"COMPLETED AND RESTORED TO USE"

REVIVAL AND DISSEMINATION OF MANX FOLKLORE AND TRADITION DURING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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by
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PART TWO

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PART THREE

"COMPLETED AND RESTORED TO USE"

INTRODUCTION

"Completed and Restored to Use": Revival and Dissemination of Manx Folklore and Tradition during the 20th Century. This was the title of a one-day seminar held at the Manx Museum on Saturday 1 April 2000. It was organised by George Broderick of Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, together with myself, Stephen Miller, then at the University of Glasgow, and hosted by *Sleih gyn Thie*.

The phrase "[c]ompleted and restored to use" was one used by Mona Douglas (1898–1987) in an article from 1937, "Manx Folk Dances: their Notation and Revival."[1] It headed a list of fourteen dances collected by her and, equally importantly, revived by her.

It was the way in which Mona Douglas could write of having "completed" these dances, with another five being "partly noted but still incomplete," and so needing the "work of restoring [them] to use," that we wished, in part, to explore.

Mona Douglas was, to say the least, a charismatic figure in Manx life, and throughout her long life, she was dedicated to the Celtic cause.[2] A large part of her impact came from the teaching of these revived folk dances to young and old alike. The number who attended the seminar who remembered being taught by her showed this. Their individual involvement in the process of revival and dissemination is in itself a topic worthy of study.

The seminar was, moreover, a *critical* look at one of the many figures that have been variously involved in the collecting, editing, publication, and revival of Manx traditions. In the case of Mona Douglas, she was widely involved in all four of these aspects. A critical look can easily bring one into conflict with many who have genuine and fond memories of Mona Douglas. As Ian McKay has written in *The Quest of the Folk* about the figures involved in the promotion of a Nova Scotian folk identity, "[s]ustained appraisal […] may well seem disrespectful, negative, and unfair."[3] It must be pointed out, however, that the intervention of Mona Douglas

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[1] Mona Douglas, "Manx Folk Dances: their Notation and Revival [1937]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004) 31.

[2] Stephen Miller, "Introduction," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004).

[3] Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994) 40. Similarly, McKay quotes David E. Whisnant, *All That is Native and Fine: The Politics of Culture in an American Region* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983) 263–64 on the same topic.

was not on the scale of the individuals that McKay and Whisnant discuss. Hers was on an essentially personal scale, this reflecting the small size of the Insular society that was the Isle of Man in the period under consideration. Nevertheless, intervene she did, and then not only in the revival of Manx folk dance.[4]

What Mona Douglas essentially provided was a corpus of Manx folk dances and a second one of folk songs, and an active promotion of the former. The "authenticity" of this corpus of dance and song is what is open to questioning.[5] Collect she certainly did, no one denies that, but what and when, remain open issues. Similarly, what was elaborated from her own collecting, and, particularly, what was either pure surmise or simple invention of her own.

As a case in point, what began as a "Manx sword dance (solo)" in 1928 (and merited only one line of description) then became the "Dirk Dance" in 1937, the "Dirk Dance of the Kings of Man," in 1949, "The Kirk Maughold Sword Dance of the Kings," in 1957, and finally, in 1973, pulling it altogether, "The Kirk Maughold Sword Dance of the Kings of Man."

The catalyst for her revival of Manx folk dancing was the occasion of the English Folk Dance Society in 1929 holding an Easter Vacation School at Douglas and where:

> […] it came as a great surprise to many of the Manx members of that school, no less than to the English visitors, to find there were still surviving in living memory, in a sufficiently complete state to be recorded and demonstrated, some of the traditional dances of the Island.[6]

It is this "great surprise" of hers, this project of revival, that we are seeking to understand, and the seminar was a first step in that direction.

*

Six papers were given at the seminar, everyone having been free to choose their own topic, so long as it fitted in with the theme. Three of the six papers dealt explicitly with Mona Douglas, the other three were on different topics, and so there was a good balance of material on the day. In time, the papers stretched from 1908, the date of the first encounter between Mona Douglas and Sophia Morrison, who was to become her early mentor, right up to the present day, with the Saturday evening

[4] These activities are discussed in George Broderick, "Under the 'Three-Legged-Swastika': Celtic Studies and Celtic Revival in the Isle of Man in the context of the 'National Socialist Idea'," *Irish-German Studies: Yearbook of the Centre for Irish-German Studies 2001–02*, eds. Joachim Fischer, *et al.* (Trier: Wissenschaftliche Verlag, 2004), a revised piece that first appeared (with the same title) in *Die Deutsche Keltogie und ihre Berliner Gelehrten bis 1945*, eds. Sabine Heinz and Karsten Braun (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1999).

[5] John Belchem, "The Little Manx Nation: Antiquarianism, Ethnic Identity, and Home Rule Politics in the Isle of Man, 1880–1918," *Journal of British Studies* 39 (2000): 232.

[6] Douglas, "Manx Folk Dances: their Notation and Revival [1937]," 27.

music sessions in Peel. Mona Douglas was young enough to have encountered the figures of the first Celtic revival, and then lived long enough to become a leading figure herself in the various revivals thereafter. It is to be hoped that the various biographical materials that she left behind in her own hand will be edited and published for the insight they give, not only into her own life and times, but that of this early Pan-Celtic movement.[7]

*

Chloë Woolley's paper was the opening one of the seminar, detailing and describing a number of theoretical models that have been applied to cultural revivals, and aiming to place the current Manx folk music revival within these frameworks.[8]

Bob Carswell's paper, the second of the day, was by contrast a detailed empirical account of the process of collection by Mona Douglas of Manx folk dances and, crucially, the chronology of their notation and appearance in print.[9]

David Speers, ending the morning session, focussed on the issue of the motivation for individuals to join in the current revival. Furthermore, the consequence for the style of performance, the revival being one without any tradition bearers as its source nor for that matter any sound resources being available of Manx traditional music.[10]

After a break for lunch, "An Old Manx Song Fragment Expanded" was my contribution, the title taken from a Mona Douglas piece. It attempted to tease out what lies behind such words, quite how and why Mona Douglas felt empowered to take a snatch of a folk song and simply rewrite it.[11]

George Broderick, followed after, focussing on a number of songs from the Mona Douglas Collection, looking closely at the language of the texts in Manx, attempting to gauge the authenticity of the pieces, whether they have been rewritten or remodelled, in other words, or rather in her own words, "expanded."[12]

Brian Stowell was unable to attend and deliver his paper in person so it was read out on his behalf. His was a personal view of the role of inter-Celtic festivals in the promotion not only of the "Celtic" (and the quote marks seem obligatory these days)

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7 For the prelude, see John Belchem, "The Little Manx Nation: Antiquarianism, Ethnic Identity, and Home Rule Politics in the Isle of Man, 1880–1918," *Journal of British Studies* 39 (2000).

8 "Parallels Between Descriptive Revival Models and the Manx Traditional Music Scene: From the 1970s to the Present Day," 1–14.

9 "The Revival and Reconstruction of Manx Traditional Dance," 15–28. His table showing the dates of dances mentioned and published notations and deemed "The Matrix" was a highlight of the talk (and thereafter a typesetting and typographical nightmare).

10 "Revival and Reconstruction of Manx Traditional Dance Music," 29–35.

11 "An Old Manx Song Fragment Expanded."

12 "Mona Douglas and her Songs in the Promotion of Manx Folklore and Tradition."

but also in the creation of a sense of solidarity amongst those attending.[13] Mona Douglas was herself active in the Celtic Congress, a Pan-Celtic organisation, and one that remains in existence.

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The flyer for the seminar promised, "that the papers will be published soon after the Seminar." A closer look shows there was in fact no promise, merely anticipation… Nevertheless, such has been the time that has elapsed, that Chloë Woolley is now Dr Chloë Woolley, having successfully completed and defended her doctoral thesis on the Manx folk music revival, the current one that is.[14]

The present publication is split into three parts. Part One gathers together four of the six seminar papers, in the order in which they were given.[15] The papers are as they were initially presented, save for the correction of obvious errors of fact, and typos. The papers have not been rewritten for publication here and so, it must be stressed, that they convey the attitudes of the authors and the point their own research had reached in 2000. This is in itself no bad thing, as leaving the papers to stand as they were given on the day is a record of the moment represented by the seminar, when a detailed and critical look was first taken at various aspects of the revival in the Isle of Man in the 20th century.

Given that two of the papers are concerned with the current revival, added are two pieces written by George Broderick, both of which first appeared in *Carn*, the newsletter of the Celtic League (and yet another Pan-Celtic organisation). The first dates from 1979, and it is an introduction to the sources available for Manx traditional music (in both Manx and English), aimed at those taking part in the current revival, then underway for a number of years.[16] The second piece appeared in 2000, and it is a celebratory note on the 25th anniversary of the regular music sessions in the Central bar, in Peel, which heralded the start of the revival in 1975.[17]

As regards the two missing papers, George Broderick felt that his topic called for a more extensive study, one that he has now completed and so incorporates the theme of his contribution. My paper was delivered from notes and I personally felt that too long had elapsed since it was originally presented to write it up as it was delivered. Producing the paper now would be to essentially rewrite it and making a fresh contribution as George Broderick has done so.[18] In any case, my time has been taken

[13] "The Role and Influence of Inter-Celtic Festivals on the Revival of Language, Music and Dance," 37–40.

[14] Chloë Woolley, "The Revival of Manx Traditional Music: From the 1970s to the Present Day," PhD, Edinburgh, 2004.

[15] The two missing papers are by the seminar's organisers.

[16] "The Manx Song and Music Tradition," 43–46.

[17] "Manx Traditional Music 25 Years On," 47–48.

[18] If anything, I would now attempt to locate Mona Douglas as a Neo-Romantic, rather than the stress on her as being one of the Shades of Romantic Nationalism. See Frank

up with the editorial work here and the parallel work on an updated and expanded edition of the writings of Mona Douglas.[19] Both publications will appear together.

Nevertheless, I have prepared as a contribution, various materials on Mona Douglas for Part Two. The first is a bibliography of Mona Douglas, the twenty-one entries listed there being available in the edition mentioned above.[20] This is followed by a compilation of extracts from her writings about her musical heritage from, particularly, her great-grandfather and grandmother.[21] Then, there is a piece about her early collecting, using material drawn from letters written to Sophia Morrison in 1915 and the following year.[22] Next is a listing of all her informants, with biographical details where known, an introductory commentary, and the full material for further analysis, and (no doubt) correcting and (hopefully) updating.[23] Coming after this is a compilation of the thumbnail sketches, that Mona Douglas wrote about many of those who were her informants.[24] And then, a further compilation of extracts, again taken from her own writing, but this time focussed on the topic of the "Dirk Dance" (to give its short form), or "The Kirk Maughold Sword Dance of the Kings of Man" (to give its long form).[25] To close with, a piece by George Broderick, essentially his notes from an interview he conducted with Mona Douglas in 1979. It lists, from her own recollection, the dances she collected and the informants she gathered them from.[26]

Part Three contains just one contribution, namely the text of George Broderick's reworked and expanded study of the folk song corpus collected by Mona Douglas.[27] The shortest introduction for the longest paper.

Trentmann, "Civilization and Its Discontents: English Neo-Romanticism and the Transformation of Anti-Modernism in Twentieth-Century Western Culture," *Journal of Contemporary History* 29.4 (1994), Roger D. Abrahams, "Phantoms of Romantic Nationalism in Folkloristics," *Journal of American Folklore* 106.419 (1993).

19 Stephen Miller, ed., *"Completed and restored to use": Revival and Dissemination of Manx Folklore and Tradition during the 20th Century*, (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004) replacing Stephen Miller, ed., *Mona Douglas: Manx Folk-Song, Folk Dance, Folklore, Collected Writings*, (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 1994).

20 "Mona Douglas: A Bibliography," 51–53.

21 "'My Own Family Circle': The Dancing Forebears of Mona Douglas," 55–60.

22 "'My Little Tribute to Billy the Dollan': Mona Douglas and her Early Collecting," 61–66.

23 "'The List would be as Long as this Book': Mona Douglas and her Informants," 67–88.

24 "'These Men and Women who championed my Childhood and Youth': Recollections by Mona Douglas of her Informants," 89–98.

25 "'Manx Sword Dance (Solo)': References by Mona Douglas to the "Dirk Dance of the Kings of Man," 99–104.

26 "Mona Douglas and her Dances," 111–14.

27 "Mona Douglas and her Songs," 117–57. And a second typesetting and typographical nightmare.

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Any project of this nature calls upon access to what is generally deemed "printed ephemera" but which is, in fact, material of prime importance. Alan Franklin, Deputy Librarian, has located and produced source and supporting material seemingly on the turn of his heel, more often than not following only a half-reference supplied by myself. Pat Griffiths from the same institution has supplied missing page numbers and more and thanks are due to her as well for her support for this project.

Closer to hand is Peter Scepan at the ÖAW who has kindly helped by processing the image for the front cover. It is taken from the cover itself of *Five Manx Folk Dances* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1936) and illustrates the final resting position of the "Dirk Dance of the Kings of Man": "Finally to a kneeling position on the left knee—holding the dirk well forward as in the first step."

*

Both George Broderick and I wish to thank *Sleih gyn Thie* for hosting the seminar and for underwriting the costs of room hire and other outgoings. Rosemary Thomson from *Sleih gyn Thie* saw to the smooth organisation on the day itself. John Kaneen provided an aural record for the future by recording the seminar in its entirety. Obviously, without Chloë Woolley, Robert Carswell, David Speers, and Brian Stowell agreeing to speak and sharing their ideas with a wider audience through their papers, there would have been no seminar and so we naturally wish to thank them as well.[28]

Stephen Miller
Vienna, 2004

[28] On a personal note, I wish to thank them all for their forbearance in the length of time it has taken for their papers to appear. Crashed hard disks were restored, abandoned floppies found, corrupted files were salvaged as best as they could be, and resort was had to the keyboard to create copy. In the case of Chloë Woolley's paper, a query over a reference to an article in *New York Folklore* that simply could not be found in any online database, or even for that matter, in the contents pages on the journal's www site, brought forth an email from its author that *NYF* had missed it from the contents page back in 1983, and so it was, as a result, never listed anywhere…

"COMPLETED AND RESTORED TO USE"

REVIVAL AND DISSEMINATION OF MANX FOLKLORE AND TRADITION DURING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

ONE-DAY SEMINAR

SATURDAY, 1 APRIL 2000

SEMINAR ROOM, MANX MUSEUM
DOUGLAS, ISLE OF MAN

A one-day seminar on the topic *"Completed and Restored to Use": Revival and Dissemination of Manx Folklore and Tradition during the 20th Century*, with particular reference to music, song and dance, is to be held at the Manx Museum on Saturday 1 April 2000. The scope of the seminar is expected to be dealt with in six papers, which will look at a number of facets of the Revival, from *c.* 1890 down to the present. The papers will look critically at the aims, aspirations, ideological baggage, etc., in the promotion of Manx folklore and tradition. An essential feature of the Seminar will be the discussion, and it is anticipated that half the time at least will be devoted to this aspect. The papers, about 20–30 minutes in length, will act as catalyst to the discussion. It is anticipated that the papers will be published soon after the Seminar.

George Broderick,
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Stephen Miller,
University of Glasgow

Parallels Between Descriptive Revival Models and the Manx Traditional Music Scene: From the 1970s to the Present Day

The phenomenon of traditional music revivals has been an area of interest for ethnomusicologists and folklorists for much of the twentieth century, and is primarily due to the prolific number of examples. All revival movements have shared a common incentive: to restore a musical system that is believed to be disappearing or is extinct, and to reproduce it again for the benefit of contemporary society. Through a synopsis of revival models, as described by scholars such as Rosenberg, Livingston, Baumann and Ronström, I wish to present the revival of Manx traditional music as a prime example of such social movements.

Chloë Woolley,
University of Edinburgh

Revival and Reconstruction of Manx Traditional Dances

There appear to be instances of the fortuitous finding of material, sometimes apparently at the extreme range of its survival, in Man and elsewhere. The potential for survival of traditional dance in Man and the work of Mona Douglas in this field is considered.

The demography of the period in which Mona Douglas writes of having collected dance material is reviewed, and collecting dance is compared with the collection of other facets of traditional material.

The tenor is largely anecdotal as there appears to be little in the way of evidence to be adduced. The main source for Mona Douglas's early material is not extant. However, she does name some sources, and descriptions of her experiences are considered.

An evaluation of the form of the dances themselves shows them generally to be complex set dances rather than simple social dances.

Robert Corteen Carswell,
Douglas

☘

Revival and Reconstruction of Manx Traditional Dance Music

The revival of Manx traditional music has become well established in the past 25 years. The aim of this paper is to examine some of the reasons why this has happened, what the source material has been and how it has been used. It will also explore some similarities and differences between the current Revival Phase (*c.* 1974 to present day) and the First Phase (*c.* 1890 to *c.* 1940).

David Speers,
Andreas

☘

"An Old Manx Song Fragment Expanded"

When Sophia Morrison died in 1917 she was the last of the circle of Manx folklore and folk song collectors active in Man at the turn of the nineteenth century. However, Morrison was more than just a collector. Whereas others of her circle were content just to collect and record, her involvement in the Manx Language Movement and the Celtic Congress, her founding, editing and financial support of the Manx periodical *Mannin*, marked her out as a pioneer cultural activist in the Celtic sphere.

The interwar period in Man saw two collectors continuing to record Manx cultural traditions, Mona Douglas and Walter William Gill. Of the pair, Gill remained within the paradigm of "collect and record" (and by doing so it must be said gathered valuable material) whereas Douglas saw herself as the continuer of Sophia Morrison's programme of activism and began a complex engagement with Manx tradition and indeed Manx society which was to end only with her death.

Douglas was not only a collector but also a revivalist of Manx traditional folk forms. As these activities were carried out simultaneously, doubts have been raised as to the validity of her collecting with the consequent question as to just what exactly is the revival based on. "Authenticity" has been the touchstone of general approaches to traditional cultural forms and alongside it the parallel concept of "fakelore." Many folklorists reject the notion of "fakelore" seeing revival activities as part of the continuing and developing interaction of folklore with the cultural forms of mass society, others use instead the term "secondary folklore."

Douglas can be seen as the last of the Romantic folklorists, a precursor of "New Age Celticism," occupying a disputed space opened up by both these discourses, a result of Modernity in European society. Her interventions as a collector and

revivalist are complex, her activities raising questions as to the vitality of Manx cultural forms in the interwar period, the nature of those traditions whether active or passive, the question as to why she concentrated on the revival of folk dance, and the neglect of collecting from the last native speakers of Manx Gaelic.

Stephen Miller,
University of Glasgow

Mona Douglas and her Songs in the Promotion of Manx Folklore and Tradition

A number of songs in the Manx "traditional" repertoire found in the Mona Douglas Collection form a corpus in their own right. The provenance of the songs are attributed to various personalities known elsewhere to have been Manx tradition bearers of one sort or another.

This corpus, its claims, and the content of some of the songs will be looked at in the context of their collection and revival.

George Broderick,
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

The Role and Influence of Inter-Celtic Festivals on the Revival of Language, Music and Dance

The most obvious effect on inter-Celtic festivals in recent years has been to spread the idea of "Celticity" while promoting "Celtic" music. A largely hidden, unstated effect of such festivals has been to imbue Celtic activists from the various countries with renewed energy and resolution for their various causes, with particular reference to Celtic languages. However, the dedicated inter-Celtic activist remains a fairly rare animal.

Brian Stowell,
Douglas

PART I

THE SEMINAR PAPERS

APRIL 2000

PARALLELS BETWEEN DESCRIPTIVE REVIVAL MODELS AND THE MANX TRADITIONAL MUSIC SCENE: FROM THE 1970s TO THE PRESENT DAY

1. INTRODUCTION

I am currently researching the revival and development of traditional music in the Isle of Man since the 1970s, and in preparation for the first chapter of my PhD thesis, I have been studying the concept of cultural revivalism, with particular focus on traditional music revivals. In this paper I wish to analyse aspects of the Manx traditional music revival through documented revival models as described and based on the experiences of other researchers in this field. For instance, Tamara E. Livingston, in her article, "Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory"[1] bases her model on her research of the revival of "choro," an instrumental tradition found in Brazil. Peter Narváez in "*Living Blues Journal*, The Paradoxical Aesthetics of the Blues Revival"[2] bases his theories on his observation of the Blues revival in America, Burt Feintuch in "Musical Revival as Musical Transformation"[3] considers the revival of the Northumbrian smallpipes, whilst Owe Ronström in "Revival Reconsidered"[4] supports his conclusions through his own extensive research of traditional music revivals in Sweden, Hungary, Rumania and the former Yugoslavia. I have also located similar documented examples of revivalism in folklore and storytelling, dance, early music and musical instruments. Through a synopsis of these works, I will draw parallels between the Manx traditional music revival, and described models of similar phenomena. I will assume that yourselves as the audience will have a knowledge of Manx music, and some of you may have actually participated in the said revival. Therefore you may have a different perspective of the events, but it must be understood that my observations are based purely on the experiences described by the informants of my research to date. Through your own perception of events, I hope that you will draw your own parallels between the Manx traditional music scene and the general elements of revivalism that I will present.

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1 Tamara E. Livingston, "Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory," *Ethnomusicology* 43.1 (1999).

2 Peter Narváez, "*Living Blues Journal*, The Paradoxical Aesthetics of the Blues Revival," *Transforming Tradition: Folk Music Revivals Examined*, ed. Neil V. Rosenberg (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

3 Burt Feintuch, "Musical Revival as Musical Transformation," *Transforming Tradition: Folk Music Revivals Examined*, ed. Neil V. Rosenberg (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

4 Owe Ronström, "Revival Reconsidered," *The World of Music* 38.3 (1996).

2. TERMINOLOGY

Livingston states that: "Music Revivals can be defined as social movements which strive to "restore" a musical system believed to be disappearing or completely relegated to the past for the benefit of contemporary society."[5] The term "revival" implies that something is brought back into existence or use, although other terminology[6] has been applied to the cultural phenomenon, including revitalization, resuscitation, resurgence, re-creation, reorientation, resurrection, reconstruction and re-enaction. Ronström displays the inadequacy of such terminology: "However useful these 're-concepts" may be, they share the basic problem of implying the existence of a bounded cultural entity that was once alive, then dead and gone, then brought back to live again ('re-vived')."[7] Contrary to what these terms imply, music cannot be brought back to life, and performed exactly as it was originally at a particular time in history. Linda Fujie in her preface to a series of articles on revivalism in *The World of Music* journal says that, "In this sense 'recreation' is sometimes considered a more useful concept, though the problem remains of defining what is being 'created' once more and how much semblance its 'new' form should bear to the 'old.'"[8] Niall MacKinnon in his book, *The British Folk Scene* states that, "Re-enaction implies a suspension of the present, allowing the past to be entered into, but in a bounded sense."[9]

There are also problems with the term "revitalization," as it generally refers to politico-religious movements.[10] The implications of this concept though, can also refer to cultural movements, as Anthony F. C. Wallace in his article "Revitalization Movements," when discussing the revivalism of religious activities, notes that: "A revitalization movement is defined as a deliberate, organised, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture."[11] As with religious revitalization movements, cultural revivals also involve individuals who feel that their

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5 Livingston, "Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory," 66.

6 *Oxford Popular English Dictionary*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990). The definition of "revival" is to bring something back into use or fashion, back to consciousness, life or strength. "Re-creation" is to create something again, while "resurgence" suggests that something rises again after defeat, destruction or disappearance. In this context, "resuscitation" describes the action of reviving, for example, an old custom, and to return or restore it to vogue, vigour or vividness. "Reconstruction" implies the piecing together of past events through re-enaction, and "resurrection" denotes the revival of a practice or memory after disuse, inactivity or decay.

7 Ronström, "Revival Reconsidered," 6.

8 Linda Fujie, "Preface," *The World of Music* 38.3 (1996): 4.

9 Niall MacKinnon, *The British Folk Scene: Music Performance and Social Identity* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1994) 63.

10 Wendy Reich, "The Uses of Folklore in Revitalization Movements," *Folklore* 82 (1971).

11 Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," *American Anthropologist* 58.2 (1956): 265.

culture is an unsatisfactory system. Wallace considers a revival or revitalization to be a special kind of culture change, a phenomenon that is quite different to natural processes of change. Natural change, which accounts for some religious or cultural occurrences, can be due to evolution, diffusion, historical and climatic change and acculturation, while revivalism or revitalization occur only through the conscious attempts of members of society. Although there is much debate and little resolve over the correct terminology, the term "revival" is most commonly associated with this type of culture change, and therefore we shall adhere to it for the purpose of this paper.

3. CHARACTERISTICS OF REVIVALISM

Research indicates that the purpose of a revival movement is often to serve as a cultural opposition and alternative, with those involved attempting to improve the existing culture through perceived historical values and authenticity. Revivals occur where a sense of community and ritual belonging is absent, and participants of a movement usually seek an individual or collective identity.

The revaluation of modern development in economics and politics often evokes the need for cultural compensation within revival groups. Where revivals are primarily social movements, modernity is seen as the distorting power, whereas the concept of tradition suggests notions of history, stability and continuity. Commercialism, urbanism, market economy and capitalism are the opposition, and this develops into a "countryside versus city"[12] attitude. Modernity is perceived as being cold, individualistic and rationalistic, whereas tradition is warm, collective and emotional.

Folk revivals are an integral part of larger sociopolitical movements, whether they are ethnic, regional, nationalist, neo-nationalist or subcultural.[13] Changes have emerged due to worldwide trends, and the twentieth century has seen growing assertiveness in ethnic groups. This was witnessed internationally through the folk movements of the 1960s and 70s, where tradition was employed in the context of peace politics. Certain cultural traits are employed by an ethnic group and these can take form in the use of external emblems such as music, language and clothing, and also through intrinsic values. New cultural traits are promoted by ethnic groups to define their identity where old identities have deteriorated, and these can be replaced by others over time. The use of cultural emblems and values can also aid the construction of a barrier between one social group and another, although the capacity of the result all depends on spatial-geographical factors and the level of social contact with other groups.

[12] Ronström, "Revival Reconsidered," 9.
[13] Narváez, "*Living Blues Journal*, The Paradoxical Aesthetics of the Blues Revival."

In regional struggles, traditions are used to elevate status, so that the manipulation of the culture can compensate for the absence of political and economical power. Claims of distinctiveness can raise visibility for a dominated culture. A dominant culture though, may focus its attentions upon the traditions of a minority culture, where notions of "well-being" are associated with certain historical periods and communities. In cases of nationalism, traditions and symbols of the past are modified and ritualised for new purposes, because the use of history acts as a legitimator of action and creates the illusion of group solidarity.

4. DESCRIPTIVE MODELS OF REVIVAL MOVEMENTS

The following samples are documented models of revivals based on individual observations, and are descriptive rather than prescriptive.

Livingston[14] charts the development of revival movements in six steps: (1) initial interest from either an individual or a small group of revivalists; (2) location and contact with revival informants and/or original historical recordings; (3) the establishment of a revivalist ideology and discourse; (4) the assembling of a group of followers to form the core of a revivalist community; (5) revivalist activities, such as organisations, festivals and competitions: and six, the development of non-profit making, and/or commercial enterprises which cater for the revivalist following.

Burt Feintuch in "Musical Revival as Musical Transformation"[15] takes a slightly different view to the progression of the revival movement: one, founding members develop the idea of the chosen tradition; two, participants codify the repertoire; three, a style is endorsed; four, the use of sources to authenticate and traditionalise the revival; and five, the significant involvement of scholars and intellectuals, who develop and shape the revival.

Peter Narváez in "*Living Blues Journal*, The Paradoxical Aesthetics of the Blues Revival"[16] lays out the "ideal prerequisites" of a revival in four stages; one, the recognised need for cultural alternatives; two, the availability and authentication of a defined body of culture belonging to the past, which is thought to be more aesthetically satisfying and gratifying than the offerings of contemporary culture; three, the selection of authentic source material to base the revival on; and four, confirming whether the chosen tradition was not selected merely for nostalgic reasons, but will be suitable for fusion with other styles in the future.

Owe Ronström in his article, "Revival Reconsidered"[17] suggests that there are four levels of meaning that act as a focal point for revival movements: "doing," where the community aspect of a group is formed; "history," the creation of images of the past; the "present and the future," forming individual and collective identities; and

[14] Livingston, "Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory," 66–85.
[15] Feintuch, "Musical Revival as Musical Transformation," 183–93.
[16] Narváez, "*Living Blues Journal*, The Paradoxical Aesthetics of the Blues Revival," 241–57.
[17] Ronström, "Revival Reconsidered," 18.

"modernisation" where past traditions are seen as the potential essence for future development. Although these examples contain similar elements, I will arrange parallels between the Manx traditional music revival of the last thirty years, on the model described by Livingston. Obviously the magnitude of this movement cannot be purely confined to this model, and the described order of events may differ slightly to the Manx tradition, but by expanding on Livingston's points, I will attempt to prove that the elements of revivalism in general are very similar to those of this movement.

4.1 KEY REVIVALISTS

The first point of this model is the initial interest from either an individual or a small group of revivalists. Throughout history, the impetus to collect and preserve folk traditions has come primarily from outsiders to the chosen culture; city men and intellectuals hoping to introduce disappearing and unfamiliar traditions into their own contemporary culture. Livingston states that revivalists are usually middle class scholars, who are often professional or amateur musicians. These enthusiasts, or "burning souls"[18] as Ronström labels them, tend to be teachers, or those from other professions such as vets, doctors, artists and intellectuals. They usually bear overt cultural and political objectives, and possess a general dissatisfaction in regard to aspects of contemporary popular culture.

In the early 1970s, Manx traditional music was revived by just such a small group of musicians. Most of the instigators were already involved in the folk scene in the Isle of Man, regularly performing traditional music of other cultures such as English and Irish traditional music, and some of them were recent incomers to the Island.

4.2 SOURCE MATERIAL

Livingston states that the second phase is the location and contact with revival informants, and/or original historical recordings. In the Isle of Man, revivalists had to rely largely on the written documents of Dr John Clague and his collection of transcribed Manx folk tunes from the 1890s, which key members rediscovered in the archives of the Manx Museum library.

Here, we must consider the element of selectivity in reviving a tradition. It has been shown that revivalists will specify a time and place in which the tradition existed, and its re-creation in the authentic social context is often a fundamental issue. The replication of an original social context may pose problems though, as there is a general inclination to interpret the past through a romantic perspective, with the dominant incentive being nostalgia.

Through the revival of a tradition, the past must be excavated and re-presented, and therefore problems can occur over decisions of selectivity; what to ignore and

[18] Ronström, "Revival Reconsidered," 10.

what to emphasise. Jeanette Edwards in "The Need for a Bit of History—Place and Past in English Identity" explains that: "Stories of the past, or that feature the past, are as much to do with forging local identities and sense of belonging, as they are with history."[19] The fixation with belonging and identity can manifest through the selection of the most prominent and even stereotyped characteristics of a tradition. In some revivals "authentic" attributes include original patronyms which are associated with a certain area or place, the local language, typical occupation of its inhabitants and the common religion. These are symbols of a positive nature, but when a revival is based entirely on these attributes, an image is preserved that never actually existed.

With traditionalising processes there is a general tendency to transform ceremonies and rituals that were once associated with the agrarian-religious calendar, into political, ethnic and national manifestations. With the celebration of these traditions, ordinary people become members of a symbolic community which they would not usually belong to. Revived traditions that originally belonged to other communities now become the property of the revival movement. Old and distinguished traditions become important in a new context; fragments of old traditions are often compiled to create new traditions, and the oral transmission of a tradition, which was once a vital element, becomes redundant . Philip V. Bohlman in his book *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World* endorses this by stating: "Revival is, in an ideological sense, the ultimate collapse of time and space, because it fully admits of that collapse for creating contemporary meaning. Revival relies heavily on new symbols masquerading as the old."[20]

There can be an inclination in some music revivals to take what is primarily unique, as standard and characteristic of a tradition. This transpires when revivalist musicians search for the most obsolete tunes or the most elaborate or impressive performance techniques. Peter McNamee, in "Traditional Music: Whose Music?," illustrates: "The mediation of the musical reality which is there often begins, for instance, with collectors who only select from a single repertoire certain songs which sound to them appropriate or ancient."[21] Creative editing, where characteristics are highlighted, and unsuitable material is omitted,[22] creates a reorganised and a more-

[19] Jeanette Edwards, "The Need for a 'Bit of History': Place and Past in English Identity," *Locality and Belonging*, ed. Nadia Lovell (London: Routledge, 1988) 150.

[20] Philip V Bohlman, *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988) 131.

[21] Peter McNamee, ed., *Traditional Music: Whose Music?*, Proceedings of a Co-operation North Conference, (Belfast: Queen's University of Belfast, 1992) 7.

[22] Livingston, "Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory." A set criteria was designed by Cecil Sharp in order to detect "true" or "authentic" English folk songs, which consequently meant the spurning of newly composed folk songs. The songs were only gathered from small villages and were specifically collected from uneducated elderly people; anonymous songs with variant forms that only existed in the oral tradition. This resulted in the

or-less invented tradition. Feintuch claims that, "[…] a selected tradition is really a rejection of much of what was once a living culture, thanks to this edited machine […] [(some revivalists)] create their own historically conditioned and socially maintained 'artistic paradigm,' a transformation of the music, and culture, they think they have revived."[23] Over time, revivals achieve their own momentum, preferred style, repertoire, and their own selective view of the past. Richard Handler and Jocelyn Linnekan in their article, "Tradition, Genuine or Spurious," declare that, "[…] there is no essential, bounded tradition: tradition is a model of the past and is separable from the interpretation of tradition in the present […] It is now a cultural truism that cultural revivals change the traditions they attempt to revive."[24] Where the past is not preserved by memory, it becomes possible for it to be selected, rewritten and institutionalised by its inventors.

It would seem that an element of selectivity did take place in the choice of Manx source material. The musical revivalists at the time also saw the importance of learning the Manx Gaelic language, not only to interpret the songs, but perhaps subconsciously to employ an additional authentic attribute. Also in an attempt to focus upon the new found tradition, only material of authentic Manx origin was performed at first, and general folk music was deliberately excluded from sessions. To highlight the Manxness of this tradition, selectivity, to a certain degree, included the omission of Manx versions of music found in other cultures, or Manx songs with English texts. Creative editing was applied to some Manx source material through the composition of "B" sections which were added to tunes that revivalists believed to be incomplete.

4.3 IDEOLOGY

Thirdly, the establishment of a revivalist ideology and discourse. Stuart Eydmann in his article, "The Concertina as an Emblem of the Folk Music Revival in the British Isles" states that: "The ideology of key individuals was important in determining the scope and subsequent direction of the revival including the sources of the revived repertory and how it should be re-packaged."[25]

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omission of any songs found in or originating from large industrial towns, including the songs of factory workers or those performed in the music halls. In order to publish the collected songs for schoolchildren, an editing strategy had to be implemented. This resulted in the omission of offensive lyrics, the collation and invention of verses, and the addition of piano accompaniment, producing sanitised versions of the original, "authentic" folk songs. See also Dave Harker, *One for the Money: Politics and Popular Song* (London: Hutchinson, 1980) 147 for comments on the collecting techniques of Cecil Sharp.

[23] Feintuch, "Musical Revival as Musical Transformation," 192.

[24] Richard Handler and Jocelyn Linnekan, "Tradition, Genuine or Spurious," *Journal of American Folklore* 97.385 (1984): 276.

[25] Stuart Eydmann, "The Concertina as an Emblem of the Folk Music Revival in the British Isles," *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 4 (1995): 41.

A small number of members may be assigned to accentuate specific musical activities, which in turn act as a census for the group. These unwritten rules are deliberately limited and often hastily established, as a sense of urgency coexists with the threat of the movement becoming defunct. The balance between individual innovation and an adherence to the stylistic norms often leads to aggravation and dispute between members, sometimes resulting in the break up of the movement or group.

Conflicting models of musical behaviour are found in differing revivalist groups. According to Max Peter Baumann in "Folk Music Revival: Concepts Between Regression and Emancipation," there is the "historicizing" or "purist" perspective, where past traditions are revived through authentic forms, and the "modern" or "syncretist"[26] outlook, where old and new traditions are fused together. Ronström labels these differences, "orthodox," where Puritan members preach authenticity, and "heretical," where members support development and change in the revival of traditions.[27]

Authenticity is the focal point of most revival movements, and ideology focuses on historical continuity and organic purity. Authenticity is interpreted through performance practices and instrumentation based upon historically accurate sources, and as Livingston points out; "[…] the notion of 'folk' as a mythical people living in a land and time far removed from modern society plays a part in defining authenticity."[28]

A significant obstacle in defining what is authentic is due to whether a tradition is continuous or discontinuous. By referring to a tradition, revivalists do not hold a natural relationship with it, but a symbolic relationship, and tradition, by its general definition, suggests that it is an inherited substance, transmitted from the past to the future. Ronström notes that:

> Tradition is a model of the past which implies reference to the past; this past, however, is continuously recreated in the present and, because continuity is constructed, it includes an element of discontinuity. This means that authentic reconstructions are impossible simply because they are re-constructions.[29]

Tradition changes incessantly, and revivalists can invite complications when attempting to recreate something in an authentic manner. To establish an authentic style of music, revivalists have to limit themselves to the specialisation of traditions belonging to a particular time span, region and context, based upon the authority of

[26] Max Peter Baumann, "Folk Music Revival: Concepts Between Regression and Emancipation," *The World of Music* 38.3 (1996): 80–81.
[27] Ronström, "Revival Reconsidered," 11.
[28] Livingston, "Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory," 75.
[29] Ronström, "Revival Reconsidered," 14.

uncovered historical sources. These limitations have to be implemented, as it cannot be denied that "the unchanging folk society never existed."[30]

The Manx traditional music revival though, appeared to give little consideration or importance to questions of authenticity, which may explain its relatively smooth and successful development. With no particular prescribed instructions on how to interpret the source material, it is assumed that the revivalists performed the newly discovered music in much the same way as they had previously performed general folk music. Despite the rediscovery of an indigenous Manx music tradition, the instrumentation changed little and remained as the usual combination of instruments that were fashionable and easily obtainable at the time, which included fiddles, whistles and guitars. Newcomers to music-making chose instruments that were considered easy and quick to learn in order to join the growing movement, and historical authenticity did not appear to be a major influence over the selection. Perhaps subconsciously there was a distinctly Irish bias in the selection of instruments and style of playing, where revivalists may have aligned their cause to the Irish political struggles. On the whole though, it would seem that the revivalists simply played the music as it came naturally and in a style that they were previously acquainted with. Generally, elements of ornamentation and style would have transpired from the influences of playing and listening to other traditional musics that were popular at the time. It would seem that no prescribed rules were invented as such, although it has been implied that unwritten rules regarding the choice of material to be played and the social etiquette of the music-making sessions were engaged.

4.4 THE REVIVALIST COMMUNITY

Livingston's fourth point is the assembling of a group of followers to form the core of a revivalist community. A revival is usually conceived by an individual or a small group of core revivalists who convey their vision to others by organising a designated group of followers. Mark Slobin in "Rethinking Revival of American Ethnic Music," observes that: "It is usually a very small number of key individuals who set the pace and/or serve as a source for an entire ethnic community."[31] The individuals can be insiders or outsiders to the tradition, but are normally those who feel a strong connection with it, and take it upon themselves to actively rescue the tradition in order to pass it on to future generations. Nusbaum notes that: "Participants idealistically believe themselves to be performing an important cultural service, while

[30] Handler and Linnekan, "Tradition, Genuine or Spurious," 274.

[31] Neil V. Rosenberg, "Starvation, Serendipity, and the Ambivalence of Bluegrass Revivalism," *Transforming Tradition: Folk Music Revivals Examined*, ed. Neil V. Rosenberg (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993) 195 quoting Mark Slobin, "Rethinking 'Revival' of American Ethnic Music," *New York Folklore* 9.3–4 (1983): 39.

enjoying themselves."[32] Outsiders though, may view the main issues of the particular tradition from a different angle to insiders. Emphasis on style may be of main concern for outsiders, yet they often ignore or do not acknowledge issues of race, which may be rudiment to insiders of the tradition. Livingston explains:

> The multiplicity of motivations that draws people to revivals cannot possibly be categorized in any definitive way. Issues of generation, class, gender, level of education, ethnicity and national or political sentiments are all variables in the decision and extent of participation in any given revival.[33]

Revivalist motivations also encompass intellectual curiosity and even the potential for financial gain. Ronström, though, comments that: "Many seem to participate in revival movements without holding the revival itself to be particularly important, interesting or worthwhile."[34] Therefore, some members may be involved primarily for the social aspect, or simply have a desire to become part of a community. This was generally apparent in the 1970s when many city dwellers fled to the British countryside, choosing to escape the larger conurbation and the pressure of city life, and involve themselves in the community spirit of rural life.

Livingston states that: "The oppositional tendency of music revivals has made them open to alliance with various political and social movements throughout history, nationalism being the prime case, although they continue to preserve an independent dynamic centering on music."[35] The majority of revivals contain an element of political behaviour, although some musicians are often unaware of the underlying political manifesto in their revival, and consider themselves to be apolitical or non-political. On a larger scale, a national past may be formed for the benefit of a nation state, where an element of history is needed to compensate for political or economic decline. Livingston notes that: "The idea that folk music represents the true music of a nation came into being with the rise of the nation-state and the desire to identify national characteristics of cultures."[36]

Ronström[37] lists the various motivations associated with revival as a social movement, and a revival can be a combination of several of these factors: The fight against modernity, where tradition is seen as the natural or symbolic opposition; the fight against commercialism, capitalism and the market economy; a resistance to urbanisation; the production of a warm and friendlier society in opposition to the cold characteristics of modernity; class struggle; an adversity to high culture, such as

[32] Philip Nusbaum, "Bluegrass and the Folk Revival': Structural Similarities and Experienced Differences," *Transforming Tradition: Folk Music Revivals Examined*, ed. Neil V. Rosenberg (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993) 211.

[33] Livingston, "Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory," 73.

[34] Ronström, "Revival Reconsidered," 16.

[35] Livingston, "Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory," 81.

[36] Livingston, "Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory," 75.

[37] Ronström, "Revival Reconsidered," 8–9.

opera; social struggle between races; regional conflict, where areas of political and economical decline promote their traditions as being more authentic than that of the dominant power; and the fight for raised visibility.

Slobin in *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West*[38] notes that raised visibility at a higher level is often the main motivation for revival. He claims that this can manifest at three levels: At "micro level" in villages and small regions, at "regional level" with small nations or part nations; and at "transregional level" at international status. It would appear that the key revivalists of Manx traditional music did not at first publicly promote their findings to others, but awareness was spread by word of mouth, through the associated language and dance revivals, and through nationalist and anti-colonialist circles. The prospect of reviving an indigenous music of the Isle of Man attracted musicians and non-musicians with a diverse range of personal motivations, and I have received differing accounts from the Manx revivalists I have spoken to so far. It has been suggested by some that the political movement, Fo Halloo, was a definite element of the Manx revival. *Fo Halloo*, an underground nationalist movement which flourished in the first half of the 1970s, was a reaction to the New Resident Policy, which saw a huge influx of incomers and a rapid escalation in land and property values, resulting in social division and unrest. Other informants, though, have denied any connection between the two, possibly because they were simply unaware of or disinterested in any political associations at the time. But for nationalists, the revival of traditional music displayed another representation of the Manx identity. Through a short questionnaire, I asked members of the contemporary Manx traditional music scene, most of whom were not involved at the beginning of the revival, what motivated them to join. Most answered that they were already involved in Manx dancing or the language and found the music-making a natural progression, they enjoyed the social aspect of belonging to such a movement, or that they merely found pleasure in singing or playing.

4.5 STANDARDISATION

The fifth element of Livingston's model is the development of activities such as organisations, festivals and competitions. According to Ronström,[39] this stage also incorporates the contact between revivalists and researchers, museums and universities which identify and control knowledge about the tradition, and its promotion is directed through the media and schools. By officially identifying a particular tradition, similarity, continuity and legitimation are established. Through the control of such institutions, similarity and recognisability are produced, resulting in the continuity and standardisation of the tradition. The visibility of the tradition

[38] Mark Slobin, *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West* (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1993) quoted by Ronström, "Revival Reconsidered," 12.

[39] Ronström, "Revival Reconsidered," 10.

is also promoted via festivals and competitions, with the additional factor of raised status through individual competition winners. Public performance at these organised events also provides creative motivation for other performers, and in some instances, it passively introduces the tradition to new ears. Subconsciously, outside glorification can introduce, as Baumann explains, "the expectation that the traditional musicians should apply 'better' and more refined artistic concepts,"[40] encouraging individual improvement and success. This manifested in the Isle of Man with the revival in 1977 of *Yn Chruinnaght*, an inter-Celtic festival that focused on competition, public performance and the participation of Manx school children.

4.6 DEVELOPMENT

Livingston's sixth point is the development of non-profit making and/or commercial enterprises that cater for the revivalist community.

Revivalist communities are usually non-territorial and can spread rapidly, spanning local and national boundaries. Successful revivals usually acquire an associated market promoting concerts and festivals and producing records and instruments, specialist radio programmes, newsletters and magazines, but these are frequently non-profiting industries, due to the common-felt distrust of the commercial market among music revivalists. The distribution of such merchandise and availability of information further develops the sense of community. This market has led onto the development of professional traditional musicians, and the demand for more material encourages new composition written in the idiom of the chosen tradition. Revivals of the twentieth century have followed technological progress and are, to a certain degree, reliant on such advances, as modern technology is essential for recording purposes, amplification, the construction of instruments, printing and publishing. Livingston claims that: "[…] it would be difficult for any revival to exist for more than a few years without entering into this phase."[41] But, the unavoidable relationship between a successful revived tradition growing in popularity, and certain aspects of the culture industry, such as record companies and commercial magazines, can lead to tension inside the group, sometimes resulting into a separation of conservative and progressive categories. Syncretism is a prominent aspect of most revivalism, where the main objective is to fuse modern style and expression with traditional music. This affects the style of arrangement, choice of instrumentation and group formation, ultimately creating a new genre of music. There are plenty of examples of this in the Isle of Man where traditional melodies are interpreted though modern style and expression. New lyrics, which often comment on local social issues, have been written to fit traditional tunes in both Manx Gaelic and English, and new instrumental melodies and songs have been composed in the perceived Manx idiom.

[40] Baumann, "Folk Music Revival: Concepts Between Regression and Emancipation," 71–85.
[41] Livingston, "Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory," 79.

5. GROWTH AND LIFE SPAN

Revival life spans vary considerably, and can last from just a few years to a whole century. Concern over authenticity can often impede the growth of a movement, but it has been found that successful revivals are those that adapt the syncretist approach. They tend to divide into several categories, yet they still retain a shared focal point. Revivals of this kind can develop in response to other changing trends, embracing contemporary styles, repertoire and instrumentation, and in turn, can influence innovations in other music genres. My research so far suggests that this is the avenue the Manx traditional music revival followed, and although a nucleus style and ideology has been established, the movement will continue to evolve while it maintains a syncretist approach.

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THE REVIVAL AND RECONSTRUCTION OF MANX TRADITIONAL DANCE*

There has been an uncritical acceptance by dancers of the body of dance material supplied by Mona Douglas. However, dancers like to dance: they are not there for research purposes. They have not, therefore, sought out potential informants who would perhaps have been available until recent years. Nevertheless, there are still informants from whom we can get information, at least about Mona Douglas and her work.[1]

There is a nationalistic imperative in Mona Douglas for Man to be seen as being on an equal footing with other nations. The Celtic revival of the late nineteenth century had rekindled an interest in forms of dance in Ireland and Scotland. Man was involved in the Pan-Celtic movement through such luminaries as A.W. Moore and Sophia Morrison. In order to present a full breadth of culture, it appears that Mona Douglas's view was that Man would have its own characteristic body of dance. Was it still extant? Had it survived at least in living memory, even if the churchgoing members of the community did not now indulge in such things? Mona Douglas, of course, suggested that it did. Overall, my belief is that Mona Douglas did find fragments. However, we know that the way in which the fragments were developed and linked was initially the work of Mona and Philip Leighton Stowell, with the practical assistance of the team of dancers from Albert Road School in Ramsey.[2] At present, the proportion of fragments within the body of work is not known, but working through Mona's papers may yet turn up some clues.[3] Whilst pieces of information may have been linked together with an amount of licence and creativity, I think there is no reason why a certain amount of information should not have come down, to suggest the basis of certain dances.

Mona says that she was lucky in discovering that it was more fruitful to refer to dances as "games." In the sense that Mona discovered that "games" could be discussed whilst dances might not be, any finding of material may be looked on as being somewhat fortuitous. This is not without precedent, of course. There appear to be instances of the fortuitous finding of material, sometimes apparently at the

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* The writings of Mona Douglas as referenced in the text are to be found in collected form in Stephen Miller, ed., *Mona Douglas: Manx Folk-Song, Folk Dance, Folklore, Collected Writings*, (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 1994).

1 For example, Marjorie Crowe (née Coates), 1998, quoted in Fenella Bazin, ed., *Mona Douglas: A Tribute*, (Douglas: Manx Heritage Foundation, 1998) 99–100.

2 Mona Douglas, "Manx Folk Dances: their Notation and Revival," *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* iii.2 (1937): 111–12 and elsewhere, particularly in Bazin, ed., *Mona Douglas: A Tribute*, 39–63, 96–103.

3 There are thirty boxes full of papers of all sorts now in the Manx National Heritage Library.

extreme range of its survival, in Man and elsewhere, as dance appears to have been. The finding of the song, "Fin as Oshin," is a case in point. This was a whole series of fortuitous occurrences, commencing from the availability of McPherson's writings, which were not, in any case, what he claimed them to be. However, by a series of coincidences, the book helped to uncover a genuine piece of folklore from an elderly informant. The informant may have been the last link before the piece became known only by repute. However, Philip Moore was not a collector, and there may have been other fragments had he sought them. Like the dancers of the twentieth century, he accepted what was there, and did not seek any more. Ian O'Leary encouraged the Cornish delegation to the Pan-Celtic Festival in Killarney in the 1970s in their collecting of dancing in Cornwall.[4] Mervyn and Alison Davey found manuscripts, but then, talking to people in old-people's homes and elsewhere, they discovered that they had done broom dances and social dances in their youth, and described and demonstrated them for them. This was dancing in Cornwall, perhaps at the extreme range of its survival, but collected in the very late 1970s and early 1980s. It was a chance meeting of Cecil Sharp with John England that triggered his interest in folk song, and a chance meeting with William Kimber and the Bampton Morris Men that led to his collecting dances and tunes associated largely with the Cotswold villages. It was still extant, with a good number of participant villages at that period prior to the First World War. The survival of Morris dancing is probably because it is distinct and ritualistic. Social dances, by their nature, are easier to do, and their setting does not generally require special steps, being danced in circumstances where steps do not matter, and enjoyment, and perhaps drink, are part of the social scene. This suggests that ritual dances with distinctive steps and movements may have a better chance of transmission and survival because they are considered to be special in some way, even if later perpetrators do it simply to keep up a custom: "Mannagh vow cliaghtey cliaghtey, nee cliaghtey coe."[5]

In order to consider the demography of the period in which Mona Douglas writes of having collected dance material, we can turn to the census returns. The census results for 1921 were slightly distorted by being taken on 19 June, when there were already some holidaymakers in the Island, but we can get a general picture of the population in Man at that period. The dates of birth of the census results go back to 1826. There appears to be scope for a good pool of strong memories associated with the period from 1850 onwards, which corresponds with the period of reminiscences of Dr John Clague in his *Cooinaghtyn Manninagh.* Clague himself had been born in 1842. His memories include people dancing at the *Mheillea* (Harvest Supper),[6] at

[4] Merv Davey and Alison Davey, *Troyl: Seven Cornish Dances, Traditional and Modern* (Cam Kernewek, 1981).

[5] "If custom be not practised, custom will weep."

[6] Dr John Clague, *Cooinaghtyn Manninagh: Manx Reminiscences By the Late Dr John Clague* (Castletown: M.J. Backwell, n.d. [1911]) 78–79.

weddings,[7] and also says that "Young girls, and young boys, met together in the farmhouses, to sing and dance at night."[8] The demography suggests that the living memory of the 1920s could have held material from a much earlier time. Age in itself, it could be argued, counts for nothing. As the recent Manx vernacular English language survey has shown, some families have retained a greater stock of phrases and words than others. However, using words and phrases, remembering stories or rhymes utilises a skill which most people have and make use of all the time—that of speech. Writing down phrases, rhymes and stories was not too difficult a task for the literate collector, and even the recording of tunes, whilst not wholly satisfactory, could be done by well-known methods. How much the collector, particularly of music, re-arranged or affected the work, and how much the method imposed upon the material, is another matter. However, describing and noting down a dance is perhaps more specialised. It is significant that when the *Five Manx Folk Dances* was published by Stainer & Bell in 1957, it was not Mona, but "Miss Edith Jones, who has put the dances into the more usual phraseology of folk dancing for publication."[9] Alison and Mervyn Davey refer to this in their collecting of Cornish dancing: "It is particularly difficult to accurately describe the various foot and leg movements in scoot dancing, as it is for any step dances."[10]

Mona writes of being surprised at how much material on dance she had accumulated in her early days, when she came to look back through the notes which she writes of having made, going back, apparently, to about 1907 when she was given a hardbacked notebook and a propelling pencil by Sophia Morrison. However, she also says that her notes constituted a "hopelessly untidy mass of material,"[11] "all jumbled together anyhow."[12] Mona herself says that many of her informants were too old to do more than describe steps and movements verbally. She writes of collecting "Cum y Shenn Oanrey Çheh" from informants as far apart as Jurby and Lonan. Where there is a single informant, there is also the difficulty of how to convey the movements of a number of people at the same time. Mona writes that John Kelly of Baldrine used to draft in family members and others to perform to his direction. Here is another example of that uncritical acceptance of dance material, which now raises the questions of who those people were, what they may have remembered of this process, and what became of them subsequently.

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7 Clague, *Cooinaghtyn Manninagh: Manx Reminiscences By the Late Dr John Clague* 96–97.

8 Clague, *Cooinaghtyn Manninagh: Manx Reminiscences By the Late Dr John Clague* 204–05.

9 Mona Douglas, *Five Manx Folk Dances, Set I: Dances and Airs collected from Traditional Sources by Mona Douglas, Dance Notations by Edith Jones, Pianoforte Arrangements by Arnold Foster* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1936).

10 "Raklavar" (Foreword), Merv Davey and Alison Davey, *Troyl III: Ten Cornish Dances* (Cam Kernewek, 1984).

11 Douglas, "Manx Folk Dances: their Notation and Revival," 111.

12 Mona Douglas, "The Traditional Dances of Mann," *Journal of the Manx Museum* v.64 (1941): 3 col. b.

But we have here a number of difficulties: jumbled notes; fragments from different people at different times; descriptions by individuals about group dancing; and a collector trying to find a way of noting dance steps and movements. The problem may be tied in with the dance music. Mona does not appear to have collected any unique tunes; versions are to be found in the Clague collection and Moore. If there was a comparatively small stock of tunes, played, perhaps, by itinerant fiddlers, the same tunes may have cropped up in different areas. A dance to a fixed tune is in itself not usual in social dancing. However, with a smallish body of dance tunes to go at, dancers in Jurby may have danced to the same tune as dancers in Lonan, but it may not have been the same dance. If Mona was using a tune as a primary key, asking informants if they knew a game associated with that particular tune, she may have received a number of positive replies, and noted remembered fragments from different sources. Her earlier notes were jumbled anyway, she tells us. That all fragments from all sources, tenuously linked by the particular tune Mona had in mind, should represent a single dance would appear to be unlikely. We should bear this in mind when we look at the dances themselves.

The first dance to which Mona refers positively in her article, "Ceremonial Folk-Song, Mumming, and Dance in the Isle of Man," published in the *Journal of the English Folk Dance Society* for 1928 as being remembered is a very striking one—literally. This is the Courting Dance, "Hyndaa yn Bwoailley," where the girl slaps the boy across the face in the chorus. It is a set piece, and the chorus is a sort of ritual in its way. It is perhaps understandable how a dance of this sort would make an impression and be remembered. In 1937, she refers to the dance also being "sometimes performed to other airs, notably 'Hunt the Wren' although this air has a dance of its own attached to it." What perhaps appears strange is that the 1928 article refers to the Hunt the Wren, but not to a dance (though elsewhere it is suggested that it was collected by Mona as a game from Lezayre schoolchildren in 1925[13]); to *Hop-Tu-Naa* customs, but not to a dance (though a dance was published in 1936); and to the White Boys (though she says here that she understands there to be a dance at the end in the form of a circular reel, but that she had not got a clear description of it at that time). Dances referred to are: "Hyndaa yn Bwoailley," which sounds to be complete, and two dances of which little is known (the "Frog Dance" and the "Salmon Leap"), but another dance referred to is the Manx sword-dance "which is not quite like either the English or the Scottish sword-dances though nearer to the latter."[14]

[13] Mona Douglas, "Introduction," *Rinkaghyn Vannin: Dances of Mann* (Sleih gyn Thie, n.d. [1983]), though no date given: a date of 1925 is marked on a Mona Douglas MS in relation to the collection of the tune.

[14] Mona Douglas, "Ceremonial Folk-Song, Mumming, and Dance in the Isle of Man," *Journal of the English Folk Dance Society* 2 (2nd Series) (1928): 20.

The informant for the "Sword Dance of the Kings of Man" was Jackie Kermode. The symbolism and the background of the "Sword Dance of the Kings of Man" are very striking from a nationalistic perspective. Mona's descriptions of the Dirk Dance seem to grow bit by bit as the years go by, and the accoutrements of the dance (the sword itself and a beaker from which Jack Kermode drank whisky before starting) are not extant. However, Mona appears definitely to have witnessed something, and that was corroborated by Jackie Kermode's daughter, who saw him dance it, something that comes anecdotally from the Bradford family of Ramsey. Paul Bradford, the great-grandson of Jackie Kermode, was encouraged by Mona to learn the dance, which he did from Mr Jimmy Druggan of Ramsey, who went up to Ballaragh to learn it from Mona. Mona herself, speaking in 1979, says that Jackie Kermode came to Ramsey to teach the dance to Philip Leighton Stowell,[15] but here she is evidently mistaken as Jackie Kermode died in 1918, whilst Mona's collaboration with Leighton Stowell did not come until about 1928 (though there is perhaps some suggestion that this may have come a little earlier in about 1924–25[16]).

I have suggested that some form of ritual dance or a dance memorable for some unusual feature may have a better chance of survival because of its associations. Social dances, on the other hand, tend to have broadly similar movements, whether a *giense* ("session"), barn dance, ceilidh, troyl or twmpath. In performing dances at social gatherings like these, the emphasis is on enjoyment, not on precision of performance or completion of a ritual. The steps can be whatever the dancer makes of them. It seems perfectly feasible that Mona could get someone like Mrs Clague to describe to her some of the movements in social dances she did at a Mheillea in years gone by. However, to what extent these may have included the rather specialised stepping in some of the dances is difficult to estimate. Mr Robert Sim refers to Barr the fiddler in the late nineteenth century at "James Kay's Fair" at the "Highlander" playing for step dancing, mainly amongst young male farm hands, who were, in fact, mostly drunk,[17] so it was not necessarily a step in the right direction. Barr himself was Scottish. As regards influence, other than alcohol, on dancing, Manx fishermen in particular travelled to Ireland, England, Scotland, and the Shetlands. There may have been the possibility of their bringing back dance material. Mona herself, writing in 1928, says that "There are very few characteristic Manx dances recorded, and in general they seem to have been variants of English and Scottish models."[18]

Mona's grandmother was Ellen or Nell Quayle, and, says Mona, "from her I learnt many steps and figures,"[19] but when she was unsure, she used to refer to some notes

[15] Bazin, ed., *Mona Douglas: A Tribute*, 98.
[16] Bazin, ed., *Mona Douglas: A Tribute*, 97.
[17] Robert Samuel Sim, "Memories of Old Crosby, 1868–1900," 2, (read at Crosby Wesleyan Guild 1916), Manx National Heritage Library, MD 260.
[18] Douglas, "Ceremonial Folk-Song, Mumming, and Dance in the Isle of Man," 20.
[19] Douglas, "The Traditional Dances of Mann," 3 col. a.

made by her father, Mona's great-grandfather, Philip Quayle of Glen Tramman. Mona also later copied these notes, which became, she says, "the foundation of my rebuilding of several dances of which the actual movements were almost forgotten."[20] As with Jack Kermode's sword and whisky beaker, Philip Quayle's notes, and perhaps Mona's copies of them as well, appear to have been destroyed when on loan to Cecil Sharp House. There may, of course, be something to be found in the thirty boxes of Mona's effects now in the Museum. Another of Mona's informants was John Kelly of Baldrine. "Kelly […] is the only traditional dancer," says Mona, "of whom I have been able to secure a photograph taken in action. In 1936 he appeared in a film of a traditional wedding taken for the Isle of Man Tourist Board, and I am indebted to the Secretary, Mr L. Bond, for obtaining for a 'shot' of Kelly dancing to the *purt-y-beayll* (mouth music) of a traditional singer, Robert Kewley."[21] Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to trace the film. However, the photograph may again emerge amongst Mona's effects.

In the early 1970s, when a group from the Manx Folk Dance Society were trying to learn some further dances, Mona would come along so that she could advise us. We would try it in one way, and Mona would tell us that was right. Then we would try it a different way, and Mona would tell us that was right as well. The notes were not always clear, and neither was Mona's direction when we looked for it. Something similar happened in the late 1970s when *Bock Yuan Fannee*, a Manx dance group, was learning "Shooyl Inneenyn" and "Moirrey ny Gainle." This was evidently a feature of the original teaching in 1928–29 and subsequently when further dances were put together in Albert Road School. I think Marjorie Coates, now Mrs Marjorie Crowe, puts it very succinctly: that Mona "favoured the essence of Manx dancing."[22] This she contrasts with the approach of Leighton Stowell, "who had a more precise and perfectionist view of dancing."[23] Mona writes of "The work of (1) writing out airs and causal notes carefully, (2) completing and comparing descriptions and getting demonstrations of steps and part-demonstrations of figures wherever possible."[24] This she seems to have undertaken alone, without taking anybody else to visit her informants. But then came the collaborative stage: "(3) working out the actual movements with Mr P.L. Stowell's team of junior dances."[25] Mona and Leighton Stowell did not always agree on how the dances should go. The children sometimes had to go outside whilst Mona and Leighton battled it out.[26] However, Mona writes

[20] Douglas, "The Traditional Dances of Mann," 3 col. a.
[21] Mona Douglas, "'A Chiel' Amang 'Em': Memories of a Collector on the Isle of Man," *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* viii.3 (1958): 157.
[22] Marjorie Crowe in Bazin, ed., *Mona Douglas: A Tribute*, 100.
[23] Marjorie Crowe in Bazin, ed., *Mona Douglas: A Tribute*, 100.
[24] Douglas, "Manx Folk Dances: their Notation and Revival," 111.
[25] Douglas, "Manx Folk Dances: their Notation and Revival," 111.
[26] Marjorie Crowe in Bazin, ed., *Mona Douglas: A Tribute*, 100.

that "sometimes he was inclined to elaborate on traditional forms, and I think I helped to correct this trend, which was never very strong."[27] One of the more uncomfortable aspects of Manx dancing in its present guise is the extension of the arms. In addition to referring to steps and figures learnt from her grandmother, Nell Quayle, Mona also refers to "the characteristic (as I learnt later) arm extension of the Manx dances."[28] However, Leighton rather scotched this himself when he told me in the early 1970s how it had come about, as far as he remembered. The Scottish dancers held their arms right up; the Irish dancers held their arms right down; so Man being in the middle, Manx dancers should hold their arms mid-way.

I have suggested how different dances could become enmeshed, simply because people had danced something to a familiar tune. The first part of Mona's step (1) given above is to write out the air. Looking at the dances, accepting that dancers may have taken the trouble to learn more complicated steps for ritual dances, the overall conclusion is that very few of them are genuinely social dances. Whilst Mona makes play of the fact that they were learned first by the Albert Road School team, the point is that they had to be learned. They are generally so complicated as to require special training. However, let us first take ritual or unusual dances out of the equation. I am not necessarily accepting that these were, in fact, ritual dances handed down; I am simply taking them as part of the corpus of twenty-nine dances which have been recorded by Mona Douglas. This leaves a body of twenty dances, if we include the two variants of "Car y Phoosee." Generally in social dancing, there is a small number of figures which are repeated, possibly with progression to dance with another partner or with another set of people. Five of the twenty dances do this. Of these five, two have proved to be virtually undanceable, even with specialised knowledge. However, this leaves three dances which appear to be, allowing for a certain amount of special stepping, realistic social dances: "Car y Phoosee," "Hunt the Wren," and "Yn Guilley Shesheree." A further four simple dances which may be repeated ad infinitum are: "Hop-tu-Naa," "The Flitter Dance," "Yn Mheillea," and "Cur Shaghey y Geurey." So out of twenty more general dances, we appear to have seven social dances. In respect of the other thirteen dances, for the reasons I have outlined, it seems to me that material may have been brought into an unwonted juxtaposition. In other words, material that Mona associated with a single dance may actually come from a number of dances. Another possibility is that the context in which Mona placed them may not have been appropriate. Two square dances have, in recent years, been experimented with quite convincingly as a quadrille set, for example, though Mona makes it clear that this was not the case with "The Fathaby Jig."[29]

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[27] Mona Douglas, "Introduction," *The Leighton Stowell Book of Manx Dances* (Manx Folk Dance Society, 1981) 5.
[28] Douglas, "Introduction," 4.
[29] Douglas, "Manx Folk Dances: their Notation and Revival," 115.

If we break down the more complicated dances into sections, perhaps we may find social dances within. There have been contextual experiments, viewing some dances from a different perspective. A body of work has built up of dances composed, using steps and movements from the Mona Douglas corpus of notes, but also using steps from Mona Douglas's work in movements that do not appear in the body of dances brought together by her. Some experimentation with the steps has also occurred. However, we must be clear exactly what we are doing by participating in this process. The basis can only be an acceptance of the steps and figures as genuine survivals to provide the fragments from which Mona herself rebuilt the dances. There is no doubt that Mona Douglas has not made it easy to follow an audit trail. It has not been possible to assemble a full list of informants for each of the dances. Whilst some names can be gleaned from Mona's writings, there are many gaps in matching informants to dances.

Mona refers to four dances in 1928, two apparently complete, and two only referred to. At the English Folk Dance Society Easter School in Douglas in 1929, the three dances performed were the "Sword Dance," "Hyndaa yn Bwoailley," and one to which she had not referred at all just a year earlier, "Eunyssagh Vona." In 1937, she writes of having reconstructed 14 dances from her notes, with another 5 partly noted but incomplete. She refers to collecting fragments and piecing them together with the help of Philip Leighton Stowell and the children of Albert Road School in Ramsey. It is only in 1941 that we hear that her great-grandfather, Philip Quayle of Glen Tramman, left dance notes, albeit cryptic, to his daughter, Mona's grandmother, Ellen Quayle; and that her grandmother was also a good source of material. By 1953, with the publication of *Seven Manx Folk Dances*, Mona writes that she has managed "to piece together a few more of our Folk Dances, by careful combing of all the remaining sources of information."[30] By that apparently final stage, thirteen dances were in print, with a further eight having been referred to or described, but not notated. Nevertheless, with the publication in 1983 of *Rinkaghyn Vannin*, thirteen dances were notated for the first time, including seven which do not appear to have been mentioned in any previous writings. The separation in time from sources of traditional material suggests that the basis of such late-produced dances may not be as reliable as dances produced at an earlier stage, and particularly up to the publication of *Seven Manx Folk Dances* in 1953.

An easy acceptance of this material has meant that we have missed the opportunity to gather information from surviving informants, such as the children from whom she noted "Hunt the Wren" as a game in Lezayre in 1925; from Jackie Kermode's children, one of whom died only last year; and from the family and neighbours of John Kelly of Baldrine, who were described as having been drafted in to help work

[30] Mona Douglas, *Seven Manx Folk Dances, Set II: Dances and Airs collected from Traditional Sources by Mona Douglas, Pianoforte Arrangements by Arnold Foster* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1953) 2.

dances out. However, the likelihood is that Mona would have been able to talk to people who had danced at the mheillea and weddings, as remembered by Dr Clague. Whether these were characterised by particular steps except in the case of ceremonial, ritual dances (the "Manx Reel Step," etc) is difficult to determine. As in everything that Mona Douglas did, the creative tendency is always likely to emerge. Apropos of the "Mollag Dance," Mona writes, "Unfortunately, I have not been able to get a demonstration of this dance, or even a workable description of the step used"—which sounds unequivocal enough, but then she concludes that "I am fairly certain that the High Reel Step would come into it."[31] However, as a sort of repost to her critics, whilst she may have been fairly certain of it, this is a dance that Mona never did bring forth into the sunlight. Perhaps this means that we may have greater confidence in those that she did.

From the original hopelessly untidy mass of material, jumbled together anyhow, Mona pieced together some dances as she thought they may have been from information, often gathered apparently piecemeal. These paper dance movements were then given practical shape not least by the ability of the children of Albert Road School. The whole effect was subject to being restructured and given a more polished patina for performance by Leighton Stowell. It seems to me that Mona Douglas did have the opportunity to collect fragments of steps and descriptions of dances from informants. However, she herself refers to "re-building" or "re-constructing" them. In her introduction to the *Seven Manx Folk Dances*, Mona apparently recognises the extent to which her work was a gleaning rather than a harvesting, thanking "the teachers and dancers who have built a new Manx dance-tradition on the foundation of an old one recorded only just in time, and to the workers in the Manx Folk Dance Society who are stabilising that tradition and will carry it into the future."[32] However, it also demonstrates clearly that Mona's intention was to make this material part of an ongoing process, not to undertake the scientific collection of a dead or moribund piece of folklore.

Robert Carswell,
Douglas

[31] Mona Douglas, "Some Ritual Dances of Mann," *The Folklorist* 4.3 (1957): 75.

[32] Douglas, *Seven Manx Folk Dances, Set II: Dances and Airs collected from Traditional Sources by Mona Douglas, Pianoforte Arrangements by Arnold Foster* 2.

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1928	1936	1937	1941	1949	1953	1957a	1957b	1958	1973	1983	*Rinkaghyn Vannin: Dances of Mann*
										1st	Ben Rein y Voaldyn
		Restored			1st			Ref		2nd	Car Juan Nan
		Restored			1st					2nd	Car ny Ferrishyn (1)
		Restored									Car ny Ferrishyn (2) (MFDS)[1]
										1st	Car ny Rankee
					1st					2nd	Car y Phoosee
Desc	1st	Restored								2nd	Hyndaa yn Bwoailley
		Restored			1st					2nd	Cum yn Shenn Oanrey Çheh
										1st	Cur Shaghey yn Geurey
Ref	1st	Restored	Ref	Ref		Ref	Ref	Ref	Ref	2nd	Dirk Dance (Reeaghyn dy Vannin)
	1st	Restored	Ref							2nd	Eunyssagh Vona
		Restored			1st					2nd	Fathaby Jig
		Part					Desc			1st	Flitter Dance
Heard		Part					Desc	Ref		1st	Frog Dance (Bwoaill Baccagh)
	1st	Restored								2nd	Guilley Hesheree
	1st	Restored		?						2nd	Hop Tu Naa
		Restored			1st		Ref			2nd	Hunt the Wren
										1st	Illiam y Thalhear
		Restored								1st	Jemmy as Nancy
		Part	1st	Ref						2nd	Mheillea
										1st	Moghrey Mie as Maynrys
										1st	Moirrey ny Gainle
		Part	Desc				Desc	Ref			Mollag Dance
		Restored	Desc				Ref	Ref	Ref	1st	Mylecharane's March
		Restored	Ref	1st						2nd	Peter-o-Tavy
										1st	Purt Cubbley
Heard		Part					Desc		Ref	Desc	Salmon Leap
									?	1st	Shooyl Inneenyn
Heard		Restored	Ref	Ref						1st	White Boys' Dance
5	**8**	**20**			**21**				**22**	**29**	**Growing total of dances mentioned**
	5		**6**		**13**					**26**	**Growing total of dances notated**

Key **1st** = notation printed for the first time, **2nd** = notation printed on a subsequent occasion; **Desc** = description given of a dance, **Heard** = dance referred to as heard of, but not known, **Ref** = reference to the dance. Douglas (1937) refers to the dances listed there as being either 'Completed and restored to use' (**Restored**) or 'Dances partly noted but still incomplete' (**Part**).

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1973 "Hunting the Dance in Mann," *Manninagh* 3 (1973): 38–41.

1983 *Rinkaghyn Vannin: Dances of Mann* (Sleigh gyn Thie, [1983]).

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Dance	Informant(s)	Place	Parish
Ben Rein y Voaldyn			
Car Juan Nan	John Matt Mylechreest		Lonan
Car ny Ferrishyn			
Car ny Rankee			
Car y Phoosee			
Hyndaa yn Bwoailley			
Cum yn Shenn Oanrey Çheh	(1) William Caine?		Jurby
	(2) John Kelly?		Lonan
Cur Shaghey yn Geurey	[Copy from Miss Davies]		
Dirk Dance	Jackie Kermode	Port Mooar	Maughold
Eunyssagh Vona			
Fathaby Jig			
Flitter Dance	(1) Mrs Callow	Cardle Veg	Maughold
	(2) Mrs Teare	Ballaugh	
	(3) Mrs Ratcliffe	Maughold	
	(4) John Kelly?	Baldrine	Lonan
	(5) Mrs Shimmin?	Foxdale	Patrick
Frog Dance	(1) John Kelly	Baldrine	Lonan
	(2) Caesar Cashen	Peel	
	(3) James Quine	Peel	
	(4) William Quane	Peel	
Guilley Hesheree			
Hop-Tu-Naa	Schoolchildren	Lezayre	
Hunt the Wren	Schoolchildren	?	
Illiam y Thalhear			
Jemmy as Nancy			
Mheillea			
Moghrey Mie as Maynrys			
Moirrey ny Gainle			
Mollag Dance	John Davis	Castletown	
Mylecharane's March	(1) Philip Quayle	Glen Tramman	Lezayre
	(2) Ellen Quayle	Glen Tramman	Lezayre
	(3) John Kelly	Baldrine	Lonan
Peter-o-Tavy			
Purt Cubbley			
Salmon Leap	"Kelly the Blackguard"	Niarbyl	Patrick
	Captain Thomas Craine	Douglas	
	William Caine	The Curragh	Jurby
Shooyl Inneenyn	"Dancers at a Hiring Fair"	Michael	
White Boys' Dance			

Other Informants credited: no dance details*

Mr J. Faragher	Fiddle player	Lonan
Mr T. Taggart	"Fiddle" player of Grenaby	Malew
Mr J. Moore		Patrick
Mr W. Quine[1]		Peel
Mrs J. Kelly		Malew
Mrs Moore		Malew
Miss B. Cooill		Arbory
Miss M. Quayle		Lezayre

[1] Perhaps a typographical error for William Quane of Peel: see list above
* These may be informants for tunes

REVIVAL AND RECONSTRUCTION OF MANX TRADITIONAL DANCE MUSIC

1. INTRODUCTION

The revival and playing of Manx traditional music has become well established in the past 25 years. The aim of this paper is to examine some of the reasons why this has happened, what the source material has been and how that source material has been used.

1.1 REDISCOVERY AND REVIVAL

The playing of Manx music received a new impetus in 1974 when a copy of the manuscript collection held in the papers of Dr John Clague was copied and circulated.[1] A small number of people began to examine this and play the tunes in the social context, i.e. adults playing in a pub rather than in private for personal pleasure only. This was the beginning of the traditional music pub session that was already popular in other countries, notably Ireland and Scotland.

A number of copies were subsequently made and circulated but the process of disseminating the music received a further impetus with the publication of *Kiaull yn Theay* in two volumes by Colin Jerry.[2] These contained a selection of tunes from the manuscript without arrangement, except to put them into keys more suitable for contemporary "folk" instruments such as the whistle, tenor banjo and mandolin.

These volumes were used by schools as well as by adults wishing to learn music to play in the sessions. The involvement of teachers and schoolchildren was a further impetus to the popularising of the music as well as providing a link between school and social contexts. Some of the pupils later began to play in the sessions, where the source material was familiar to them.

During the same period of the revival several Manx dance groups were established. This too had the effect of popularising the music and introducing it to a new circle of listeners—both the dancers and their audiences. With this came the growth of the festival as a vehicle for traditional music, dance and arts. These provided the musicians and dancers with the opportunity to perform in front of audiences in the Island and throughout the British Isles and continental Europe, chiefly in Brittany. It also gave them the opportunity to learn from the way other traditional musics had been revived and developed.

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1 Deposited in the Manx National Heritage Library (formerly the Manx Museum Library), as MS 448/[1]–[3], A, MS 449 B. These consist of tunes only.

2 Colin Jerry, ed., *Kiaull yn Theay: Manx Music and Songs for Folk Instruments*, 2 vols. (n.p.: Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh, 1978 & 79).

Once the source material had been "rediscovered" and a means of disseminating was found, the interest in playing Manx music had the opportunity to flourish. But the existence of the material alone does not explain why it achieved the level of popularity and currency it has done. Other factors played a part in its development arising from the political circumstances in the Island at the time and the personal motivation and background of the people involved.

1.2 POLITICAL BACKGROUND

In the 1960s the Manx Government began to pursue policies designed to establish the Island as an offshore finance centre. It also began to use its ability to set its own taxes to attract retired wealthy people to live in the Island and hold their assets there. This move towards attracting new business and "New Residents" produced a backlash amongst the Manx population which resulted in the formation of a Manx nationalist party, *Mec Vannin* (The Sons of Man) in the early 1960s. In the 1970s, political dissent took a more subversive direction with the formation of *Fo Halloo* (The Underground) which pursued a policy of causing political embarrassment by publishing newsletters and daubing slogans in public places. And in the 1980s the FSFO[3] campaign demonstrated a concern amongst some in the Island at further new residents, housebuilding and the growth of the "Finance Sector." These public expressions of hostility towards a perceived dilution of the Manx way of life found a considerable amount of sympathy amongst the broader Manx population. Consequently an atmosphere was created that was conducive to other expressions of Manxness, such as speaking the Manx language and promoting traditional music and dance. Indeed, promoting the Manx culture was generally viewed as complimenting the more direct action of the political activists (who were often themselves associated with the cultural revival).

1.3 PERSONAL MOTIVATION AND INFLUENCE: "NON-NATIVE" AND "NATIVE"

The degree of non-Manx participation in the current phase of the Manx cultural revival has not (as far as I am aware) actually been studied; however, it is a self-evident feature of the revival in the Island as it has been elsewhere.

A significant proportion of those involved have either not been Manx themselves or (like myself) Manx by connection but not birth. This feature of revival undoubtedly affects the direction (or directions) it takes; how it is received amongst the native population and the complexion of end product itself (whether music, song or dance). Without a proper study it is not possible to discuss personal motivation or its effects on revival in any detail. However, such involvement in revivals elsewhere has been the result of several factors such as:

[3] "Finance Sector F**k Off."

(1) The wish to assimilate with a local population;

(2) The fascination with something new or unique;

(3) To satisfy a need to help a local population with a culture under a perceived threat

(4) To assert itself, and to feel part of a local culture, especially when a feeling of not having a distinctive culture is experienced.

In the Manx situation the effect of non-native participation in the cultural revival is perhaps more significant than in a place with a larger population and stronger "traditional" culture. Against a background of a moribund folk tradition of music, dance and song, the revival had little to base itself on. Non-native participants with their limited experience of the Insular culture (modern or "traditional") must inevitably have influenced the development of the revival in a way that would not have happened otherwise.

Similarly, the "native" participants in the revival must have had a desire to produce or re-create something uniquely "Manx" in a way that their contemporary Manxmen and women did not. This desire to produce something "Manx" that previously did not exist (or existed as a survival of an earlier revival phase) is possibly a reaction against a perceived erosion of "Manxness."

The desire to create a Manx tradition based on facets of an earlier culture has produced a tendency towards a fanaticism for it characterised by an almost religious zeal. The fact that many in the Manx population appeared unaware of, or indifferent to, the traditional music revival appears to have reinforced this sectarian attitude.

1.4 SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

In the case of both non-natives and natives to the Island, class background can be seen to be very different from that of most of the informants who passed on the music and song texts. This period of revival in the Island is no different to that in the early twentieth century, or periods of folk revival in, for example, England or Ireland. In all cases there is a preponderance of those from occupations in education, administration and the professions whereas the original carriers of "traditional" culture were almost all in working-class occupations in agriculture, fisheries, mining and the trades.

This has meant the carriers of the new "traditions" have been removed from the original carriers in their social as well as their historical position. It does not necessarily mean that those removed from the culture of a past era are not capable of replicating the music and dance of the past. However in the Manx situation there was no living tradition of the sort the revival sought to promote (unlike the situation

in parts of Ireland or Scotland for example). If any sort of accurate representation of the earlier music or song were to have been intended then close attention would have been needed to written records other than just the musical notation. This includes commentaries made by observers of the actual tradition. It would also have been desirable to have used these observations to make comparisons with related traditions that had maintained a continuous link with the past.[4]

This sort of attention to historical records and instrumentation to recreate the music of a past era has been a feature of, for example, the early music revival. Here, the emphasis has been very much on research to provide an interpretation of the historical written music. Ensembles and orchestras have been put together to perform music from, for example, the Baroque period using contemporary instruments and playing in what is felt to be an authentic way. However, the motivation in this type of revival has not been to reinforce a nationalist philosophy. It can be argued that those who instigated the current revival were not so interested in how authentic the music was played than in that playing it as part of an overall Manx cultural revival.

The development of the current revival phase can be summarised by the following conditions:

> (1) The social and political background ensured that there was sufficient interest in things Manx for the rediscovered music manuscripts to be taken up and used.
>
> (2) Non-Manx, and Manx by connection rather than birth were present in the Island, and this meant that there was a body of people who, against the political background, had a personal motivation to prove their affinity with the revival and promotion of "Manxness."
>
> (3) Technological advances meant that source material could be easily and cheaply reproduced.

All of these led to the musical revival taking place at the time it did and to the basis of Manx traditional folk music in the form (or forms) we know it today.

1.5 SOME EFFECTS OF REVIVALISTS ON THE MUSIC

1.5.1 THE COLLECTORS

The process of collecting and notating folk music is known to be a source of distortion in traditional material in terms of its musical integrity. In the Manx situation, there was also a filtering of the source material as it was being collected.

[4] See David Speers, *Manx Traditional Music and Dance: A Chronology of Source Material*, Manx Research Series Report 1 (Ramsey: Manx Academic Press, 1995), "The Historical References to Manx Traditional Music, Song and Dance," *Béaloideas* 64–65 (1997 [for 1996–97]).

The main aim of the collectors was to find things that they could describe as being of Manx origin. This excluded much of what was known to have been used traditionally. For example, A.W. Moore said of his collecting that he had not paid much attention to dance music, possibly because it comprised tunes that were known to have circulated around the British Isles.[5]

In song music, we also know that some attempt was made to exclude "non-Manx" material. For example, the ballads of Thomas Shimmin ("Tom the Dipper") between 1853 and 1879 sometimes contained a reference to a tune that should be used. These tunes were presumably popularly known and included music of diverse origins such as "To a new Cork trader do I belong" and "the favourite Scotch air 'As Jenny was milking one morning in May.'" None of these tunes appear in any of the nineteenth century collections.

However, such popular ballad and dance tunes were not completely excluded from the collections. The ballad tune "Curagh of Kildare" and "The banks of Ponchartrain," for example, appears in several forms, as do the dance tunes "Haste to the Wedding," "Farewell to Whiskey" and "The Galbally Farmer."

So, the repertoire of tunes that was open to the revivalists in the current phase was limited by the collectors to what they thought best represented Manx music. Where there was known to be an overlap with other traditions it seems an attempt was made to make the Manx version as played sound different from any known "other" version. This brings us to a brief examination of playing style.

1.5.2 INTERPRETATION OF THE NOTATION

In playing the bare notation provided by the unpublished collections musicians in the 1970s and for some considerable time later relied mostly on reproducing the notes rather than introducing a style based on any known traditional music.

It is well known that elements of traditional playing were actively discouraged for a time as "not being Manx." Some features of Manx music that became common as a result of the influence of the inexperienced musicians originally involved in the current revival are:

> **Lack of ornamentation**—it was maintained for some time that ornamentation was not part of the Manx tradition, unlike that found in neighbouring traditions and in many other musical styles.
>
> **Lack of rhythmic emphasis**—the familiar "lilt" present in other traditional music (and virtually all music of other styles) tends to be absent in the playing of Manx music.
>
> **Uncertainty of structure**—some tunes that are known elsewhere and played "double" (that is, the two strands of music that make up most

[5] "There are, doubtless, also many tunes now in existence which I have not been able to secure, especially dance tunes, to which I have not particularly directed my attention." A.W. Moore, *Manx Ballads and Music* (Douglas: G. & R. Johnson, 1896) xxxv, fn [1].

traditional dance music are played twice each) are played as single lines. This makes for a very short and repetitive tune, e.g. the "Fathaby Jig," "Eunysagh Vona."

Use of harmony—harmonising whole lines of music is not a feature of dance tunes as they are played in traditions related to the Manx tradition. However, it became common to use this device.

Playing sets—in related musical traditions it is common for the relatively short dance tunes to be linked together to form a set of music in the same time scale. So, there may be a set of three double jigs played together as a set where each jig is played through three or four times. However in the Manx situation tunes tended initially to be played through many times (mainly because not many tunes known by the musicians). Later tunes were put together in sets but without the usual conventions that would be familiar to musicians from neighbouring traditions. For example, tunes in different time signatures were put together as sets.

There are rules governing the playing of all distinctive styles of music, whether rock, blues, reggae, traditional jazz or traditional folk. In the Manx context the rules governing traditional folk music were either not applied or applied, as described, in an idiosyncratic way.

Although in more recent years there have been many musicians who have become very competent in playing Irish and Scottish music and follow the rules that apply in playing it. However, their approach to Manx tunes still seems to be influenced by the strictures applied in the early part of this revival phase.

1.6 SOME CONCLUSIONS FOR DISCUSSION

Both the first and present revival phases involved a strong input from non-Manx and Manx by connection. Likewise, both phases had a strong input from those in prestige occupations.

This distance of the revivalists from the culture, social status, lifestyle and historical position of those who actually produced the musical tradition affected the outcome of the revival but in ways that would be impossible to accurately define.

Although there was this strong input from those distant from the extant folk music tradition, without such an input there would have been no collections and no revival.

The third revival phase began as the result of a specific set of circumstances and is not likely to have happened otherwise (certainly not with the vigour it developed). All of the circumstances were necessary for this outcome, i.e. political, socio-cultural and technological.

The music produced during the current revival so far is not authentic, or even especially musically fulfilling. However, it was the result of a need to satisfy a nationalist rather than a musical imperative.

As a revival based on a very limited quantity of collected traditional material, unless this is added to with new music in the same style, or increased by using music from other related traditions, it will have a limited future. It may continue as long as there is a perceived need to recreate aspects of a Manx "traditional" culture under a nationalist imperative. But as this becomes less of a vital part of contemporary Manx culture this revival phase will lose momentum (if it has not already done so) and we will be left only with its outward manifestations.

David Speers,
Andreas

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THE ROLE AND INFLUENCE OF INTER-CELTIC FESTIVALS ON THE REVIVAL OF LANGUAGE, MUSIC AND DANCE

INTRODUCTION

It is only in recent years that serious research seems to have started on inter-Celtic congresses and festivals. Also, not being a professional linguist, music or dance specialist, or sociologist, I would have to go out of my way to look at the research which has been published. Hence, what is written here comes from personal opinions and experience. This may be no disgraceful thing, however, since the observer is always part of the experiment and subjectivity comes into any project.

INTER-CELTIC CONGRESSES AND FESTIVALS: BACKGROUND COMMENTS

The latter part of the 19th century saw rising interest in Europe and areas of the world colonised by Europeans in the Celts and their languages and culture, this interest being fostered by the "Celtic Twilight" and the Irish renaissance. A strongly romantic view of the Celts was widespread, underpinned (if shakily) by "scientific" ideas of "race" and national characteristics. Dreamy, artistic, feckless, misunderstood Celts were compared and contrasted with solid, pragmatic, effective Teutons.

Following the explosion of nationalism in 19th century Europe, it was inevitable that some modern "Celts" would seek to set up their own nation states, while reviving their national languages and cultures, including music and dance. Defining as "Celtic" those countries where a Celtic language was spoken or had been spoken in relatively recent times, Celtic congresses began to be held at the close of the 19th century, drawing delegates from the Isle of Man, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Brittany and Cornwall. Although language was given a primary role at such congresses, it is interesting that an early inter-Celtic gathering in north Wales laid great stress on "national" dress, which was seen as a crucial factor of national identity. Delegates, who were mainly well-off, influential people, turned up in "national" costumes, many of which were decidedly fanciful. The large Manx delegation, which included A.W. Moore and J.J. Kneen, was rebuked for being the only group not to come in national attire (something which happened to me when I went to sing at a Celtic festival in Quimper in Brittany in 1969).

SOME INTER-CELTIC EVENTS

Inter-Celtic organisations naturally belong to one of two loose groups: cultural/political organisations seeking to promote the languages, cultures and political aspirations of those countries, and commercially orientated organisations helping people to make money from "Celtic" music, dance, visual arts, tourism, etc.

The Celtic Congress is an example of the first group. For many years, the Celtic Congress was the only relatively prominent inter-Celtic organisation to stage a regular event involving Celtic languages, music and dance. This is the annual International Celtic Congress held in each of the six Celtic countries (as defined above) in succession. The Celtic Congress branch in the host country defines a congress topic and invited speakers from each country to lecture on this topic. In addition, artistes are invited from each country to perform at an international concert. In recent years, a concert performed by young people only has been added. Depending on the suitability of the congress venue(s), there are ceilidhs and music sessions as well. The Celtic Congress gives primacy to the Celtic languages, although music and dance are seen as important. I am told that, previously, it was necessary to be Manx to join the Manx branch of the Celtic Congress. No such rule exists now and I am not aware of anything like this in the other branches.

The bulk of those attending Celtic Congress events are elderly, naturally treating the annual International Celtic Congress as a holiday with little hardcore ideological intent. In any case, the Celtic Congress is formally non-political. However, since the French government still vigorously discriminates against minority languages inside the French state, every International Celtic Congress tends to see political resolutions from the Breton branch at the annual general meeting. Usually, these resolutions protest against actions taken by Paris against the Breton language. The resolutions are forwarded to the relevant ministers in the French government. Although this can be seen as ineffectual, there is evidence that the resolutions are noted by the French authorities. One negative consequence might have been the arrest in 1995 in Lorient of some Bretons connected with the Celtic Congress. They were falsely accused of providing safe houses for Basque activists.

The influence of the Celtic Congress (or of any inter-Celtic organisation) on attempts to revive languages, music and dance is very difficult to assess. In any case, I think that any "scientific" approaches to "measure" such things would be dubious. It is certainly the case that each International Celtic Congress gives a platform to musicians, singers and dancers of all ages, whether they are continuing unbroken traditions or reviving/reconstructing lost ones. This is also the case with *Yn Chruinnaght*, the inter-Celtic festival held each year in Ramsey in the Isle of Man.

For many people, certainly in Europe, the major inter-Celtic festival is the one held each summer in Lorient in Brittany. Here, the emphasis is on "spectacle folklorique," with the Breton language very often sidelined. Nevertheless, the numbers of people attending are so large that the festival's influence on "Celtic music" (avoiding any attempt at definition here) must be non-negligible in international terms. Also, it is worth noting that the organisers of the Lorient festival have a more relaxed definition of who is "Celtic" than some others.

The annual Pan-Celtic festival held in Ireland attracts significantly large numbers, particularly from Wales and Scotland. Apart from the traditional music events, a

major feature of this festival has been the inter-Celtic song competition for which entries are invited from each Celtic country of original songs in the country's own language. Entries for this competition seem to contain some traditional elements from time to time, but identification of "Celtic" influences might call for expert analysis.

Similar questions as to what is "Celtic" lurk in the background at the Celtic Film Festival. This seems to have started out some years ago as an annual get together of film makers anxious to produce films in Celtic languages. This is still an aim of the festival, but for some years it has been dominated by more hard line considerations with large companies like ITV and the BBC making the running. It is probably best to avoid too much debate as to whether a film like "Trainspotting" is "Celtic" and recognise the fact that the Celtic Film Festival does have a beneficial effect on the making of films in Celtic languages (with the exception of Manx).

Increasingly, there are inter-Celtic music festivals outside Europe, particularly in North America and Australia, some being sparked off by the "Riverdance" phenomenon. Interestingly, a correspondence debate was started in an English folk music magazine by someone's comment that the performance of the Cornish folk group *Anao Atao* at an American Celtic festival was misleading in that their music was not truly representative of Cornish music.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The main role of inter-Celtic festivals is to generate solidarity between the Celtic countries. For the most part, strong feelings of solidarity outside the festivals only seems to exist on the part of activists. Naturally, most people focus virtually exclusively on their own country almost all the time. An important effect which these festivals has is to re-activate the activists if they are feeling at all downhearted, particularly with respect to their languages. As Fishman points out so clearly in his *Reversing Language Shifts* (1991),[1] to work for a threatened language is seen as an extremely eccentric project by many people who feel completely at home in a dominant majority language. So mutual support is important for activists, and this applies to music and dance as well as language.

Organisers of festivals often complain that the local people in the festival venue rarely how any deep interest in "their" festival. It is striking feature that the organisers of a particular festival usually regard this perceived (or real) lack of interest as being unique to their own festival venue. Any suggestion that many other festivals throughout the world "suffer" in the same way is usually ignored.

However, inter-Celtic festivals may be more prone to misunderstandings over identity more than most. A great instance of this was at a festival in Brittany some

[1] Joshua A. Fishman, ed., *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages*, (Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters, 1991).

years ago when an Irish pipe band wearing kilts marched down a street led by the Irish tricolour. "Volià!" said an onlooker in surprise, "des Anglais avec un drapeau Italien!" ("Look! English people with an Italian flag!") But things are getting better.

Brian Stowell,
Douglas

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APPENDIX

THE MANX SONG AND MUSIC TRADITION*

Although many people may be aware of the surge in popularity of Manx traditional songs and music over the past five years or so, not many people would be *au fait* with the actual subject matter itself, or what the sources are upon which the present revival is based. There are two main branches of this tradition, one concerned with the songs, the other with the music, and I shall concern myself first of all with the latter.

The major collection of folk music undertaken in the Isle of Man was made by a medical practitioner from Castletown called Dr John Clague, who was also able to play the violin (I use this word as opposed to fiddle, as he received his training in classical rather than traditional music.) When he would go on his rounds, particularly in the country areas, he would take his notebook with him, and after treating his patient, which may only have taken a few minutes, he would possibly spend a further couple of hours with him/her taking down any traditional material. Dr Clague made his collection mainly in the south of the Island from between 1893 and 1896, and was assisted in the north by a friend W.H. Gill from 1896 to 1898. Gill published his *Manx National Songs* in 1896 and his *Manx National Music* in 1898. The first contains some fifty airs with English words associated with them, not necessarily relating to the original Manx, the second some 120 tunes drawn from the Clague collection, which contains some 270 separate items, including variants collected from more than one person; many of the airs in Clague appear in fair-copy form as well as in rough, thus at first giving an impression that there are more than what there in fact is. Practically all the tunes noted give the name of the informant. The airs in Gill's books, consonant with traditional airs collected in Ireland and Scotland at about the same time, are harmonized "to meet the tastes of an immediate public," and in several cases tunes have been expanded and/or "improved," and a comparison with the original manuscript shows this. About 125 airs from the Clague collection, including words where known, appeared in the *Journal of the Folk Song Society*, vol. vii, nos 28–30, in 1924–26. Clague's manuscripts are now housed in the Manx Museum.

At about the same time traditional songs and airs were also being collected by A.W. Moore, Speaker of the House of Keys, and in 1896 he brought out his *Manx Ballads and Music* which contains some 74 songs, of which 40 have airs associated with them; again the airs are harmonized. In many cases Moore has airs not found in the Clague collection. But Moore's book mainly deals with songs, which I shall come to presently. Though the Clague and Moore collections are the main repositories of

* George Broderick [as "Shorys y Creayrie"], "The Manx Song and Music Tradition," *Carn* 26 (1979): 19–20.

Manx traditional songs and music, these gentlemen were by no means the first collectors. The first serious music collection was made around 1810 by a Cumberland man called Shepherd who came to the Island in *c.* 1806 to teach music. He collected about 90 tunes, practically all of them psalm tunes. It is in this collection that the air to the traditional song "Mylecharaine" is first noted. However, the first publication of secular tunes came out in 1820 in J. Barrow's *Mona Melodies*, which contains 13 tunes fitted to English words (none associated with the original Manx). Many of these tunes appear in the Clague collection taken directly from this book; very few of them did Clague himself collect from informants, which may suggest that between 1820 and the 1890s many had fallen out of the tradition. In 1869 and 1873 William Harrison published in *Mona Miscellanies* (vol. i & ii) two tunes along with about twenty ballads in Manx. After the Moore and Clague collections were made, some twenty tunes, mostly drawn from Clague but also one or two others hitherto not published were published by Sophia Morrison in *Mannin* (1913–17). In 1928 Mona Douglas produced a booklet of 12 folk songs with Manx and English words (translated mainly from the original); a similar dozen were brought out in 1929 and 1957. Of the 36 songs published only about ten did she collect herself from original sources; the rest came from the Moore and Clague collections. Because of lack of space not all the verses of the songs are included, and in one or two cases words are associated with airs not hitherto known to be so. During the course of the 1920s and before, Mona Douglas collected from oral tradition at least twenty-five songs (tunes and words), many of which were not recorded by previous collectors, and a good number of these remain as yet unpublished.

With regard to the songs themselves (i.e., the lyrics) the main collection is that of A.W. Moore. In the preface to his *Manx Ballads and Music* he states that he collected them from manuscript, printed and oral sources. Not all the songs printed survive in his manuscript collection, now in the Manx Museum, and in some cases we have to rely on Moore's book for the extant version. Where it is possible to check his source, we find that in a number of cases he has transcribed the song accurately, that is to say, in non-standard orthography reflecting the original manuscript. (It must be noted that 90% of Manx in manuscript is in non-standard orthography.) However, at times Moore has altered in the process of "improving," or merely not understanding the original, between the manuscript and printed stage. This leads one to suspect that the originals of these songs extant only in Moore's book may have appeared differently in manuscript.

Moore was, as can be seen, not the first collector. Many of the songs collected by him came from the so-called Robert Gawne collection, which dates to about 1837. Not much of this collection unfortunately survives, and what little of it does is in Moore's manuscript collection. The manuscript of three songs from the Gawne collection can be dated to *c.* 1770. About a dozen songs all told are extant in manuscripts dating from this period, and it is evident that a serious attempt at this

time was made to collect Manx traditional material. The manuscripts of this period include such songs as "Fin as Oshin" (the only surviving piece of *Fiannaíocht* in Manx), the Manannan Ballad (composed *c.* 1500 recounting the history of the Island from pre-Christian times to *c.* 1500), "Basse Illiam Dhone" (composed between 1653 and 1690), a lament on the death of a Manx patriot, and "Mylecharaine," etc. The first of these was collected in the north of the Island in 1762 by Philip Moore, one of the translators and editors of the Manx Bible. This song was collected during a period when MacPherson's Ossianic Poems received much public attention, and it is likely that the interest they caused urged collectors of this period in Man to find what Fenian, and other, material was to be found in Manx tradition; the spate of manuscripts of this date seems to suggest this. All in all there are about fifty or so complete songs in Manx, many of which appear in more than one manuscript. The Illiam Dhone ballad, for instance, is extant in five manuscripts so far discovered. Not all song manuscripts turn up in song collections. A good number are hidden amongst bills, or manuscripts not remotely associated with songs. Others appear in carval books, and it happens that the same two or three turn up among this material, implying that these songs enjoyed considerable popularity at the turn of the 18th century and early 19th centuries. Many other songs survive in fragmented form.

During the last quarter of the 18th century Methodism was introduced into the Island, and many ordinary Manxmen and women were persuaded by its doctrines. They were actively encouraged to abandon the singing of secular songs, and to turn their attention all the more to carval singing. Carvals are folk songs with religious subject matter, and though they were part of Manx tradition before the arrival of Methodism (some of the earliest carval manuscripts date from 1729), the Methodists actively encouraged them to promote this feature of folk tradition. The word *carval* is of uncertain origin, but may be cognate with the English word carol (from Old French "carole"). Carvals usually extended to some 35 verses in length—sometimes to over sixty verses—and were sung originally in the parish churches every *Oie'l Voirrey*, or St Mary's Eve (Christmas Eve), then subsequently in the Methodist chapels, and the ceremony in which they were sung was very similar to the Welsh *plygain*. The tradition of carval singing at the Oie'l Voirrey continued down, particularly in the north of the Island, to the beginning of the last war. Will Wade of Orrisdale in the north, the last carval singer, died in 1948. The singing of secular songs also continued on into the 20th century, one of the last exponents of which was Harry Kelly of Cregneash (in the south) who died in 1935.

As to how the songs were sung, we are fortunate in having some information, both written and oral, giving some indication of delivery. In all cases it becomes apparent that some use was made of ornamentation, irregular timing, holding back at intervals in the song, which appear at first unpredictable, and a picture is conjured up of something similar to what can be heard from traditional singers (both in Irish and in English) in Ireland today. We are also told that a Manx traditional singer would at

time stop during a song and explain more about a particular point, a feature still noticeable in Gaelic singing in Scotland nowadays.

MANX TRADITIONAL MUSIC 25 YEARS ON*

Autumn 1999 marked the 25th anniversary of the commencement of Manx traditional music sessions at the Central bar in Peel. As in other parts of the Celtic world Man was undergoing a revival in various aspects of its traditions, particularly in the realm of language, music and dance.

The Manx music sessions at the Central developed from the playing of popular folk, and until 1977 the informal gathering of musicians of varying numbers played under the loose umbrella name of *Celtic Tradition*. In 1977 a conscious step was made to jettison the popular folk repertoire and to concentrate solely on Manx traditional material under the umbrella name of *Bwoie Doal* ("Blind Boy," from Tom Kermode of Bradda, traditional fiddle player and main contributor to the Clague Collection). The process had been gradual. In 1975 photocopies of the Clague manuscript traditional music collection, housed in the Manx Museum Library, began circulating among musicians and each week new tunes were learned and played. The material found in this and other extant manuscripts or printed sources at the time were to be regarded as the repository of "Manx" material, even though the material itself is heterogeneous, with many tunes finding parallels in the music traditions of the surrounding countries.

At that time the playing of Irish tunes was much in vogue in Man among many Manx musicians. However, at the Central a conscious decision and effort was made to concentrate only on Manx material, and this policy was enforced by general agreement with Stalinesque fervour. The reasoning was simple. Manx music had not been played for many a year and was thus in a weak position when set against a thriving Irish tradition. If Manx music was not played at the Central no one else would play it.

The introduction of Manx tunes, as I say, was gradual, and I well remember the Saturday evening around 1977 when we got through the evening playing only Manx material. There was a feeling of considerable satisfaction all round, that we had achieved a significant milestone in the promotion of Manx music. In the years that followed the manuscript or (earlier) printed material began to appear in published form which made it readily available to a wider public.

However, there was one problem. We had no sound-recorded examples of the playing of Manx traditional music available to us, only descriptions in 17–19th century commentaries. In consequence there was a certain licence in interpretation which in due course led to disagreement. The performance at the Central was felt by some to be lack-lustre, at times "funeral" in delivery, with almost each tune being

* George Broderick [as "S[horys] y C[reayrie]"], "Manx Traditional Music 25 Years On," *Carn* 108 (2000 [for 1999–2000]): 22.

thrashed out *ad nauseam*, with a pause for a smoke in between. There was little or no session etiquette (a facet of tradition death), and anyone playing tunes not in house style would be over-played. The notion of playing tunes in sets, in accordance with what we now know of the earlier (genuine) tradition from documentary sources, had to wait until the early 1990s.

Throughout the 1980s the sessions, nevertheless, kept going, and in 1989 decamped to the Whitehouse, also in Peel, their present venue. At the start of the 1990s a fresh look at the material was made. Tunes regarded as incomplete in the available collections were completed with a respective A or B part in a manner that accorded with the tune's structure. In addition, there appeared a welter of new tunes within the traditional format, particularly from younger musicians, which enhanced the repertoire considerably. At the same time the documentary material was once again reviewed, which led to fresh interpretation and to the introduction of playing tunes of like structure (i.e., jigs, reels, hornpipes, etc.) in sets at a more robust speed, thus enhancing the whole performance. This approach, however, found little favour with some of the old guard, which led once more to disagreement and the springing up for a while of new sessions at other venues.

Today a number of groups of young musicians has sprung up, playing Manx music in their own way which may or may not have anything to do with the revived tradition of the 1970s or that of the old tradition bearers. It is more geared to public performance than to genuine session playing, in consequence of which only a small number of tunes are (well) practised and played. This has resulted in a restricted wider repertoire essential for session performance.

In comparison, say, with the playing of Irish traditional music, which has its own momentum and etiquette, whether the session is in Ireland, England, or in Timbuktu, the Manx traditional music scene, 25 years on, is still fragmentary, with its various expressions. This in turn has led to an emergence of prima donnas as well as solo performers. There is little or no etiquette still at session performance, and the Peel session has allowed itself of late to be open to non-Manx music in a manner that would not have been tolerated 2–25 years ago.

In spite of everything the sessions at Peel have survived, and it can be said that practically every senior musician who plays Manx traditional music today has at one time or other gone "through the mill" of *Bwoie Doal*. This in itself is a tremendous achievement for the Peel session.

Long may it continue.

PART II

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"MY OWN FAMILY CIRCLE"
THE DANCING FOREBEARS OF MONA DOUGLAS

In the "The Traditional Dances of Mann," originally published in the *Journal of the Manx Museum* in 1941,[1] Mona Douglas opened her piece with memories of her family, specifically her great-grandfather and grandmother and, as she commented herself:

> I have dwelt at some length upon this matter of my early acquaintance with the tradition of Manx dancing within my own family circle because I want to emphasise the fact that such a tradition does—or did in my childhood—actually exist, accepted by the country people as a natural part of life, in spite of its having been largely ignored and lost sight of (probably owing to religious influences) during the last generation or so. The attempt to restore the tradition to its former vigour and importance is, therefore not merely the exhuming and articulating of dry bones, but rather an effort to reincarnate through still living forms a beautiful and worthy element in our national spirit.[2]

She was to recount in print memories of this "early acquaintance" through her family on four occasions: 1941, 1957, 1973, and 1983 (the relevant extracts are printed in full below). Whatever is the veracity of these accounts, the interest here is in the notebook that Mona Douglas mentions.

The first reference to it is in 1941 where her grandmother would, when at a loss to remember certain dance steps or figures she was teaching the young Mona Douglas, "refer to an old book of notes written out by her father." (This was Philip Quayle of Glentramman in Lezayre.) "Later on, I myself copied out most of those notes […]." In 1957 it is just "notes" that are mentioned but this does not, after all, exclude them from being in a notebook. They remain "written notes" in 1973, but now, "later on when I began collecting folklore in earnest I was lucky in being able to get them from her [ie, her grandmother]." This gift of the notebook is again recounted in 1983, "when I was old enough to read and understand it, she gave me a precious manuscript book."[3]

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1 Mona Douglas, "The Traditional Dances of Mann," *Journal of the Manx Museum* v.64 (1941).

2 Mona Douglas, "The Traditional Dances of Mann [1941]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004) 35–36.

3 Although, according to Leighton Stowell, Mona Douglas "found some old notes on Manx dances in her grandfather's chest […]." "Golden Wedding," *Isle of Man Examiner* 19 August 1977: 3.

Instead of a set of copied notes in 1941, there is now the original notebook itself in her possession. Instead of a set of notes in 1941, described as being "cryptic," by 1973, "they proved invaluable in giving me a clear indication of basic steps and patterns."

The notebook is not mentioned though in "Manx Folk Dances: their Notation and Revival," from 1937.[4] Here the source for the dances shown to the 1929 Easter Vacation School of the English Folk Dance Society in 1929 was from a "hopelessly untidy mass of material,"[5] namely "notes in old exercise-books or on scraps of paper."[6] However, it is mentioned in the foreword to *Manx Folk Dances*, Set 1, published in 1936: "Some notes made nearly a century ago by my great-grandfather, the late Philip Quayle of Glentrammon, have also been of great value."[7]

In an interview with George Broderick on 22 September 1979, Mona Douglas mentioned that her great-grandfather, "had a little homemade book with main parts of dances" and that it was deposited at Cecil Sharp House in London and there it was lost due to bomb damage during the Second World War.[8]

(1)

1936

Some notes made nearly a century ago by my great-grandfather, the late Philip Quayle of Glentrammon, have also been of great value.[9]

(2)

1941

The late Philip Quayle, of Glentrammon, was famous throughout the Northside for his love and knowledge of the old Manx songs and dances. About a hundred years ago, wherever in the Northern parishes was held a *giense* (session) or a *Mheillea* (Harvest Supper) or an *Oie'l Voirrey* (Eve of Mary, December 24th, when *carvals,* carols, were sung), or any other excuse for music and dancing, Philip Quayle would he found in the midst of the fun, and taking a leading part in it moreover. Those

4 Mona Douglas, "Manx Folk Dances: their Notation and Revival," *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* iii.2 (1937).

5 Mona Douglas, "Manx Folk Dances: their Notation and Revival [1937]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004) 28.

6 Douglas, "Manx Folk Dances: their Notation and Revival [1937]," 28.

7 Mona Douglas, "Foreword to *Five Manx Folk Dances*, Set I [1936]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004) 25.

8 It has yet to be established if any such deposit was ever made.

9 Douglas, "Foreword to *Five Manx Folk Dances*, Set I [1936]," 25.

who remember him even in old age say that he had a sweet tenor voice and a brisk and witty knack of repartee, and was reckoned the best dancer in the North.

His youngest and favourite child was my grandmother, who also loved singing and dancing, using both as naturally as speech. With her most of my early childhood was spent, in a house not far from her own birthplace of Glentrammon, and among the first things I can remember are her stories of Philip Quayle and his doings. She would often tell me how he taught her and all his children to dance almost as soon as they could walk, holding them between his knees beside the fire on winter evenings while he taught them to do the steps correctly, and later making them form a set out on the flagged floor of the big kitchen where they learnt figures and positions. Sometimes, as a great treat, Willy Caley the Fiddler would come in and play for them, but for the most part they danced to their father's singing and the hand-clapping of their mother and the servant-lass.

These tales of my grandmother's were my first introduction to Manx traditional song and dance, and from her I learnt many steps and figures; but she had, I think, forgotten more than she had remembered of her own childish lessons, and would sometimes, when at a loss for a movement, refer to an old book of notes written out by her father. Later on, I myself copied out most of those notes, and, cryptic though they were, they became the foundation of my rebuilding of several dances of which the actual movements were almost forgotten, and also the pattern of what to look for in my own later collecting.[10]

(3)

1957

Probably the same thing would have happened to another of our ritual dances, known as "Mylecharane's March," but for the fortunate chance that my own great-grandfather, Philip Quayle of Glentrammon, actually danced in a set which performed about 1870. He left notes of this dance, as of many others (it was these notes, incidentally, which became my first basis of collecting Manx dances); and his daughter, my grandmother, having seen it danced every year round the Christmas–New Year season in her girlhood, was able to give me a detailed description, show me the steps used and the stick movements, and sing the tune—which turned out to be the one recorded by the late W.H. Gill and printed in an arrangement for piano in his *Manx National Music* under the caption: "Mylecharane, Modern Version." Why "modern" I don't quite know, unless because it is a major variant, not the minor one usually sung traditionally. This, however, is essentially a fiddle tune, with very strong rhythmic stresses—fine for dancing to but not very easy to sing to the words of the Mylecharane folk song; and as a matter of

[10] Douglas, "The Traditional Dances of Mann [1941]," 35.

fact my grandmother could not remember ever hearing it sung, but only played by the itinerant fiddler who used to accompany the dance team on their rounds.

(4)

1973

My interest in the old songs and dances of the Island started at a very early age. Most of the time, as a small girl, was spent with my maternal grandmother who lived then near Lezayre church and later moved to Ballaragh, Lonan, where I still live; so I have virtually lifelong associations with those two districts and between them most of my collecting has been done, though I have also been lucky enough to find songs and dances in other parts of the Island.

Like all small children I used to plague my elders for stories, and Granny had a rare fund of these, mostly centred around Glentrammon, Lezayre, where she was born, and connected with her father, Philip Quayle, who was in his day the most noted exponent of folk songs and dances in the Island. His first wife, the mother of my grandmother, was a cousin of Dr Clague, that well known folklorist who, along with Deemster Gill and his brother W.H. Gill, did yeoman work in the first concerted and serious attempt at the collection of Manx folk music. It may have been through this connection that Philip Quayle was first prompted to record in writing some of the dances with which he was so familiar.

One of the stories I loved best was about the Quayle family dancing on winter evenings in the big flagged kitchen of Glentrammon, with a great fire of peat and wood burning on the *chiollagh* (open hearth) and candles alight. Philip Quayle would bring out his fiddle then and play dance tunes, or sometimes just whistle them while he taught his three children the steps and figures of the old Manx dances. Sometimes, when they had learnt a dance and could perform it fairly well, he would get his wife to partner one of the boys and Nell (my grandmother) the other while he played the fiddle, and at other times other children and young people from neighbouring houses would come in to join in the fun, and they would dance 6-hand and 8-hand reels, jigs and long dances instead of just the 4-hand reels and couples dances.[11]

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My grandmother was a beautiful dancer, and it was from her that I first learnt some of the Manx dances. She also had her father's written notes on them giving descriptions of steps and figures, the names of the dances and so on, and she used to sing the tunes for me to write down. At the time I did not realise the value of what she gave me, but later on when I began collecting folklore in earnest I was lucky in

[11] Mona Douglas, "Hunting the Dance in Mann [1973]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004) 70.

being able to get them from her as a foundation for my own notes on what I collected, and they proved invaluable in giving me a clear indication of basic steps and patterns.[12]

(5)
1983

My quest for the dances had first been stimulated by my maternal grandmother with whom I was mainly reared. She told me how she had learnt to dance as a child at Glentrammon from her father, a well known singer and dancer, and she taught me many steps and figures and the characteristic (as I learnt later) arm extension of the Manx dances she knew; and later, when I was old enough to read and understand it, she gave me a precious manuscript book in which Great-Grandfather Quayle had noted in outline several more. He was born in 1824 and died in 1900.[13]

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Vienna, 2004

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12 Douglas, "Hunting the Dance in Mann [1973]," 71.

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"MY LITTLE TRIBUTE TO BILLY THE DOLLAN" MONA DOUGLAS AND HER EARLY COLLECTING

The "little tribute" was a poem, *Billy the Dollan*, which appeared in *Mannin* at the backend of 1916.[1] Until access was granted to the personal papers of Sophia Morrison,[2] it was not possible to know that "Billy the Dollan," the subject of the poem, was, in fact, both a real person and, more importantly, an informant for the young Mona Douglas. Sophia Morrison was credited with encouraging her to note down folklore material. As she recounted in a piece published in 1941:

> When I was ten I met the late Miss Sophia Morrison, a keen folklorist and then Secretary of the Manx Society. She was kind to my childish enthusiasm for old Manx lore and encouraged me to put down in writing all I could glean of tales, songs, dances, placenames and so forth It was chiefly owing to her encouragement that my conscious collecting of folk-material began: but I had no idea of arranging or classifying what I did collect, so my early notes are all jumbled together anyhow. It was only many years later that I began to dig out notes on particular subjects and put them together, and therefore I did not realise for a long time what a lot of material I actually had relating to Manx dances—not, in fact, until I wanted to have one or two of them demonstrated as illustrations to a lecture that I was giving to a Vacation School of the English Folk Dance Society held in Douglas in 1929.[3]

This incident was to be again recollected in 1949:

> But I have been collecting stories, songs, dances and any other lore that came my way, in my own very catholic fashion, ever since, at ten years old, I was encouraged to do so by that distinguished national worker and folklorist, Miss Sophia Morrison of Peel—jotting down notes in old exercise-books or on scraps of paper whenever I heard or saw interesting things that I wanted to remember. It was from this hopelessly untidy mass of material that I dug out descriptions of the three dances which were shown to that folk dance Easter School at Douglas, and that demonstration aroused so much interest in the Island that I straightway began to look out further notes and to compare them, whenever possible, with the actual steps and further descriptions of various old people who were still active and

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1 Mona Douglas, "Billy the Dollan," *Mannin* 6 (1915).

2 The papers are in the Manx National Heritage Library (MNHL). I am grateful to Roger Sims, Archivist and Librarian, for granting access to these unlisted papers and to Wendy Thirkettle, Deputy Archivist, for sorting and ordering of manuscript material before issue. For an introduction to the Celtic activist that was Sophia Morrison, see Breesha Maddrell, "Speaking from the Shadows: Sophia Morrison and the Manx Cultural Revival," *Folklore* 113.2 (2002), "Morrison, Sophia (1859-1917)" [online source].

3 Mona Douglas, "The Traditional Dances of Mann [1941]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004) 36.

> interested. This work progressed much better after I learnt to call the dances "games"![4]

As she was born in 1898, this dates her meeting with Sophia Morrison to be in the year 1908.

There are now four letters known by Mona Douglas, which relate to her youthful collecting activities, written to Sophia Morrison in the years 1915 and 1916. It must be admitted that the relevant material is not extensive but it is of great interest, not the least for confirming that the early collecting of hers did indeed take place.

The first letter mentions the reaction by Sophia Morrison to the poem of hers, "Billy the Dollan" that had just appeared in the pages of *Mannin* of which Sophia Morrison was the editor:

> I am very glad you like my little tribute to Billy the Dollan, & I am sure you would have liked himself very much better, had you known him! It doesn't half do him justice. He was a great friend of mine when I was little, & always had a 'piece' for me—<u>&</u> a story!—when I went to see him, which, of course, was as often as I could get. There were three of these old storytellers whom I used to know well—Billy the Dollan, Tom the Fairy, & John Matt—but I think Billy was my favourite. John is the only one left now, & I see him whenever I am on the Island.[5]

With this passage, we can now see that "Billy the Dollan" was a real person and not the fictional subject of the poem recently published, although his real identity remains unknown. Mona Douglas mentions two other names as well, "Tom the Fairy, & John Matt." Once again, we have no clue who "Tom the Fairy" was, but "John Matt" is later (and frequently) mentioned by her in print, where he is John Matt Mylechreest.[6] However, as regards "Billy the Dollan" and "Tom the Fairy," by this date, namely 1915, they are both dead.[7] With the former, favouritism emerges, "I think Billy was my favourite," and he seems to have earned this by always having been there with both a slice of *bonnag* and a yarn for the young Mona Douglas. This letter has a (literal) postscript and concerns "John Matt":

> P.S.—You may like to have a 'snap' I took of John Matt last summer. When I asked him to stand he wanted to 'get the dogs & the sheep, an' put a slick of qwhitewash on the house'!

This photograph, from 1914, remains to be found.

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[4] Mona Douglas, "Folk Song and Dance in Mann with Some Notes on Collection and Revival of the Dances [1949]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004) 45.

[5] Mona Douglas to Sophia Morrison, 29 September 1915, MNHL, MS 09495, Box 1.

[6] According to Mona Douglas, "John Matthew Mylechreest." Mona Douglas, "Songs in Manx Gaelic," *Folksongs of Britain and Ireland*, ed. Peter Kennedy (London: Cassell, 1975) 199.

[7] In the case of "Billy the Dollan," presumably he had only recently died, hence the tribute.

The remaining three letters date from 1916 and the passages are short, four sentences in total. From a letter dated 12 August:

> I got a lovely story the other day on the borders of Lonan & Maughold. I want more![8]

The underlining and the exclamation point an echo of the first letter and conveys the enthusiasm felt by Mona Douglas towards these encounters. Another sentence from this letter is:

> "I wonder if I shall ever get any definite story about either of them?"[9]

Here the topic is that of Black Dogs.

The third letter, from October, is downbeat in tone:

> I have very little fresh in the way of folklore. Just a few broken bits of stories.[10]

Either she had collected what she could or it was now difficult at that time to find new informants with other than just a passive (and, moreover, partial) retention of a repertoire.[11] However, by the time of the final letter, written in the following month of November, she is returning once again to interview an established informant:

> I am waiting to see John Matt, & ask him about the blue fairy flowers.[12]

Quite how enthusiastic "John Matt" was about blue fairy flowers is not on record.[13]

*

These three individuals must be the first group of informants found by Mona Douglas: their names are recalled together in the same letter, and later she was to write that:

> John Matt was one of the first people from whom I noted folklore, and I remained in fairly close contact with him for a number of years. It was through him, too, that I got to know another man who proved a rich source of material, especially dance material—John Kelly the Fisherman, of Baldrine.[14]

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8 Mona Douglas to Sophia Morrison, 12 August 1916, MNHL, MS 09495, Box 1.

9 Mona Douglas to Sophia Morrison, 12 August 1916, MNHL, MS 09495, Box 1.

10 Mona Douglas to Sophia Morrison, 25 October 1916, MNHL, MS 09495, Box 1.

11 Kenneth S. Goldstein, "On the Application of the Concepts of Active and Inactive Traditions to the Study of Repertory," *Journal of American Folklore* 84.331 (1971).

12 Mona Douglas to Sophia Morrison, 29 November 1916, MNHL, MS 09495, Box 1.

13 This close attention to folkloric detail brings to mind Edward Faragher's response to similar questioning from Karl Roeder: "I assure you I know very little about talking bird and singing water nor little green dogs with one ear." Edward Faragher to Karl Roeder, 25 June 1896, MNHL, MD 269.

14 Mona Douglas, "'A Chiel' Amang 'Em': Memories of a Collector on the Isle of Man [1958]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004) 58.

"I remained in fairly close contact with him for a number of years" is somewhat distanced in tone, and the choice of the word "fairly" suggests that there had been a parting along the way for some reason. Their first encounter can be dated to 1910,[15] when Mona Douglas was already, by her own account, a seasoned collector:

> At that time I had already been for some time collecting and noting down old Manx stories, songs and dances, and John Matt Mylechreest (to give him his full name, which was hardly ever used) was reputed to be a great hand for all of these—but only likely to display his accomplishments over drinks in a pub. As I was not permitted inside such places, I had to grasp any other possible means of notation that might turn up, so this one was far too promising to neglect. Sure enough, as I trudged over the hills with John and "Jack"[16] through that long winter, I heard many a tale and song, and was even taught dance steps and figures away on the tops where no censorious neighbours could observe us and chide John Matt, as one stern farmer's wife had done, for "hankering after sinful pleasures when his thoughts should be on higher things, now he was getting to be an old man."[17]

As already seen, it was through him that Mona Douglas came to know John Kelly and in her description of his character and manner it can be seen how he could have readily and easily replaced "John Matt":

> Kelly was a very different type from John Matt: a merry, practical sailor-man and one of the best dancers in the Island, with an astonishing flair for natural history and a fine collection of sea birds and beasts captured and preserved by himself over many years and proudly displayed in cases in his little parlour.[18]

Moreover, it was to be no more practising of dance steps "away on the tops":

> From Kelly I noted many songs and dances, and many a happy hour I have spent in his house practising steps, learning body movements, and going through intricate figures again and again until I was sure that I could follow my own written descriptions. For these practices his wife and young niece, and anyone else who happened to be in the house, would be pressed into service, and as by no means all of these folk were habitual dancers, the result would sometimes have appeared very funny to an observer. However, the impromptu demonstrations served their purpose, for without Kelly's help I could never have noted down or taught, for instance, "Mylecharane's March," or the still more difficult and dramatic "Boaill Baccagh," sometimes known as "The Fishermen's Walk."[19]

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[15] She describes herself as being "[a] twelve-year-old" when they first met one another. Douglas, "'A Chiel' Amang 'Em': Memories of a Collector on the Isle of Man [1958]," 57.
[16] In this case, the name of a dog belonging to Mona Douglas, and not another informant.
[17] Douglas, "'A Chiel' Amang 'Em': Memories of a Collector on the Isle of Man [1958]," 57.
[18] Douglas, "'A Chiel' Amang 'Em': Memories of a Collector on the Isle of Man [1958]," 58.
[19] Douglas, "'A Chiel' Amang 'Em': Memories of a Collector on the Isle of Man [1958]," 58.

Little, if anything, of this early material was ever published, except for a piece that appeared in *Mannin* in 1916.[20] Her only other publication, specifically on folklore, rather than about folk dance or folk song, was a paper on "Animals in Manx Folklore,"[21] delivered in 1928 to the Jubilee Conference of the Folk-Lore Society, and published in 1930 in the conference proceedings. It relied on orally collected material, eleven informants being credited in the footnotes. In early 1925, Mona Douglas gave a lecture-recital on Manx folk song to the Liverpool Manx Society. As regards the sources of the songs she was to sing that evening, they were to include "a few recently collected by myself."[22] These singers, together with any other informants located during the fieldwork for the 1928 paper itself, constitute a second, and most definitely final, set of sources for Mona Douglas. However, John Matt Mylechreest was listed in the footnotes for the 1928 paper and establishing a date of death for him, as well as for the others named, would allow us to see if the material was indeed collected in the mid-1920s or if was drawn from an earlier period of collecting.

Stephen Miller
Vienna, 2004

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——, 12 August 1916.
——, 29 October 1916.
——, 29 November 1916.

MD 269 Letter from Edward Faragher to Karl Roeder, 25 June 1896.

[20] Mona Douglas, "Folk-Lore Notes: Lezayre Notes [1916]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004). Here the material is credited to "an old native of Lezayre."

[21] Mona Douglas, "Animals in Manx Folklore and Song [1930]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004).

[22] Mona Douglas, "Liverpool Manx Society: Lecture-Recital by Miss Mona Douglas, 'Manx Folk Song' [1925]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004) 4.

PRINTED SOURCES

Douglas, Mona. "Billy the Dollan." *Mannin* 6 (1915): 369.

——. "Songs in Manx Gaelic." *Folksongs of Britain and Ireland*. Ed. Peter Kennedy. London: Cassell, 1975. 179–202.

——. "Animals in Manx Folklore and Song [1930]." *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*. Ed. Stephen Miller. Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004. 16–24.

——. "'A Chiel' Amang 'Em': Memories of a Collector on the Isle of Man [1958]." *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*. Ed. Stephen Miller. Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004. 57–60.

——. "Folk Song and Dance in Mann with Some Notes on Collection and Revival of the Dances [1949]." *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*. Ed. Stephen Miller. Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004. 39–46.

——. "Folk-Lore Notes: Lezayre Notes [1916]." *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*. Ed. Stephen Miller. Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004. 1–2.

——. "Liverpool Manx Society: Lecture-Recital by Miss Mona Douglas, 'Manx Folk Song' [1925]." *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*. Ed. Stephen Miller. Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004. 3–5.

——. "The Traditional Dances of Mann [1941]." *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*. Ed. Stephen Miller. Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004. 35–38.

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THE LIST WOULD BE AS LONG AS THIS BOOK
MONA DOUGLAS AND HER INFORMANTS

Mona Douglas credited her informants in her many publications, fifteen names alone following the passage quoted below, taken from the foreword to *Five Manx Folk Dances,* which was published in 1936:

> If I were to name all the Manx friends who have taught me dances or steps or given me descriptions, the list would be as long as this book; but the following have contributed so much material of value that I wish to place my special indebtedness to them on record.[1]

A paper published in 1930 credited eleven individuals in the footnotes as being oral sources for the material presented.[2] In much of her writing, there is strong narrative detail about her collecting and due to this, a good number of names are mentioned. Often there is detail such as a place of residence, a first name rather than an initial, occupation, musical ability, and, very crucially, the item, be it song or dance, recorded from them.[3] She also wrote two pieces as memoir about her activities.[4] The title of the second one, "Hunting the Dance in Mann," from 1973, says it all.

The issue here is to hunt the names mentioned in her writings and draw up a list of them as a basis for future biographical research. By establishing their dates of birth, we can see the general period in which they grew up, and the likelihood of them being active or passive informants.[5] When they died is also crucial, as it sets a cut-off date for when Mona Douglas could have been active in collecting from them. This is not particularly easy to accomplish, but nevertheless the first task is to create

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1 Mona Douglas, "Foreword to *Five Manx Folk Dances*, Set I [1936]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004) 26.

2 Mona Douglas, "Animals in Manx Folklore and Song [1930]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004).

3 As regards which dances were collected from which informants, see Robert Corteen Carswell, "The Revival and Reconstruction of Manx Traditional Dance," *"Completed and Restored to Use": Revival and Dissemination of Manx Folklore and Tradition during the 20th Century*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004) 27.

4 Mona Douglas, "'A Chiel' Amang 'Em': Memories of a Collector on the Isle of Man [1958]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004), "Hunting the Dance in Mann [1973]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004).

5 Kenneth S. Goldstein, "On the Application of the Concepts of Active and Inactive Traditions to the Study of Repertory," *Journal of American Folklore* 84.331 (1971).

the list of names and that is what is attempted here.[6] There are references also to unnamed informants. They may well, of course, be named informants in other pieces, and vice versa. In at least one case of an incident ascribed to a person unnamed, a subsequent reference allows us to be able to clearly identify the individual involved.

There are four sources of information about the informants of Mona Douglas: (1) her published writings between 1916 and 1983,[7] (2) letters written by herself to Sophia Morrison in 1915 and 1916,[8] (3) her folk song collection in manuscript compiled at various dates,[9] (4) an interview with George Broderick, 22 September 1979.[10]

The approach adopted here is to reproduce all the base source references to informants, both named and unnamed. Reproduced is the exact name as found in the text. Surrounding material is also given where it adds biographical detail to the person in question. On a final note, the interest here is with the individuals themselves and not with the items collected from them.

BASE SOURCE REFERENCES

2. PRINTED SOURCES

1916

UNKNOWN INFORMANT

"These stories have been told to me by an old native of Lezayre."

Source: Mona Douglas. "Folk-Lore Notes: Lezayre Notes." *Mannin* 7 (1916): 416–18.

1924

BRIDSON, MRS

"Sung by Mrs Bridson, Housewife, Glen Rushen, 1923"

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6 It is hoped to publish the list in the *Journal of the Isle of Man Family History Society* in an appeal for further information.

7 See Stephen Miller, ed., *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004).

8 The personal papers of Sophia Morrison are deposited in the Manx National Heritage Library (MNHL) as MS 09495. For the relevant extracts, see Mona Douglas, "Letters to Sophia Morrison (1915–16)," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004).

9 Obtained by George Broderick from Charles Guard, Onchan, *c.* 1979 and photocopied.

10 See here, George Broderick, "Mona Douglas and her Dances," 113–15.

Callow, Mrs
"Sung by Mrs Callow, Farmer's Wife, Maughold, 1912"
Killey, Mrs
"Sung by Mrs Killey, Factory Worker, Ballasalla, 1920"
Shimmin, Mrs
"Sung by Mrs Shimmin, Housewife, Foxdale, 1921"

Source: A.G. Gilchrist. "Songs from the Isle of Man (Part I)." *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* vii.28 (1924): v–xvi & 99–198.

1925

Unknown Informant
"[…] as told to her by an old shepherd on the Lonan Hill […]"

Source: Mona Douglas. "Liverpool Manx Society: Lecture-Recital by Miss Mona Douglas, 'Manx Folk Song'." *Isle of Man Weekly Times* 14 March 1925: 3 col. c.

1926

Faragher, Mrs
"Sung by Mrs Faragher, Kirk Michael, *c.* 1919"
Kerruish, Robert
"Sung by Mr Robert Kerruish, CP, of Booilley Velt, Maughold, *c.* 1916"
Unknown Informant
"[…] song of 'The Travelling Fairies,' which she has for some time been endeavouring to obtain from its singer, who could not be persuaded to sing it for her"
Unknown Informants
"Sung by children at Lezayre, 1925"

Source: A.G. Gilchrist. "Songs from the Isle of Man (Part III)." *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* vii.30 (1926): v–viii & 281–342.

1928

Unknown Informant
"[…] about three years ago I was told of a man—whom I was never able to meet—who could dance the 'Salmon Leap.'"

Source: Mona Douglas. "Ceremonial Folk-Song, Mumming, and Dance in the Isle of Man." *Journal of the English Folk Dance Society* (2nd Series) 2 (1928): 17–20.

1928

Taggart, T.
"—, Malew"
Unknown Informants
"(children at Ballaglass)"

Source: Mona Douglas. *Twelve Manx Folk Songs with Manx Gaelic and English Words: Translated by Mona Douglas, Arranged with Pianoforte Accompaniment by Arnold Foster*. Set 1. London: Stainer & Bell, 1928.

1930

Callow, J.
"—, Lezayre"
Callow, Mrs
"—, Cardle"
Cashen, C.
"—, Peel"
Corkill, John
"—, Ballaragh"
Davies, W.
"—, Ballasalla"
Kermode, J.
"—, fisherman, Port Mooar"
Kerruish, R.
"—, Maughold"
Kinvig, J.
"—, Ballasalla"
Mylechreest, J.
"—, Clybane"
Quayle, M.
"—, Lezayre"
Taggart, T.
"—, Grenaby"
Unknown Informants (Maughold)
"[…] but in the oral version of the song and in the fragments of tales about her [= *Berrey Dhone*] which I have heard in the district […]"
Unknown Informants
"and others"

Source: Mona Douglas. "Animals in Manx Folklore and Song." *Papers and Transactions of the Jubilee Congress of the Folk-Lore Society, September 19–September 25,*

1928. London: William Glaiser for the Literary Committee [of the Folk-Lore Society], 1930. 209–20.

1936

Craine, Captain T.
"—, Douglas"
Caine, W.
"—, Jurby"
Cooill, Miss B.
"—, Arbory"
Faragher, J.
"—, Lonan"
Kelly, J.
"—, Lonan"
Kelly, Mrs J.
"—, Malew"
Kermode, J.
"—, Maughold"
Kermode, Mrs J.
"—, Maughold"
Moore, J.
"—, Patrick"
Moore, Mrs
"—, Malew"
Mylechreest, J.
"—, Lonan"
Quayle, Miss M.
"—, Lezayre"
Quine, W.
"—, Peel"
Shimmin, Mrs
"—, Patrick"
Taggart, T.
"—, Malew"

Source: Mona Douglas. *Five Manx Folk Dances: Dances and Airs collected from Traditional Sources by Mona Douglas, Dance Notations by Edith Jones, Pianoforte Arrangements by Arnold Foster*. Set I. London: Stainer & Bell, 1936.

1937

FARAGHER, JOHN
"a Lonan fiddler (—)"
KERMODE
"a Maughold fisherman named —"
UNKNOWN INFORMANT
"I took this [= "Car ny Ferrishyn"] down from a woman singer […]"

Source: Mona Douglas. "Manx Folk Dances: their Notation and Revival." *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* iii.2 (1937): 110–16.

1949

KERMODE
"a Maughold fisherman named —"
KERMODE, [MRS]
"the singing of his wife"
UNKNOWN INFORMANT
"The man who told me about having seen this dance often in his childhood […]"

Source: Mona Douglas. "Folk Song and Dance in Mann with Some Notes on Collection and Revival of the Dances." *Proceedings of the Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society* iv.1 (1949): 51–60.

1953

Mylechreest, J.M.
"—" Lonan
Kelly, J.P.
"—" Lonan

Source: Mona Douglas. *Seven Manx Folk Dances: Dances and Airs collected from Traditional Sources by Mona Douglas, Pianoforte Arrangements by Arnold Foster*. Set II. London: Stainer & Bell, 1953.

1957a

KERMODE, JACK
"—"
KERMODE, [MRS]
"his wife"
UNKNOWN INFORMANT
"[…] a traditional fiddler in the west of the Island […]"

Source: Mona Douglas. "The Manx Dirk Dance as Ritual." *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* ix (1957): 31–33.

1957b

Callow, Mrs
"— of Maughold"
Ratcliffe, Mrs
Maughold —"
Teare, Mrs
"— of Ballaugh"
Unknown Informants
"[…] more than one informant has said […]"

Source: Mona Douglas. "Some Ritual Dances of Mann." *The Folklorist* 4.3 (1957): 75–77.

1957c

Cushin (*sic*), Ceasar
"—"
Kelly, J.
"—, fisherman, Baldrine"
Quayle, Margot
"—, Glen Auldyn Mill"
Shimmin, Mrs
"—, Foxdale"

Source: Mona Douglas. *Twelve Manx Folk Songs with Manx Gaelic and English Words: Translated by Mona Douglas, Arranged with Pianoforte Accompaniment by Arnold Foster.* Set 3. London: Stainer & Bell, 1957.

1958

Bridson, Mrs
"— of Glen Maye"
Callow, Mrs
— of Cardle Veg, Maughold"
Clague, Mrs
"— of The Niarbyl"
Davis, Jack
"— of Ballasalla."
Kelly, John
"— the Fisherman, of Baldrine"

Kermode, "Jack"
"—of Port Mooar"
Kewley, Robert
"a traditional singer, —"
Mylechreest, John Matt
"—"
Taggart, Tom
"— of Grenaby"

Source: Mona Douglas. "'A Chiel' Amang 'Em': Memories of a Collector on the Isle of Man." *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* viii.3 (1958): 156–59.

1973

Kelly, John
"— the fisherman of Baldrine"
Kelly, "— The Blackguard"
"—"
Kermode, Jacky
"—" Port Mooar
Kermode, [Mrs]
"His wife"
Unknown Informant(s) (Jurby)
"noted in places as far apart as Jurby and Lonan"
Unknown Informant(s) (Lonan)
"noted in places as far apart as Jurby and Lonan"
Unknown Informants (Michael)
"dancers at the Michaelmas Fair in Kirk Michael"

Source: Mona Douglas. "Hunting the Dance in Mann." *Manninagh* 3 (1973): 38–41.

1975

Callow, Mrs
"— Cardle Veg, Maughold" coll. 1918–20
Cashin, Ceasar
"—, Peel" coll. 1930
Faragher, Mrs
"— Kerroglass, Kirk Michael" coll. 1929
Kelly, James
"— Ballachrink, Lonan" coll. 1921
Mylechreest, James Matt
"— Thalloo Hogg, Lonan" coll. 1929

Quayle, Margaret
"— Glen Auldyn, Lezayre" coll. 1925
Taggart, Tom
"— Grenaby, Malew" coll. 1924
Unknown Informants
"Children at Lezayre" coll. 1925

Source: Mona Douglas. "Songs in Manx Gaelic." *Folksongs of Britain and Ireland*. Ed. Peter Kennedy. London: Cassell, 1975. 179–202.

1981

Kermode, Jackie
"— of Port Mooar, Maughold"

Source: Mona Douglas. "Introduction." *The Leighton Stowell Book of Manx Dances*. Manx Folk Dance Society, 1981. 4–5.

2. LETTERS TO SOPHIA MORRISON

1915

"Billy the Dollan"
"—"
"John Matt"
"—"
"Tom the Fairy"
"—"

Source: Letter from Mona Douglas to Sophia Morrison, 21 September 1915, Manx National Heritage Library (MNHL), MS 09495, Sophia Morrison Papers, Box 1 (unlisted).

1916

Unknown Informant
"I got a lovely story the other day on the borders of Lonan & Maughold."

Source: Letter from Mona Douglas to Sophia Morrison, 12 August 1916, MNHL, MS 09495, Sophia Morrison Papers, Box 1 (unlisted).

1916

Unknown Informant(s)

"I have very little fresh in the way of folklore. Just a few broken bits of stories."

Source: Letter from Mona Douglas to Sophia Morrison, 29 October 1916, MNHL, MS 09495, Sophia Morrison Papers, Box 1 (unlisted).

1916

"John Matt"

"—"

Source: Letter from Mona Douglas to Sophia Morrison, 29 November 1916, MNHL, MS 09495, Sophia Morrison Papers, Box 1 (unlisted).

3. MONA DOUGLAS COLLECTION OF MANX FOLK SONG

Bridson, Mrs

"Sung by Mrs Bridson, Glen Maye"

"Sung by Mrs Bridson, housewife, 1923"

Kerruish, Robert

"Sung by Robert Kerruish, Ballavelt, Maughold"

Quayle, Cathy

"Sung by Cathy Quayle, the Whallag" (Arbory)

Shimmin, Mrs

"Sung by Mrs Shimmin, Foxdale"

Source: Mona Douglas Collection of Manx Folk Song. Mss. (Obtained by George Broderick from Charles Guard, Onchan, *c.* 1979 and photocopied.)[11]

4. INTERVIEW WITH MONA DOUGLAS, 1979

Cain, William

Jurby

Cashin, Caesar

Peel

Faragher, Mrs

Kerrooglass, Michael

Kelly, James ("Kelly Pat")

Baldrine

[11] See here, George Broderick, "Mona Douglas and her Songs," 117–57.

Kelly ("The Blaggard")
South Barrule
Kermode, Jack
Port Mooar, Maughold
Mylechreest, John ("John Matey")
Lonan
Quayle, Margot
Glen Audlyn, Lezayre
Unknown Informants
Children in the road at Laxey

Source: Interview by George Broderick with Mona Douglas at her home, "Thie ny Garey," Ballaragh, Lonan, Saturday, 22 September 1979. [12]

THE NAMED INFORMANTS

Mrs Bridson
Glen Rushen / Glen Maye, Patrick
Mentioned: 1924, 1958.
William Cain(e)
Jurby
Mentioned: 1936 (as W. Caine), 1979 (as "Willy" Cain)
J. Callow
Lezayre
Mentioned: 1930
Mrs Callow
Cardle Veg, Maughold
Mentioned: 1924, 1930, 1957b, 1958, 1975.
Ceasar Cashin
Peel
Mentioned: 1930 (as C. Cashin), 1957c (as C. Cushin),[13] 1975 (as Ceasar Cashen), 1979 (as Ceasar Cashen).
Mrs Clague
The Niarbyl, Patrick
Mentioned: 1958

[12] Names extracted from the George Broderick contribution here, see fn 10.
[13] Evidently a printers typo.

Miss B. Cooil
Arbory
Mentioned: 1936

John Corkill
Ballaragh, Lonan
Mentioned: 1930

Captain T. Craine
Douglas
Mentioned: 1936

W. Davies[14]
Ballasalla, Malew
Mentioned: 1930

John Davis
Ballasalla, Malew
Mentioned: 1958 (as Jack Davis).

John Faragher
Lonan
Mentioned: 1936 (as Faragher, J.), 1937 (as John Faragher).

Mrs Faragher
Kerroglass, Michael
Mentioned: 1926, 1975, 1979.

James/John Kelly
Baldrine / Ballachrink, Lonan
Mentioned: 1936 (as J. Kelly), 1953 (as J.P. Kelly), 1957c (as J. Kelly), 1958 (as John Kelly), 1973 (as John Kelly), 1975 (as James Kelly), 1979 (as James Kelly, "Kelly Pat").

[?] Kelly
?Dalby, Patrick
Mentioned: 1973 (as "Kelly the Blackguard"), 1979 (as Kelly "the Blaggard").

John Kermode
Port Mooar, Maughold
Mentioned: 1937 (as Kermode), 1949 (as Kermode), 1930 (as J. Kermode), 1936 (as J. Kermode), 1957a (as Jack Kermode), 1958 (as Jack Kermode), 1973 (as Jacky Kermode), 1979 (as Jack Kermode), 1981 (as Jackie Kermode).

Mrs J. Kermode
Port Mooar, Maughold
Mentioned: 1936 (as Mrs J. Kermode), 1949, 1957a, 1973.

Robert Kerruish
Booilley Velt, Maughold

[14] Possibly an error for "J. Davies."

Mentioned: 1926 (as Robert Kerruish), 1930 (as R. Kerruish), MD Coll. (as Robert Kerruish).

Robert Kewley
?
Mentioned: 1958

Mrs Killey
Ballasalla, Malew
Mentioned: 1924

J. Kinvig
Ballasalla, Malew
1930

J. Moore
Patrick
Mentioned: 1936

Mrs Moore
Malew
Mentioned: 1936

John Matt Mylechreest
Clybane / Thalloo Hogg, Lonan
Mentioned: 1915 (as John Matt), 1930 (as J. Mylechreest), 1936 (as J. Mylechreest), 1953 (as J.M. Mylechreest), 1958 (as John Matt Mylechreest), 1975 (as John Matt Mylechreest), 1979 (as John Mylechreest, "John Matey").

Catherine Quayle
The Whallag, Arbory
Mentioned: MD Coll. (as Cathy Quayle)

Margaret Quayle
Glen Auldyn Mill, Lezayre
Mentioned: 1930 (as M. Quayle), 1936 (as Miss M. Quayle), 1957c (as Margot Quayle), 1975 (as Margaret Quayle), 1979 (as Margot Quayle).

W. Quine
Peel
Mentioned: 1936

Mrs Ratcliffe
Maughold
Mentioned: 1957b

Mrs Shimmin
Foxdale, Patrick
Mentioned: 1924, 1936, 1957c, MD Coll.

Thomas Taggart
Grenaby, Malew

Mentioned: 1928 (as T. Taggart), 1930 (as T. Taggart), 1936 (as T. Taggart), 1958 (as Tom Taggart), 1975 (as Tom Taggart).

Mrs Teare
Ballaugh
Mentioned: 1957b

NICKNAMES ONLY

Thomas —
?
Mentioned: 1915 (as Tom the Fairy)

William —
?
Mentioned: 1915 (as Billy the Dollan)

*

The above list contains 33 names, but it is likely that "W. Davies" is a mistake for John Davis, and so this reduces the number to 32. Three are just nicknames, "Billy the Dollan," "Tom the Fairy," and "Kelly the Blackguard," but with the last, there is at least a family name to work with. John Kermode, along with his wife, turn up only in connection with the "Dirk Dance" and nothing else. Due to the ambiguous status of this item, they have been removed from consideration here. This now leaves a group of some 30 individuals in all.

♣

THE INFORMANTS

Mrs Bridson, Glen Rushen / Glen Maye, Patrick; **William Cain(e)**, Jurby; **J. Callow**, Lezayre; **Mrs Callow**, Cardle Veg Maughold; **Caesar Cashin**, Peel; **Mrs Clague**, The Niarbyl, Patrick; **Miss B. Cooil**, Arbory; **J. Corkill**, Ballaragh, Lonan; **Captain T. Craine**, Douglas; **John Davis**, Ballasalla, Malew; **John Faragher**, Lonan; **Mrs Faragher**, Kerroglass, Michael; **John Kelly**, Baldrine / Ballachrink Lonan; [?] **Kelly**, Patrick; **Robert Kerruish**, Booilley Velt Maughold; **Robert Kewley**, Unknown; **Mrs Killey**, Ballasalla, Malew; **J. Kinvig**, Ballasalla, Malew; **J. Moore**, Patrick; **Mrs Moore**, Malew; **John Matt Mylechreest**, Clybane / Thalloo Hogg, Lonan; **Catherine Quayle**, The Whallag, Arbory; **Margaret Quayle**, Glen Audlyn Mill, Lezayre; **W. Quine**, Peel; **Mrs Ratcliffe**, Maughold; **Mrs Shimmin**, Foxdale, Patrick; **Thomas Taggart**, Grenaby, Malew; **Mrs Teare**, Ballaugh; **Thomas —**, ?; **William —**, ?.

GENDER

MALE INFORMANTS

William Cain(e), J. Callow, Caesar Cashin, J. Corkill, Capt T. Craine, John Davis, John Faragher, —Kelly, John Kelly, Robert Kerruish, Robert Kewley, J. Kinvig, J. Moore, John Matt Mylechreest, W. Quine, Thomas Taggart, Thomas —, William —. (18)

FEMALE INFORMANTS

Mrs Bridson, Mrs Callow, Mrs Clague, Miss B. Cooil, Mrs Faragher, Mrs Killey, Mrs Moore, Catherine Quayle, Margaret Quayle, Mrs Ratcliffe, Mrs Shimmin, Mrs Teare. (12)

*

PARISH OF RESIDENCE

Arbory: Miss B. Cooil, Catherine Quayle; **Ballaugh:** Mrs Teare; **Jurby:** William Cain(e); **Lezayre:** J.Callow, Margaret Quayle; **Lonan:** J.Corkill, John Faragher, John Kelly, John Matt Mylechreest; **Malew:** John Davis, Mrs Killey, J. Kinvig, Mrs Moore, Thomas Taggart; **Maughold**: Mrs Callow, Robert Kerruish, Mrs Ratcliffe; **Michael:** Mrs Faragher; **Patrick:** Mrs Bridson, Mrs Clague, J. Moore, Mrs Shimmin, [?] Kelly; **Douglas:** Capt T. Craine; **Peel:** Caesar Cashin, W. Quine. **Unknown:** Robert Kewley, Thomas —, William —.

BY PARISH

Arbory (2), Ballaugh (1), Jurby (1), Lezayre (2), Lonan (4), Malew (5), Maughold (3), Michael (1), Patrick (5), Douglas (1), Peel (2), Unknown (3).

BY RANK

Malew (5), Patrick (5), Lonan (4), Arbory (3), Maughold (3), Lezayre (2), Peel (2), Ballaugh (1), Douglas (1), Jurby (1), Michael (1), Unknown (3).

MALES

PARISH

Jurby (1), Lezayre (1), Lonan (4), Malew (2), Maughold (1), Patrick (2), Douglas (1), Peel (2), Unknown (3).

RANKED

Lonan (4), Malew (2), Patrick (2), Peel (2), Jurby (1), Lezayre (1), Maughold (1), Douglas (1), Unknown (3).

FEMALES

PARISH

Arbory (2), Ballaugh (1), Lezayre (1), Malew (2), Maughold (2), Michael (1), Patrick (3).

RANKED

Patrick (3), Arbory (2), Malew (2), Maughold (2), Ballaugh (1), Lezayre (1), Michael (1),

*

Details about occupation are few and are best simply listed out: Mrs Bridson, housewife; Mrs Callow, farmer's wife; Caesar Cashin, owner of a fruit and sweet shop; Mrs Clague, housewife with a summer café run from her own cottage; John Davis, carter[15]; Mrs Faragher, farmer's wife; John Kelly, fisherman; Mrs Killey, factory worker[16]; James Myelchreest, shepherd; Mrs Shimmin, housewife; Thomas Taggart, tailor.

The J. Moore of Patrick from the list above most likely must be the Joseph Moore mentioned in 1913:

> A very successful Manx supper was given in the Palace Restaurant, Douglas, on 7th April [1913], by a few friends of the Manx Language Society. Speeches, songs, and to a certain extent, conversation, were all in Manx. Mr Joseph Moore, Patrick, sang a traditional song never before published. We hope to publish this song in the second number of MANNIN.[17]

And the "Joe Moore" credited as an oral source in the preface to Sophia Morrison's *Manx Fairy Tales* of 1911.[18]

As regards where on the Island Mona Douglas collected from, we have it in her own words:

> My interest in the old songs and dances of the Island started at a very early age. Most of the time, as a small girl, was spent with my maternal grandmother who lived then near Lezayre church and later moved to Ballaragh, Lonan, where I still live; so I have virtually lifelong associations with those two districts and between them most of my collecting has been done, though I have also been lucky enough to find songs and dances in other parts of the Island.[19]

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[15] He also ran a small-scale mineral water plant. See p. 19, [no title], memories of Ballasalla and district from 1912 onwards, written up in 1985 by Leonard Craine (b. 1907), Manx National Heritage Library, MD 1324.

[16] At Rushen Abbey, Ballasalla, there was a jam-factory and fruit bottling business.

[17] "Notes," *Mannin* 1 (1913): 55. No song was published.

[18] Sophia Morrison, *Manx Fairy Tales* (London: David Nutt, 1911) v.

[19] Douglas, "Hunting the Dance in Mann [1973]," 70.

In a letter from 1916, she writes, "I got a lovely story the other day on the borders of Lonan & Maughold,"[20] and these two adjacent parishes are at the heart of her collecting. But she did collect further afield, of one folk dance we are told that it "was noted in places as far apart as Jurby and Lonan,"[21] She was also in Kirk Michael at one time:

> Once when trying to contact dancers at the Michaelmas Fair in Kirk Michael I was almost hired myself by a farmer before I realised what was happening. This was the fair for hiring women farm servants, and I looked quite strong and capable of hard work.[22]

The incident with "Kelly the Blackguard" was "[w]hen living in the south of the Island for a time,"[23] and this accounts for the number of informants from Ballasalla. Finally, and interestingly, "[o]n the west side of the Island I found most of my material coming from women."[24] It was also there where she found "a traditional fiddler," who she sadly does not name.[25] Mona Douglas does name John Faragher of Lonan, as a fiddler, and one Robert Kewley as a "traditional singer" (with no further detail nor is he mentioned again).

Mona Douglas appears to have had most success in finding informants amongst Manx fisherfolk:

> Many of the fishermen however, as distinct from the farming folk, have retained their love for dancing and their skill in performance right down to the present; and it is therefore chiefly from men of this profession, from the actual performances of children, and from the descriptions of old people who remember "playing" these dance-games in their youth, that my information is derived. The actual steps of the dances I have been taught almost invariably by fishermen.[26]
>
> *
>
> The fishermen have always been fond of dancing, and I still know one or two who will dance in a public house for a drink—though the more respectable members of the community think this practice very wicked indeed! Apart from dancing for

[20] Letter from Mona Douglas to Sophia Morrison, 12 August 1916, MNHL, MS 09495, Sophia Morrison Papers, Box 1.
[21] Douglas, "Hunting the Dance in Mann [1973]," 72.
[22] Douglas, "Hunting the Dance in Mann [1973]," 72.
[23] Douglas, "Hunting the Dance in Mann [1973]," 72.
[24] Douglas, "'A Chiel' Amang 'Em': Memories of a Collector on the Isle of Man [1958]," 59.
[25] Mona Douglas, "The Manx Dirk Dance as Ritual [1957]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004) 50.
[26] Douglas, "Foreword to *Five Manx Folk Dances*, Set I [1936]," 25.

> drinks, however, I have found that the fishers as a class (the older men) can describe and demonstrate dances more convincingly than any other people.[27]

In her memoir, "'A Chiel' Amang 'Em': Memories of a Collector on the Isle of Man'," from 1958, Mona Douglas wrote:

> These men and women who companioned my childhood and youth have gone the way of all flesh and with them has passed the last vigour of the older Island life. But I count myself more than fortunate to have known them, and many others of similar type, and to have been able to gather from their store of tradition, just before it was too late, at least a little of the riches that in an earlier generation must have been far more abundant.[28]

In this and her other memoir, "Hunting the Dance in Mann," (1973),[29] Mona Douglas provides thumbnail sketches of many of her informants.[30] They vary in length but relate to eleven informants,[31] close on a third of the names, and these have been gathered together in the following piece.[32]

Below are gathered together are the references to unknown informants, the two who can be identified are mentioned in footnotes. To be frank, there is little to go on in this list, the "children in the road at Laxey" are going to elude us in any further research.

REFERENCES TO UNKNOWN INFORMANTS

1916

UNKNOWN INFORMANT

"These stories have been told to me by an old native of Lezayre."

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[27] Mona Douglas, "Manx Folk Dances: their Notation and Revival [1937]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004) 27–28.

[28] Douglas, "'A Chiel' Amang 'Em': Memories of a Collector on the Isle of Man [1958]," 60.

[29] Douglas, "Hunting the Dance in Mann [1973]."

[30] Material of a similar nature is also to be found in Mona Douglas, "Songs in Manx Gaelic [1975]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004).

[31] Mrs Bridson, Mrs Callow, Mrs Clague, Caesar Cashin, John Davis, Mrs Faragher, James Kelly, "Kelly the Blackguard," John Matt Mylechreest, Margaret Quayle, Thomas Taggart.

[32] Two have been supplemented with information from other sources (essentially material to hand rather than from any concerted search).

1916

UNKNOWN INFORMANT

"I got a lovely story the other day on the borders of Lonan & Maughold."

1916

UNKNOWN INFORMANT(S)

"I have very little fresh in the way of folklore. Just a few broken bits of stories."

1925

UNKNOWN INFORMANT

"[…] as told to her by an old shepherd on the Lonan Hill […]"[33]

1926

UNKNOWN INFORMANT

"[…] song of 'The Travelling Fairies,' which she has for some time been endeavouring to obtain from its singer, who could not be persuaded to sing it for her"

UNKNOWN INFORMANTS

"Sung by children at Lezayre, 1925"

1928

UNKNOWN INFORMANT

"[…] about three years ago I was told of a man—whom I was never able to meet—who could dance the 'Salmon Leap.'"

1928

UNKNOWN INFORMANTS

"(children at Ballaglass)"

1930

UNKNOWN INFORMANTS (MAUGHOLD)

"[…] but in the oral version of the song and in the fragments of tales about her [= *Berrey Dhone*] which I have heard in the district […]"

UNKNOWN INFORMANTS

"and others"

[33] This fits John Matt Mylechreest. Douglas, "'A Chiel' Amang 'Em': Memories of a Collector on the Isle of Man [1958]," 57–58.

1937

Unknown Informant

"I took this [= "Car ny Ferrishyn"] down from a woman singer […]"

1949

Unknown Informant

"The man who told me about having seen this dance often in his childhood […]"

1957a

Unknown Informant

"[…] a traditional fiddler in the west of the Island […]"

1957b

Unknown Informants

"[…] more than one informant has said […]"

1973

Unknown Informant(s) (Jurby)

"noted in places as far apart as Jurby and Lonan"[34]

Unknown Informant(s) (Lonan)

"noted in places as far apart as Jurby and Lonan"

Unknown Informants (Michael)

"dancers at the Michaelmas Fair in Kirk Michael"

1975

Unknown Informants

"Children at Lezayre" coll. 1925

1979

Unknown Informants

Children in the road at Laxey

*

[34] This fits William Cain. "After I had procured with some difficulty an introduction to an old man who could perform it, he wouldn't dance a step until his wife was out of the way, so I had to get a friend to persuade her to go away for some reason while I got him going and noted his steps." Douglas, "Hunting the Dance in Mann [1973]," 72. "Willy Cain," interview with George Broderick (1979), "would not dance till his wife was out of the room." See here, George Broderick, "Mona Douglas and her Dances," 112.

Stephen Miller
Vienna, 2004

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THESE MEN AND WOMEN WHO COMPANIONED MY CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

RECOLLECTIONS BY MONA DOUGLAS OF HER INFORMANTS

These men and women who companioned my childhood and youth have gone the way of all flesh and with them has passed the last vigour of the older Island life. But I count myself more than fortunate to have known them, and many others of similar type, and to have been able to gather from their store of tradition, just before it was too late, at least a little of the riches that in an earlier generation must have been far more abundant.[1]

Mrs Bridson

On the west side of the Island I found most of my material coming from women. Mrs Bridson of Glen Meay was full of stories, songs and lore, and also a mine of information about traditional crafts and customs. A tall, "sonsy" woman with a twinkle in her eye and the truly Gaelic habit of vivid gesture, she was a joy to watch and listen to.[2] (1958)

Mrs Callow

Perhaps the most impressive of all my teachers, however, was old Mrs Callow of Cardle Veg, Maughold. To my childish eyes she seemed like an ancient Druidess translated into my own day, and apparently there was nothing she did not know about traditional lore, be it song, story, dance or custom. Mrs Callow it was who first took me to see Jack Kermode perform the Sword Dance of the Kings, having first prepared me by telling me the old traditions about it. To her, too, the ancient sea-god and first King of Man, Mannanan Mac Leirr, was no meaningless name out of a forgotten past but a living presence for ever about us; and a song like the Lament of the Seal Woman's Lover related a tragedy that might happen to any Islandman even today.[3] (1958)

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1 Mona Douglas, "'A Chiel' Amang 'Em': Memories of a Collector on the Isle of Man [1958]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004) 60.

2 Douglas, "'A Chiel' Amang 'Em': Memories of a Collector on the Isle of Man [1958]," 59.

3 Douglas, "'A Chiel' Amang 'Em': Memories of a Collector on the Isle of Man [1958]," 60.

*

Mrs Callow, a farmer's wife who was about seventy-five when she sang this, was herself a capable spinner and knew many songs and stories. To her the ancient sea-god and first King of Man, Manannan mac Leirr, was no meaningless name to be forgotten past but a living presence for ever about us: a song like The Lament of the Seal-woman's Lover related a tragedy that might happen to any Island man even today.[4] (1975)

Mrs Clague

Mrs Clague of The Niarbyl was another well-known character. Wife and mother of fishermen, she lived in a thatched cottage on the beach, where in summer she made teas for visitors and told them tales of mermaids and fairies and warning spirits of the storm. She was also a good herb-woman, and though well over seventy when I knew her had hair black and shining as a young girl's, wound in thick plaits round her shapely head, sparkling, snapping dark eyes, and a body still lithe and slender. She knew many songs and dances, and was always kindly and patient about instructing the persistent youngster who was continually worrying her for details of words, steps and figures.[5] (1958)

Caesar Cashin

Caesar Cashin, who had a fruit and sweet ship in Peel when the song was noted from him, was really a Dalby man and had been fishing out of the Niarbyl. He said that there used to be a little dance after each verse imitating the movements of the particular bird named: blackbird, falcon, seagull and wren. These birds are probably invoked in order to protect the sleeping child from any fairy mischief.[6] (1975)

John Davis

Another well-known man of the south was Jack Davis of Ballasalla. He once had a carrier's cart which plied between Douglas and Castletown, but when I knew him had long ceased from work and was a very old man living a little way out of the village and generally to be found sitting on a stone in the sun. He claimed to be on intimate terms with the fairies, and averred that he had often seen "Themselves" "as thick in the road as the scholars coming out of Ballasalla school." He was too old to dance when I knew him, much to my regret, but he had formerly been a member of the Castletown Mollag Band, and there is a photograph of him in the

[4] Mona Douglas, "Songs in Manx Gaelic," *Folksongs of Britain and Ireland*, ed. Peter Kennedy (London: Cassell, 1975) 199.

[5] Douglas, "'A Chiel' Amang 'Em': Memories of a Collector on the Isle of Man [1958]," 59–60.

[6] Douglas, "Songs in Manx Gaelic," 196.

white home-made suit which he wore as a Mollag dancer, and which, in his old age, became his normal wear, for he believed that white was the colour for good health and longevity—incidentally a fragment of ancient Druidical lore. It seemed to be true in his case, for he lived to be well over a hundred. He gave me many descriptions of dances, but his great talent was storytelling, at which he was a real artist.[7] (1958)

Mrs Faragher

Mrs Faragher, a farmer's wife living on the hillside above the village, was one of the last native Gaelic speakers in the Kirk Michael area. She sang a churning song, as well as this milking song, and said that both were sung whole milking or churning as a matter of course when she was a girl.[8] (1975)

James Kelly

Kelly was a very different type from John Matt: a merry, practical sailor-man and one of the best dancers in the Island, with an astonishing flair for natural history and a fine collection of sea birds and beasts captured and preserved by himself over many years and proudly displayed in cases in his little parlour. From Kelly I noted many songs and dances, and many a happy hour I have spent in his house practising steps, learning body movements, and going through intricate figures again and again until I was sure that I could follow my own written descriptions. For these practices his wife and young niece, and anyone else who happened to be in the house, would be pressed into service, and as by no means all of these folk were habitual dancers, the result would sometimes have appeared very funny to an observer. However, the impromptu demonstrations served their purpose, for without Kelly's help I could never have noted down or taught, for instance, "Mylecharane's March," or the still more difficult and dramatic "Boaill Baccagh," sometimes known as "The Fishermen's Walk." Incidentally, Kelly is the only traditional dancer of whom I have been able to secure a photograph taken in action. In 1936 [likely 1926] he appeared in a film of a traditional wedding taken for the Isle of Man Tourist Board, and I am indebted to the Secretary, Mr L. Bond, for obtaining for me a shot of Kelly dancing to the *purt-y-beayll* (mouth music) of a traditional singer, Robert Kewley.[9] (1958)

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James Kelly, who had lived on the farm at Ballachrink all his life, had been brought up there with two old uncles who spoke only Gaelic. When he was a young man taking farm produce to Douglas he liked to take with him someone

7 Douglas, "'A Chiel' Amang 'Em': Memories of a Collector on the Isle of Man [1958]," 59.
8 Douglas, "Songs in Manx Gaelic," 196.
9 Douglas, "'A Chiel' Amang 'Em': Memories of a Collector on the Isle of Man [1958]," 58.

who spoke better English than himself to deal with the customers, but when he sang this for us he was in his eighties and spoke English fluently, though he still preferred and felt easier in the Gaelic.[10] (1975)

"Kelly the Blackguard"

But perhaps my most amusing experience was with a man known as "Kelly the Blackguard"—quite a different person from Kelly the fisherman. When living in the south of the Island for a time I often heard of a dance called the "Salmon Leap," but could never get either a demonstration or a full description of it. "Kelly the Blackguard" is the only living man that can do it," I would be told, "He can tell you all about that dance, for it was done in the old days by a boat's crew from the Niarbyl, and he's the only one of them left. But he's a hard man, and wild mighty, and it wouldn't be very good for a young girl like theeself to be chasing him at all."

All the same, I tried, but could never succeed in meeting him. And then one evening I was walking along the back road to Foxdale on the west of Barrule when I met what looked a wild and shaggy gipsy, a huge man with black hair, dark skin and a most disreputable air. He passed on without responding to my "Good evening," and a bit further on I met a farmer I knew and asked him who on earth that fellow could be. "Oh, that's 'Kelly the Blackguard,' was the reply. "He'll be making for Dalby it's like." The man must have wondered what had struck me, for I halted in dismay, wondering if I had missed my chance to note the "Salmon Leap." He certainly did look a tough proposition—but I wasn't going to give up if there was a chance at all of seeing him dance the "Salmon Leap," and I realised that I had just the possibility of meeting him again if he did go down to Dalby and on to Glen Meay. I made off down past Cly Feeiney and over Dalby Mountain as hard as I could run, down through Doarlish Cashen, and out on to the Dalby road near Ballaquane, where I turned south again and made towards the Lag. Sure enough, there was my bold boy coming down the road from the Round Table—but I was quite unprepared for his reaction when he saw me. He shrank back against the sod hedge, drew a cross and a circle on the road with the heel of his boot, stood inside the circle and made the sign against the Evil Eye while he muttered "Ayns ennym yn as y Mac as y Spyrryd Noo" ("In the Name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost"). Then, apparently surprised that I did not vanish in sulphurous smoke, he regarded me nervously and said, "My gough! Is it a *Lhiannan Shee* (a fairy woman) thou are or what? Didn't I see thee on the mountain, so how in the world are thou before me again now—thou can't be a right thing at all. Tell me what thou are wanting, then, and see thou do me no harm."

[10] Douglas, "Songs in Manx Gaelic," 195.

Well, I tried to convince him that I was human, wished him no harm, and only wanted to ask him to show me the "Salmon Leap." He was very civil and told me all he knew about the dance, and even lay down flat on his back in the road and showed me how he could leap to his feet and stand upright from that position, the movement which gave the dance its name. But I think he remained unconvinced that I was really a human being, for when I left him and went on up the hill I turned round to see him standing again within his circle looking after me, with his right hand held out making the Sign.[11] (1973)

John Matt Mylechreest

"Is your dog good for sheep, lovely girl?"

A twelve-year-old was already wise enough in country ways to discount the adjective as the old shepherd's way of ingratiating himself with a potential helper, and I well knew that the dog, not I, was the attraction; but having counter-designs of my own I was very willing to play along with him, so I answered laconically, in the accepted manner—"Aye."

After some further searching inquiries as to where he was bred, who had trained him, and how I came to own him, since I had neither sheep nor cattle, "Jack" was duly passed as adequate for work, and John Matt informed me that he had recently lost his old dog and had not yet got another, and invited both of us to go after his sheep with him.

At that time I had already been for some time collecting and noting down old Manx stories, songs and dances, and John Matt Mylechreest (to give him his full name, which was hardly ever used) was reputed to be a great hand for all of these—but only likely to display his accomplishments over drinks in a pub. As I was not permitted inside such places, I had to grasp any other possible means of notation that might turn up, so this one was far too promising to neglect. Sure enough, as I trudged over the hills with John and "Jack" through that long winter, I heard many a tale and song, and was even taught dance steps and figures away on the tops where no censorious neighbours could observe us and chide John Matt, as one stern farmer's wife had done, for "hankering after sinful pleasures when his thoughts should be on higher things, now he was getting to be an old man."

But John's life was far indeed from being given over to pleasures, sinful or otherwise. He was a shrewd, hard-working crofter-shepherd living in a thatched cottage up against the mountain, and his flocks ranged over some half-dozen miles of rough grazings and open mountain land. A strange mixture of mystic and realist, he could tell a fairy or ghost story and give a practical explanation of it with a gleeful laugh—but he could also tell with wonder and reverence of mysteries

[11] Mona Douglas, "Hunting the Dance in Mann [1973]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004) 72–73.

beyond material explanation, as when he told me how one night soon after his sister and housekeeper died, when he was feeling lonely and ill himself, the *Lhiannan Shee*, a fairy woman gowned in shining yellow silk, came in at his door and stood there with light surrounding her, and sang to him in the old tongue until he fell into a healing sleep—and in the morning his sickness had left him. Even when speaking English he often used a vivid and memorable phrase. He had only one arm, having lost the other by its being torn off when he was working on the building of the Snaefell Mountain Railway, and one day when he spoke of this accident I said it must have been excruciatingly painful. But, "No," he replied thoughtfully, "I was gone to the other side of pain." It was John Matt who first told me the story of the folk song, "Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey" ("The Sheep Under the Snow"), and guided me over all the places mentioned in it, talking of Nicholas Colcheragh, its hero, as though he had been a personal friend, though Colcheragh died in the late 18th century. John it was, again, who could remember "Jimmy-Juan-Nan of the Clarum," the famous singer, dancer and fiddler whose name is perpetuated in his favourite reel, the "Car Juan Nan" which, incidentally, John himself described and demonstrated for me to note down.

John Matt was one of the first people from whom I noted folklore, and I remained in fairly close contact with him for a number of years. It was through him, too, that I got to know another man who proved a rich source of material, especially dance material—John Kelly the Fisherman, of Baldrine.[12] (1958)

*

John Matthew Mylechreest, known throughout Lonan parish as John Matt, was an old shepherd-crofter, a friend of mine from early childhood. He lived with his sister, Christian, in the Thalloo Hogg, a small croft, and had sheep on most of the Hills round about, his own fields being on the edge of the mountains. He had only one arm, having lost the other in an accident while working on the construction of the Snaefell mountain railway, but he was very active and capable, and after his sister died he lived alone and looked after himself until well on in his eighties. He was a great story-teller, and also knew quite a few songs and dances. He knew all the places mentioned in "Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey" and would tell how the song was "made on" Nicholas Colcheragh, or Raby as he was called, "before the Murreys [the Dukes of Atholl] came to Mann," by a young lad living in Raby who was a wonderful singer and fiddler, and how after he great storm and the loss of his flocks Raby himself died, so the tale went. John himself had worked for most his life all around Raby, and had lived for a time at the Laggan Agneash, a croft at the foot of Snaefell.[13] (1975)

[12] Douglas, "'A Chiel' Amang 'Em': Memories of a Collector on the Isle of Man [1958]," 57–58.

[13] Douglas, "Songs in Manx Gaelic," 199.

Margaret Quayle

Margaret Quayle, who lived in the parish of Lezayre all her life, and was related to the miller's family at Milntown Mill, said that it was sung by the millers both at Milntown and at Ballure. As both these mills are near Ramsey, it would probably mean that the song was used more recently as an occupational song in the north of the Island.[14] (1975)

Thomas Taggart

Another man who often sang and played tunes for me was Tom Taggart of Grenaby. He was a fiddler, and his "fiddle" was no small instrument but a large cello. Tom was a great Methodist, and his "fiddle" led the singing on Sundays in the little Kerrowkiel Chapel on the slopes of South Barrule—but served other purposes during the week.

He seemed to harbour a slightly guilty feeling on that account, and once said to me: "The old fiddle has never what you could call sinned to, girl, but she's fond of a lively tune now and then, I"m admitting." Besides his musical activities, Tom was something of a "Charmer," an excellent amateur vet, and sometimes an amateur lawyer, doing "bits of writing" for his neighbours, for he was a friend to all and sundry. His cures of sick animals were famous throughout the south of the Island, and I have known people cured of various troubles by his charms.[15]

*

Tom Taggart, of Grenaby, Malew, who sang the "Arrane y Lhondhoo," was a fiddler as well as a singer, and he knew many songs. He was a tailor by trade and used to make suits for most of the local men, but he also worked occasionally on neighbouring farms and was noted for his successful treatment of sick animals, which was based on herbs plus a few effective charms. He also sang to a sick horse or cow while treating it, sometimes sitting by the patient and singing all through the night. Besides "Arrane y Lhondhoo" he knew other bird songs and stories.[16] (1975)

*

Tom Taggart was a well-known fiddler, singer and story-teller and a fine native speaker of Manx Gaelic. Although a fiddler in the traditional manner, the fiddle he played upon was, in fact, a cello. He was a great Methodist and led the singing on Sundays in the little Kerrowkeil Chapel on the slopes of South Barrule, but he also played for local gatherings. He seemed to harbour a slightly guilty feeling on

[14] Douglas, "Songs in Manx Gaelic," 195.
[15] Douglas, "'A Chiel' Amang 'Em': Memories of a Collector on the Isle of Man [1958]," 59.
[16] Douglas, "Songs in Manx Gaelic," 195.

that account and once said, "The old fiddle has never what you could call sinned to, girl, but she's fond of a lively tune now and then, I'm admitting." Beside his musical activities, Tom was something of a local "charmer" and his cures of sick animals, and people too, were famous through the south of the Island.[17] (1975)

"Billy the Dollan"

I am very glad you like my little tribute to Billy the Dollan,[18] & I am sure you would have liked himself very much better, had you known him! It doesn't half do him justice. He was a great friend of mine when I was little, & always had a "piece" for me—<u>&</u> a story!—when I went to see him, which, of course, was as often as I could get. There were three of these old storytellers whom I used to know well—Billy the Dollan, Tom the Fairy, & John Matt[19]—but I think Billy was my favourite. John is the only one left now, & I see him whenever I am on the Island.[20]

*

BILLY THE DOLLAN

When Billy the Dollan was livin' alone
In his li'l' white house up the highlan',
There was stories dy-liooar goin' a-tellin' on us—
Aw, the lek wasn' heard in the Islan'!
But Billy the Dollan is gone to his res,'
An' his house is lef' sittin' alone,
Wis the street full of cushag, an' weeds on the thatch,
An' the kitchen as bare as a stone.

He'd be tellin' of fairies an' buitches an' all,
Till we crep' in a heap to the chiollagh,
For fear we'd be took at the big oul' buggane
That was comin' aroun' the Mamollagh.
But Billy the Dollan has gone to his res',
An' his stories have gone wis' him, too;
An' there's other ones workin' the field by his house,
An' gettin' his bons from the broogh.

[17] Douglas, "Songs in Manx Gaelic," 200.
[18] A reference to Billy the Dollan, *Mannin* 6 (1915): 369. Reproduced following.
[19] John Matthew Mylechreest.
[20] Mona Douglas to Sophia Morrison, 21 September 1915, Manx National Heritage Library (MNHL), MS 09495, Box 1.

Now, Billy the Dollan is buried an' gone,
But there's ones say the fairies go cryin'
Aroun' his oul' house, wis the win' in their hair,
An' keekin' an' sobbin' an sighin',
Lek wishin' him back from the churchyard again—
For oul' Billy was friends wis them all—
But he's restin' respectable under the moul',
An' he'll never be hearin' them call!

*

FROM OTHERS

John Davis

At Ballasalla I was fortunate enough to meet one of the most interesting of its older inhabitants, John Davies, a Celtic medicine-man, who can cure most obstinate maladies in men or animals with secret herbs, and who knows very much about witchcraft and the charms against it. "Witches are as common as ducks walking barefooted," he said, using the duck simile, which is a popular Manx one; and he cited two particular instances from his own experience. But for us it is more important to know that John Davies is also an able seer. The son of a weaver, he was born in County Down, Ireland, seventy-eight years ago; but in earliest boyhood he came with his people to the Isle of Man, and grew up in the country near Ramsay, and so thoroughly has he identified himself with the island and its lore, and even with its ancient language, that for our purposes be may well be considered a Manxman. […][21]

*

He moved the [mineral water] works above Silverdale Glen with apple orchard and grew herbs. He used to come round the houses and cure people with herbs. His son Jack followed on[.][22]

Thomas Taggart

"In the days of Mr Tommy Taggart more than a hundred years ago now, he organised the choir which was recognised as quality all round the south.

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21 W.Y. Evans-Wentz, *The Fairy Faith in Celtic Countries* (London & New York: H. Froude, 1911) 122.

22 From p. 19, [no title], memories of Ballasalla and district from 1912 onwards, written up in 1985 by Leonard Craine (b. 1907), MNHL, MD 1324.

He took the choir each year to Ballasalla for the Anniversary, Miss Maggie Quine being the organist, but she didn't always suit Tom so she told him in an off-hand manner 'We all don't belong to musical families.'"

It is interesting to note that after the practices at Ballasalla, Tom would go to Silverdale for his supper, while the rest of the choir had to walk home to Kerrowkeil without any.

*

Tom Taggart resented any one criticising his choir, one critic told him that the sopranos instead of singing "Hail! Hail! Hail!" were singing "Ale! Ale! Ale!" Looking severely over his glasses, Tom said, "The gals are all right—mind your own business."

He had a special stool up by the pulpit on which he sat facing the congregation, tuning his cello when he felt like it. Nevertheless he was a good musician and in these days given the opportunity, would have gone far in the musical world.[23]

*

Stephen Miller
Vienna, 2004

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[23] Anon., "Notes of a Conversation between Mr McFee and Mrs Comish (from Kerrowkeil) Some Years Ago," *Manx Methodist Historical Society Newsletter* 16 (1992): [6].

"MANX SWORD DANCE (SOLO)"

REFERENCES BY MONA DOUGLAS TO THE "DIRK DANCE OF THE KINGS OF MAN"

What began as a "Manx sword dance (solo)" in 1928 (and merited only one line of description) became the "Dirk Dance" in 1937, the "Dirk Dance of the Kings of Man," in 1949, "The Kirk Maughold Sword Dance of the Kings," in 1957, and finally, in 1973, pulling it altogether, "The Kirk Maughold Sword Dance of the Kings of Man." Seeing the dance for Mona Douglas was "really the one [stimulus] which started my serious collecting and noting" (1981). In an interview with George Broderick in 1979, she placed this date as being either 1909 or 1910. She was taken to by her "own Irish grandfather" to see it performed by John Kermode, "the last traditional dancer," who lived in a cottage on the beach at Port Mooar, Maughold. This from her account from 1981. In 1973 it is still her grandfather, a change from that of 1958, when it was Mrs Callow of Cardle Veg, who "having first prepared me by telling me the old traditions about it." In 1949 Mona Douglas wrote, "I noted this dance some years ago from a Maughold fisherman named Kermode, and the air to which it is performed from the singing of his wife, who always acted as his accompanist." Kermode's son, who would have carried on the tradition, was unable to do so due to an accident.

> Kermode claimed that his family had been the only performers of the dance for generations back, but until now there had always been one or two Kermode boys who knew it, and he was very sad about the break in the tradition, but gave his whole hearted approval when I proposed to teach it to some other Manx boy. He accepted the transition from his own family philosophically, saying: "Well, first it was done at the Kings, and then they gave it to the Kermodes, to be King's Dancers, and now it must go to some person else—but see ever that the one you teach it to has the build and making of a dancer, for that was the day it was taught from the beginning, not just to every boy of the house. The Sword Dance of the Kings is not for every person to do." (1957)

It fell to Billy Cain,

> who was chosen unanimously to interpret it years ago in Ramsey by both his schoolmates and Mr Stowell and myself, and also by the traditional dancer Jack Kermode, who saw Billy perform it in the school without his knowledge: coincidence, certainly, but in this instance it fits very aptly into traditional feeling! (1949)

The problem is that this was ten years after the death of John Kermode, who died in 1918. The dance was noted by Mona Douglas from Kermode but amongst Leighton

Stowell's papers there is a note that she recorded a version in 1925 from Eleanor Garrett of Ramsey:

> Miss Bella Garrett of Ramsey told me that she had seen the dance performed when she was a girl, but its ritual was different. The young Celt or Norseman was dedicating his dirk to the service of a god of whom he knew nothing but whom by his agility and skill he wished to honour […].[1]

This is the first reference to the "Dirk Dance" by anyone but Mona Douglas herself. Although here we are dealing not with Kings, but with the Old Gods.

In order to deal with the more earthly matter of the "Dirk Dance" itself, the various references to it by Mona Douglas have been extracted from her writings and gathered together below as an aid to further work.

1928

There is also a Manx sword dance (solo) which is not quite like either the English or the Scottish sword dances though nearer to the latter. The dancer starts with the sword on the ground before him, picks it up and makes certain passes with it during the dance, and finishes in a kneeling position.[2]

1937

It is curious that the air to which our Dirk Dance is done was previously noted in Skye as a lullaby! How this virile air could ever have been used effectively for that purpose is beyond me; but from the earliest times almost down to the present day communication between Man and the Hebrides has been continuous and fairly close, so that the actual fact of the air being known in both places presents no difficulty. I am inclined to think that both this air and the dance itself may be Scandinavian in origin; perhaps introduced into Man during the period of the Kingdom of Man and the Isles, and possibly later into Skye by some Manx fisherman who has not passed on the dance but only the air. I noted the dance some years ago from a Maughold fisherman named Kermode and the air from the singing of his wife, who always used to sing it as the accompaniment to his dancing. Kermode told me that he had learnt it from his father, who said it was "the dance the old Kings of Man was using to do before now, when they would come to be King"; and that he

[1] I am grateful to Wendy Thirkettle, Deputy Archivist, Manx National Heritage Library, for drawing this to my attention following a general enquiry of mine about the papers of Leighton Stowell. Email of 4 December 2004.

[2] Mona Douglas, "Ceremonial Folk-Song, Mumming, and Dance in the Isle of Man [1928]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004) 12.

believed none but members of his own family had danced it in the old days, and not all of them, but that the one to whom it was taught had to have "the build and making of a dancer." Other fishermen of the district, though able to dance the usual reels and step dances, never attempted the "Dirk Dance." In this connection, it is curious that although Mr Stowell and I taught this dance to a number of boys in the Ramsey school, there is still only one generally recognised exponent of it, young Billy Cain, who has himself very much the build and manner of old Jack Kermode. Coincidence, certainly, but it fits very aptly into traditional feeling here. There is another interesting point about this dance. Its obvious aspect is that of having originated in sword worship, but I am inclined to think that long ago it formed part of Manx State ritual. The oral tradition of its performance by the Kings of Man at their accession points to this, and it is perhaps worth noting that all through our recorded history the Manx Sword of State has borne an important part in the Tynwald Ceremony which is the centre of our nation and government, and it still does so. In the early 14th century a state instruction to a newly arrived "foreign" Lord of Mann gave minute and particular details as to the bearing of the Sword of State and the position and attitude of the Bearer during the Tynwald Ceremony, while no other article of regalia or officer's position was even mentioned. And the attitude given for the Sword Bearer (still observed at Tynwald today) is the same as the kneeling attitude with which the Dirk Dance ends. Of the dance itself, however, I can find no trace in the records of Tynwald, so that if it ever was actually performed as part of the ceremony, it must have been discontinued at an early date. I think it possible, however, that the performance of the dance as ritual may have passed long ago from the King to some officer of State who would pass on the hereditary privilege to his descendants, and that later the actual dance may have passed out of State usage but remained as a tradition in a certain family or families. This is pure surmise, of course, and I do not know of any similar traditional "privilege" dance.

Following is a list and short description of the dances recorded up to date.

Completed and restored to use:

(1) "The Dirk Dance" ("Reeaghyn dy Vannin"). Solo. Dancer carries dirk round in circle at arms' length forward, point upward, then lays it down, salutes it, and dances round it. Then he picks it up and does side-steps and leaps, kicking dirk at head level. Then lays it down again, dances round it, and salutes four times. Then he lifts it and makes slashes over his head and about his body, passing dirk between his legs. Finally he carries it round again, and finishes kneeling to the dirk.[3]

[3] Mona Douglas, "Manx Folk Dances: their Notation and Revival [1937]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004) 30–31.

1941

[…] and there is nothing else in these islands just like our "Dirk Dance" with its ancient and virile symbolism—though both in that and in the "White Boys Dance" some of the steps danced over and around the dirk or the crossed swords on the ground are slightly reminiscent of the Scottish Sword Dance. To my own mind, however, the chief influence shown in these two dances is Scandinavian; […][4]

1949

But probably the most unusual of all our ritual dances is the "Dirk Dance of the Kings of Man," which you will see performed at the close of this paper by its most famous modern exponent, Billy Cain. I noted this dance some years ago from a Maughold fisherman named Kermode, and the air to which it is performed from the singing of his wife, who always acted as his accompanist. Kermode told me that he had learnt it from his father, who said "It was the dance the old Kings of Man was using to do before now, when they would come to be King"; and that he believed none but members of his own family had danced it in the old days, and not all of them, but that the one to whom it was taught had to have "the build and making of a dancer." Other fishermen of the district, though able to perform the usual reels and step dances, never attempted the "Dirk Dance." In this connexion, it is rather interesting to note that when the dance was noted and revived, although Mr Leighton Stowell and I taught it to a number of boys in the Ramsey school, which was the cradle of our Manx folk dance revival, and though since then it has been taught to quite a number of boys and men in various parts of the Island, there has always been only one man recognised as its typical modern interpreter Billy Cain, who was chosen unanimously to interpret it years ago in Ramsey by both his schoolmates and Mr Stowell and myself, and also by the traditional dancer Jack Kermode, who saw Billy perform it in the school without his knowledge: coincidence, certainly, but in this instance it fits very aptly into traditional feeling!

There is another interesting point about this dance. Its obvious aspect is that of having originated in sword worship, but also it probably once formed part of the Manx state ritual. The oral tradition of its performance by the Kings of Man at their accession points to this, and it is perhaps worth noting that all through our recorded history the Manx Sword of State has borne an important part in the Tynwald Ceremony which is the centre of our nation and Government, and it still does so. In the early 14th century a state instruction to a newly-arrived Lord of Mann—the first of the Stanleys to assume that title—gave minute and particular details as to the bearing of the Sword of State and the position and attitude of the Sword Bearer during the ceremony, while no other article of regalia or officer's position was even

[4] Mona Douglas, "The Traditional Dances of Mann [1941]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004) 37.

mentioned. And the attitude wherein laid down for the Sword Bearer (still observed at Tynwald today) is the kneeling attitude with which the dance ends, and which is known traditionally as the "Salute of the Sword" and given as an honour to the most important person before whom the dance is performed.[5]

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[…] One of these dance-singers, the wife of the dancer, sang our "Dirk Dance" when I used to see it as a child and when I first noted it down; and although since then I have heard it played many times on various instruments, and once in the fine orchestral setting of Mr Arnold Foster, it has never since given me the same thrill of sheer beauty that I felt in those old days in the fisherman's cottage by the singing tides, when a tall old man danced and leapt and knelt to his shining blade between the sunlight from the open door and the red glow of the turf fire, while the old woman crouching by the hearth, sang swaying and beating her foot to the throb of the air: "O-hi-io y varrey ho! O-hi-io, my skian gial!"[6]

1957
THE MANX DIRK DANCE AS RITUAL *

It is a curious fact that our most distinctive Manx ritual dance has become generally known, in its modern presentation, by a name which was never used for it traditionally in the Island. The original name has been lost and the present title is quite modern.

In my childhood, long before I ever saw this dance, I used to hear it spoken of as something very mysterious and difficult. I do not think I ever heard the word "sacred" used, but certainly the way it was always mentioned with a respectful lowering of the voice suggested something sacramental; most of the Northside parishes of the Island knew it by reputation as "The Kirk Maughold Sword Dance of the Kings," and when I was actually taken to see Jack Kermode perform it I had the feeling of an important and exciting event. There was ceremony in his approach to the performance. In his thatched cottage on the sea beach the weapon hung in the place of honour over the big *chiollagh*, or open hearth-fire, and he removed his shoes and his cap as his wife took it down and handed it to him. Then she poured and handed to him a beaker of whiskey, which he took in his left hand to drink, while

[5] Mona Douglas, "Folk Song and Dance in Mann with Some Notes on Collection and Revival of the Dances [1949]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004) 41–42.

[6] Douglas, "Folk Song and Dance in Mann with Some Notes on Collection and Revival of the Dances [1949]," 43.

* Reproduced in full here.

holding the sword, point upright, in his right hand. Then he handed the beaker back to her, she set it down on the table, and crouched down beside the fire to sing, the *purt-e-beayll* (mouth music), while he danced.

In the popular mind there is a deeply-rooted feeling that this dance has something to do with the bearing of the Sword of State before the representative of the Ruler of Man in the annual Tynwald Ceremony. The weapon used by Kermode in the dance is 21 inches long. It was narrow-bladed, very thin and flexible, and sharpened on both edges. The hilt was of silver, or a metal closely resembling it, the cross-pieces were curved back from the blade, and at the conjunction of blade and cross-piece on each side was a small raised boss, one of these bearing the Three Legs device and the other what seemed to be a representation of the sun with rays; but both carvings were very much worn down.

It used to be said that "Only one man in the Island can dance the Kirk Maughold Sword Dance"—and that was probably true, at any rate by the time I came to note it down, for Jack Kermode, its last traditional performer, was the last man of his family able to dance. He had a son, and would normally, I suppose, have taught him the dance as his father had taught it to him, but owing to an accident the boy was a cripple. Kermode claimed that his family had been the only performers of the dance for generations back, but until now there had always been one or two Kermode boys who knew it, and he was very sad about the break in the tradition, but gave his whole hearted approval when I proposed to teach it to some other Manx boy. He accepted the transition from his own family philosophically, saying: "Well, first it was done at the Kings, and then they gave it to the Kermodes, to be King's Dancers, and now it must go to some person else—but see ever that the one you teach it to has the build and making of a dancer, for that was the day it was taught from the beginning, not just to every boy of the house. The Sword Dance of the Kings is not for every person to do."

Kermode's own version of the traditional origin of this dance is somewhat ambiguous, as such things often are. He attributes the earliest teaching of it to "the Druids," but goes on to speak of "The Kings from the North." Now, the Druid traditions, in Man at any rate, are purely Celtic—the Norse pagan religion was quite different from the ancient Celtic, or Druidic, faith—yet "The Kings from the North" must mean the Norse-Manx rulers of the isle. The inference seems to be that the dance is of Celtic origin, and I believe it is now generally accepted that the Celts show a strong Eastern influence in some of their traditions (in this connection Don Nikolai Giovannelli has a pertinent note on some affinities of the Manx dance); but that the Norsemen, like the early Christian Church, adopted and perpetuated this and other ritual practices already operating in Man when they came to its throne.

It would seem that the dance was, in fact, an important piece of State ritual long after the Norse period; for when, in 1445 Sir Thomas Stanley was installed as the first of his house to become Lord of Mann, precise instructions were given him, and

recorded in a State Paper still extant, regarding the positions of the Sword of State and Sword Bearer in the final salute of the dance at Tynwald, and also that he himself must have "His visage unto the East." The relative positions of the Governor and Sword Bearer remain unchanged in the ceremony to the present day, but the kneeling salute is no longer offered, nor is the dance performed.

The description of Kermode's tradition, in his own words, is as follows:

"It's the dance the young Kings of Man were doing one time, when they would come to be men, and the Druids were teaching it to them. They had to move around the way of the sun, and finish saluting the place of the sun's rising, to bring light and liberty to the people. It's all in old history, how the Kings from the North stopped doing the dance themselves and made a Manxman dance it before them at Tynwald, and that's how the Kermodes first came to be King's Dancers, and have been ever since, or the name means Mac y Mod, the son of the assembly. But when the old Kings went, the new Lords didn't regard the dance, and it was left out of Tynwald, but they still had to have the Sword held up before them and face the rising sun, and the Governor does that in Tynwald to this day."

The air to which the dance is performed was noted from the singing of Kermode's wife, along with the mnemonic words, which in this case seem to have a definite link with the dance, though many purt-y-beayll words are just nonsensical syllables made up to fit the tune. Kermode always danced to her singing, and he told me that it was the right thing for a woman of the family to accompany the dancer in this way, for it was a fairy tune that was first taught by a woman of the sea to the mother of one of the ancient Kings, who sang it for her son and then for her grandson. It used to be always the mother of the dancer who sang for him; later any woman of the family might do it. But no woman must ever perform the dance.

When I learnt it from Kermode, he would never allow me to go right through it, saying it would be "unlucky mighty"; and he made me promise that if I taught it to any boys I would only show them a bit at a time. Apparently, it was only the complete dance which formed the ritual—to practise sections of it was innocuous. He also said the dance must never be performed to any other tune; and as a matter of fact this would hardly be possible, so closely are movements and music welded together. The same air has been found in the Hebrides as a lullaby, and that seems very strange to me, for to Island folk the air seems to hold all the vigour of the dance itself.

However, I have also heard that air played, without the dance, by a traditional fiddler in the west of the Island; and when Arthur Darley, the Irish fiddler and folk song collector, visited the Island some years ago he told me he had found an air of somewhat similar character in Galway—in the guise of a love-song.

The actual movements of the dance are obviously symbolic, but also practical: the crouch and pick-up after the first dance round the sword is a demonstration of the performer's speed and surety of attack; the kicking of the sword is a test of both the

weapon's strength and the dancer's agility; the slashes and changing of the sword from right hand to left show that he can fight on, even if wounded in the sword-arm (the old Gaelic tradition of the hero as one who is "never down till he is dead" is still strong in Man); and the carrying of the sword in honour, emphasised in the words of the purt-e-beayll, prior to the final salute, is symbolic of the highest authority subject only to the Sun or Supreme Power. The young King of Man in ancient times would offer his sword only to the Sun; the King's Dancer offered it only to the King—and the echo of that rule is heard today in the living tradition for the final posture of the dance: the performer kneels in the Salute facing East, except when offering it to the Ruler of Man, when he faces West, because the Ruler or his representative in the Tynwald Ceremony is still seated "with his visage unto the East."[7]

1957b

Only one of our Manx ritual dances is known outside the Island: the "Dirk Dance" ("Reeaghyn dy Vannin"), traditionally performed at one time by the young Kings of Man on their taking of arms, and later by a specially trained dancer before the King, the honour of being King's Dancers being hereditary in one particular family, from a descendant of which I noted it; and as this dance has been described in a former article I shall pass over it with this brief mention and write of some lesser-known dances of a ritual nature of which the tradition still remains reasonably vivid. In most of these the information available has been sufficient to make a workable reconstruction possible.

In folklore the term "ritual" has a wide connotation, ranging from a definite religious observance to a tenuous and often jocular folk-memory of some ancient rite or belief preserved in a children's game. Here in Man, apart from the "Dirk Dance," which always seems to have been regarded with a certain reverence, I have not found complete and faithful observances, but only fragments of old beliefs, told half-seriously; and in one case a definite fear of ritual dancers, but with no actual reason given for being scared of them. In other case I have had clear descriptions from several unrelated sources of a whole dance and ritual, with demonstrations of steps and movements, given without any understanding that these had any special significance.[8]

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[7] Mona Douglas, "The Manx Dirk Dance as Ritual [1957]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004) 48–50.

[8] Mona Douglas, "Some Ritual Dances of Mann [1957]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004) 51.

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Yet another ritual dance noted in description and steps but not so far revived in demonstration is to my mind older than anything else I have collected, with the possible exception of the "Dirk Dance": this is the one known as "The Salmon Leap."[9]

1958

Kelly, however, never performed the "Dirk Dance." That was the special privilege of Jack Kermode of Port Mooar, who claimed that it had been handed down in his family for generations, ever since the first King's Dancer was appointed. It is certainly curious that although many other fishermen were good dancers none but Kermode ever, to my knowledge, performed this dance. A photograph of his cottage on Port Mooar beach was taken by me about the time when I recorded the dance; but I would never have dared to suggest taking one of Kermode actually performing it. He would certain have regarded that as "unlucky"—which useful word could, in this case, be taken as a euphemism for sacrilegious.[10]

*

Mrs Callow it was who first took me to see Jack Kermode perform the Sword Dance of the Kings, having first prepared me by telling me the old traditions about it.[11]

1973

From very early days I had heard quite a lot about what was called "The Kirk Maughold Sword Dance of the Kings of Man," but I had never actually seen it performed until "Pat" gave me the opportunity of collecting it. He used to make business calls on a number of people in Maughold, one of whom was Jacky Kermode, the dancer from whom I learnt it. One day "Pat" took me with him to Kermode's cottage on Port Mooar beach and asked the old fisherman if he would "Let the child (me) see his sword dance." Without much demur Kermode took off his sea-boots, reached down a short, thin old sword from hooks above the chiollagh, and made ready to start. His wife poured out and brought to him a pewter beaker of whisky, which he drained and handed back to her, and then she crouched down beside the turf fire and began to sing. He stood perfectly still through the first phase of the air, holding the sword upright before his face, and then he began to dance, at first slowly, then gradually quickening and moving with more vigour as the sword

[9] Douglas, "Some Ritual Dances of Mann [1957]," 54.

[10] Mona Douglas, "'A Chiel' Amang 'Em': Memories of a Collector on the Isle of Man [1958]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004) 58–59.

[11] Douglas, "'A Chiel' Amang 'Em': Memories of a Collector on the Isle of Man [1958]," 60.

flashed about his body and was slashed over his head, and on to the thrilling final leap and salute, for which he knelt at the open doorway as though saluting the sun—as he said the young princes of the Manx royal line used to do when they took arms.

That was my first and greatest experience of the traditional air which was an evocation of sheer beauty, and it will be remembered as long as I live: the low-beamed, white-walled kitchen where the fireglow from the chiollagh mingled with sunlight coming in through the open door, the old woman crouched by the hearth crooning the noble air in a vivid and continuous rhythm, and the tall old dancer, vigorous and graceful despite his years, so utterly absorbed in the dance of which he carried on the tradition from far mists of antiquity.[12]

1981

Another great stimulus—really the one which started my serious collecting and noting—was being taken by my own Irish grandfather to see Jackie Kermode of Port Mooar, Maughold perform the famous "Sword Dance of the Kings of Man," of which he was the last traditional dancer.[13]

*

Stephen Miller
Vienna 2004

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[12] Mona Douglas, "Hunting the Dance in Mann [1973]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004) 71–72.

[13] Mona Douglas, "Introduction to *The Leighton Stowell Book of Manx Dances* [1981]," *"Restoring to use our almost-forgotten dances": Writings on the Collection and Revival of Manx Folk Dance and Song by Mona Douglas*, ed. Stephen Miller (Onchan: Chiollagh Books, 2004) 81.

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MONA DOUGLAS AND HER DANCES

Interview by George Broderick (GB) with Mona Douglas (MD) at her home "Thie ny Garey," Ballaragh, Lonan, Saturday, 22 September 1979. List of dances drawn up with help from Robert Carswell.

MD told me that her informants had not danced for some considerable time, and that their memory of them was much of the time not complete (GB).

Key
* = best-known dances, according to MD

† = dances MD had personally seen danced traditionally

NBk = Notebook belonging to Philip Quayle of Glentramman (b. at the Creggans, Sulby Glen), great-grandfather to MD. He "had a little homemade book with main parts of dances; lost in Cecil Sharp House [London] in war [Second World War]." Ellen Quayle MD's grandmother (of Glentramman), according to MD.

1. MYLECHARAINE'S MARCH

James Kelly (Kelly Pat [Partine; viz. Pat Hines]), Baldrine; John Mylechreest (Johnny Matey), Lonan; Willy Cain, Jurby, ("springboards in sections, used in pubs, as they had earth floors") MD.

2. CAR JUAN NAN †

Johnny Matey; NBk.

3. CAR Y PHOOSEE *†

Margot Quayle, Glen Auldyn Mill, Lezayre; NBk.

4. CAR NY FERRISHYN

Kelly Pat; NBk.

5. CAR NY RANKEE

Kelly Pat; NBk.

6. PETER-O-TAVY *

Jack Kermode, Port Mooar, Maughold, ("sung words as in Clague") NBk.

7. CUM YN ÇHENN OANREY ÇHEH

Willy Cain, Jurby, ("would not dance till his wife was out of the room") MD.

8. WHITE BOYS

?

9. HUNT THE WREN *

Kelly Pat; NBk.

10. FATHERBY JIG

Kelly Pat. NBk.

11. MOIRREY NY CAINLE

NBk.

12. DIRK DANCE

Jack Kermode, Port Mooar, Maughold, *c.* 1909–10 (first visit). [JK died 20 April 1918 (GB)]

13. CHYNDAA YN BWOAILLEY

"Common," NBk.

14. TOM THE TAILOR

Willy Cain, Jurby; NBk.

15. HOP-TU-NAA †

Children in road at Laxey.

16. FLITTER DANCE

NBk. ("gather flitters, on shore in shells, made bonnag with nut raisins, ate flitters and bonnag, any left over flung into sea and dance used to stamp out fires") MD.

17. GUILLEY SHESHEREE

Kelly Pat; NBk.

18. JEMMY AS NANCY

Kelly Pat; NBk.

19. MOGHREY MIE AS MAYNRYS

NBk.

20. EUNYSSAGH VONA

Kelly Pat; NBk.

21. BWOAILL BACCAGH

Kelly Pat; NBk.

22. SALMON LEAP

Caesar Cashen, Peel; Kelly "the Blaggard," South Barrule; NBk. ("men in middle, surrounded by rest, lie on back & jump to feet & over ?rim of hands") MD.

23. SHOOYLL INNEENYN †

Mrs Faragher, Kerrooglass, Kirk Michael ("went to see Mrs Faragher, Kerrooglass, at Michaelmas; girls hiring fair at back of Mitre Hotel *c.* 1920 (goes back to mid-19th century), girls used to dance & men look on to choose one for hire") MD. Only first part of tune noted in MD Coll. (GB).

24. MHEILLIA †

Ballaragh, Lonan; Cardle Veg & Cardle Vooar, Maughold; NBk.

25. MOLLAG BAND

NBk.

*

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PART III

MONA DOUGLAS AND HER SONGS

INTRODUCTION

Mona Douglas (1898–1987) is known in the Isle of Man for her contribution to Manx language song and dance in the context of the revival of the same throughout the 20th century. She was initially inspired in this direction by Manx folklorist Sophia Morrison (1859–1917) and from *c.* 1930 to her death in 1987 was active in the Manx cultural revival. In this arena her main contribution lay in the promotion of song and dance.[1] This paper will look at her contribution in the realm of songs and will seek to evaluate this contribution in the context of the Manx Revival as a whole.

Mona Douglas evidently began collecting songs known in Man as early as 1912[2] and continued in this pursuit, as we shall see, until the 1950s. From the corpus of some forty-six song-texts attributed to her collection six are in English, the rest are in Manx, with or without accompanying English translation. In looking at her material we shall, for our purposes here, consider the corpus under the following headings:

(1) Songs collected in English
(2) Songs collected in Manx
(3) Songs inspired by Manx or English originals
(4) Songs composed in Manx only
(5) Songs composed in English and subsequently translated into Manx

In doing so all songs will be printed out in full with any accompanying English translation, except those that are already attested and have earlier variants. In some cases, as we shall see, the English version is pertinent to the composition of the song. In setting out the songs, whether there is any text or not, the following schema has been used: The title in small caps is the working title. Thereafter there follows the title, then subtitle (if any) in round brackets. Any translation of the title or subtitle is noted in square brackets. Details regarding the the informant and date of collection of the song, where applicable, are given in quotation marks. These are then followed by source details. All manuscripts mentioned (apart from the Mona Douglas Collection) are held by the Manx National Heritage Library.

[1] For details see DNB under "Douglas, Mona (Constance)."
[2] See, for instance, under *The Bulgham Sea-Song* which she evidently collected in 1912 when some fourteen years' old (Gilchrist 1924: 103).

I. SONGS COLLECTED IN ENGLISH

I.1. MILKING SONG

Milking Song (Arrane y Vleaun). "Sung by Cathy Quayle, the Whallag [Arbory]. Noted by M[ona] D[ouglas]." No date. Mona Douglas Coll. [9].

As this song also formed the basis for the composition of a similar song in Manx, it is dealt with under §3 below.

I.2. SHIAULL Y KEAYN

Entitled "Songs for The Dooinney-Moyllee[3] written to Manx traditional airs by MD." Shiaull y Cheayn ['sailing the sea']. The Return of the Boats. "Sung by Mrs Shimmin, Foxdale. Noted by M[ona] D[ouglas]." No date. Mona Douglas Coll. [12].

Through the mist I see them appearing—
Boats ahoy! Boats ahoy!
Long the waiting, the women were fearing
Now at last they take joy
Round the Head brown sails are beating
Making home, Rolling home
Soon shall sing the happy greeting
All ashore, Here they come!

In spite of the title "Songs for …" the implication is that MD collected this text from Mrs Shimmin. Given that many songs in English formed the repertoire of many tradition-bearers in Man at that time (cf. JFSS vii 29 (1925)), though MD may have composed the above text, its alleged collection from Mrs Shimmin would not be out of place.

I.3. A HOME OF YOUR OWN

A Home of Your Own (Quoifyn Leein Vooar ['big flax-caps']). "Sung by Mrs Shimmin, Foxdale. Noted by MD." No date. Mona Douglas Coll. [9, 12].

Come all you young maidens and listen to my song
You should all find a husband, don't stay single too long
When the pretty boys come courting, don't languish alone
But step out and get married, make a home of your own

[3] Lit. 'praising-man,' i.e. the 'go-between,' or Best Man, who handled between the groom and the bride's father over such matters as the dowry, etc.

Although subtitled "Quoifyn Leein Vooar" this quatrain has nothing to do with that song. It is quite a separate entity.

Two six-quatrain versions of the song *Quoifyn Leein Vooar* or *Quoifyn Toinn Vooar* ('big bottom caps') appear in Manx and English in MS 221 A (A.W. Moore Coll.), p. 121, and in MS 266 A (G.F. Clucas Coll. in the A.W. Moore Coll.), as well as in MS 317 C (G.F. Clucas Coll.). Also Jerry (1979: 76). The song is a satire on the wearing of such caps. The reference to 'big flax-caps' is to a fashion among women in the early years of the 19th century. Under a one-stanza version of the song A.W. Moore (MS 221 A : 14b) notes "They wore great linen caps going up in a peak called 'dandy' caps 50 years ago [*c.* 1830]."

1.4. 'TWAS MY FATHER AND MY MOTHER

'Twas my Father & my Mother. "Sung by Mrs Bridson, Glen Meay [Maye]. Noted by MD." No date. Mona Douglas Coll. [13].

'Twas my father and my Mother that first did me trepan
They'd marry me to an old man for the sake of money and land
But I'd rather have a young man without a penny at all
That would swing me around in the dancing, and answer when I call.

Mona Douglas supplied the first two lines of this song to JFSS under the rubric "Sung by Mrs Bridson, Housewife, Glen Rushen,[4] 1923" where it was printed with two additional quatrains by Anne Gilchrist (JFSS vii 28 (1924): 158–59). This song of six verses, MD notes to Gilchrist, was seemingly known as "Ellen Mammy's Song thirty to forty years ago", evidently at the time when the informant learned the song. The text, according to Gilchrist (JFSS *ibid.*), seems to be of Irish origin.

1.5. YN COLBAGH VRECK

Yn Colbagh Breck ['the speckled heifer'] (The Togher Song). "Sung by Robert Kerruish, Ballavelt, Maughold. Noted by MD." No date. Mona Douglas Coll. [13].

O the speckled heifer's tethered and the sheep are on the hill
And the little calves are running in the meadow by the mill
With a pair of geese in feather and some *argid*[5] in her hand
O my girl will have a *togher*[6] fine as any in the land

The song *Colbagh Vreck er Sthrap* 'speckled heifer on a tether' is attributed to Rev. Philip Moore, 1783, editor of the Manx Bible translation. It is a satire on getting

4 This would be the same Mrs Bridson, as Glen Rushen and Glen Maye adjoin one another.
5 'Money.' My italics: GB.
6 'A dowry.'

married. A version in twelve quatrains with refrain appears in the Harrison Coll. The same text appears also in MS 240 A (Clague Coll. Bk. 5) and in Moore (1896: 83–85) under the title *Car-y-Phoosee* 'Wedding-Song.' Four stanzas without title appear in MS 263 A (Clucas Coll.). A fragment from Annie Kneale, Ballagarrett, Bride appears in HLSM/i: 314–15.

The above quatrain in English seems to be a separate English rendition of the song.

2. SONGS COLLECTED IN MANX

In addition to the song-fragments in English Mona Douglas collected a number of songs in Manx from a variety of informants. Some of these were published by Gilchrist in JFSS 28 & 30. Some have variants known elsewhere, others not. The texts of those that have known variants, with two exceptions, are not given. The songs are as follows:

2.1. SONGS COLLECTED IN MANX WITH KNOWN VARIANTS

2.1.1. HOP-TU-NAA

Hop-Tu-Naa. "Noted by Mona Douglas. Sung by children at Lezayre, 1925." JFSS vii 30 (1926): 312.

For other versions see Train (1845/ii: 123), *Mona Miscellany* i (1869): 149–51, *Yn Lioar Manninagh* iii (1895–1900): 184–86, Moore (1896: 68–69), JFSS vii 28 (1924): 174, from Mrs Radcliffe, Ohio, Kirk Andreas, in MS 1912 C, in "Noon as Noal," *Manx Star* 23 July 1977, Jerry (1979: 101).

2.1.2. OIE AS LAA

Oie as Laa (Night and Day). "Noted by Mona Douglas. Sung by Mr Robert Kerruish, C[aptain of the] P[arish][of Maughold], of Booilley Velt, Maughold, c. 1916." JFSS vii 30 (1926): 318–20 (text 319).

A version of this song (first stanza) was noted by Clague and printed by Gilchrist in JFSS vii 29 (1925): 208.

2.1.3. LHIGEY, LHIGEY

Lhigey, Lhigey ['gallop, gallop']. "Children's Singing Game Air. Noted by MD from Mrs Bridson, Glen Meay [Maye]." No date. Mona Douglas Coll. [9]. Manx text only.

For other versions see also in Moore (1896: 216) & a version from Ned Maddrell (HLSM/i: 368–69). Also Jerry (1979: 48).

2.1.4. ILLIAM Y CAIN

Illiam y Cain (William Cain). "Noted by Mona Douglas. Sung by Mrs Bridson, housewife, Glen Rushen, 1923." JFSS vii 28 (1924): 158.

A fuller version of this song containing six quatrains was "taken down from Mrs Bridson, Glen Rushen" (no date) and appears in MS 5433 B. The ms. is not in MD's hand, suggesting that the fuller version had been taken down independently. In Jerry (1979: 42).

2.1.5. TAPPAGYN JIARGEY

Tappagyn Jiargey (Red Top-Knots). "Air from Moore's 'Manx Ballads.' English version of the Manx traditional words by Mona Douglas." No attestation or date. Douglas (1928: 7–9). MD adds the following note:

> This song is connected with the old Manx May-Day custom of a mock battle between Summer and Winter in which the Queen of Summer and her followers drive off the Queen of Winter and her forces and are hailed as victors. The Summer Queen's head-dress was decked with coloured ribbons to which the title [of the song] refers. This custom is no longer celebrated traditionally in the island, but the song is still fairly well known. The refrain has a peculiar and characteristic rhythm, and early collectors seem to have found difficulty in getting the exact note-value down on paper. In the version used here the actual notes are identical with Moore's version […], but the time has not been noted direct from folk singers (children at Ballaglass [Kirk Maughold]), and varies little from Moore's notation. M.D. (Douglas 1928: 7).

Taken from Moore (1896: 48–49). Also in the Harrison Collection but under the title *Thapsagyn* [sic] *Jiargey*, seemingly taken from Barrow (1820: 26) The tune to this song first appears under the title *Tapsagyn Jeargey* [sic]—*Red Cockade* in Barrow (*ibid.*). Tune and text also in Jerry (1979: 29 under the title *Tappaghyn Jiargey*).

2.1.6. SHELG YN DREAN

Helg yn Drean (Hunt the Wren). "James Kelly, Ballachrink, Lonan, 1921." Kennedy (1975: 197).

Also in Moore (1891: 133–40, with full account of the custom and full text of the song); in Moore (1896: 64–67, with Manx Gaelic version entitled *Helg yn Drein*). This song is traditionally sung in English in Man. There is no tradition of the song, so far as I am aware, ever having been sung in Manx. The song is widely represented throughout the British Isles. Details of printed sources can be found in Kennedy (*ibid.*).

The expected form of the title is *Shelg yn Drean*, with non-lenition in the 2nd pers. sg. imperative. Lenition here seems to have been a misunderstanding developed among early revivalists in Man.

2.1.7. NY KIRREE FO NIAGHTEY

Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey (The Sheep Are 'Neath the Snow). "John Matt Mylechreest, Thallow Hogg, Lonan, 1929." Kennedy (1975: 196).

Also in JFSS vii 28 (1924): 117–20 (four versions), Graves (1928: 170 from an ms. of J.F. Crellin, Orrisdale, Michael), Jerry (1978: 20–21), Broderick (1991: 157–68).

In Kennedy (1975) Mona Douglas provides the following information regarding her informant:

> John Matthew Mylechreest, known throughout Lonan parish as John Matt, was an old shepherd-crofter, a friend of mine from early childhood. He lived with his sister, Christian, in the Thalloo Hogg, a small croft, and had sheep on most of the hills round about, his own fields being on the edge of the mountains. He had only one arm, having lost the other in an accident while working on the construction of the Snaefell mountain railway [1890s]. but he was very active and capable, and after his sister died he lived alone and looked after himself until well into his eighties. He was a great story-teller, and also knew quite a few songs and dances. He knew all the places mentioned in *Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey* and would tell how the song was "made on" Nicholas Colcheragh [Qualteragh], or Raby as he was called "before the Murreys [the Dukes of Atholl] [MD's brackets: GB] came to Man," by a young lad living in Raby who was a wonderful singer and fiddler, and how after the great storm and the loss of his flocks Raby himself died, so the tale went. John himself had worked for most of his life all around Raby, and had lived for a time at the Laggan Agneash, a croft at the foot of Snaefell (Mona Douglas, after Kennedy 1975: 196).

2.1.8. SNIEEU, WHEEYL, SNIEEU

Snieu, Queeyl, Snieu (Spin, Wheel, Spin). "Mrs Callow, Cardle Veg, Maughold, 1918–20." Kennedy (1975: 192 & 199).

Also in JFSS vii 28 (1924): 111–14), Clague (MS 450 A: Bk. 5: 52, Bk. 10: 130^{v}, Bk. 16: 153; 3 qq). In Morrison (1929: 66–74), Moore (1896: 216; 1900: 50–53), Cashen (1912: 54), Douglas (1928: 22–23), Jerry (1978: 60).

Regarding Mrs Callow MD has this to say (Kennedy 1975: 199):

> Mrs Callow, a farmer's wife who was about seventy-five when she sang this, was herself a capable spinner and knew many songs and stories. To her the ancient sea-god and first King of Man, Manannan mac Leirr, was no meaningless name to be

> forgotten but a living presence for ever about us […] (Mona Douglas, after Kennedy 1975: 199).

2.1.9. FER DY CLIEN CLICK

No title, attestation or date. Mona Douglas Coll. [17].

Also in Moore (1896: 44–45), Jerry (1979: 44 "Singing game noted at Dhoon School from children about 1920').

2.1.10. FIN AS OSHIN

Fin as Oshin ['Fin and Ossian']. MD *c.* 1979 gave me two names: "William Caine, Jurby Curragh, and Jack Kermode, Port Mooar, Maughold." No date. Mona Douglas Coll. [3]. First three lines only.

Also in Moore (1896: 2–5). For details of this song and its various mss, etc, see Broderick (1991: 51–60). So far as is known, this is the first instance of the tune accompanying the text.

2.1.11. ARRANE Y VLUGGAN

Linky-loo ny Arrane ny Vluggen ['Linky-Loo or the ball song']. "Johny Matey, Lonan" [John Matt Mylchreest]. No date. Mona Douglas Coll. [1A]. Kindly supplied to me by Colin Jerry, Peel, 9 February 1983 from MD.

In Clague MS 448 A (Bk. 1: 12/2 under the title "*Pa'ee Ned as Nelly gholl thie"* ['Paie Ned and Nelly going home']. Nursery Song. Halligan, Halligan, Linky-Long').

Text from MD in Manx only (at times unclear). English translation by GB.

Hammagan, Hemmagan, Hammagan, [Hemmagan	('H—, H—, H—, H—.
Hammagan joulagh Linky-loo	devilish H—, Linky-loo
Hammagan, Hemmagan, Hammagan, [Hemmagan	H—, H—, H—, H—.
Hammagan joulagh, ?shentree-loo	devilish H—, Linky-loo
Linky-loo as Linky-loo	Linky-loo and Linky-loo
cur dou y vluggan, bare ny ?ghoo	give me the ball, would be better than ?not
Hammagan Joulagh Linky-loo	devilish H—, Linky-loo
Hammagan Joulagh Linky-loo	devilish H—, Linky-loo').

2.1.12. ARRANE OIE VIE

Good-Night Song (Arrane Oie-Vie). "Air noted from the singing of T[om] Taggart, Malew. English version of traditional words by Mona Douglas." No date. Douglas (1928: 32–33). MD notes:

> It was the custom to sing this song at the breaking-up of all gatherings, much in the same way as "Auld Lang Syne" is still used in Scotland and elsewhere. MD (Douglas (1928: 32–33).

Also in Moore (1896: 58–59), Clague Coll. Books 5 & 10, MS 450 A (1 qu.), Jerry (1978: 5).

The texts of the next two songs are supplied in full, as their variants are pertinent to the commentary.

2.1.13. FISHERMAN'S PRAYER

Text provided by Mona Douglas for JFSS vii 28 (1924): 100 as an adjunct to the "Sea Invocation" (qv). Also in Jerry (1978: 32 under the title *Mannanan* [sic] *Beg Mac y Leir*). English translation provided by MD. No attestation or date.

Pherick beg jeh'h cheayn	('Little Patrick of the sea
Bannee orrin as nyn baatyn	Bless us and our boats
Mie goll magh agh ny share chetstiagh	Good going out but better coming in
Lesh vie [sic] as marroo aynjee	With living [i.e. men] and dead [i.e. fish] [in them'].

In this the first line, says MD (*ibid.*), was originally:

Mannanan [Manannan] beg mac y Leirr	('Little Manannan, son of Leirr').

Versions of this prayer were already known. In his Archaeological Report of 1911 to the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society, P.M.C. Kermode (*Proc. IOMNHAS* i (1910–11): 267) noted the following (translation by GB):

[…] I am particularly indebted to Miss Sophia Morrison, of Peel, for furnishing me in August last, with the Fisherman's Prayer, when putting out to sea. The invocation in these days is to the Trinity, but less than a hundred years ago was to St. Patrick, and, most remarkable of all, an old woman of nearly 90 gave Miss Morrison the following version, which she said had been used by her gandfather, in which Mannanan [Manannan] beg Mac Lir was invoked! Her father used the same words, substituting the name of St. Patrick for that of Mannanan:

Mannan beg Mac-y-Lir, fer vannee yn Ellan	('Mannan beg Mac y Lir, one who blessed [the island
Dy bannee shin as nyn moatey [maatey]	bless us and our boats
Mie goll magh as ny share cheet stiagh	Good going out, and better coming in
As bio as marroo sy vaatey	and living and dead in the boat').

Then we have:

Dy bannee Pharick Noo shin as nyn [maatyn	('May St. Patrick bless us and our boats').
Parick Noo bannee yn Ellan ain	('May St. Patrick bless our island
Dy bannee eh shin as yn baatey	may he bless us and the boat
Goll magh dy mie, cheet stiagh ny share	Going out well, coming in better
Lesh bio as marroo sy vaatey	with living and dead in the boat').

And again:

Dy bannee yn Noo Parick shin as nyn [moatey	('May St. Patrick bless us and our boats
Goll magh dy mie as cheet stiagh ny share	going out well and coming in better
Ooilley bio as ny merriu marin	all alive and the dead ones with us').

The imperative *bannee* 'bless' takes a direct object, as can be seen in *bannee shin* "bless us" in the variants. MD's *bannee orrin* shows confusion with the idiom *bannaght ort* 'a blessing on you, bless you.' This suggests that her version of the song has either not been properly taken down, or was never taken down at all, even though the song itself is genuine enough. MD also shows confusion in this regard in the song *Arrane y Fee* below.

2.1.14a PADJER COLUM KILLEY [7]

Padjer son shee. Mona Douglas Coll. [17]. No attestation or date.

Padjer Colum Killey. Mona Douglas Coll. [21]. No attestation or date. Contained in a letter on staff notation paper to Charles Guard (*c.* 1975). Mrs Clague, Niarbyl, associating the prayer with Lag ny Killey (Douglas 1965: 16; 1966: 22–23).

Padjer son shee	Padjer Colum Killey
Shee Yee as shee dooinny	Shee Yee as shee dooinny
Shee Yee as Colum Killy	Shee Yee as Colum Killy
Er dagh uinag, er dagh dorrys	Er dagh uinnag, er dagh dorrys

[7] See also *Dhooraght* 16 (Mee ny Nollick 1999): [1]–[4].

Er dagh tooil cur stiagh re hollys
Er kiare corneillyn y thie
Er y voyl ta mish ny lhie
As [shee Yee orrym pene]

Er dagh towl cur stiagh re-hollys
Er kiare corneillyn y thie
Er y voayl ta mish ny lhie
Shee Yee orrym pene

Translation [by MD]
('Invocation of Colum Killey

God's peace and man's peace
The peace of God and Colum Killey
On each window, on each door
On each chink where moonlight enters
On all four corners of the house
On the place of my repose
And God's peace on myself').

This text is also known from earlier collections, e.g. the Harrison Collection and *Mona Miscellany* ii (1873), viz:

2.1.15b A CHARM AGAINST THE FAIRIES

Harrision (1873: 195):

> Much has been said respecting charms in the first part of "Mona Miscellany" [1869]. The following is one respecting the banishing of fairies from the Isle of Man: (Harrison 1873: 195):
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
	Thus freely translated:
Shee Yee as shee ghooinney	The peace of God and peace of man
Shee Yee er Columb Killey	The peace of God on Colum Killey
Er dagh uinnag, er dagh ghorrys	On each window and each door
Er dagh howl joaill [goaill] [stiagh yn Re-hollys	And on every hole admitting moonlight
Er kiare corneillyn y thie	On the four corners of the house
Er y voayl ta mee my lhie	And on the place of my rest
As shee orrym feme [pene]	And the peace of God on myself.

This text are also printed in Roeder (1904: 42) under the same title. A version of this song is also found in Scotland and appears in Alexander Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica* iii: 264–65. See Appendix for full text.

The version of this song in MD seems genuine enough. However, the absence of attestation and date suggests that it was never collected by MD. It has simply been lifted from the literary tradition.

2.2. SONGS COLLECTED IN MANX WITH NO KNOWN VARIANTS

2.2.1. CHURNAL JIU AS CHURNAL JEA

Churning Song—Churnal jiu as churnal jea ('churning today and churning yesterday'). "Noted by Mona Douglas. Sung by Mrs Faragher, Kirk Michael, *c.* 1919." English translation via Archdeacon Kewley (cf. JFSS vii 28: xv). JFSS vii 30 (1926): 312–13. Also Jerry (1979: 68).

Churnal jiu as churnal jea	('Churning today and churning yesterday
As goll dy hurnal mairagh	And going to churn tomorrow
Ta wheesh d'eeym er y churn	There's so much butter on the churn
cha vowym stappal gleashagh!	That I cannot stop moving (i.e., churning)
O trooid shiu jiu as trooid shiu jea	O come-you today and come-you tomorrow
as trooid shiu ooilley mairagh	and come-you all tomorrow
Ta wheesh d'eeym er y churn	There's so much butter on the churn
cha vowym stappal gleashagh	That I cannot stop moving').

This song feels genuine. The Manx in the text reflects that of songs of the 19th century, e.g. use of Eng. nouns w. Mx. verbal-ending *-al* to form verbs in Manx, here *churnal* "churning" < Eng. "churn," instead of the expected *mastey* "mixing" (C.123).

2.2.2. SHIAULL ERSOOYL

Shiaull Ersooyl (Sail Away). "Margaret Quayle, Glen Aldin, Lezayre, 1925." Kennedy (1975: 199). English translation by MD.

Shiaull ersooyl, my vaatey, vaatey braew	('Sail away, my vessel, vessel brave
Shiaull ersooyl, my vaatey, vaatey braew	Sail away, my vessel, vessel, brave
Choud as ta'n tidey gymmyrkey lesh	As long as the tide does bear us along
Ta mee goaill arrane lesh choraa jesh	In fine voice are we lifting our song
Shiaull ersooyl, my vaatey, vaatey braew	Sail away, my vessel, vessel, brave').

The song seems genuine enough.

2.2.3. CLEAN SUGGANE OR ARRANE Y VEN-THIE

Clean Suggane or Arrane y Ven-Thie (Invocation to St. Bridget). "Mrs Bridson, Glion Meay." No date.

Jerry (1978: 56). Collection attributed to Mona Douglas. Manx text only. English translation by GB.

Brede, Brede, tar gys my hie	('Bridget, Bridget, come to my house
Tar gys y thie aym noght	come to my house tonight
Brede, Brede, tar, oh tar	Bridget, Bridget, come, oh, come
gys y thie aym noght	to my house tonight
Foshil-jee yn dorrys da Brede	Open the door to Bridget
as lhig da Brede cheet stiagh	and let Bridget come in
Brede, Brede, tar oo gys y thie noght	Bridget, Bridget, come to my house tonight').

This text seems to have been taken from Moore (1891: 106) where it is similarly worded, viz: *Brede, Brede, tar gys my thie, tar dys thie ayms noght. Foshil jee yn dorrys da Brede, as lhig da Brede cheet stiagh.*

For an episode concerning St. Bridget's Eve (31 January) see Ned Beg Hom Ruy (Edward Faragher, Cregneash) [Oie'll Breeshey ayns Earyween] (NBHR/146–48). For the invocation Faragher has: *Breed, Breed* […]*, tar gys yn thie ainyn nogh[t]* "Bridget, Bridget, come to our house tonight" (cf. NBHR/147).

The use of the singular and plural imperatives, viz. *lhig da Brede cheet stiaght* 'let (thou) Bridget come in' and *foshil-jee* 'open ye,' to refer to the same audience is a feature of Late Manx (cf. LDIM/125–26), as is failure of lenition in Moore's *my thie* 'my house' above, instead of the expected *my hie* (LDIM/94–98). It begs the question as to how old this particular invocation really is.

2.2.4. THE BALDWIN SONG

The Boaldyn (Baldwin) Song. "Noted by Miss Mona Douglas. Sung by Mrs Killey, factory worker, Ballasalla, 1920." English translation via Archdeacon Kewley. JFSS vii 28 (1924): 127.

Boaldyn heer as Boaldyn hiar	('Baldwin west and Baldwin east
Lossey er'n sleightyn [ny sleityn]	Flame on the mountains and flame in the
[lossey sy keeir [keeiragh]	[twilight
Ta mish sy vagher ta'n raad goll sheese	It's me in the fields and the road going down
O boayl cha mie ta Boaldyn!	O what a good place is Baldwin!').

The use of the sg. form of the Mx. def. art. *yn* (instead of pl. *ny*) with pl. *sleityn* (sg. *slieau*) 'mountain' is a feature of Late Manx (cf. LDIM/121–22). However, Mx. *keeir* 'dark colour …' (C.106) (G. *ciar*) is often used by MD for *keeiragh* 'the darkness of the night, between day and night, or night-fall [i.e. twilight]' (C.106) (cf. ScG. *ciarach*), cf. below. Sometimes MD uses *keeiraght* for *keeiragh*. This suggests that the above text has in fact not been collected at all, but rather composed by MD. This leads us to the next section.

3. SONGS INSPIRED BY ENGLISH OR MANX ORIGINALS

Many songs that Mona Douglas maintains she collected seem for one reason or another to have been composed, but using a song (or part of a song), whether in Manx or English, as a model. These would in my view include the following songs:

3.1a MILKING SONG

Milking Song (Arrane y Vleaun [sic]). "Sung by Cathy Quayle, the Whallag [Arbory, n.d.]. Noted by M[ona] D[ouglas]." Mona Douglas Coll. Nr. [9].

> Let a blessing be upon thee if thou give me milk a-plenty
> Give thy milk now, quick and easy, Then the calf shall come to suck thee
> Pretty dark one, sweetly grazing in the meadow by the river
> Give thy milk now, and my blessing be upon thee, little cow!

The above quatrain and tune associated with it seem genuinely to have been collected. The tune here noted down by MD, according to Robert Carswell, Douglas, is also known in Ireland. The tune used for *Arrane y Vlieaun* is clearly a variant of that used for the 'Milking Song.'

3.1b ARRANE Y VLIEAUN

Arrane ny Blieaun ['milking song']. "M. Douglas. Margot Quayle, Glion Aldyn." No date. English translation by GB. Jerry (1978: 61, but entitled *Arrane Ben-Vlieaun* ['milking woman's song']).

In Kennedy (1975: 196 "Mrs Faragher, Kerro[o] Glass, Kirk Michael, 1929'). MD adds:

> Mrs Faragher, a farmer's wife living on the hillside above the village, was one of the last native Gaelic speakers in the Kirk Michael area. She sang a churning song [v. *Churnal Jiu as Churnal Jea* above], as well as this milking song, and said that both were sung while milking or churning as a matter of course when she was a girl (Mona Douglas, in Kennedy 1975: 196).

Cur dty vainney, cur dty vainney	('Give your milk, give your milk
Choud's mish ta goaill Arrane	while I am singing a song
Lhig yn curn nish goll harrish	Let the churn now flow over
Lesh dty vainney, my vooa veen	with your milk, my dear cow
Chorus	
Bannaght Jee nish cur orts nish	May the blessing of God encourage you now
Ayr as Mac as Spyrryd Noo	the Father and Son and Holy Spirit
As Moirrey Bannit	and may the Blessed Mary

bishee dty vainney, my vooa	prosper your milk, my cow
Mie dty vainney, Mie dty vainney	Good is your milk, good is your milk
Lesh key son yn eeym	for cream for the butter
Jean dty chooid share dy c[h]ur dou palchey	Do your best to give me plenty
As yioy uss tooilley oarn.	and you will get more barley').

As can be seen, the Manx text is clearly a remodelling of the above English text. The song seems to have been composed for use with children.

Verbal-nouns are normally treated as masculine in Manx and in dependent position on an antecedent are lenited after the genitive singular masculine of the definite article, viz. *Arrane y Vlieaun*.

The expected lenition in the phrase *Moirrey Bannit*, i.e. *Moirrey Vannit*, though the application of lenition in the Late Manx period (19th century) is not always constant (cf. LDIM/94–102). In the clause *choud's mish ta goaill arrane* (lit. 'while (it is) I who is singing,' the use of fronting seems unnecessary. We would have expected something like *choud as ta mish goaill arrane* 'while I am singing'; this would fit the metre equally as well.

3.2. AS YN MWYLLIN, MWYLLIN O / ARRANE Y VLIEH

As yn Mwyllin, Mwyllin O. Clague Coll. Bk. 5: 52, Bk. 10: 130r, Bk. 16: 154. Tune CI/25:3 Joseph Crellin, Colby. Book 16 version. (See also *Mannin* 8 (Nov. 1916): 493).

Arrane y Vlieh. Grinding Song (Arrany ny Blieh). "Collected from Margot Quayle, Glen Aldyn Mill and translated by Mona Douglas." No date. Douglas (1957: 24–27). Third stanza printed with translation in Douglas (1966: 59).

Also JFSS vii 21 (1918): 19, JFSS vii 30 (1926): 313, Jerry (1978: 6).

As yn Mwyllin, Mwyllin O	Arrane y Vlieh
Myr hie mee sheese lhiattee lhargagh	O ta'n corkey mie son beisht as dooinney
As honnick mee ayns y mwyllin skeilley	T'eh jannoo cheh as lajer ooilley
Ben aeg bwaagh ny lhie cooyl y ching	As ayns coonlagh corkey mie dy lhie
As cha nee'n mwyllin urree va jing'	
As y mwyllin, mwyllin O	O yn mwyllin, mwyllin O
as y skeilley, skeilley noa	as yn arroo, arroo noa
As ny coggyn brish' ayns y mwyllin	As ta'n grine veg corkey goll gys y vwyllin
('As I went down the side of the hill	('O the oat is good for men and cattle
I saw in the shelling mill	It makes them strong for work or battle
a fine young woman lying behind the end	And in oaten straw 'tis good to lie
but it was not the mill that was crowding her	

And the mill, mill O
and the new shelling, shelling
and the cogs broken in the mill').

O the mill, mill O
And the corn-crop that is new
And the little grains of oats going to the
[miller').

O ta'n curnaght mie son berreen as arran
Mie lesh caashey, eem as sollan
T'eh mie ayns thie as mie ayns Keeill
O yn mwyllin, mwyllin O
as yn arroo, arroo noa
As ta'n grine veg curnaght goll gys y vwyllin

('O the wheat is good for bread and butter
Or to make a cake that is even better
It is good at home and good for Church.
O the mill, mill O
And the corn-crop that is new
And the little grains of wheat are going to the
[miller').

O ta'n grine veg oarn ny share ny ooilley
Te ynrican oarn ta mee goaill son follieu
Bee oarn cur bioys er ny ching ayns cree
O yn mwylllin, mwyllin O
as yn arroo, arroo noa
As ta'n grine veg oarn ersooyl gys y vwyllin

('O the barley grains the corn of fortune
From that alone will I take my portion
It will give new life to the sick at heart
O the mill, mill O
and the corn-crop that is new
And the little grain of barley's away to the
[miller').

As can be seen from the earlier version, the song tells of "grinding" women (sexually) and is thus bawdy in content. This motif is widely found in European folk-songs. An early French version is supplied in the Appendix for comparison. As many of MD's songs had children in mind, the above theme would likely have been regarded as unsuitable. A song of a more general nature geared to children's needs would have been required.

The phrase in the third stanza *ching ayns cree* 'sick in/at heart' is clearly a translation. Expected would have been something like *lag-chreeagh* 'down-hearted.'

This may suggest that the English version has been composed first, then translated into Manx. For this feature see also §5 below.

The title *Arrane ny Blieh* 'song of the grinding,' with feminine treatment of the dependent verbal-noun is a feature of Late Manx, cf. the place-name *Cronk ny Fasney* 'hill of the winnowing' (G. *fasgnadh*) in Kirk German, instead of the expected *Cronk yn Asney/ee* (*cnoc an fhasgnaidh*). Here, the use of the gen. fem. sg. of the Mx. def. art. would avoid the lenition required after the gen. masc. sg. of the def. art. The form *Arrane ny Blieaun* may also reflect this trend, or imprecision in Manx grammar. See also *Arrane y Vlieaun* above.

3.3. THE PLOVER'S LAMENT / ARRANE Y LHONDHOO

The Plovers Lament. J.R. Moore (n.d. [*c.* 1900]): [6]. English translation by GB.

Song of the Blackbird (Arrane y Lhondhoo). "Collected, and the English version of the Manx traditional words by Mona Douglas." No attestation or date. Douglas (1957: 16–19). Also in Graves (1928: 159). No attestation or date.

> When the Blackbirds built their nest they agreed together that when the young arrived they would go shares in looking after them. But Father Blackbird was a gay fellow, and often went off on excursions on his own, leaving his poor wife to sit alone on the nest all day, and sometimes for days together. So this is what she sang: a call to her mate to come back, because she is tired waiting (Douglas 1957: 16).

In Kennedy (1975: 195) MD gives Tom Taggart, Grenaby, Malew, 1924 as her source. She adds:

> Tom Taggart, of Grenaby, Malew, who sang the "Arrane y Lhondhoo," was a fiddler as well as a singer, and he knew many songs […]. Besides "Arrane y Lhondhoo" he knew other bird songs and stories (Mona Douglas, after Kennedy 1975: 195).

For other songs from Tom Taggart (collected by Prof. Carl. Marstrander, 1930) see HSLM/i: 388–91.

The Plovers Lament	Song of the Blackbird (Arrane y Lhondhoo)
Lhon dhoo vel oo chit vel oo chit	Lhondhoo, lhondhoo, vel oo cheet, vel oo cheet
Gioll oo dy darragh oo	Gob airh, gob airh, coamrey dhoo, coamrey [dhoo
S'foddey my-siallagh oo	Skee feagh, skee feagh
Cha jig dy braa cha jig dy braa.	Lhondhoo, lhondhoo, lhondhoo.
('Blackbird, are you coming, are you coming	('Blackbird, blackbird. will you come, will you [come
you promised that you would come	Beak of gold, beak of gold, suit of black [clothing you

and long may it please you (?)
I will never come, will never come').

Weary am I waiting here
Blackbird, blackbird, blackbird')

3.3.1. KIONE JIARG ['red head']

Coll. by A.W. Moore. No date. *The Manx Note Book* i (1885): 54. English translation by GB.

Kione jiarg, Kione jiarg
Apyrn dhoo, Apyrn dhoo

Vel oo cheet, Vel oo cheet
Skee fieau, Skee fieau
Lhondhoo, Lhondhoo

('red head, red head / black apron, black apron / are you coming, are you coming? tired of waiting, tired of waiting / blackbird, blackbird').

Tar bieau, tar bieau, lhondhoo, lhondhoo
Laa liauyr, laa liauyr, keirys dhoo, keirys [dhoo

Skee feagh, skee feagh
Lhondhoo, lhondhoo, lhondhoo

('Come soon, come soon, blackbird, blackbird
Long the day, long the day, darkness comes, darkness comes
Weary am I waiting here
Blackbird, blackbird, blackbird').

As can be seen, this song has earlier variants. However, MD's version seems to be an expanded form of the earlier versions. The Mx. word *feagh* in the phrase *skee feagh* above means 'quiet, calm, still' (cf. ScG. *faothach*). The phrase would then mean 'tired and weary.' However, it may be a mishearing for *skee fieau* 'tired of waiting,' as in the earlier forms. So far as is known, the form *keirys*, presumably 'darkness' does not exist in Manx, for which there is *keeiragh* (G. *ciarach*).

3.4. ARRANE Y CLEAN / ARRANE NY SHEEAGHYN TROAILTAGH

Arrane y Clean. Coll. by Wm. Cubbon in Arbory parish, n.d. In *Mannin* 1 (1913): 52. Also in JFSS vii 28 (1924); 164 as 'The Arbory Cradle Song.'

> He [Cubbon] learnt the tune and verse attached to it from an elder sister (JFSS vii 28 (1924): 164).

Song of the Travelling Fairies (Arrane ny Sheeaghyn Troailtagh). "Collected from Caesar Cashen, Peel, and translated by Mona Douglas." No date. Douglas (1957: 4–8).

> In this curious little lullaby the various birds seem to be invoked to protect the child against any mischievous intentions of the Travelling Fairies (Douglas 1957: 4).

In Kennedy MD gives 1930 as the date of collection from Caesar Cashin and provides the following account:

> Caesar Cashin […] was really a Dalby man and had been fishing out of the Niarbyl. He said that there used to be a little dance after each verse imitating the movements of the particular bird named: blackbird, falcon, seagull and wren. These birds are probably invoked in order to protect the sleeping child from any fairy mischief (Kennedy 1975: 196).

Arrane y Clean

In the Glion of Balla Comish
The Lhondhoo will build her nest
Sleep thee, my baby (x 3)
And thou'll get the birdie

Dy Droghad Cubbon, Awin Colby
The Ushagh Happagh builds her nest

In the scraas of Mullyn Colcheragh
The Gollan Geayee will build her nest

Song of the Travelling Fairies
(Arrane ny Sheeaghyn Troailtagh)

V'ad oie ayns y Glion dy Ballacomish
Jannoo yn lhondoo ayns shen e hedd
Chaddil oo, lhiannoo
Hig sheeaghyn troailtagh orrin
Bee dty host nish, ta mee geamagh er yn ushag

V'ad oie ayns Glion Rushen dy reagh ny sleityn
Jannoo yn shirragh ayns shen e hedd
Chaddil oo, lhiannoo, etc.

V'ad oie er ny creggyn Kione-y-Spainagh
Jannoo y foillan ayns shen e hedd, etc
Hig ad gys Gordon, agh ayns shen cooie
Jannoo yn dreean veg e hedd, etc.

('They stayed for a night in the Glen
[Ballacomish
(Therein the Blackbird makes her nest)
Sleep thou, my wee one,
The Travelling Fairies will come
Be in thy silence, and I'll call the birdie

One night they rested in Merry Glen Rushen
(Therein the Falcon makes her nest)

One night they were on the Head of the
[Spaniard
(Therein the Seagull makes her nest)

They'll come to Gordon and there all cosy
Makes the small Jenny wren her nest
Sleep then, my wee one
And fear not Themselves at all
Be in thy silence while I call the birdie').

As with the previous song *Arrane y Vlieh*, MD's version seems to be an expanded form in Manx of the attested earlier variants.

The bird-names supplied by MD in her text are masculine in Manx, but are treated by MD as feminine, as indicated by the phrase *e hedd* 'her nest.' The use of a separate feminine form with *h-* before vowels had disappeared by the time of Late Manx and is scarce even in Classical Manx. The use of the feminine here seems to derive from the English of the earlier version, which, if so, would suggest that MD's version is her own.

The phrase *Glion dy Ballacomish* for 'the glen of Ballacomish' would be a direct translation of the same in the earlier variant. Ordinarily this would be *Glion Vallacomish* or *Glion Ballacomish*, cf. *Ghlan Ballacowle* 'Ballacowle Glen' in Kirk Maughold (PNIM/iv: 78).

The attested name for Spanish Head is *Kione Spainey* (cf. PNIM/vi: 446). The form *Kione y Spainagh*, so far as is known, is nowhere attested.

3.5a. SHE LHONG HONNICK MEE

She lhong honnick mee ['it was a ship which I saw']. Clague Coll. Tune published in JFSS vii 28 (1924): 134. Text from an old note book, now lost but then available to Anne Gilchrist, published in JFSS vii 29 (1925): 209. English translation via Archdeacon Kewley.

She lhong honnick mee as ee shiaulley
As ee shiaulley er y keayn shoh mooie
As va ny coordyn eck bobbinit ny sheeshey
Va'd shinal myr airh buigh syn errica
[[aarkey]
or Cha naik mee rieau lhong s'aalin na v'ee

('It was a ship I saw and she was sailing
And she was sailing on the sea out here
Her ropes were tasselled with silk
They were shining like yellow gold on the
[ocean
—I never saw a prettier ship than she was').

3.5b. SHE LHONG HONNICK MEE

A Ship Sailing (She Lhong honnick mee) "Air from the Clague collection. English version of the Manx traditional words by Mona Douglas." No attestation or date. Douglas (1957: 44–47).

Also in Jerry (1978: 2).

She lhong honnick mee as v'ee shiaulley
As my lomarcan mish er y y traie
V'ee goll roym er y tidey dy tappee
O ho, she ish baatey my ghraih
B'laik lhiams dy beign goll ersooyl marish
Sy baatey goll magh marish my ghraih.

A ship did I see and she sailing
And I all alone on the shore
'Twas swiftly she drew down the tideway
O ho, for my lover she bore.
O I'd like to go away with her sailing
To go out in that fair vessel with my love.

Ve ny teadyn eck soilshean myr argid
As ish shiaulley magh shen dy braew
Myr airh ren ee skell er yn ushtey
Lhong ny saalin, cha vaikyms ayn rieau
B'laik lhiams dy beign goll ersooyl marish
Sy baatey goll magh marish my ghraih.

Her ropes seemed all shining like silver
And she sailing bravely out there
Like gold gleamed her hull on the water
I never saw [a] vessel more fair
O I'd like to go away with her sailing
To go out in that fair vessel with my love.

She my ghraih honnick mee er y stiurey
Nagh row eshyn jannoo dy mie!
Fer 's niartal sy lhong ta my ghuilley
Yn dooinney ny 's bwaagh ayns y thie
B'laik lhiams dy beign goll ersooyl marish
Sy baatey goll magh marish my ghraih.

My lover I saw at the steering
O sure on the rudder his hand
The strongest of sailors my lad is
The best man to look at on land
O I'd like to go away with her sailing
To go out in that fair vessel with my love.

My vees eshyn maryms er 'n Ellan
Gyn baatey ny shiaull dy gholl veih
O ho, eisht cha lhias dou freayll arrey
My lomarcan faagit as treih
O b'lhaik lhiams dy beign goll ersooyl [marish
Ny dy 'reayll oo ayns shoh maryms, [O my ghraih!

But if he were with me on the Island
Without boat or sail to depart
O ho, then I need not be watching
Left lonely and heavy of heart
O I wish that I might go away sailing
Or that I might keep thee with me, O my [love.

As with the previous two songs, this seems to be an expanded version by MD of the earlier variant recorded in Clague, though the text hangs well together.

The verbal-noun *skell* would be for *skellal* 'disappearing' cf. also *jeeagh* for *jeeaghyn* below. The phrase *sy baatey* 'in the boat,' with failure of lenition after a preposition and definite article, would be Late Manx. We would otherwise have expected *sy vaatey*.

The songs in this section appear to be expanded versions of earlier attested forms adapted to meet the needs of children.

4. SONGS COMPOSED IN MANX

4.1. THE MANANNAN SONG

The Mannanan [*sic*] Song. "Noted by Miss Mona Douglas. Sung by Mrs Shimmin, Housewife, Foxdale, 1921." JFSS vii 28 (1924): 101–02. English translation via Archdeacon Kewley. Also in Douglas (1966: 12 "sung by children some thirty years ago"), and Jerry (1979: 57).

Craad ta'n Ree? T'eh er'n cheet [er jeet][8] [veih Flaunys	('Where's the king? He has come
Harrish y cheayn dys mullagh Varrool	from Flaunys [heaven] over the sea
Craad ta'n Ree? T'eh er'n cheet veih Flaunys	to the top of Barrule
Harrish y cheayn dys mullagh Varrool	
Cred t'eh jannoo? T'eh jeeagh my-heear	What's he doing? He's looking
Soie fo chay er mullagh Varrool	behind him (or westward) sitting
Cred t'eh jannoo? T'eh jeeagh my-heear	under the mist on the top of Barrule
Soie fo chay er mullagh Varrool	
Quoi ta'n Ree? Ta'n Ree Mannanan	Who's the king? The king's
Ta cashtal echey er mullagh Varrool	Manannan. He has a castle on the top
Quoi ta'n Ree? Ta'n Ree Mannanan	of Barrule').
Ta cashtal echey er mullagh Varrool	

This seems to be a composition. The form *er'n cheet* for *er jeet* 'after coming, having come' would seem to suggest imprecision rather than a misprint, as it occurs twice. The verbal-noun *jeeagh* would be for *jeeaghyn* (ScG. *deuchainn*), cf. *skell* for *skellal* above. A use of the full form *jeeaghyn* would not affect the metre or rhythm. Abbreviated forms of verbal-nouns seem to be a feature of MD's Manx.

The phrase *Ta'n Ree Manannan* 'the king is Manannan' is acceptable in Manx, though *Manannan yn Ree* would have been more idiomatic, but the position of 'Manannan' in the line requires the stress to fall on the second syllable, i.e. in accordance with its pronunciation in English. Its pronunciation in Manx (as in other branches of Gaelic) would require the stress on the first syllable.

The spelling is *Manannan* (G. *Manannán*), not *Mannanan*. It means 'he who is born in, comes from *Manu* (g. *Manann*).' For details of Manannan in Celtic tradition and mythology, see Wagner 1981.

4.2. ARRANE Y NIEE

Arrane ny Niee [Arrane y Niee] ('The Washing Song'). No attestation or date. Mona Douglas Coll. [1]. Text only. From a typescript in MD's music mss. English translation by GB. In Kennedy (1975: 195 "James Kelly, Ballachrink, Lonan, 1921'). Also Jerry (1978: 66 under the title *Arrane ny Niee*).

MD adds (Kennedy *ibid.*):

> James Kelly said that this was the song the women always used to sing when washing their babies. He maintained that they learned it first from the fairies, who had been heard singing it as they washed their own babies in the early morning in

[8] Gilchrist's emendation.

> the Awin Ruy, a small river near this farm. The words seem to be a kind of incantation for the child to grow in beauty and strength.
>
> James Kelly, who had lived on the farm at Ballachrink all his life, had been brought up there with two old uncles who spoke only Gaelic. When he was a young man taking farm produce to Douglas he liked to take him someone who spoke better English than himself to deal with the customers, but when he sang this for us he was in his eighties and spoke English fluently, though he still preferred and felt easier in the Gaelic (Mona Douglas, after Kennedy 1975: 195).

Bee dty host, my villish, bee dty host, [my villish!	('Be silent, my sweet one, be silent, my sweet
Niee mish dty laueyn, niee mish dty [c[h]assyn	one / I will wash your hands, I will wash your
Aalin t'ou, my lhiannoo, bane as rea dty [challin	feet / beautiful you are, my child, fair and
Sheidey dty c[h]oamrey meein	smooth your body / silk your fine clothing
Dagh laa cur aalid ort	Every day putting beauty on you
Vyrneen lhiam y folt casagagh	O my wee girl of curly hair
Ree ny rollagyn cur bannaght ort	the king of the stars blessing you
O my chree, my stoyr!	O my heart, my treasure
C (h)ooid nagh gaase [n'aase] sy voghrey	That which does not grow in the morning
Lhig eh gaase syn keeiraght	let it grow in the twilight
Niee mish dty laueyn, niee mish dty [c[h]assyn	I will wash your hands, I will wash your feet
C (h)ooid nagh gaase syn oie	That which will not grow at night
Lhig eh gaase ec munlaa	let it grow at midday
Cur ort dy chooilley g[h]rayse	bestowing on you every grace
Dagh laa cur niartys ort	Every day giving you strength
Vyrneen lhiam ny folt casagagh	my wee girl of the curly hair
Ree ny rollagyn cur bannaght ort	the king of the stars blessing you
O my chree, my stoyr!	O my heart, my treasure').

Again, seemingly a composition. The use of *my stoyr* 'my treasure' is, so far as is known, not otherwise found in Manx traditional songs. It is a feature of some popular songs in Irish, e.g. *a stór, a stór, a ghrá, a stór, a stór, an dtiocfaidh tú?* (cf. Ó Baoill 1975: 16).[9] The phrase *nagh gaase* for *nagh n'aase* 'that will/does not grow,' i.e. the use of the verbal-noun instead of the future form would seem to be an example of imprecision (twice), rather than a misprint, as would seem to be the use of *keeiraght* for *keeiragh* (cf. also above and below).

[9] By 1921 MD was secretary of the Manx branch of the Celtic Congress (DNB 2004, Bazin 1998: 129). This would have brought her into contact with Irish colleagues, and thereby Irish tradition.

4.3. DOBBERAN SON BEN-RAUN

Dobberan Son Ben Raun ['lament for a seal-woman']. Manx text (only) copied by Charles Guard from an original by MD. Text in CG's hand. No attestation or date. English translation by GB.

O s'mooar my osnagh, moar er y fa [dy vel] my ghraih ersooyl
lesh foddeeaght er-lheh she mish fegooish bree
Sy keeiraght er y traie honnick mee my ven shooyl
As v'ee goll voym myr scaadoo ny h'oie—ogh-hene, ogh hi!

('Oh, how great my sigh, great as my love is gone
with particular longing it is I (who is) without spirit
in the twilight on the shore I saw my wife walking
as she was going from me like the black shade of the night—alas!').

V'ee troggal seose e chione as sheeyney magh er y cheayn
V'ee chyndaait ayns raun, as mish freayll arrey mie
Eisht, scoltey ny tonnyn hie e[e] ny lomarcan
Gys ellanyn ny twoaie raad e Kynney ny lhie

('She was lifting up her head and stretching out on the sea
she was changed into a seal, and me keeping a good watch
Then splicing the waves she went alone
to the islands of the north where her folks lie').

She dobberan mish jannoo er e hon, oie as laa
Ta tromid dowin orrym as seaghyn dy liooar
My lomarcan faagit gyn gerjagh my vea
As my ghraih ersooyl nish ayns ny spoaraghyn moar

('It is a lamenting I am doing for her night and day
There is a deep heaviness on me and plenty of sorrow
Left alone without joy in my life
and my love gone now into the great open spaces').

Once again *keeiraght* for *keeiragh*. In the phrase *she dobberan mish jannoo* 'it is a lamenting me doing' *she dobberan nieeym jannoo* 'it is a lamenting I (will) do' would have been better. The word *tromid* '?weight, heaviness' does not exist in Manx, for which there is *trimmid*; there is *trome* meaning 'heavy.' This song is almost certainly an MD composition.

4.4. THE SEA INVOCATION

The Sea Invocation (Geay Jeh'n Aer). "Collected, and the English version of the Manx traditional words by Mona Douglas." English translation via Archdeacon Kewley. Douglas (1928: 2–3). Also Jerry (1978: 49).

> The singer who gave me this song [Mrs Shimmin, Foxdale, see below] said it was "a girl's good wish for her lover on the sea, and the girls would be singing it when the boats would be away at the fishing." She knew nothing of the meaning of the three names invoked, but Miss A. G. Gilchrist [Gilchrist 1928: 100] suggests that "Shonest" may be a version of "Shony," a sea deity known in the Hebrides. The names are pronounced "Show-ness," "Loudth-ess" and "Ray" respectively, and the refrain as "Ho ro a-ree a-ro." M.D. (Douglas 1928: 2).

The song seemingly first appeared in Gilchrist (1924: 99), where it is printed under the rubric: "Noted by Miss Mona Douglas. Sung by Mrs Shimmin, Housewife, Foxdale, 1921." According to Gilchrist, she wrote to Mona Douglas about this song and received the following reply:

> "The Sea Invocation" is a girl's song, but I am not sure that it is a song of labour, though it may quite probably be. The rhythm seems to me a little like a rowing-song, but the old woman who sang it for me [Mrs Shimmin] only said it was "the good wish of a girl for her lover on the sea," and she did not even seem very sure as to the meaning of what she sang, in detail, anyway. The line "Shonest, Leodest, as y Raa"[10] has puzzled me not a little: Like you, I at once thought of Shoni [the sea-god][Gilchrist's brackets: GB] but the matter is complicated by the fact that the three names are all *farm-names* [sic]. Of course three farms would not be invoked, so at a guess I should say that a practice has been followed which I have occasionally come across in connection with certain "fairy" things—charms and so on—that is, a forbidden thing will either have its name altered for common use, or will be referred to under the name of some common place, object, or even a well-known person occasionally. It is a difficult process to explain, but it certainly exists […] (Gilchrist 1924:100).

In her comment on this feature Anne Gilchrist (JFSS vii 28 (1924): 100) notes:

> […] For further references to Shoni, who was a "sea-god in Lewis" to whom a cup of ale was sacrificed for luck, see the late Dr. George Henderson's *Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland*. Without yielding to further speculation on the signification of Shonest, Leodest and the Raa, a word may be said on the name-disguises found in the language used by Manx fishermen at sea—these *haaf*-names [ON *haf,* the sea] [Gilchrist's brackets: GB] and the superstitions connected with them being related to similar sea-names and customs round Norway, the Faroes, Shetlands, Orkneys, the north-east coast of Scotland, and Yorkshire […] (Gilchrist 1928:100).

[10] Shonest and Rhaa lie near each other in the parish of Kirk Lonan on the south-east side. Leodest lies in Kirk Andreas in the north.

Gilchrist goes on to give some examples from Jakobsen. Manx examples can be found in Roeder (1904: 13, 81, 82, 107, 108), and in HLSM/i: 328–31. Only one stanza is attested.

Geay jeh'n aer ta my ghraih er y cheayn
Ho ro y ree y ro, ho ro y ree y ro!
Jean yn earish kiune as meein
Ho ro y ree y ro, ho ro y ree y ro!
Shonest Leodest as y Raa
Cur aigh vie as maynrys da
Slaynt as shee as eash dy vea
Ho ro y ree y ro, ho ro y ree y ro!

('Wind of the air, my love's on the sea
ho ro y ree y ro, ho ro y ree y ro!
Make the weather calm and fine
ho ro y ree y ro, ho ro y ree y ro!
Shonest. Leodest and the Raa
Give good luck and happiness to him
Health and peace and length of life
ho ro y ree y ro, ho ro y ree y ro!').

The vocable refrain *ho ro y ree y ro*, or refrains of this type, are not otherwise attested in Manx traditional songs, but are a feature of many Scottish Gaelic traditional songs, e.g. *Éile le ho ró ho hù o, Hó ró hùg a hug o, Hì ri ill ù ill ò,Illiù o ro hù o,* etc, particularly waulking songs (cf. *Waulking Songs from Barra*, Scottish Tradition 3, Tangent Records TNGM III, 1972).[11]

The farm name *Shonest* is in fact pronounced [2345678] (PNIM/iv: 349); a form [145678] is not otherwise attested, and so any association with the Norse sea-god *Shoni* is therefore unlikely. Nevertheless, the farms Shonest and the R(h)aa lie beside one another in the parish of Kirk Lonan, while Leodest lies in Kirk Andreas in the north. Shonest and Leodest appear to be Norse names in *–sta9ir* 'settlement' (cf. PNIM/iv: 349, iii: 144) and the R(h)aa Gaelic (cf. PNIM/iv: 346–47). The names seem to have been chosen at random.

The whole gives the impression of being a composition.

4.5. ARRANE NY SEYIR

Arrane ny Seyir ['song of the carpenters']. Mona Douglas Coll. [14]. No date or attestation. Text (in Manx only) on typed sheet within ms. English translation by GB.

Ta'n fuygh creoi ny darragh ('The hard wood of the oak

[11] Her work for the Celtic Congress would likely have brought her into contact with Scottish colleagues, and thereby Scottish tradition, as it seemingly did with Irish tradition. She told me *c.* 1974, at the time I was working in Edinburgh, that she had come into contact with Scottish Gaelic song material in her visits to Scotland. She added that the traffic was by no means all one way, and that one of the songs that the Scottish Gaels had taken to was the Manx lullaby *Ushag Veg Ruy* 'little red bird.' About a year later while still in Edinburgh I heard a Scots Gaelic version of this song (viz. *uiseag bheag ruadh*) sung in a children's Gaelic TV programme to the same tune by the then popular Gaelic singer Anne Lorne-Gillies.

Ny share son lhuingey-varrey
As jannoo shin ny baatyn beggey
Cowrey mie son cloan yn ooir
Dy kinjagh shegin dooin gobbree
Lesh ourdyn as lesh treinyn
Dy yannoo lhuingys beggey
son aigh-vie er cloan yn ooir
Clic-clac, clic-clac, clic-clac, clic-clac, Ai.

is better for a sea-boat
And we build the little boats
a good sign for the children of the soil
Always we have to work
with hammers and with nails
to make little boats for the good luck
of the children of the soil
Clic-clac, clic-clac, clic-clac, clic-clac, Ai').

The phrase *jannoo shin* is another example of the use of a verbal noun in place of a conjugated verb, e.g. *niee mayd* 'we (will) do.'

The item *obbree*, intended to be the verbal-noun *(g)obbragh (ey)*, normally means 'worker.'

The phrase *lhuingey-varrey* itself has no meaning, but is presumably intended to mean 'sea-ship.' *Lhuingey* is the genitive singular of *lhong* 'ship, boat' (G. *long*). The similar word *lhuingys* means 'shipping, navy' (G. *luingeas*).

The inclusion of all this here suggests imprecision and that the song is a composition.

4.6. THE BULGHAM SEA-SONG

"Noted by Miss Mona Douglas. Sung by Mrs Callow, Farmer's wife, Maughold, 1912." JFSS vii 28 (1924): 103. English translation via Archdeacon Kewley.

> This […] little snatch of song was sung to Miss Mona Douglas as a child. It seems as though it may have been a fisherwife's lullaby (Gilchrist JFSS vii 28 (1924): 103).

Ta deiney treih, treih
S[n]y baatyn goll magh
Ta ny meilyn varrey garraghte
[garraghtee][12]
Garraghty dy bragh

('The men are sad, sad [men are sad]
in the vessels going out
The sea is laughing (*or* the lips of the sea
[are laughing),
laughing ever more').

The use of the singular form of the Manx definite article with plural nouns, e.g. *sy baatyn* "in the boats" (for *sny baatyn*) is a feature of Late Manx (cf. LDIM/121–22), unless it is a misprint. The phrase *meilyn varrey* "sea-lips" seems an unusual combination. So far as is known, it is nowhere else attested in Manx literature. The text has a feel of composition about it.

[12] Gilchrist's emendation.

4.7. ARRANE Y FEE

Arrane ny Fee ['song of the weaving']. No attestation or date. But MD told me *c.* 1979 she had obtained it from a certain Hudgeon y Fidder ('Hudson the Weaver'). No date. Mona Douglas Coll. [19]. Text in Manx only. English translation by GB. Also in Jerry (1979: 58).

O cheet as goll as mooie as sthie	('O coming and going and out and in
As ta mee jannoo eggey vie	and I am making a good web (?weft)
Ta'n spaal goll harrish spaal goll fo	the shuttle goes over, shuttle goes under
Dy yannoo skillea [?skilleig] jiarg as doo	to make a narrow strip (of) red and black
Refrain	
Dy bannee Jee er'n eggey shoh	May God bless this web
As er yn snaih va'n ollan sneeu	and the thread the wool was spinning
As er yn coamrey traa vees ayn	and the clothing when it is there (it comes)
As bannaght mooar nish cheet er m'ayrn	and a great blessing now comes ?on my share
O neose as nees[e] as noon as noal	O down and up and hither and thither
Ta'n eggey gaase, cha nel eh moal	the web is growing. it is not slow
Ta'n spaal goll [m'] yesh ta'n spaal goll [lhean	The shuttle goes to the right, the shuttle goes [wide
Cha noddyms stappal gleashaghey	I cannot stop it moving').

In the title *Arrane ny Fee* the 'n' of the def. art. would be a carry-over from the 'n' of *Arrane*, i.e. we would expect *Arrane y Fee*, with non-lenition of 'f-' to preserve the integrity of the word *fee* 'weaving.'

The use of *mooie* 'out' and *sthie* 'in' for *magh* 'out of' and *stiagh* 'into,' particularly *mooie* for *magh* becomes common during the Late Manx period (cf. HLSM/i: 117–18).

The use of *neose* 'from up, downwards' and *neese* 'from down, upwards' are not common and had disappeared by the Late Manx period (*c.* 1850).

The imprecation *dy bannee Jee* 'may God bless' takes a direct object with no intervening preposition, so *dy bannee Jee yn eggey shoh*, etc. cf. *bannee Jee shiu* 'may God bless you' (C.10; see also *The Manannan Song* above). But *cur bannaght er* 'put a blessing on, bless.' The use of *er* here shows a confusion of idioms.

For the above reasons the text seems to be a composition.

5. SONGS ORIGINALLY COMPOSED IN ENGLISH AND SUBSEQUENTLY TRANSLATED INTO MANX

The Manx versions of the songs in this section I hope to show are not original. The English texts seem not to be translations, but stand on their own as independent song-texts.

5.1. YN LHIANNAN SHEE

The Fairy Sweetheart (Yn Lhiannan Shee). "Air from the Clague collection. English version of Manx traditional words by Mona Douglas." No date. Douglas (1957: 13–15).

Va ben aeg bwaagh v'ee cheet veih Kilkenny	A pretty girl coming from Kilkenny
As mish my lomarcan ec knock ny Shee	And I alone by the Fairy Hill
V'ee ersooyl cha dindeasagh ayns y lheannee	So small and dainty she paced the meadow
Hie me[e] ayns follagh dy yeeagh my haie	I lay in hiding to gaze my fill
O quoi va shoh cheet rhym veih Kilkenny	O who was she coming from Kilkenny
Joaree ny 's aalin veih foddey jeh?	A lovely stranger from far away?
Va'n folt dhoo veein eck as commey tanney	Her soft dark hair and her shape so slender
Myr ashlish Vouldyn soilshean syn oie	Were like a dream on this Eve of May.
Ceau shilley bieau v'ee, as geiyr mee urree	She smiled and I could not choose but follow
Hayrn ee mish heese ayns glion ny vlaa	She drew me down in the blossoming glen
Agh ayns e phaag va'n feaght ny hushtey	But when we kissed, cold her lips as water
Hoiggal mee eisht v'ee Lhiannan Shee	I knew I courted a Fairy then
O Lhiannan Shee, ta mee clashtyn kinjagh	O Fairy Sweetheart, I hear you calling
T'ou geamagh orrym trooid oie as laa	At dawn and dusk in the lonely ways
Cha noddyms cur graih nish er ben [marvaanagh	Your kiss has lured me from mortal women
She mish my lomarcan trooid my vea.	Alone I wander through all my days.

So far as is known, there is no place-name *Knock ny Shee* attested in Man. The nearest would be *Port y Chee* 'fort, rampart of the tumulus' in Kirk Conchan (PNIM/iii: 412). The elements *Shee*, G. *sídh(e)*, can be interpreted as 'fairies,' but then the element *ferrish (yn)* < Eng. 'fairies' is found, e.g. *paal ny ferrish* 'the fairy coop' in Kirk Lonan (PNIM/iv: 342).

Next we have another two examples of abbreviated verbal-nouns: *follagh* for *follaghey* 'hiding' (G. *folachadh*) and *jeeagh* for *jeeaghyn* 'seeing, discerning' (G. *deuchainn*). The phrase *hie mee ayns follagh* means 'I went into hiding' and is a direct translation of the English idiom.

The phrase *veih foddey jeh* 'from far off' directly translates the English idiom. The phrase *glion ny vlaa* may be for *glion y vlaa* 'glen of the flower' or *glion ny blaa / mlaa / blaaghyn* 'glen of the flowers.' *Hoiggal mee*, presumably meaning 'I knew, understood,' is as it stands impossible. We would expect *hoig mee*, using the inflected preterite of *toiggal*. The paratactic arrangement of *hoiggal mee eisht v'ee Lhiannan Shee* 'I knew then she was a Lhiannan Shee' is a featrue of Late Manx, following the English practice of omitting 'that' (cf. LDIM/139–40).

For *ben marvaanagh* 'a mortal woman' we would expect lenition in the following adjective, i.e. *ben varvaanagh*. Failure of lenition in such circumstances is also a feature of Late Manx (cf. LDIM/94).

The text to my mind is a translation of the English text, i.e. the English text came first, then the Manx version.

5.2. YN SCOLLAG AEG

The Young Man (Yn Scollag Aeg). "Collected from Mrs Shimmin, Foxdale, and translated by Mona Douglas." No date. Douglas (1957: 38–40). Also Jerry (1979: 96).

O scollag aeg lesh casagyn aalin	O curly headed young man so handsome
Dty hooilyn gennal t'ad stroi my shee	Your merry eyes have destroyed my peace
Cha vel fys ayd ta my chree goll voym	But you don't know that my heart's gone from [me
Tra beeyms fakin oo, laa as oie	Whene'er I see you, so wild it is!
Ta mish freayll arrey tra bee oo markiagh	I watch for you when you go out riding
Sy voghrey magh er dty cabbyl dhoo	On your black horse in the morning bright
Agh cha vel shuish cur shilley orrym	But not a glance do you cast upon me
Ny cur dou graihys, ro voyrnagh t'ou	So proud you are, O my heart's delight!
Cha yerkyms nish vees oo ayms son [graihdeyr	I cannot hope you will be my lover
Agh ta mee coonaghtyn dty gennallys	But I'll remember your youthful charms
Tra beeyms poost er shenn eirinagh [berchagh	And when I'm married to some old farmer
Ayns ashlish lhiats bee'm son traa gyn-yss	In dreams, my love, I'll be in your arms.

For similar reasons the English text came first. Here we have another example of parataxis, viz. *cha vel fys ayd ta my chree goll voym* 'you do not know my heart is going from mee,' instead of … *dy vel my chree* … i.e. it follows English syntax (cf. LDIM/139–40). *Traa beem's* 'when I will be,' *traa bee oo* 'when you will be,' instead of the relative form *vees*, is a feature of Late Manx (cf. LDIM/127). The word *graihys*, so far as is known, does not exist in Manx, for which there is *graih* 'love.' For *cha yerkyms* 'I do not expect' we would expect *cha jerkyms* without lenition (unless it is a misprint). The use of the relative form *vees* instead of *(dy) bee* is Late Manx (cf. LDIM/*ibid.*). We should perhaps read this line as *cha jerkyms dy bee-oo dooys son graihder*, with *dooys* 'to, for me' instead of *ayms* 'at/by me.'

The English text stands on its own and has some literary merit. The Manx version is clearly a translation.

5.3. CREG WILLY SYL

Willy Syl's Rock (Creg Willy Syl). "Collected from J[ames] Kelly, fisherman, Baldrine, translated by Mona Douglas." No date. Douglas (1957: 9–12).

Fergagh feiyr ushtey sterr'magh
Ard coraa er mooir as geay
O ta keoiys kea[y]ney, kea[y]ney
Craad rouailtagh, Ron, Ron.

Tar dys shoh er creggyn greinagh
Traieyn aalin, tonnyn keshagh
Tar, as gow dty haitnys marin
Mooinjer varrey, Ron, Ron.

Ta shin foddeeaght, foddeeaght erriu
Shee dty vea as graih cur erriu
Tar, O tar, as cur orrin carrys
Cloan Druialtagh, Ron, Ron

Boayl t'ou cummal, sceddan palchey
Druiaght ghooie t'ou cur orrin
Tar, eisht, tar, cur dooin dty vannaght
Cloan ny marrey, Ron, Ron.

Loud the noise of stormy water
High the voice of wind and sea
O there's wildness crying, crying
Where you wander, Seal, Seal.

Here are pleasant rocks and sunlight
Fair white beaches, foaming breakers
Come and take your pleasure with us
Our sea-kindred, Seal, Seal.

We are longing, longing for you
We will give you love and welcome
Only come and give us friendship
Clan of magic, Seal, Seal.

Where you are come fish in plenty
Spells of kindness you put on us
Come, then, come and give you blessing
Clan of ocean, Seal, Seal.

The phrase *craad rouailtagh* as it stands is meaningless, but presumably means something like 'wherever you wander.' Insuch circumstances we would expect something like *raad erbee t'ou rouail* or (to suit the metre) *rouail t'ou*.

The form *Druialtagh* meaning 'magic,' so far as is known, does not exist in Manx (unless it is a misprint), for which there is *druaightagh* (C.60). *Druaight* means 'a druid.' *Sceddan* 'herring' here and elsewhere is normally written *Skaddan*.

As with the foregoing, the English text has come first, then the Manx version.

5.4. ARRANE SAVEENAGH

Slumber Song (Arrane Saveenagh). "Collected from Mrs Shimmin, Foxdale, and translated by Mona Douglas." No date. Douglas (1957: 31–34). Also Jerry (1978: 48).

O bee dty host, lhiannoo, er dty lunjean
Tra heidys y geay eisht leaystee yn clean

My brishys y bangan neose gys yn ooir

Hig lhiannoo as clean as ooilley nyn droor

O calm you, my baby, sleep while I sing
And as the wind blows you hammock will [swing
But if the branch breaks down, down we shall [fall
The babe in the cradle, the singer and all!

O bee dty host, lhiannoo, er baare y tonn
Tra yllys yn geay lunjeanee y lhong
She harrish yn aarkey, harrish y cheayn
Ayns lhiabbee t'ou cadley, lhiannoo veg
[veen

O quiet, my child, on a wave borne along
The tall ship is swaying, loud the wind's song
'Tis over the tide-ways, over the sea
Wrapped safe you will slumber sailing to me.

Heear er y chronk glass, O lhiannoo my
[chree
Tra cheerys yn oie vees ooilley ec shee
Agh ass yn aer feayn hig snieuaneyn kiaull
Eaisht! Cluinnee uss adsyn syn troailt noon
[as noal?

On the hills of the west, O child of my love
When darkens the twilight, peace broods above
But cobwebs of music through the air go
Hark! Can you not hear them drift to and fro?

I have silently corrected *bunjean* to *lunjean* 'swing, hammock' (and *bunjeanee* to *lunjeanee* 'will swing') in the text as an obvious misprint.

After *my* 'if' we expect lenition in the following verb. We have this in *my heidys* 'if … will blow,' but not in *my brishys* 'if … will break.' Failure of lenition of this sort is a feature of Late Manx (cf. LDIM/127).

In main clauses *bee* 'will be' is sometimes replaced with its relative form *vees*, as we have in *tra chee[i]rys yn oie vees ooilley ec shee*, instead of *bee ooilley* …. This is also a feature of Late Manx.

The form *snieuaneyn* is not found in Manx, for which there is *snauaneyn* 'fibres, gossamers' (unless it is a misprint). In *kiaull*, instead of *kiaulley* or *kiaullaghey*, we have another example of an abbreviated verbal-noun.

As with the foregoing, I am inclined to regard the English text (which is well put together) as the basic text, and the Manx version the translation.

5.5. SMUGGLER'S LULLABY

Smuggler's Lullaby (Arrane Ben Drogh Hraghtalagh). "Collected from J[ames] Kelly, fisherman, Baldrine, and translated by Mona Douglas." Douglas (1957: 35–37).

> This song is said to have been sung by the wife of a smuggler in an effort (successful) to warn her approaching husband of an unexpected raid by the Excise-men, by singing to her baby in the actual presence of the raiders while she served them with refreshments, so giving her man time to bestow all questionable cargo in a safe place before they went on board his fishing boat (Douglas 1957: 35).

Jeeagh quoi ta cheet, Ta'n Fer-ny-Keeshyn
C (h)addil oo my Laa-la
Shirraghey son ushtey-bio ny feeyney
C (h)addil oo my Laa-la
Ogh hene, lhiannoo meein
C (h)addil oo my Laa-la

See, the Excise men are coming
Sleep, my little hero!
They'll be seeking wine and whisky
Sleep, my little hero!
Ogh hene, child o' mine
Sleep, my little hero!

Hig yn fer-thie sy thie anmagh	Daddy's late, and we must warn him
As cha bee noiraanaght echey.	This run, he'll have naught illegal
Cuin ny Sostynee cheet orrin	O, the English men may board us
Cha vow [ad] red erbee meereiltagh	Nothing wrong will they discover
Lhig daue shirr[ey] ayns thie ny baatey	Let them search in boat or dwelling
Beggan aynjee nish agh sceddan!	Nothing's in the hold but herrings!

She fer ny keeshyn 'it is the tax-man' would be more idiomatic than *ta'n fer ny keeshyn* which means 'the tax-man is (is what?).' An example of imprecision of grammar?

The verb *shirraghey* does not exist in Manx, so far as is known, for which there is *shirrey* 'seeking' (G. *sireadh*). An abbreviated for *shirr* can be found in stanza 4.

The term *ushtey bio* meaning whisky is a Revival term. The traditional term is *soo ny h-oarn* 'the juice of the barley' (G. *súgh na h-eorna*), cf. the Manx version of Samuel Rutter's *Eubonia Bright* (1642–51): *Arrane er Soo ny Hoarn* 'a song about whisky' MS 188 A.

The term *noiraanaght*, so far as is known, does not exist in Manx, unless it stands for *neunhee* 'nothing, naught.'

The title *Arrane Ben Drogh Hraghtalagh* is clearly a translation of the English. The term *drogh hraghtalagh* is from Manx enthusiast J. J. Kneen (cf. Kneen 1938: 67). So far as is known, there is no traditional term in Manx for 'smuggler.'

For the above reasons I would regard this text as a composition.

CONCLUSION

If we take an overall view of the foregoing the following pattern emerges:

Key: C(omposition), E(xpanded)/D(eveloped), G(enuine), T(ranslation)

1. SONGS COLLECTED IN ENGLISH

A Home of Your Own	Mrs Shimmin, Foxdale PA, n.d.	G
Milking Song	Cathy Quayle, Whallag AR, n.d.	G
Shiaull y Keayn	Mrs Shimmin, Foxdale PA, n.d.	G
'Twas my Father and my Mother	Mrs Bridson, Glen Maye PA, n.d. / 1923	G
Yn Colbagh Vreck	Robert Kerruish, Ballavelt MA, n.d.	G

TOTAL: 5 SONGS

2A. SONGS COLLECTED IN MANX WITH KNOWN VARIANTS

Arrane Oie Vie	Tom Taggart (air), Malew ML	G
Arrane y Vluggann (MD ms.)	Johnny Matey (J.M. Mylchreest LO), n.d.	Seems G

Fer dy Clien Click	Children at Dhoon School MA, *c.* 1920	G
Fin as Oshin (MD ms.)	William Caine, Jurby Curragh JU, n.d.	Seems G
	Jack Kermode, Port Mooar MA, n.d.	
Fisherman's Prayer (Gilchrist 1924)	No attestation, n.d.	C
Hop-Tu-Naa	Children of Lezayre LE, 1925	G
Illiam y Cain	Mrs Bridson, Glen Rushen PA, 1923	G
Lhigey, Lhigey	Mrs Bridson, Glen Maye PA, n.d.	G
Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey	John Matt Mylchresst, Thalloo Hogg LO, 1929	G
Oie as Laa	Robert Kerruish, Ballavelt MA, *c.* 1916	G
Padjer Colm Killey (MD ms.)	No attestation, n.d.	
	Mrs Clague, Niarbyl PA (MD 1966)	?From lit. trad.
Shelg yn Drean	James Kelly, Ballachrink LO, 1921	G
Snieeu, Wheeyl, Snieeu	Mrs Callow, Cardle Veg MA, 1918–20	G
Tappagyn Jiargey	Children at Ballaglass MA, n.d.	G

TOTAL: 14 SONGS

2B. SONGS COLLECTED WITH NO KNOWN VARIANTS

Baldwin Song (Gilchrist 1924)	Mrs Killey, Ballasalla MA, 1920	?C
Churnal Jiu as Churnal Jea	Mrs Faragher, Kirk Michael MI, *c.* 1919	G
Clean Suggane (St. Bridget) (Jerry 1979)	Mrs Bridson, Glen Maye PA, n.d. (ex Moore 1896)	Not G
Shiaul Ersooyl	Margaret Quayle, Glen Auldyn LE, 1925	Feels G

TOTAL: 4 SONGS

3. SONGS INSPIRED BY ENGLISH OR MANX ORIGINALS

Arrane y Clean	Wm. Cubbon, AR	G
O Song of the Travelling Fairies (MD 1957)	Caesar Cashen, Peel GE, 1930	E/D
As yn Mwyllin, Mwyllin O	(Clague): Joseph Crellin, Colby RU	G
O Arrane y Vlieh (MD 1957)	Margot Quayle, Glen Auldyn Mill LE	E/D
Kione Jiarg	A.W. Moore	G
O Arrane y Lhondhoo (MD 1957)	No attestation, n.d. ('Manx traditional words')	E/D
	Tom Taggart, Grenaby ML, 1924 (Kennedy 1975)	
Milking Song	Cathy Quayle, the Whallag AR, n.d.	See §1 above
O Arrane y Vlieaun (Kennedy 1975)	Margot Quayle, Glen Auldyn LE	E/D
She Lhong Honnick Mee	Clague Coll.	G
O She Lhong Honnick Mee (MD 1957)	No attestation, n.d. ('Manx traditional words')	E/D
The Plover's Lament	J.R. Moore ms. *c.* 1900	G

TOTAL: 11 IN ALL, 6 SONGS & 5 COMPOSITIONS

4. SONGS IN MANX

Arrane y Fee (MD ms. / Jerry 1979)	Hudgeon y Fidder, n.d.	C
Arrane y Niee (Kennedy 1975)	No attestation, n.d. (MD ms.)	C
	James Kelly, Ballachrink LO (Kennedy)	
Arrane ny Seyir (MD ms.)	No attestation, n.d.	C
Dobberan son Ben-Raun (MD ms.)	No attestation, n.d.	C
The Bulgham Sea-Song (Gilchrist 1924)	Mrs Callow, Maughold MA, 1912	C
The Manannan Song (Gilchrist 1924)	Mrs Shimmin, Foxdale PA, 1921	C
The Sea Invocation (Gilchrist 1924)	Mrs Shimmin, Foxdale PA, 1921	C
TOTAL: 7 SONGS		

5. SONGS ORIGINALLY COMPOSED IN ENGLISH & SUBSEQUENTLY TRANS. INTO MANX

Arrane Saveenagh (MD 1957)	Mrs Shimmin, Foxdale, PA, n.d.	T
Creg Willy Syl (MD 1957)	James Kelly, Baldrine LO, n.d.	T
Smuggler's Lullaby (MD 1957)	James Kelly, Baldrine LO, n.d.	T
Yn Lhiannoo Shee (MD 1957)	No attestation n.d. ('Manx traditional words')	T
Yn Scollag Aeg (MD 1957)	Mrs Shimmin, Foxdale PA, n.d.	T
TOTAL: 5 SONGS		

SUMMARY

TOTAL NUMBER OF SONGS	46
TOTAL NUMBER OF TRADITIONAL SONGS (ENGLISH)	6
TOTAL NUMBER OF TRADITIONAL SONGS (MANX)	19
TOTAL NUMBER OF COMPOSED / TRANSLATED SONGS	19
TOTAL NUMBER OF SONGS FROM LITERARY TRADITION	1
TOTAL NUMBER OF SONGS CLASSED AS "NOT GENUINE"	1

From the above table we can see that, of the forty-six songs cited, Mona Douglas collected nineteen known traditional songs in Manx at the time of collecting still part of the tradition. A further six more were collected in English, making clear that (Manx) songs in English were also current.

However, the most interesting result is the number of composed songs of one sort or another forming part of the corpus, namely twenty-one, close on half of the total. Of the composed songs, five are expanded or developed forms of already exisiting traditional songs, nine are outright compositions, and five are translations of initially composed English versions.

"Attributed" to informants are four of the five expanded or developed songs, six of the nine outright compositions, and four of the five translations. The one from the literary tradition and the one "not genuine" all have informant attributions. That is to say, that of the twenty-one "non-genuine" songs seventeen are either "attributed"

to named or implied informants.[13] This suggests a deliberate attempt to deceive and mislead in the interests of the Revival.

Of the twelves songs in Douglas 1957 (Set 3) nine are compositions (namely, *Arrane ny Sheeaghyn Troailtagh, Creg Willy Syl, Yn Lhiannoo Shee, Arrane y Lhondhoo, Arrane ny Blieh, Arrane Saveenagh, Arrane ben drogh hraghtalagh, Yn Scollag Aeg, She Lhong Honnick Mee*).

Of the twelve Manx songs printed in Kennedy the first five are compositions (namely, *Arrane ny Blieh, Arrane y Lhondhoo, Arrane ny Niee, Arrane ny Sheeaghyn Troailtagh, Arrane ny Blieaun*). Three of the foregoing are from Set 3 (1957).

Five songs printed by Gilchrist (namely, *the Fisherman's Prayer, the Baldwin Song, the Manannan Song, the Bulgham Sea-Song* and *the Sea Invocation*) are compositions. This suggests a deliberate attempt to deceive academia in the interests of the Revival.

What, we may ask, lies behind all this? At the time Mona Douglas was actively collecting, the Isle of Man, along with other Celtic nations, wanted to show that it had a genuine living song tradition. In addition, from 1932 (shortly after MD's return to Man) to *c.* 1976 Mona Douglas was actively involved in *Aeglagh Vannin*, a youth movement designed to educate Manx children in the cultural traditions of their homeland, i.e. that much of Douglas's time was spent with children and, naturally enough, suitable material needed to be made available. Although there was still some residue of children's material lingering on in the tradition, e.g. *Hop-Tu-Naa, Arrane y Vluggan, Fer dy Clien Click*, etc, it was perhaps felt that there was not sufficient and that this situation required remedial action.

If we look at the periods of composition we can discern two phases, the first during the 1920s, the second during the 1950s. Both serve the interests of the Revival. However, given the amount of composition passed off as "genuine" material "collected" from named or implied informants it becomes clear that the Revival of Manx songs as conducted by Mona Douglas is based on a lie. However, some fifty years or more have now passed and one could say that during that time the "composed" songs have themselves become "traditional" in their own right, and it is true that many have memorable tunes attached to them. Nevertheless, all this would suggest that the promotion of a Revival of necessity involves an amount of "invention," without which it cannot function. It is clear that the Manx Revival of the 1920s to the 1950s has required a considerable amount of "invention" to sustain it.

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[13] It may be that many of the composed songs are based on part-remembered texts from the named informants. This is, of course, possible. But there is no evidence to suggest that.

*

A few days after the Symposium Brian Stowell mentioned to me that Mona Douglas had intimated on more than one occasion to a Celtic Congress colleague (also a close friend to Brian Stowell) that she had composed a number of songs in Manx for the Revival.

*

ABBREVIATIONS

C	Cregeen's Manx Dictionary; see Cregeen (1835)
DNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004)
HLSM	*Handbook of Late Spoken Manx*; see Broderick (1984–86)
IOMNHAS	*Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society*
JFSS	*Journal of the Folk-Song Society*
LDIM	*Language Death in the Isle of Man*; see Broderick (1999)
MD	Mona Douglas (b. 1898; d. 1987)
NBHR	Ned Beg Hom Ruy; see Broderick (1981–82)
PNIM	*Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, see Broderick (1994–2005)
ZCP	*Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*

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Clague Collection I: Collection of folk tunes MSS 448 A & 449 B (in the Archdeacon Kewley Coll.);

Clague Collection II: Collection of songs and song-fragments MS 450 A (in the Archdeacon Kewley Coll.). See Broderick 1991 (Part i).

Clucas Collection: Collection of George Frederick Clucas (1870–1937), Speaker of the House of Keys (1919–1937) MS 263 A. Contains twenty songs and song-fragments. See Broderick 1991 (Part i).

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APPENDIX

1. PADJER COLUM KILLEY

SÌTH	PEACE
Sìth Dhé dhomh, sìth dhaoine	The peace of God, the peace of men
Sìth Chaluim Chille chaomha	The peace of Columba kindly
Sìth Mhoire mhìn na gaoldachd	The peace of Mary mild, the loving
Sìth Chrìosda Rìgh na daondachd	The peace of Christ, King of tenderness
Sìth Chrìosda, Rìgh na daondachd	The peace of Christ, King of tenderness
Air gach uinneig, air gach doras	Be upon each window, upon each door
Air gach toll a leigeas solas	Upon each hole that lets in light
Air ceithir oiseannan mo thaighe	Upon the four corners of my house
Air ceithir oiseannan mo leaba	Upon the four corners of my bed
Air ceithir oiseannan mo leaba	Upon the four corners of my bed
Air gach nì a chì mo shùil	Upon each thing my eye takes in
Air gach sìon a tha dha m' bhrù	Upon each thing my mouth takes in
Air mo chorp a tha dh'an ùir	Upon my body that is of earth
Is air m'anam thàin os cionn	And upon my soul that came from high
Air mo chorp a tha dh'an ùir	Upon my body that is of earth
Is air m'anam thàin os cionn.	And upon my soul that came from high.

Carmina Gadelica iii: 264–65.

2. MWYLLIN, MWYLLIN O

«Clap, Clap, par un Molin.» Anonymous. *Ars Nova* (1320–1400). Music from the Gothic Era. Supplied by Eric Teare, Peel, 1980.

Triplum	
Clap, clap, par un matin s'en aloit	('Click, click, one morning Robin went off
Robin, clap, clap, ver un molin qui [moloit	to a mill, click, click, that was grinding
Souvent ileques reperoit	He often went back there
Quar trop forment se delitoit	because he got immense pleasure
Ou batel qui clapetoit.	from the clicking catch.
Clap, clap une seule fame y avoit	Click, click, there was a woman on her [own there
Qui s'eseridoit	shouting:
«Heu ha vilain, hau ha hu!»	«Ho hé ho, knave ho ha ho!»
D'enniment ainsi se moquoit	She sneared angrily
Et juroit	at the same time swearing

Que couble feroit
Foy que Dieu doit
Lors vient Robin qui bien savoit
Ou le joillet tenoit
Clap, clap, taut l'a molu qui s'en doloit
Et elle disoit
«Heu ha ha vilain, hé ha heu!»
Robin dort, le molin esclos
Mes trop y avoit feru de cops
Grans et gros ayns qui feüst esclos

on the Bible
that she would go to it
Then along came Robin who knew full well
where to find the treasure
Click, click, he ground her so much that he
complained of it, and she said
«Ho ha ho, knave, ho ha ho!»
Robin gone to sleep and his grinder's worn out
but he gave her many, long, hard thrusts with it
before it was worn out').

Duplum

«Sus, Robin, alors au molin!
Clap, clap, en despit de ce vilain
Qui tout jours me fait gaitier
Huy me feray hurte billiez
Et pour li plus aïrier
Venie ge chanter
Hé ha vilain, hé ha heu!»
Clap, clap, Robin dort, le molin esclos

«Ja, par Dieu. Guerin le clos
Ne me torrait mon pourpos
Quar j'ay le cuer trop volage
Le vilain revient de son laborage
Il a si grant faim qu'a peu
Qu'il n'enrage
Le vilain guen
Lé dé heu heu»
Aynsi disoit
Et si chantoit
«Molin de sa, molin de la
Se l'un ne m'osi, l'autre m'oura
Clap, clap, clap, clap, ja n'i fendra».

(«Get up, Robin, let's go to the grind
click, click, to spite that knave
who's always keeping an eye on me
I'm going to be screwed today
and to make him even more angry
I'm going to sing
«Ho ha, knave, he ha ho!»
Click, click, Robin's asleep, his grinder's worn [out

«By God, that cripple Guerin
will never stop me doing what I want
my heart's too fickle
The knave's coming back from his ploughing
he's nearly mad
with hunger
The rascally knave
ha, ha, ho, ho»
She said these words
and sang
«Here a mill, there a mill
if one doesn't hear me, the other will
click, click, click, click, you bet they will!»').

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