

The Revival of Traditional Songs and Music in the Isle of Man*

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1. THE REVIVAL OF MANX TRADITIONAL SONGS

1.1. *Preamble to the Revival*

In April 1970 the Annual General Meeting of *Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh* (YCG) ‘the Manx Language Society’ saw a considerable change in the make-up of the Committee when Manx Gaelic activist and lexicographer, the late Douglas C. Faragher (1926-1987), along with his supporters were elected to the Committee, thereby replacing the largely inactive members and introducing a spirited policy embracing the following:

1. Speaking Manx on every possible occasion in public as well as in private, including at committee meetings.
2. Promoting a dynamic publishing programme, not only to make Manx material long out of print once more available, but also to encourage new original material in Manx of a secular,¹ rather than of a religious,² nature.
3. Encouraging as many people as possible to learn Manx by attending evening classes.³
4. The institution of the *Oieghyn Gailckagh* [i:çøn 'gil'k'ax] ‘Manx-speaking nights’ held once a month in a local bar where participants can practice their Manx at ease with each other.⁴

I joined YCG in 1972 fresh from three years as a Classics undergraduate in the University of Nottingham (1968-71) and during the first year of my two-year MPhil. degree on an edition of the *Chronicles of Kings of Man and the Isles*, also undertaken for the University of Nottingham but finished off in the University of Edinburgh (1973). In this respect the year 1972 was to mark a turning-point in my career from eleven years of Classical Studies to the start of Celtic Studies which was to accompany me down to the present day.

In this context I had got to know Manxman Brian Stowell in December 1964, then living in Bebington, Wirral, during my time in Liverpool. I would visit him regularly, and it was during this period that I became more acquainted with the Manx language scene; I had already begun learning Manx at home a year or two before, as Manx was a feature of our family,⁵ a Manx-Irish family living in Liverpool.⁶

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1 One of the first publications in this class was a Manx Gaelic translation of the medieval Latin *Chronicles of the Kings of Man and the Isles* (Broderick & Stowell 1973). Another was *SKEEALAGHT* (YCG 1976), a collection of secular stories from four authors.

2 The hallmark of the extant traditional Manx Gaelic literature, of which the Manx Bible was the standard text used in the Manx Gaelic evening classes from the foundation of YCG in 1899 down to 1970. See YCG Annual Reports in MNHL.

3 During the 1970s the Manx classes very quickly became the most popular of the evening classes promoted by the Department of Education of the Isle of Man Government.

4 The importance here being the loss of inhibition and an increase in self-confidence in speaking Manx through the consumption of alcohol. This proved to be one of the most popular events promoted by YCG.

5 An uncle to my father, John James Kelly (Uncle Jack) (b. Regaby, Bride 188, d. Glen Auldyn, Lezayre 1967), was by all accounts a semi-speaker, i.e. he had picked up some Manx from his father and other workers on the farm in his younger days, though the home language was English, as his mother, coming from Whitehaven, Cumbria, as she did, could not speak Manx. My mother's side was Irish on both sides.

6 Liverpool is essentially a “Celtic” enclave embracing mainly large and long-established Irish and Welsh, as well as smaller Manx

1.2. An LP record of Manx traditional songs

It was during the interim period 1964-72 that Brian on occasion would sing traditional Manx songs at our private meetings in his home in Bebington. In 1972 I borrowed his copy of A. W. Moore's *Manx Ballads and Music* (1896) from him for photocopying and began browsing through it. A number of songs were already known to me, but in popular form,⁷ and during early 1973 I began discussing with Brian the feasibility of producing an LP record of his singing a number of traditional Manx songs as part of the Manx revival. He was most enthusiastic about the project. We chose the songs. Brian would sing the songs, while I would look after the administrative and research side of things. This involved:

1. The preparing the song-texts (mostly, but not exclusively, taken from Moore 1896).
2. Research into the background of the songs (here I had access to appropriate expertise among the staff of (as it was then) the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh),
3. Deal with the Manx recording company Kelly Records, Peel, regarding the actual recording and the firms dealing with the production of the records and their labelling.

The recording was set for 23 August 1973 and everything was completed within one afternoon's session. The funding on a commercial basis was provided by Charles Cain, who had just been appointed manager of the Anglo-Manx Bank in Athol Street, Douglas, shortly after his return to the Island from Africa. Although billed for 1973, the record finally came out at the start of July 1974. The LP record of Manx traditional songs, sung unaccompanied by Brian Stowell and entitled *Arraneyn Beeal-Arrish Vannin*⁸ (**Amhránan Beul-aithris Mhanainn*) 'traditional songs of Man', was accompanied by a booklet containing the song-texts with English translation and explanatory notes.

The energy created by Douglas Faragher and his team in the promotion of Manx spread among the Manx community and drew many young people into learning Manx. In my case this was helped considerably by a three-week visit with Brian to the Hebrides in July 1973 during which we spoke Manx the whole time. At the end of the three weeks I felt much more confident in speaking the language. On 5 July 1974 I attended the annual Tynwald Fair Day,⁹ and found my way to the YCG stall on the fairfield in order to sell the LP record. There I met for the first time other members of YCG, many of whom were to become my close friends over the years, including many young people drawn into the movement. It was also on this occasion that I came into contact with Colin and Cristl Jerry, who had recently settled in Man from London as school-teachers and with whom I was later to work during the revival of Manx traditional music (see below). The scene that 5 July 1974, as far as matters Manx were concerned, was one of euphoria. The Tynwald Fair Day ceremony was also accompanied by a nationalist political demonstration. Manx nationalist and cultural activities were to go hand in hand over the next few years.

and Hebridean, communities, settling there essentially from the 18th-century onwards. There were English people there too, as well as a small West African community. We lived in a Welsh area around Anfield. The Celtic presence was sufficient to cause a dialect change from a south-western Lancashire dialect to the establishment of 'Scouse' (a term derived from 'Lobscouse', a substantial meat and vegetable stew for seamen), comprising sub-dialects predominantly of Irish and Welsh provenance, in Liverpool around 1880, the only dialects of English evidently to be imported into England (Michael V. Barry SED p.c. ca.1977). Today, Liverpool serves as the market town primarily for the Isle of Man and North Wales.

7 During a visit to Man over Easter 1964 I purchased a copy of W. H. Gill's *Manx National Songs* (1896).

8 At the time this title was created there was no known expression in Manx for 'oral tradition'. My colleague, the late Robert L. Thomson (1924-2006), unashamedly plucked *beul-aithris* from Scottish Gaelic and it was taken into Manx without further ado. A later term *beealajys* vel sim. (< Ir. *béaloideas*) is also now current.

9 The Manx National Day on which the Manx parliament, the Tynwald, meets in open-air session on Tynwald Hill, St. John's, for the promulgation of laws passed since the previous 5 July. For details of its origins and development, see Broderick 2003..

Following on from Tynwald Fair Day 1974 I began hawking the LP record round the music shops in the Island to see if they would take it, and to my surprise many of the shops did. I was able to sell 500 copies of the record, both within and outside the Island, within three years. Nevertheless, old prejudices lingered on. In one music shop in Victoria Street, Douglas, the sales lady asked if she could play one of the records on the gramophone she had available on the counter. She played a song she knew, *Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey* (ScG *Na Caoirich fo Shneachda*) ‘the snow-bound sheep’, the first one on the second side. She was shocked that she could not recognise the song - it was sung unaccompanied in accordance with Manx tradition (see §1.6). She said in horror, “You don’t sing the song like that, you sing it to piano accompaniment! That is not how you sing the song at all!” Clearly that was how she, like many of her peers, was taught to sing Manx traditional songs in school, a method perhaps dating back to the late nineteenth century, if not before. Interesting. It was no surprise, therefore, that she refused to stock any of the records. As it happened, practically all the music shops I went into took the record, as it was something new for the visitors, they said. Most of the music shops took additional orders, as they were able to sell the record.¹⁰

1.3. *The political background*

The revival of aspects of Manx culture and traditions took place amid a political upheaval in Man. In the 1960s the Isle of Man Government began to pursue policies designed to establish Man as an offshore finance centre whereby money would accrue to the Island twelve months of the year, instead of just four months or so during the tourist season (June to September). It also began to set its own taxes to attract retired wealthy ex-colonialists to live in the Island and hold their assets there. This move towards attracting new businesses and the so-called “New Residents” produced a backlash among many Manx men and women which resulted in the establishment of the Manx nationalist party *Mec Vannin* (*G Meic Mhanainn*) ‘sons of Man’¹¹ in 1963/64. During the 1970s political dissent took a more subversive direction with the formation of *Fo Halloo* (*G. fo thalamh*) ‘underground’¹² which specialised in producing a monthly newsletter outlining dubious business transactions made by Manx politicians and other prominent personnel in the Island, as well as a campaign of slogan-daubing in public places. These public expressions of hostility towards a perceived dissolution of Manx ways found a considerable amount of sympathy among ordinary Manx people not involved in any revival activity at all.¹³

1.4. *Latent hostility towards Manx by Manxmen*

Although there was a certain sympathy towards the promotion of Manx music, song and dance,¹⁴ this did not necessarily apply to the language. Even in the 1970s there was still a residue of hostility towards Manx from Manx people themselves whose parents or grandparents may have had direct experience of stigmatisation and other means of degradation and humiliation at the hands of others

10 Around the same time as *Arraneyn Beeal-Arrish Vannin* appeared, an LP record of *carvals* (Manx religious folksongs of Reformation origin) was published privately by Claire Clennell and her husband, then recent residents to the Island. Claire also sung the songs unaccompanied, but with a quasi-operatic voice, as if she were singing Gilbert and Sullivan. Although well meant, Claire's recording, along with aspects of her demeanour and *Umgangsform*, seemingly detracted from her credibility and gravitas.

11 The party was set up among others by Douglas Faragher who gave it its name. He told me one time that the name was based, not on *Meibyon Kernow* ‘sons of Cornwall’, as many believed, but on the British colonial name ‘Sons of Rhodesia’, a movement he had come across during his six years (1956-62) working in the copper mines in what was then Northern Rhodesia, now Zambia.

12 Copies of which are available for inspection in the Manx National Heritage Library.

13 Thematised by Ramsey poet, the late Paul Lebiezdinski (1951-1995) in Foillan Films *Yn Gareyder* (1986).

14 For further details regarding Manx traditional music see Speers (2004: 30). For the influence of Inter-Celtic organisations, such as the Celtic Congress, on the promotion of Manx traditional music, song and dance, see Stowell 2004. For details of the revival of Manx traditional dances in Man see Carswell 2004.

for their knowledge of Manx.¹⁵ I personally witnessed an example of this one evening in a Douglas bar¹⁶ c. 1976 when an irate Manx customer, slightly the worse for drink, began abusing and physically attacking members of YCG visiting the bar. He was firmly but politely restrained by YCG members understanding the situation. Around that time four young men were expelled from the White House bar¹⁷ in Peel, allegedly for speaking Manx while drinking in a room on their own. The father of one of them, a senior reporter with the *Isle of Man Examiner*, promptly made headlines of the fact, much to the embarrassment of the publican concerned, himself a Manxman!¹⁸

1.5. *Slow take-up of Manx traditional songs*

As was to be found in the course of time, the revival of Manx music and dance was easier to promote than a revival of Manx traditional songs, as the latter required a sound knowledge of Manx and an understanding of oral delivery techniques in order to ensure a good rendering. These prerequisites were seldom forthcoming and early examples of Manx traditional song releases in the meantime, with one or two exceptions, make that clear. Nowadays, traditional song material in Man is often, but not always, adorned with instrumental accompaniment which has the knack of regularising the song performance. In honouring the song traditions of old, however, *Culture Vannin*, the main funding body for matters relating to Manx culture, re-released on CD in 2010 Brian Stowell's achievement of 1973 with updated sleeve-notes.

1.6. *How were Manx songs sung traditionally?*

Although we do not possess any sound-recordings¹⁹ of any Manx traditional songs at all, indicating how they may have been sung, we are fortunate in having two examples of written and one of oral evidence from various sources which we may find enlightening:

1. From a descendant of Manx émigré, Thomas Kelly, Jurby, to the USA in 1827, made in 1845.
2. From one of the collectors of Manx songs, W. H. Gill, made in 1898.
3. From two old ladies from Peel in 1977 who had attended several carval singing sessions in the Methodist chapels during the 1920s/30s.

1.6.1. The first piece of evidence cited derives from a pseudo-diary seemingly derived from the actual diary²⁰ of Thomas Kelly Sr. and his family of Doolough, Jurby, and their emigration to Ohio USA in 1827.²¹ The pseudo-diary was apparently made by a Mrs. Mary Kelly Ames Denney, a descendant of Thomas Kelly Jr. and his wife Jane Boyd Kelly, in which under the year 1845 (West 1965: 46) she comments as follows:

15 For examples of this see Broderick (1999: 35-37).

16 The Bowling Green Hotel, Derby Road, Douglas.

17 After 1989 used for the Peel session, see §2.4. below.

18 By the 1990s Manx hostility to the Manx language had largely evaporated, seemingly as a result of a change in Isle of Man Government policy to support the formal introduction and promotion of Manx Gaelic within Government, particularly within the Manx education system as an optional subject of study in the schools. For details see Gawne 2002.

19 A number of cylinder sound-recordings were made 1905-09 (perhaps to 1913) by YCG of native Manx speech and of some traditional Manx songs from Manx native speakers. Regrettably only four such cylinders have survived, none containing any song material (Miller 2014a/175: 1-9).

20 For details and a transcript of the actual diary, see Broderick 2001.

21 Thomas Kelly Sr. and family emigrated from Doolough, Jurby, in 1827 to Ohio USA, cf. *Isle of Man Examiner* 4/11/18/25 October 1935. In the actual diary the son Thomas Kelly Jr. mentions the death of his father Thomas Kelly Sr. as taking place on 5 January 1828, aged 67, and buried two days later in Painsville Burying Ground, Ohio (*Diary* [38]). The last entry of the Diary (p. [38]) finishes with the shifting from Painsville to a farm recently purchased just north of Concord Township, Ohio. The pseudo-diary, written to serve the viewpoint that Manxmen left their native home reluctantly (which was clearly not the case with Thomas Kelly Sr. and his family), continues to 1845. It is in this latter section that the quote is to be found.

[...]. How they rush around, these Americans, afraid they will die before they can finish what they have begun [...]. They try to save time but what do they do with that Time when they have it Saved? I thought it would be a Comfort in this strange Land to sing with them the Songs of Zion, but when I had put in all the Quavers and hemi-semi-demi Quavers we loved at home, I was singing alone. The rest of the Congregation had no time for anything Extra (West 1965: 46).

Although appearing in the pseudo-diary, the quote would need to refer to something that actually took place in order for it to be credible. If so, the foregoing suggests that back home in Jurby they used quite some ornamentation in the delivery of whatever they were singing in church / chapel, whether it be ordinary hymns or carvals, probably the latter.²² For these see §1.6.3. below.

1.6.2. The second piece of written evidence derives from W. H. Gill in his “Manx Music: A Sketch”, a short treatise on Manx traditional music as an Introduction to his *Manx National Music* (1898: v-x). Concerning the tunes Gill (1898: viii-ix) writes:

To estimate truly the intrinsic value of these melodies, especially the more ancient ones, one ought in strictness to see them as we found them [...], bare naked melodies, without harmony or accompaniment of any kind [...], without polish or setting. Moreover, to appreciate their full flavour, one ought to come upon them in their original wild state, [...]. They should be heard sung to Manx words and with the vocal intonation peculiar to the people [...]. It is delightful to hear these old men expatiate upon the superior strength and beauty of their ancient language as compared with English - for they know both languages, and are keenly critical. At the end of a verse or a line they will suddenly stop singing and lose themselves in an ecstasy of admiration, commenting upon what they have been singing about, translating a Manx word here and there, explaining an idiom, or enlarging upon the incidents of the story [...] (Gill 1898: viii-ix).

Concerning the singers themselves and their songs Gill (1898: ix) notes:

In the singing of these old people, as well as in their recitation of poetry, of which latter they are particularly fond, we found at times almost a total absence of a definite metrical accent, and in its stead an ever smoothly-flowing rhythm, relieved here and there - often in the least expected places - by a pause of indefinite length. In fact such was the freedom of the “phrasing”, and to such an extent was the rhythmic structure concealed, that much of their music might be appropriately represented like “plain song” without any bar-lines. Nor was this vagueness due to any lack of rhythmic sense on the part of the performer, for when a dance tune had to be sung it was rendered with due precision and clearness of accent. And yet, if the tunes could be written down, as with a phonograph, exactly as we heard them, and then reproduced faithfully, with all their vagueness of *tempo* [Gill’s italics here and elsewhere], their uncertainty of intonation, their little quaverings and embellishments, quite unrepresentable by ordinary musical notation, if we had all these things faithfully registered, who would care for the result? Some would ask, “Can these dry bones live?” Others would impatiently exclaim, “How different from the singing of trained singers!” [...] (Gill 1898: ix).²³

22 For these cf. Moore 1891. The carvals were sung traditionally on *Oie'll Voirrey* /i:l 'veri/ (G **oidhche'll bheiridh*) ‘Eve of the Nativity’, 24 December, earlier in the churches, later on in the Methodist chapels.

23 Similar comment can also be found in the work of Australian composer and ethnomusicologist Percy Grainger (1882-1961) who recorded a number of traditional Lincolnshire singers at Brigg Fair in May 1908. In his description of English folksong singing styles, set in an end-piece entitled “English Folk-Songs sung by Genuine Peasant Folk-Singers”, he notes: “The scales and modes in which most of these tunes are cast are quite different from any that have been employed in art-music for some centuries. And the *interpretive traditions* [Grainger’s italics, also elsewhere] that genuine peasant singers reveal in their performances are hardly less unique. Their rhythmic habits, ornaments, and allotments of syllables to notes have a flavour all of their own, and differ radically from the usages of art-singers; and it is a lack of knowledge of these *traditions of folk-song singing* that so often makes folksongs ineffective in the mouths of otherwise excellent artists. These records are not folksongs sung at second hand. They are folksongs sung by [...] the very men who have passed such songs down the centuries to us” (Grainger 1908). For an assessment

With regard to the practicalities of noting the tunes Gill (1898: ix) outlines two “practical difficulties”, as he put it: The first only is given here as being relevant to the matter in hand:

[...]. First, as regards the raw material, the object was to obtain an absolutely *true record* of the melody [...] and in attaining this object the difficulty was two-fold, viz. to represent in the precise and inelastic terms of musical notation, without prejudice and uninfluenced by preconceived ideas of artistic right and wrong, the melody which, as actually heard, was often exceedingly vague and indefinite as regards both tune and time. In respect of *intonation*, the difficulty lay in discriminating between the peculiar *tonality* of the ancient “modes” and that of modern music; while as regards *time*, the difficulty was the right placing of the bar-lines with due regard to the grammatical accent as distinguished from the artistic pause and emphasis imported by the individual singer (Gill 1898: ix).

As a trained Classical musician, Gill was clearly confronted with material that was difficult or nigh impossible to interpret in traditional Classical staff-notation, particularly in producing on paper an accurate rendering of the vagaries of the melody, often modal in delivery, as produced by the singer.²⁴ The fact that such difficulties were experienced at all would put the rendition of Manx material, as with the Lincolnshire material noted by Percy Grainger (qv.), in a traditional music setting.

1.6.3. The third piece of evidence, oral in form, was collected during 1977 when Brian Stowell and myself interviewed two old ladies aged c.75-80 (whose names now escape us) then living in 7 Mona Street, Peel, who apparently used to attend carval singing sessions during the 1920s/30s. Such sessions, they said, would be held on St. Mary’s Eve, 24 December, in the Methodist chapel. They said that after a short service the vicar would leave the chapel and the proceedings would be taken over by the clerk. The chapel would be brightly lit with candles and adorned with holly and ivy to give a warm appearance. The clerk would then call for the first carval singer, or singers (sometimes there were two who would sing alternate stanzas). A carval could be short or long, short with ca. twenty stanzas, long with up to sixty. The average carval would extend to some 35 stanzas or so. The session would last till three or four o’clock in the morning, they said.²⁵

We asked them whether the carvals were in Manx or in English. They said in English - at least the sessions they attended, they said. When we asked them how the carvals were actually sung, they had some difficulty in expressing themselves, as it was clear they were not *au fait* with musical terminology. We then asked them were they sung like ordinary hymns one would sing on a Sunday. They answered with a firm No, stating that there would be “frills”, as they put it, in the delivery of the tune and that the stanzas would be sung with some irregularity, they said.

If we take all three contributions together, the situation would seem to be as follows:

1. That the delivery of Manx traditional songs and carvals seems to have possessed a degree of ornamentation - it is difficult to say how much, but sufficient at least for it to be commented upon.
2. That there would be irregularity in the singing of each stanza, suggesting that no stanza was rendered the same as any other, that the stanzas were individual in their own right.

of Percy Grainger as an ethnomusicologist, see Blacking (1987).

24 A developed methodology as used today by ethnomusicologists for such material can be seen in Percy Grainger (1908), also in *Tocher* (1971-2009), a monthly cultural magazine of the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh.

25 Traditionally, hard dried peas would be thrown by the congregation at poor performance by carval singers. Manx occasions by all accounts could be a bit rough at times. For details see Miller (2012).

3. That the singer would occasionally stop suddenly in mid-song, at the end of a stanza, or of a line, in order to explain the background to the stanza, or add additional information or explain this or that Manx word or idiom, etc.
4. It is clear that Gill makes a difference between trained classical singing and Manx traditional singing, implying that the difference was considerable.
5. The difficulties Gill experienced in noting down the tunes suggest that the singer's voice affected the rendering of the tune, in such a manner as to give an impression to the layman of "deviation" or "distortion" in the singer's voice, or that ornamentation of a sort had been employed, etc.
6. The whole would give the impression of Manx traditional songs were rendered in a similar manner to those in other branches of Gaelic tradition in Ireland and in Scotland.

I personally have witnessed similarities to No. 1 in Conamara *sean nós* singing and to Nos. 2 and 3 in Scottish Gaelic traditional singing.

In the context of the Manx song revival the foregoing would need to be taken on board. To my mind a sound knowledge of Manx Gaelic *is* a pre-requisite for a satisfactory interpretation and delivery of such songs, particularly in their phrasing. In the rendering of such songs the melody functions as a vehicle for the text, as was evidently the case in days gone by (see §§1.6.1.-3. above), rather than vice-versa, as is sometimes the case today.

2. THE REVIVAL OF MANX TRADITIONAL MUSIC

2.1. *Preamble to the Revival*

The revival of Manx traditional music, in comparison with that of the songs, came a little later. During the 1960s and early 1970s the revival in Irish traditional music was seemingly enjoying a boom period of considerable popularity everywhere, whereby anyone and everyone involved in the traditional Celtic music scene at that time, including our own musicians in the Isle of Man, would be into playing Irish traditional music at the drop of a hat. In November 1974 I received a letter from Colin Jerry - whom, as I say, I had got to know earlier in 1974 on Tynwald Fair Day - informing me that a music group, in which he was involved, had recently been set up under the name *Celtic Tradition* and was playing Celtic music every Saturday evening in *The Central*, a bar in Castle Street in the centre of Peel, and that I was welcome to come along when I was next over - which would be Christmas / New Year 1974/75. I arrived back in Man from Edinburgh via Liverpool just after Christmas and on the following Saturday evening went down to the Central armed with my harmonicas. The "Celtic Music" turned out to be mostly popular Irish and Scottish folk-ballads (also in vogue at the time, promoted as they were chiefly by groups such as *The Dubliners*, *The Clancy Brothers and Tommy Makem*, etc.). It was not what I quite expected, but as these sessions were popular - and at them I made a number of new friends - I would come along to them when back in the Island (New Year, Easter, and the summer months July to September / October).

2.2. *The Revival happens fortuitously*

It was during the spring of 1975 that something quite unexpected happened which led to the current revival in Manx traditional music. At that time I was spending some time in the Manx Museum Library, the main repository of documentary material relating to the Isle of Man. My main interest then was the Manx song tradition. Also coming into the library at that time was a good friend and colleague Dr. Ross Trench-Jellicoe, a specialist in Manx Crosses and lecturer in the Isle of Man

College (autumn 1973 - summer 1978), leaving the Island for the University of Lancaster in 1980.²⁶ At that time he was researching into the White Boys mummers plays traditionally performed in Man just prior to Christmas, with a view to reviving the play for the coming Christmas of 1975. There are apparently some three versions of the play known in Man alone, and the version that was finally decided upon was seemingly an amalgam of all three. The performance of such plays evidently involved a sword-dance at the end of the play.

It was during the course of his research (if I recall correctly) that Ross was made aware by Museum staff of a collection of traditional Manx music material made in the 1890s by a certain Dr. John Clague (1842-1908), a medical practitioner of Castletown who had a penchant for traditional Manx tunes and a fiddle to play them. This he would also bring along to those patients of his while on his rounds whom he knew had traditional material. The “Clague Collection”, as it came to be known (MNHL MS 00448/[1]-[3] A, MS 00449 B),²⁷ containing as it does some 315 tunes, including variants, culled from Manx tradition by Dr. Clague between 1893 (if not before) and 1898²⁸ had been deposited in the Manx Museum Library (as it was then) in 1935 by Archdeacon John Kewley²⁹ and had evidently lain there untouched ever since, that is, until the spring of 1975. Ross then asked for two photocopies to be made, one for himself and one for a colleague.³⁰ The following day I happened to be in the Library. Ross came up to me with his photocopy of the Clague Collection and said to me, “Have you seen this?” He handed me his photocopy and I began leafing through it, eventually realising what it was. I then went to the desk and ordered a photocopy for myself which I collected the following day.

The Saturday following I brought my copy of the Clague Collection along with me to the Central, and showed it to Colin and his wife Cristl just prior to the start of the music session. Colin said to me, “Leave it till the music is finished, then come along to my place and we’ll have a look at it then.” After the session I duly went back with Colin and Cristl to their home in Patrick Street, about five to ten minutes’ walk away. When we got back Colin poured us out a jar of his own home-brew, then I handed Colin the photocopy. Colin and Cristl had a look through it; it took them quite some minutes to do so. Then Colin looked up at me, I looked at him, he and I looked at Cristl, and Cristl looked at us both. We then realised what we had in our hands, a collection of Manx³¹ traditional music - genuine material - that we reckoned had not seen the light of day for some sixty years or more. It was clear to us what should now be done. Writing some years later in 1987 regarding the Clague Collection, Colin Jerry himself (Jerry 1987, Introduction [1]) notes:

When I first saw a photo-copy of the [Clague] manuscripts it was clear to me that there were many fine tunes still to be found, and that other versions existed of familiar tunes that could throw new light on the ones already published.³² The recent revival of interest in the music as it was here a century ago demanded that they should be made available to a wider circle of people. They all needed to be re-valued in the light of today’s knowledge and tastes (Colin Jerry 1987, Introduction [1]).

26 Dr. Ross Trench-Jellicoe p.c. 05.06.2017.

27 Dealt with copiously by Gilchrist 1924-26. For details of the circumstances of the development of the Clague Collection (and that of the Gill Brothers), see Miller (2021: 23-32) and works cited there.

28 Some were also recorded in 1899 and noted by him accordingly, e.g. an untitled tune is noted from “Blind Cain”, Douglas 25.X.99 (CII/23/303). See also Speers (1987: 236, fn. 25), but not “near the end of of the last music Ms. book [CIII?].” It was during this period (1895, 1898) that the Gill Brothers (the Deemster J. F. Gill and W. H. Gill) were also engaged in collecting traditional Manx material. See Miller 2006, 2021.

29 cf. JMM III/ (1935): 44. See also Miller (2013b: 1, fn. 1), Miller (2021: 29).

30 Dr. Ross Trench-Jellicoe (p.c. 05.06.2017).

31 Manx in the sense that it is a collection of tunes known in Man at the time of their collection, and a closer look makes clear their heterogeneity, with many tunes finding parallels in the music traditions of the surrounding countries.

32 viz. Moore 1896, Gill 1896, 1898, Morrison 1913-17, Gilchrist 1924-26, Douglas 1928, 1929, 1957, HLSM/I: Texts 1984.

Cristl ordered a copy of the Clague Collection for herself and Colin, and news quickly got round among interested parties about the Collection. Soon they acquired their own photocopies from the Manx Museum. The interested parties consisted mainly of about six or seven people who also had Manx, and in consequence the Saturday session became largely Manx-speaking. Those leading the group were Manx but not Manx-speaking and felt somewhat out of it. Slowly the playing of Manx tunes from the Clague Collection began to take hold of the session, and slowly Colin and his wife Cristl began to assume the direction the group was to take.

2.3. The ascendancy of Manx traditional music in the Revival c.1975-1990

As I say, the playing of Irish traditional music was in vogue at that time among many Manx musicians. However, in the Central a conscious decision was taken and every effort was made to concentrate *only* on Manx material. The reasoning was simple. Manx traditional music had not been played for many a year and was thus in a weak position when set against a thriving Irish tradition. Ironically, *Irish Times* journalist Desmond Fennell, while on a visit to Man in 1975, came into the Central one Saturday evening, and afterwards made it quite clear to us that if Manx music was not played in the Central no one else would play it. The course of action was now clear, and the aforementioned decision to play Manx music was now enforced by general agreement and executed with a certain amount of fervour.

The playing of Irish music (or any other Celtic music for that matter) in the Central bar was actively discouraged in favour of Manx music until such times as Manx music could hold its own. It took some time for Manx music to establish itself, and in this context I well remember the Saturday evening in early 1977 when we got through the evening playing solely Manx material. There was a feeling of considerable satisfaction all round, that we had achieved a significant milestone in the promotion of Manx music. Just after Easter 1977 Colin assumed the leadership of the group and announced to those who still preferred to play the popular ballads that from now on only Manx music would be played. The founding members of the group then left the scene and the umbrella name *Celtic Tradition* was changed forthwith by general agreement of those remaining to *Bwoie Doal* [bʌi 'dɔ:l] ('blind boy') from Tom Kermode (1825/26-1901) of Bradda, Rushen, traditional fiddle-player and main contributor to the Clague Collection. He was seemingly blind from birth through smallpox (Miller 2007: 1).

As more and more Manx traditional material was being played, the process of dissemination of the tunes was helped along by the publication by Colin Jerry of *Kiaul yn Theay* [kjɔ:l ən 'tʰiə] ('the people's music') in two volumes (Jerry 1978 & 1979).³³ These contain a selection of tunes from the Clague Collection³⁴ without arrangement, except to put them into keys more suitable for contemporary "folk" instruments, such as the tin whistle, tenor banjo and mandolin (Speers 2004: 29). Colin Jerry produced a comprehensive Manx music book *Kiaull Vannin* [kjɔ:l 'vanin'] ('music of Man') in 1987, with a revised edition containing new material in 1991.

These volumes were used by schools as well as by adults wishing to learn Manx tunes to play in the music 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 events. Some of the pupils later began to play in the sessions where the source material would be familiar to them.

2.3. The playing of Manx traditional music in the Revival

³³ Known respectively as the Yellow Book (1978) and the Red Book (1979) from the colour of their cover (Miller 2021: 31).

³⁴ The Gill Collection did not become available to the general public until the year 2000 (MNHL MS. 09702).

Concerning the playing of traditional Manx music, there was one problem. How were the tunes traditionally played? We had no sound-recorded examples of the playing of Manx traditional music available to us (see also §1.6), only descriptions in seventeenth to twentieth century commentaries.³⁵ In consequence there was a certain licence in interpretation which in due course led to disagreement. The performance in the Central was felt by some to be lack-lustre, at times “funereal” in delivery, with almost each tune thrashed out *ad nauseam*, as if in pursuit of some sort of religious zeal. There was little or no session-etiquette (as found, for example, in the playing of traditional Irish music), and those playing tunes out of 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 (see §2.5.3. below and Speers 1997), had to wait until the early 1990s.

2.4. The “fresh look” of the 1990s

The 1980s proved to be a period of consolidation for the Manx traditional music revival.³⁶ In 1989 the Saturday weekly session decamped from the *Central* to the *White House* bar, also in Peel, its present venue. At the start of the 1990s a fresh look at the material was made, initiated by David Speers. 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 have enhanced the repertoire considerably, and are still doing so today. At the same time the review of the documentary material led to a fresh interpretation of it and to the introduction of playing tunes of like structure (e.g. 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” (who preferred a more leisurely pace) which led once more to disagreement and the springing up of new sessions at other venues.³⁷ Once the source material had been “rediscovered” and a means of disseminating it found, the interest in playing Manx music had the opportunity to flourish. Other factors seemingly played a part in its development arising from the political circumstances in Man at the time, as noted above, and the personal motivation and background of the people involved.³⁸ One such factor was the reception of the Revival by the Manx population at large.

The desire to create a Manx tradition based on facets of an earlier culture has tended to produce a fanaticism for it characterised by an almost religious fervour, as witnessed in the case of the Central during the 1970s (§2.3. above). In such circumstances it would not be surprising to find the Manx population in general to be uninterested in, or indifferent to, the traditional music revival. In this regard, while conducting recorded interviews for the Manx Place-Name Survey (1989-92) I would occasionally ask the informant(s) at the end of the interview what they thought of the revival of Manx culture, especially in the realm of music, song and dance.

Those that were aware of such a revival (and many were not) would classify it as “Celtic”, not particularly “Manx”, as those asked pursued a Manx culture of their own, which in the farming community would involve such pursuits as ploughing matches, sheepdog trials, hymn-raising, and

35 For this see Speers (1997: 247-277).

36 Up until the early 1980s harmonicas were a feature of revived instrumental playing of Manx traditional music. However, they could not compete against button-accordions (*Schifferklavier*) favoured by many Irish traditional musicians. This was remedied c.1983 when Brian Stowell introduced the button-accordion to Manx traditional music sessions.

37 One band which championed this dynamic and spirited style of playing was *The White House Experience*, led by David Speers, which replaced *Bwoie Doal* as the resident band in the White House, Peel, 1992-1994, thereafter decamping to The Mitre Hotel in Kirk Michael. It won acclaim at the Inter-Celtic Festival of *Yn Chruinnaght* held in Ramsey in July 1994.

38 For details see Speers (2004: 30-31).

attending an “eisteddfod [əiˈstɛðvɔd]”³⁹ such as the Braaid Eisteddfod or that at Cronk y Voddy. These latter occasions involve featuring the time-honoured Manx tradition of biting satire and invective of local politicians and worthies or on aspects of Government policy, much to audience hilarity. The Revival would in fact be seen as running parallel to the cultural life of the ordinary Manx people, with neither side taking particularly much interest in or notice of the activities of the other.

2.5. Manx traditional music today

Today, a number of groups of young musicians has sprung up, playing Manx music in their own way, but freely without any rigours or strictures as at Peel, which may or may not have anything to do with the revived tradition of the 1970s (or that of the old tradition-bearers for that matter). Much of 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 with the playing of Irish traditional music, which has its own momentum and etiquette, the Manx traditional music scene is still fragmentary, with its various expressions. This in turn has led to an emergence of “prima donna” solo performers seeking the limelight. There was found to be little or no etiquette at session performances. In his analysis of the present situation David Speers (2004: 32-33) notes two relevant factors that have influenced the current revival:

1. The material itself as gathered by the collectors.
2. Its interpretation by the revivalists themselves.

2.5.1. The collectors

The process of collecting and notating traditional music can involve an element of distortion in traditional material in terms of its musical integrity. In the Manx situation there was seemingly a conscious filtering of the source material as it was being collected. The main aim of the collectors was seemingly to find examples that they could describe as being of “Manx origin”. This excluded much of what was known to have been used traditionally, e.g. dance tunes. A. W. Moore said of his collecting that he had not paid much attention to dance music, possibly because it comprised tunes that were also known outside the Island:

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" (Moore 1896: xxxv, fn. [1]).

In the context of songs some attempt was made to exclude "non-Manx" material. The ballads of Thomas Shimmin (Tom the Dipper) (1801-c.1876), for instance, sometimes contained a reference to a tune to be used. These tunes were seemingly popularly known in Man at the time 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 particular tunes appears in any of the nineteenth century collections,⁴⁰ though others did, e.g. “Curragh of Kildare” and “The banks of Ponchartrain” appear in several forms in the collections, as do the dance tunes “Haste to the Wedding”, “Farewell to Whiskey” and “The Galbally farmer.”⁴¹

39 The concept *eisteddfod* is Welsh with the meaning ‘session’. In Manx terms it refers to a ‘session’ gathering of people, as noted above. It is not certain how the Welsh term came to be used in this way in Man.

40 The Ramsey poet, the late Paul Lebedzinski (1951-1995), would often employ tunes currently known, including Christmas carol tunes, in the singing of his politically satirical poems especially.

41 For the appearance of such song-titles in the Clague Collection, see Appendix.

Nonetheless, the repertoire of tunes that was available to the revivalists in the current phase was usually limited by the collectors themselves to what they thought best represented Manx music. Where a tune was also known in other neighbouring traditions, there was seemingly a conscious attempt made to make the Manx version as played sound different from any other known versions.

2.5.2. Interpretation of the material

As can be seen from the various collections of Manx music, the tunes were only noted in their bare melody. This is usually the case in other collections, e.g. from Ireland or from Scotland, but traditional musicians, when reading the staff-notation, would apply any ornamentation automatically in the appropriate places. However, in the Manx case the Manx traditional fiddlers had by all accounts died out long before the current Revival. As a result musicians in the 1970s played the bare notation provided by the unpublished collections for a good while, later relying mostly on reproducing the notes rather than introducing a style based on any known traditional music. In addition, elements of traditional playing were actively discouraged for a time as "not being Manx". In such circumstances, as David Speers (2004: 33-34) notes, some features of Manx music that became common as a result of musician inexperience include the following:

1. *Lack of ornamentation* - it was maintained for some time that ornamentation was not part of the Manx tradition, unlike that found in neighbouring traditions in Ireland and Scotland, even though indications of apparent use of some ornamentation in the playing of some Manx tunes can be found in the Clague Collection, e.g. "Colbagh Breac" "Thos Kinraid Ramsey at 73. Played on fiddle"⁴² (Clague Coll. CIII/37/105, though this tune was in fact collected by the Gill Brothers on Monday 3 October 1898, [Gill] Music Book 45/2 (O.80); cf. Miller 53 (2006): 1).

2. *Unconventional structures* - some tunes that are known elsewhere and played "double" (that is, the two strands of music, viz. A and B, that make up most traditional dance tunes are played twice each, i.e. as AABB) are played through singly, e.g. the *Fathaby Jig* (played AAB), *Eunyssagh Vona* (played AB).⁴³

3. *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 - by some at any rate, not by all.⁴⁴

4. *Playing in 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 normally played through twice, longer if required. Such a set may include material of heterogenous origin, as witnessed in the *Melliah* poem below (§2.5.3.3.2). However, in the Manx case tunes were played through several times in the initial phase of the Revival (cf. §2.3). Later on, during the early 1990s, 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; in other words, the conventions as applied elsewhere were, it seems, not adequately understood in Man. The irony of the situation is that, although in more recent years many young Manx musicians have become very competent in playing Irish and Scottish traditional music and follow the conventions that apply there, their approach to Manx tunes still seems to be influenced by the strictures applied in the earlier part of the Revival (also

42 Here a note indicating some ornamentation is written into the manuscript. (qv).

43 However, this may be due to the dance collector and teacher Mona Douglas (1898-1987) who in these two particular dance tunes insisted on AA+B for the *Fathaby Jig*, and A+B only for *Eunyssagh Vona*, though later it was found that both could be danced to an AABB structure (Bob Carswell p.c. c.1985).

44 So far as I am aware, this practice has today been all but abandoned.

Speers 2004: 33-34).

2.5.3. *How was Manx music played traditionally?*

In his detailed analysis of the historic references to Manx traditional music, song and dance, David Speers (1997: 247-277) lists in chronological order references made of the foregoing over the centuries from 1656 to 1924, and such references can be inspected there. However, to give an idea how Manx music was traditionally played, I have selected relevant references in order to present a cogent overall picture:

2.5.3.1. *Instruments used:*

1. 1656: 'A Short Treatise of the Isle of Man by James Chaloner', *Manx Society* 10 (1864).

[The Manx people are] much addicted to the Musick of the Violyne; so that there is scarce a Family in the Island, but more or lesse can play upon it; but as they are ill Composers, so are they bad Players; and it is strange that they should be singular in affecting this instrument before others, their neighbours; the Northern English, the Scots, the Highlanders, and the Irish, generally, affecting the Bag-Pipe (Chaloner 1656: II).⁴⁵

2. 1726: 'A Description of the Isle of Man', George Waldron, first edition 1726. *Manx Society* 11 (1864).

[p. 48] In their sports they [the Manx people] retain something of the Arcadian simplicity. Dancing, if I may call it so, jumping and turning around at least, to the fiddle and base-viol, is their great diversion [...] (Waldron 1726: 48).

[p. 60] '[At weddings the bride and groom] [...] are preceded by musick [musicians] who play all the while before them the tune "The Black and the Grey", and no other is ever used at weddings. [After the wedding feast they] [...] dance in the Manks fashion and between that and drinking, pass the remainder of the day (Waldron 1726: 60).

2.5.3.2. *Music and dancing:*

1. 1794: Quayle, Basil: *A General View of the Agriculture of the Isle of Man ...*. London: Macrae, p.124-125.

The Manks peasantry being much attached to dancing, it is a constant practice on the evening of the day on which the last corn is cut, for the farmer to call in a fiddler or two. Laborers, young and old, then assemble; and often the family and friends of the farmer himself join in the merry dance. The reason for fixing the period of this festivity, which is called the *mellow* [*meillia*, cf. *G meitheal*] not at harvest-home, but on the last day when the corn is cut [...]. During the dance, a diminutive sheaf, formed of the last cut corn, bound with ribbands, which had been borne in procession from the field by the queen of the mellow, passes from hand to hand among the young women, and in dancing is waved above the head. English country-dances are still unknown to them. Jigs and reels, in which four or five couple[s] join, take their place, the fiddler, changing his tune, and often playing one of the few national lively airs, preserved from early times, resembling strongly in character the Irish (Quayle 1794: 124-125).

⁴⁵ For comment on this and for possible Norwegian influence on Manx music, see Bazin 2002.

2. 1801: 'The Present State of the Isle of Man'. *The Monthly Magazine* (c.1801) (MNHL MS. LS F, Excerpts from journals, folio 1: 26).

[p. 43] Almost every Manksman can speak English; their accent is very like that of Ireland, and they may easily be mistaken for Hibernians, by those who have not attended closely to the niceties of pronunciation. Little Manks music is to be met with. There are a few original airs which have much of the wildness of the Irish. To these are sometimes sung ballads in the Manx language (*Monthly Magazine* c.1801: 43).

3. c.1849: Quarrie, George (1889): *The Melliah*. New York (MNHL MS J8 Q2 8915), refers to events of c.1849 [from stanza 4 of 'The Dance']. This poem is provided here for its detail as to what sort of dances were danced, instruments used, tunes played, etc. Note the energetic manner in which the dance music was played.

Now Dawsey's pipe was not alone
old Collins fiddle swelled the tone
and dancin' now in form begun -
The mistress came
with grace she let them see it done
and lightly stepped with Jem alone
the dance we'll name.
- That Swivvle Hornpipe's rightly named
the 'jig' and far away is famed
to 'Edinburgh's Flowers' framed
it went like smook⁴⁶
Clane⁴⁷ dancin' off yer han⁴⁸ it claimed
not puzzled look.
No bhoy bough⁴⁹ bobbles at the sides
nor sthroogin⁵⁰ out of tune in slides
with ugly sprehts⁵¹ and shame besides
at bein' wrong
like in quadrille each man betides
however strong
But hit the floor with heel and toe
and suit yourself, you come or go
to music's time
not bob about like peep-a-bo
nor sense nor rhyme!
And see the gells,⁵² these sthrippers⁵³ rare
no blanket trains to thrip you there
but ankles clane, half stockin' bare
they foot it lightly.
'Why shut their arms or legs from air?'
they argue rightly!

46 MxE *smook* 'smoke' (MMG 170).

47 MxE *clane* 'clean' (cf. MMG33 *cleant* [kle:nt] 'cleaned').

48 MxE *han* 'hand' (MMG77).

49 Mx. *boght* 'poor' (MMG17).

50 MxE *sthroog*, *sthroogh* 'stroke', *sthroogey* 'dragging one's feet when dancing' (cf. MMG178), Mx. *strugey* 'drawing the hand gently over' (C.163).

51 Mx. *spret* m. 'start, struggle, shove' (C.159), MxE *spret* 'a con-vulsive kick or spring' (Gill 117).

52 MxE *gel* 'girl'.

53 MxE *stripper* 'a young girl of marriageable age' lit. 'a heifer' (Gill 121).

- 'The fun was now diversified
as Nannie from the door was spied
limping up, soghane⁵⁴ betide
she thus went past me:
Floorin' a clout, she jumped aside
took fright, and sang, or rather cried
'Keerie fu Snaighthee'.⁵⁵

- Then jig on jig and reel on reel
away they flew with hop and squeal
sweat must flow unless by steel
the springin's done.
But shirts are damp, and sthrippers feel
wet to the bone.

- But bless your sowl! they're used to sweat!
they're only just beginning yet;
O heavens! see that reekin' set
just by the wall!
Whoever will this night forget
that's seen it all!

- And look! now mark that happy pair
see Billy bouncin' in the air!
and look at Betsy's streamin' hair
and hear the'r hoochs!
At other time, or otherwhere
they wouldn't say, I do declare
bo[o] to a goose!
O Barley! Barley! madd'ning grains!
thy blood runs riot through our veins
for see! the dullest hodden brains
thou sett'st on fire!
On, fiddles! shriek your maddest strains!
here reckless pleasure! take the reins
till we expire!

- Now quicker flew old Collin's bow
now Dawsey blow! ye divil blow!
and reel and wheel and quicker go,
ye merry dancers

- In all this earth, or far below
was ever such a perfect show!
O who that answers!

- The fiddlers barely get their breath
when music's loudly called for Baith
and there he is as sure as death
with kick and prance
low on the floor, dooin' well, my faith!
the owl Frog dance.⁵⁶

- Then reel on reel, and jig on jig
away they went again full rig
with jough and fiddles, who cares a fig
about tomorrow?

54 MxE *soghane*, Mx. *suggane* 'straw-rope' (MMG180, Gill 121-123)

55 Manx traditional song *Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey* 'the snow-bound sheep'. For details see Broderick 1984b.

56 Traditional Manx dance. For details see Carswell (2004): 27.

Leave afterclaps to common prig
who looks for sorrow!
- But time will go, and fun to boot
and Melliahs⁵⁷ end and follow suit
this night wound up with good salute
hip, hip, hurray!
These were the days of Gob-na-schute⁵⁸
and Hop tua Naa.⁵⁹

4. 1924: Gilchrist, A. G. in *The Journal of the Folk-Song Society* VII/3/28 (1924): 171-172.

The Clague collection is not lacking in good and lively dance tunes, but most of them seem to be of Irish or Scottish origin, and some are well-known in one or other of these countries under other names. They include *Betsy Baker*, *The Bonnie Bunch o' Roses*, Neil Gow's *Fairy Dance*, and other specimens doubtfully of folk origin (Gilchrist 1924-26: 171-172).⁶⁰

For comment on this see David Speers (1987: 230-231).

3. CONCLUSION

3.1. As we have seen, the revival in Manx traditional music began a little later than that for the songs, and it began as a result of a chance viewing of a photocopy of the Clague Collection during the spring of 1975 and a subsequent showing of it to the mainstays of the music group *Celtic Tradition*, Colin and Cristl Jerry. This led to a conscious decision to introduce the contents of this corpus into the Saturday evening music session in the Central bar, Peel, which in due course replaced the earlier repertoire of popular Irish and Scottish ballads.

3.2. This replacement was largely fulfilled in early 1977 which led to a change of name of the group from *Celtic Tradition* to *Bwoie Doal* shortly after Easter of that year. Because of the uncertainty as to how Manx traditional music was played and due to an inexperience of etiquette⁶¹ among the original revival musicians, certain idiosyncratic developments took place which to an extent hall-marked the Manx traditional music revival in its early days.

3.3. On the other hand, it has to be said, that were it not for the tenacity and energy of Colin Jerry, supported by his wife Cristl, in ensuring the establishment of the playing of Manx traditional music on a regular basis over a long period, it is unlikely that anything would have been done at all, at least at that time. The music produced during the current revival was seemingly the result of a need to satisfy a song-cum-musical imperative.⁶² Today, there are quite a number of Manx music groups

57 Mx. *mheil* (G. *meitheal*) 'a company of reapers', *mheillea* 'fin-ishing of reaping corn' (C.114).

58 LN *Gob ny Scoot* 'point of the water-spring'. Eastern shoulder of North Barrule (PNIM/IV: 115-116, VII: 243).

59 Manx *Hop-dy-Naa*, the name given to the last day of the Celtic year (31 October) on which children are wont to go from house to house chanting a rhyme and thereby earning sweets (nowadays money), does not appear to have any Celtic etymology. The phrase *Hop-dy-Naa* forms a vocable chorus to the rhyme chanted, which seems to have given its name to the event, formally *Sauin* (G *Samhain* 'end of summer'), *Oie Houney* /i: 'hounə/ (G *Oidhche Shamhna*) 'the night of Souney/ *Samhna*, Eng. 'Hollantide' / 'Hallowe'en'. Many customs are associated with this event.

60 With regard to possible Irish variants in Manx traditional music, in October 1981 during my time in the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (1980-84) I handed over my copy of the Clague Collection to Irish traditional music exponent Deasún Breatnach for his comments on the collection. A week later he returned the corpus with some notes on the Irish variants. These notes are published in the Appendix for the first time.

61 An etiquette of the sort present in neighbouring Irish and Scottish traditional music style, both akin to Manx traditional music. See above §2.3.

62 David Speers (2004: 30) argues that the imperative to promote Manx traditional music also included a nationalist dimension. It is true to say that Manx nationalism went hand in hand with the cultural revival at that time and Manx nationalists visited the

both inside and outside the school system in the Isle of Man, some of whom, such as *Barrule* (now disbanded), have in the meantime established an international reputation as Manx traditional musicians. Nevertheless, some find there is something missing generally in the delivery of Manx tunes today that is not musically fulfilling, and in comparison with the dynamic playing of Irish and Scottish traditional music, complete with etiquette, etc., they regard the rendering of Manx music, even today by Manx musicians competent in playing Irish and Scottish traditional material (§2.5.2.5), has a lack of authenticity about it. Nowadays, the more experienced groups would play Manx music with similar dynamism and etiquette as found in the traditional Irish and Scottish counterparts.

3.4. To judge from recent tendencies, however, it seems that Manx traditional music at present is part geared to elegant stage performance, and part to the informal, robust and dynamic exposition of a session environment.⁶³

ABBREVIATIONS

C - Cregeen's <i>Manx Dictionary</i> (1835).	MNHL - Manx National Heritage Library (formerly the Manx Museum Library).
CRÉ - <i>Ceol Rinne na hÉireann</i> (1963) & CRÉ Cuid II (1976).	Mx. - Manx.
G - Gaelic.	MxE - Manx-English (Anglo-Manx).
Gill - <i>Manx Dialect</i> (W. Walter Gill 1934).	PNIM - Place-Names of the Isle of Man (Broderick 1994-2005).
HLSM - <i>A Handbook of Late Spoken Manx</i> (Broderick 1984-86).	ScG. - Scottish Gaelic.
Ir. - Irish.	SED - Survey of English Dialects (Orton & Halliday 1962-63).
JMM - <i>Journal of the Manx Museum</i> .	SOED - <i>Shorter Oxford English Dictionary</i> (1993 ed.).
LN(N) - Location Name(s).	YCG - Yn Çheshaght Ghailckagh.
MMG - Moore, Morrison & Goodwin (1924).	

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Central of a Saturday night for the music, and both traditions to an extent fed off each other. On the other hand Colin Jerry particularly was not at all nationalist-minded (though his wife was), and I would argue that the imperative for him was to make the corpus of Manx traditional music (Clague Collection) available once more to the general public, but especially in the schools where the greatest interest was likely to be, and which in fact proved to be the case.

⁶³ For a comprehensive analysis and discussion of the Revival of Manx traditional music in the Isle of Man see Chloë Woolley 2003.

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Appendix

In October 1981 during my sojourn in the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (1980-84) I handed over my copy of the Clague Collection to Irish traditional musicologist Deasún Breatnach for his comments on possible Irish variants of Manx tunes to be found in Clague. Appended here are all the notes on the Irish content of the corpus that Deasún Breatnach supplied. The numbering system he uses is my own, entered into my copy of the corpus when working on the Clague Collection during the 1970s. This system is replaced here with a system giving easy access to the material: CI/4/213 = Clague Coll., Book 1, p. 4, original tune number 213. Breatnach’s comments are given as written.

Clague Ms

- CI/4/213: Brig Lily: The croppy boy (traditional version).
- CI/11/222: [Thurot - Manx Words - Irish Air - Haste to the West] or Haste to the Wedding
- CI/12/28: [“The wind that shook / *shakes*⁶⁴ the barley” - (?-Scotch Air)] not the reel usually so named.
- CI/12/83: [“Pa’ee Ned as Nelly ghoill thie” Nursing Song Halligan Halligan Linky Long] Lilibulero or The Protestant Boys
- CI/26/31: [Manx Jig. The Girls of Balladoole] Bob & Joan CRÉ 63 7. in 9/8 time.
- CI/37/94: [Hug eh my fainey soury lhien [*thugamar féin an samhradh linn*] Hi! son hug eh as hug eh Ta hug eh rolley as daunsey] Jenny hugeh etc CRÉ 11, 103 7. in 9/8 time.
- CI/41/99: [“The pick on my shoulder” Yn Speigh er my geaylin] The boys of Wexford : Anon air in Standford's Petrie (1902) said adapted by Ludwig for text. Anon air related to traditional words which preceded R D Joyce's version?
- CI/50/6: [Mona’s Delight] An English hornpipe : found also in Irish mss.
- CI/53/14: [Keep the *old* petticoat warm] The raker of Kildare : Manx title from stanza:
As I was going home from the fair of Athy
I saw an oul’ petticoat hung up to dry
I took off my oul’ breeches & hung them nearby
to keep the oul’ petticoat warm.
- CI/54/11: [no title] [Oie Jelune - GB1975] I a variant of Tarrymen
- CII/2/203: [Ta Cashen ersooyl yn errca...] II a version of The Irish washer Woman
- CIII/9/84: [Winding song] a duplicate of 38 [CI/12/83] above
- CIV/26/10: CRÉ 11 63 An chearc ar fad is an t-anraith.
- CIV/29/60: Last night's fun CRÉ II 107
- CIV/9/3: [“Kiark Cathrina Marroo”]
Kiarc Catreeney
Miss Peacock's delight
Thompson's compleat collection of 200 fav Country Dances I, p. 59.

64 Italicised words indicate interpolations.