Post-Colonial Distances

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Edited by

Bev Diamond, Denis Crowdy and Daniel Downes

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INTRODUCTION

This anthology emanated from a conference in St. John's, Newfoundland, that brought together popular music scholars, folklorists and ethnomusicologists from Canada and Australia. Popular music developed in each of these countries (as in many others world-wide) into a vibrant subject in universities, beginning in the 1970s and 80s. Specific universities led the way in pioneering this area of study and research – York and Carleton Universities in Canada, Macquarie University in Australia, to name three path-breaking institutions – but many others followed suit, often developing a distinctive approach. Relative to Anglo-Canada, Australia has a longer history of academic publication on its own popular music,[1] particularly since the journal *Perfect Beat* was initiated in 1992. The journal focused on both indigenous and immigrant popular musics in the Pacific and thus decentred the customary focus in popular music studies on the hegemonic centres of production in the US and the UK. Critical surveys ranging from Philip Hayward's (1992) *From pop to punk to postmodernism: popular music in Australian culture from the 1960s to the 1990s*, to his important *Sound Alliances. Indigenous Peoples, Cultural Politics and Popular Music in the Pacific* (1998), furthered this decentring, as did a series of transnational studies authored or edited by Tony Mitchell – particularly *Global Noise. Rap and Hip-hop Outside the USA* (2001) which includes chapters on both Australia and Canada. These and the most recent initiative, the newly minted anthology by Shane Homan and Tony Mitchell, *Sounds of Then, Sounds of Now. Popular Music in Australia* (Sydney: ACYS Publishing 2008), have had an international impact on the field of study. By comparison, the earliest major monographs on popular music and jazz in Anglo-Canada were celebratory in tone, authored by journalists or musician/writers. Among these are Mark Miller's various studies of Canadian jazz history, among which I would single out *That Sweet Melodious Sound,* Michael Barclay et al, eds. (2001) *Have Not Been the Same. The CanRock Renaissance* and Nicholas Jennings' (1998) *Before the Gold Rush. Flashbacks to the Dawn of Canadian Sound.* In the French Canadian academy there was considerably more attention to francophone popular music[2] because of the central role it played as a tool of Quebecois nationalism. Furthermore, the scholars involved were either housed within or influenced by

Communications Studies and so a deeper awareness of social theory is evident. At the end of the 20th century, Canadian scholars (along with their Australian counterparts) were hard at work on more specific topics, but (relative to the Australians) arguably less intent on defining the big picture.[3]

Implicit in our conference and in this anthology, however, is the comparability of the two countries. Their 'post-colonial' status (if that is indeed an appropriate modifier in either case) has some points of similarity. On the other hand, their 'distance' – from hegemonic centres, from colonial histories – is arguably more a matter of contrast than similarity.

Canada and Australia are similar in various regards. Post-colonial in the sense that they are both former British colonies, they now each have more than a century of stature as nation states.[4] By the beginning of the 21st century, they are each modest in size but rich in ethnocultural diversity.[5] Nonetheless, each country has some skeletons in the closet where openness to difference, to indigenous and new immigrant groups are concerned. Their substantial indigenous populations share a history that is troubled by assimilation attempts. At the turn of the 21st century, about 200 languages[6] continue to be spoken in Australia but the majority are endangered. Of the approximately 45 indigenous languages in Canada, there is a similar erosion of fluent speakers. Indeed, indigenous people in both countries would dispute the 'post' in 'post-colonial' arguing persuasively that colonial mechanisms within the nation state are still firmly in place.

Both countries are similarly both experiencing rapid shifts in cultural makeup with the biggest population increases in Australia coming from China, India, and South Africa, and the biggest in Canada from Afro-Caribbean, South Asian countries, and China. Statistics Canada reports that, by 2006, 75% of immigrants were 'visible minorities'. Each country has selectively relied on immigrants to develop and sustain the resource-rich economy and the professional infrastructure. At the same time, they both rely on, but worry about, extensive foreign investment. In music, this has resulted in different approaches to protectionism. In Canada content quotas have been mandated by the Canadian Radio and Television Commission since the 1970s, and quotas and standards regarding local content have existed since 1942 in Australia.

These and other parallels or distinctions between the two countries have stimulated exchanges and comparisons between the two countries.

The Canadian Encyclopedia (2008) offers a brief description of some such initiatives:

> Considerable interest in each other's literature is symbolized by the Canada-Australia Literary Award, which was inaugurated in 1976. In journalism, the Canadian Award (est 1975) is allocated for merit in reporting international affairs pertaining to the Pacific region. The formalization of comparative studies, which has been attempted since 1945, was achieved in 1981 with the Canada-Australia Colloquium: Public Policies in Two Federal Countries; with the establishment of the Canadian Visiting Fellowship at Macquarie University; and with the formation of the Australian Association for Canadian Studies. the latter (now the Association for Canadian Studies in Australia and New Zealand) has held conferences on, eg, theory and practice in comparative studies, and regionalism and national identity. The annual journal *Australian-Canadian Studies* (fd 1983) is published jointly by the faculties of social work at Latrobe University, Melbourne and the University of Regina. (http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com; accessed July 9, 2008).

The chapters in this anthology constitute yet another comparative initiative. Perhaps the most obvious point of comparison is that both countries create commercial music in the shadow of the hegemonic US and British industries. As the authors demonstrate, both proximity (specifically Canada's nearness to the US) and distance have advantages and disadvantages. As the third and fourth largest Anglophone music markets for popular music, they face similar issues relating to music management, performance markets, and production. A second relationship, as chapters in this anthology attest, is the significant movement between the two countries in a matrix of exchange and influence among musicians that has rarely been studied hitherto. Third, both countries invite comparison with regard to the popular music production of diverse social groups within their national populations. In particular, the tremendous growth of indigenous popular music has resulted in opportunities as well as challenges[7]. Additionally, however, the strategies that different waves of immigrants have adopted to devise or localize popular music that was both competitive and meaningful to their own people as well as to a larger demographic bear comparison. The historical similarities and differences as well as the global positionality of each country in the early 21st century, then, invites comparison relating to musical practices, social organization, lyrics as they articulate social issues, career strategies, industry structures and listeners.

Some participants in this comparative project wrote papers that explicitly addressed both countries. Others presented case studies in either

Canada or Australia, but raised issues that they regarded as pertinent for the other country. It turns out that the papers that focus on individuals are all by Australians. Papers that focus on mediation (radio, collection processes) are by Canadians. In general the Canadian papers seem to start from issues and proceed to examples while the Australian papers start from specifics and work out toward generalization. Though the anthology has some interesting patterns, given that this is a small sample of academic work, there is hardly evidence of national "syntactic signatures"[8] here.

Introducing the Anthology Chapters

The anthology begins with a paper by Peter Toner whose own career spans both countries since he did his Ph.D. in Australia before returning to Canada to teach. He sets forth a model for studying a specific ethnocultural community – in this case the Irish in New Brunswick – that is fruitful for any study of an ethnic diaspora. His model includes what he calls nine 'sites' of study: different ways of contextualizing the local that range from immigration data to national identity constructs to the industry defined genre of world music. He offers tantalizing examples from the New Brunswick context; one cannot but hope that this is the introduction to a monograph that will unfold more detailed New Brunswick material.

Toner's paper meshes well with the next two, by Mitchell (Australia) and Elliott (Canada) who each explore the implications of ethnic specificity (as Toner does) and the delicate interplay of 'foreign' cultural intrusions into social situations that are confident in their self-identification processes. While Mitchell looks at contemporary hip hop artists from a variety of ethnocultural spaces in contemporary Australia, Elliott explores how popular music in later 19th-century Toronto similar inserted new messages or evoked new social critiques, as well as new elements of diversity. The historic gap is extremely useful since we begin to see how debates over race, class and gender have played out in different social situations. The 'gaze' differs; Elliott necessarily uses documentary sources that privilege elite viewpoints while Mitchell has the opportunity to speak with artists directly and to compare their motivations and social strategies. While Elliott can suss out discursive constructions of class and race; Mitchell focuses more on artist agency. The two papers not only offer fascinating contrastive pictures of the impact of musicians who are seen to be 'racially' different, hybrid, or 'in-between' cultures, but they also allow us to see how the nature of research sources and methods necessarily have an impact on the perspective developed.

The next three papers (all by Australians including Hayward, Denson, and Hayward/Fitzgerald) focus on individuals and on explicit points of comparison. As Hayward argues, "the volume and intensity of US and British material's diffusion into Australian and Canadian culture has created such a 'glare' that linkages and exchanges between Australia and Canada… have been rendered invisible and thereby overlooked" (50). He has studied the nomadic career of Billy Blinkhorn who traveled from Canada to Australia; as an outsider, Blinkhorn participated in the growth of bushbands and played a role in recasting the representation of Australian outlaw, Ned Kelly. With John Fitzgerald, Hayward also contributes a study of Canadian country musician Fred Eaglesmith who has attracted a particularly enthusiastic following among Australian female singers. Their performances re-nuance his material at times and thus hint at a fascinating field of study – the simultaneous translation of popular music across the double lines of gender and nationality. This 'field' differs from most previous studies of cover tunes, for instance, in that it centres on social difference as an analytic[9]. Finally, Louise Denson compares the career strategies of two successful women in jazz, Jane Bunnett and Sandy Evans. The openness that both women show to incorporating diverse traditional elements, but also the difference in access to US markets is clearly demonstrated.

The next two papers are both by Canadians and both very localized studies with larger implications for the comparative study of media. Turnbull examines the history of a community radio station in Alberta, explaining how community radio in general has given voice to marginal groups and how this station, in particular, has created a market niche. Guige looks at the process of collecting traditional music with the sponsorship of a national institution, using as her case study, the work of Kenneth Peacock for the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

The final two papers look comparatively at industry frameworks. Their purview is decidedly different, however, since Diamond focuses on the creation and impact of industry awards within the specific niche of indigenous music. Returning to themes of ethnocultural diversity raised by Mitchell and Elliott, she examines the politics of labeling, the actual tangible effect of awards on 'visibility', and the opportunity for using awards-related performance to put forth critiques of stereotyping. Morrow takes a broader view, examining the practicalities of 'making it' in the Canadian and Australian contexts. Using interviews with a knowledgeable subset of music managers, he returns to one of the central issues – the reliance on major markets (particularly the US) and yet the opportunity for

putting forth distinctive content.

Thinking through Themes

Arguably the most pervasive theme in this compilation is the recurrent concept of 'in-betweenness'. It emerges in the studies of diasporic communities which, as Mitchell notes, live across homes of birth, homes of residence and homes of citizenship; musicians express a varied array of feelings of 'long-distance nationalism'. In-betweenness is relevant to the study of media, particularly as Turnbull observes in her study of radio, where the problems of defining 'community' are always integral but increasingly challenging. It is evoked in images of the outlaw/outlier which inspired artists such as Billy Blinkhorn and Fred Eaglesmith. Musicians such as Jane Bunnett and Sandy Evans consciously created inbetween spaces to involve musicians from other countries in their creative work. In-betweenness also implies a sort of marginality and in that sense, all musicians in the two countries under consideration are between their local scenes and the mega-industry they strive to conquer. It is now widely accepted that, as Homi Bhabha has written, "[I]t is in the emergence of the interstices – the overlap and displacement of domains of difference – that the intersubjective and collective experiences of nationness, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated" (Location of Culture 2). His statement fits those studies best, however, where the type of inbetweenness is either 'resistant' or truly collaborative. The many different power relations elaborated in the studies to follow nuance notions of intersubjectivity and processes such as 'negotiation'. See Morrow, for instance, on the hard lessons to be learned about transnational success as a recording artist.

Related to the concept of inbetweeness, is the tension between social diversity and cultural desire, especially (but not exclusively) the imagination of the nation. Turnbull articulates this well when she explains how the concept of community signals nostalgia, respectability, and legitimacy. Elliott's rich documentation of constructs of race, gender, class and popular music of late-19thcentury Canada unpacks a similar theme. As one of his sources quipped, there was no concept of class in Canada, only "the Masseys and the masses": a clever rejoinder about desire and actuality.

A third theme that is rarely developed explicitly by the anthology authors, but is, nonetheless, an underpinning for many of them, is place. Like 'community', the relationship between any contemporary artist and a

geographic location is shifting and contingent more often than not. Several of the Canadian pieces, however, are firmly located (Elliott in Toronto, Turnbull in Alberta, Guigne in Newfoundland), perhaps demonstrating a penchant for emphasizing regional identities that some critics have characterized as distinctively Canadian. And yet the icons of regional identity and music are not there: no "ideas of north"[10] by the Canadian authors. In the Australian submissions, no discussions of the ways Australian Aboriginal music both maps and revitalizes the land. This compilation, then, is arguably a fresh look at geography since it is mostly peopled by musicians or musics on their way somewhere else. The motivation to explore national connections, then, while implicitly or explicitly a guiding factor, is ultimately less thematically significant here than the themes of routes and relationships.

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Notes

[1] Distinguished popular music scholars, such as John Shepherd, Will Straw, Rob Bowman and Neil Rosenberg were active in Canada since the 1960s but involved with transnational projects in many cases. National projects to create reference works are also relevant. See Kallmann 1992, Bebbington 1997, Johnson 1987, McFarlane 1999, Thérien and Amours 1992. Discographies, biographies, industry

studies and many others, are, of course, no less significant for their neglect in this brief overview.

[2] See Côté and Baillargeon (1991), Tremblay-Matte (1990) for broad historical studies.

[3] For more expansive surveys of both the practices themselves and studies of popular music in each country, see the national entries in the *Continuum Encyclopedia of Popular Music*.

[4] Canada was created in 1867, Australia in 1901.

[5] The most recent population figures from Statistics Canada (http://www.statcan.ca) and the Australia Bureau of Statistics (http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats) respectively indicate populations of more than 33 million Canadians and more than 20 million Australians. Canada claims a citizenry of more than 200 ethnic origins while the parallel Australian number is 250. In both countries but more notably in Canada, there are significant regional differences in the ethnocultural make-up of the citizenry.

[6] Where there was once more than 600.

[7] This phenomenon has been extensively studied in both countries: see Breen, Neuenfeldt , Diamond, Scales, Gibson/Dunbar-Hall, Hayward and others.

[8] This term is Gaile McGregor's. In her studies of national patterns in the visual art of Canada, Australia, and the United States, she defines "syntactic signatures" as patterning that "provides a consistent substratum to *all* social phenomena such that it not merely reflects but actually controls the mode of communal response, structuring both the form and the content of expression…" (1994: 4). She roots her analysis in the representation of human kind's relationship with nature, finding, for instance, that Canadian art and literature perpetuates a sort of "recoil from the northern wilderness" (12) while Australian expressive culture exudes "extraversion rather than introversion, fear of the 'inside' rather than fear of the 'outside', a masculine rather than a feminine orientation to the world" (ibid.). She wisely notes that responses to these general patterns are subtle and complex. I would suggest, however, that while such structuralist comparisons are thought-provoking, they have been challenged substantially by accounts that take the diversity of expressive cultures in both countries seriously and are further challenged in this volume by the evidence that performing arts such as music are fundamentally more fluid and negotiative than the art forms on which she focuses.

[9] There are precedents for this, of course: see, eg, Rob Bowman's 'The determining role of performance in the articulation of meaning: the case of 'Try a Little Tenderness' in Allan Moore (2003); Lori Burns' '"Joanie" Get Angry: k.d. lang's Feminist Revision' in Covach and Boone (1997) for two contrasting models.

[10] The title of a book by Tom Henighan (1997) on Canadian arts and culture.

CHAPTER ONE

NINE SITES FOR THE STUDY OF IRISH-NEW BRUNSWICK FOLK MUSIC: SOME THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

PETER TONER

Virtually everything worth reading on the subject of New Brunswick folk music as a social practice comes to us from the field of folklore; in the English language tradition[1], our most valuable works come specifically from the pens of two writers: Edward "Sandy" Ives and Neil Rosenberg. Although a number of valuable collections of folksongs have been made (see for example Manny and Wilson 1969 and Creighton 1971), these provide very little contextual information and virtually no close analysis in terms of their cultural and social significance, a fact noted by Rosenberg (1978:9). Ives' scholarly writing, focusing on the connections between the folksong traditions of Maine and the Maritimes (Ives 1964, 1978), is valuable for fleshing out the social context in which these songs were created and circulated. Rosenberg takes us even further by exploring the connections between folk and other musical traditions (Rosenberg 1976, 1986) and by problematizing the role of technology in folk musics (Rosenberg 2002).

Despite the value of these works, however, New Brunswick folk musics are still under-studied, and have not received the same degree of scholarly attention as similar traditions in Nova Scotia or Newfoundland. As well, additional analytical and methodological tools for the study of such musical traditions are available from the disciplines of anthropology and ethnomusicology. This chapter, then, represents an attempt to sketch out an approach to the study of New Brunswick folk music that expands

what is currently available in two ways: by examining the musics associated with a single ethno-cultural identity, Irishness, which has not been the subject of sustained research; and by drawing on approaches derived from allied disciplines in order to develop an eclectic yet informative analytical framework. I propose the investigation of nine 'sites' relevant to the study of Irish-New Brunswick folk music, each of which is distinct but interconnected with the others. Each of these sites has a rich scholarly literature that I will sample in a very partial and selective way. My intention here is not a comprehensive exploration of each one, but rather the construction of a model for future research that draws productively on each to generate a complex analytical topography – a topography which aspires to be as rich and varied as that of the musical traditions it describes.

Nine sites of analysis

The folk music traditions of New Brunswick relate to a very particular historical context of migration, settlement, and industry. Ives (1978), and to a lesser extent Manny and Wilson (1969), carefully document the importance of the lumbering industry in providing a setting for the creation and dissemination of folksongs throughout New Brunswick and into Maine. This setting no longer exists, and yet these folksong traditions continue to survive. To understand how this is possible we must consider the place of music within a global political economy and its associated culture industries. The approach that I propose for the study of Irish influence on New Brunswick folk musics, then, exists in a state of dynamic tension between an understanding of local traditions and their contexts, on the one hand, and the global system to which they are inevitably connected, for better or worse. It is possible to identify nine analytical 'sites' for this study: each refers to a self-contained set of theories and methodologies, and yet each can be linked to the others in a productive and mutually-reinforcing way. A simple diagram showing the relationship between these 'sites' of analysis is given in Figure 1.

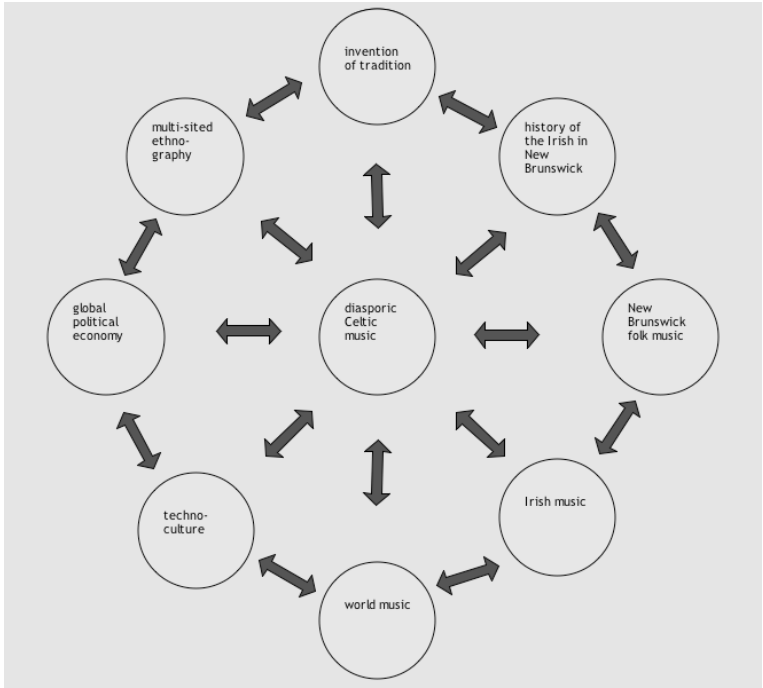

Figure 1-1 – Nine sites of analysis

Diasporic Celtic Music

At its core, any research on Irish-New Brunswick folk music must attempt to address issues relating to diasporic Celtic music, discussed in the scholarly literature on that subject. This is a large area of scholarship, and an even larger area of musical production around the globe, and it is related to all of the other theoretical perspectives discussed below in one way or another[2]. Notwithstanding certain critiques of the term 'Celtic' (see Chapman 1994, Porter 1998, Reiss 2003, Thornton 1998), it is appropriate to extend consideration to Scottish-derived folk music traditions along with Irish-derived traditions in a diasporic context. In New Brunswick, as elsewhere in the Maritimes, Irish, Scottish and English traditions combine with other elements to produce what is known locally as 'Maritime music', and around the world Irish, Scottish, and other traditions are blended (self-consciously or not) under the rubric 'Celtic music' at sessions, at festivals, and in record stores[3]. Diasporic Irish identity is not

monolithic, and neither is its music. How Irish music was brought across the oceans and how it developed in the context of new influences in the diaspora are centrally-important questions[4].

Johanne Trew's research on music in the Irish communities of the Ottawa Valley is an important guide to a set of valuable questions on diasporic Celtic music in Canada. Like many parts of New Brunswick, the Ottawa Valley had a high proportion of Irish immigrants, and in particular a high proportion of Irish Catholics (Trew 2003:94). And, as in New Brunswick, 'old-time fiddling' became a very widespread and popular form of music, derived from Irish music but developing into its own unique musical tradition based on such things as bowing, tone production, repertoire, and danceability (ibid: 108). As Trew writes:

> Making or claiming the valley as an Irish place through the transfer of old-world traditions has been fundamental to the maintenance of Irish identity because in practice their history is being imagined or reconstructed in the present" (ibid: 97-8).

Another significant similarity is Trew's focus on fiddle and step-dancing contests as the most important cultural events in Ottawa Valley communities, celebrating the region's musical heritage and sense of community (ibid: 109-10). 150 to 200 years after Irish migration to Canada, the social conditions that fostered and gave rise to regional musical traditions have changed dramatically, and new contexts must emerge to fill the void to maintain these traditions. The Ottawa Valley fiddle and step-dancing contests are similar to a number of festivals and other commercialized public musical events in New Brunswick (such as the Miramichi Folksong Festival and the Miramichi Irish Festival) in that they are musical responses to the changing socio-economic conditions of late capitalism.

A final point made by Trew is also important to consider in the study of New Brunswick folk music. Trew notes that the contests "portray the dominant ideology or ethos of how valley people ideally see themselves", but that they also "provide the symbolism and the occasion for the expression of competing versions of identity" (ibid: 110). This tension between the articulation of a dominant identity and other identities, mediated through the medium of public musical performances, is an important issue to investigate in detail in the study of Irish-derived folk musics in New Brunswick[5].

Another valuable comparative perspective can be found in the work of

Graeme Smith on Australian bush bands, another Irish-derived but locally-distinctive musical tradition. Bush bands, which became popular during the 1970s, have a repertoire consisting of Australian vernacular ballads combined with traditional Irish dance music, and are similar in instrumentation to an Irish-style group but with electric bass and drum kit (Smith 2003:74). Irish musical resources were mined in the name of developing a distinctively Australian social identity. Smith notes that an image of Irishness pervaded what came to be seen as prototypically Australian national characteristics: anti-authoritarian, republican, informal, and not British (ibid: 75).

However, the bush band phenomenon was not merely the maintenance of a 19th-century migrant musical tradition. Smith writes that "as is common in such constructions, the sound was more a product of current circumstances than the past it purported to represent" (ibid: 77). In particular, bush bands were profoundly influenced by a new wave of Irish immigrants who arrived after World War Two, whose own social and political outlook did not necessarily match up with the Australian folk enthusiast (ibid: 77-8). According to Smith, "[t]he Irish sound of the bush band as it emerged in the 1970s was the result of interaction between the postwar Irish immigrant community and the Anglo-Australian folk movement, rather than from continuing or revived historical Australian music practice", and found favour with audiences because of a resurgent leftist nationalism (ibid: 79). Insights gained through the study of the Australian bush band are helpful in pointing to some of the wider social and political factors that may play into the development of any musical tradition, especially where the musical resources of Ireland come to stand as symbols of certain values, attitudes, and ideas about identity.

The History of the Irish in New Brunswick

With a perspective on diasporic Celtic music as its core 'site', the scholarly approach developed in this chapter considers a range of linked scholarly traditions and theoretical perspectives, each of which sheds some valuable light on Irish identity and New Brunswick folk music. The first of these that I would like to discuss is the particular historical context of the study.

In order to understand what it means to be a New Brunswicker of Irish descent today, it is necessary to understand something of the history of Irish migration and settlement. New Brunswick was profoundly influenced by immigrants from Ireland who arrived in the province throughout the

first half of the 19th century. Between 1815 and 1865, at least 66% of all immigrants to the province were Irish, with very large numbers arriving after the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and the figure climbing to 98% by the early famine years (Spray 1988:9-10). However, it is significant that half of the province's Irish enumerated in the 1851 census had arrived before 1837 (P.M. Toner 1988a:110). In total, by the mid-19th century 33.4% of the province's population was Irish, with just under half of them Irish born; in the city of Saint John, over half of the population was Irish (ibid: 122). According to the 1861 census, which included religion, the Irish immigrants in New Brunswick were 61% Catholic and 39% Protestant, which seems to differ from some other areas of British North America, like Ontario, which had a higher proportion of Protestant Irish (ibid: 112-3). Different regions of the province had different proportions of Catholic and Protestant Irish: in the region dominated by the St. John River valley, an area settled heavily by the United Empire Loyalists, the Irish at mid-century were 58% Protestant; the Irish in the Miramichi River valley, on the other hand, were 82% Catholic (ibid: 122). These demographic differences contributed significantly to the social fabric of their respective areas: the St. John River valley was widely recognized as an 'Orange' region, while in the Miramichi the Irish language persisted longer than certain other areas of the province (due in part to the fact that most migrants came from Irish-speaking areas of Ireland) (ibid: 127; see also P.M. Toner 1988b:114-115), and this region has maintained a strong Irish Catholic identity down to the present day.

Additional perspectives on the Irish experience in New Brunswick in the 19th century can be gained by examining the counties of origin in Ireland of migrants, and where they settled in New Brunswick. In contrast to the Irish who settled in Newfoundland and Halifax, who originated primarily in the southeast of Ireland (especially, in the case of Newfoundland, County Waterford) (P.M. Toner 1988b:106-7), the Irish in New Brunswick were much more diverse in their points of origin and exhibited a different overall pattern of migration than elsewhere in Atlantic Canada. Almost 20% of Irish migrants came from County Cork, and just over 50% came from Ulster (primarily Derry, Donegal, and Tyrone) (ibid: 108). Southeast Ireland, the region of origin so important in Newfoundland and Halifax, was poorly represented in New Brunswick (ibid: 109). If these points of origin are relatively more diverse than elsewhere in Atlantic Canada, then so too were the patterns of distribution within New Brunswick. Over 70% of Irish migrants in Charlotte County, in New Brunswick's southwest, were from Ulster. Among the Catholic Irish in New Brunswick, the majority in and around the City of Saint John

were from Cork with a smaller but significant number from Ulster; in the St. John River valley they were from Ulster with a minority from Cork; and in the Miramichi region Irish migrants were mostly from the southern province of Munster. In fact, only the Miramichi region of New Brunswick resembles the pattern of Irish migration that characterized Newfoundland and Halifax (ibid: 110-111).

A knowledge of the historical context of Irish migration and settlement in New Brunswick is valuable as a means of assessing the social conditions that initially fostered New Brunswick folk musics. The Irish immigrants who arrived in New Brunswick during the first half of the 19th century brought with them musical traditions from their homeland. Irish music and Irish-derived folk music in New Brunswick, then, have a common point of origin, but developed more or less in isolation from one another. Archival research, to try to ascertain exactly what kinds of music were played in New Brunswick over the past 150 years, and how they were related to one another, presents itself as a valuable adjunct to any interpretation of contemporary Irish-New Brunswick folk music. Additional complexity is likely if one considers that the musical traditions of the Irish in different parts of New Brunswick were derived from musical traditions in different and quite specific parts of Ireland. The phrase 'Irish music in New Brunswick' may prove to be too general to accommodate the demographic diversity of the province.

New Brunswick Folk Musics

The next analytical 'site' to consider is the broader study of New Brunswick folk musics, an area of study that has been dominated by folklore scholars. A review of some of these works reveals both important insights and voids to be filled.

Most of the earliest scholarly work on New Brunswick folk musics is in the form of edited and annotated collections of folksongs which, while extremely valuable as sources of information on repertoire, are relatively silent on socio-cultural context. Manny and Wilson's *Songs of Miramichi* (1968) gives the most comprehensive picture of the folksong traditions of the Miramichi region, and includes a very large number of songs of Irish origin. The Manny and Wilson note in passing the significance of Irish musical influence, writing that "…most of the Miramichi tunes are in the Irish folk tradition" (Manny and Wilson 1968:286). Another significant collection is Helen Creighton's *Folksongs from Southern New Brunswick* (1971). A very large proportion of the songs in this collection were

sourced from the singer Angelo Dornan of Elgin, N.B. Creighton notes that Dornan was of Irish descent on both sides of his family, and learned his large repertoire from his father (Creighton 1971:1). An examination of these two collections demonstrates that songs of Irish origin were retained in New Brunswick traditions long after the periods of most intense immigration from Ireland to the province; however, given that the meaning of global musical traditions is locally constructed, we must not make hasty assumptions about their contemporary significance.

Although the present chapter does not permit a detailed examination, some brief mention of Acadian musical traditions in New Brunswick is necessary given the close contact between Irish and Acadian communities and the evidence of musical influences moving in both directions. Louise Manny has noted the early presence in the Miramichi region of Acadian settlers in the 17th and 18th centuries (Manny 1968:23), and notes that in the early 19th century Acadian and Irish songs mingled in the region along with other traditions (ibid: 26). Helen Creighton also notes the importance of the Acadian folksong traditions of the Miramichi region and the fact that the Miramichi Folksong Festival usually included a number of Acadian songs (Creighton 1988:ix). The most significant examination of the relationship between Irish and Acadian musical traditions is Ronald Labelle and Margaret Steiner's account of the 'French Irishman' Allan Kelly. Kelly grew up in predominantly French-speaking Pointe-Sapin, N.B., but his father (of Irish-Scottish ancestry) taught him a vast repertoire of English-language songs (Labelle and Steiner 2000:97). As an adult, he married an Acadian woman and worked in the lumber industry among many French-speaking men (ibid: 98). As someone fluent in both French and English, Kelly acted as a cultural broker between the two linguistic and musical communities, and in this sense he was an embodiment of New Brunswick's position as a musical crossroads between New England, Québec, and the rest of the Maritimes (ibid: 100). The Miramichi Folksong Festival was a context in which Acadian participation and repertoire were encouraged, and Kelly established himself as a singer of Acadian songs from the first year of the festival in 1958, although within a few years he was performing a bilingual repertoire (ibid: 104-5). Any account of Irish folk music in New Brunswick, then, must give some detailed consideration to its intersection with Acadian music.

The work of Edward D. Ives is a foundation upon which any study of New Brunswick music may be usefully built. Ives has been the leading light in research tracing connections between the musics of the northeast region, especially between New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and

Maine. Ives' study of the woodsman and songwriter Joe Scott (Ives 1978) is an important but problematic one. Ives provides considerable contextual background on rural industries in New Brunswick and Maine, principally the lumber industry, as a means of interpreting the development of a folksong tradition associated with this industry, and in this he goes far beyond folksong scholars who limited their activities to collecting. Ives also provides a great deal of information on a unique aspect of Joe Scott's artistic practice: his use of print media as a means of disseminating his songs to a wider audience. Ives' work here is problematic, though, in that he recognizes the role of mass media with one hand, and takes it away with the other by marginalizing the effects of mass media and privileging the role of oral tradition. Ives notes that Joe Scott used print to disseminate his songs (1978:54-60), states that "[m]anuscript texts should not be treated as second-class citizens" (ibid: 102), identifies print media as notable ingredients in the folksong tradition (ibid: 103-4), and even notes (in passing) the influence of radio broadcasts on musical features of folksongs (ibid: 170). However, despite this recognition, Ives consistently privileges first-person oral transmission as being much more important to this tradition (ibid: 125, 166, 186-7, 196, 204). For each song that Ives examines for which there is an existing original print version that was produced by Scott himself, Ives presents one of his collected oral versions of the song first, and the original print version second (ibid), and Ives even goes so far as to state that "[print] is a clear but minor influence that has created some interesting eddies in the mainstream of oral tradition without changing its course significantly" (ibid: 210). This view is problematic in the light of the evidence presented elsewhere in the book demonstrating how Scott used the best available mass media to promote himself as a songwriter and to earn a living. As invaluable as Ives' work is, his theoretical orientation toward the primacy of first-person oral transmission leaves a significant gap in the literature which would examine the role of media not in eradicating folksong traditions, but in preserving and perpetuating them into the 21st century[6].

Another scholar to have done significant research into English-language New Brunswick folk musics is Neil Rosenberg, who is unique in the New Brunswick folksong literature in emphasizing the role of media. Rosenberg noted that Joe Scott had ventured briefly but unsuccessfully into the (then) new technology of wax cylinder recordings (Rosenberg 2000:154)—a fact that Ives left out of his book. Rosenberg writes of the importance of new media to songwriters, as they "…utilize available and affordable contemporary technology that can take their creations beyond earshot, to larger markets" (ibid). For Rosenberg, the study of folk music

traditions is inseparable from the study of mass media such as radio, record companies and the professional music industry, print music publishers, and television (Rosenberg 1986; 2000; 2002).

Rosenberg has investigated the important connections between folk music and country music in the Maritimes, and this is important to bear in mind in any study of New Brunswick folk musics. This connection certainly makes sense to me on a personal level: when I was a child visiting my mother's family on the Miramichi, members of older generations certainly seemed more interested in country music artists such as Charlie Pride, Hank Williams, Stompin' Tom Connors, and Hank Snow than in local folk music traditions. Rosenberg's model of the Maritimes' distinctive regional variant on country music practice (Rosenberg 1976:2) is a valuable tool in thinking through how New Brunswick folk music may itself be a regional variant on other musical traditions, including transnational Celtic and country musics. Also valuable is his fundamental recognition that folk music traditions in the Maritimes are dynamic rather than static (ibid: 13). Rosenberg's research on New-Brunswick-born Don Messer provides another analytical focus. Not only was Messer very influential on fiddle music in the Maritimes and across Canada, but his own career spans private performances, dances, and mass-mediated forms of performance on radio and television, which certainly parallels the many ways in which Celtic musics are produced and consumed both in New Brunswick and internationally. We must consider the Irish-derived New Brunswick folk music repertoire in terms of standard traditional Irish tunes, locally-composed folk songs, and other regionally-significant styles of music as well. In deciding what tunes to play, musicians are also making decisions about their preferred musical identity.

Irish music

The folk musics of the Maritimes are related in important ways to the folk music of Ireland, having both developed from a common source but having been subject to distinctive influences. A thorough familiarization with the scholarly literature on Irish music, then, is a necessary facet of research on Irish-New Brunswick music, not only for comparative purposes but also because contemporary Irish music continues to influence diasporic Irish musics around the world. A detailed account of the literature on Irish music is impossible here, but a few way-points will indicate the direction of inquiry.

One of these way-points is historical. Irish music scholarship began

with collections such as those made in the late 18th to mid 19th centuries by Edward Bunting (Bunting 1969) and George Petrie (Petrie 1855). Bunting and Petrie, and collectors like them who formed part of a cultural elite, were concerned to preserve written copies of Irish musical traditions as exemplars of Irish cultural identity[7]. What is of particular interest for the study of Irish-New Brunswick music is that the publication of these collections coincides with the period of greatest immigration of the Irish to New Brunswick. The music in these collections, then, can be taken as some measure of the music that Irish immigrants had at their disposal when they arrived on the shores of New Brunswick to begin a new life, even if this musical foundation generated musical traditions that diverge considerably from what exists in Ireland today[8].

Another way-point is musical. Irish music is characterized by particular instruments, styles, repertoires, and musical features, and a study of such musical features is valuable in order to understand the musical resources mined by those playing Irish-derived folk music in New Brunswick. McCullough (1977:85) has identified four variables of Irish musical style (ornamentation, variation in melodic and rhythmic patterns, phrasing, and articulation) which he states are "…stylistic universals for this idiom in that their occurrence or non-occurrence characterizes every performance and serves as the basic evaluative standards by which an individual's performance is judged by other musicians". In addition to analyzing stylistic features of a number of performances in order to distinguish regional and individual attributes, McCullough also notes the powerful influence of media such as recordings, radio, and television on the development of Irish musical style (ibid: 97). Other works, especially the iconic *Folk Music and Dances of Ireland* (Breathnach 1977) and the monumental *Companion to Irish Traditional Music* (Vallely 1999), provide a substantial resource for the study of Irish music *as music*, which is in turn a necessary adjunct to the study of musical features of Irish-New Brunswick music[9].

A third way-point is institutional. Irish music must not only be understood as musical practice, but also as an institutional arrangement furthering the ends of Irish nationalism. R.V. Comerford has traced the role of music in political organizations such as the United Irishmen (Comerford 2003:187-9), the standardization of the Irish dance repertoire and the development of the Irish Dancing Commission (associated with the Gaelic League) (ibid: 193-4), and the emergence of Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann (CCE) in the early 1950s (ibid: 198-9), all of which demonstrate that the development of Irish music has been closely bound

up with the project of Irish nationalism. Henry (1989) has examined Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann in detail to understand the effects of formal institutionalization on the Irish musical tradition, pointing out that such a move benefits instruments and genres that are in danger of disappearing but discourages 'new' instruments, and promotes widespread musical repertoires and genres at the expense of "minority genres" confined to small regions (Henry 1989:91). Furthermore, CCE's prominent competition structure functions "…to legislate the style by the selection of winners and the enunciation of the criteria by which they are selected" (ibid). The institutionalization of Irish music must be considered in detail in the study of Irish-New Brunswick music for two reasons. The first reason is because, if we assume that Irish and Irish-New Brunswick music were essentially one and the same at the time of migration (i.e. in the early-to-mid 19th century), then we can compare the very different trajectories of those musical traditions since that time, of which only one, Irish music, was subject to self-conscious institutionalization. The second reason is because institutionalized Irish music is very influential on diasporic Irish musics: Irish musicians are widely considered to be 'the source' of contemporary Irish music and have considerable cultural capital among fourth- and fifth-generation diasporic Irish in places like New Brunswick, and branches of Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann are spread throughout the Irish diasporic world, including one in Saint John, New Brunswick.

World Music

Maritime folk music and Irish music are both subsumed within the larger category of world music, for which there is a large and growing scholarly literature. Many issues raised in this literature are important, including questions of how musicians use performances and recordings actively to construct social identities, matters of appropriation and intellectual property, the production of music in the period of late capitalism, world music and cultural imperialism, and the relationship between world music as a genre and world music as a recording industry label.

One issue examined in a range of ways is the tension inherent in a spectrum of world music practice, with the outright appropriation of musical 'Otherness' by Westerners at one pole, autonomous identity construction using the resources of popular music at the other pole, and various forms of collaboration between members of different musical cultures somewhere in the middle. Steven Feld's study of the politics of