East in character. Skinner, in his *Guide to Bowing* (c. 1900), attacked the 'doodle' (in the playing of Strathspeys), that common figure where the three notes of the birl are followed by a fourth of the same pitch, as a 'quaint but senseless feature of the past ages':

In the opinion of Peter Milne and other experienced players, this auld-farrant and unnecessary 'jink' is lacking in dignity, and shows poverty of invention. We are improving and find the effect named obsolete, or rather unnecessary, on the ground of tradition. We merely say let the tree roots be left and the branches snedded off so as to give more strength and life. One can have his hair cut without losing his head.<sup>15</sup>

One telling example of Skinner's 'improving' approach was in his reworking of the opening strain of William Marshall's 'The Marquis of Huntly', in order to remove the doodle which 'robs the opening strain of its boldness'. The audacious Skinner described his new version as being of 'the modern school' (see Figure 4).



**Figure 4** The Opening of William Marshall's 'The Marquis of Huntly', as interpreted by James Scott Skinner<sup>16</sup>

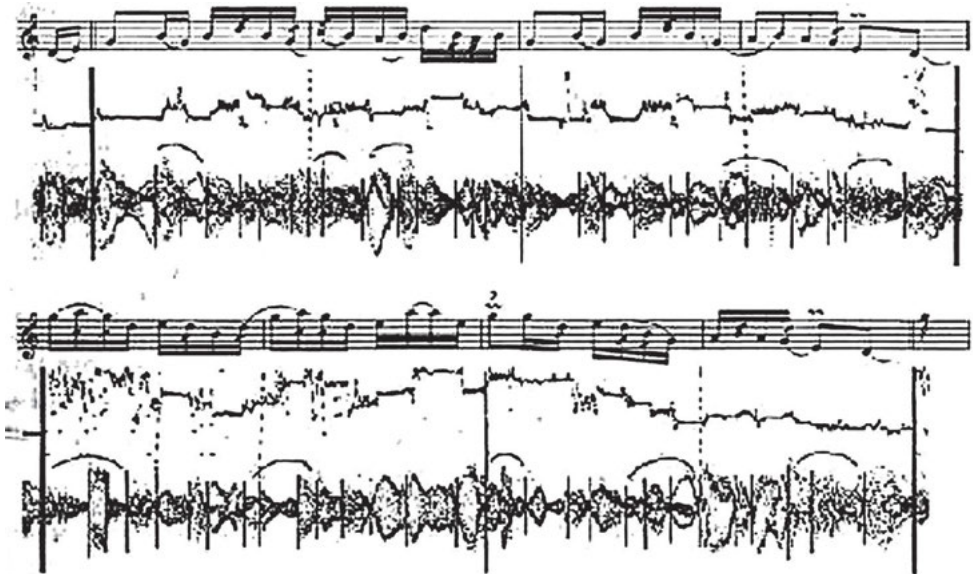
At the same time, Skinner noted that 'the birl is the feature of the best reels' and worked to corral the birl into a class of tunes he called 'birlin' reels, where the figure was allowed to survive as a special feature.<sup>17</sup> In doing so he encouraged the isolation and exaggeration of the birl – preserving it as a kind of musical equivalent of the spiky turrets which typified the historically derived ornamented architecture of the time. Furthermore, playing in concert, as in the emerging reel and strathspey orchestras of his day, there was no place for the heterophony of the communal tavern or kitchen sessions, and, again, the spontaneous, highly individualistic use of the birl was discouraged, or, at best, standardized.

There may be parallels here with the bagpipe world as the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw many of the characteristics of old piping styles ironed out to form a more refined and standardized music backed by publication of authorized versions. This also involved the composition of a new wave of four-part marches and showpiece reels suited to the competition and recital platforms. Consequently, some fiddlers (including Skinner) came self-consciously to adopt, and indeed contribute to, this emerging modern repertory. Thus the fiddle birl, which may have originated on the chanter, came full circle and became firmly re-associated with the music of the pipes.

### **What more can we learn about the birl?**

Although we have recordings and live performances, the speed of the music makes it difficult to trust the human ear and to isolate individual components for comparison

and analysis. From the earliest days of ethnomusicology workers in the field sought mechanical means to aid the transcription, description and comparative analysis of the music under study. Peter Cooke, formerly of the School of Scottish Studies, Edinburgh University, was something of a pioneer in the use of the melograph (see Figure 5) in relation to traditional fiddle music in Scotland. Building on earlier work he had done on Ugandan music, he used the facilities of the University's Department of Linguistics to produce pitch and spectral envelopes of fiddle music which offered graphical comparison with his notated transcriptions. This allowed him to plot the relative duration of individual notes to discuss the infra-rhythmic structure of Shetland fiddling and in particular the characteristic 'lilt' and 'lift' in reel playing.



**Figure 5** Peter Cooke's transcription above melograph print-out<sup>18</sup>

As a postgraduate student of Peter's in the late 1980s, I remember him showing me a print-out of a recording of Irish fiddler Tommie Potts which he had produced in conjunction with Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin's PhD study of the highly individualistic Dublin fiddler.<sup>19</sup> The equipment used was specialized, inflexible, expensive, and wholly inaccessible to the average scholar or player. Fortunately, affordable modern computers and software now allow us many of the same facilities.

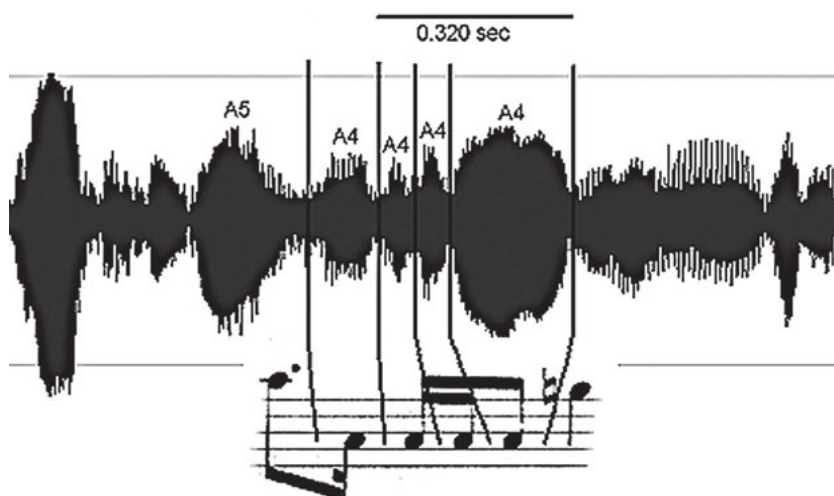
### **Computer analysis**

Using a low specification laptop personal computer running Microsoft Windows 95 and the budget software SoundForge XP, it is possible to record digitally onto the computer's hard disk as a 'wave' file (\*.wav) through the microphone or 'line-in' inputs. The wave form for the recording can be displayed on screen and the file manipulated and analysed in a number of ways.

Looking at a fragment of an early gramophone recording by James Scott Skinner playing his strathspey 'The Devil in the Kitchen'<sup>20</sup> within the computer environment one can, for example:

- Filter out the crackle and hiss of the old recording (although this is best done with other specialist software or appropriate 'plug-ins').
- Home in on an individual bar, phrase, figure or note on screen adjusting the degree of 'zoom' accordingly.
- Isolate the figure under study while discarding the remaining material.
- Loop the playback of the birl for repetitive listening.
- Slow the music down while maintaining the pitch.
- Measure the length of a note or figure with precision.
- Compare relative note lengths.
- Identify bowing changes.
- Read off average relative pitch using the 'statistics' analysis tool.

In Figure 6 we can clearly see that Skinner is actually sounding a birl of proportions closer to 1:1:4 than the 1:1:2 conventionally written in music collections.



**Figure 6** The Birl from James Scott Skinner's recording of 'The Devil in the Kitchen'

## Conclusions

Micro analysis could be a valuable means of understanding musical character and dissemination. The birl is just one of a number of components which can and should be scrutinized. Modern, everyday computers are an accessible resource which could have far reaching possibilities in musical analysis, transcription, and education.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> David Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music in the 18th Century: A Music Collection and Historical Study* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1984), pp. 120-121.

- <sup>2</sup> Mary Anne Alburger, *Scottish Fiddlers and their Music* (London: Gollancz, 1978), p. 76.
- <sup>3</sup> Hugh Cheape, *The Book of the Bagpipe* (Belfast: Appletree, 1999), pp. 39-40.
- <sup>4</sup> Alastair J. Hardie, *The Caledonian Companion* (Woodford Green, Essex: EMI, 1981), p. 76. See also *The Silver Bow: The Fiddle Music of Shetland*, Topic TSCD469, 1995, track 6.
- <sup>5</sup> Michael Tubridy, *Mrs. Crotty of Kilrush*, leaflet (Dublin: Irish Traditional Music Archive, [n.d.]).
- <sup>6</sup> By Dan R. MacDonald, see: [www.thesession.org/tunes/display/1074](http://www.thesession.org/tunes/display/1074). Since presenting this paper I have encountered Kate Dunlay and David Greenberg, *Traditional Celtic Violin Music of Cape Breton: The Dungreen Collection* (Toronto: Dungreen, [c. 1996]), which makes reference to the birl and its execution. Recorded examples of the music in the collection which feature birls can be sampled at: [www.cranfordpub.com/tunes/CapeBreton/Elizabeth'sBigCoat.htm](http://www.cranfordpub.com/tunes/CapeBreton/Elizabeth'sBigCoat.htm), and [www.cranfordpub.com/tunes/CapeBreton/JohnnySullivan.htm](http://www.cranfordpub.com/tunes/CapeBreton/JohnnySullivan.htm). The birl in the English fiddle tradition is referred to in Paul E. W. Roberts' paper included in this volume.
- <sup>7</sup> James Scott Skinner, *A Guide to Bowing: Strathspeys, Reels, Pastoral Melodies, Hornpipes, etc.* (London: Bayley & Ferguson, [c. 1900]; repr. edn, Edinburgh: Hardie, [c. 1984]), p. 16.
- <sup>8</sup> James Hunter, *The Fiddle Music of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Chambers, [c. 1979]), p. xxxi, fn 205.
- <sup>9</sup> Hardie, p. 75.
- <sup>10</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>11</sup> Johnson, p. 120.
- <sup>12</sup> Allister MacGillivray, *The Cape Breton Fiddler* (Sydney, Cape Breton: College of Cape Breton Press, [c. 1981]), p. 5.
- <sup>13</sup> Hunter, p. xxxi.
- <sup>14</sup> Francis Collinson, *The Traditional and National Music of Scotland* (London, Henley, Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966).
- <sup>15</sup> Skinner, p. 17.
- <sup>16</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>17</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>18</sup> 'Jack Broke the Prison Door', Willie Hunter, senr, School of Scottish Studies Archive SA1972/112/1A, in Peter Cooke, *The Fiddle Tradition of the Shetland Isles*, Cambridge Studies in Ethnomusicology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 99, Ex. 41.
- <sup>19</sup> Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin, 'Innovation and Tradition in the Music of Tommie Potts' (PhD Thesis, Department of Social Anthropology, Queens University, Belfast, 1987).
- <sup>20</sup> The recording and manuscript can be accessed at [www.abdn.ac.uk/scottskinner/display.php?ID=JSS0611](http://www.abdn.ac.uk/scottskinner/display.php?ID=JSS0611).



## The fiddle and the dance in Fife: the legacy of 'Fiddley' Adamson, father and son

CATHERINE A. SHOUBE

Examining the role of the fiddle in dance instruction and practice in Fife sheds light on the continuity of music and dance traditions in Scotland. The instrument and its repertoire, the reciprocal relationship between music and dancing, the practice of professional musicians and dancing masters, and the social and aesthetic features of dancing illustrate how the fiddle remains central to Scottish tradition.

Although the relationship between the fiddle and dance goes back to medieval times, what we know in any detail dates from the introduction of the modern instrument from Italy. David Johnson notes: 'By 1760 the violin had swept its competitors off the board and achieved a central position in Scottish music, just as it had earlier done in European music. It had become *the* instrument of Scottish traditional music'.<sup>1</sup> The eighteenth-century repertoire for the violin included both art forms like the variation sonata and the minuet, and dance and song tunes in the traditional idiom. Shortly after 1800, however, the European-based art forms had virtually disappeared, and '[I]n the centre of the picture, instead, were hundreds of short dance tunes, some of them old but the vast majority new ones, composed within the previous forty years'.<sup>2</sup>

The Romantic enthusiasm for native traditions, coupled with a defensive Scottish nationalism driven by political and social change, were two causes for this shift of emphasis. John Purser suggests that 'Scots turned their back on the new musical architecture of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven and on anything that seemed to be leading towards it, in order to defend a musical environment which they believed was too beautiful and too vulnerable to risk'.<sup>3</sup> Johnson argues that these repertoire changes were also driven by the professionalisation of music, including the possibility of earning a living as a full-time musician and the publication of collections of dance tunes: dance music was a meal-ticket, and economics strongly influenced the development of the repertoire. Thus it was that reels, jigs, strathspeys, and hornpipes came into dominance. This repertoire testifies to the reciprocal relationship between dance and musical forms. One cannot dance without music, and equally this music takes on its particular character when played for dancing. Not only do dance and tune types correspond, but well-executed music creates a

harmonious relationship between dancers and musicians. The fiddler-cum-dancing master is a key figure in effecting this harmony.

Scottish dance has been studied to understand its role in traditional life, in high society, and in popular culture: reels, jigs, and strathspeys, waltzes, polkas, and quicksteps are all part of the stuff of social life.<sup>4</sup> People from all social classes enjoyed dancing, in mansion, military, town, and rural settings. Scholars contend that, despite repression during the Reformation, dancing never faltered among the aristocracy and the lowest classes of folk who were outwith the moral reach of the kirk.<sup>5</sup> By the eighteenth century, dance instruction was considered essential to proper education among the emerging middle classes as it had long been among the aristocracy, and the profession of dancing master developed alongside the professional musician, often in the body of the same person. Dance teachers and musicians practiced in Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Dundee, and visited country houses to instruct the daughters and sons of wealthy lairds. Country dancing schools were held at inns or in a farmer's granary. Robert Burns attended such a dancing school at Tarbolton in 1779. The following description from James Currie's 1803 edition of Burns's works details the enthusiasm for dancing in Scotland at the time:

The attachment of the people of Scotland of every rank, and particularly of the peasantry, to this amusement is very great. After the labours of the day are over, young men and women walk many miles, in the cold and dreary nights of winter, to these country dancing-schools; and the instant that the violin sounds a Scottish air, fatigue seems to vanish, the toil-bent rustic becomes erect, his features brighten with sympathy; every nerve seems to thrill with sensation, and every artery to vibrate with life.<sup>6</sup>

Itinerant dancing masters have thus been a feature of life in Scotland for more than two centuries. Scholars provide a portrait of some of these 'dancies', as they were known in Angus and Aberdeenshire, and we learn first-hand about the musician-cum-dancing master from James Scott Skinner of Banchory's autobiography.<sup>7</sup> The instrument of choice for the dancing masters throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was the fiddle, and the 'Fiddley' Adamsons continued this practice well into the twentieth century in Fife.

The itinerant dancing masters came to my attention because so many older people whom I have interviewed in Fife talk about 'Fiddley' Adamson and his dance classes.<sup>8</sup> In fact, a father and son both nicknamed 'Fiddley' taught four generations of dancers. Alexander (1859–1939) and William (1880–1966) Adamson covered a territory that included Fife and parts of Kinross and Perthshire. They worked in a particular district for fourteen-week periods, holding classes in various locations on different days of the week. Friday and Saturday nights were reserved for ordinary dances, or for the 'balls' that marked the mid-point and end of the lessons. Some people who attended William's classes recall that their parents learned to dance from Alexander – a family tradition in both cases.

In contrast to the dancing masters north of the Tay, the Adamsons were not called 'dancie'. William Adamson is recalled by his former students as a rather stout, well-dressed and proper gentleman. He was a stickler for formalities, and no one called him 'Fiddley' to his face. He expected to be called 'Mr Adamson', and few people living today know his Christian name. Some people who were very young when they attended his classes called him 'Daddie' Adamson, perhaps reflecting his paternal care for his youngest pupils, who remember him with fond affection. His son, Bill, says that his father particularly enjoyed teaching children. The nickname 'Fiddley' however, clearly places the instrument at the centre of people's recollections of his dancing classes: he played the fiddle for the lessons, arriving at the village hall on his bicycle with his fiddle in a bag strapped to his back.

Alexander started work as a miner in Cowdenbeath, in west Fife.<sup>9</sup> A keen dancer, he learned to dance and to play the violin around 1875 from Andrew Doag, who held classes in Lochgelly and Cowdenbeath districts. Leaving the mines, Alexander followed in Doag's footsteps as a dancing master. After his marriage, he moved his young family (son William and daughter Jean) to Kettlebridge in the Howe of Fife – one may suppose in order to establish his own territory. Alexander started holding dancing classes in 1878-79, and continued until he retired in 1927 at the age of sixty-eight. His son, William, learned to dance and to play the fiddle from his father, and initially worked in partnership with him. William began teaching classes on his own at the age of twenty and continued the business after 1927 until his own retirement in 1953 when he was seventy-three. Teaching dance provided a good living for these men, as dancing was an important feature of social life.

Both Alexander and William were actively involved in the local economy. Bill recalls that his father continued to cycle to his classes even after he had a car, because he could meet people more easily while cycling; he maintained that this direct contact was the best advertisement for his services. Both father and son also provided bands for local dances such as a harvest home on the big estates, and, in the 1940s and 1950s, William ran weekly dances in the hall in Kettlebridge. Though they relied on their profession as musicians, band leaders, and dance teachers for income, they also donated their services to local organizations. A band was provided free for dances sponsored by the bowling club, tennis club, or Masonic Hall, as their contribution to the community.

In the manner of eighteenth-century 'dancies', Alexander also composed tunes – one that his grandson Bill particularly recalls was 'The Kettle Water Works'. The music was freely given out to band members, and was likely taken up by other musicians. When the family later received newly published music – which they did regularly through a subscription service – there often would be tunes very similar to ones his grandfather had written included in the packet. Alexander never published his tunes, however, a fact Bill now regrets.

Since the eighteenth century, fiddles have formed the core of instrumental ensembles for dancing in Scotland, a practice followed by the Adamsons' dance bands. William was taught the violin by his father and joined the band as soon as

he was able, just as he joined his father in teaching dancing. William took over the family home on Hall Street in Kettlebridge as well as the business, and his parents continued to live with him after he married and started a family of his own. There were five children, born two years apart between 1907 and 1915. All the children were given music lessons, starting with the violin at home. The oldest three took lessons at Forbes music shop in Dundee: Isobel and Joan were taught piano and Sandy was taught piano, cello, and drums. Bill, the next son, was taught violin by his grandfather starting at the age of five, learned cornet and trombone in the Kingskettle Silver Band from the age of nine, and took postal tutorials to learn the double bass. The youngest son, Bob, played guitar. For the Adamsons, dance teaching was a profession as well as a family business, and training was important for its success.

Isobel emphasized that her family were professional, 'literate musicians' who could read and write music, and who played classical as well as dance music. Both she and Bill spoke of 'violins', not 'fiddles', and added that Sandy played cello, not for dancing, but for the classical music they played at home. Although William's family were all musical and helped in the business, none of the three sons took up the mantle when their father retired, which was a great disappointment to him. However, by the 1950s, tastes in music and dance and lifestyle were changing in such a way that made the career of travelling dancing master an uncertain proposition.

William Adamson usually played the fiddle on his own for the classes, but for the 'half ball' which occurred in the seventh week of the session and for the 'full ball' in the fourteenth or final week, he provided a band including Isobel or Sandy on piano, or Sandy on drums, and Bill on double bass or trombone. In the 1930s, classes were sixpence, the half ball, lasting from eight to midnight was one shilling and sixpence, and the full ball, held from 10 pm to 2 am, cost two shillings and sixpence. Bill recalls that, in the 1930s and 1940s, the family could supply two bands for weekend dances. His father led one and Isobel or Sandy the other. The other children played as required, and other musicians were recruited as needed. Sundays were the days for practising, and Mrs Adamson did her part by providing sandwiches and tea for everyone.

William considered it important to keep abreast of new repertoire. Just as eighteenth-century dancing masters taught the popular minuet during its heyday, subsequent generations introduced the waltz, polka, quickstep, tango, and samba. Bill said that, in the earlier years, his father emphasized 'old time' dances, but he was latterly persuaded by the younger family members to 'modernize'. Older youths were then introduced to ballroom dances and even children were taught the basic steps of these dances, along with traditional dances. A former student, Ella Rodger, recalls learning ballroom dances: 'I remember Mr Adamson – he lived in Kingskettle, his father taught dancing to the generation before us. I went to Mr Adamson's classes in Newburgh Masonic Hall. . . Mr Adamson played the fiddle, his daughter played the piano for us dancing. Mr Adamson also had a son who was a very good dancer. We were taught the quickstep, foxtrot, modern waltz – happy days!'<sup>10</sup>

Former pupils also recall how the classes were organized according to age and experience, starting with the youngest children and going through to young adults.<sup>11</sup> There were two sessions each evening. The 'junior' session for children from ages five to fourteen lasted from 6:00 to about 8:00 pm. Children learned Highland or step dances, other 'Scotch' dances, and the basic waltz step. Jane Kennedy, who was allowed to start lessons at the age of four because she was so keen to learn to dance, believes that the classes were important for learning 'the basics, and manners for children'. More complicated set dances such as the Lancers and country dances and ballroom dances like the waltz and quickstep were taught during the 'adult' session for youths over the age of fourteen. These lasted from 8:00 until 10:00 pm and functioned more like an ordinary dance than a class. New dances were taught as they came up or when it was obvious that some people did not know how to do them, but well-known dances were simply danced. William insisted on maintaining decorum on these occasions, continuing the training in etiquette and manners he began with the children. Older boys sometimes cut capers, but if they were caught they would be told to dance properly and, according to Donald France, they would comply for fear of not being allowed to continue with the classes.<sup>12</sup>

William Adamson's style of teaching is vividly recalled: playing the fiddle, he would demonstrate a dance or drill steps. Jim Davidson of Newburgh comments: 'I wonder how many people who have enjoyed dancing in their lifetimes owe a debt of gratitude to a gentleman called Mr Adamson... [He] was a fine man and my abiding memory was to see him glide across the floor strumming his violin, demonstrating how dancing should be done. Today, when I see so many young people wandering aimlessly about, I think – oh for another Mr Adamson.'<sup>13</sup> Bill assured me that his father could indeed play the fiddle and dance at the same time. When he was teaching children the Highland Fling, for example, he would pluck the strings, slowly at first, one pluck for each position, gradually speeding up as the dance was learned. By plucking the tune as he demonstrated the steps for the students to follow, he could teach the tune and the steps at the same time. Eventually the tune was played properly when the dance was known. Flett describes the technique: 'When teaching solo dances Mr Adamson held his fiddle under his right arm, the bow in his right hand pointing forward. He strummed the strings with his right hand whilst fingering the strings with his left hand'.<sup>14</sup>

The aesthetic connection between the music and the dance is illustrated by the following comment from Jenny Blyth: 'I read with much interest the piece about Mr Adamson and his dancing classes in village halls. I went to one in Balmullo Hall. Listening to certain dance tunes for the Veleta or St Bernard's Waltz, when you hear that lilt you can still see in your mind Mr Adamson with his fiddle gliding across the floor. I have said to my husband many a time when I have heard a tune that I can still picture Mr Adamson'.<sup>15</sup> Elegance and grace were characteristics of William's own dancing – Jane Kennedy recalls that he had very dainty 'wee feet' and was a 'lovely dancer'. Jane also notes his insistence that steps were done properly: 'He didn't let you make a mistake'.<sup>16</sup> Others too have told me that 'you had to do your pas de bas

correctly', even though this training often went by the boards at an ordinary dance. Mary Maxwell insists that, to this day, she can tell who has been taught by 'Daddie' Adamson: 'Go anywhere in the Howe of Fife and you can tell by dancing with them', she says, because they have the right timing of the dance.<sup>17</sup> Well-executed step and playing, with attention to tempo and timing, create a pleasing harmony between dancers and musician.

Gentlemanliness is another characteristic that people recall about William Adamson. Mrs Davina Gray describes the social context in this way: 'Well do I remember cycling to his classes at Pitlessie and Dunbog, the cost of admission being sixpence. Mr Adamson arrived on his push-bike, his fiddle over his back, and then the class commenced. He was a strict disciplinarian, a fine teacher and a complete gentleman... My husband and I have many happy memories of Mr Adamson's dancing, for it was there that we met, courted and then married 62 years ago'.<sup>18</sup> Bill Adamson also describes his father and grandfather as sticklers for formality and propriety at the dancing. They insisted that the boys, who were seated on one side of the hall, go across to 'request the pleasure' of a dance from the girls, and return her to her seat at the end of the turn. Bill helped out at classes in the 1920s, being called on to partner girls who might not be as popular with the local boys so they would not be left out. Mary Maxwell remembers that William would tell the boys: 'You hold the girls like a flower, you don't hold a grip like you're holding a farm horse'.<sup>19</sup> For the end of session balls, boys were expected to have white gloves, and girls wore light dresses, sometimes with flowers given to them by their partners.

One anecdote Bill relates illustrates how seriously his father regarded the duty of his profession to instil manners and grace among the youth. In creating his model village at Forteviot, Lord Dupplin included a hall, but he forbade dancing in it, decreeing that it was for the community's use by such groups as the Scouts and Women's Rural Institute. Dancing was not considered an acceptable activity. Hearing this, William asked to see his lordship, and argued that teaching dancing was like teaching school – I think we can assume that the argument he made emphasized the civilizing habits of etiquette, deportment, and politeness. He apparently succeeded in convincing the laird, because he was given permission to offer classes in the hall, which extended his territory into Perthshire. Carrying the civilizing influence of the dance to rural communities, the career of the fiddle-playing dancing master, as exemplified by Alexander and William Adamson's work in Fife, Kinross, and Perthshire, represents a continuity of practice from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. At the same time, these professionals adapted to changes in society and in musical and aesthetic tastes, refashioning tradition as they did so.

While the typical eighteenth-century dance band consisted of two to four fiddlers, a cellist, and a harpsichord, if one were available, William Adamson's band included one or two fiddles, bass, piano, and drums. The continuity is obvious. But what can be said of the twentieth century's contribution to Scottish music, the accordion? Isobel told me that her father 'detested accordions and would never tolerate one in his band'. But Bill acknowledged that he later relented and accepted them, and

why not? Musicians and dancing masters from the seventeenth century onwards in Scotland endeavoured to keep abreast of the latest dances and newest instruments. Country dances and minuets were the rage in the eighteenth century, waltzes and polkas in the nineteenth, and ballroom dances in the twentieth. In the 1660s, violins were introduced from Italy, and Italian-designed accordions appeared in the 1930s. The famous Hohner 'Shand Morino', designed by Signore Vincenzo Morino to Sir Jimmy Shand's specifications, has a three-voice Scottish tuning that blends harmoniously with the fiddle. Most contemporary Scottish dance bands combine the fiddle and accordion to achieve their unique sound. The tradition continues to develop, and continues to reflect the legacy of the fiddle and the dance.

### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> David Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music in the 18th Century: A Music Collection and Historical Study*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1997), p. 4.
- <sup>2</sup> David Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music* (1997), p. 244.
- <sup>3</sup> John Purser, *Scotland's Music* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1992), p. 200.
- <sup>4</sup> See G. W. Lockhart, *Highland Balls and Village Halls* (Barr, Ayrshire: Luath Press, 1985); George S. Emmerson, *A Social History of Scottish Dance: a celestial recreation* (Montreal, London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972); Evelyn Hood, *The Story of Scottish Country Dancing: The Darling Diversion* (UK: Collins, 1980); Johnson, pp. 4, 244; and Elizabeth Casciani, *Oh, How We Danced!* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1994).
- <sup>5</sup> See Hood, pp. 43-61; Johnson, pp. 213-14.
- <sup>6</sup> [Robert Burns], *The Works of Robert Burns: With an Account of His Life, and a Criticism on His Writings*, 4th edn, 4 vols (London: T. Cadell, 1803), I, 33, quoted in Katherine Campbell with Emily Lyle, *Burns and Scottish Fiddle Tradition* (Edinburgh: School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh, 2000).
- <sup>7</sup> See Hood, pp. 84-107; J. F. Flett and T. M. Flett, *Traditional Dancing in Scotland* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964), pp. 7-30; James Scott Skinner, *My Life and Adventures* (1923); repr edn (Aberdeen: City of Aberdeen and Wallace Music, 1994).
- <sup>8</sup> Information gathered here is based on fieldwork in Fife from 1974 to 2001. See also Flett & Flett, 1964.
- <sup>9</sup> Personal information from interviews with Isobel Adamson Herd, 9 January 1975, and Bill Adamson, 21 July 2001. See also Flett & Flett 1964, pp. 8-14 and J. F. Flett and T. M. Flett, *Traditional Step Dancing in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Scottish Cultural Press, 1996), p. 14.
- <sup>10</sup> 'Craigie' column, *Dundee Courier*, 4 June 2001, p. 10.
- <sup>11</sup> Interviews with John and Jean Adamson, 1 February 1996; 23 June 1998; Jane Kennedy, 12 February, 29 April 1996; Mary Maxwell, 24 January 1996; Dave and Betty Clark, 21 February 1996; Audrey Fenion, 11 March 1996; Mary and Bert Dalrymple, 1 May 1996; Isobel Crawford, 28 June 1981; Hilda Ronaldson, 6 January 1975, 11 June 1988; Donald and Joan France, 15, 19 December 1974.
- <sup>12</sup> Interview with Donald and Joan France, 15, 19 December 1974.
- <sup>13</sup> 'Craigie' column, *Dundee Courier*, 21 May 2001, p. 10.
- <sup>14</sup> Flett & Flett, 1996, p. 43.
- <sup>15</sup> 'Craigie' column, *Dundee Courier*, 24 May 2001, p. 14.
- <sup>16</sup> Interviews with Jane Kennedy, 12 February, 29 April 1996.

- <sup>17</sup> Interview with Mary Maxwell, 24 January 1996.
- <sup>18</sup> 'Craigie' column, *Dundee Courier*, 4 June 2001, p. 10.
- <sup>19</sup> Interview with Mary Maxwell, 24 January 1996.



## Folk music revivals in comparative perspective

RICHARD BLAUSTEIN

There have been two major grassroots revivals of traditional fiddle music in the United States in the twentieth century. The first American fiddling revival occurred in the early 1920s. The country had just shifted from a military to a domestic consumer economy; the nation's population for the first time in American history had become predominantly urban rather than rural; a revolutionary new African-American style, jazz, was driving all competitors out of the mainstream of the popular music field. Several folklorists, including Simon Bronner, Paul Wells, and myself, have written about the role of Henry Ford in promoting the revival of old-time fiddling and dancing during this period, but otherwise little is known about organized efforts to preserve traditional music in the twenties, other than research by Wayne Daniel's dealing with the Atlanta fiddlers contests and the Georgia Old Time Fiddlers Association.<sup>1</sup>

A second revival of old-time fiddling, which is still continuing today, began to take shape in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Once again, the United States had experienced the transition from wartime austerity to a burgeoning domestic consumer economy; the actual farming population of the country continued to plummet, accelerated by advances in agricultural technology; yet another innovative African-American-based style, rock 'n' roll, was capturing the imagination of an increasingly youthful popular entertainment audience.

Nashville record producers were abandoning instruments with distinctively rural connotations like the fiddle and steel guitar in order to penetrate broader urban and youth markets. Although the so-called urban folk music revival undoubtedly played a positive role in redefining the value and worth of older forms of country music like old-time fiddling, this second fiddle music revival appears to be a genuine grassroots preservationist movement. Between 1963 and 1974, at least twenty-four old-time fiddlers associations had been established covering most regions of the United States.<sup>2</sup> The results of a mail survey conducted in 1984-85 showed that active fiddlers' organizations in the USA had doubled in ten years. While some of the older associations had fissured or collapsed, new ones had arisen in areas which did not have fiddling organizations ten years previously.

How can we explain the rise of the Old Time Fiddlers Association Movement in post-World War II America? Basically, these organizations can be demonstrated to be part of an ongoing cultural revitalization movement, defined by Anthony F. C. Wallace as 'any deliberate, conscious, organized attempt by members of a society to create a more satisfying culture.'<sup>3</sup> Such grassroots preservationist organizations have emerged because they fulfil enduring expressive needs and desires which mainstream popular entertainment and mass media cannot satisfy. As the British sociologist Anthony D. Smith observes in *Theories of Nationalism*: 'Given the dislocations of industrialisation and urbanisation, what can be more natural than that men should wish to replace the sense of lost community by creating new groups more adapted to the new conditions?'<sup>4</sup> According to social anthropologist Robert T. Anderson, the formation of voluntary organizations by displaced people is a typical response to rapid social change. Voluntary associations like the Old Time Fiddlers Associations provide traditionalists with enclaves of cultural stability in non-traditional environments. Such organizations reorganize older social institutions and give them a new legal-rational structure more in accord with the corporate and bureaucratic patterns of modern social life: 'In this way, traditional institutions remain viable in a changed society. The process may take the form of the reorganization of the old groups.'<sup>5</sup> And, one might add, the selective reconstruction or even the reinvention of cultural symbols.

One of the most frequently cited scholarly works dealing with these questions is *The Invention of Tradition*.<sup>6</sup> The invention of tradition substantiates the distinctive identity of a marginal group by imputing antiquity (and hence, authenticity and legitimacy) to cultural symbols which may actually be very new. Romantic nationalist and ethnic separatist movements, typically led by alienated middle-class intellectuals (here we see Gramsci's influence on Hobsbawm), are attempts to offset hegemony, that is, acceptance of the cultural dominance of a ruling elite. Cultural revival movements are not restricted to disaffected intellectuals; they are also grassroots reactions to displacements or breaks caused by modernization, urbanization, and industrialization. All folk revival movements share a common goal, the restoration of an idealized culture which is believed to be in danger of disintegration. Such a break is visible even in movements deliberately describing themselves as 'traditionalists', and appealing to groups which were, by common consent, regarded as the repositories of historic continuity and tradition, such as peasants. Indeed, the very appearance of movements for the defence or revival of traditions, 'traditionalist' or otherwise, indicates such a break. Such movements, common among intellectuals since the Romantics, cannot develop or even preserve a living past (except conceivably by setting up human natural sanctuaries for isolated corners of archaic life), but must become 'invented tradition'. At the same time, the strength and adaptability of genuine tradition is not to be confused with 'the invention of tradition'. Where the old ways are alive, traditions need not be either revived or invented.

Traditionalist revivals emerge when devoted tradition-bearers come to feel that cherished forms of cultural expression are in danger of dying out. Organized

efforts to preserve folk music date back to the beginning of the eighteenth century in the British Isles; these early revivals of Welsh, Scottish, and Irish folk music were promoted by nostalgic immigrants, a pattern still very much alive today. Many illuminating parallels can be drawn between revivals of traditional instrumental music in the United States and the British Isles.

Prys Morgan's *The Eighteenth Century Renaissance*,<sup>7</sup> begins with an invocation of Merrie Wales that idealized primordial folk society threatened by industrialization, pleasure-shunning religious revivals, and the assimilation of Celtic Wales into the mainstream of Anglo-British society. Displaced, nostalgic Welshmen living in London during the eighteenth century founded various organizations, including one expressly devoted to the preservation and perpetuation of traditional music, the Ancient Society of Cymmrodorion. Still in existence today, this association was founded in 1751 by Lewis Morgan, a Welsh surveyor and civil servant who was a pioneering student and promoter of the folk music of his native Wales. As early as 1726, Lewis Morgan and his brother Richard were seeking out players of the old Welsh instruments, particularly the *crwth* (medieval English *crowd*, a bowed lyre), the *pibgorn* or hornpipe, and the *telyn* or Welsh harp. These verses by Lewis Morgan, translated from the Welsh, epitomize the revivalist spirit:

There is in Wales, one must lament  
No music and no merriment  
and yet there was in days of old  
a harp in every household.<sup>8</sup>

The harp was a potent symbol of Celtic cultural identity in Wales as well as Scotland and Ireland. Prys Morgan notes that the Welsh revivalists did not literally revive the primitive single-strung Celtic harp, but focused their attention instead on the performance of their indigenous music on the triple-strung Italian baroque harp, which had been fashionable during the seventeenth century.<sup>9</sup>

Most so-called revivals reconstruct and reinterpret traditional forms rather than literally preserve them. The Scottish Highland bagpipes were selectively reconstructed rather than actually revived. The same holds true of the Irish uilleann pipes and also the Northumbrian smallpipes being studied by Burt Feintuch. These musical revivals are nostalgic responses to displacement.

The revival of Welsh music and other forms of traditional expressive culture began in migrant communities and only later spread to Wales itself by the 1770s. The height of the Romantic period between the 1770s and the 1840s saw the revival of the *Eisteddfod*, gatherings which included musical, poetic and oratorical competitions, and the reinvention of Druidism. Like other romantics and separatists, Welsh nativists felt that their identity was in jeopardy of being disintegrated by a powerful alien culture. As Prys Morgan says, 'the Welsh were losing their traditional past and at the same time creating a new relationship with it'.<sup>10</sup>

We can observe some common patterns in the romantic revivals occurring in the Celtic fringe of Great Britain during the eighteenth century. Scholarly enthusiasts, very often civil servants or business people who had attained some degree of success within the mainstream culture – organized events and organizations – creating new contexts of performance for the old traditions; they became advocates and partisans of traditional performers venerated as living links to a vanishing Golden Age. The more academically inclined collected and published items gathered from such tradition-bearers, encouraging the further development of active folk revivalism and folkloristic scholarship.

In Scotland, active attempts to collect, publish and promote traditional music followed the Union of the Parliaments in 1707. Published collections of Scottish songs and dance tunes compiled by amateur and professional musicians appear in print as early as 1726 in Edinburgh. Cultural revivalism continued among Scots at home and abroad despite the restrictions upon displays of Scottish national symbols specified by the Disarming Act of 1747, imposed by the British Parliament after the failure of the final Jacobite Rebellion of 1745-46. The Highland Society, established in 1776 by Scottish gentlemen residing in London, sponsored a piping contest at the 1781 Falkirk Tryst, a yearly cattle market.

By 1782, this group successfully lobbied Parliament to remove the ban on Scottish national music and attire. Fiddle contests were also part of the Scottish cultural revival. An article in the *Scots Magazine* in 1809 describes the young Niel Gow (1727-1807), Robert Burns's favourite fiddler, winning a contest which included the finest players in all of Scotland. Gow's victory resulted in his patronage by the Duke of Atholl and later the Countess of Gordon.<sup>11</sup> George S. Emmerson records that J. Scott Skinner (1843-1927) won a similar competition including the major fiddlers of his day in Inverness in 1863, and that fiddling contests had been common for over a century.<sup>12</sup>

Another wave of Scottish grassroots preservationist activity expressed itself in the formation of Strathspey and Reel Societies. The Edinburgh Strathspey and Reel Society was established in 1881. 'Interest in fiddle music then seemed to be in decline', noted the organization's first president, James Stewart Robertson, in the Society's minutes, and hence it was 'very desirable that this class of music not be allowed to fall back as undoubtedly it was doing for the past few years.'<sup>13</sup> The outcome was the establishment of a voluntary association for: 'upholding and developing the taste for our old national highland strathspey and reel music on the fiddle.'<sup>14</sup> As Alburger comments, the idea of the strathspey and reel society spread only gradually; a Highland Reel and Strathspey Society was founded in 1903, a similar group was organized in Aberdeen in 1928, and the Elgin Strathspey and Reel Society in 1937. Emmerson refers to an Orkney Reel and Strathspey Society as well.<sup>15</sup> These groups feature large numbers of fiddlers playing written arrangements of fiddle tunes under the direction of conductors and are still quite popular in Scotland and Nova Scotia.

A more recent development in the revitalization of Scottish traditional music has been the advent of Accordion and Fiddle Clubs since the early 1970s. Alburger

notes that there are now over fifty such clubs in various parts of Scotland. Like American old-time fiddlers associations, these groups meet monthly or bi-monthly and provide their members with opportunities to meet and play with other amateurs of traditional music; occasionally the clubs also sponsor concerts by outstanding professional fiddlers and accordionists.<sup>16</sup> Ailie Munro notes the existence of a coordinating organization, the National Association of Accordion and Fiddle Clubs,<sup>17</sup> which corresponds to the National Old Time Fiddlers Association in the United States.

Fiddle contests are still important in Scotland. Alburger makes references to several major contemporary contests, including the National Fiddle Competition initiated by the BBC in 1969, the Golden Fiddle Award contest organized by the *Daily Mail* in 1977, and the National Fiddle Championship, sponsored by the Lothian District Council, also in 1977.<sup>18</sup>

A major revival of fiddling has taken place in the Shetland Islands since the Second World War. Peter Cooke notes the emergence of several organizations in the Shetlands promoting traditional fiddling. These include the Shetland Folk Society, established in 1946, the Shetland Fiddlers Society which includes the famous fiddle band, Da Forty Fiddlers, founded in 1960 by the noted fiddler and revival promoter Tom Anderson, and also several local groups including the Lerwick Accordion and Fiddle Club (no date given) and the Unst Fiddle Society (1967). These organizations provide regular opportunities for performers and enthusiasts to play and enjoy traditional music.<sup>19</sup> Cooke stresses that the style of music which comes out of these clubs is not necessarily 'da aald Shetland fiddling'. As in North America, fiddling has been heavily affected by classical violin tone and technique; in the particular case of the Shetlands, contemporary mainland Scottish fiddling has also been very influential. An interesting development in Shetland has been the incorporation of fiddling into the local educational curriculum. Upon his retirement from business in 1971, Tom Anderson devoted himself entirely to teaching fiddle to Shetland school children, most of them girls, in the public schools. Peter Cooke and Pamela Swing, an American folklorist and fiddle music scholar who worked with Anderson as a fiddling teacher in the Shetland schools, independently reported that this project has encouraged the emergence of a syncretic 'New Shetland' style with clearly trans-regional elements rather than the antiquarian resurrection of older Shetland fiddling styles.<sup>20</sup>

Comparable developments can be found in Ireland and the United States, where we observe elaborate, standardized contest or exhibition styles seemingly submerging older, more localized repertoires and performance techniques. Thus the institutionalization of traditional music through formal organizations and competitive events, and also the development of specialized media networks diffusing custom albums and cassettes of currently fashionable fiddle stylists, replaces the pre-modern 'classic folk' patterns of performance and communication based on oral transmission and direct face-to-face contact. These changes in Shetland fiddling can be considered a clear-cut example of the selective reconstruction of tradition.

Like Scotland, Ireland also has a long, continuous history of folk music revivalism. Captain Francis O'Neill (1849-1936), himself one of the greatest of Ireland's migrant folk revivalists, notes that the revival of the Irish harp was initiated by James Dungan, an Irish merchant living in Copenhagen, who organized and subsidized three gatherings of Irish harpers in Granard, County Longford in 1781, 1782 and 1783. In 1791, a group of 'patriotic gentlemen' organized a harp festival in Belfast; in 1807 they formed the Belfast Harp Society, which sponsored an annual festival, which lasted through the 1830s. A Dublin Harp Society was formed in 1807, and a later revival of Irish harping was led by Father T. V. Burke, who founded a new Harp Society in Drogheda in 1842, which only lasted a few years.<sup>21</sup> The formation of the Society for the Preservation and Publication of the Melodies of Ireland by the collector-revivalist George Petrie resulted in the publication of Petrie's *Ancient Music of Ireland* in 1855. The Gaelic League, founded in 1893, was very active in promoting Irish traditional music and dance around the turn of the century.

Edwin O. Henry has recently examined the history of *Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann*,<sup>22</sup> the most substantial modern organization devoted to the preservation of Irish traditional music. Founded in 1951 as an outshoot and extension of the Pipers' Club of Dublin, which dates back to 1908, the CCE presently has four hundred branch societies in Ireland and ten other countries that meet regularly to offer instruction in Irish music and dance; it sponsors a series of contests which culminate in an annual international Irish folk arts festival, the *Fleadh Cheoil*, and also maintains a paid professional staff through membership fees and government grants.<sup>23</sup> Current membership of the organization is approximately 35,000, with thousands of competitors and hundreds of thousands of spectators taking part in its events. Like the old-time fiddlers contest in the United States, the *Fleadh Cheoil* is perhaps the most important context of performance for modern performers of Irish traditional music. These competitions are organized in hierarchical order, ranging from county-wide and regional to provincial and national.

Similar developments can also be found in Scandinavia. The *spelmanslag* or fiddlers' club is a major feature of contemporary Swedish musical life. Generally consisting of ten to twenty amateur performers on the violin or the keyed fiddle (*nyckelharpa*), the *spelmanslag* groups play at folk music events, often dressed in the traditional costumes of their home district, emphasizing local tunes as well as a wider national fiddlers' repertory.

According to Gunnar Ternhag,<sup>24</sup> the first modern fiddlers' club appeared in the mid 1940s when interest in fiddle music in Sweden was at a low point. An album by the Rattvik Fiddlers Club of Dalarna helped to revive interest in the music and resulted in the emergence of fiddle ensembles throughout the country. Today there are over eight thousand Swedes belonging to the approximately 300 fiddlers clubs which comprise the *Sveriges spelmans riksförbund*, the Swedish Fiddlers Association. For the most part, these clubs are found in the smaller provincial towns, which Ternhag sees as an indication that the music is being revived in its original setting. The past twenty years have been a period of rapid growth for the Swedish fiddle

revival, corresponding closely to comparable developments in the British Isles and North America. Most of these clubs also include guitarists and accordionists, although groups composed entirely of fiddlers are supposedly more authentic. There is longstanding prejudice among Swedish fiddling enthusiasts against the accordion, which has partially usurped the traditional lead role of the fiddle in Sweden as elsewhere. Some Swedish fiddling events charge an admittance fee to accordionists while letting fiddlers in for free.

Märta Ramsten states that active attempts to preserve and revive instrumental music in Scandinavia go back at least one hundred years.<sup>25</sup> Norwegian fiddle contests or *kappleiks* have been held continuously during the summer months since the 1880s; the first known Swedish folk music competition was held in 1906, which sparked the development of local competitions in various parts of Sweden. In contradiction to Ternhag, Ramsten dates the emergence of the *spelmenslag* movement to the 1920s and 1930s, and suggests that the more informal and cooperative ensemble style has come to overshadow the highly structured fiddle contests, originated by the Swedish fiddle revivalist and scholar Andreas Zorn, which are still being held today.<sup>26</sup>

Ramsten's study of changes in the Zorn competitions suggests that there has been an upsurge of interest in fiddling among younger Swedes. While 70-80% of the contestants in the Zorn performances during 1967-68 were above forty years old, by 1980, 60% were under forty. There has also been an increase in female participation, which rose from 11-12% in the late 1960s to approximately 21% in 1980.<sup>27</sup> (Parallels can be found in the increased participation of women in Missouri fiddle contests which have been documented by Amy Skillman,<sup>28</sup> and also the preponderance of young girls in modern Shetland fiddling, which has been noted by Peter Cooke and Pamela Swing). Instruments other than the violin have been increasing in popularity; since the seventies there have been revivals of the *nykelharpa* and Swedish bagpipes. Younger musicians seem to be more accepting of the harmonica and accordion, which, as already noted, have been rejected by purists.

The Swedish fiddling repertory has remained relatively stable. The *polska* is the most popular tune genre (65%), the waltz a distant second at 12.5%, with miscellaneous genres making up the remainder between 1966 and 1980. One reason for the fixed character of the Swedish contest fiddling repertory is the influence of printed tune collections, which have assumed canonic value since the beginning of the twentieth century. This repertory is distinguished from the popular dance music tradition of the nineteenth century, which is considered to be the province of accordion players. As elsewhere, performance style and repertory appear to have been standardized through the pressures of formal competition, though some younger players seem to be taking up a more rhythmic and deliberately archaic style as a form of musical anti-modernism. All in all, the revival of Swedish fiddling seems to be following the same general trends which can be observed in the British Isles and North America.

Like Sweden, Norway also has fiddlers' clubs (*spelmanlage*) and national competitions. Pandora Hopkins's description of the national folk music competition

(*Landskappleiken*) in the small industrial city of Porsgrunn can readily be compared to similar events in Scotland, Ireland, and the United States. While fiddling plays a prominent role, there are also divisions for other instruments; contestants are divided into categories based on age and experience, which is also the case with many American fiddle contests, including the National Old Time Fiddlers Contest in Weiser, Idaho.

There is, moreover, the same combination of formal competition and informal, highly sociable jam sessions.<sup>29</sup> As elsewhere, outstanding competitors make the rounds of the contest circuit, which also leads towards the emergence of style leaders, who are copied by up and coming players seeking to impress the judges. This results in the emergence of highly controlled and elaborate contest styles which tend to overshadow more localized styles and repertoires. Like the Irish *Fleadh Ceol Na Eirrean*, the Norwegian national folk music competition moves from town to town.<sup>30</sup> As in Sweden, the British Isles, and North America, local and regional fiddlers' clubs in Norway are part of a larger national organization, the *Landslaget for Spelemenn*, which publishes the *Spelemannsbladet* or *Player's Newspaper*. In addition to 'grassroots' players with family or neighbourhood connections to traditional fiddling, Norway also has its own urban folk enthusiasts who have adopted traditional fiddling as an alternative to elite and popular cosmopolitan culture.<sup>31</sup> While Hopkins concentrates upon the *hardingfele* tradition, she also notes that dance music played on ordinary violins, accordions, and guitars is also part of the Norwegian folk music scene.<sup>32</sup> The Hardanger fiddle, though, plays an important symbolic role, because it is distinctively Norwegian.

While its exact history is uncertain, Norwegians have made and played the *hardingfele* for at least three hundred years.<sup>33</sup> The tradition is being carried on today in informal contexts such as house parties and neighbourhood dances as well as the more formal settings of the fiddlers organization: '[a] chapter of which exists in every locality where the Hardanger fiddle is played.'<sup>34</sup> Master teachers instruct beginners in individual and in group classes sponsored by the local fiddlers clubs. The old Norwegian fiddlers played at weddings, local dances, and occasionally at fiddle contests held at fairs, which was also true in the British Isles and early America. Today's Norwegian fiddlers play in a more organized and regulated social environment, that of the fiddlers' club and folk festival, following a pattern which is true of other folk musicians in modern Western societies.<sup>35</sup> Interestingly, the Hardanger fiddle revival, which appears to date back to the 1880s, not long after Norway won independence from Denmark, has suppressed other local types of fiddles. The emergence of a regional style which is adopted outside its area of origin and takes on the status of a national folk style is another common feature of such movements; one can point to Sligo style in Ireland and Texas longbow style fiddling in North America as parallels to the Norwegian situation, though here we are also dealing with a type of instrument as well as a style of performance. As in Sweden, a popular dance repertoire closely associated with the accordion was rejected in favour of an older and purportedly purer fiddle repertoire. The hegemony of the *hardingfele*



has recently been challenged by the formation of *flatfele* organizations in areas where the Hardanger fiddle was previously unknown. Meanwhile, Norwegian-Americans established the Hardanger Fiddle Society of America in 1983.

The ethnomusicologist Bruno Nettl believes that such revivals of traditional music enable people in contemporary society to offset disorientation and displacement by allowing them to periodically regenerate an idealized primordial community, which is evoked through particular historical musical styles:

The fact that most humans can no longer conveniently exhibit their cultural specialness by dress, social structure, material culture, or even by their location, language or religion has given music an increased role as an emblem of ethnicity. Culture units, nations, minorities, even age groups, social classes, educational strata all identify themselves by adherence to particular repertoires and styles of music. As other means of identification become less effective, music is increasingly stressed. I would agree this is why world music of the twentieth century has retained its diversity.<sup>36</sup>

Displacement can be symbolic as well as literal; this more abstract form of displacement, alienation, accounts for transcultural folk romantic movements like the so-called urban folk music revival in the United States and Britain. Historically, the alienation of middle-class intellectuals from urban, industrial, commercial, bureaucratic values has characteristically led to romantic identification with idealized folk communities, which have seemingly preserved their primal integrity, uncorrupted by the metropolis. Anthony D. Smith's description of the attraction of marginal, exotic Brittany to nineteenth-century French pastoral romantics applies to folk romanticism in general:

[T]hey turned their backs on the materialism of city life, on technological advance and commercialism, and on the ever-increasing complexity of a centralized, regulated state, and sought instead some antidote far from the capital, which might restore them to themselves and express concretely a more 'natural' and 'spiritual' form of existence than that they had abandoned.<sup>37</sup>

Disaffected people reacting against perceived strictures and constraints of an oppressive social order will often attempt to create more satisfying identities for themselves by taking on selected aspects of the cultural symbology of romanticized exotics; to quote cultural anthropologist George de Vos: 'In brief, the ethnic identity of a group of people consists of their subjective symbolic or emblematic use of any aspect of culture, in order to differentiate themselves from other groups. These emblems can be imposed from outside or embraced from within.'<sup>38</sup> Obviously, there is much more to be said about the subject of folk revivalism. It is heartening to see that a growing number of folklorists in the United States and elsewhere have realized that folk revivalism needs to be taken seriously. More detailed research dealing with the subject in comparative perspective will help the folklore profession

to come to terms with a significant cultural phenomenon which has been a continual part of modern social life for nearly three hundred years.

### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Wayne W. Daniel, *Pickin' on Peachtree* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990).
- <sup>2</sup> See Richard Blaustein, 'Traditional Music and Social Change: The Old-time Fiddlers Association Movement in The United States' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Indiana University, 1975).
- <sup>3</sup> A. F. C. Wallace, 'Revitalization Movements', *American Anthropologist*, 58, no. 2 (1956), 264-281 (p. 279).
- <sup>4</sup> Anthony Douglas Smith, *Theories of Nationalism* (London: Duckworth, 1971), p. 28.
- <sup>5</sup> R. T. Anderson, 'Voluntary Associations in History', *American Anthropologist*, 73, no. 1 (1971), 209-222 (p. 217).
- <sup>6</sup> Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- <sup>7</sup> Prys Morgan, *The Eighteenth Century Renaissance* (Llandybie, Dyfed: Davis, 1981).
- <sup>8</sup> Morgan (1981), p. 25.
- <sup>9</sup> Morgan (1981), p. 28.
- <sup>10</sup> Morgan (1981), p. 161.
- <sup>11</sup> Mary Anne Alburger, *Scottish Fiddlers and their Music* (London: Gollancz, 1983), p. 94.
- <sup>12</sup> George S. Emmerson, *Rantin' Pipe and Tremblin' String: A History of Scottish Dance Music* (London: Dent, 1971), p. 102.
- <sup>13</sup> Alburger (1983), p. 195.
- <sup>14</sup> Alburger (1983), p. 195.
- <sup>15</sup> Emmerson (1971), p. 105.
- <sup>16</sup> Alburger (1983), p. 197.
- <sup>17</sup> Ailie Munro, *The Folk Music Revival in Scotland*, including *The Folk Revival in Gaelic Song*, by Morag MacLeod (London: Kahn & Averill, 1984), p. 46.
- <sup>18</sup> Alburger (1983), p. 203.
- <sup>19</sup> Peter Cooke, *The Fiddle Tradition of the Shetland Isles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
- <sup>20</sup> See Cooke (1986), pp. 127-28.
- <sup>21</sup> Capt. Francis O' Neill, *Irish Minstrels and Musicians* (Darby, PA: Norwood, 1973), pp. 474-75.
- <sup>22</sup> Edward O. Henry, 'Institutions for the Promotion of Indigenous Music: The Case for Ireland's Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann', *Ethnomusicology*, 33, no. 1 (1989), 67-95
- <sup>23</sup> Henry (1989), p. 68.
- <sup>24</sup> Gunnar Ternhag, 'Fiddlers Clubs', in Birgit Kjellström et al, *Folkmusikvågen: The Folk Music Vogue* (Stockholm: Rikskonsert, 1985), p. 95.
- <sup>25</sup> Märta Ramsten, 'The New Fiddlers: Trends and Revivalism in the Folk Music of the Seventies', in Kjellström (1985), p.189.
- <sup>26</sup> Ramsten (1985), pp. 193-94.
- <sup>27</sup> Ramsten (1985), p. 197.
- <sup>28</sup> Amy E. Skillman, "'She Oughta Been a Lady": Women Old-Time Fiddlers in Missouri', *Missouri Folklore Society Journal*, 13-14 (1991-1992), 123-132.

*Play It Like It Is: Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic*

- <sup>29</sup> Pandora Hopkins, *Aural Thinking in Norway: Performance and Communication with the Hardingfele* (New York: Human Sciences Press, 1986), pp. 68-70.
- <sup>30</sup> Hopkins (1986), p. 82.
- <sup>31</sup> Hopkins (1986), p. 100.
- <sup>32</sup> Hopkins (1986), p. 108.
- <sup>33</sup> Hopkins (1986), p. 119.
- <sup>34</sup> Hopkins (1986), p. 222.
- <sup>35</sup> Hopkins (1986), p. 228.
- <sup>36</sup> Bruno Nettl, *The Western Impact on World Music: Change, Adaptation, and Survival* (New York: Schirmer, 1985), p. 165.
- <sup>37</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. xi-xii.
- <sup>38</sup> George de Vos, 'Ethnic Pluralism: Conflict and Accommodation', in George de Vos and Lola Romanucci-Ross, eds, *Ethnic Identity: Cultural Continuity and Change* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1982), pp. 16-17.

## The growth of the organized 'Fiddlers' Movement' in Halland, Sweden, during the twentieth century<sup>1</sup>

KARIN ERIKSSON

Swedish folk music and dance altered greatly during the first decades of the twentieth century. The innovations created new venues for such activities, in parallel with a conscious redefinition of the music, and alterations to performance practice. These changes occurred as part of the development of the Fiddlers' Movement, *spelmansrörelsen*, an umbrella-like term encompassing the organisation of Swedish fiddlers and folk dancers.

The ideological side encompasses what the Swedish ethnomusicologist Gunnar Ternhag describes as an almost paradoxical connection between the need to keep and save the old heritage of pre-industrial music, and the need to provide musicologists and national composers with new material.<sup>2</sup> His development of Swedish folk music has affected both the practice of folk music, and the research into it. The music is used in new ways, for example, as concert music, rather than as music for dancing; and as music for amateurs to play, rather than 'professionals'.

The 'county' music has also developed into a generic – rather than a general – term, and is seen as comparable to classical music, or to any other mainstream musical genre. This is probably the most striking change, and an accurate description of how the music is now perceived.

This introduction to the Fiddlers' Movement can only touch on the diverse activities and ideologies centred around, and developed from, the movement. The twentieth century changes were multi-faceted, beginning with the introduction of fiddlers' competitions and ending with a musical milieu that includes amateurs as well as professionals; hardcore traditionalists and experimentalists; old-fashioned fiddlers and up-to-date saxophonists and drummers; fiddlers' meetings and folk music festivals.

Amongst this diversity, what has happened to the music? The answer to this question is central to my research. I focused my investigation on one of the organisations that represents a more traditional view: Hallands *spelmansförbund*, the Halland Fiddlers' Association. I then narrowed my research to investigating two central concepts. The first being the concept of folk music; the second being the concept of regional areas, in this case, the county of Halland.

My research considered the ways in which both are perceived, and looked at any guidelines for the practice of the required skills, for example, what repertoire should be promoted, and what instruments would be regarded as genuine, as folk instruments. These are useful tools for investigating the effect the movement has had on the music, and, perhaps more precisely, on how the guidelines have functioned in the development of repertoire and performance practice in the movement as a whole and in the Association in particular.

Since this situation might seem unusual to those unfamiliar with the role of the county as perceived by those involved with Swedish folk arts, some background information might be helpful. Historically, the Swedish government has been structured around counties, which are the historical regions used as legal administrative units during the Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup> 'Instead of trying', as Benedict Andersson wrote, 'to create imagined communities with the nation as the model', Swedish folklore research centred on the county from as early as the 1880s.<sup>4</sup>

Since then, the county has also been an integral part of the educational system, with each county being thought of as homogeneous. This view, common to the Fiddlers' Movement at the beginning of the twentieth century, was inherited by the Fiddlers' Associations, begun in the early 1930s. The county, as a research area, was also an integral part of folklore study, and the centrality of the county is used both for organising archives, and as part of the presentation of the Swedish nation at international exhibitions. 'County', as a region, is also used by different organisations, many connected to folk traditions (folk music, folk dance, and so on), and thus reinforces the county as a significant entity, ensuring each area is perceived as unique.

The concept of folk music, as used by the individuals in the Halland Fiddlers' Association, is closely connected to the view of folk music provided by researchers, and also to the concept of the county as an important factor in forming, and defining, the specific folk music of the area.

### **Folk music from Halland: a short introduction**

Halland is one of the smallest counties in Sweden, situated on the Swedish west coast, south of Gothenburg. This rather long and narrow region is divided into a coastal section with sandy beaches, and a forested area along the border of the interior lands of southern Sweden.

There are, in fact, few useful descriptions of Halland folk music. One reason is that it is actually difficult, if not impossible, to talk about one particular style of Halland folk music. Another explanation might be that researchers and collectors of folk music in Sweden in the early twentieth century undertook their most important work in other areas, searching for folk tunes often older than most of the tunes found in Halland. Nevertheless, there have been a few attempts to describe the music, as, for example, in the work of Gunnar Ermedahl who, in 1973, used theories of cultural change, to try to describe the Halland fiddlers' traditions,<sup>5</sup> while Filip Pärson, thirty years earlier, wrote that:

Regarding the fiddlers from Halland, they were, as far as it is known, well-behaved men, dedicated to their art, but nonetheless – or perhaps because of that, by way of living honourable men.<sup>6</sup>

The connections and similarities with neighbouring counties are clear, and comparing Halland folk music with that from surrounding areas is very fruitful. For example, the music from the northern parts of Halland resembles that of Västergötland, and to some extent that of the music of Bohuslän, north of Gothenburg. In contrast, southern Halland music shares similarities with that of Småland and Skåne; the first is east, the latter is south of Halland. Halland's traditional folk instrument is first and foremost the fiddle, but the melodeon and the clarinet are also found.

The traditional dance the *polska* became central to collectors working at the beginning of the last century since it was, and partly still is, regarded as the Swedish National Dance. The *polska* is a folk dance in triple time, and in Halland there are two major types: even *polskas* and uneven *polskas*. The first have even accents on all three beats, while the uneven *polskas* have accents on the first and third beats. The even *polskas* are more common in the southern parts of Halland, although they are found, to a lesser degree, in the north as well. The uneven *polskas* are found all over the county, with a somewhat larger concentration in the north, where different names are given to different types of uneven *polskas*, as, for example, the *norsker*.



**Figure 1** An even *polska* from Halland called 'Gammel-polska' ('The Old Polska') after Otto Johansson, Våxtorp



**Figure 2** An uneven *polska* from Halland called 'Honunspolskan' ('The Honey Polska') after Albert Drakenberg, Lindome

Similar divisions are also found in the distribution of the *engelska* and *kadrilj*, the former being more common in the north of Halland, the latter in the south. In reality, it is hard to find any clear musical divisions between southern and northern Halland, perhaps in part because the music is similar in tonality, as most of the tunes are in major keys. The most common type of tune is the waltz, although marches, polkas, mazurkas, and *schottis* are also found.

### **The Halland Fiddlers' Association**

The Halland Fiddlers' Association is one of the oldest in Sweden, having celebrated its seventieth anniversary in 2001. It was created not only by fiddlers, but by scholars, teachers, and others interested in the history and traditions of their county. The Association initially functioned more as a gathering place for playing together rather than as an organisation for the local fiddlers. But, during the 1940s and 1950s a new way of performing folk music began, the *spelmanslaget*, the 'fiddlers' club', and the Association gradually changed into an umbrella-organisation for these groups.

According to minutes from a meeting in 1931, the aim of starting the Halland Fiddlers' Association was 'to support each other in the work to create and maintain the interest for old folk music from Halland.'<sup>7</sup> The idea of promoting Halland folk music has been the main purpose from 1931 to the present. Tunes from Halland have been published and recorded on LPs, fiddlers' meetings (*spelmansstämmor*) organized, public concerts held, and so on, as well as, naturally, teaching the fiddlers in Halland to play tunes from Halland. This all rests on the idea that Halland folk music is distinctive and unique. In fact, using the concept of Halland, as a county, as the reason for choosing particular tunes is both exclusive and inclusive: exclusive in that it regulates what a fiddler from Halland should play (and not play), but also inclusive, in a more positive sense, since there are opportunities for fiddlers to choose what they play.

The determination of the leading figures in the Association to promote Halland folk music resulted in a common, mainstream, repertoire of specific tunes. This was probably not originally foreseen or expected, but may have been the result of lack of time, money, and opportunities. However, it has resulted in a different, and more homogeneous, picture of Halland folk music than that found in sources such as fiddlers' notebooks, field recordings, and printed music.

In the archive material connected with the Association, it is often possible to see that they attempted to make the fiddlers play 'tunes from the areas south of Gothenburg', attempting to control the fiddlers, and ensure that Halland fiddlers played music from Halland. The fact that the Association made these kinds of statements, or diktats, clearly indicates that what the fiddlers actually played was not always in accordance with the aims of the Association. This leads to the question of whether the message that the Association wanted to deliver, reached its members. Significant research material from the early 1970s actually shows that the repertoire in the fiddlers' clubs at this time had a common basic repertoire containing tunes from Halland, tunes from the nearest neighbouring counties, and tunes from the rest of Sweden as well.

Each separate fiddlers' club also had a more specific repertoire, mostly dependent on individual players in the group. Being a member of a Halland Fiddlers' Club and part of the folk music scene in Halland myself, since the 1980s, my own experience shows that this is still very much the case. As a fiddler you need to know tunes in common, so that you are able to play with 'strangers', but you also are able to build up your own repertoire. This is how the fiddlers' clubs work as well, having both a common and a more specific repertoire.

These common tunes, known and played by everybody, are used during the fiddlers' meetings, often as a part of a stage programme. The Swedish word for these tunes – *allspelslåtar*, common tunes – indicates that they are to be played by everybody. The pre-fix all- is also used in other contexts, indicating something that everybody is able to do, for example, *allsång*, a song for everyone. The tradition of playing these tunes at the fiddlers' meetings is one of the new elements that are a part of the Fiddlers' Movement, and was introduced at fiddlers' competitions during the first decades of twentieth century.<sup>8</sup>

When the Association wanted to increase the number of Halland tunes in the local fiddlers' repertoires, the tunes were introduced as common tunes. For example, the material from the 1970s indicates that the repertoire of club players declined, becoming much more limited, and changed from a more general Swedish repertoire to a more specifically Halland one. Many of these changes were due to a single driving force in the clubs – the individuals in the Association who were usually the most enthusiastic. One single individual in a group can more or less shape the group's directions regarding both what to play, and how to play it.

### 'Bruastregen' – a common tune from Halland

I will take a wedding-march from Halland called 'Bruastregen', as an example of a common tune that has been used in several different ways. 'Bruastregen' can easily be regarded as one of the most important common tunes from Halland, used today both at fiddlers' meetings and at weddings, and played by almost every fiddler in Halland. It is in two parts, usually played in G major, and can be regarded as a typical Swedish wedding-march.



**Figure 3** 'Bruastregen' as played by August Ysenius on Swedish Radio, 1941



One of the earliest recordings of this tune is by a fiddler and collector named August Ysenius (1877-1959), who is best known for his large collection of folk tunes and songs, mainly from southern Halland. Ysenius recorded 'Bruastregen' for a radio program in 1941, and his version differs greatly from how it is usually played today, both in the melody and in his military, march-like, playing (see Figure 3).<sup>9</sup>

Another collector in Halland, Filip Pärson (1873-1943), also wrote down a version of this tune from Knäred in the southern parts of Halland, but in a slightly different way, and this version is the one most commonly heard in Halland, the version 'that everybody plays'. Pärson was a contemporary of Ysenius, and both participated in the early activities of the Association, and often gave popular lectures about folk music and folk traditions. Why Pärson's version became the standard version can partly be explained by his high standing as a fiddler and collector in the Association, through which he had the opportunity to circulate his transcriptions to all the Association's fiddlers. His version is also published in both of the Halland folk music booklets (edited by the Association), as well as in other printed works.

The image shows a musical score for the tune 'Bruastregen'. It is written in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. The score is arranged in four systems, each with a treble and bass clef staff. The first system starts with a treble clef and a bass clef, both with a key signature of one sharp. The melody is in the treble clef, and the bass line is in the bass clef. The score includes various musical notations such as triplets (marked with '3'), slurs, and first and second endings (marked with '1.' and '2.'). The piece ends with a double bar line.

**Figure 4** 'Bruastregen', as transcribed by Filip Pärson and arranged by John Helge Johansson

The Association recorded this version in 1976, performed by the fiddlers' club *Sibbarps spelmanslag* (see Figure 4).<sup>10</sup> The tempo differs significantly from that of Ysenius's performance, 76 beats per minute (bpm) compared with Ysenius's 104 bpm, and they also interpreted the tune in a more polished way than Ysenius's much rougher playing. Today, Pärsons' transcription, arranged by Johansson, is the usual version heard in the fiddlers' clubs, and the same is true of several other tunes that he transcribed, which were published by the Association.

The tune has also changed more recently, in that it has now appeared in a new and different context. In 1999, the fiddler Hans Kennemark (together with the Swedish troubadour Alf Hambe) composed a folk music Mass for choir, fiddlers, double bass, and other instruments.<sup>11</sup> The Mass contains both newly-composed music, and traditional tunes from the Swedish west coast, particularly from Halland, one of which was '*Bruastregen*'. In the Mass, the music was used as the setting for a liturgical text written by Hambe, and the music is the same as the version transcribed by Filip Pärson, although, in fact, it is presented as 'a march after Pärson'. The lyrics are 'Blessed is he who came in the name of the Lord', used in the part of the mass that recounts the story of the prodigal son, and the tempo is now even slower (54 bpm). In this semi-classical arrangement, in a liturgical context, the tune becomes material for new music, even if the basic form and melody are kept almost unchanged.



**Figure 5** An excerpt from the Mass, with part of the '*Bruastregen*' melody. The text reads 'Blessed is he who came in the name of the Lord'.

What can we gain from this brief comparison of three versions of the same tune, whose original role was, and partly still is, as a march, played for weddings. One is that a single tune, or more correctly, different versions of the same tune, can be used in quite different ways, in this case:

- 1 As a part of a radio programme
- 2 As part of a recording that presents – and represents – Halland folk music
- 3 As material for a new composition used in a new context: the Lutheran church

The same musical material, then, depending on the context and its use in that context, can stand for, and signal, entirely disparate musical roles, and functions. These three examples also represent three different phases in twentieth-century Swedish folk music history:

- 1 The use of folk music in new media, such as the radio, and recordings
- 2 The development of the fiddlers' clubs and their repertoire
- 3 The use of folk music by professional folk musicians in new venues such as the church

'Bruastregen' is not only a common Halland tune with an important part in the repertoire, promoted by the Association. It is also part of the larger and far-reaching developments that were taking place in Swedish folk music during the last century. This expansion includes an increasing number of professional folk musicians; new ensembles, using the music in both inventive and more traditional ways, and the innovations of borrowing musical ideas from other genres such as, jazz, rock, and world music. These three examples illustrate, on a local level, some of the changes that have taken place in, and affected, Swedish folk music in general, during the last sixty years. The one-time wedding march, 'Bruastregen', is a useful model for how the local and the regional reflect and affect each other, in a continuous dialogue, in exchanging ideas, ideologies, and musical influences.

#### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Thanks to Mats D. Hermansson for reading and commenting on the text.
- <sup>2</sup> Gunnar Ternhag, 'Om sambandet mellan folkmusikinsamling och tonsättning av folkmusikbaserade verk – med utgångspunkt i samarbetet mellan Karl Tirén och Wilhelm Peterson-Berger', *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning*, 82 (Gothenburg: Svenska samfundet för musikforskning, 2000), 57-78 (pp. 60-61).
- <sup>3</sup> Mats Rehnberg, 'Folkloristiska inslag i olika tidevarvs idéströmningar kring det egna landet', in *Folklore och nationsbyggande i Norden*, ed. Lauri Honko (Åbo/Turku: Nordiska institutet för folklivsforskning, 1980), pp. 17-32 (p. 30). See also Peter Aronsson, *Regionernas roll i Sveriges historia* (Stockholm: Fritze, 1995).
- <sup>4</sup> Benedict Andersson, *Den föreställda gemenskapen: Reflexioner kring nationalismens ursprung och spridning*, 2nd revd edn (Gothenburg: Daidalos, 1993).
- <sup>5</sup> Gunnar Ermedahl, 'Studier i halländska spelmanstraditioner', *Varbergs museum Årsbok 1981* (Varberg: Stiftelsen Hallands Länsmuseum, 1981), pp. 29-83.
- <sup>6</sup> Filip Pärson, 'Två gamla melodier; Spelmansminnen', *Vår bygd 1943; Hallands hembygdsförbunds årsskrift* (Kungsbacka: Nordhallands hembygdsförening, 1943), pp. 40-46 (p. 40). My translation; original text: 'Vad särskilt de halländska spelmännen beträffar voro dessa, så vitt känt är, skötsamma män, hängivna sin konst men icke desto minder – eller kanske just därför, i levnadssätt och vandel hedersmän.'
- <sup>7</sup> My translation; original text: 'att stödja varandra i arbetet för väckandet och vidmakthållandet av intresset för gammal halländsk folkmusik.'
- <sup>8</sup> Dan Lundberg and Gunnar Ternhag, *Folkmusik i Sverige* (Hedemora: Gidlund, 1996), p. 80.
- <sup>9</sup> August Ysenius, *En gammeldags bondjul i Halland*, Swedish Radio Broadcast, 1941.
- <sup>10</sup> *Folkmusik från Halland*, LP, HSF 761010.
- <sup>11</sup> *I välsignan och fröjd; En folkmusikmässa av Alf Hambe och Hans Kennemark*, CD, ARCD 1008.

## From Swedish folk music to world music: Johan Hedin's transition from keyed fiddle player to modern composer

JAN LING

Folk music in Sweden has been considered as art music since early in the twentieth century. But the first organized folk music concerts had already taken place at the Stockholm Musical Academy in the nineteenth century in the presence of the king and his family. One folk tune, with a newly-written Nordic patriotic text written by the organizer of the concerts, Richard Dybeck (1811-1877), was performed by Dybeck. Later this hymn '*Du gamla du fria*' became the Swedish National anthem, an example of the nationalistic ideology behind folk music at that time.

By the beginning of the twentieth century another justification for folk music beside patriotism appeared: that of preservation. In this, the aesthetically valuable instrumental folk music from the rich flora of tradition must be separated from the 'dubious' new fiddle music, and given to the coming generation of fiddlers as a traditional heritage from the past. However, Swedish vocal folk music was collected generally without such intentions. Instead, the goal was more or less aligned with modern anthropological thinking: to preserve all the songs a singer had in his or her repertoire.

The fiddlers' aesthetic level, however, was controlled by yearly competitions with prizes, and later with special fiddlers' awards in bronze, silver, and gold. The singers were not subjected to such official control, since they were not considered to be carriers of a national heritage. The ideological framework around this new fiddle-based culture was far removed from the framework of the original farming society. It was created by the upper class and cultivated by the middle class: the vicar, the school teacher, and so on. The middle-class intellectuals wanted to establish a national feeling not only with the help of fiddlers' music but also with dances, national costume, and old (or newly invented) ceremonies. As a result, the Swedish flag became a very important symbol in folk music festivals, and the Swedish church was always visited in connection with fiddlers' competitions. This national movement wanted to protect the country folk, especially the farmers, from the new, dangerous industrialized urban societies and to preserve traditionally orientated activities, among them the fiddlers' music. A consequence of this ideology was that

the fiddlers, originally individual players, were organized into chamber music or orchestral groups so that they could fit into concert or mass media structures.

Supporting this is the important documentation of folk music by Swedish Radio and the Swedish Song Archive from the 1950s through to the 1970s, when they tried to save the remaining traditions which were outside of, and unconnected to, the different forms of revival. According to the new trends, folk music was evaluated theoretically in order to understand and present its social function, but was more usually preserved according to the new aesthetic ambitions. Mass media played a very important role in different ways, since 'the tradition' was now spread with the help of phonographs, radio, and, later, television programmes.

Today, folk music has become part of higher music education, and it is possible to become a professor in keyed fiddle playing, something which was considered to be a bad joke only thirty years ago! Record companies, other organisations, and artists came together to provide an overview of Swedish folk music that shows musical styles and performances of the highest level, representative of a new multicultural Sweden, for example *FolkNetSweden och Rikskonserter*, a joint venture between seven independent Swedish record labels, has produced a series of boxed CDs under the title Folk Acts Sweden. This new movement was started at the end the 1960s by a generation of singers and players inspired by the 'flower power' movement, political trends (most of them left wing), and other attempts to change society to something better. Organized folk music festivals, especially the Falu folk music festival which presented folk music from different parts of the world alongside mixtures of folk music and popular music, were very influential in creating this new musical consciousness.

When, in 1967, I wrote my thesis about the keyed fiddle (the *nyckelharpa*), I thought the instrument was in its last, dying, stage.<sup>1</sup> But I was totally wrong. Instead of dying, it was an instrument born anew, one which would become a very important musical tool in the coming new wave of folk music. After more than thirty years working in other fields, I went back to my old interest, the keyed fiddle, to see what had happened to it. I chose a young fiddler for my case study, Johan Hedin (b. 1969), who learned to play the keyed fiddle as a child, and whose musical roots can be traced to two branches of Swedish folk music: the keyed fiddle tradition from Uppland, Eastern Sweden, and the fiddle tradition from Småland and Dalecarlia, provinces in the south and the middle of Sweden.

### **The keyed fiddle**

The keyed fiddle has a very characteristic sound which has to do with its construction and the traditional playing technique with very marked attacks with the bow on the beats, important and characteristic of the special type of dances in question. On the keyed fiddle you can play your melody with a drone or what are called 'double-notes', that is, accompanying intervals usually at the third, the sixth or the octave, intervals which are also the most commonly used in parallel motion by an accompanying second or third instrument.

The harmony is strictly tonal, with a clear emphasis on the triads. The majority of the Swedish fiddle tradition is based on the musical styles of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century art music. The intervallic structure, the period building, the use of the rondo and small sonata forms, sequence building, and so on, all are associated with styles from what is called the baroque era. Many of the melodies can also be traced to this period, perhaps one of the most creative in the documented Swedish folk music tradition. There were certainly earlier music traditions which disappeared before they were written down, and there are also later traditions which were not documented because the collectors were not interested in what they considered as 'degenerate' folk music. Thus, the collectors played a very important role in the future of traditional Swedish folk music, presenting it as being as classical as symphonic and operatic music.

What has Johan Hedin made of this tradition? One of his early compositions, for example, is 'Dad's *Polska*', a birthday present for his father's fiftieth birthday. The *polska* follows the traditional model. It is in ABA form, built up through small micro motifs and longer scale figures, all in sequences. The bowing techniques are the same, but the accents are more profiled than those traditionally played. The *polska* is written in series of eight notes, groups of 2-4-3, alternated with a 3-3-3, which give a very varied rhythmical structure, with the bow giving the strongest accent to the first eighth note of the second beat. Johan also used the cello as the bass line, something very unorthodox. This indicates that Johan is beginning to break with tradition, which he emphasizes by heavily accenting the special *polska* rhythm and the accompanying figures' third and sixth notes.

In an early waltz, 'The Eagle', Johan both keeps *and* breaks with tradition. The introduction is long, far removed from the traditional waltz. But when the waltz begins, he emphasizes the hemiolic structure, which is also found in the tradition, but not as consciously used and emphasized as in Johan's interpretation.

Johan's life changed dramatically when he and one of his friends were busking on the streets in Paris, and a music manager from EMI happened to hear them. He became interested in Johan's instrument, and his playing, and immediately engaged him to play in a band, backing a singer, seventeen-year-old Milla Jovovich, a well-known fashion model and film star. Johan moved to London, where he arranged the music for Milla's band, and then toured with her in the United States, playing live concerts, and performing on radio and television.

Johan began using the keyed fiddle in quite new ways, playing fills, intros, rhythmic accompaniments, and ostinato (repeated figures of slow 'pads' under the melody). As I understand it, the music can be considered as a kind of musical mainstream, in the typical 1970s American song tradition, flavoured with country, bluegrass, and some rhythm and blues sounds. The music is not dissimilar to some English and Irish song styles connected with Swedish song tradition, inspired by Pete Seeger and Bob Dylan. Johan had assimilated and created a new musical language which became a basis for all kinds of folk music, including so called 'world music'.

When Johan returned to Sweden after the period in the States, he tried different kinds of musical education. He made contact with different groups of musicians outside of school. For example, he played for a long time with an early music ensemble in one of the alternative-living societies which grew up in Sweden in the 1960s and 70s, and this became more important to him than the traditional education. Many traces from his time with the group are found in Johan's compositions even today.

When he later got a place at the Music School in Stockholm, where he met teachers who were specialists in folk music, and composers who let him develop his own musical style, he really began to learn from others. For example, in 1998 Johan produced a record together with Harald Petterson of Stockholm. Johan plays sopranina, soprano, and tenor keyed fiddles, the old type of keyed fiddle called *moraharpa*, fiddle, *mbira*, and kettle drum, while Harald plays the bagpipe, hurdy-gurdy, willow flute, shepherd's flute, accordion, *mbira* and the Finnish bowed harp. They invite the listener into what they called: 'a wide landscape of music, using ancient instruments from the north of Europe' (see below, '*Triptyk*').<sup>2</sup> The composition represents something of the loneliness which even now is characteristic for parts of Scandinavia: we hear typical sounds from the forest, speech with echoes from a distance, a small suggestive ostinato motif, and a bordun playing. If we consider this as the basic soundscape, we can now follow how Johan paints the soundscape in different musical colours.

Although Johan can take steps back into the tradition, he prefers to connect his music with influences from jazz or classical chamber music, for example. This occurs in '*Triptyk*', where he uses a very well known Dalecarlia tune, which he treats very traditionally in playing-style and with accompanying second and third parts at intervals of thirds and sixths. But the tempo is very slow, which gives the tune a new character and allows a new way of hearing it. The title, '*Triptyk*', refers to the three instruments – fiddle, *nyckelharpa*, and saxophone – which each give their special interpretation of the borrowed tune. Another tune, 'The Land of Gods in the Woods (Trägudar's Land)', comes from the title of a well known novel by Swedish writer Jan Fridegård. The novel is about Sweden during the Stone Age, and much of the rhythmic structure and the ostinato figures in the instruments are influenced by the novel's atmosphere, as well as having connections with modern Irish folk music, which has been popular in Sweden since the 1970s.

In Johan's '*Diarium Spirituale*', he uses a new compositional technique, a sweet melody splintered into very short figures which break in free combinations, producing hard dissonances that clash, but end in unison cadences. Johan is leaving the traditional soundscape for something new.

The band which Johan worked with at the beginning of this century is Bazar Blue. His old friend, bass player, and singer Björn Meyer is a member, and also Fredrik Gille, who plays *cajon*, *udu*, *tablas*, *ghatan*, *framdreum*, *darbouke*, *kanjira*, *bendir*, *kaimba*, and many other percussion instruments, and also sings. Johan describes the creative process when they produce a record:

When I write for B[azar B[lue] I think of what they can and what they could learn, much out of my spontaneous intuition. Mostly I teach them the melody in the first place so I can correct where I find they must play in another way. When we record the tunes we often have played them live sometimes, but we try to get rid of the live situation because we believe that all possibilities will stream through the brain: we are only three people with limited equipment. We consider the CD as a whole, from the first to the last track... is [as] a homogenous work of art, directed to the listener. Under [During] the recording process the band is developing its creativity more than when we are playing live. To play live is more or less to try to recreate what we have done on the record. The studio work takes a fortnight, which is a long time... [for] folk music... but short compared with pop [music]... where one track can take the same time. We would like very much to work longer, but we are not paid for the studio work by the record company. Some of the tunes have so many sound[s] that we must take time to separate them... [by] different acoustical means.<sup>3</sup>

The tune 'BB cool' starts with a sound montage, the distortion of instruments, and synthesized song. But suddenly there is a dialogue playing between keyed fiddle and bass which is transformed into improvisation around small motifs leading to a new sound montage. The sound structure is very complex and there is a contradiction between the complexity and the very short track, not more than 4-6 minutes.

I anticipate that in the future the pieces will be much longer if Johan continues with his new compositional technique. Another piece, 'Still', is also filled with experimental sound, where the percussion of birds and cowbells punctuates the melody in the solo bass. The keyed fiddle takes over the melody that later moves into synthesized sounds, and the instrumental ostinato is transformed in a variation of electronic and instrumental sounds.

## **Conclusion**

Johan Hedin started as a traditional keyed fiddler, but since then he has built his music on different musical layers, which he has learnt by walking around in the musical landscape. It is interesting to follow his career: when he feels 'this is not my way', he immediately stops, like a walker who finds that he is on the wrong path. Sometimes he returns to his roots, and you can always recognize his 'folk music style', even when he experiments with new sounds.

In many ways, Johan's development from fiddler to composer represents the transition of Swedish folk music to art music during the twentieth century. The exploration of sound, rhythm, and pitch in the worldwide musical landscape, just to satisfy one's inner, aesthetical individual voice, without ideological thinking about tradition or national heritage, has given Swedish folk music a new dimension and brought international recognition.



**Notes**

- <sup>1</sup> Jan Ling, *Nyckelharpan, Studier i ett folkligt musikinstrument*, Musikhistoriska museets skrifter, 2 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1967).
- <sup>2</sup> Ola Backstrom, Johan Hedin, Jonas Knutsson, 'Triptyk', Atrium CD 3984-22197-2, 1999.
- <sup>3</sup> Translation of an interview with Johan Hedin by the author in 2000, see 'Svensk folkmusik blir världsmusik' in *Allt under linden den gröna. Studier i folkmusik och folklore tillägnade Ann-Mari Häggman*, ed. Anders G. Lindqvist (Vasa: Finlands svenska folkmusikinstitut, 2001), pp. 335-56 (p. 352).

## Making the music dance: dance connotations in Norwegian fiddling

JAN PETTER BLOM

Fiddle music traditions of the countries and peoples adjoining the North Atlantic/ North Sea have several features in common. One of them is functional: they are all basically dance music. However, when comparing the Scandinavian and the other North Sea traditions, significant regional differences in style pertaining to patterns of rhythm and bowing are apparent. The hypothesis is that such stylistic dissimilarities are reflections of the music's functional relation to distinct – and equally dissimilar – folk dance traditions within physically adjacent areas. This assumption provokes/invites empirical questions central to my discussion: namely, how music is constrained and informed by the dance, and *vice versa*, and how fiddlers make 'dance-talk' on their instruments.

By implication, these questions are also relevant to the more general theoretical problem of meaning in music. This article, then, discusses briefly some methodological problems involved in dealing with these questions, and suggests a model for the analysis of the dance-music interface.<sup>1</sup> More specifically, this article focuses on the analysis of rhythm with particular reference to aspects of traditional Norwegian dance and fiddle music.

### Translations of idioms

It is a well-known psychological observation that different perceptual domains and communications media might constitute unified systems of experience. (Compare the wealth of metaphorical associations in music theory and discourse.) In accordance with these observations my article is based on the assumption that a particular rhythm in one realm is translatable into another realm by analogy, which implies that rhythm, in the abstract, exists as a unified system of experience and deep-structural knowledge. For my purpose it is essential, therefore, to distinguish terminologically between the level of musical form, gestures, or figures on the one hand, and the level of content or conceptualization on the other.

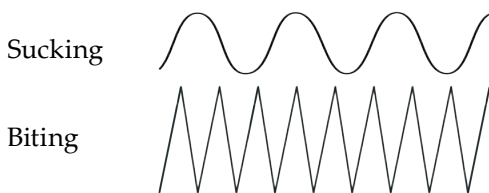
### The concept of rhythm

As Robert Walser rightly observes:

Rhythm has been particularly neglected in Western theories of musical meaning. This is usually explained in terms of the difficulty of generalizing rhythmic concepts except at the simple metric level. But it is also because it is in rhythm that the relationship of bodily experience to musical gesture is most apparent.<sup>2</sup>

Walser relates this to the general denial of the body in art music discourse due to the common fear of music's 'feminising' effect, one of sensual subversion to reason. For my purpose, his distinction between the level of musical appearances or figures (gestures) on the one hand, and the bodily experience-based concepts and meanings inferred from these gestures on the other, is in line with my way of thinking. However, for the purpose of empirical investigation the problem of definition remains.

Etymologically, rhythm (Greek: *rhythmos*) means flow (consider for example the English term *river*, the river Rhine and the Scandinavian verb *renne* or *rinne* means flowing, pouring, etc., and other derivatives). Human body movements, however, cannot flow like water. For anatomical and physiological reasons they consists of sequences of opposites: the regular *contraction: expansion* of the heart muscle, constituting the durational sequence of unevenly divided units (approx. 1:2-1:2-1:2 etc.), or the *expansion/contraction* of the lungs during relaxed breathing (approx. 1:1-1:1 etc.), are examples of elementary rhythms. An equally fundamental, but more complex, rhythm is the combined *sucking* and *biting* movements of the newborn baby.<sup>3</sup> As shown by the curves below (see Figure 1) the sucking produces a wave-like rhythm while biting is angular. These different structures are nevertheless coordinated in the relationship of 1 against 3.



**Figure 1** Sucking and Biting (after Bartenieff)<sup>4</sup>

Other binary contrasts constituting units of rhythm are movements like *bending versus stretching* and *twisting versus untwisting*. Depending on the moving body part, they generate moving shapes in different planes, and around vertical or horizontal axes, such as *up and down*, from *side to side*, *back and forth*, and actions like walking and running, pushing and pulling, and so on, the character of which depends on speed, weight, and force (intensity) variables and on whether the movements are direct or flexible. In this terminology there is a rhythm whenever these movement opposites

are performed recurrently at regular intervals, showing continuity and periodicity as if they are flowing. Rhythms in other words are built on contrasts performed in such a way that they appear or are experienced as continuous or flowing. By the same token, many actions and movements during daily activities are arrhythmic, whereas rhythms normally characterize the performance of repetitive movements or actions whether they 'come naturally' or represent naturally constrained adaptations to technological and/or artificial circumstances. On considering the background of common usages and definitions, particularly within fields like biology, kinetics, and psychology, I assume that the above conceptualisation of rhythm is far from surprising.

Because rhythms serve to economize mental energy they are felt to be relaxing and pleasant. Such rhythms are, furthermore, commonly appreciated as a rich resource for aesthetic experience and trance. As emphasized by Edward T. Hall, referring to empirical studies by W. S. Condon, R. L. Birdwhistell and others,<sup>5</sup> synchrony (*'sync-ing'* or *'being in sync'*) is an essential, panhuman, often 'out of awareness', non-verbal communicational form in dyads or small groups. Being 'in sync' communicates good social feelings and togetherness and thereby serves to strengthen group bonds. 'Syncing' is, of course, more than just keeping time; it is about rhythm, it is about the syncing of swinging bodies having a particular dynamic quality, which, in Charles Keil's terms, is essential to participation, both in its literary and its metaphorical sense.<sup>6</sup> Considering these social and psychological functions, it is no wonder that rhythms are important expressive means in art and ceremony.

### **The problem of representation**

In my view the character of particular rhythms, as defined above, depends on three aspects or independent variables:

- 1 Frequency (i.e. tempo)
- 2 Relative weight
- 3 Structure: the system of time/force relationships within the flow

Thus the wave-like versus the angular rhythms of the sucking-biting baby are analogical representations of different rhythmic structures, namely metres.

In music theory, rhythm is rarely conceptualized and studied in these terms. More often, and mainly related to conventions of musical notation, rhythm is defined as everything pertaining to the segmentation of time in contrast to melody and harmony. This applies both with regard to sequences of single tone values as well as to groupings of tones at different levels, irrespective of the principles by which they are inferred and given bodily significance. Consequently, groupings of tone values defined in terms of metre tend to be inconsistently applied by composers as well as transcribers of folk music. For example, according to conventional notation a march moves in 4/4 metre, which obviously denotes melodic groupings and their articulation, but has absolutely no significance with regard to the regular distribution of rhythmic accents. Characteristically all beats in a march are inferred

and intended to be equally emphasized (since marchers are not supposed to be limping along with different weight on each foot in a sequence of two or four steps). Confusing melodic and rhythmic groupings are actually quite frequent in musical notation. Metrical signatures, therefore, do not consistently serve to distinguish experientially significant differences and similarities with regard to the structure of rhythms.

Let me expand this point by referring to two ways of representing the Scandinavian *reinlender* or *scottish*, a well known couple dance introduced during the nineteenth century. Commonly the music is written in 2/4 metre (M.M.  $\frac{1}{4} = +/-70$ ). The traditional fiddler, however, puts equal stress on each quarter note; the metre should therefore rather be written in 2/8. Furthermore, the fiddler actually tends to play with unevenly divided beats (2:1 or 1:2), which means that the 2/8 should preferably be changed to 6/16 metre (see Figure 2).



**Figure 2** The metre of the *reinlender* or *scottish* as notated (2/4) and as played (6/16)

The 6/16 style of playing conforms to the rhythmic oscillations of the dancers' centre of gravity (see below), the content of which is the patterned consecutive stretching and bending leg movements while performing the typical steps of the *reinlender*.

In spite of the apparent inadequacies of the notation, fiddlers who play from the score still unconsciously perform the *reinlender* with the correct swing; it comes naturally because fiddlers have an internalized knowledge of the rhythmic character of the dance. The general lesson here, essential to my theory, is that rhythm largely belongs to the field of tacit and embodied knowledge based on motor experiences.

### **Principles of analysis**

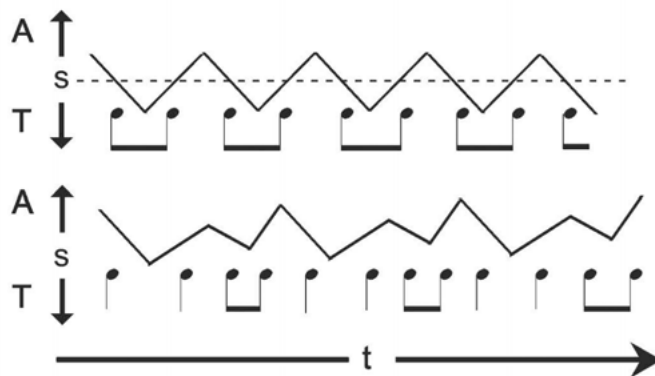
The perspective on music-dance interface advocated above is founded on what can be labelled a motor theory of musical rhythm, for which I find support among philosophers like Klages,<sup>7</sup> musicological phenomenologists like Becking and Steglich,<sup>8</sup> and experimental psychologists like Stetson, Isaachs and Fraisse.<sup>9</sup> The theory implies the assumption that culture specific movement styles of a social group represent shared kinaesthetic experiences embedded in its musical forms of expression, thus constituting the implicit and shared background knowledge from which socially appropriate rhythmic actions/reactions are generated.

Norwegian and other Scandinavian traditional couple dances are basically locomotory. Kinesiology informs us that human locomotion is based on the

alternation between *stretching* and *bending* movements of the weight carrying leg (synchronized rotational movements around the hip, knee and ankle joints) acting on the body's centre of gravity. Continuity, periodicity, or flow generates simultaneous oscillations in three-dimensional space. According to Steindler the combined up-down, forward-backward oscillation represents approximately 95% of total energy expenditure per step.<sup>10</sup> Of this the vertical component expends +/- 70% depending on movement style. These considerations therefore justify the application of a model, which depicts the *structural aspect* of a particular rhythm, that is, *metre*, as curves representing movements of the body's centre of gravity as functions of vertical space or amplitude (*s*) and time (*t*).

Figure 3 presents empirical models of two dance metres, that is, the normal elastic gait and the traditional Norwegian waltz respectively. For the purpose of structural comparison the curves are represented in the form of straight lines. The horizontal dotted line represents the neutral level, that is, the ordinary upright position with straight legs. Capital letter **A** (Greek: *arsis*) is chosen to represent the movement up and the letter **T** (Greek: *thesis*) to represent the movement down. All rhythmic structures in the vertical dimension, therefore, constitute cycles based on the two-phasic |T:A| movement, that is, a wave or swing constituting a complete cycle and natural element of a rhythm. This element can preferably be called a 'beat' in the context of contrasts between such elements within a metre. Although contributing to the character of the flow in terms of their duration and speed, the significance of each particular movement phase (**T** or **A**; 'down-beat' or 'up-beat') depends on its immediate environment of opposites within the syntagmatic chain.

For the purpose of further description the colon [:] is used consistently to signify the relation [T:A] in contrast to the bar [|] which stands for the relationship [A|T]. Parallel bars refer to the rate of movement speed or accent [A||T]. By maintaining the meaning of the colon and bar the contextual positions of A vs. T can be replaced by signs representing related events such as musical notes or numbers referring to the segmentation of time, and so on.



**Figure 3** Two dance metres: the normal elastic gait and the traditional Norwegian waltz

Note that models based on these principles of representation are:

- 1 Homologues with observable empirical events
- 2 Combine the *digital* either/or coding with that of analogy or continuity
- 3 Signify qualitative differences and similarities between units making up a structure in terms of greater than/smaller than
- 4 Secure both the uniqueness of the description and its comparability

Each curve of the model shows significant differences and similarities between the movement phases in terms of their relative duration, amplitude (above or below the zero line) and speed (s/t relationships), which constitute the characteristic |T:A| elements and their combinations. The difference between the gait and the waltz is most striking. Whereas the gait represents a *simple rhythm*, in which the structural element |T:A| equals the *unit* of rhythm, that is, the period or cycle of a rhythm or measure, the waltz unit of rhythm are periods (measures) of two heterogeneous elements ( $3/4 = 2/4 + 2/8$ ), and represents what I prefer to call a *compound rhythm*: || T: A | T:A || = || 2:2 | 1:1 || (see Figure 4).



**Figure 4** The waltz represented as a compound rhythm

In my view the fiddle music associated with this kind of waltzing signifies its rhythmic structure and tempo (M.M.  $\frac{1}{4} = \pm 165$ ), the reason why it is experienced to be specific in character and easy to distinguish from, for example, the Viennese waltz.

### **Dancing 'with' the Hardanger fiddle**

In some respects Norwegian folk music displays striking uniqueness in rhythm, tonality, and structure, the result of diverse local processes of fusion of new musical ideas with older, indigenous musical idioms. This is particularly true for the Hardanger fiddle music, associated with traditional courting and athletic dances, which survived the influence of the dominant waltz and polka genres of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The Hardanger fiddle (*hardingfele*), mostly used in western Norway and the central mountain valleys east of the high mountain range, differs from the violin with regard to essential features such as sympathetic strings, short neck, and flat fingerboard and bridge. In addition to the sound of the sympathetic strings, the peculiar harmonic and tonal character of the Hardanger fiddle music is mainly achieved by the application of a movable drone technique where all four strings, both open and stopped, serve as drones below or above the melody.

Within the Hardanger fiddle area the earlier couple dances in duple-time (2/4 or 6/8) are called *gangar* (*halling*) and *rull* and those in triple time (3/4) are called

*springar*. Such definitions in terms of duple and triple time are conventional but limited. In contrast to the common binary form of four-bar phrases, the architectural form of the fiddle tunes is frequently based on the sequencing of different repeated and transformed two-bar motifs, the tonality of which is ‘modal’ or non-harmonic in character. Furthermore the tunes also display characteristic and predictable cycles of bowing (see Figure 5).



**Figure 5** ‘Håstadbøen’, a *gangar* tune from the Hardanger district<sup>11</sup>

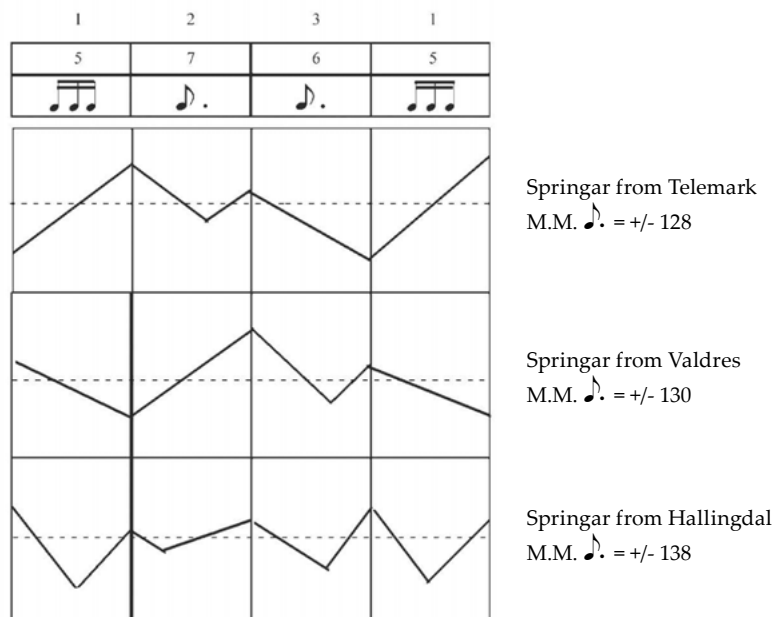
The various dances form integrated patterns of locomotion and co-operational interchanges between partners. Movements and postures are based on, exaggerate, conventionalize and transform the character of the normal floating gait. The flow of stretching and bending movements of the weight carrying legs show socially significant variability, both with regard to genre and local/regional styles. Dance movements are continuous without significant breaks or changes in metre or tempo and dancers combine few or many different step-figures into larger patterns depending on skill, mood, and circumstance. The structural and expressive emphasis on sexual dichotomy and complementarity, that is, male exhibitionism versus female modesty and reserve, is a major reason for classifying these dances as members of the historical courtship dances (German: *Werbe-Tänze*).

Metrical asymmetry in music and dance is a typical feature of the compound *springar* rhythms to the east of the central mountain ridge of South Norway, which separates the eastern from the western region where the *springar* dances display simple rhythms. Asymmetry varies predictably in such a way that any shortened beat is inversely proportional to the lengthening of the subsequent beat. It tends to cluster around the proportions 5:7.6, but is never and could not possibly be counted by the performers; they are matters of adaptation and feeling and cannot be reduced to precise quantitative relationships within a measure.

Metrical asymmetry is universal for districts to the east and variation in tempo is relatively insignificant. The behavioral style, however, and in particular the organization of the fundamental components of body movements from which rhythmic structures are generated, varies significantly between neighbouring communities.



Figure 6 compares three different local dance metres in accordance with the principles of representation discussed above. For the sake of comparison between items, variation is shown against the background of a set of invariant patterns: an arbitrary distribution of counts (1–3), their relative duration and typical closing formula of the music, which apply irrespective of local traditions.



**Figure 6** A comparison of three different local dance metres

Two of these, the *springar* from Valdres and from Telemark counties, have two beat measures, but are otherwise quite different structurally. The *springar* from Hallingdal on the other hand has measures of three beats, | T:A | x 3, in which the beat on count 2 is exceptionally light. In comparison the *valdres-springar* has a very marked *arsis* effort on count 2, in contrast to the *tele-springar* with its characteristic accentuated *arsis* on the short count 1 and a |T:A| structure on count 2.

Musically the variation in terms of local styles seems insignificant. Motifs, bow phrases and form are widely shared across regions and local communities. Nevertheless local/regional styles of playing are considered socially significant and the local identity of performed items are easily recognized by the competent listener, seemingly without any particular contextual information. The significance of small differences in stylistic quality is confirmed by the fact that fiddlers have difficulties in acquiring competence in more than one local style. From my experience, it seems that the identification of a particular local style depends on three sets of partly redundant variables:

- 1 Duration
- 2 Fiddlers regular foot beating accompaniment
- 3 Speed of bowing

The model shown in Figure 7 represents rough estimates of differences related to the distribution of these variables for the three different *springar* styles. The rhythmic character of the respective dances are represented in terms of a) the distributional relationships between beats, durations and movement phases, and b) the distribution of *accent vs weigh* variables, which are kept analytically distinct.

	Music			Dance		
Counts:	1	2	3	1	2	3
Duration:	5	7	6	5	7	6
Bowling speed:						
<i>Telespringar</i>		<   <sup>^</sup> >	<    >		A   <sup>^</sup> TA    T	
<i>Valdresspringar</i>	<sup>^</sup> <	>	> <	<sup>^</sup> T	A   TA	
<i>Hallingspringar</i>	<sup>^</sup> > : <	> : <	> : <	<sup>^</sup> TA	TA   TA	
Foot beating:						
<i>Telespringar</i>	[w]	s	s/m			
<i>Valdresspringar</i>	s	m	[s]			
<i>Hallingspringar</i>	s	[w]	m			

| - marks the separation between beats;  
<sup>^</sup> - accent, i.e. the most prominent beat in terms of sudden stress or force;  
|| - weight, i.e. the heaviest beat, i.e. containing the largest flexion of the leg;  
s = strong; m = medium; w = weak; [ ] = occasionally skipped.  
increasing [<]; decreasing [>].  
(The system of notation is tentative and just partly adequate.)

**Figure 7** Estimates of differences for *springar* styles

For example, the relationship <|<sup>^</sup>> in *Telespringar* indicates that the bowing on the upbeat (A), although initially light (see the foot beating), is increasing in speed towards the heavy downbeat (T) and is generally heavier than the upbeat in the context <||>. In contrast to these structures, the bowing on count 2 (upbeat) in *Valdresspringar* is initially heavy, but has a marked decrease in speed towards the following downbeat.

### Discussion

The model above is hypothetical, based on my own practical experience combined with casual observations. Tentatively it might serve the purpose as an 'ideal type', which is more or less adequate depending on musical circumstances. I do not claim, however, that the fiddler's music always and thoroughly contains analogous representations of dance rhythms. The interference of other musical factors is likely to blur or even counteract the expression of dance rhythms: patterns (cycles) of bowing have their own logic and serve both technical, mnemonic, and melodic

functions. Thus stress related to the bowing technique as well as to melodic and harmonic articulation, might interfere with the rhythmic accents.

However, when considering the musical performance as a whole the conveyed information about dance rhythms seems to be quite redundant (patterned). Consequently there will always be sufficient clues present at any particular time. For example, there seem to be significant co-variations within local styles between the distribution of tone values at the micro level and the pattern of accents described above; and furthermore, whereas bow phrasing motifs are widely distributed cross-locally, tentative surveys of the material indicate local preferences with regard to the selection of such motifs in the context of compound patterns or cycles. Figure 8 shows two closely related *springar* tunes, which illustrate what I consider typical contrasts and co-variations, and hence redundancies, within the system.



**Figure 8** Two closely related *springar* tunes: a) Telemark (*Nisien*) and b) Valdres (*Fagerdalen*)<sup>12</sup>

From my point of view there are good theoretical reasons why such redundancies seem to be prevalent. Since the musical sound products, including the audible foot beatings, reflect (signify) different but simultaneously executed bodily actions, major rhythmic dynamic discrepancies between these movements are not expected. On the contrary, experimental research in biology<sup>13</sup> and several studies of the relationships between speech and body movements<sup>14</sup> show that different rhythms of the body tend to be in synchrony and hierarchically coordinated (see Figure 1). Referring to the theory of the neurophysiological unity of the organism, 'self synchronism' is considered normal and by implication the lack of rhythmic coordination is taken to signify mental disturbances. We therefore have reasons to believe that rhythmic structures are likely to be conveyed both through the audible foot beatings as well as the sound of the fiddle, since these sources of information by and large can be expected to be in synchrony. In addition, when emotionally involved in the dance situation, fiddlers tend to generate accompanying body movements (German: *mitbewegungen*)<sup>15</sup> that are homologous to the swinging rhythm of the dance. Furthermore, whenever the music inspires the dancer, whenever the dance situation is a groovy experience in terms of real *participation*, there seems to be something to the music, the patterns of bowing, ornaments and 'micro rhythms' as performed, which can be phrased in terms of 'discrepancies'<sup>16</sup> between the dynamic rhythmic profile of the music on the one hand and the sequences of beats on the other, that is, between the continuities and discontinuities as coexisting aspects of the rhythmic

structure. The aesthetic experience of a rhythm, in other words, depends on what happens between the beats.

### Concluding remarks

The argument and analyses above are intended to demonstrate an empirical case where music and dance rhythms are non-arbitrary and mutually translatable structures based on analogies. Generally such systems can be expected whenever we are facing a densely integrated folk culture.

The paper might have left the false impression that I consider the fiddlers' performances to be planned acts of communication or conscious adaptations to the dancers' movements. It is true that communication takes place at a certain level. The fiddlers act in the role as leaders, controlling the tempo and the duration of the dance. They are concerned with synchrony but are not expected to make adjustments for the benefit of those who eventually do not keep pace with the music. Both fiddlers and dancers communicate by giving certain reciprocal signals of appeal demanding the emotional responses of the other party. The fiddlers demand adequate responses to their music and find it pleasing and inspiring whenever the dancing bodies are swinging in synchrony with their music. The reason why their music works in the group, however, is by and large not under conscious control. The music generally, and its rhythmic structure in particular, are expressions of embodied and tacit knowledge which are not accessible to manipulation for communicational purpose. 'Intentions' are immanent and basically therefore the fiddler is giving *off* information rather than communicating. In other words, the fiddler's function and position in the group depends on total involvement in the music, embracement of his/her role as an artist, and the fundamental ability to make the music dance.

### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Jan Petter Blom, 'Diffusjonsproblematikken og studiet av danseformer', in *Kultur og diffusjon; foredrag på nordisk etnografmøt 1960*, ed. Arne Martin Klausen (Oslo, Bergen: Universitetsforlaget, 1961), pp. 101–14; Jan Petter Blom, 'Principles of Rhythmic Structures in Balkan Folk Music', *Antropologiska Studier (Ethnomusicology Issue)*, 25–26 (1978), 2–11; Jan Petter Blom, 'The Dancing Fiddle: On the expression of rhythm in Hardingfele slåtter', in *Norwegian Folk Music I: Slåttar for the Harding Fiddle*, Vol. VII, ed. Jan Petter Blom, Sven Nyhus, and Reidar Sevåg (Oslo, Bergen, Tromsø: Universitetsforlaget, 1981), pp. 305–312; Jan Petter Blom and Tellef Kvifte, 'On the Problem of Inferential Ambivalence in Musical Meter', *Ethnomusicology*, 30, no. 3 (1986), 491–517.
- <sup>2</sup> Robert Walser, *Running with the Devil: Power, Gender and Madness in Heavy Metal Music* (Hanover NH, London: Wesleyan University Press/University Press of New England, 1993), p. 48.
- <sup>3</sup> J. S. Kestenberg, 'The Role of Movement Patterns in Development I–III', *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 34 (1965), 1–36, and 36 (1967), 356–409.
- <sup>4</sup> Irmgard Bartenieff with Dori Lewis, *Body Movement: Coping with the Environment* (New York, London: Gordon and Breach, 1980).
- <sup>5</sup> Edward T. Hall, *Beyond Culture* (New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1976), Chapter 5.

*Play It Like It Is: Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic*

- <sup>6</sup> Charles Keil, 'Motion and Feeling through Music' and 'Participatory Discrepancies and the Power of Music', in *Music Grooves*, ed. Charles Keil and Steven Feld (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 53–77.
- <sup>7</sup> See Ludwig Klages, *Vom Wesen des Rhythmus* (Kampen auf Sylt: Niels Kampmann Verlag, 1934).
- <sup>8</sup> Gustav Becking, *Der musikalische Rhythmus als Erkenntnisquelle* (Augsburg: B. Filser, 1928); Rudolf Steglich, *Die elementare Dynamik des musikalischen Rhythmus* (Nuremberg: University of Erlangen, 1930).
- <sup>9</sup> R. H. Stetson, 'A Motor Theory of Rhythm and Discrete Succession', I & II, *Psychological Review*, 12 (1905), 250-269, 293-335; Elcanon Isaacs, 'The Nature of the Rhythmic Experience', *Psychological Review*, 27 (1920), 270-299; P. Fraisse, *Les Structures Rhythmiques* (Louvain, Paris: Publications Universitaires de Louvain, 1956).
- <sup>10</sup> Arthur Steindler, *Kinesiology of the Human Body* (Springfield, Illinois: Thomas, [1955]).
- <sup>11</sup> From Blom et al (1981), p. 199.
- <sup>12</sup> From Blom et al (1981), pp. 55 and 53.
- <sup>13</sup> E. von Holst, 'Die relative Koordination als Phänomen und als Methode Zentralnervøser Funktionsanalyse', *Ergebnisse der Physiologie*, 42 (1939), 228–306.
- <sup>14</sup> See Albert E. Scheflen, 'The Significance of Posture in Communication Systems', *Psychiatry*, 27, no. 4 (1964), 316-331; A. T. Dittmann, 'The Body Movement: Speech Rhythm Relationship as a Cue to Speech Encoding', in *Nonverbal Communication: Readings with Commentary*, ed. Shirley Weitz (New York, London: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 169–81; William S. Condon and W. D. Ogston, 'Cultural Microrhythms', in *Interaction Rhythms: Periodicity in Communicative Behavior*, ed. Martha Davis (New York: Human Sciences, 1981), pp. 53–77.
- <sup>15</sup> See F. J. J. Buytendijk, *Allgemeine Theorie der menschlichen Haltung und Bewegung* (Berlin: Springer, 1956); Steglich (1930).
- <sup>16</sup> Keil (1994), pp. 53-77.

## Rufus Guinchart and Emile Benoit: two Newfoundland fiddlers

EVELYN OSBORNE

Rufus Guinchart (1899–1990) and Emile Benoit (1913–1992) are perhaps the two most famous fiddlers from Newfoundland. Both men worked, lived, and played on the island's west coast until the 1970s when they were 'discovered' by the folk revival movement and brought to play in the capital, St John's.

The rocky island of Newfoundland lies in the North Atlantic as the most easterly land mass of North America (see Figure 1). Newfoundland was England's oldest colony and both Guinchart and Emile were born citizens of Newfoundland, as the island did not become part of Canada until 1949. Rowe states in *A History of Newfoundland and Labrador*, that there is evidence of habitation by native groups such as the Dorset and Thule Inuit, the Maritime Archaic, and then the Beothucks, dating back at least 4900 years.<sup>1</sup> He suggests that European visitations may have started as early as the fifth or sixth century AD with the voyages of the Irish Abbot St Brendan.<sup>2</sup> However, the first archaeological proof is a Viking settlement dating from about 1000 AD at L'Anse aux Meadows on the northern tip of the island ('L'Anse au Meadow' on map, see Figure 1).

Under the patronage of King Henry VII of England, John Cabot is the next recorded 'discoverer' of the island on 24 June 1497.<sup>3</sup> Settlement by Europeans gradually ensued. The first European settlements, known as outports, were scattered along the rocky coastline. Many of these outports, ranging in population from perhaps fifty to a few hundred people, still exist. In general terms, the majority of the settlement on the Avalon Peninsula was Irish and English. The English also extended along the east coast in Trinity and Bonavista Bays as well as a little on the Great Northern Peninsula. Although the entire west coast was once known as the French Shore, the French primarily occupied the south coast, Placentia Bay and the lower west coast. The town of Placentia was, at one time, the French capital of Newfoundland. There is a small Scottish community in the Codroy Valley on the southern west coast. Today, descendants of the original English, Irish, and French settlers are spread all over the island. The result is that a French or English surname or place-name does not necessarily represent the greatest cultural influence on the person or community.



**Figure 1** Newfoundland

Perhaps due to their isolation, the people of Newfoundland held onto many of the older traditions from the British Isles. Up until recently, the traditional *a cappella* songs were still very much alive. Several folk song collectors, including Maud Karpeles, visited the island and published song books.<sup>4</sup> Kenneth Peacock, who visited the province throughout the 1950s and 1960s, published the largest work, a three-volume collection called *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports*.<sup>5</sup>

Music has long been an important part of Newfoundland life. During the winter months when there was less work, and frequent inclement weather, parties known as 'times' would be held informally in kitchens, or in the local school or community hall. A violinist or accordion player (both known as 'fiddlers') would be invited to play. This would sometimes involve him travelling several miles by foot, boat or even dogsled to another community. Dancing at the organized 'times' might start about nine o'clock, after a supper was served, and continue until the early hours of the morning. The fiddler would play all night with only short breaks between dances. If other musicians were present, they might 'spell' him or take over for a dance or two. Usually the fiddler was not paid. When remuneration was offered the going rate in the 1940s and early 1950s seems to have been about two

Canadian dollars. By the 1960s, Wallace Maynard, of Maynard's Hotel in Hawke's Bay, paid Rufus Guinchar twenty-five dollars a night for his regular performances.<sup>6</sup> In winter, fiddlers were in high demand, often being called on to play several nights a week. Both Rufus Guinchar and Emile Benoit were popular local fiddlers who played regularly for their local 'times' and dances. It was not until the 1970s, when they were in their seventies and eighties respectively, that they became known outside their own regions.

Although both were from the west coast, the two fiddlers had different styles: Guinchar was known for his fast, driving style, while Benoit played with a more flowing feel. Kelly Russell stated that they often had a difficult time performing together as their repertoires and manners of playing were so disparate.<sup>7</sup>

Rufus Guinchar, or 'Uncle Ruf' as he was called, was born in September 1899 in Daniel's Harbour on the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland, the oldest of eight children. Rufus married his first wife, Prudence, at age twenty-two and had eight children. Widowed in 1946, he married again three years later in Hawke's Bay to Carrie Ploughman, with whom he had three children.<sup>8</sup> He worked in many different occupations over his lifetime including fishing, trapping, logging, carpentry, working on the mail boats, repairing sleds with Bowaters Paper Company, being a river warden and a cook with the Department of Highways. Kelly Russell, long-time friend and fellow musician, and author of *Rufus Guinchar: The Man and his Music*, mentions that Rufus had actually been aboard the mail boat *Ethie* in 1919, on her last voyage.<sup>9</sup> Fortunately, he disembarked at Daniel's Harbour before the vessel continued down the coast and was wrecked off Sally's Cove. This incident inspired a now famous song, 'The Wreck of the Ethie'. In fact, Rufus has a connection with at least two other Newfoundland folk songs including 'The Heights of Alma', commemorating the Crimean War battle in which his grandfather fought, and an unpublished song collected by Kenneth Peacock in 1958 called 'Dance at Daniel's Harbour.' The latter song mentions 'the fiddler Rufus'.<sup>10</sup>

Rufus started to play fiddle at the age of eleven. I recall him recounting the well-known story of how he acquired his unique violin posture. He taught himself to play when alone in the house and would sit in the kitchen window looking out to his left to see if anyone was coming. This arrangement required that he hold his fiddle against his right shoulder with the instrument crossing in front of him. He told Trevor Bennett in 1969, 'I didn't want them to see me. I didn't want them to know I could do anything like that, see. Didn't want them to hear me, see. Until I was able to do what I thought was right, see'.<sup>11</sup> For the rest of his life he held his violin, tucked inside his shirt in this manner, and gripped the bow about halfway up. Rufus learnt his tunes by listening to the older men play. Robert Plowman, a Memorial University of Newfoundland student recorded him in 1978 as saying:

I learned a couple from father and I used to be listening to Len [Leonard] Payne and Uncle John Peter Payne playing so I picked up a few tunes from them. Then after that, after I got into playing, most of me tunes I learned from



old Uncle John Peter Payne. And he learned them from his old uncle, so there a lot of them I tell ya is getting a way back. Ah must be 150 years old perhaps more. . . Oh yes, I still plays some of them, most I plays is them.<sup>12</sup>

Rufus had a reputation for this older repertoire. Luke Payne, of Cow Head, remembers accompanying him on guitar and asking Rufus to play only tunes he knew. At some point during the evening, Rufus was sure to get a smile on his face and 'he'd brang one back from the Flintstones'<sup>13</sup>. Few of these tunes had titles, so Guinchard would draw from life around him when a name was required. Rufus often labelled tunes for the people from whom he had learned them. For example, the titles 'Uncle John Peter Payne's Tune', 'Jim Rumbolt's Tune', 'Father's Tune', and 'Sam Sinnicks Tune' all reflect this practice. Events inspired other titles such as 'Uncle Manuel Milks the Cow.' Russell states in his tune book that 'Rufus and Alec Bennett made up the verse after seeing Uncle Manuel Pierce milking the cow, usually the woman's job.'<sup>14</sup> They followed that with a rhyme, 'Uncle Manuel milks the cow, Uncle Manuel milks the cow, Aunt Kate she's sick in bed and Uncle Manuel milks the cow'.<sup>15</sup> Another example, 'Uncle Harry's Out of Shape,' was named for Uncle Harry Sutton, a school teacher in Hawke's Bay, who had trouble 'keeping up' with this tune at a dance'.<sup>16</sup>

Rufus also composed tunes including the 'Centennial Highway Reel', the 'Traveler's Reel', and a reel for the singer Stan Rogers. In his conversation with Plowman, Guinchard revealed the story and method behind the composition of the 'Centennial Highway Reel':

And the other one I made up when I was working with the Highways, 'Centennial Highway Reel', 1967. I was there looking after the camp on Christmas Day alone so I got the fiddle out and made up the jig and I didn't know what to call it after I got it made up, so I thought about [Canadian] Centennial year, ya know and I was working with the Highways so I said to myself now I'll call it the 'Centennial Highway Reel'. . . I was most of Christmas Day getting that together. Ya know it's a job getting a tune together. You've really got to play so much and see what it's doing and then you keep playing at that 'til ya know what is right then you gotta add onto it, a little more.<sup>17</sup>

Music played a big part in Rufus's life, as Bennett said to him, 'Rufus, we know you in our local circus as "Rufus the ready", because, eh, I think everyone is aware that you are always ready.'<sup>18</sup> This comment referred to Guinchard's ability to work all day and then play all night. As Bennett, who grew up in Daniel's Harbour, scribbled down as we were listening to the 1969 tape, 'Rufus loved the fiddle so much that as children he would put down his tools and entertain us.'<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately, as the popularity of clubs and recorded music rose, demand for Guinchard's music waned. One evening someone even turned on the juke box while he was playing. As he stated to Kelly Russell, 'That was the end of it, when the bands and juke boxes started up.'<sup>20</sup> However, he was 'discovered' by the folk revival in the 1970s, and so,

in his seventies, he travelled across Canada, to England, Japan, and Australia. He performed with several groups including the Breakwater Boys and released three albums. He also received numerous awards including the Order of Canada, one of the highest honours bestowed on Canadian citizens.

Approximately 200 kilometres by sea from Daniel's Harbour lies the Port au Port Peninsula and Black Duck Brook or L'Anse-à-Canards, where Emile Benoit was born in 1913. The Port au Port is one of the last remaining French areas of the Newfoundland, although most people there now speak English. Emile spoke only French for most of his childhood. Like Rufus, Emile had a big family of thirteen children. He married first at twenty-one and again at age thirty-seven.<sup>21</sup> Benoit worked at many different jobs including fishing, farming, and carpentry. He also became the community dentist, veterinarian, and blacksmith. His wife, Rita, related how he neutered the local dogs and cats, castrated the horses, and made horseshoes at his forge in the back shed. She said that he always wished to become a doctor, but had only a grade three education.<sup>22</sup>

Emile began playing fiddle before he ever held an instrument. When, aged eight, Emile expressed a desire to have a violin, his father fashioned a model fiddle from some wood and used thread for the strings.<sup>23</sup> Although his grandfather had played, his father only pretended, using two sticks while singing the tune. Emile imitated him and incorporated the singing into his style. This 'diddling' can be heard on recordings he made later in life. Colin Quigley states in his book *Music from the Heart: Compositions of a Folk Fiddler* that 'for two years Emile performed enthusiastically on his toy violin. . . it is clear that he was learning fundamentals of performance practice, musical style and playing technique'.<sup>24</sup> His uncle Jean, showed him some basic tunes on his own violin before making an instrument for his nephew. Emile told Quigley that, 'I usen't to eat [from playing so much]. . . Well, from that day, twelve years old [pause], I'm playin'.<sup>25</sup> Once Benoit began playing for dances, he found that his audiences appreciated new tunes. One night he started with his own composition, 'Farewell'. It was so well received that he played it for every dance that evening.<sup>26</sup> Russell states that, over the years Emile played the traditional repertoire less and less, preferring his own newly-composed tunes. Of the 152 pieces attributed to Emile, 95 are original compositions.<sup>27</sup>

Whereas Guincharde would name tunes he already knew, Benoit would often decide first to compose a piece. According to Russell, Emile would 'name the tunes before he composed them. A lot of times he had the name before he had the tune. "Well, I'm going to compose a tune for you now." So he knew that this tune, as yet unwritten, would be called "Christina's Dream" or "Kelly Russell's Reel" or "Brian Tobin's Reel". He set out to make a tune for somebody.<sup>28</sup> At one point, a politician requested a composition. When Benoit finally made the tune he named it 'Steve Neary's Waiting for This'.<sup>29</sup> Other times the composition might just come to him, as he told Michael Whitely, a folklore student, about the tune 'Emile's Dream':

It wake me up, it wake me up. Got up, took my violin an' played it. Oh, I played it, s'pose half an hour, or sumthing like dat. An' den I had no tape recorder at

de time, jus' had it in de head. So I phone my sister, got 'er up, she wasn't too pleased. Anyway, she got de tape recorder an' I taped it. An when I went to bed again an' when I got up, I look for it an' I couldn't fine it; I don't know. So, I phone her jus' play a little few, you know jus' a little bit, a coupla notes, eh? So I said 'OK' so I took my violin an' I played it. Den after dat, never forgot it.<sup>30</sup>

The landscape and events around him also inspired compositions. 'Flying Reel' was composed while aboard an aeroplane, and the medley of tunes 'Piccadilly Slant', 'West Bay Centre', and 'Making the Curve to Black Duck Brook' describe the trip across the Peninsula to his home.<sup>31</sup> Political events prompted reels such as 'Free Trade', 'Gulf War', and 'Peace'.

Emile was an entertainer as well as a fiddler. When I asked fiddlers who knew him, they would say, 'Oh, we had a good time with him, b'y'.<sup>32</sup> Ivan White, from Stephenville, told how Emile was quick to respond to situations. Once, at a dance, the stage collapsed beneath him and he dropped his bow. Instead of stopping, he immediately grabbed a strand of hair from a nearby girl and pretended to play with that as the bow.<sup>33</sup> He was also well known as a storyteller and gave workshops in the art. At one workshop, when running out of time, he gave a quick ending to his story. This prompted Dr Gerald Thomas, a Memorial University professor and friend, to remark: 'You think that was good! I've told him (Emile) stories in ten minutes and it has taken him seventy-five to tell it to someone else!'<sup>34</sup>

Like Rufus, Emile was discovered by the folk revival in the 1970s when in his sixties. His music took him to the United States, Europe, Great Britain, and Norway, earning him many awards including the Newfoundland and Labrador Arts Council Lifetime Achievement Award. In 1992, he finally became Dr Benoit when he received an Honorary Doctorate of Laws from Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Newfoundland fiddling as a tradition was not in the public eye until Rufus Guincharde and Emile Benoit became internationally known through their performances, awards, and recordings. Since then, many young people in the St John's area have learned their tunes. Throughout the rest of the island, however, it is still the older generation who hold the tunes in hopes of passing them on. Few communities currently hold the 'times' to which this music has been tied, and so there is little chance for fiddlers to play in the traditional settings. However, summer folk festivals, showcasing Newfoundland music, have become popular and both Hawke's Bay and Black Duck Brook have held festivals in Guincharde's and Benoit's honour. I expect these two very different fiddlers will continue to be viewed as the 'Fathers of the Newfoundland Fiddle' and inspire others to continue playing.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Frederick W. Rowe, *A History of Newfoundland and Labrador* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Press, 1980), p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Rowe (1980), p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, ed. by Joseph R. Smallwood and Robert D. W. Pitt (St John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers, 1981), p. 308.

- <sup>4</sup> Martin Lovelace, 'Unnatural Selection: Maud Karpeles's Newfoundland Diaries', in *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*, ed. Ian Russell and David Atkinson (Aberdeen: Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, 2004), pp. 284–98.
- <sup>5</sup> Kenneth Peacock, ed., *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports*, 3 vols (Ottawa: R. Duhamel, Queen's Printer, 1965).
- <sup>6</sup> Wallace Maynard, Hawke's Bay, Newfoundland, Canada, personal interview, 10 July 2001.
- <sup>7</sup> Kelly Russell, St John's, Newfoundland, Canada, personal interview, tape 47, 17 July 2001.
- <sup>8</sup> Kelly Russell, *Rufus Guincharde: The Man and his Music* (St John's, Newfoundland: Harry Cuff Publications, 1982), pp. 9, 13.
- <sup>9</sup> Russell (1982), p. 10.
- <sup>10</sup> Kenneth Peacock, Tape 91, No. 738, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa, Canada.
- <sup>11</sup> Guincharde Rufus, Daniel's Harbour, Newfoundland, Canada, personal interview by Trevor Bennett, 1969.
- <sup>12</sup> Robert Pius Plowmann, 'Folklore in the Life of Rufus Guincharde, Newfoundland Fiddler', Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA), MS 78-153/C4544, unpublished research paper, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1978.
- <sup>13</sup> Payne, Luke, Cow Head, Newfoundland, Canada, personal interview, tape 26, 7 July 2001.
- <sup>14</sup> Kelly Russell, *Kelly Russell's Collection: The Fiddle Music of Newfoundland and Labrador, Volume One: Rufus Guincharde and Emile Benoit* (St John's, Newfoundland: Pigeon Inlet Productions, 2000), p. 26.
- <sup>15</sup> Russell (2000), p. 26.
- <sup>16</sup> Russell (2000), p. 14.
- <sup>17</sup> Plowmann (1978).
- <sup>18</sup> Guincharde interview (1969).
- <sup>19</sup> Trevor Bennett, Steady Brook, Newfoundland, Canada, personal interview, 14 July 2001.
- <sup>20</sup> Russell (1982), p. 16.
- <sup>21</sup> Colin Quigley, *Music from the Heart: Compositions of a Folk Fiddler* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1995), p. 4.
- <sup>22</sup> Rita Benoit, Black Duck Brook, Newfoundland, Canada, personal interview, 13 July 2001.
- <sup>23</sup> Quigley (1995), p. 9.
- <sup>24</sup> Quigley (1995), p. 10.
- <sup>25</sup> Quigley (1995), p. 11.
- <sup>26</sup> Quigley (1995), p. 19.
- <sup>27</sup> Russell (2000), p. vi.
- <sup>28</sup> Kelly Russell, St John's, Newfoundland, Canada, personal interview, tape 47, 17 July 2001.
- <sup>29</sup> Russell (2000), p. 54.
- <sup>30</sup> Michael Whitley, 'Emile Benoit: The Musician and the Man: My Impressions (a Biography in his and my Words)', MUNFLA 83-11, unpublished research paper (Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1983), pp. 14, 15.
- <sup>31</sup> Russell (2000), p. 56.
- <sup>32</sup> Personal interview tapes, Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada, Summer 2001.
- <sup>33</sup> Ivan White, Stephenville, Newfoundland, Canada, personal interview, tape 38, 13 July 2001.
- <sup>34</sup> Plowmann (1978), pp. 16, 17.

## 'If you want to win, you've got to play it like a man': music, gender, and value in Ontario fiddle contests<sup>1</sup>

SHERRY JOHNSON

'Nice to see you girls fiddling,' an elderly man comments as I warm up in the practice room, before going on stage. 'Girls?' I wonder. I look around. There is no one else in the room except us. 'He must mean girls in general,' I think. 'Is that worth mentioning? It must be, at least to him.' Thus began my exploration of gender and fiddling.

### **Ottawa Valley fiddling and step dancing**

The predominant fiddle style in Ontario is a combination of Irish, French, and Scottish styles brought to Canada by the first British and French immigrants. These styles came into contact in the lumber camps along the Ottawa River from the eighteenth century to the early twentieth century, emerging as a distinct style, sometimes called the Ottawa Valley style, or more commonly the 'Canadian old-time' style. The accompanying dance form, similarly a result of cultural contact between dancers in the logging camps of the Ottawa Valley, is called Ottawa Valley step dancing. Probably the most important contemporary contexts for fiddling and step dancing in Ontario are fiddle competitions, held each weekend between May and September throughout the province. Most competitions are a combination of both fiddling and step dancing, and many competitors compete in both art forms. I have been participating in this 'circuit' of competitions with my family, as a fiddler, step dancer, step dance teacher, and judge, for almost twenty years.

### **Methodology**

This paper is based on interviews with women fiddlers from Ontario, with an age range from eleven to mid-forties, who have in the past, or still do, participate in the Ontario contest circuit each summer (see Appendix). Their fiddle-playing experience ranges from two years to forty-two years. Besides playing competitively, some play full-time or part-time in bands, teach privately, and judge at fiddle contests. I include myself as a participant in this study because of my seventeen years of experience in the circuit, first as a step dancer, and also later as a fiddler. I have known many of

the participants in this research since I entered the circuit: I have competed against them, jammed with them, played piano accompaniments for them, and even took fiddle lessons from one of them.

Two issues seemed particularly resonant with several participants, and with me: the separation of men's and women's performance spheres, and the gendered discourse of fiddle style. As I considered how the women had spoken about each of these issues, I began to see that both are largely concerned with value and prestige. In her introduction to *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, Ellen Koskoff states that: 'In all known societies, men's actions receive higher value and prestige than those of women'.<sup>2</sup> In this paper I demonstrate how, first, the circumstances under which women (are allowed to) win at competitions, and second, the way we talk about winning fiddle styles, give more value to men's fiddling than to women's fiddling, and ultimately reinforce gender asymmetries within the fiddle circuit.

### **Gendered performance spheres**

Until the mid-1980s, it was common for Ontario fiddle contests to have a class for women only called the 'Ladies Class', which was separate from the age-specific categories and the Open Class. Kendra Norris explained how she thought the Ladies Class originated:<sup>3</sup>

Way back when women didn't play the fiddle, the men played the fiddle. The women were allowed to play the piano for them, to accompany them, but the fiddle player was always a man. Eventually things started to change, but, of course, compared to some people who had been playing fiddle for a long time, and had passed on that tradition to the males, the women didn't stand a hope in heck of competing. And so there was the Ladies Open, which was open to any ladies, and then there was the Championship Class, the Open Class, and that was for the men.<sup>4</sup>

Karen Reed, who often competed in the Ladies Class in the 1970s, observed:

Obviously the Ladies Class was there as a very special thing. Women weren't good enough to be in the Open. That's the way people thought back then. So the Ladies Open was the equivalent of the Men's Open, but not. They didn't call it the Men's Open, they just called it the Open. But women tended to stick with the Ladies thing because that's just the way it went.

While the positive effect of a Ladies Class may have been to encourage more women to compete in an environment where they had a better chance of winning (Kathy O'Neill pointed out that there were never many competitors in the Ladies Class), the use of such category titles clearly marginalized women fiddlers. The more inclusive class, the Championship or Open Class, was really only intended to be 'open' for men. Men were of 'championship' calibre, and women were encouraged to compete in a class better suited to their abilities. The Ladies Class can also be understood to

have provided women with a socially acceptable position from which to perform in the midst of a male-dominated environment.

Kathy O'Neill, who was most active in the circuit in the 1970s and early 1980s, emphasized that the Ladies Class was much less prestigious than the Open – reflected, on one level, in the much lower prize money for the class. When I asked her if she had ever felt any resentment at the lower prize money, she replied:

Nothing ever was discussed that way. It was just another class. It wasn't something that was even taken that serious really, at the very beginning. Because I can remember one year I competed, in the late 70s, in Pembroke, Ontario, and I made the top ten [in the Open], and I was given \$100 for placing like, I don't know whether I was 8th, 9th, or 10th. But I still made as good money as if I had won the Ladies Class. . . That time I made the top ten with all the guys in Pembroke was way better than ever winning a Ladies Class. . . The perception at that time was that it was a step up to go from the Ladies Class to the Open Class.

Although Kendra Norris, who also won her share of Ladies Classes, said that she never felt her achievements were less significant in the Ladies Class, she, too, sees the Open Class as a higher level of competition:

When I was in the Open Class, I mean, when I was in my prime, I didn't worry about playing Ladies Class. I just went for the gusto. And then after I was married, once I was teaching school full-time, working, having babies, I didn't have the time to practise. It was time to step down. I was able to still be a competitive player, but I was in a category where it was okay that I would practise once or twice a week, instead of once or twice a day, everyday.

She described the disappearance of most Ladies Classes by the mid-1980s:

The number of ladies was not horribly significant, and, of course, by that time, [many of us] were playing Open Class anyways. So there wasn't the need for the Ladies Class, the same. So they decided they might as well take that prize money, and instead of having it be segregated, obviously prejudicial, that they would make it into an Intermediate Class, for those people between nineteen and usually forty-five. Then there was a class for them to go in, if they really weren't Open Class calibre. So that's when you started to see the Ladies Class converted.

The most interesting reactions to the idea of a Ladies Class came from the younger women with whom I spoke. For the most part, they had never competed in a Ladies Class, and the youngest, eleven-year old Krista Rozein, did not even know they had existed. Twenty-year old April Verch introduced the topic of the Ladies Class into our interview, commenting: 'I was really surprised when I was thinking, you know, there used to be a Ladies Class. That just sucks. It's stupid.'

All nine women agreed that there is now no need for a Ladies Class, pointing out that, women play the fiddle just as well as men, and that they are, in fact, winning against the men. One might assume that with the disappearance of Ladies Classes in the mid- to late-1980s, women would be integrated into the other classes, winning and losing against the men on equal ground. Although the women with whom I spoke agreed that gender should not be an issue in winning at fiddle contests today, the reality, of course, is much more complicated and multi-layered.

### **Gender and winning**

First of all, gender does seem to be an issue at some of the big contests, particularly where there is a title involved, but only when the winner is a woman. The most obvious example is the discourse surrounding Eleanor Townsend, long known in the Canadian fiddle community and through the media as 'the only woman to win Shelburne', home of the Canadian fiddle championships. This fact was still emphasized twenty-one years after she won the title, in various newspaper and television reports of her death on 31 December 1998. Kendra Norris was at the Shelburne contest the year Eleanor won, and remembers the emphasis placed on Eleanor being the first woman to win the contest.

Michelle Charleton, who was placed second at Shelburne in 1988 and 1989, said that although she approached Shelburne as a personal achievement, rather than wanting to be the second Canadian woman champion, the media picked up on the story and produced a television special on the Shelburne contest, focusing particularly on her 'quest' to be the second woman champion: 'They were looking for an attraction to bring more people in to see if I was going to place first'. One effect, then, of making gender an issue when women win at fiddle contests is marking the event as noteworthy, out of the ordinary, or, in Karen Reed's words, 'almost as if it isn't possible'. It does not acknowledge that women are routinely being highly placed or winning in Open Classes, and have been since the 1970s. After Michelle was placed second again in 1989, the media attention seemed to die away, to the point where there was no 'official' mention of April Verch being the second woman to win the Canadian championship in 1998. This could be interpreted either as a lack of sensitivity to women's achievements in the fiddle circuit, or an indication that women's achievements no longer need to be pointed out as exceptional.

Karen Reed reflected on the achievements of Eleanor and April at Shelburne:

[Eleanor] won it once and it was this big thing that she was the first one, and nobody ever won it until this year, April Verch. And somebody in the audience yelled, 'It's about time,' and I was thinking, 'Okay, well [April] hasn't been competing that long, so does that mean it's about time another woman won?' Yet she deserved it. She played well, had nothing to do with gender. That night when I listened to that contest, it was like, 'Okay, if she doesn't win, something's wrong with this'. Just close your eyes, listen to them play, and it doesn't matter whether you're male or female, the best player's the one that should win, and gender should never take a place in judging.



Kathy O'Neill expressed similar sentiments: 'I think the sooner people get over this she/he business, and just judge the fiddle player for the fiddle player, then the better off we're going to be.' Of course, gender should not play a role in judging but, as many of these women pointed out, judging is a subjective activity. Since gender does affect the circuit in various ways and at various levels, there is really no way of knowing how gender affects judging in any particular circumstance. Perhaps even more important than the reality, though, is how participants perceive gender to affect judging. Certainly, the insistence by the women quoted above that gender should not play a role, leads me to believe that at some time they believe that it did.

I asked April Verch to reflect on her experiences at Shelburne:

I think it was particularly hard at Shelburne. Eleanor had only won it, and nobody was ready for another female. I played around there for a few years, second and third, and it didn't seem to matter. . . People were starting to say, 'What kind of chance do you have? They're not going to let another woman win it.' And then people would be like, 'Well I think it's time. Now you're going to win.' And that would make me feel bad too, because people were saying, 'Well, it's time for a woman to win, so that's why [you won] it, you're the only one in there.'

From my discussions with April, I sense that on a personal level she is confident in her own ability to compete against anyone in the Open Class on the basis of her fiddle playing; however, on the level of public discourse, her achievement is devalued by connecting it to gender. A second negative effect, then, of emphasizing gender when a woman wins, is the devaluing of her skill and ability as a fiddler, making it seem as if gender is a significant factor in the win. Even though women fiddlers are now competing with men in gender-neutral classes, the gender ideology of the circuit reinforces the power differential between men and women, less explicitly, and more subversively, than when the two were separated into different classes.

And yet, the effect of emphasis on gender is not wholly negative. Certainly young female fiddlers, Eleanor, April, Michelle, and the many other women who have done well in Open Class competition, have become role models of excellence and achievement in the fiddle circuit. Perhaps the difference, then, is who is making an issue of women winning in the Open Class, and for what purpose.

### **Gendered discourse of fiddle style**

The second issue that I examine in relation to music, gender, and value is that of a gendered discourse of fiddle style. Kendra Norris had opened our interview by saying:

I thought of something before you got here, and I wanted to be sure and say, I can remember as a kid my father saying to me, 'If you want to win, you've got to play it like a man.' And that bothered me to no end, because it seemed like you had to go up there and play it with so much power and strength. Now

SHERRY JOHNSON *'If you want to win, you've got to play it like a man'*

maybe that's confidence, but, to me, I internalized that as it had to be loud and it had to be strong.

Whereas Kendra associated 'playing it like a man' with power, strength, and confidence, both April and Michelle associated the phrase with aggression. April said, 'Lots of people say that I play more like a guy because guys are more aggressive, I guess', and Michelle remembered, 'There weren't as many female players, so if you were a female player, you had to really play, my dad would say, you had to play like a man, with a little aggression'. Karen Reed, who has often been told she plays like a man, reflected on the phrase in the context of April's playing at Shelburne in 1998:

I don't know if it's aggressive, or just the dynamics. It's a strong playing ability. April Verch has strength behind her playing. She sounds confident, and women aren't looked upon as real confident. You listen to her and you know she's in control of what she's doing. Is that a male thing? Are women just flighty and bubble-headed, and when they play they just kind of half play? I don't think so.

Karen introduces here a dichotomy between the perception of male playing as strong and confident versus female playing as 'flighty and bubble-headed'. April set up a slightly different opposition between 'aggressive' male playing and 'wimpy' female playing:

But I can't really think of a girl in my mind that plays wimpy either. Maybe we would be, but because we compete against [males], we conform ourselves to be like that, because we have to compete with them. Maybe we're trying to make up for something, and so that's why we all play like that. Maybe it's just expected that we shouldn't be as aggressive, and so people say, 'Well, you play like a guy'. But really that's just the way we play. That's the way fiddlers play. That's just a fiddle thing.

In both cases, the characteristics attributed to a masculine style – strength, power, confidence, and aggression – are considered also to be characteristics of good fiddling, and are obviously more highly valued than fiddling that is weak or unconfident.

Kendra Norris also set up a stereotypical opposition between masculine and feminine fiddle styles, but describes the feminine style in more positive terms, such as soft, gentle, and subtle:

I think [April] is still playing more like a man, than the men are playing with the sort of stereotypical gentleness of the woman. Some of them are. Some of those guys are allowing much more of those subtleties to enter into their playing, primarily in their waltzes, but also in their jigs and their reels. I think if you listen very carefully, there are maybe more dynamics than just solid 'bull in the china shop' charge from beginning to end, at the same volume level.

But I think, even yet, the women are still trying to play like men, as opposed to the men letting the softer, gentler side in. I don't know of anybody in the contests that plays that way.

Although she described both the masculine and feminine styles in positive terms, she also acknowledged that because it is the consistently winning style, the masculine style is more valued within the circuit. She was quick to point out, however, that these are just stereotypes, and that fiddle style really is, or should be, about personal expression.

Interestingly, while the women in Amy Skillman's study felt there was no difference between the playing style of men and women fiddlers, the men that Skillman interviewed did identify a difference. They indicated that women 'play more smoothly, have more personality in their music and get a prettier tone out of their fiddle'. One modified that description by saying that women 'play waltzes more beautifully but when they try a hoedown they just don't have the bow action'.<sup>5</sup> I have yet to discuss gendered fiddle styles with male fiddlers within the Ontario contest circuit.

While the 'play it like a man' phrase found least resonance with three of my four youngest participants, it has not disappeared from circuit discourse. Both Kendra Norris and Kathy O'Neill use the phrase in their fiddle teaching to encourage their students to develop strong, confident playing styles. Kendra said,

And I joke about that now, and I say that to my students, 'My father always told me...' Somehow they seem to understand what I mean when I say that, and I get the desired effect out of them. I don't know why, whether it's just that imagery of the man, the strength, the solid, confident kind of thing, or what. I don't know, but that seems to be what is the difference, in some cases, between an average player and a contest winner.

Kathy interprets the phrase differently, removing it in her mind, from its gender connotations:

'You have to play like a man.' I tell that to my girl students as well. And it's a terrible thing because I don't think they mean play like a man, a female, a male thing. That was a compliment, to play like a man. It was nothing negative. I never, ever took it as a sexist remark. I always took it as a compliment. It, to me, meant, 'You're playing strong, you're playing confident, and you're playing like a winner.'

Whether or not such masculine or feminine fiddle styles actually exist in practice, our use of these gendered binarisms perpetuates the perception that they do, ultimately maintaining gender asymmetries within the circuit by giving value to that which is associated with a masculine style.

## Conclusion

These preliminary observations about gender and value, from the point of view of women fiddlers only, must be understood within the context of the very traditional and conservative culture of the Ontario fiddle circuit. Gender ideology is internalized and rarely, if ever, acknowledged explicitly. At present I am exploring gender with a number of male fiddlers, a more delicate and challenging task, but one which is necessary to complement the perceptions of women fiddlers, as presented in my preliminary research.

## Appendix

### Tape-Recorded Interviews

Charleton, Michelle, interviewed by author, telephone interview, Pickering/Toronto, ON, 18 April 1999.

O'Neill, Kathy, interviewed by author, telephone interview, High River, AB/Toronto, ON, 18 April 1999.

Norris, Kendra, interviewed by author, Waterloo, ON, 10 February 1999.

Reed, Karen, interviewed by author, telephone interview, Kitchener/Toronto, ON, 14 April 1999.

Verch, April, interviewed by author, Newmarket, ON, 9 February 1999.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> An earlier version of this paper was published in *Canadian Journal for Traditional Music*, 27 (2000), 10-19.

<sup>2</sup> Ellen Koskoff, *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press; New York and London: Greenwood, 1987), p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> All quotations are transcribed from tape-recorded interviews – see Appendix.

<sup>4</sup> Skillman documents women fiddlers' attitudes toward the Ladies division in Missouri contests, and the eventual disappearance of this division from contests. Although I was not aware of Skillman's work until after my original article had been published, there are many similarities amongst the women fiddlers' experiences in Missouri and Ontario. See Amy E. Skillman, 'She Oughta Been a Lady': Women Old-Time Fiddlers in Missouri, *Missouri Folklore Society Journal*, 13-14 (1991-1992), 123-32.

<sup>5</sup> Skillman, p. 130.

## Bringing it all back home? Issues surrounding Cape Breton fiddle music in Scotland

LIZ DOHERTY

In his novel *Seven Rivers of Canada*, Hugh MacLennan suggests that there is 'something Judaic' in the Scotch of North America, 'in their always retaining, wherever they might find themselves and however strongly they might identify with their countries of adoption, a sense of belonging still to those faraway places whose names alone. . . possess, for folk of Highland origin, an almost talismanic power'.<sup>1</sup> In Canada, Scotland has, to a certain extent, been retained and promoted as 'an imaginary community, [where] a sense of belonging [is] sustained as much by fantasy and the imagination as by any geographical or physical reality'.<sup>2</sup> The myth of Scotch Canada allows one to be a Scot by choice, involved in what are mainly British Empire symbols of Scottishness.<sup>3</sup> Cape Breton Island has not entirely escaped the invented traditions and emblems promoted as, in 'the quest of the folk' (to borrow Ian McKay's terminology), the province of Nova Scotia was deemed essentially Scottish, parading this since the 1930s and the premiership of Angus MacDonald. Tartanism has indeed reigned triumphant through institutions such as the Gaelic College at St Ann's. However, it is by virtue of its Gaelic roots that Cape Breton offers deeper connections with the old country.

The Gaelic language, songs, fiddle music, piping, and step dancing crossed the Atlantic with the immigrants who made Cape Breton their home in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The isolation afforded by the island location, the poor weather conditions, and the practice of entire communities relocating together allowed the old ways to be maintained in this new environment. In the documentary, *The Blood Is Strong* (Grampian/Channel 4, 1988), the people of Cape Breton were referred to as 'neither Canadians nor Scots, but people who have been dislocated, uprooted'. Certainly suspended between the old world and the new, Cape Bretoners have, over time, transferred the typical Highland attachment to place and locality to their new homeland. The Cape Breton anthem, 'We Are an Island, a Rock in the Stream' by Kenzie MacNeil,<sup>4</sup> celebrates in song the island identity of Cape Breton, which was only joined to the mainland of Nova Scotia by the Canso Causeway in 1955. Cape Bretoners speak about 'over there in Canada'. A tale exists of an old woman leading her family in prayer the night the Causeway

was opened thanking God 'for having at last made Canada a part of Cape Breton'.<sup>5</sup> Much migration from Cape Breton to urban centres in the west and to the south has underlined this necessity for Cape Bretoners to distinguish themselves in the ethnic mosaic that is Canada. Within Cape Breton itself the awareness of a local identity represents an increasing recognition of the various other ethnic groups (Mi'kmaq First Nations, French Acadians, Irish, Poles, Ukrainians, Italians, etc.), who call the island home. Connections with the Highlands are still in evidence, yet, 'our sense of belonging, our language and the myths we carry in us remain but no longer as origins or signs of authenticity capable of guaranteeing the sense of our lives. They now linger as traces, voices, memories and murmurs that are mixed in with other histories, episodes, encounters'.<sup>6</sup> In his book *A Dance Called America*, James Hunter recalls a visit to the Big Pond Concert :

The summer sun possesses here a strength it never gains in Scotland. The nearby stretch of water is the Bras d'Or Lake and not the Minch. The cars and station wagons parked in long lines on the grass mostly carry Nova Scotia license plates. The shouting sellers of hotdogs, popsicles, cotton candy and Mickey Mouse balloons are as North American as the warm, forest-scented breeze which now and then comes swirling down from the surrounding hillsides. This Big Pond music festival is very much a Cape Breton Island event. While some songs sung on such occasions have implicit in them still a hankering for the Scottish Highlands, these are not the songs, you quickly sense, which tug most strongly at the audience's emotions. The sentiments which really matter here have more to do with this small part of modern Canada than the faraway country to which so many of today's Canadians can trace their family origins.<sup>7</sup>

Recently I heard someone speak of a visit to Cape Breton where they stayed with a MacAskill family in Englishtown. The man of the house was able to trace the family lineage through several generations back to the Highlands of Scotland, but expressed surprise when the visitors suggested that they take a trip there one day. For these people, there is an ongoing pride in their ancestry, in their Scottish roots, but now Cape Breton is their land.

'For the children of our people driven over the seas will come back again,' sings the Scottish Gaelic poet Mairi Mhor nan Oran (1821-1898). The re-visiting of Scotland by Cape Bretoners is not something that is borne of the recent past. The Second World War saw the great fiddler and composer Dan R. MacDonald based in the Loch Ailort area of the Scottish Highlands with the forestry service. Bill Lamey visited the Mod in Dundee in 1967 along with piano player Father John Angus Rankin, the parish priest in Glendale. Buddy MacMaster's first trip was in 1970 along with Father Rankin and Dr Malcolm MacLellan, then President of St Francis Xavier University, Antigonish. Buddy commented: 'I thought I'd never come to Scotland – it was kind of unheard of at that time'.<sup>8</sup> Yet he has returned some fifteen times since. In 1977 the 'Calling of the Clans' saw a number of Cape Bretoners perform in the Great Hall of

Edinburgh Castle; the Cape Breton Symphony Orchestra has made several trips to Scotland; the 'Sons of Skye' visited in 1979 with an entourage that included Buddy MacMaster, Carl MacKenzie, Doug MacPhee, Father Allan MacMillan, and Joe Neil MacNeil. Cape Breton music and song was also promoted through the BBC, who collected and broadcast songs from the North Shore in the 1950s, and also broadcast a transatlantic ceilidh in 1978.

Cape Breton music had also been 'discovered' and presented in the old country through the Topic Record label. John Shaw, in the sleeve notes to the brilliant fiddle compilation, suggested that 'the regional style and repertoire in song, poetry, and instrumental music reflect the culture of 18th century Gaeldom, with subsequent influences from the 19th century being absent or negligible.'<sup>9</sup> While expecting this to generate some reaction, he was pleased to note that 'almost everybody was quite accepting of that particular view of things. . . it meant that people here were quite open-minded and they're not so worried about who they are'.<sup>10</sup>

Conversely, the more recent promotion of Cape Breton music in Scotland has aroused intense feelings, both positive and negative, throughout the traditional music community. Perhaps it has been the active steps taken to promote Cape Breton music in Scotland over the last decade; perhaps it was the numbers of people embracing this; perhaps it was the very strong opinions voiced with regard to this tradition, but there has been a very palpable tension between the perceived dualisms of centre (Scotland) and periphery (Cape Breton) evident in Scotland over the last several years.

During times of conflict, when a group feels threatened, cultural production processes which are normally submerged from view and operate at a deep level, rise closer to the surface. At such times people highlight cultural assumptions in order to frame arguments against their 'adversaries' in a process of foregrounding.<sup>11</sup>

This process of 'foregrounding' Cape Breton music in Scotland was undertaken by a small group of individuals, all Scottish, but from different backgrounds, who happened upon Cape Breton and its music around the same time, but in a variety of ways. Common to all was the experience that, in the words of Sorley MacLean, 'the dead have been seen alive.'<sup>12</sup> The fiddler Alasdair Fraser, piper Hamish Moore, and Mairi Campbell, who studied viola in London, all discovered Cape Breton music and in many ways became self-appointed 'Guardians of the Folk'.<sup>13</sup> 'The Folk were incarnations of a Golden Age, exemplars of an older and better time, bearers of ancient ways. An entropic conservatism esteemed their culture above that of others and struggled to preserve it. Guardians of the Folk often saw themselves as conducting a last-minute salvage operation to garner their cultural treasures before the Folk disappeared forever'.<sup>14</sup>

Alasdair Fraser, in the sleeve notes to his 1988 album, *The Driven Bow*, has the following to say: 'Fortunately the fiddle and dance traditions on Cape Breton

Island in the Canadian Maritimes provide us with a window which sheds light on the way 18th and 19th century dance fiddlers such as Neil Gow used to play in the Highlands of Scotland. . . Let's hope that some of the great fiddle and dance tradition that has been absent from Scotland for so many years can be restored.<sup>15</sup> In 1994 Hamish Moore wrote that 'Cape Breton held the Scottish music and dance culture in trust' while in Scotland it had become 'diluted and sanitized'.<sup>16</sup> Mairi Campbell's reaction to her first experience of Cape Breton music was that 'the pieces have been put in place. . . they make sense'.<sup>17</sup> Others have stated that the attraction to Cape Breton music was that it was 'recognisably Scottish but without that kind of ramrod through it'.<sup>18</sup>

The practical steps taken by these Scots to promote Cape Breton music in Scotland have been many and varied. Alasdair Fraser is responsible for introducing the teaching of fiddle and step dancing by Cape Bretoners at a number of locations, most notably at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig in Skye; Hamish Moore has organized the summer school, *Ceòlas*, in South Uist for the past six years with Cape Bretoners included as tutors and participants, 'forging links in the homeland of their forebears and providing an opportunity for these two cultures which have survived in parallel to once again come together and celebrate'.<sup>19</sup> Here 'the integration of music, Gaelic song and the old step dance rhythms is the philosophy – inspired by Hamish himself'.<sup>20</sup> Hamish Moore, Mairi Campbell, and Dave Francis, along with Cape Bretoners Jean and Ryan MacNeil, also carried out two Scottish tours of 'Welcome Home Nova Scotia', a show 'which tells how traditional Scottish music left our shores at the time of the Clearances and is now returning home'.<sup>21</sup>

The impact of this 'foregrounding' among the Scottish music community has been both positive and negative. Huge numbers have attended classes in fiddle, yet – apart from a small number of players such as Karen Steven and Kenny Fraser – most have embraced the repertoire rather than the style. Accompaniment, a central part of the Cape Breton sound, has not really been taken on board – a matter of choice, perhaps, since many here find it too busy and intrusive. Yet it is an integral part of the Cape Breton sound, and to promote the fiddling in isolation from this is surely a misrepresentation of the style.

A number of individual pipers have become interested in Hamish Moore's 'discovery', the old dance piper, Alex Currie. Interestingly, Hamish's passion on the subject seems to have aroused as much or more activity among the piping community in Cape Breton than in Scotland.

Step dancing has arguably been the most successful and widely-embraced aspect of the Cape Breton tradition in contemporary Scotland. Perhaps this is where the biggest gap was, in that there was no similar or related tradition to compete with. It does seem that step dancing did exist in the Highlands and Islands until well into the twentieth century. The late Faraquhar MacCraith used to speak of two brothers by the name of Gillis who would be invited up to step dance during the intervals at dances. This continued until the 1960s when the brothers would have been over seventy years of age.<sup>22</sup> Yet the younger players from the area with whom I spoke had



never seen this type of dancing until they came in contact with Cape Bretoners. For all the popularity of step dancing in Scotland, I find it interesting that many of those ardent supporters and promoters of the dance are managing to present it without so much as acknowledging the Cape Breton connection. Recently at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig I heard a short description of the step dance tradition prior to a concert performance. The dancer speaking mentioned the Highland roots, the obvious connections with the Irish tradition, but didn't mention Cape Breton at all. When I asked her after the show where she had learned her steps she replied 'Harvey Beaton' – the brilliant step dancer from Nova Scotia.

Given the passions surrounding the whole Cape Breton issue in Scotland, those who have been involved in bringing this music back have gained considerable reputations within the music community. The group Fiddle Force, which grew out of the Sabhal Mòr Ostaig courses was described to me by one of the members as being 'more [Alasdair] Fraserites than Cape Bretonites'.<sup>23</sup> At the same time, those who have been continuing the old Highland tradition for years – people such as Angus Grant and the MacCraiths – have in fact gained more recognition than ever before, perhaps proving that individuals 'who do not so much trumpet their ethnicity as quietly assume it are probably more important than the manifestations of the self-consciously Scottish'.<sup>24</sup> Perhaps this is what Alasdair Fraser, Hamish Moore, and others intended all along; or perhaps this highlights how unfamiliar they were with the totality of Scottish music before getting excited by the prospect of Cape Breton. Mairi Campbell, visiting Cape Breton in 1990 for the first time, told me very honestly: 'Cape Breton was my very first contact with Scots music. . . I had a strong feeling for Cape Breton and felt, quite innocently somehow, that it was truly Scots music, without there being any sense of problem, because I didn't know the Scots music anyway'.<sup>25</sup>

Credit where credit is due, and so it should be said that, thanks to the efforts of all the individuals mentioned, Cape Breton and its music is now well-established in Scotland and indeed throughout the whole commercial Celtic world. However, when any individual or group undertakes a mission of this nature, it is essential that the reality is not reinvented to create a more sentimental myth. The reality is that what we have in Cape Breton is not eighteenth-century Highland music which has been caught in a time warp in a remote location. What we have instead is a tradition that certainly has its roots in that tradition, but which has become over time a new voice in Scottish music. As the fiddler Alan Henderson told me: 'I've always thought of Cape Breton as being another of the Hebrides, just a wee bit further away'.<sup>26</sup> Buddy MacMaster speaks for all Cape Bretoners when he says, 'We don't want to come over here [to Scotland] and spoil the good music that's here, but I think there's room for all the styles'.<sup>27</sup>

The younger Cape Breton players today recognize their Scottish heritage, yet they do not necessarily allow it to shape what they do. Their contexts are different and thus their musical language has adapted because of the challenges of these new experiences. These younger players have embraced the music of their past –

Scotland of the eighteenth century may inform much of their repertoire and aspects of their style – but now the older music of Cape Breton itself is also their heritage. Album titles and lists of tunes no longer pay homage only to a distant land and time, but to a Cape Breton past and present as well. What Scotland means to the young Cape Breton players today, who are quite likely to have toured here on more than one occasion, is quite different to the precious memory it was in the minds of their ancestors.

One of the obvious differences between the Cape Breton fiddlers of today and of over a century ago concerns a general change in perceptions of culture. For the older people, all aspects of culture were entwined – the music, dance, song, stories – and the language was Gaelic. Fiddler Mike MacLean, speaking with John Shaw, commented: ‘Cape Bretoners love their piping and fiddle music, but there’ll be none of it as we know it unless there’s more Gaelic being learned. The language and the music are one. All this fine Gaelic music we enjoy came out of Gaelic heads. If the language goes the music will never, never be the same’.<sup>28</sup> The Gaelic storyteller Joe Neil MacNeil continues this idea: ‘Some of the younger generation, they’re following the style that they acquired from the older people, but they miss part of it, and when it comes to new tunes, they don’t achieve the flavour at all. . . when the older generation of fiddlers will be gone and the younger ones will have entered into their own new style, it will be just about as difficult for you to hear any more of the old style as it would to get copies of the tunes played by the Pied piper!’.<sup>29</sup> Today, fiddlers such as Alec Francis MacKay in Glendale represent this older Cape Breton idiom; but the language has so declined since the 1940s that even the older fiddlers, such as Buddy MacMaster, are not native speakers. Clearly, in this instance, we can see how the links with eighteenth-century Scotland have been undermined. Furthermore, the transmission of the tradition has become a different thing over the years. While the early players learned at the knee of their elders and picked up the style by imitation, the establishment of classes in fiddle, accompaniment, and dance since the 1970s, in response to the suggestion that the Cape Breton fiddler was vanishing, have transformed the transmission process. Contexts and audiences have also changed and expanded; the formula now is international, and this is the new directive. All these factors have ensured that, while the Cape Breton fiddler may have escaped extinction, he/she has certainly become a different creature.

The repertoire of the Cape Breton fiddler has also changed and expanded over the course of the last century. The older repertoire, learned often from *puirt-a-beul* and from the Highland pipes, has been supplemented by tunes from more recent Scottish sources, generally learned from printed sources. Individuals such as Dan R. MacDonald, Bill Lamey, and Dan Joe MacInnis were in contact with enthusiast and collector J. Murdoch Henderson in Scotland and acquired many printed collections from him, which they shared among the fiddling community. While the Gow, the Atholl, and the Simon Fraser collections all legitimized for them the repertoire they already played, the acquisition of other collections such as those by James Scott Skinner were perceived as extensions of this, rather than a different tradition. The

integration of these new sources resulted in a massive increase in the repertoire in the 1950s. In more recent times, the availability of commercial recordings has seen a further expansion, this time on a more eclectic level, as Irish, American, Shetland, and Canadian old-time tunes are all played.

The Cape Breton sound has firmly established itself as solo fiddle with a very distinctive piano accompaniment. 'To me the violin is a beautiful instrument but without the piano it's like a bell without a tongue'.<sup>30</sup> Taking over from the pump organ, which provided a drone behind the fiddle playing, the piano playing developed from a very simple rhythmic accompaniment into a very sophisticated partner to the fiddle. Inspired by traditions such as jazz big bands, the piano style has become increasingly busy, involving much syncopation and chromaticism. This has certainly called for compromise as far as the fiddlers' style is concerned – the older, fuller sound of the early players, full of drones, double stops, grace notes, and cuttings has been honed into a much thinner, cleaner sound, with different intonation.

Tempo, ornamentation, differing attitudes to 'correctness' and the 'flavour',<sup>31</sup> the loss of high bass, bowing styles, expanding technical prowess, all of these are aspects of the fiddle tradition which have been subjected to change certainly since the 1920s, if not before. When Alasdair Fraser, Hamish Moore, Mairi Campbell, and others saw in Cape Breton something of Scotland past they were not wrong. When Hector MacAndrew told Winston 'Scotty' Fitzgerald that his fiddle playing was 'very close to the truth' neither was he wrong.<sup>32</sup> However, the typical Cape Breton fiddler at the beginning of the twenty-first century cannot be held up as simply an uncontaminated replica of the eighteenth-century Scottish fiddler. Rather the Cape Breton contribution to that tradition should be recognized and celebrated for what it is.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Hugh MacLennan, *Seven Rivers of Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1977), quoted in James Hunter, *A Dance Called America: The Scottish Highlands, the United States, and Canada* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1994), p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> Iain Chambers, *Migrancy, Culture, Identity* (London; New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Marjory Harper and Michael E. Vance, *Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory: Scotia and Nova Scotia c.1700-1990* (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Fernwood for Gorsewood Research Institute for Atlantic Canada Studies; Edinburgh: John Donald, 1999), p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> Written by Kenzie MacNeil and published under the title, 'The Island', 1977.

<sup>5</sup> Mary Anne Ducharme, *Archie Neil: From the Life and Stories of Archie Neil Chisholm of Margaree Forks, Cape Breton*, ed. Ronald Caplan (Wreck Cove, Nova Scotia: Breton Books, 1992), p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Chambers (1994), p. 19.

<sup>7</sup> Hunter (1994), p. 135.

<sup>8</sup> Personal interview with Buddy MacMaster, Glasgow, January 2001.

<sup>9</sup> John Shaw, ed., *The Music of Cape Breton*, 2 vols, LPs, Topic, 12TS353-4, 1978.

<sup>10</sup> Personal interview with John Shaw conducted in Edinburgh, January 2001.

- <sup>11</sup> Kay Anderson and Fay Gale, *Inventing Places: Studies in Cultural Geography* (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire; [New York]: Wiley/Halstead, 1992), p. 38.
- <sup>12</sup> Sorley MacLean, 'Time, the Deer, is in the Wood of Hallaig', in *Collected Poems: From Wood to Ridge* (Manchester: Carcanet, 1989).
- <sup>13</sup> Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal; London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), p. 275.
- <sup>14</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>15</sup> Alasdair Fraser and Jody Stecher, *The Driven Bow*, Culburnie CD CUL102, 1988.
- <sup>16</sup> Hamish Moore, *Danmsa' Air an Drochaid/Stepping on the Bridge*, Greentrax CDTRAX073, 1994.
- <sup>17</sup> Personal interview with Mairi Campbell conducted in Edinburgh, January 2001.
- <sup>18</sup> Personal interview with Dave Francis conducted in Edinburgh, January 2001.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ceòlas*, information materials, see <http://www.ceolas.co.uk/>.
- <sup>20</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>21</sup> G. W. Lockhart, *Fiddles and Folk: A Celebration of Scotland's Musical Heritage* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 1998), p. 63.
- <sup>22</sup> Personal interview with Alan Henderson, Glasgow, January 2001.
- <sup>23</sup> Personal interview with Dave Francis, Edinburgh, January 2001.
- <sup>24</sup> Source of quotation not known.
- <sup>25</sup> Personal interview with Mairi Campbell, Edinburgh, January 2001.
- <sup>26</sup> Personal interview with Alan Henderson, Glasgow, January 2001.
- <sup>27</sup> Personal interview with Buddy MacMaster, Glasgow, January 2001.
- <sup>28</sup> Shaw (1978), p. 41.
- <sup>29</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>30</sup> Marie MacLellan, quoted in Allister MacGillivray, *A Cape Breton Ceilidh* (Sydney, Nova Scotia: Sea-Cape Music, 1988), p. 191.
- <sup>31</sup> Liz Doherty, 'The Paradox of the Periphery: Evolution of the Cape Breton Fiddle Tradition c. 1928-1995' (PhD Dissertation, University of Limerick, 1996).
- <sup>32</sup> Personal interview with Allister MacGillivray, Cape Breton, 1991.

## Music on the margins: fiddle music in Cape Breton<sup>1</sup>

BURT FEINTUCH

Cape Breton is an extraordinarily creative place. It's a place that is, in several ways, on the margins. But it's also a place where cultural creativity is remarkably vital and where music is driving a developing sense of renewal. Cape Breton is an island, part of the Canadian province of Nova Scotia, north of mainland Nova Scotia and east of most of North America. Since 1955 a causeway has connected the island to the mainland. About 147,000 people live on the island, the majority of them in the vicinity of the de-industrialized urban region around Sydney, the largest city. Rural Inverness County, the hotbed of the music, and the place I know best, has a population of about 21,000. For the island as a whole, and for Inverness County in particular, the population is declining. The island's economy simply can't support its population, and, for much of its history, people have had to leave. Two of the island's economic mainstays, the steel industry and coal, are nearly gone, and a third, the fishery, is, like most fisheries in the world, experiencing significant change. On the edge of North America, isolated by distance from markets, as are many other parts of the Canadian Maritime Provinces, Cape Breton is a geographically and economically marginalized place. It's also, by the way, a terrifically beautiful place. But, as a couple of people have said to me when we've spoken about the economic predicament of the island, 'You can't eat scenery'.

Perhaps 25,000 displaced Scots from the Highlands and islands settled in Cape Breton in the first half of the nineteenth century, displaced by the decline of the kelp industry and the Clearances. These were poor, Gaelic-speaking, Catholic Scots who crossed the Atlantic to Cape Breton, where they joined native people and descendants of earlier French fishermen. Industrial development abetted cultural diversity in Cape Breton, but the island, especially Inverness County on the western side, is very strongly inflected by that Scottish emigration. Many people would agree that Inverness County is both the centre of the Scottish culture and the heart of the music. Once I telephoned a shop from which I'd been mail-ordering CDs. When I gave my name to the woman taking my order, I said, 'Feintuch', and asked out of habit if I should spell it for her. She said no; then she spelled it for me. When I told

her how surprised I was that she remembered it, she said, 'You have to understand – everyone around here is named MacDonald'.

This really is an extraordinarily creative place. A few months ago, Alistair MacLeod, a fiction writer who grew up on the island and spends his summers there, won the International Dublin Literary Prize, the world's most valuable award for fiction. Potters, poets, and painters abound, and although fiddle music is these days the best known music from Cape Breton, there are any number of other thriving music scenes across the island. When I asked Frank MacDonald, who publishes the Inverness *Oran*, the weekly paper on the west side of the island, why this seems to be such a remarkably creative place, he connected artistic creativity to something more fundamental.

FM: There's a kind of a scripted conversation that goes on around Cape Breton tables often, and it's 'People going away. It's a shame, the educated ones, if they go to university they go looking for a job in Halifax or Toronto or wherever, and so we're losing all our best and our brightest.' I remember one time while this conversation was taking place a friend who had come here, had moved to Cape Breton from northern Ontario, called that into question. She said, 'I don't believe that's true. I think it takes a lot more creativity and ingenuity to stay here than it does to leave.'

I think there's a nugget of truth in that because you've got to have skill for every season [laughs]. You've got to be creative, whether it's artistic creativity or just being able to hustle. We've got people who've gone to trade school four times. They can be a carpenter in the summer, and they can be this or that, a short-order cook, in the winter, or whatever.

BF: And that kind of pattern is pretty typical?

FM: I believe so, yes. The number of people who can turn their hands to any number of skills is quite phenomenal.<sup>2</sup>

Here's a leading fiddler, in what amounts to a follow-up to Frank MacDonald's comment.

It's an incredible struggle. I'm a carpenter by trade. I do cabinets. I've done mechanic work. And you have to turn your hand to some of that stuff; you wear many different hats in the run of a year in order to pay the bills and that sort of thing. It seems like there's always periods of time through the year that you have to take your lesson book out and chew on water.<sup>3</sup>

These days, when you talk about Cape Breton creativity, you inevitably talk about fiddle music. In fact, if fiddle music were a disease, an epidemiologist would probably describe parts of Cape Breton as clusters. Especially in Inverness County, fiddle music seems to have a presence and intensity unrivalled elsewhere in North America. Taking the biomedical analogy a step farther, it's worth noting that when Cape Bretoners talk about this music, they often claim that it's 'in the genes' or 'in the blood'. Some public health researchers point out that an unusual concentration

of various phenomena can happen by chance, and so they question the value of what they call 'cluster investigations'. But in the context of Cape Breton, it seems as if more than chance is at work, and it's provocative to think about the local conditions that contribute to this flourishing local world of old music. Given that Cape Breton fiddle music is thriving when many other Western regional musics of the same vintage have largely vanished or radically transformed themselves, what might account for the vitality of this music in a place that is, in many regards, on the margins?

Sometime, probably in the 1970s, tourism and highway officials named an Inverness County highway, Route 19, the Ceilidh Trail. If you travel along the Ceilidh Trail, especially during the summer, you can't help but notice the extraordinary presence of old music. You hear Cape Breton Scottish violin music, as it's often described, in dances in local halls. You pass the community centre in Judique where a sign welcomes you to 'The Home of Celtic Music' and invites you to visit the new Celtic Music Interpretive Center. Gift shops, hardware stores, groceries, and other local shops sell tapes and CDs, nearly all self produced, of local musicians. Go into the bank in Inverness (population 1400), one of the two largest towns in the county, and you might hear fiddle music in the background instead of Muzak. Pick up the Inverness *Oran*, (the Gaelic name of which translates as 'song of Inverness'), and in the summer there's more coverage of local music than sports. Nearly every summer weekend presents a local music festival. The sign welcoming you to Inverness town features a fiddle, as does the sign welcoming you to Mabou, twenty minutes south. The music seems to be everywhere. A few years ago I went to an evening event where about a hundred people had bought tickets to hear an ethnomusicologist interview two local fiddlers. That's when I knew I'd found paradise.

Of course, it's not paradise, but it's an exceptionally musical place, a place where people value old music, find it useful, and benefit from it. And so, I pose for myself a question I know I can't really answer, about the social and economic conditions that allow the music to flourish at a time when so many other local musics of similar vintage have lost vitality or have slipped beyond the margins.

I start by thinking about the social – locality and identity in particular. I realize that these seem to be the reflexive starting points for many of us and are admittedly, therefore, perhaps, suspect. As I mentioned earlier, people sometimes call this music Cape Breton Scottish violin music, and the 'Scottish' part of that formulation is important. Especially in Inverness County, where there are also significant Francophone and Mi'kmaq – that is, Native – populations, the descendants of Scottish settlers form the majority culture. There are so many MacDonalds, MacMasters, Beatons, MacDonnells, and so forth on the island that people often have elaborate nicknames to distinguish them from others whose names are virtually identical.<sup>4</sup> Until this generation, Gaelic was the primary language in parts of Inverness County. The story that Cape Bretoners tell about their music begins with Scottish emigrants carrying it to the new world where, thanks to geographic isolation, it changed less than it did in Scotland. As a result, Cape Bretoners talk about their music representing a purer and older Scottish style and repertoire than the music played these days in

Scotland. In fact, it's a compliment to say that a musician has a lot of Gaelic in his or her style. I don't believe that this characterization of Cape Breton fiddling as archaic Scottish music is as accurate or straightforward as it seems to many commentators, but it's clear that the music is a primary emblem of identity here, the closest thing to Gaelic now that the language itself is debilitated.

Identity read as history merges with a strong sense of identity in the present, in the form of social ties and ties to place. There are times when it seems that nearly everyone is related to nearly everyone else, or at least everyone knows everyone else. For example, one of the most popular fiddlers in Inverness County, Kinnon Beaton, was the son and grandson of well-known fiddlers. He grew up in Mabou, across the street from the hall where his father played for dancing, and so he heard the music and his neighbours dancing late into the night. Kinnon's friend, the late John Morris Rankin, another well-known fiddler and member of the popular Rankin Family band, grew up across the street, hearing that same music every weekend. For a time, Dan R. MacDonald, fiddler and prolific tune composer, lived at the third point of a triangle, no more than 100 yards from the Beatons and Rankins. One of Kinnon's daughters plays the fiddle, and he has taught various nephews and nieces, as well. Growing up in Mabou, you heard the music, knew the musicians, and probably understood the music as part of neighbourly life.

Your church might have played a supporting role, too. Inverness County is predominantly Catholic, and aside from the fact that some priests play the fiddle, the church is, at least these days, a primary sponsor of dances, which often happen in parish halls and raise significant funds for the parish. In the early 1970s, after the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation aired a documentary called 'The Vanishing Cape Breton Fiddler', which pointed out that the music seemed to be ebbing, a priest, Fr John Angus Rankin, played a central role in demonstrating that the music had plenty of vitality, helping spark the current revival. So, locality and identity – ethnic and perhaps religious – both embrace and support the music. And many people had the benefit of growing up in households where they heard this music, either live or on recordings, virtually all the time. There may or may not be a scientific basis for the 'music in the genes' theory, but it must be that hearing the music regularly, especially when you're young and music-learning comes easily, can help make musicking seem a natural part of life.

In those small communities, the music never lost its association with the dance. In fact, even with the music seemingly at a high point these days, Liz Doherty has said that in the 1950s the island had more dance venues than today.<sup>5</sup> At the very least, that implies that dancing was once even more local. In an interview, fiddler Buddy MacMaster told me about an era when the dances were typically in schoolhouses, very local. He refers at the end to playing, in 1938, his first paid gig.

At that time each little area had their own school. They were one-room schools, and they usually had from grades one to ten in the room. Each community had to raise money to support the school. And they used to put on dances,



entertainment, to keep the school in repair, and I think, also, to pay the teacher. Of course, I suppose, the people that lived in the community contributed in some other monetary way to pay the teacher. The salaries were pretty small at that time, maybe \$400 a year. But there was a dance occasionally in each community: Judique South and Judique North – there's a lot of Judiques, you know – and Craigmore, and Troy was another, which was kind of far away at that time, for me. But that was my first dance that I got paid for. I guess they heard about me up in Troy [laughs], fifteen miles away.<sup>6</sup>

Regular dances, a strong parish presence, and knowing your neighbours, seem to add up to an unusually high amount of what sociologist Robert Putnam calls 'social capital'. For Putnam, social capital is the glue that holds people together in community. He tends to find it in civic culture, in local organizations ranging from churches to bowling leagues.<sup>7</sup> In Inverness County, music brings people together, stands for identity, supports the parish or perhaps the local youth baseball league, and in general encourages and maintains community. Even if there *were* bowling alleys in the towns of Inverness County, it seems highly unlikely that you'd find people bowling alone.

I shouldn't romanticize this place, though, despite its spectacular scenery and seemingly intact small communities. Identity and locality may appear to work well in Cape Breton, but, as I mentioned earlier, the economics are a failure. Cape Breton communities have nearly always leaked residents, with the problem increasing after the First World War. Economically marginal, the island has never been able to support its population, and out-migration is a feature of Cape Breton life. Between 1976 and 1996, the area around the town of Inverness lost 8.3% of its population.<sup>8</sup> The 1999 unemployment rate in Canada was 7.6%.<sup>9</sup> For Cape Breton, official unemployment rates are greater than 20% across the island, but it's likely that the 'real' rate is about 40%.<sup>10</sup> In that context, one young fiddler, a university graduate, told me that if it weren't for his music, he would have had a stark choice: try to make a living cutting pulpwood or leave the island. If everyone who'd left would return, he told me, the island would sink. Back to Frank MacDonald, publisher of the Inverness newspaper, the *Oran*, talking about sense of community in Inverness County and about the economic necessity of going away:

FM: I think the other thing that really creates a strong Cape Breton identity is that growing up, you're aware – almost from the time that you're capable of being aware – that you're going away sometime. So the home is something that you grow up expecting to leave. And studies that I've heard done by ECBC [Enterprise Cape Breton Corporation] indicate that for every person that's on the island there's two Cape Bretoners living somewhere else. But every single one of them – they'll spend thirty or forty years in Toronto or Boston or California, but they never leave the island for a day in their hearts. Their houses, their music, is here. And they form little enclaves wherever they are [laughs].

So, I think this has been a big part of the island's sense of itself – the fact that people get a very strong sense of home. I don't know what percentage, but an extremely high percentage of our tourism business in summer is people who come home, not people who come from away for the first time or whatever.

BF: I'm very aware of that from going to dances and just talking to people I dance with. People tell you, 'I went to school in this building', if you're at Glencoe Mills, for instance. And they're now from Watertown or Toronto or Waltham or whatever.

FM: Yes. And they all plan to retire back here, but they never do, because they've raised a family. Their children or grandchildren are living in Detroit and they can't... So, you don't move back, but in their minds, most of them have never left. Certainly in Atlantic Canada a lot of places – like Newfoundland has that same sense of itself. Cape Breton has that same sense of self. Quebec has that. Prince Edward Island, I think, does to a great extent. Someone asked me this summer what the national food of Cape Breton was. And I was very flattered – it's not often someone from away recognizes us [as] a nation.<sup>11</sup>

As Frank MacDonald says, many of those who left do return to visit. Family and place pull people home, especially during the summer. At a small concert a few years ago, I heard a woman introduced as having made more than forty summer trips back home. Many of the people you run into at music events are home for a visit, having left the island for better prospects elsewhere. A few years ago, I walked into a dance at Southwest Margaree with Dougie MacDonald, a fine young fiddler. I asked how many of the perhaps two hundred dancers were local, and Dougie said about half. I trust his estimate, because many Cape Bretoners have a very finely tuned sense of locality.

Increasingly, there's a lot at stake when it comes to that other half of the dancers, the visitors, that is. Cape Breton Scottish violin music is proving to be an *economic* resource. In a place where the old industries – fishing and mining in Inverness County – are in decline, where the scenery attracts visitors but only during the short warm season, where the distance from markets is large and the workforce not well trained, music is increasingly looking like more than a *cultural* resource. Referring to the entire island, one scholar writes that the domain called 'Tourism and Culture', which includes music, has now become the primary economic resource of Cape Breton and the largest employment sector.<sup>12</sup>

Various Nova Scotia tourism publications include an advertisement that reads, 'In New Orleans They Mardi Gras, In Cape Breton We Ceilidh'. 'Ceilidh', of course, is a Gaelic word for neighbourly gathering. A generation ago in Cape Breton it seems not to have referred much to music. But these days, along the Ceilidh Trail, 'ceilidh' is shifting its meaning to describe a music session or performance, often one that's open to the public for a fee, mirroring what happened earlier in some Scottish communities. And like the word 'party' in US English, 'ceilidh' can be a verb in Cape Breton.

Ian McKay's 1994 book, *The Quest of the Folk*, tells the story of how Nova Scotia's tourism industry and other not disinterested parties created the notion of

Nova Scotia as a pure, simple, unadulterated place.<sup>13</sup> McKay doesn't emphasize Cape Breton, but it seems that in a general way the history he describes is repeating itself there, albeit with a somewhat different spin. Witness the photo, a couple of years ago, of Buddy MacMaster, the senior icon of Cape Breton fiddle music, on the cover of the provincial guidebook to Nova Scotia, with spectacular mountain scenery 'Photoshopped' in. More and more people are coming to ceilidh in Cape Breton. Back to Frank MacDonald:

These musicians have existed here for centuries, and up until a very few years ago if a musician went to a government agency to develop his business, which is playing music, I mean he would have been chased out of there with a broom [laughs]. Then all of a sudden you had the success of the Rankins, the success of Rita MacNeil, the success of Ashley MacIsaac, of Natalie MacMaster. And then you hear government development agencies saying that the musician is every bit as much an entrepreneur as the man selling cars down the street. And we should be investing in them. This phenomenon created itself, and all of a sudden, you've got a political run to catch up and take credit. But what it's seen as – and this is the risk – is a great tourist attraction. But tourism immediately threatens the authenticity of what's being performed in any given place. And at the same time, there aren't many other options. It's finding that balance of keeping control of the culture while at the same time allowing the island to benefit from it, because, along with fiddle music and some of the things that are identified with the Gaelic culture, rightly or wrongly, like the tartans and the parades and the bands – like Disney could do an awful job on us if they decided to market Cape Breton [laughs]. So, to avoid that happening while at the same time celebrating what's going on in a way that shares it with people so people who come to hear the music can get fed and find a place to sleep, and we can make a living. But I still don't know if the cultural industry alone is anybody's economic solution.<sup>14</sup>

So, don't imagine that tourism officials huddled somewhere and decided that music would be Cape Breton's economic salvation. Instead, in recent years a couple of models of economic success – off-island, that is – began attracting visitors to the island to hear music, and, according to Frank MacDonald, the tourism machinery swung into action, trying to catch up. Two young Cape Breton fiddlers have had very significant economic success, first in Canada, then in the USA and Europe. As many people here will know, the virtuoso fiddler and very personable Natalie MacMaster, from Troy, has become something of a sensation in the transnational 'Celtic' revival. Her promotional materials claim that no other Canadian artist performs as much as she does. Ashley MacIsaac, a remarkable young fiddler originally from Creignish, was 'discovered' by Philip Glass and JoAnne Akalaitis, who have summer houses in Inverness County, and who brought MacIsaac to New York, where his off-island career began. MacIsaac's mid-90s release, 'Hi: How Are You Today?' which fused traditional fiddle music with a variety of contemporary musics, went platinum

in Canada and had significant college radio play in the USA. Although Ashley (everyone refers to fiddlers by their first names in Cape Breton) has been struggling to make a stable career, both Ashley and Natalie are the object of intense interest and fondness at home.

As many people in Cape Breton will tell you, Natalie and Ashley have inspired a generation of young musicians to take up the fiddle. Where parents once sent their children to hockey camps, thinking about the possibility of economic success in sports, now many encourage their children to play the fiddle. Here's a fiddler in her early thirties, talking about the situation:

Well, that opens up a big pet peeve for me [laughs]. I'm really worried about what my father always termed as hockey parents. That we're getting fiddle parents. And everyone wants their child to be a Natalie or an Ashley. I shouldn't say everyone. But a good majority of parents of really gifted children and of children that will never ever be a performer, let's say, but surely they can play for enjoyment. But it's kind of becoming dangerous, now that there are so many successful Cape Breton artists, that I think that the thought that is, it's a way of making a living. But it's *not* a way of making a living unless you are lucky. And you just hit the right things at the right time. Because there's very few that are making a living at it solely, without a second job.<sup>15</sup>

Although a few other fiddlers, not from Inverness County, have found modest commercial success, these comments are echoed by other musicians. Back to the same subject, as seen by another leading fiddler:

There are a lot of different influences in our music here today. I suppose there's got to be room for growth, but I think it's growing at a rate, with such different influences, that it's getting distorted. That scares me because I see a lot of the young people that are hearing what I consider as somewhat distorted music today and thinking that that's the way it should sound. And that's where they're starting out – that's their starting point. There's a lot missing in them having an understanding of what the music actually was and where it started, how it evolved. I think a lot of parents are looking for their children to be the next superstar-type thing. I won't mention any names of the superstars or the...

Anyway, the point that I'm getting at is that they're playing for the wrong reasons. And there are a lot of immature fiddlers out there, ability-wise, that have been viewed as wonderful – 'Aren't they wonderful for their age' and all this sort of thing. But all the young people are hearing that. It doesn't matter what tradition or what type of music. You see it in all of it. With this particular thing I see, as quite a focused thing, and I see it a fair amount, and that is a child hears 'wonderful'. Well, once they start believing that, which some of them do, the learning process stops. The growth process stops. And some, you know, they expect to get the same kind of response when they're nineteen or twenty, and they hadn't grown since they were twelve years old or something

like that, as far as their abilities, and all of a sudden it's an awful shock to them that – 'Why ain't I as great as I was then?' . . .

One fellow made kind of a crude comment, but it was funny. He said, 'My God. I think that fellow's father must keep a cement block on his head', he said, 'to keep him small' [laughs]. So he'd be more adorable out there. That's awful.<sup>16</sup>

Less directly, Ashley and Natalie's successes also seem to have added value to the local musicians, who are increasingly invited to play off the island, featured in the media, and becoming known abroad as exemplars of the old Scottish fiddle style. With the large transnational commerce in music described as 'Celtic,' recordings of Cape Breton music are finding new markets.

Now, of course, the machinery of the tourist industry – especially the provincial government – is working to capitalize on this. By and large, it seems that Inverness County tourism used to be made up of people coming home to visit and people passing through on their way to the scenic splendours of the Cabot Trail and the Cape Breton Highlands National Park, to the north. The Ceilidh Trail infrastructure still reflects that – there are comparatively few places to stay and eat, and few other services for visitors. About five years ago, though, Inverness County got a summer school for the music, the Ceilidh Trail School of Celtic Music, which has tried both to serve the local population and to bring visitors to the area for at least a week, and which emphasizes participating in local musical events – the dances, ceilidhs, and the like that happen throughout the week. A year or so ago, a Celtic Music Interpretative Center opened in Judique, clearly pointed at attracting visitors. Thanks at least in part to the efforts of an economic development programme at the University College of Cape Breton, the only degree-granting educational institution on the island, Cape Breton music has gone online, and off-island interest, mediated by the online presence, has had a positive economic impact.<sup>17</sup> There's also a great deal of local interest in the fact that Rodney MacDonald, an excellent fiddler in his late twenties, was elected to the provincial legislature a couple of years ago and then appointed provincial Minister of Tourism and Culture. (One busy dance fiddler told me that she's hoping that he'll create an express lane for musicians on Route 19). But it's still a fact, though, that the island economy can't support many of the well-known fiddlers who live there. Ironically, it may be that Natalie and Ashley's success off-island has led more Cape Breton fiddlers to try to support themselves solely by music, which seems invariably to leave them in marginal economic circumstances.

Not all the tourism initiatives for Inverness County centre on music, although any reading of the promotional materials shows that music is increasingly important. The website for Inverness Town reports, 'our little community with its tragic history has struggled to survive. We are looking at the construction of a breath-taking, world-class, Links Golf Course on the old mine site between the town and the beautiful beach below... Inverness will become a tourist mecca.'<sup>18</sup> And there's recent news, and much controversy, about the possibility of offshore exploration and drilling for

oil and natural gas along the Inverness County coastline. For better or worse, the local economy might change considerably.

In this social and economic context, it's important to note that the music continues to be connected deeply to place, representing for many a kind of cultural continuity. At the same time, I should note that like most vital forms of art, the music has been able to change. I don't know how to measure change, but I really do believe that the music's ability to embrace creativity while holding on to its local identity is one of the main reasons why it thrives. The music remains in service, in some sense, of community, rather than an ossified example of 'heritage'. For instance, there's a very strong tradition of local composition, and new tunes enter the common repertoire all the time. I wonder, in fact, if a careful look at what's being played today, especially at dances, would show that local compositions and tunes from outside Cape Breton outnumber the 'old Scottish' part of the repertoire. (I'll add parenthetically that the nineteenth century Scottish tunebooks, which have been very influential on repertoire, reached Cape Breton around the Second World War, and there's too little known about the repertoire before those books were available.) The famous contemporary piano style of accompaniment is essentially just that – a *contemporary* style. The dance musicians are happy to use technology – nearly all them drive the dancers hard by using LR Baggs pickups on their fiddles, while their accompanists play Roland keyboards, and many of them produce their own tapes and CDs to sell locally. Most of the musicians, then, control the marketing of their music. Have a look at Buddy MacMaster's website.

The Cape Breton social and economic contexts remind me of other examples and make me think about other musics on the margins. I've written about fiddlers and their music on and off since the mid-1970s, when I wrote a dissertation about the art of a senior fiddler in southeastern Pennsylvania. People perceived him as the last of his generation – he was on the margins of an era, musically speaking. From Pennsylvania, I moved to my first academic job, at Western Kentucky University. There, too, I had the sad privilege of meeting and learning from a generation of older fiddlers, nearly all of whom had died by the time I left Kentucky. With their deaths, an older, dignified, and beautiful set of tunes and styles largely vanished, slipping over the margins. I can't resist saying, too, that when I was interviewed for my current job, the directorship of a research institute in the humanities at the University of New Hampshire, someone on the search committee told me that my research in fiddle music raised a few eyebrows among the scholars on the committee. There is no question but that the fiddle, its music, its practitioners, and those of us who study those subjects, all too often exist on the margins.

What's so striking to me about Cape Breton is the way the music has come to occupy the centre stage, in this marginalized place. Certainly, other musics around the world have found a similar accommodation, thriving in the interstices between locality, tourism, and mass markets, representing an idealized identity to local people and to visitors. Among North American examples, I think of Cajun and zydeco musics as at least superficially parallel. It seems to me that the very resilient

Cape Breton music has, like other thriving local musics, found at least a temporary balance among a group of factors including an enduring set of values regarding community and musical aesthetics, on the one hand, and largely post-industrial forces on the other. As a result, Cape Bretoners' highly successful balancing act – so far – portends, for better or worse, one way in which marginalized local communities might continue to enjoy their music, *their own music*, in the future. If the people of Inverness County can figure out how to sustain what matters to them in these rural, postmodern, de-industrialized conditions, one of the possible futures for traditional music might be playing itself out along the Ceilidh Trail.

### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> This is an expanded version of a keynote address I gave at the North Atlantic Fiddle Convention at the University of Aberdeen on 27 July 2001. I owe thanks to many people who contributed to this work in progress, including Kinnon and Betty Beaton, Joey Beaton, Crisi Boucher, Kate Dunlay, Jackie Dunn, Mike Gurstein, Jerry Holland, Alan Leith, Dan MacDonald, Frank MacDonald, Paul MacDonald, Rodney MacDonald, Sheldon MacInnes, Margie MacInnis, Wendy MacIsaac, Ian MacKinnon, Richard MacKinnon, Buddy MacMaster, Mac Morin, Brenda Stubbart, and many others whom I've met while following the music in Cape Breton. Thanks, too, to Ian Russell for the kind invitation to participate in the conference, to his co-convenor, Mary Anne Alburger for the hospitality, and to Peter Cooke, for the suggestion that led to my participation.
- <sup>2</sup> Interviewed, 19 October 2000, at the offices of the *Oran* in Inverness.
- <sup>3</sup> From an interview in October 2000.
- <sup>4</sup> William Davey and Richard MacKinnon, 'Nicknaming Patterns and Traditions among Cape Breton Coal Miners', *Acadiensis*, 30, no. 2 (2001), 71-83.
- <sup>5</sup> Liz Doherty, 'The Fiddle Tradition of Cape Breton Island' (PhD Dissertation, University of Limerick, 1996).
- <sup>6</sup> Interviewed, 26 July 2000, at his home in Judique.
- <sup>7</sup> Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000).
- <sup>8</sup> See [www.invernesscounty.ca/Index.htm](http://www.invernesscounty.ca/Index.htm).
- <sup>9</sup> See [www.economagic.com/em\\_cgi/data.exe/blsin/inu0022ca0](http://www.economagic.com/em_cgi/data.exe/blsin/inu0022ca0).
- <sup>10</sup> This figure is widely reported in casual conversation. I've heard it from a journalist, academics, and other Cape Breton citizens.
- <sup>11</sup> Interview, 19 October 2000.
- <sup>12</sup> See Michael Gurstein. 'Fiddlers on the Wire: Music, Electronic Commerce, and Local Economic Development on a Virtual Cape Breton Island, Canada – A Case Study', *Doing Business on the Internet: Opportunities and Pitfalls*, ed. Celia T. Romm and Fay Sudweeks (Berlin: Springer Verlag, 1999).
- <sup>13</sup> Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).
- <sup>14</sup> Interview, 19 October 2000.
- <sup>15</sup> From an interview in October 2000.
- <sup>16</sup> This is the same musician cited in note 2.
- <sup>17</sup> Gurstein. 'Fiddlers on the Wire'.
- <sup>18</sup> See [www.inverness.ednet.ns.ca/future.html](http://www.inverness.ednet.ns.ca/future.html).

# Bibliography

## Publications and Manuscripts

- Akenson, Donald, Forrest & Ellen McDonald, and Thomas Purvis, 'The Population of the United States, 1790: A Symposium', *William and Mary Quarterly*, series 3, 41 (1984), 85-135.
- Alburger, Mary Anne, *Scottish Fiddlers and their Music* (London: Gollancz, 1983; new edn, Edinburgh: Hardie Press, 1996).
- Alburger, Mary Anne, *The Violin Makers: Portrait of a Living Craft* (London: Gollancz, 1978).
- Andersson, Benedict, *Den Föreställda Gemenskapen: Reflexioner kring Nationalismens Ursprung och Spridning* [Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism], 2<sup>nd</sup> revd edn (Gothenburg: Daidalos, 1993).
- Anderson, Kay and Fay Gale, *Inventing Places: Studies in Cultural Geography* (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire; [New York]: Wiley/Halstead, 1992).
- Anderson, R. T., 'Voluntary Associations in History,' *American Anthropologist*, 73, no. 1 (1971), 209-22.
- American Council of Learned Societies, 'Report of Committee on Linguistic and National Stocks in the Population of the United States', in *Annual Report for the Year 1931* (Washington DC: American Historical Association, 1932); repr. as *Surnames in the United States Census of 1790: An Analysis of National Origins of the Population* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1969), pp. 107-25.
- Aronsson, Peter, *Regionernas roll i Sveriges Historia* [The Matter of the Regions in the History of Sweden], (Stockholm: Fritze, 1995).
- Ashman, Gordon, ed., *The Ironbridge Hornpipe: A Shropshire Tune Collection from John Moore's Manuscripts* (Blyth: Dragonfly Music, 1991).
- Barlow, Jeremy, ed., *The Complete Country Dance Tunes from Playford's Dancing Master (1651-c. 1728)* (London: Faber Music, 1985).
- Bartenieff, Irmgard and Dori Lewis, *Body Movement: Coping with the Environment* (New York, London: Gordon and Breach, 1980).
- Bazin, Fenella Crowe 'Music in the Isle of Man up to 1896,' PhD dissertation, Liverpool University, 1995.
- Bazin, Fenella Crowe, *Mona Douglas: A Tribute* (Isle of Man: Manx Heritage Foundation, 1998).



*Play It Like It Is: Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic*

- Bazin, Fenella Crowe, '“The Devil Once a Fiddler Made”: The Connection Between Manx, Scottish and Norwegian Music' in *Manx Revisited: Twelve Essays on Manx Culture and Environment*, ed. Peter Davey and David Finlayson (Edinburgh: Scottish Society for Northern Studies, 2002), pp. 151-160.
- Bazin, Fenella Crowe, '“Mylecharaine”: a Forgotten Call to Nationhood' in *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*, ed. Ian Russell and David Atkinson (Aberdeen: Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, 2004).
- Bazin, Fenella Crowe, '“The Promised Land”: Music in the Isle of Man as a Weapon for Social, Political and Religious Reform in the 19th Century' in *Islands: Dream and Reality*, ed. P. J. Davey, A. Hamer, and F. C. Bazin (forthcoming).
- Becking, Gustav, *Der musikalische Rhythmus als Erkenntnisquelle* (Augsburg: B. Filser, 1928).
- Blaustein, Richard, 'Traditional Music and Social Change: The Old-time Fiddlers Association Movement in The United States' (PhD dissertation, Indiana University, 1975).
- Blom, Jan Petter, 'Diffusjonsproblematikken og studiet av danseformer', in *Kultur og diffusjon; foredrag på nordisk etnografmøt 1960*, ed. Arne Martin Klausen (Oslo, Bergen: Universitetsforlaget, 1961), pp. 101-14.
- Blom, Jan Petter, 'Principles of Rhythmic Structures in Balkan Folk Music', *Antropologiska Studier (Ethnomusicology Issue)*, 25-26 (1978), 2-11.
- Blom, Jan Petter, 'The Dancing Fiddle: On the Expression of Rhythm in Hardingfele slåtter', in *Norwegian Folk Music I: Slåttar for the Harding Fiddle*, Vol. VII, ed. Jan Petter Blom, Sven Nyhus, and Reidar Sevåg (Oslo, Bergen, Tromsø: Universitetsforlaget, 1981), pp. 305-12.
- Blom, Jan Petter and Tellef Kvfite, 'On the Problem of Inferential Ambivalence in Musical Meter', *Ethnomusicology*, 30, no. 3 (1986), 491-517.
- Bowen and Shepherd, ed., *Tunes, Songs & Dances from the 1798 Manuscript of Joshua Jackson, North Yorkshire Cornmillers and Musician* (Ilkley: Yorkshire Dales Workshops, 1998).
- Breathnach, Breandan, *Folk Music and Dances of Ireland*, rev. edn (Cork: Mercier Press, 1996).
- Brocklebank, Joan, ed., *The Dorchester Hornpipe: Thirty Four Country Dance Tunes from the Manuscript Music Books of Thomas Hardy* (Dorset County Museum, 1977).
- Bureau of the Census [USA], *A Century of Population Growth from the First Census of the United States to the Twelfth* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909).
- [Burns, Robert], *The Works of Robert Burns: With an Account of His Life, and a Criticism on His Writings*, 4th edn, 4 vols (London: T. Cadell, 1803).
- Buytendijk, F. J. J., *Allgemeine Theorie der menschlichen Haltung und Bewegung* (Berlin: Springer, 1956).
- Canny, Nicholas P., 'The Marginal Kingdom: Ireland as a Problem in the First British Empire', in *Strangers Within the Realm*, ed. Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 35-66.
- Canny, Nicholas P., *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- Cameron, David, *The English Fair* (Stroud: Sutton, 1998).
- Campbell, Katherine with Emily Lyle, *Burns and Scottish Fiddle Tradition* (Edinburgh: School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh, 2000).
- Carlin, Richard, ed., *The Gow Collection of Scottish Dance Music* (New York: Oak, 1986).
- Casciani, Elizabeth, *Oh, How We Danced!* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1994).

## Bibliography

- Chaloner, James, *A Short Treatise on the Isle of Man*, in Daniel King, *The Vale-royall of England; or, the county palatine of Chester illustrated* (London: James Streeter, 1656).
- Chambers, Iain, *Migrancy, Culture, Identity* (London; New York: Routledge, 1994).
- Cheape, Hugh, *The Book of the Bagpipe* (Belfast: Appletree, 1999).
- Collinson, Francis, *Traditional and National Music of Scotland* (London, Henley, Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966).
- Condon, William S., and W. D. Ogston, 'Cultural Microrhythms', in *Interaction Rhythms: Periodicity in Communicative Behavior*, ed. Martha Davis (New York: Human Sciences, 1981), pp. 53–77.
- Cooke, Peter, *The Fiddle Tradition of the Shetland Isles*, Cambridge Studies in Ethnomusicology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
- Daniel, Wayne W, *Pickin' on Peachtree* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990).
- Davey, William and Richard MacKinnon, 'Nicknaming Patterns and Traditions Among Cape Breton Coal Miners,' *Acadiensis*, 30, no. 2 (2001), 71-83.
- Davies, John, *A History of Wales* (London: Penguin, 1994).
- de Vos, George, 'Ethnic Pluralism: Conflict and Accommodation', in *Ethnic Identity: Cultural Continuity and Change*, ed. George de Vos and Lola Romanucci-Ross (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1982), pp. 5-41.
- Dittmann, A. T., 'The Body Movement: Speech Rhythm Relationship as a Cue to Speech Encoding', in *Nonverbal Communication: Readings with Commentary*, ed. Shirley Weitz (New York, London: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 169–81.
- Doherty, Liz, 'The Paradox of the Periphery: Evolution of the Cape Breton Fiddle Tradition c. 1928-1995' (PhD dissertation, University of Limerick, 1996).
- Douglas, Mona, 'Manx Folk Dances: Their Notation and Revival', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 3 (1937), 110–16.
- Ducharme, Mary Anne, *Archie Neil: From the Life and Stories of Archie Neil Chisholm of Margaree Forks, Cape Breton*, ed. Ronald Caplan (Wreck Cove, Nova Scotia: Breton Books, 1992).
- Emmerson, George S., *Rantin' Pipe and Tremblin' String: A History of Scottish Dance Music* (London: Dent, 1971).
- Emmerson, George S., *A Social History of Scottish Dance: ane celestial recreatioun* (Montreal, London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972).
- Ermedahl, Gunnar, 'Studier i Halländska Spelmanstraditioner' [A Study of Folk-Music Traditions in Halland], *Varbergs Museum Årsbok 1981* [Yearbook of the Museum of Varberg 1981] (Varberg: Stiftelsen Hallands Läns museer, 1981), pp. 29-83.
- Fischer, David H., *Albion's Seed* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).
- Flett J. F., and T. M. Flett, *Traditional Dancing in Scotland* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964)
- Flett J. F., and T. M. Flett, *Traditional Step Dancing in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Scottish Cultural Press, 1996).
- Fraisse, P., *Les Structures Rhythmiques* (Louvain, Paris: Publications Universitaires de Louvain, 1956).
- Freeman, T. W., *Pre-Famine Ireland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, [1957]).

*Play It Like It Is: Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic*

- Geoghegan, John, *The Compleat Tutor for the Pastoral or New Bagpipe...* (London: Longman, Lukey & Co., [c.1775]).
- Graham, B. J. and L. J. Proudfoot, *A Historical Geography of Ireland* (London: Academic Press, 1993).
- Greenberg, David, and Kate Dunlay, *Traditional Celtic Violin Music of Cape Breton: The Dungreen Collection* (Toronto: DunGreen Music, 1996).
- Grinde, Nils *A History of Norwegian Music*, trans. W. H. Halverson and D. Johnson (Lincoln, Nebraska; London: University of Nebraska Press, 1991).
- Gurstein, Michael, 'Fiddlers on the Wire: Music, Electronic Commerce, and Local Economic Development on a Virtual Cape Breton Island, Canada – A Case Study', in *Doing Business on the Internet: Opportunities and Pitfalls*, ed. Celia T. Romm and Fay Sudweeks (Berlin: Springer Verlag, 1999).
- Hall, Edward T., *Beyond Culture* (New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1976).
- Hall, Reg, *I Never Played too Many Posh Dances: Scan Tester Sussex Musician* (Rochford: Musical Traditions, 1990).
- Hardie, Alastair J., *The Caledonian Companion* (Woodford Green, Essex: EMI Music, 1981).
- Harper, Marjory and Michael E. Vance, *Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory: Scotia and Nova Scotia c. 1700-1990* (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Fernwood for Gorsewood Research Institute for Atlantic Canada Studies; Edinburgh: John Donald, 1999).
- Hawkings, Sir John, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 5 vols (London: T. Payne, 1776; reprint in 2 vols, New York: Dover, 1963).
- Henry, Edward O., 'Institutions for the Promotion of Indigenous Music: The Case for Ireland's Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann', *Ethnomusicology*, 33, no. 1 (1989), 67-95.
- Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition, Past and Present Publications* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- [Honeyman, William], 'A Professional Player' in *The Violin: How to Master It* (Edinburgh: Honeyman, 1892).
- Hood, Evelyn, *The Story of Scottish Country Dancing: The Darling Diversion* ([Edinburgh]: Collins, 1980).
- Hopkins, Pandora, *Aural Thinking in Norway: Performance and Communication with the Hardingfele* (New York: Human Sciences Press, 1986).
- Hunter, James, *The Fiddle Music of Scotland: A Comprehensive Annotated Collection of 365 Tunes with a Historical Introduction* (Edinburgh: Chambers, 1979).
- Hunter, James, *A Dance Called America: The Scottish Highlands, the United States, and Canada* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1994).
- Isaacs, Elcanon, 'The Nature of the Rhythmic Experience', *Psychological Review*, 27 (1920), 270-299.
- Jarman, Eldra, and A. O. H. Jarman, *The Welsh Gypsies: Children of Abram Wood* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1981).
- Johnson, David, *Scottish Fiddle Music in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century: A Music Collection and Historical Study* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1984; 2nd edn, Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1997).
- Johnson, David, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972; 2nd edn, Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 2003).

## Bibliography

- Jones, Edward, *Hen Ganiadau Cymru* (London, 1820).
- Jones, Edward, *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards* (London 1784; 2nd edn, London, 1794).
- Jones, Edward, *The Bardic Museum of Primitive British Literature* (London, 1802).
- Kaufman, Alan, *Beginning Old Time Fiddle* (New York: Oak Publications, 1977).
- Keil, Charles, 'Motion and Feeling through Music' and 'Participatory Discrepancies and the Power of Music', in *Music Grooves*, ed. Charles Keil and Steven Feld (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 53–77.
- Kestenberg, J. S., 'The Role of Movement Patterns in Development I–III', *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 34 (1965), 1–36, and 36 (1967), 356–409.
- Kidson, Frank, ed., *Old English Country Dances Gathered from Scarce Printed Collections and from Manuscripts* (London: William Reeves, 1890; repr. Louth: Celtic Music, 1983).
- Klages, Ludwig, *Von Wesen des Rhythmus* (Kampen auf Sylt: Niels Kampmann Verlag, 1934).
- Knowles, Jamie, ed., *The Joseph Kershaw Manuscript: The Music of a 19<sup>th</sup> Century Saddleworth Fiddle Player* ([UK]: Inwac, 1993).
- Koskoff, Ellen, *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press; New York and London: Greenwood, 1987).
- Lewis, H., ed., *Musica*, British Museum Additional Manuscript 14905, Facsimile Edition (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1936).
- Ling, Jan, 'Nyckelharpan, Studier I ett Folkligt Musikinstrument', *Musikhistoriska Museets Skrifter*, 2 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1967).
- Ling, Jan, 'Svensk folkmusik blir världsmusik' in *Allt under linden den gröna. Studier i folkmusik och folklore tillägnade Ann-Mari Häggman*, ed. Anders G. Lindqvist (Vasa: Finlands svenska folkmusikinstitut, 2001), pp. 335–56.
- Lockhart, G. W., *Highland Balls and Village Halls* (Barr, Ayrshire: Luath Press, 1985).
- Lockhart, G. W., *Fiddles and Folk* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 1998).
- Loughran, Anne and Vic Gammon, ed., *A Sussex Tune Book* (London: English Folk Dance and Song Society, 1982).
- Lovelace, Martin, 'Unnatural Selection: Maud Karpeles's Newfoundland Diaries', in *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*, ed. by Ian Russell and David Atkinson (Aberdeen: Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, 2004), pp. 284–98.
- Lundberg, Dan and Gunnar Ternhag, *Folkmusik i Sverige* [Folk Music in Sweden] (Hedemora: Gidlund, 1996).
- MacGillivray, Allister, *A Cape Breton Ceilidh* (Sydney, Nova Scotia: Sea-Cape Music, 1988).
- MacGillivray, Allister, *The Cape Breton Fiddler* (Sydney, Cape Breton: College of Cape Breton Press, [c1981]).
- MacLean, Sorley, 'Time, the Deer, is in the Wood of Hallaig', in *Collected Poems: From Wood to Ridge* (Manchester: Carcanet, 1989).
- MacLennan, Hugh, *Seven Rivers of Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1977).
- Marsden, Thomas, *A Collection of Original Lancashire Hornpipes Old and New Containing Divisions upon Each* (London: Henry Playford, 1705).

*Play It Like It Is: Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic*

- McKay, Ian, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).
- Merryweather, James and Matt Seattle, eds, *Lawrence Leadley the Fiddler of Helperby: The Life and Music of a Yorkshire Fiddler* (Newbiggin: Dragonfly Music, 1994).
- Meurig, Cass, 'The Music of the Fiddler in Eighteenth-Century Wales: A Study of the Manuscript of John Thomas' (PhD thesis, University of Bangor, 2001).
- Meurig, Cass, 'The Fiddler in Eighteenth-Century Wales' in *Welsh Music History*, 5, ed. by Sally Harper and Wyn Thomas (Bangor, 2002), pp. 22-40.
- Meurig, Cass, ed., *Alawon John Thomas: A Fiddler's Tune Book from Eighteenth-Century Wales* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 2004).
- Morgan, Prys, *The Eighteenth Century Renaissance* (Llandybie, Dyfed: Davis, 1981).
- Morris, W. Meredith, *Famous Fiddlers*, ed. D. Roy Saer (Cardiff: Welsh Folk Museum, National Museum of Wales, 1983).
- Munro, Ailie, *The Folk Music Revival in Scotland*, including Morag MacLeod, 'Folk Revival in Gaelic Song' (London: Kahn & Averill, 1984); revd edn, *The Democratic Muse: Folk Music Revival in Scotland* (Aberdeen: Scottish Cultural Press, 1996).
- Nettl, Bruno, *The Western Impact on World Music: Change, Adaptation, and Survival* (New York: Schirmer, 1985).
- Niecks, Frederick, *A Concise Dictionary of Musical Terms* (London: Augener, [1884]).
- Offord, John, ed., *John of the Greeney Cheshire Way: The Famous Double Hornpipes of Lancashire and Cheshire* (London: Friends of Folk Music, 1985).
- O'Farrells *Pocket Companion for the Irish or Union Pipes... adapted for the Pipes, Flute, Flageolet and Violin* (London: Goulding [c. 1810]; repr. Chapel Hill NC: Pat Sky, 1999).
- O' Neill, Capt. Francis, *Irish Minstrels and Musicians* (Darby, PA: Norwood, 1973).
- Ó Súilleabháin, Mícheál, 'Innovation and Tradition in the Music of Tommie Potts' (PhD dissertation, Department of Social Anthropology, Queens University, Belfast, 1987).
- Ormston, C. J., and J. Say, *The Clough Family of Newsham: 200 years of Northumbrian Piping* (Newcastle: Northumbrian Pipers' Society, 2000).
- Parry, John, *Antient British Music* (London, 1742).
- Parry, John, *British Harmony, being a Collection of Antient Welsh Airs* (Ruabon and London, 1781).
- Parry, John, *A Collection of Welsh, English and Scotch Airs* (London, 1761).
- Parry-Williams, T. H., *Llawysgrif Richard Morris o Gerddi* (Cardiff: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1931).
- Pårson, Filip, 'Två Gamla Melodier; Spelmansminnen' [Two Old Tunes; Memories of a Fiddler], *Vår Bygd 1943; Hallands Hembygdsförbunds årsskrift* [Our Countryside 1943; Yearbook of the Countryside Association of Halland] (Kungsbacka: Nordhallands Hembygdsförening, 1943), pp. 40-46.
- Peacock, John, *A Favorite Collection of Tunes with Variations Adapted for the Northumberland Small Pipes Violin or Flute* (Newcastle: W. Wright, [c.1805]; repr. Newcastle: Northumbrian Pipers Society, 1980).
- Peacock, Kenneth, ed., *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports*, 3 vols (Ottawa: R. Duhamel, Queen's Printer, 1965).

## Bibliography

- Playford, John, *The Division Violin* (London: John Playford, 1684).
- Plowmann, Robert Pius, 'Folklore in the Life of Rufus Guinchart, Newfoundland Fiddler', Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA) MS 78-153/C4544, unpublished research paper, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1978.
- Purser, John, *Scotland's Music* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1992).
- Putnam, Robert, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000).
- Quigley, Colin, *Close to the Floor: Folk Dance in Newfoundland*, Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Publications 3 (St John's, Newfoundland: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1985).
- Quigley, Colin, *Music from the Heart: Compositions of a Folk Fiddler* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1995).
- Quine, John, *The Captain of the Parish* (London: William Heinemann, 1897).
- Ramsten, Märta, 'The New Fiddlers: Trends and Revivalism in the Folk Music of the Seventies', in *Folkmusikvågen: The Folk Music Vogue*, ed. Birgit Kjellström et al (Stockholm: Rikskonserten, 1985), pp. 189-194.
- Rehnberg, Mats, 'Folkloristiska Inslag i Olika Tidevarvs Idéströmningar Kring det Egna Landet' [Folkloristic Contributions to Concepts of the Swedish Nation], in *Folklore och Nationsbyggande i Norden* [Folklore and constructing the nation in the Nordic countries], ed. Lauri Honko (Åbo/Turku: Nordiska Institutet för Folklivsforskning, 1980), pp. 17-32.
- Reiner, David, *Anthology of Fiddle Styles* (Pacific, MO: Mel Bay, 1979).
- Rhys, J. D., *Cambrobrytannicae Cymraeaeve Linguae* (Londini [London]: Excudebat Thomas Orwinus, 1592).
- Roberts, Dave, ed., *Wm. Mittell His Book: Being a Collection of Dancing Tunes for the Flute, Violin, Oboe etc.* (Tiverton: Timespan Music, 1993).
- Roberts, Paul, 'Facundo Gonzales', *Musical Traditions*, 2 (1984), 29.
- Rowe, Frederick W., *A History of Newfoundland and Labrador* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Press, 1980).
- Russell, Ian, and David Atkinson, eds, *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*, Elphinstone Institute Occasional Publications 3 (Aberdeen: Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, 2004).
- Russell, Kelly, *Rufus Guinchart: The Man and his Music* (St John's, Newfoundland: Harry Cuff Publications, 1982).
- Russell, Kelly, *Kelly Russell's Collection: The Fiddle Music of Newfoundland and Labrador, Volume One: Rufus Guinchart and Emile Benoit* (St John's, Newfoundland: Pigeon Inlet Productions, 2000).
- Ryan's Mammoth Collection* (Boston: Howe, 1883); repr. edn ed. P. Sky (Pacific, MO: Mel Bay, 1995).
- Sadie, Stanley, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols (London: Macmillan, 1980; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, London: Macmillan, 2000).
- Schefflen, Albert E., 'The Significance of Posture in Communication Systems', *Psychiatry*, 27, no. 4 (1964), 316-31.

*Play It Like It Is: Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic*

- Seattle, Matthew, ed., *The Great Northern Tunebook: William Vickers Collection of Country Dance Music*, 3 vols (Blyth: Dragonfly Music, 1985-87).
- Seattle, Matt, ed., *The Master Piper: Nine Notes that Shook the World, A Border Bagpipe Repertoire Prick'd down by William Dixon AD 1733* (Newbiggin: Dragonfly Music, 1995).
- Sherman, Elna, ed., *Wessex Tune Book: Folk Dances from a Manuscript Book Belonging to the Family of Thomas Hardy*, 2 vols (Boston, MA; Schott, 1963).
- Simpson, Christopher, *The Division Violist* (London: W. Godbid, 1659).
- Skillman, Amy E., "'She Oughta Been a Lady": Women Old-Time Fiddlers in Missouri', *Missouri Folklore Society Journal*, 13-14 (1991-1992), 123-32.
- Skinner, James Scott, *A Guide to Bowing: Strathspeys, Reels, Pastoral Melodies, Hornpipes etc.* (London: Bayley & Ferguson, [c1900]; repr. edn, Edinburgh: Hardie, [c.1984]).
- Skinner, James Scott, *My Life and Adventures* (1923); repr edn (Aberdeen: City of Aberdeen and Wallace Music, 1994).
- Smallwood, Joseph R. and Robert D. W. Pitt, *Encyclopaedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* (St John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers, 1981).
- Smith, Anthony Douglas, *Theories of Nationalism* (London: Duckworth, 1971).
- Smith, Anthony Douglas, *The Ethnic Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
- Steglich, Rudolf, *Die elementare Dynamik des musikalischen Rhythmus* (Nuremberg: University of Erlangen, 1930).
- Steindler, Arthur, *Kinesiology of the Human Body* (Springfield, Illinois: Thomas, [1955]).
- Stetson, R. H., 'A Motor Theory of Rhythm and Discrete Succession', I & II, *Psychological Review*, 12 (1905), 250-269, 293-335.
- Sumner, Peter D., ed., *Lincolnshire Collections Volume 1: The Joshua Gibbons Manuscript* (Grimsby: Breakfast Publications, 1997).
- Ternhag, Gunnar, 'Fiddlers Clubs', in Birgit Kjellström et al, *Folkmusikvågen: The Folk Music Vogue* (Stockholm: Rikskonserter, 1985).
- Ternhag, Gunnar, 'Om Sambandet Mellan Folkmusikinsamling och Tonsättning av Folkmusikbaserade Verk – Med Utgångspunkt i Samarbetet Mellan Karl Tirén och Wilhelm Peterson-Berger' [The Connection Between the Collection of Folk Music and the Creating of Compositions Based on Folk Music – As Seen In the Light of the Co-operation Between Karl Tirén and Wilhelm Peterson-Berger as a Starting Point], *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning* [Swedish Journal of Musicology, 2000], 82 (Gothenburg: Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning, 2000), 57-78.
- Trim, Roger, ed., *The Musical Heritage of Thomas Hardy Volume 1* (Blyth: Dragonfly Music, 1990).
- Tubridy, Michael, *Mrs. Crotty of Kilrush*, leaflet (Dublin: Irish Traditional Music Archive, [n.d.]).
- Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1772* (London: Longman, Lukey & Co., 1772).
- von Holst, E., 'Die Relative Koordination als Phänomen und als Methode Zentralnervöser Funktionsanalyse', *Ergebnisse der Physiologie*, 42 (1939), 228–306.
- Voxman, Himie, ed., *Selected Duets for Flute, Vol. 1*, Educational Library No. 177 (Miami: Rubank, [n.d.]).

## Bibliography

- Wallace, A. F. C., 'Revitalization Movements', *American Anthropologist*, 58, no. 2 (1956), 264-281.
- Walser, Robert, *Running with the Devil: Power, Gender and Madness in Heavy Metal Music* (Hanover NH, London: Wesleyan University Press/University Press of New England, 1993).
- Whitley, Michael, 'Emile Benoit: The Musician and the Man: My Impressions (a Biography in his and my Words)', MUNFLA 83-11, unpublished research paper (Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1983).
- Williams, Ifor, 'Cerddorion a Cherddau yn Lleweni, Nadolig 1595' (Musicians and Songs in Lleweni, Christmas 1595), *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 8 (1935), 8-10.
- Wilson, Mark, essays accompanying *The Art of Traditional Fiddle*, Rounder Heritage CD 1166-11592-2, 2000, and *The Rover's Return: Traditional Fiddle Music of Cape Breton Vol. 2*, Rounder CD 7038, 2002.
- Wrigley, E. A. and R. S. Schofield, *A Population History of England 1541-1871* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- York, Richard, ed., *One Long Whitson Holyday: Country Dance Tunes from an 18<sup>th</sup> Century Northamptonshire Hall* (Northampton: Lizard's Music, 1991).

## Discography

- A Devonshire Fiddler: Local Village Country Dances Fred Pidgeon of Stockland*, Folktracks cassette FSA087, 1975.
- Backstrom, Ola, Johan Hedin and Jonas Knutsson, *Triptyk*, Atrium CD 3984-22197-2, 1999.
- Benoit, Emile, *Emile's Dream*, ed. Kelly Russell, Pigeon Inlet Productions PIP 732, St John's, Newfoundland; first issued as Quay CS7932 by the Newfoundland Fiddle Association, 1979.
- Benoit, Emile, *Ca vient du tchoeur: It comes from the heart*, Pigeon Inlet Productions PIP 7311, St John's, Newfoundland, 1982.
- Benoit, Emile, *Emile Benoit: Vive la Rose*, Amber ACC 49386, Topsail, Newfoundland, 1993.
- Bulwer, Walter, 'Off She Goes' in *English Country Music*, Topic LP 12T 296, London, c.1976.
- Clough, Tom, 'Holey Ha'penny', 'The Keel Row', in *Holey Ha'penny: Classic Recordings of Traditional Music from the North-east of England*, Topic LP 12T 296, London, 1976.
- Folkmusik från Halland* [Folk Music from Halland], Fiddlers' Association of Halland HSF 761010, Halland, 1976.
- Fraser, Alasdair and Jody Stecher, *The Driven Bow*, Culburnie CUL102, Nevada City, CA, 1988.
- Golden Age of Mechanical Music*, Vol. 2: *Parry's Barrel Organ*, Saydisc SDL234, Badminton, 1973.
- Guinchart, Rufus, *Newfoundland Fiddler*, Breakwater 1002, Oslo, 1978.
- Guinchart, Rufus, *Step Dances and Doubles*, Pigeon Inlet Productions PIP737, St John's, Newfoundland, 1982.



*Play It Like It Is: Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic*

- Guinchard, Rufus, *Rufus Guinchard: Humoring the Tunes*, Sing-song Productions RDR-C-178, St John's, Newfoundland, 1990.
- Guinchard, Rufus, *Rufus Guinchard: Fathers of the Newfoundland Fiddle, Volume 1*, Pigeon Inlet Productions PIP4-7333, St John's, Newfoundland, 1995.
- I Välsignan och Fröjd: En Folkmusikmässa av Alf Hambe och Hans Kennemark* [In Blessing and Delighting: A Folk Music Mass by Alf Hambe and Hans Kennemark], Argument Förlag ARCD 1008, Varberg, 1999.
- Kelly, Patrick, 'Foxhunter's Reel' in *Ceol an Chlár Vol 1: Traditional Fiddle Music from West Clare*, Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann CCE LP CL17, Dublin, [c. 1980].
- Lamb, Dwight, *Joseph Won a Coated Fiddle and Other Fiddle and Accordion Tunes from the Great Plains*, Rounder CD 0429, Cambridge, MA, 1999.
- Lee, Harry, 'Flowers of Edinburgh', 'The Breakdown' in *Boscastle Breakdown: Southern English Country Music*, Topic LP 12T240, London, 1974.
- Mactullagh Vannin, *Mactullagh Vannin*, Dirt Music, Isle of Man, 1986.
- Mactullagh Vannin, *Twisted Roots*, Manx Heritage Foundation CD4, Isle of Man, 2004.
- Moore, Hamish, *Dannsa' Air an Drochaid/Stepping on the Bridge*, Greentrax CD TRAX073, Cnockenzie, 1994.
- Rutherford, Jim, 'Corn Rigs' in *North Country Rants and Reels*, Folktracks cassette FCS-60-121, Gloucester, 1977.
- Shaw, John, ed., *The Music of Cape Breton*, 2 vols, Topic 12TS353-4, London, 1978.
- Stephen Baldwin: *English Village Fiddler*, Leader LP LED 2068, London, 1976.
- The Art of Traditional Fiddle*, Rounder Heritage CD 1166-11592-2, 2000.
- The Beehive Band, *Hymns, Songs and Fiddle Tunes of the Utah Pioneers*, Honeybee Recordings HBCD3024-1, Salt Lake City, 1997.
- The De'il in the Kitchen: Auld Scots Fiddle Music*, Folktracks cassette FSC60, Gloucester, 1978.
- The Earl Soham Slog*, Topic LP 12TS374, London, 1978.
- The Fiddler and his Art*, Scottish Tradition Series, Vol 9, Greentrax CD TRAX9009, Cnockenzie, 1994.
- The Light House: Contemporary Manx Music*, Manx Heritage Foundation MHFC4, Douglas, 1998.
- The Northern Illinois University Winds and Percussion*, Vol. 2, Music Educator's DR Inc. DEDX 035719, 1995.
- The Rover's Return: Traditional Fiddle Music of Cape Breton Vol. 2*, Rounder CD 7038, 2002.
- The Silver Bow: The Fiddle Music of Shetland*, Topic TSCD469, London, 1995.
- Tom Hughes and his Border Fiddle: Fiddle Music from the Scottish Borders*, Springthyme LP SPR 1005, Cupar, 1981.
- White, Pat, 'I'm Leaving Tipperary' and Packie Dolan, 'Grove Hornpipe', in *Farewell to Old Ireland: Music of the Early Irish Immigrants Recorded in the U.S.A.*, Proper Records CD Properbox 3, London, 1999.

## Bibliography

### Websites

[www.ceolas.co.uk](http://www.ceolas.co.uk)

[www.village-music-project.org.uk](http://www.village-music-project.org.uk)

'Yellow Stockings' at [www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/YEL\\_YM.htm](http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/YEL_YM.htm)

[www.invernesscounty.ca/Index.htm](http://www.invernesscounty.ca/Index.htm)

[www.economagic.com/em\\_cgi/data.exe/blsin/inu0022ca0](http://www.economagic.com/em_cgi/data.exe/blsin/inu0022ca0)

[www.inverness.ednet.ns.ca/future.html](http://www.inverness.ednet.ns.ca/future.html)

[www.cassmeurig.com](http://www.cassmeurig.com)

[www.cranfordpub.com/tunes/CapeBreton/Elizabeth'sBigCoat.htm](http://www.cranfordpub.com/tunes/CapeBreton/Elizabeth'sBigCoat.htm)

[www.cranfordpub.com/tunes/CapeBreton/JohnnnySullivan.htm](http://www.cranfordpub.com/tunes/CapeBreton/JohnnnySullivan.htm)

[www.thesession.org/tunes/display/1074](http://www.thesession.org/tunes/display/1074)

[www.abdn.ac.uk/scottskinner/display.php?ID=JSS0611](http://www.abdn.ac.uk/scottskinner/display.php?ID=JSS0611)

### Filmography

*Transylvania: The Band Plays On*, Nigel Finch and Anthony Wall, directors, BBC, 1991.

*The Blood Is Strong*, Grampian/Channel 4, 1988.

### Broadcasts

Ysensus, August, *En Gammeldags Bondjul i Halland* [An Old-fashioned Farmer Christmas in Halland] Swedish Radio Broadcast, 1941.

## Contributors

**Mary Anne Alburger**, Co-Convenor of NAFCo 2001, is an Honorary Fellow of the Elphinstone Institute. She is the author of *The Violin Makers: Portrait of a Living Craft* and *Scottish Fiddlers and their Music*. As Peter A. Hall Research Fellow at the Institute (1998-2002), she undertook a doctoral study of the Gaelic sources of Captain Simon Fraser's *Airs and Melodies* (1816), and has researched the Tudor fiddles recovered from the wreck of the 'Mary Rose'. She is a player of the violin and viola, and a member of several ensembles.

**Fenella Bazin**, former Director of Postgraduate Studies at the University of Liverpool's Centre for Manx Studies, is currently researching the musical links between the Isle of Man, Scotland, and Norway. Her publications include a collection of Manx hymns, *The Everlasting Hills* (2006), and anthems of Edward Quayle, *The Promised Land* (2000), *Volume 5 of the New History of the Isle of Man, illustrations editor* (2000), and chapters and articles on many aspects of Manx music in journals and other publications, including *New Grove*.

**Richard Blaustein** is Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at East Tennessee State University in Johnson City, Tennessee. He is also Coordinator of the Undergraduate Minor in Appalachian Studies and teaches Old Time Appalachian fiddle and banjo in the university's Bluegrass, Old Time and Country Music programme. His research interests include comparative studies of cultural revitalization movements and the development of organisations devoted to the preservation of traditional fiddle music.

**Jan Petter Blom** is Professor Emeritus at the Department of Social Anthropology and the Grieg Academy of Music, University of Bergen, Norway. He has undertaken comparative research in Sociolinguistics, Ethnomusicology and Ethnochoreology (the music-dance interface), and social organization. He is an elected honorary member of the Norwegian National Association of Fiddlers (Lfs).

**Liz Doherty** is a fiddle player from Buncrana, County Donegal, Ireland. She has released two solo albums to date and recorded with a number of bands. She was awarded a PhD in 1996 from the University of Limerick for her research into the Cape Breton fiddle tradition and has lectured at University College, Cork, and the University of Ulster. Recent publications include *From Barefoot Days: A Life of Music, Song and Dance in Inishowen*. She currently works as Traditional Arts Specialist with the Arts Council of Ireland.

**Karin Eriksson**, PhD, is at present connected to the Department of Culture, Aesthetics and Media at Gothenburg University, Sweden. Her research in ethnomusicology led to her thesis on the Fiddlers' Association of Halland and the Swedish fiddlers' movement. She has also published papers on music festivals, music journalism, and music and dance research (together with Mats Nilsson). In September 2006, she will join an interdisciplinary project, 'Intermediality and the Medieval Ballads' at Växjö University.

**Stuart Eydmann** was born in Fife, Scotland, and since graduating from the Glasgow School of Art in 1975 has pursued a career in heritage conservation. In 1987 he gained a Glenfiddich Living Scotland Award for an oral history of free-reed instruments and in 1995

## Contributors

received a PhD from the Open University for his thesis on the concertina in Scotland. As a fiddle and concertina player, he performs with the Whistlebinkies, is tutor for the Open University MA in Popular Culture, and teaches at the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama.

**Burt Feintuch** is Professor of Folklore and English at the University of New Hampshire, where he directs the Center for the Humanities. A former editor of the *Journal of American Folklore*, he has undertaken fieldwork in a number of musical cultures in the USA, Canada, and the United Kingdom. A fiddler himself, he has focused his research on Cape Breton. He is a member of the National Recording Preservation Board at the Library of Congress, and has produced documentary recordings for the Smithsonian Folkways and Rounder labels.

**Sherry Johnson** recently completed her doctoral dissertation, entitled 'Negotiating Tradition in Ontario Fiddle Contests', at York University, Canada. She is currently researching the relationship between Canadian fiddling and step dancing traditions. She is an active step dancer and fiddler, performing and teaching throughout North America and Britain.

**Jan Ling** is Professor Emeritus in Musicology at Gothenburg University in Sweden. He has spent his time since he retired writing a book about Charles Burney and another about musical life in eighteenth-century Gothenburg. He is currently preparing an edition of a newly discovered manuscript of eighteenth-century music from Gothenburg and also a book about nineteenth-century music focused on Franz Liszt.

**Cass Meurig** works as a crwth and traditional fiddle player, specialising in the Welsh tradition. She holds a PhD from Bangor University on the music of the fiddler in eighteenth-century Wales and is the author of *Alawon John Thomas*, an edition of a 1752 manuscript of fiddle tunes. She is also one of the few players of the Welsh crwth, a medieval bowed lyre, and in 2004 released an album of music for the instrument, entitled *Crwth*.

**Evelyn Osborne** is a PhD student in Ethnomusicology at Memorial University in St John's, Newfoundland, Canada. She holds a Bachelor of Music (Cum Laude) with a major in violin from the University of Ottawa and a MA (Canadian Studies) from Carleton University. A fiddler herself, her research centres around the instrumental music of Newfoundland and Labrador, specifically issues of style and the Celtic music revival. Other areas of research interest include childlore, folksong, popular culture, and pedagogy.

**Paul E. W. Roberts** is a well-known fiddler and piper. He has played many different instruments and musical styles, and written widely on various aspects of traditional and popular music. A lapsed academic historian, he now makes a frugal living selling vintage clothes and playing British and American vernacular music of the last three centuries.

**Ian Russell** is Director of the Elphinstone Institute at the University of Aberdeen and was Co-Convenor of NAFCo 2001. His current research is focused on the traditional culture of North-East Scotland, including sacred singing, ballad singing, flute bands, free reed instruments, recitation, Travellers' tradition, and the local craft of building model sailing luggers, known as 'boaties'. He has also conducted extensive fieldwork into singing traditions in the English Pennines, especially Christmas carolling.

**Catherine A. Shoupe** is Professor of Anthropology at Saint Mary's College, a liberal arts college for women at Notre Dame, Indiana, USA. She has conducted long-term fieldwork in the county of Fife, Scotland, and surrounding regions. Her research and publications focus on the performance, social context, and aesthetics of social dance and dance music in Lowland Scotland, and on Anglo-American traditions of architecture and crafts. She has recently produced a CD, *Aged to Perfection*, of a melodeon player, Jim Crawford of Fife.

# Index

- A History of Newfoundland and Labrador*, 87  
ABA form, in *polska*, 71  
Aberdeen, Scotland, 43, Strathspey and Reel Society, 53  
Aberdeenshire, Scotland, 43 accompanist, 119, accompanying, 9, 17, 70, 71-73, 91  
accompaniment, bowed, 9, piano, 119,  
Accordion and Fiddle Clubs, 53-4  
Accordion, 53-4, accordion, 47-8, 56, 73, accordion player, a 'fiddler' in Newfoundland, 88  
accordionist, 54, 56, Sir Jimmy Shand, 48  
Adamson, Alexander (Sandy), 43-44, 47  
Adamson, Bill, Jr, 44, 46, 47  
Adamson, 'Daddie', 44, 47  
Adamson, 'Fiddle', 43  
Adamson, Isobel, 45, 47  
Adamson, William, 43-47  
aesthetic experience and trance, 77  
aesthetic experience of a rhythm, the, 85  
African-American, 50  
*aide-mémoire*, John Thomas MS as, 7  
Akalaïtis, JoAnne, 116  
Alburger, Mary Anne, 35  
*allspelslåtar*, common tunes, 65  
almain, 10  
alternative tunings, of fiddle, 23, cross tunings, 27, high bass, 108  
America, 28  
American fiddle contests, 57  
*Ancient Music of Ireland*, George Petrie, 55  
Ancient Society of Cymmrodorion, 52  
Andersson, Benedict, 'imagined communities', 62  
Anderson, Tom, 35, 54  
Anglesey, North Wales, 7, 10  
Anglo-American fiddling, 23 Anglo-Celtic, 27  
Angus, Scotland, 43  
anthropological thinking, modern, 69  
*Antient British Music*, John Parry, 10  
Antigonish, Nova Scotia, 103  
ap Huw, Robert, 7-8  
Appalachia, USA, 2, 23  
Appalachian, 27  
archaic pre-violin techniques, 23  
archaic Scottish, Cape Breton fiddling seen as, 113  
archaic style, in Swedish fiddling revival, 56  
archaic, Welsh harp music, 7  
Atholl, Duke of, 53, Dukes of, 16  
Atlanta fiddlers contests, 50, *see also* fiddlers contest, contests, competitions, championships  
Avalon Peninsula, Newfoundland, 87  
bagpipe, 34-38, 72, chanter, 34, 38, Highland bagpipe, 34, 36, 52, Manx, 14, Northumbrian smallpipes, 52  
ballad tune, tunes, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, ballads, 9  
ball, assembly, 16, 17, end of session, 47, mid-point, 43  
Balmullo, Fife, 46  
Banchory, Aberdeenshire, 43  
band, church, 16, dance, eighteenth-century, 47  
bands, 16, brass, 22, dance, 44, jazz big, 108, Scottish dance, 48, Silver, 45, show, 17  
bands and orchestras, Isle of Man, 16, 18,  
Bangor MS 2294, harp, 11  
baroque, 71  
Baroque, art violin, 23, 27, harp, Italian, triple-strung, 52, high, 16  
bass, 47, bass player, 72, double bass, 45, 67  
Bazar Blue, 72  
Bazin, Fenella, 2  
BBC, 54, 104  
Beaton, Harvey, 106  
Beaton, Kinnon, 113  
Beethoven, 42  
Belfast, Northern Ireland, 55

## Index

- Belfast Harp Society, 55  
'being in sync', 77  
bendir, 72  
Benne, Trevor, 89-90  
Benoit, Emile, 3-4, compositions, 'Emile's Dream', 'Farewell', 91, collapsed stage, 92, jobs, 91, *L'Anse aux Canards* (Black Duck Brook), Newfoundland, 91, *Music from the Heart* (Quigley), 91, pay, 89  
big bands, jazz, 108  
Big Pond Concert, Cape Breton Island, 103  
biology, kinetics, and psychology, 77  
Birdwhistell, R. L., 77  
birl, the, 27, 37, 40, as played in Cape Breton, 37, 'birlin' note, 34  
Black Duck Brook (*L'Anse aux Canard*), Newfoundland, 91  
Blaustein, Richard, 3  
'Blessed is he who came in the name of the Lord', 67  
Blom, Jan Petter, 3  
*Blood is Strong, The* (Grampian/Channel 4 documentary), 102  
bluegrass, 71  
Bodorgan Manor, Angelsey, and the Meyrick family, 10, *see also* performance spaces  
Bohuslän, Sweden, 63  
'*Bollan Bane*' (Manx song), 15, 17  
bordun, 72  
Boston, MA, USA, 114  
Boulton, Mike, 18  
bowed harp, Finnish, 72  
bowed lyre, 52, six-stringed, 6, *see also* croud, *crowd*, Medieval English,  
bowing, action, 100, characteristic cycles of, 81, continual drone, 24, differences in Norwegian regional styles, 75, distinct patterns, 23, double-stopping, 24, 27, drone strings, 24, drone, drone, or 'double-notes', 70, dynamic attack, 23, jig bow, 24, grips, 22, 26, movable drone technique, 80, Nashville shuffle, 23, 24, speed of, 82, 83, stroke, 23, 24, sympathetic drone strings, 24, technique, 84  
Boyle, Robin, 18  
breakdown fiddlers, 24  
Britain, 58, southern, 15  
British Isles, 28, 52, 56, 57  
British and French immigrants to Ontario, the Ottawa Valley, 94  
*British Harmony*, John Parry, 10  
Bronner, Simon, 50  
'Bruastregen', a Swedish wedding-march, 65, as transcribed and arranged, 66, as part of a folk Mass, 67, 68  
burials, Viking ship, 15  
Burke, Father T. V., Drogheda Harp Society, 55  
Burns, Robert, 43  
Cabot, John, 87  
Cabot Trail, 118  
*cajon*, 72  
Cajun music, 119  
*Caledonian Country Dances*, 9  
California, USA, 114  
Callister, David, 18  
Campbell, Mairi, 104-106  
Canada, 87, 91, 94, 102, 103, 114, 116, 117, Order of, 91  
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 'The Vanishing Cape Breton Fiddler', 113  
Canadian fiddle championships, 97  
Canadian Maritimes (Provinces), 105, 110  
Canadian old-time style, 94  
*canu penillion*, 'floating stanzas', 13, note 9  
Cape Breton, 36, 37, 102-20, anthem, 102, ethnic groups, 103, fiddle music, 4, 102, fiddlers, 106-08, 113, geographically and economically marginalized, 110, music, not eighteenth-century Highland, 106, music promoted in Scotland, 104-5, piano playing and style, 108, syncopation and chromaticism in, 108, sound, 105, 108, Symphony Orchestra, 104  
carol, *see* medieval carol  
Cassidys, the (Irish folk group), 18  
Catholic Scots, emigration to Nova Scotia, 110  
Ceilidh Trail, Cape Breton, 112, School of Celtic Music, 118  
cellist, 47  
cello, 45, 71  
Celtic cultural identity, 52, fringe, 53, harp, single-strung, 52, Music Interpretive Center, Judique, 118, recordings, 118, Wales, 52, world, commercial, 106  
*Ceòlas*, summer school, South Uist, 105  
*cerrd dant* ('string music'), 6-7  
chamber music, 72  
Championship or Open Class, 95  
Charleton, Michelle, 97, 101  
chordal decoration, 24  
*Chruinnaght, Yn* (Manx festival), 14, 17, 18

- church band, 16  
church, Swedish, 67-68  
Clague, Dr John, 18  
classical aesthetic, 28, violin tone, 54  
Clearances, the, 105, 106  
‘clog’ hornpipe, 26  
Clough school of small-piping, 25, 30, note 10  
Codroy Valley, Newfoundland, 87  
Colby, Isle of Man, 15  
*Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann* 55  
common tunes, *allspelslåtar*, 65  
communication, non-verbal, 77  
community hall, 88  
competitions, *Eisteddfod*, 52, Isle of Man, 17, Sweden, 69, *see also* fiddle competitions  
compositions, orchestral, 17  
Condon, W. S., 77  
contest circuit, 94-97, 100-101, styles, 57  
Cooke, Peter, 56, ‘New Shetland’ style, 54, birl, 36, melograph, 39  
Copenhagen, 55  
Corkill, Isle of Man, 15  
cornet, 45  
Cornwall, England, 17  
country fiddlers, ‘old fashioned’, 17, repertoire, 22, improvising, 25, music, 71  
County Longford, Ireland, 55  
Cow Head, Newfoundland, 90  
cowbells, 73  
Cowdenbeath, Fife, 44  
Craigmore, Nova Scotia, 114  
Creignish, Cape Breton, 116  
Cremona, 2  
crooked playing, crookedness, 26, 27, 28  
cross tuning, 23, 27  
crowd, 6, Medieval English, 52  
crwth, 2, 6, 8, 52  
Cultural revival movements, 51  
culture, cultural industry, 116, regions, 28, revitalization, 51  
Cumming, Angus, 35  
Currie, Alex, dance piper, 105  
Currie, James, 43  
cuttings, 108, ‘*gèarraidhean*’ (Gaelic), 36
- Da Forty Fiddlers, Shetland, 54  
‘Da Grocer’, 35  
Dalarna, Sweden, 55  
Dalecarlia, Sweden, 70, tune, arranging, 72  
dance, band, 44, 47, classes, 43, Scottish, 48, palaces, 16, piper, 105, teachers, 44, weekly, 44
- dances, almain, 10, ballroom, 45, ‘clog’ hornpipe, 26, country dances, 7, 11, 46, *engelska*, 64, foxtrot, 45, galliard, 10, *gangar (halling)*, 80, Highland, 46, Highland Fling, 46, hornpipes, 42, jigs, 42, *kadrilj*, 64, Lancers, 46, Manx stick, 14, minuet, 8, 9, 42, 45, 48, modern waltz, 45, Old Highland reels, 35, ‘old time’, 45, polka, 43, polska, 56, quadrille, 11, quickstep, 43, 45, reels, 22, 38, 42, 43, 92, 99, *rull*, 80, samba, 45, St Bernard’s Waltz, 46, step, 46, strathspey, 42-3, strathspey-reel, 26, tango, 45, Valeta, 46, waltz, 43, 45  
dancer, step, *see* step dancer  
dancie, ‘dancies’, 44  
dancing, 42, master, 42-44, 47, 48  
dancing schools, 43  
Daniel’s Harbour, Newfoundland, 89, 90, 91  
Daniels, Wayne, 50  
*darbouke*, 72  
Darowen, Powys, Wales, 11  
de Vos, George, on ethnic identity, 58  
decorations, birl, 24-25, 27, 28, 33-41, decorative runs, 28, diddling, 91, double notes, double stopping, 24, 27, 108, drones, 108, grace notes, semi-quaver runs, 24, snap, 26, 28  
Denmark, 57  
Derby, Earls of, 16  
Detroit, Illinois, USA, 115  
‘Diarum Spirituale’, 72  
diddling, 91  
Doag, Andrew, 44  
dogsled travel, 88  
Doherty, Liz, 4  
Donegal, Ireland, 4, 35  
double bass, 45, 67  
double stops, 108  
Douglas, Isle of Man, 16  
Douglas, Mona, 17  
Drakenberg, Albert, Lindome, Sweden, 63  
*Driven Bow, The* (CD), 104-5  
Drogheda, Ireland, 55  
drone, piano, 108  
drones, 24, 26, 27, 80, 108  
‘*Drugan Troed Tant’* (‘*Erdigan Tro’r Tant’*), 8  
Druidism, 52  
drums, 45, drummers, 61  
‘*Du gamla du fria*’, Richard Dybeck, Swedish National anthem, 69  
Dublin, Ireland, 39, 55, 111  
Dublin fiddler, Tommie Potts, 39  
Dublin Harp Society, 55

## Index

- Duesenberry, Peggy, 36  
*dugan* (Welsh music), 8  
Dunbog, Fife, 47  
Dundee, Scotland, 43, 44, 45, National Mod at, 103  
Dungan, James, Irish harp revival, 55  
Dupplin, Lord, 47  
Dybeck, Richard, Swedish National anthem, 'Du gamla du fria', 69  
Dylan, Bob, 71  
dynamic attack, bow, 23  
dynamics of music, 99
- early music ensemble, Sweden, 72  
Edinburgh, 43, Strathspey and Reel Society, 53  
*Eighteenth Century Renaissance, The*, 52  
*Eisteddfod*, 52  
Elgin Strathspey and Reel Society, 53  
EMI, 71  
emigration, Manx to North America, 17, Scottish to Nova Scotia, 110, 112  
Emmerson, George S., 53  
empirical models of dance metres, 79  
*engelska*, 2, 64  
England, 10, 19, 22, 24, 26, 27, 87, 91, northern, 16, south-west, 28  
English musical antiquarianism, 27  
English fiddling, alternative tunings, 23, bowing patterns, 23-24, breakdown fiddlers, 24, cross tuning, 23, dynamic attack, 23, 'jig bow', 24, melodic variation, 25, manuscript tune collections, 22, Nashville shuffle, 23, 24, 'Newcastle style' hornpipes, 24, pre-violin techniques, 23, tone, 23, violin, 22-23, working-class elite, 22  
Englishtown, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, 103  
environments, non-traditional, 51  
'*Erdigian Tro'r Tant'*, ('*Drugan Troed Tant'*), 8  
Ermedahl, Gunnar, theories of cultural change, 62  
Eriksson, Karin, 3  
ethnic groups, Cape Breton, 103  
ethnic identity, George de Vos, 58  
ethnomusicology, 112, Gunnar Ternhag, 61  
etiquette, 47  
Europe, 27, 28, 72, 92, 116  
Evans, John (Welsh music MS), 11  
Eydmann, Stuart, 2
- fairs, 6  
Falkirk Tryst, 53  
Falu folk music festival, Sweden, 70  
Feintuch, Burt, 5, 52
- female participation in contests, 94-101  
feminine style, 99-100  
fiddle, high bass, 108, Isle of Man, 14-21, music, 75, 'New Shetland' style, 54, Ontario styles, 94, parents, 117, players, 6, playing, 47, 94, revival, 50, techniques, 27, toy, 91  
fiddle championships, contests, competitions, 53, 54, 56, 57, 95, 97, age-specific categories in, 57, Atlanta, 50, Missouri, 56, Norwegian *kappleiks*, 56, Ontario, 94, Scottish National, Golden Fiddle Award, 54, Shelburne, 97-99  
Fiddle Society, Unst, 54  
fiddler, 7, 9, 10, 14, 15, 17, 18, 22, 23, 26, 36, 39, 55, 64, 65, 66, 67, 70, 73, 78, 83, 85, 88, 89, 93, 95, 98, 111, 113, 114, 115, 117, 118, 119, controlled aesthetic, Norway, 69, orchestral groups, Sweden, 70, clubs, 64, 67, repertoire, 65  
fiddlers' associations, 50, 62  
Fiddlers' Movement, *spelmansrörelsen*, Halland, Sweden, 3, 61-68  
Fife, Scotland, 42, 43, 47  
fingerings, 23, 46  
Finnish bowed harp, 72  
Fitzgerald, Winston 'Scotty', 108  
*flatfele*, 58  
*Fleadh Ceol Na Eireann*, 55, 57  
Flett, J. F. and T. M., 46  
'floating stanzas', *canu penillion*, 9, 13, note 9  
Folk Acts Sweden (CDs), 70  
folk instruments, 61  
folk mass, 67  
folk music, 50, 52, 55, 56, 57, 58, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 77, 80, Newfoundland, 87, 90, revival, 50, 51, 58, Sweden, 64, 66, 67, 69, symphonic, 71  
folk tunes, Swedish, 62, 66, Welsh, 6  
folklore profession, 58, research, Swedish, 62  
*FolkNetSweden och Rikskonsertter* (CD), 70  
Ford, Henry, 50  
Forteviot, Perthshire, 47  
*framdreum*, 72  
France, 28  
Francis, Dave, 105  
Fraser, Alasdair, 104-5, 108, Fraserites, 106  
Fraser, Kenny, 105  
Fraser, Simon, collection, 107  
funerals, 6
- Gaelic, Cape Breton, 102, 105, 107



*Play It Like It Is: Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic*

- Gaelic College, Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, Isle of Skye, 105-6, St Ann's, Nova Scotia, 102  
Gaelic, Manx, 19  
Gaelic, Scottish, 36, 103, 104  
Gaelic storyteller, Joe Neil MacNeil, Nova Scotia, 107  
gait and the waltz, 79  
galliard, 10  
Gammel-polska, (The Old Polska), Halland, even polska, 63  
Gawne, Phil, 18  
gender and winning, 95, 97, asymmetries, 95, judging, 94, 97, 99  
Gendered performance spheres, Ladies Class, Ladies Open, 96-7, Open Class, 95, male dominated, 96, Eleanor Townsend, 97, achievement, 98  
*ghatan*, 72  
Georgia Old Time Fiddlers Association, 50  
gig (paid performance), 113  
Gille, Fredrik, 72  
Glasgow, Scotland, 43  
Glass, Philip, 116  
Glencoe Mills, Cape Breton, 115  
Glendale, Cape Breton, 103, 107  
Gordon, Countess of, 53  
Gorlan, Llanrwst, Wales, 11  
Gothenburg, Sweden, 62, 63, 64  
Gow, Atholl, and Simon Fraser collections, 107  
Gow, Niel, 3, 105, 107, *Scots Magazine*, 53  
grace notes, 108  
grace notes, grace-noting, gracings, *see also* decorations, bagpipe  
gramophone, 40  
Granard, Co. Longford, Ireland, 55  
Grant, Angus, 106  
grassroots, players, Norway, 57, preservationist movement, 50-51, 53, revivals, 50  
Gray, Mrs Davina, 47  
Great Britain, 19, 53, 92  
Great Northern Peninsula, Newfoundland, 87, 89  
Guardians of the Folk, 104  
*Guide to Bowing*, 37  
Guinchart, Rufus, 3-4, 87-90, compositions, 'Centennial Highway Reel', 'Father's Tune', 'Jim Rumbolt's Tune', 'Sam Sinnicks Tune', 'Traveler's Reel', 'Uncle Harry's Out of Shape', 'Uncle John Peter Payne's Tune', 'Uncle Manuel Milks the Cow', compositional methods, 90, 'discovered' by folk revival, 90, jobs, 89, learning by ear, 89-90, naming tunes, 90, pay, 88-89, *Rufus Guinchart: The Man and his Music* (Russell), 89, 90, style, 89, 'The Wreck of the Ethie', 89  
guitar, 45, 90  
Gypsy families, Wales, 6  
Hall, Edward T., 77  
Halland Fiddlers' Association, *Hallands spelmansförbund*, 3, 61, Bohuslän, Västergötland, Småland and Skåne, 63, 'county', 62, distinctiveness, 64, fiddlers, 62-63, imagined communities, 62, Middle Ages, 62, similarities, 63, *spelmanslaget*, the 'fiddlers' club', 64, *spelmansörelsen*, 61, *spelmansstämmor*, 'fiddlers' meetings', 64  
Hallingdal, Norway, 82  
*Hallingspringar*, 82, 83  
Hambe, Alf, 67  
Handel, 9  
Hardanger area, Norway, 80, fiddle, 2, 57, 80  
Hardanger Fiddle Society of America, 58  
Hardie, Alastair, 36, 37  
*hardingfele*, 2, 57, 80  
harmonica, 56  
harp, 6, Celtic, Italian, Welsh, *telyn*, 52, Irish, 55, playing and Welsh-language singing traditions, 6, tablature, Robert ap Hughes manuscript, 7  
Harp Society, Belfast, Drogheda, Dublin, 55  
harpsichord, 47  
harvest home, 44  
Hawke's Bay, Newfoundland, 89, 90  
Haydn, 42  
Hebrides, Scotland, 15  
Hedin, Johan, 3, 69-74, Bazar Blue, 72, compositions, 71, 72, 73, creative process, recording, 73, EMI, 71, influences of country, bluegrass, rhythm and blues, 71, of jazz, classical chamber music, 72, keyed fiddle, *nyckleharpa*, 70, Pete Seeger and Bob Dylan, 71, soundscape, 72, tonal harmony, 71, Uppland, Småland and Dalecarlia traditions, 70, 'world music', 71  
'Heights of Alma, The', 89  
Henderson, Alan, 106  
Henderson, J. Murdoch, 107  
Henry VII, 87  
Henry, Edmond O., on *Comhaltas Ceoltóiri Éireann*, 55  
heritage, 119  
high bass (*scordatura* tuning), 108

## Index

- Highlands, 103, 105  
Highland Society, 53  
Hobsbawm, Eric, *The Invention of Tradition*, 51  
Hocknill, Richard (Welsh music MS), 10  
hoedown, style, 100  
Hohner accordion, 48  
'Home of Celtic Music, The', 112  
'*Honunsgpolskan*' ('The Honey Polska'), 63  
Hopkins, Pandora, *Landskappleiken*, Norwegian national folk competition, 56-57, *hardingfele*, 57  
hornpipe, competition style, 24, single-string, 24, 27, drone strings, 24, 'Newcastle style', 24, *pihgorn*, 52, *see also* dances  
Howe of Fife, Scotland, 47  
Hunter, James, 36  
hurdy-gurdy, 72
- identity, Cape Breton, 113, 114, 119, ethnic, 51, 58, idealized, 119, local, 82, national, 12, primordial folk society, 52, Welsh, 10, 12, 52  
*Ifan y Gorlan* (Evan Jones), 11  
immigrants, British and French to Ontario, 94  
improvisation, 25, 27, 35, 73  
institutionalization of traditional music, 51, 54  
interceltic festival, *Chruinnagh, Yn Chruinnagh*, 14  
Intermediate Class, competition, 96  
*Invention of Tradition, The*, 51  
'invented' tradition, 51  
Inverness, Scotland, 53  
Inverness County, Nova Scotia, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120  
Inverness *Oran* (newspaper), 111, 112, 115, 120  
Inverness Town, Nova Scotia, 118  
Ireland, 17, 35, 54, 55, 57, Ireland, south-east, 28  
Irish, Cape Breton, 103, 106, 108  
Irish, French, and Scottish styles, in Canada, 94  
Irish harp, 55  
Isle of Man, 14, 19, Viking colonization, Tynwald (parliament), 15  
Isle of Skye, Scotland, 104, 105  
Italian violin, modern, 15  
Italy, 28, 42  
itinerant dramas, 6
- Jacobite Rebellion, 53  
jam sessions, 57  
Japan, 91  
jazz, 50, big bands, 108  
'Jenny Making Hay', 9  
Jerry, Colin, 18  
jig bow, 24  
jigs, 22, 24, 42, 43, 99  
Johansson, John Helge, 66, 67  
Johansson, Otto (Växtorp), Halland polska, *Gammel-Polska*, 63  
John Thomas MS (1752), 8  
Johnson, David, 37, 42  
Johnson, Sherry, 4  
Jones, Edward, 9, 10, 11, 12  
Jones, Evan, 11  
Jovovich, Milla, 71  
Judique, Nova Scotia, 112, 114, 118
- kadrilj*, 64  
*kaimba*, 72  
*kanjira*, 72  
*kappleiks*, Norwegian fiddle contests, 56  
Karpeles, Maud, 88  
Keil, Charles, 77  
Kennedy, Jane, 46  
Kennemark, Hans, 67  
Kentucky, USA, 119  
kettle drum, 72  
'*Kettle Water Works, The*', 44  
Kettlebridge, Fife, Scotland, 44-45  
keyboards, 119  
keyed fiddle, playing technique, 70, sopranina, soprano and tenor, 72, *see Hedin, nykleharpa*  
Kilgallon, David, 18  
Kilrush, Co. Clare, Ireland, 36  
Kingskettle, Fife, 45  
Kinross, Scotland, 43, 47  
kirk, the, 43  
Kneale, Mick, 18  
Koskoff, Ellen, *Women and Men in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, 95
- L'Anse-à-Canards (L'Anse aux Canards), Black Duck Brook, Newfoundland, 91  
L'Anse aux Meadows (L'Anse au Meadows), Newfoundland, Viking settlement, 87  
Lamey, Bill, 103, 107  
*Landskappleiken*, Norwegian national folk music competition, *see* Hopkins, 56-57  
Lawrence, Katy, 18  
Lerwick Accordion and Fiddle Club, 54

*Play It Like It Is: Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic*

- 'Lilliburlero', 7  
Ling, Jan, 3  
locality and identity, 112  
Loch Ailort, Scotland, 103  
Lochgelly, Fife, 44  
Lombard snap, 28  
London, England, 9, 52, 53, 71, 104
- Mabou, Cape Breton, 112, 113  
MacAndrew, Hector, 108  
MacCraith, Faraquhar, 105  
MacCraiths, the, 106  
MacDonald, Dan R., 103, 107, 113  
MacDonald, Frank, publisher, Inverness  
    *Oran*, 111, 115, 116  
MacGillivray (Allister), 37  
MacInnis, Dan Joe, 107  
MacIsaac, Ashley, 'Hi: How Are You  
    Today?', 116  
MacKay, Alec Francis, 107  
MacKenzie, Carl, 104  
MacLean, Mike, 107  
MacLean, Sorley, 104  
MacLennan, Hugh, 102  
MacMaster, Buddy, 103-4, 106-7, 113  
MacMaster, Natalie, 116, 117  
MacMillan, Father Allan, 104  
MacNeil, Jean, and Ryan, 105  
MacNeil, Joe Neil, 102, 107  
MacNeil, Kenzie, 'We Are an Island, a Rock  
    in the Stream', 102  
MacNeil, Ryan, 105  
MacPhee, Doug, 104  
magic, in stories, 15  
Magnusson, King Eric, 15  
Mairi Mhor nan Oran, 103  
*Mannin Veen*, band arrangement of, 17  
manuscript, Robert ap Hughes (c. 1613), 7,  
    Wales, 6  
Manx, antiquarian interest, 14, bilingual,  
    Manx Gaelic, 19, English, 16, fiddle  
    playing, 14, 18, fiddlers, 19, Harry  
    Wood, 14, 17, Haydn Wood, 17, stick  
    dance, 14, style, 14, Scottish content, 16,  
    tunes, 14, 'Mylecharaine', 14, 16, *Yn*  
    *Chruinnaght*, interceltic festival, 14  
*Manx Fiddler, The*, 17  
*Manx Rhapsody, A*, 17  
march, 64, 67  
Margaret of Scotland, 15  
marginalization, Brittany, 58, Cape Breton,  
    113, 114, 118-120, women fiddlers,  
    95, masculine style, 99-100
- Masonic Hall, 44, 45, *see* performance  
    spaces,  
mass media, influence of, in Sweden, 70  
Maxwell, Mary, 47  
Maynard, Wallace, 89  
mazurkas, 64  
*mbira*, 72  
McKay, Ian, 102  
Meyer, Björn, 72  
Meyer, Heinrich, and 'Bollan Bane', 15  
medieval carol, 17  
medieval fiddle, 23, 24  
Melodic variation, 25, 26  
melograph, 39  
Memorial University of Newfoundland, 89, 92  
memorising a tune, 15  
Metrical asymmetry, *springar* rhythms,  
    Norway, 81  
Meyrick family, 10  
*Messiah, The*, 16  
Meurig, Cass, 2  
micro analysis, 40  
micro elements, 34  
micro motif, 71  
Mi'kmaq, First Nations, 103, 112  
Middle Ages, Sweden, 62, instruments and  
    music from, Wales, 6  
minuet, 8, 9, 42, 45, 48  
Missouri fiddle contests, 56  
*mitbewegungen*, accompanying body  
    movements, 84  
Mòd (National), Dundee, 103  
mongrel instrumental repertoire, 12  
Moore, Hamish, 104-5, 106, 108  
*moraharpa*, 72  
mordent, 24, 27  
*Morfa Rhuddlan*, minuet, 9  
Morgan, Lewis, 52  
Morgan, Prys, *The Eighteenth Century*  
    *Renaissance*, 52  
Morris, Richard (MS), 7  
motor theory of musical rhythm, 78  
Mozart, 42  
multi-cultural, 70  
multi-part variations, 25, 27, divisions, 25  
Munro, Ailie, *The Folk Music Revival in*  
    *Scotland*, 54  
Murrays (family), Isle of Man, 16  
music and dance rhythms non-arbitrary,  
    mutually translatable structures, 85  
*Music from the Heart: Compositions of a Folk*  
    *Fiddler* (Quigley), 91  
music halls, 16

## Index

- music, primary emblem of identity, Cape Breton, 113
- musical antiquarianism, English, 27
- musical literacy, 33
- musician, 10, 12, 15, 17, 33, 42, 43, 47, 48, 88, 113, 116, literate, 45
- 'Mylecharaine', 14, 16
- NAFCo 2001, 1, 5, 15
- Nashville, TN, USA, 50
- Nashville shuffle, 23, 24
- National Association of Accordion and Fiddle Clubs, 54,
- National Association of Old Time Fiddlers,
- National Old Time Fiddlers Contest, Weiser, OH, 57
- nationalistic ideology, 69
- Nettl, Bruno, 58
- New Hampshire, USA, 119
- New Orleans, LA, USA, 115
- 'New Shetland' style, 54
- New York, USA, 116
- Newburgh, Fife, Scotland, 45, 46
- 'Newcastle style' hornpipes, 24
- Newfoundland, 87-88, 89, 92, 115
- Newfoundland fiddlers, 3-4, 87-93
- Nichol, Tommy, Manx town fiddler, 17
- Norris, Kendra, 95, 96
- norsker*, 63
- North America, 17, 54, 55, 56, 57, 87, 102, 111
- North Atlantic Fiddle Convention, *see* NAFCo
- Northumbrian smallpipes, 52
- Norway, 14, 15, 17, 56-57, 80-81, 92, south, 81, western, 14, 80
- Norwegian fiddle contests, 57, *scottish*, 78
- Nova Scotia, 53, 102-03, 105, 114, 115-16
- nyckelharpa*, *see* keyed fiddle
- O'Neill, Captain Francis, 55
- O'Neill, Kathy, 95, 96
- Ó Súilleabháin, Micheál, 39
- old Scottish fiddle style, 118
- old time, Old Time Fiddlers Association Movement, 51, 54, National Association of, 51, 57, revival, 50, contest, 55
- Ontario fiddle style, 94
- Ontario, Canada, 94, 95, 100, 111
- Ontario fiddlers, Michelle Charlton, 97, Sherry Johnson, 94-101, Kendra Norris, 95-100, Kathy O'Neill, 95, 96, 98, Karen Reed, 95, 97, 99, Krista Rozein, 96, Eleanor Townsend, 97-98, April Verch, 96-99
- Open Class, 95-96, 98
- oral history, 3
- oral tradition, 9, 12
- oral transmission, 6, 54
- orchestra, string, 17
- orchestras, reel and strathspey, 38
- Orkney, Scotland, 53, Strathspey and Reel Society, 53
- ornamentation, 35, 108
- Orpheus (tale), 14
- Osborne, Bernard, 18
- Osborne, Evelyn, 3-4
- Oswestry, Shropshire, 10
- Ottawa fiddlers, *see* Ontario
- Ottawa Valley fiddle competitions, 94, step dancing, *see* step dancing
- pan-British popular tradition, 9
- Paris, France, 71
- parish halls, 113, *see also* performance spaces,
- Parry, John, 9-12, *see Antient British Music, British Harmony,*
- Pärson, Filip, on Halland fiddlers, Sweden, 62-63, 66, 67
- parties ('times'), 88
- pas de bas, 46
- passing decoration, 24
- pay, Newfoundland fiddlers, 88-89
- Payne, John Peter, 89-90
- Payne, Luke, 90
- Peacock, Kenneth, *Songs of the Newfoundland Outports*, 88
- pedigrees, pseudo-historical, of tunes, 10
- Pennsylvania, USA, 119
- performance spaces, Bodorgan Manor, 10, bowling club, 44, community hall, 88, hall, 44, house parties, 57, local school, 88, 90, Masonic Hall, 44, parish halls, 113, sessions, 3, 38, tennis club, 44, recital platforms, 38
- Perthshire, Scotland, 43, 47
- Petrie, George, 55
- Petterson, Harald, Stockholm, 72
- piano, 45
- piano accompaniments, 95
- piano playing, Cape Breton, 108
- pibgorn* (hornpipe), 52
- pickups (musical), 119
- pipes, *see* bagpipe, uilleann pipes
- Pipers' Club of Dublin, 55
- piping contest, 53
- Pitlessie, Fife, 47

*Play It Like It Is: Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic*

- Placentia, Newfoundland, 87  
Plowman, Robert, 89-90  
plucking (violin strings), 46  
*podorhythmic*, 4  
Poles, Cape Breton, 103  
political trends, left wing, Sweden, 70  
polka, 64, 80  
*polska*, even, 63, uneven, 63, *see also* ABA form  
Port au Port Peninsula, Newfoundland, 91  
Potts, Tommie, Dublin fiddler, 39  
pre-modern 'classic folk' patterns, 54  
preservation, 52, 55  
pre-violin techniques, 23  
Prince Edward Island, Canada, 115  
prodigal son, story of the, 67  
psalms and anthems, 16  
*puirt-a-beul* (mouth music), 107  
pump organ, drone behind the fiddle playing, 108  
Purser, John, 42  
Putnam, Robert, 114
- quadrilles, 11  
Quebec, Canada, 115  
'quest of the folk', 102  
Quigley, Colin, *Music from the Heart: Compositions of a Folk Fiddler*, 91, *see also* Benoit
- Ramsey, Isle of Man, 18  
Ramsten, Märta, 56  
Rankin, Father John Angus, 103  
Rankin, John Morris, 113  
Rattvik Fiddlers Club, Dalarna, Sweden, 55  
reconstruction, English fiddle style, 2, 22-32, of tradition, 54  
Reed, Karen, 95  
reel and strathspey orchestras, 38  
reels, 22, 35, 38, 42, 43, 92  
*reinlander* or *scottish*, Scandinavian, 78  
reinvention of cultural symbols, 51  
Reformation, the, 43  
religious revivals, 6  
repertoire, harp and crwth, 6, *cerdd dant*, 6-7  
revitalization, 1, 51, 53  
revival, 1, Norwegian and Swedish, 56-57, US, 58, Welsh, Scottish and Irish, 51-55  
Rhine, 76  
Rhodes, Adam, 18  
rhythms, character, 77  
Richard Morris MS, 7  
Robert ap Hughes (harp MS, c. 1613), 7  
Roberts, Paul E. W., 2  
rock 'n' roll, 50  
Rogers, Stan, singer, 90  
role models, 98  
roll, Irish, 25  
Romantic enthusiasm for native traditions, 42  
Romantics, the, 51  
'Roses of Picardy', 17  
Rowe, Frederick W., *A History of Newfoundland and Labrador*, 87  
Rozein, Krista, 96  
Russell, Kelly, 89, 90
- Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, Gaelic college, Isle of Skye, 105-6  
sacred music, 11  
St Brendan, 87  
St Francis Xavier University, Cape Breton, 103  
St John's, Newfoundland, 87, 92  
Sally's Cove, Newfoundland, 89  
saxophone, saxophonist, 61  
Scandinavia, 55, 72  
*schottis*, 64  
Scotch Canada, myth of, 102  
Scotch snap, 26, 28  
Scotland, 26, 33, 36, 42, 44, 52, 53, 54, 102, 103, 104, 105, 107, central, 16  
*Scots Magazine*, 53  
Scottish emigration, to Nova Scotia, 110  
Scottish Gaelic poets: Màiri Mhòr nan Oran, 103, Maclean, Sorley, 104  
Scottish Highland bagpipes, 52, *see also* bagpipe  
Scottish roots, Cape Breton, 102, 103, 106  
Seeger, Pete, 71  
'self-synchronism', 84  
sessions, *see* performance spaces  
set dance, 46  
*Seven Rivers of Canada*, 102  
shake or trill, 25, 27  
Shand, Sir Jimmy, 48  
Shaw, John, 107, editor of Topic Record, 104  
Shelburne, Ontario, 97-99  
shepherd's flute, 72  
Shetland, Da Forty Fiddlers, 54, school curriculum, 54, *see also* Anderson, Tom, 54  
Shetland style, New, 54  
Shetland Fiddle Society, 54, *see also* Unst  
Shetland Folk Society, 54  
shifting, changing position, 26  
Shoupe, Catherine A., 2-3  
*Sibbarps spelmanslag*, fiddlers' club, 67

## Index

- Silver Band, 45  
 singing, 6, 9, *penillion*, 13, note 9  
 single-strung Celtic harp, 52  
 six-stringed bowed lyre, 6  
 Skåne, Sweden, 63  
 Skillman, Amy, 56, 100  
 Skinner, James, 36, 37, 38, 40, 43, 53, 107  
 Skye, *see* Isle of Skye  
 Sligo style, Irish fiddle, 57  
 Småland, Sweden, 63, 70  
 smallpipes, Northumbrian, 52  
 Smith, Anthony D., 51, Brittany, 58  
 Snaefell, Isle of Man, 15  
 snap, decoration, *see also* decorations, social and aesthetic features of dancing, 26-28  
 'social capital', 114  
 Song, *see* Swedish Song Archive, 70  
*Songs of the Newfoundland Outports*, 88  
 songs, a *cappella*, 88  
 soprano, soprano and tenor keyed fiddles, 72  
 South Uist, Outer Hebrides, Scotland, 105  
 Southwest Margaree, Cape Breton, 115  
*spelmansrörelsen*, organisation of Swedish fiddlers and folk dancers, 61  
*spelmenlage*, Norwegian fiddlers' clubs, 56  
*spelmenslag*, Swedish fiddlers' clubs, 55  
*springar*, 84  
 staff notation, 26  
 standard tuning, 26  
 steel guitar, 50  
 step dance, 46, 94, 105, 106, Cape Breton, 105-7, Ottawa Valley, 94  
 Stephenville, Newfoundland, 92  
 Steven, Karen, 105  
 stick dance, Manx, 14  
 Stockholm Musical Academy, 69, 72  
 Strathspey and Reel Societies, 38, 53, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Highland, Orkney, 53  
 Strathspey (Badenoch and), Scotland, 35  
 strathspey, 40, 53  
 strathspey-reel, 26  
 string music, *see cerrd dant*  
 strummed, strumming, (violin strings), 46  
 styles, fiddle, *see* fiddle styles,  
*Sveriges spelmans riksförbund* (Swedish Fiddlers Association), 55  
 Sweden, 55, 56, 57, 62, 64, 70, 72, bagpipes, 56, church, 69, classical music, 61, clubs, *spelmenslag*, and traditional costumes, 55, Dybeck, Richard, 69, eastern, 70, fiddlers, 55-56, Fiddlers Association, 62, Fiddlers' Movement, 61, flag, 69, folklore research, 62, National anthem, 'Du gamla du fria', 69, National Dance, the *polska*, 63, *polskas*, even and uneven, 63, *Sveriges spelmans riksförbund*, 55, transition to art music, 73  
 Swedish Radio, 65  
 Swedish Song Archive, 70  
 Swing, Pamela, 54  
 Sydney, Nova Scotia, 110  
 sympathetic drone strings, 24  
 'syncing', 77  
 synchrony, 85  
 syncopation, Cape Breton, 108, English fiddling, 26, 27, 28  
*tablas*, 72  
 tablature, harp, 7  
 Tarbolton, Ayrshire, Scotland, 43  
 Tartanism, 102  
 Telemark, Norway, 82, 84  
*Telespringar*, 82, 83  
*telyn* (Welsh harp), 52  
 Tempo, 108  
 Ternhag, Gunnar, and Rattvik Fiddlers Club, Dalarna (Sweden), 55, 61  
 Texas longbow fiddle style, 57  
 theories of cultural change, 62, 63  
 Thomas, John (MS), 8  
 Thomas, Dr Gerald, 92  
 'times' (parties), 88  
 Toronto, Canada, 114  
 tourist industry, 116, 117, 119  
 Townsend, Eleanor, 97  
 'Tra va ruggit Creest' ('When Christ was born'), 17  
 tradition, 51-53, Norway, 57, Shetland, 54 Sweden, 71  
 tradition-bearers, 51, 53  
 transcultural movements, 58  
*Tro'r Tant*, 8, *see also erddigan*  
 trill, trills, *see* decorations  
 triple-strung Italian baroque harp, 52  
 trombone, 45  
 Troy, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, 114, 116  
 tuition, learning, 4, Isle of Man, 18, Shetland, 54  
 tune book, 11, 13  
 tunes in flat keys, 24  
 tuning, 23, harp, 8, alternative, 26, *see also* cross tuning  
 turn, the, *see* decorations  
 Tynwald (Isle of Man parliament), 15, *see also* Isle of Man

*Play It Like It Is: Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic*

- udu*, 72  
Ugandan music, 39  
uilleann pipes, Irish, 19, 52  
Ukrainians (Cape Breton), 103  
Uncle Ruf, *see also* Guinchart, Rufus  
Union of the Parliaments, Scotland and  
    England, 53  
United States of America, 50, 52, 54, 55, 58,  
    71, 92, 116  
University of Wales, 11  
Unst Fiddle Society, Shetland, 54  
Upland, Swedish province, keyed fiddle  
    tradition, 70  
urban folk music revival, 50, 58, *see also*  
    revival, revivals  
  
*Valdresspringar*, 82, 83  
*valdres-springar*, *tele-springar*, 82  
'Vanishing Cape Breton Fiddler, The', CBC,  
    113  
variation sets, 24, 26, 27, 28  
variety of metres, 26  
Verch, April, 97, 99, 101  
vernacular fiddling, 27 venues,  
*see* performance spaces  
vibrato, 25  
Viking settlement, 15, 87  
Village Music Project, 2, 28  
viol, 6  
violin, 45, *see also* fiddle  
violin, toy, 91  
vocal music, Swedish, 69  
  
Wales, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 52, north-east, 7, south,  
    28  
Wallace, Anthony F. C., 51, Brittany, 58  
Walsh, John, 9  
waltz, 45, 46, as a compound rhythm, 80  
Watertown, Canada, 115  
'wave' file (\*.wav), 39  
waveform, 39  
'We Are an Island, a Rock in the Stream', 102  
weddings, 6, 57  
weekly dances, 44  
Weiser, Ohio, 57  
'Welcome Home Nova Scotia', 105  
Wells, Paul, 50  
Welsh fiddle music, early sources, 8,  
    playing tradition, 6, harp, *telyn*, 6, 7, 9, 52,  
    language singing, 6, music, 6, 9-10, 52  
western Irish (style), 27  
Whitely, Michael, 91  
willow flute, 72  
*Women and Men in Cross-Cultural Perspective*  
    (Koskoff), 95  
Wood, Harry, 14, 17  
Wood, Haydn, 17  
world music, 71  
'Wreck of the Ethie, The', 89  
  
Yorkshire, England, 17  
Ysenius, August, fiddler-collector, 65, 66, 67  
  
Zorn, Andreas, Swedish fiddle revivalist, 56  
zydeco music, 119

# Play It Like It Is

fiddle and dance studies  
from around the north atlantic

edited by ian russell and mary anne alburger

This collection provides an important contribution to our understanding of the role of fiddle traditions at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

It explores the legacy of the British Isles, the richness of the Scandinavian scene, and the vitality of North American fiddling – from Cape Breton, Newfoundland, and Ontario.

The fourteen selected essays cover a range of themes, including revival, marginalization, diaspora, gender, institutionalization, cultural tourism, acculturation, and the interrelationships of music and dance. Social context and identity form a particular focus, together with repertoire, instrumentation, and virtuosity.

The North Atlantic, 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, enrichment and communication.

This is a fascinating and timely collection of new insights in the field of international folk music and ethnomusicological studies, representing the diversity of current research, and deserves to be read widely by scholars and enthusiasts alike.

1 4 9 5



UNIVERSITY  
OF ABERDEEN

ELPHINSTONE  INSTITUTE

The Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen  
MacRobert Building, King's College, Aberdeen AB24 5UA  
Scotland, UK

tel +44 (0)1224 272996 • fax +44 (0)1224 272728  
[www.abdn.ac.uk/elphinstone](http://www.abdn.ac.uk/elphinstone)

