Recovering Lost Songs – Enlivening a Local Song Tradition

Colleen Savage

April 2025

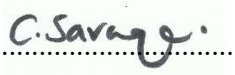
Dr Daithí Kearney and Dr Gearóid Trimble

Masters by Research

We, the undersigned declare that this thesis entitled *Recovering Lost Songs – Enlivening a Local Song Tradition* is entirely the author's own work and has not been taken from the work of others, except as cited and acknowledged within the text.

The thesis has been prepared according to the regulations of Dundalk Institute of Technology and has not been submitted in whole or in part for an award in this or any other institution.

Author Name: Colleen Savage

Author Signature:  .....

Date:.....27ú Aibreáin 2025.....

Supervisor Name: Daithí Kearney

Supervisor Signature:  .....

Date:.....27ú Aibreáin 2025.....

Acknowledgements

I wish to sincerely thank all those who have supported me on this research journey. My deepest gratitude goes to my supervisors, Dr Daithí Kearney and Dr Gearóid Trimble, for their unwavering guidance, support, and belief in my ability to undertake and complete this research project. Special thanks to Dr Trimble for sharing his socio-linguistic research, which was crucial for the completion of this study, and to Dr Kearney for his musical arrangements for five of the completed songs. I also extend my thanks to DkIT for awarding me a DkIT Postgraduate Research Scholarship and for the ongoing support of the Research Office at DkIT. I also wish to thank the Irish Traditional Music Archive (ITMA) and the National Folklore Collection at University College Dublin for their assistance with archival sources.

I am profoundly grateful to all those with whom I have collaborated, including singers Ciara Hall and Patricia McCrink, as well as the directors and members of the Oriel Traditional Orchestra. Their time, patience, expertise, and willingness to share their knowledge have been invaluable. I am particularly indebted to Gráinne Clarke, a native of Crossmaglen and singer, for meeting with me, sharing her personal journey through song, and providing ongoing support since our first meeting.

Sincerest thanks also go to Dave Molloy of Cellar Club Studios for his expertise and assistance with the audio recordings for this study, and to Joanna Doran for her musical accompaniment on one of the completed songs.

I also wish to thank the creative team at the Duncairn Arts Centre, especially Rachel Cullen and Ray Giffen, for capturing the audio-visual recordings on-site at DkIT and for their continued interest in this project.

Finally, my heartfelt thanks to my husband Jonny and my three sons, Shea, Ryan, and Iarla, for their continued encouragement and support in all my artistic and research endeavours.

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my parents; my Mum, Emma McEntee and my late Daddy, Pete McEntee. This research is a testament to the profound impact he has had on my life. I hope wherever he is, he is singing.

Abstract

South Armagh has a strong sense of local identity, influenced by an awareness of a historical Gaelic culture and the imposition of the border. However, the local Irish-language dialect and related heritage is not part of the lived experience for many in the region. This study aims to draw attention to forgotten songs and local singers of the region and, in particular, enliven through creative practice, the early twentieth-century song collections of John Hannon (1867–1931) of Crossmaglen, Co. Armagh and related Irish-language repertoire. Collected by Hannon from a network of over fifty local singers that belonged to the last generation of native speakers living in the greater Crossmaglen district, the songs in the Hannon collection are in the Irish language but were mainly written out phonetically and capture and preserve a local dialect of the language. Despite their value as a record of a local dialect and treasury of local folklore, the songs have largely disappeared from local repertoire.

The project utilised Participatory Action Research (PAR) involving a group that seeks to re-establish these songs in the repertoire by connecting them with airs from historical sources or composing new airs for the lyrics in the collection. The research identifies songs with local themes and concealed meanings, highlighting their relevance to the local community. The project critically reflected on recordings of singers in the tradition who provide local touchstones for the tradition and demonstrate different approaches to performing local songs. It explored and tested mechanisms for sharing the material and connecting it with a community from which the songs originated. By examining processes for creative engagement with archival sources, informed by the concept of the second life of folklore, and compositional and performance practice, the project enlivened the forgotten aspect of the musical and linguistic heritage of South Armagh.

List of Dissemination

Savage, C. (2022). Drawing from the Well - Hidden Inspiration from the Past, Awaiting in the Archives. Joint SMI/ICTM-IE Postgraduate Conference, Virtually/ Online, 15th January.

Savage, C. (2022). A second life for the Lost Songs of the Border – Amhráin Chaillte na Teorann. As I Roved Out: Traditional Songs, Singers and Collections of Britain, Ireland and Beyond, Irish World Academy of Music and Dance University of Limerick, 5th June.

Savage, C. (2022). A second life for the Lost Songs of the Border – Amhráin Chaillte na Teorann. Reworking Folklore for Sound, Stage and Screen, Dundalk Institute of Technology, Dundalk, 15th November.

Savage, C. (2023). Reimagining Home Through the Rediscovery of Local Song: John Hannon and the Border Town of Crossmaglen. BFE/RMA Research Students' Conference 2023: 'Borderlands', Northumbria University, Newcastle upon Tyne, 11th January.

Savage, C. (2024). A Neglected Aspect of a Regional Song Tradition. Joint SMI/ICTM-IE Postgraduate Conference, Maynooth, 12th January.

Savage, C. (2024). A journey through song to shared histories. Embedding the UN Sustainable Development Goals in Teaching and Research: Synergies in Arts, Heritage and Tourism, DkIT, Dundalk, 28th April.

Savage, C. (2024). Rediscovering local Gaelic song from the border region of South Armagh. 52nd Congress of the International Ballad Conference, Chansons voyageuses | Song traditions on the move across borders and centuries, Maison des Cultures du Monde, Vitré, France, 17th May.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Prologue

I seem always to be searching for a way back to the past. Embarking always on a personal journey of discovery of my cultural heritage. I have only come to reflect upon this in my adult life when I consider the unique circumstances of growing up in South Armagh and the hinterland of the border. I never considered my experience of living here as different to anywhere else until I left the area for a time which created a distance to reflect on my upbringing and experience of growing up here, when compared with others from outside. I am now acutely aware of the cultural struggle which took place during the Troubles alongside the political struggle.

I am mindful of this reaching back, which is engrained in my psyche, searching for something I am not responsible for – the loss of a native language. I find it intriguing as neither my Mum nor Dad had any great love for the language and neither did they have strong political affiliations in terms of 'weaponising a culture' (Walke et al. 2024). My family on my mother's side were both from County Monaghan; Nanny from Broomfield and Granda Finnegan from Donaghmoyne. They chose to move north of the border, just a few miles from Co. Monaghan into South Armagh to the village of Creggan in the years after they were married. They raised their family there.

I grew up in Creggan, the place famed for the burial site of the O'Neill Clan, Art Mac Cumhaigh and the poem and song 'Úirchill a' Chreagáin'. The O'Neill's of the Fews were the principal Gaelic family in the area dating back to the 15th Century (Ó Fiaich 1973). Many of the great poets of South-East Ulster rest here and it was the site of a Catholic Church, which was subsequently adapted and is now home to a small but resilient practicing Church of Ireland congregation. A distinctive churchyard surrounds the Church itself in that it is multidenominational, where both Catholic and Protestant alike finds rest. Beyond this is an area known as 'the Poets Glen', the result of a 2004 initiative by the Ring of Gullion Landscape

Partnership to establish the glen alongside ‘The Poets Trail’. Both initiatives are part of a broader effort to celebrate and preserve the areas rich cultural and literary heritage.

As a child and to anyone from Creggan it was known as 'the lawns'. It was my playground and many a day was spent paddling in the River Fane which winds herself through the site or running through the green grassy glades which were peppered with tall oak trees, or indeed collecting sticks for firewood with my Nanny Finnegan. I did not know then the breath of historical significance of Creggan and its graveyard, or indeed its links to the song tradition of South-East Ulster. I do however recall walking down to the vault, which had been discovered by local men Michael Hearty and Jem Murphy who were working on carrying out restoration works in 1969 around the graveyard. They came upon the vault by happy accident. I recall being completely disturbed by the contents - hundreds of skulls and bones piled high upon each other in a small area with an arched roof. These were the remains of the O'Neill Clan. Not open to public view now, the vault is sealed but the quiet of the Church, the graveyard and the poet's glen still attract locals and visitors alike.

As children we were encouraged to do well academically at school, my parents encouraged me and my siblings to access second and third-level education. As a young girl I was sent to school in St. Patrick’s Cullyhanna, located four miles from Creggan - only because my older cousin wasn't 'settling in' to school. A year older than I was, the thinking was I would aid the process. We were surrounded by leaders in our school community who enriched our lives in the classroom through our engagement each day with the Irish language. I do not underestimate the impression those teachers had on us as children. I can see now that Cullyhanna was a very progressive primary school owing to the headmaster, Master McCauley and teachers who had a strong and enduring appreciation of the Irish language. Mrs Mary Carragher, Mrs May Quinn and Mrs Savage along with Master McCauley together practiced a curriculum that was in effect bilingual. Each Monday morning we had our assembly where we said our prayers in Irish and sang our school anthem ‘Dóchas Linn Naomh Pádraig’ in unison.

If we wished to leave the classroom, we had to ask in Irish; the same for our end-of-day prayers. We had a dedicated part of class time devoted solely to learning the language. We were taught songs in Irish and indeed I fondly recall our class drama *An Spailpín Fánach* [the wandering labourer]. I was the *spailpín* in the production where I had to sing, act and play the tin whistle. Our school held a mass in Irish each year for St Patrick's Day. Each year we welcomed a school inspector from Connemara to the school to listen to us converse, to perform our songs and drama and to write pieces of comprehension work for him to read and assess. The result of this was a cohort of pupils who had the ability to converse in Irish with ease and who were encouraged to visit the Gaeltacht in the summer. I recall fondly attending Coláiste Bhlinne in Camloch and *Tír na nÓg* Gaeltacht summer course in *Coláiste Cholmáin* under the guidance of Master Micheal Ó Duinnín. There was no other school in the parish or surrounding parishes engaging with the language at this level.

My second-level education was at Our Lady's Grammar School in Newry. I spent summers in Donegal at the Gaeltacht, although I began to fall out of love with the language as an academic pursuit. I didn't link the two things - language and academic attainment. I was more interested in art, music and song and after fifth year I left Irish behind me. Opting for Art, Geography and English Literature for A levels. I oftentimes reflect where I might be on my journey if I had to complete an A Level in Irish at that age.

Outside of the school arena, my weekends as a teenager were spent doing teenager things however what separated me from my peers was my love of folk song and traditional music sessions. While we collectively all loved to sing together, I frequented song sessions when I probably should have been in bed on a school night. Keenan's pub in Crossmaglen Square was a lively music house, hosting a traditional session each Thursday night, making time for local singers. It's where I cut my teeth singing in public. Other song houses like The Stray Leaf, Mullaghbane, The Welcome Inn, Forkhill and Corrigan's in Castleblaney were all lively and welcoming homes for lovers of song and those wishing to sing out their latest

additions to their repertoire. Only following this singing in the local community did I feel confident enough when asked to sing in the local junior *Scór* solo singing competition and *grúpa ceoil* [music group]. I recall winning the county title for solo singing in the same year we won the junior camogie championship and the same year I won player of the match. I had three awards to collect at the local dinner dance that night. Thereafter I progressed to senior *Scór* competition and again won at county level. However, I wasn't so enamoured with the competitions. I preferred the cut and thrust of the song in the pub, bursting at the seams with people, amongst the people rather than separated from them on a stage. Plus, it was better craic and I got to meet lots of new like-minded people and listen to other singers and pick up new songs all the time. Then I sang along with my friend and guitar player, Pádraig Carragher. We regularly preformed together and still share a song to this day. I was 16 then. A lifetime ago. When I reflect back then I was singing a mixture of English and Irish language songs but I didn't differentiate between the two. I felt that the English language songs were received better and had better order than those which were in Irish. I now realise that was only because those there didn't have the language. I began to leave those songs behind and focused on growing the English language repertoire. I never had the opportunity to perform at Fleadh competitions. I wasn't attached to a Comhaltas group and the chance never arose where I entered a competition. I didn't know much about it then.

I recall getting my first Altan album together with a personal CD player as gift when I was ill in hospital. It was a double album collection, *The Best of Altan* (1997). I loved it. The mix of music and song was amazing to listen to. I loved how the pieces of music were then interspersed by some beautiful songs including 'An Mhaighdean Mhara', 'Dúlamán', 'The Jug of Punch', 'The Flower of Magherally', 'Sí do mhaimeo í' and 'Tuirse no Chroí', to name but a few. It was a watershed moment for me receiving this CD as I remember being so energised by it. I felt connected on some way to the music but also to the songs. At that time I had been learning English language folk song by a local singer songwriter Briege Murphy, who had just

produced an album *The Longest Road* (1995). I enjoyed this genre of music - the themes felt real and current, the singer sang in her own accent and the songs referred to local placenames. But this Altan CD had opened my eyes to traditional airs and songs, some of which I was hearing for the first time. It was only years later did I come to realise that 'Dúlamán' was a local song to Omeath, one of which features in the John Hannon collection.

Now, as an adult, I am aware of the absence of a mentor in song when I was a young singer. I did not have a singing teacher or a person from whom to learn a repertoire of songs. My sources of songs were from others who sang in the pub at sessions, from the radio or CD collections or tape recordings from the radio, from the Gaeltacht visits or from the primary school setting. There were no singing classes locally and, to my recollection, no support ecosystem of which I was aware to allow me to acquire new material. I simply listened to a lot of music and sang what I liked and from what I had assimilated directly from recordings.

Many well-known performers highlight the musical heritage of their family and those people who influenced them (cf. Cawley 2013; 2020). I did not come from a tradition of singers. I did not come from a lineage of singers. I did not come from a household who were versed in Irish. But I did come from a house who had an appreciation of music. My dad used to tell me 'You'll never be short for a pound if you can play an instrument or sing a song'. He was a singer and a drummer in several showbands, and I believe my desire to perform came from him. I was encouraged to sing from a young age and this was only but nurtured by him, calling me to the stage for a song when I would go and see him perform - when I was allowed. I recall how he managed to buy me a second-hand upright piano, which I still have and carted around with me from house move to house move now as an adult. He and Micheal Lynch moved it into our house in Creggan for my birthday. I must have been seven or eight years old then. I was sent to piano lessons in Dundalk with Mr Tony Farrelly and this journey with classical piano music under the Trinity Board allowed me to learn how to read sheet music and to acquire some understanding of musical terms. After numerous grades and entering into teenage years and

competitive sports I began to fall out of love with the piano - after all you can't take your piano with you to the music session and classical music was not my thing. I just wanted to sing songs.

In the years that followed I went into hiatus, I left South Armagh, went to university, travelled, met my husband, married, settled down and began a working professional career in a job that would pay the bills. It was only when I returned back to South Armagh that I began to reflect on what I had set down before. I began to revisit and reengage with the language. I picked up singing again and realised the love I had for performance. We enrolled our three sons the local Gaelscoil in Crossmaglen and have witnessed how this has enriched their lives. They have a deep understanding of the language. As an adult I have attended conversation classes locally, attended the Gaeltacht, attended classes online and singing classes with Gaeltacht singers - always investing in seeking a way back to the past; to bridge the broken link with our language, with a community, with an identity. Enrolling and completing a two-year part-time PG Dip with University Ulster in Irish Language allowed me to engage meaningfully with the language again. Although I still lacked confidence with speaking, singing provided me with a more comfortable medium to utilise the language. I began to seek out singing sessions or music sessions which incorporated songs. I reconnected with old musicians from the past. I recall being at a session in Dundalk and meeting students from DkIT who were studying music. I would regularly ask them what they were getting up to and I attended a few lectures in my spare time, which were open to the public. I admired these students and their position, feeling that I did not have the opportunity to study traditional music at that age – I felt it was not a viable option for me. I felt that I had missed the boat. However, I continued to sing and collect and add more songs to my repertoire over time. I became more aware of the different communities of musical practice that exist, even if I was still searching for my place within these communities. Recovering lost songs has helped me find my place.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

This study aims to enliven the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Gaelic song collections of John Hannon (1867–1931) of Crossmaglen, Co. Armagh, which have been documented and studied by Gearóid Trimble (2009a; 2009b; 2009c; 2011; 2016; 2018; 2023; 2024). My research expanded the parameters to incorporate additional song sources including material from the Seosamh Laoide [Joseph H Lloyd] (1865-1939) collection. The Hannon Collection or the Hannon Papers is a private collection held by Trimble to which he has kindly afforded me access. Laoide's manuscript collection is located in the National Library of Ireland Dublin, Ms G856 (uncatalogued miscellaneous loose sheets). An additional source was the Énrí Ó Muirgheasa [Henry Morris] (1874-1945) Papers, held in University College Dublin.

Despite the value evident in the collections, highlighted in the context for linguistic and social history contexts by Trimble, this collection has been largely ignored for a century and the songs have disappeared from local repertoire. Allied with an interest in the Irish language, I have been part of a group that seeks to re-establish these songs in the repertoire by connecting them with airs from historical sources or composing new airs for the lyrics in the collection. The term 'enliven' refers to interpreting archival material, and preparing versions of songs for performing, recording and sharing in community settings. This project will examine processes for the creative engagement with archival sources, informed by the concept of the second life of folklore (Honko 2013), and compositional and performance practice. The result is a presentation of folklore in its 'second life' which 'begins when it is resurrected from the archives and recycled in an environment that differs from its original cultural context' (Hovi 2014, p. 7). By drawing attention to the collection in the community, my project will support

future research and draw attention to the musical heritage of the county, filling an important gap in current research.

The songs in the Hannon Collection are in the Irish language but were mainly written out phonetically. They capture and preserve a local dialect of the language but also document local history and social activities as collected by Hannon from a network of over fifty local singers that belonged to the last generation of native speakers living in the greater Crossmaglen district. Amongst the material are songs collected from his most prolific contributors including Bríd Nic Eoghain [Bridget Hearty] (née McKeown), Thomas McKeown, Michael McKeown, James Kearney, Niall Magill, Alice Matthews and Brian Grant. This dissertation includes references to several individuals whose names variously appear in the Irish and English languages. Sometimes, women are referred to by their maiden name or married name. In some instances, there may be other ways of referring to individuals. For clarity, a table of individuals is presented in Appendix D. There are over 100 local songs contained in this collection including a diverse range of themes in titles such as 'Bainis Thuama', 'Cailín an Tí Bháin', 'Cónla an Chléite Chlaonaigh', 'Chuaigh an Mhaol', 'Éilis Bheirneach', 'Fúrpán an Aonaigh', 'Iomáin Inis Caoin' agus 'Ó Murcháin an Bhóthair'. From this repertoire, and other local sources, I have selected nine songs for inclusion in the dissertation with a rationale indicated as part of the methodology.

Crossmaglen is situated 2 miles from the 1921 border, which has shaped the imagination of place through the twentieth century. Reference to the border in this project is a reflection of the contemporary imagination of place which has been shaped over the past century as a legacy of the imposition of a border in 1922. The repertoire considered here pre-dates the existence of the border and, throughout the document, where appropriate, reference to 'the border' has been replaced with the Oriel region or other designations. The use of the term 'border' is an effort to describe a geographical hinterland which encompasses parts of South Armagh, North Louth and South Monaghan as it exists today. As demonstrated in previous studies (Ó Fiaich, 1950;

Ní Uallacháin 2003, Moley, 2016), the identification of this as the Oriel region is problematic as the imagined Ó Fiach, T. (1950) The Kingdom of Airgialla and its Sub-Kingdoms. Unpublished (MA) boundaries of this political and later cultural region shifted over time. In the context of the project 'Lost Songs of the Border' that I facilitated in parallel to my postgraduate research (see 2.4), this is an explicit engagement with contemporary activity which is cross-border in nature and reflects the lived experience of people living in the area

1.2 Aims and Research Questions

There are three separate yet interlinking aims that have emerged through this research journey, which are influenced by my life experiences, as articulated in the prologue. I aim to present:

- Historical research on a local Gaelic song heritage;
- Creative and performance practice through the recording of Gaelic songs from local sources;
- Community engagement through singing with people in the locality.

In addition to a written dissertation, this project will result in a recording of songs from the collection and resources that can be used to facilitate community participation and the establishment of a community of practice.

The central research questions are also influenced by the themes that emerge in my prologue and personal story. I am conscious of exploring creativity, sharing intangible cultural

heritage and understanding the connection between musical heritage and my local place. To this end, the questions underpinning this dissertation are:

- How can an artist engage creatively with archival material?
- What insight does this repertoire give into the Irish traditional music heritage of South Armagh and the broader Oriel region?
- How can Irish-language song be shared in a community setting with people not fluent in the language?

Alongside these questions, the project will consider the context for collecting songs, the reasons that the songs were forgotten in the canon, and the impact of performing these songs in new contexts and with new musical arrangements on their acceptance in the Irish traditional song repertoire.

This research responds to Kearney's (2009) paradigm shift towards a new understanding of the geography of Irish traditional music that expands beyond a largely western leaning and a regional pattern outlined by Ó Riada in *Our Musical Heritage* (1962). It follows Seán McElwain's (2016) study in Co. Monaghan and Maurice Mullen's (2022) examination of Irish traditional music in Fingal. The research evokes Kearney's (2012; 2018) hypotheses regarding the importance of regional traditions for engendering a sense of place and contemporary relevance to traditional culture. While studies on Irish traditional music in Donegal (MacAoidh 1994), Oriel (Ní Uallacháin 2003), Sliabh Luachra (Cranitch 2006), and Down (Boullier 2012), all draw significantly on archive material, this project recognises the need to make the material accessible to a wider audience amongst the community from which the songs emerged. Like Ní Uallacháin, the research incorporates performance-practice to understand and disseminate the research. My research demonstrates the value of this material for a fuller understanding of Irish

traditional music, particularly in the South Armagh region and compares it with similar collections and attempts to revitalise local song traditions in other counties and regions.

1.3 Objectives

The aims and research questions are addressed through five principle objectives.

> **Objective 1:** Compile a detailed table of local Gaelic songs for examination in this project;
>
> **Objective 2:** Contextualize the Gaelic repertoire in the broader field of Irish traditional song;
>
> **Objective 3:** Identify appropriate approaches to performing the songs in the collection and composing new melodies where required;
>
> **Objective 4:** Engage in performing and recording;
>
> **Objective 5:** Share songs with the local community.

Informed by the work undertaken by Trimble (2009a; 2009b; 2009c; 2011; 2016; 2023; 2024), Objective 1 is achieved by the creation of a table detailing the selected repertoire with a focus on musical aspects not included in previous studies. At this stage, contents such as specific tune names, possible alternative sources, and songs of local significance are identified and listed in Appendix C. The table also includes information on sources and named singers. This underpins the realisation of Objective 2, which is dealt with primarily in the early chapters of this dissertation.

Objective 3 considers approaches to composition and arrangement in the context of Irish traditional music and particularly in the area of folk and traditional song. It recognizes gaps in archival material, relating to the absence of airs or inconsistencies in verses or lyrics. Objective 3 is achieved by means of a literature review of scholarship on composition and arrangement in folksong, engagement with documentaries featuring other artists, and critical analysis of

recordings. This element moves beyond Irish traditional music to consider international contexts and engage with issues of conflict between tradition and innovation, preservation and revival in musical traditions. It recognises trends and contextualises the approach to creative practice employed in response to the contents of the Hannon Collection and other utilised sources. This approach is informed by the extensive experience of the researcher in the field. It engages with extant collections and fieldwork related to community initiatives in other parts of Ireland, such as Wexford (Wexford Song project FB Page); (Blackwater Song Project FB Page) and Clare (Chapel Gates Singers Club FB Page). A particular challenge for engaging creatively with the archival material utilised in this project is my fluency in the Irish language. In this instance, the existence of the phonetic text was an important factor in engaging in the research. A significant amount of work was required to engage in translation, above and beyond accepting existing translations and addressing inconsistencies in previous translations, some of which utilises standardised versions of Irish which differ from the language presented phonetically. To this end, the involvement of fluent Irish speakers in the project, notably Trimble and Hall, were important in enabling engagement in another language and again supports the decision to undertake PAR methodologies in the development of this study. The design of learning aids and facilitation of workshops (section 6.7), including translations and bilingual approaches, also addresses the issue of language and understanding.

A period of time is spent engaged in arranging and rehearsing, informed by learnings from Objective 3. Items are prioritised and melodies are composed where required. The researcher engages in performances within local contexts, which enables feedback from the community that informs the development of the practice-based elements of the research. This allows for the dissemination of research, in addition to relevant publications and conference presentations.

Objective 4 builds on the researcher's experience as a performer of traditional song. The recordings are a valuable local resource and can be used in future education and community

initiatives. The recordings include collaboration with other artists and groups including singers involved in the Participatory Action Research element of the project and the Oriel Traditional Orchestra. The appendices to this dissertation contain recordings of selected songs that have been presented in different performance contexts. These serve to illustrate and evidence the process.

1.4 Chapter outline

I have bookended my dissertation with a prologue and epilogue, highlighting the personal significance of the research but also demonstrating how this research is part of the lived experience in this place.

Chapter 1 presents the research questions, aims and objectives of the research, as well as an overview of the chapters presented in this section. Chapter 2 focuses on the methodologies employed, recognising the involvement of others through Participatory Action Research and acknowledging the need for ethical considerations when working in community contexts. Chapter 3 presents a literature review focusing on scholarship engaged with different aspects of the Gaelic song traditions. These include an overview of scholarship, definitions of style, and approaches to singing. Beyond academic texts, this chapter also includes reflections on documentaries and other sources that include the voices of singers and other artists in the Irish music traditions. Chapter 4 places a focus on the socio-linguistic studies of Trimble but presents an ethnomusicological perspective that concentrates on a selection of songs from the local tradition. Chapter 5 identifies three singers who provide models for consideration when developing my creative practice and engagement with local song heritage. These singers represent touchstones for me as a creative practitioner and their engagement with local song traditions demonstrate different approaches. Chapter 6 details my creative process and the interventions that enabled the sharing of songs with the local community. It reflects on a process of participatory action research involving other singers who engaged with archival sources to develop versions of the songs for performance. I then developed pedagogical resources and

facilitated workshops to share these songs with the community. This chapter discusses the design of the resources and critically reflects on the workshops. Chapter 7 provides a conclusion that highlights the benefits of the research and opportunity for further development.

Chapter 2

Methodology

2.1 Introduction

This dissertation employs a number of research methodologies to address the different objectives. In the first instance, I engage with archival sources for local Gaelic song heritage. The project is developed through Participatory Action Research (PAR), which is defined and described in this chapter relative to my project. I acknowledge the parallels with Applied Ethnomusicology and Community Music, which provide frameworks and reference points for my activities and interventions. Integral to the writing of this dissertation is autoethnography, which requires consideration of my positionality. To develop additional perspectives and provide triangulation, I undertook a small number of interviews with key people involved in the project.

2.2 Sources

As Beverly Diamond and Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco state in their introduction to volume two of *Transforming Ethnomusicology* (2021), 'Engagement with communities and individuals is a requisite for the sort of detailed ethnographic work that is central in the majority of work in the discipline' (p.1). While a significant aspect of my research engages with archives and historical sources, what distinguishes it from historical studies is the engagement through praxis with communities. Rather than study the existing musical practice of these groups, I critically reflect on their engagement with material that has historical connections with their place but is no longer part of the lived tradition. The focus in later chapters is the action itself, rather than contemplating what may arise from the action (poesis), which I hope will form part of future research. Although heavily influenced by the socio-linguistic work of Trimble, my study is firmly based in the discipline of ethnomusicology. My work, both in relation to and beyond this dissertation, reflects Diamond and Castelo-Branco's assertion that 'Increasingly, ethnomusicologists promote projects that aim at repatriating recorded collections to their

communities of origin and creating the conditions for communities to access, recollect, revitalize, and sustain their music heritage' (2021, p. 9). Referencing Catherine Grant (2014), in their study of music endangerment and repatriation in Australia, Sally Treloyn and Rona Goonginda Charles recognise the broad shift in ethnomusicological research 'from salvage, collection-based approaches towards approaches that also seek to understand and reinforce the social fields in which musical traditions are created and thrive' (2021, p. 134).

In the context of the Oriel region, I am not alone in this endeavour. Singer and scholar Dr Pádraigín Ní Uallacháin's seminal study *A Hidden Ulster* (2003) is one of the first examples of scholarly engagement with the region's musical heritage, but in recent years, the establishment of the Oriel Traditional Music Archive and other initiatives have placed an emphasis on creating access to materials. In my study, I also make efforts to privilege dialogue with the descendants of the documented tradition bearers or, in the case of Gráinne Clarke, undertake interviews with forgotten figures who are still alive.

This study is based upon on a number of archival sources, some of which are primary sources, such as the John Hannon manuscripts and the Seosamh Laoide papers. I have detailed the sources for the nine songs engaged with as part of this study in Appendix C. Other online archives and resources such as newspaper archives principally the Dundalk Democrat, the Irish Traditional Music Archive, Dúchas, RTÉ archives, Royal Irish Academy and University College Dublin Archives. I have listened to recordings of songs and singers associated with the region, which inform my interpretation of archival material and include relevant sources in a discography.

In his research, Trimble had already identified songs that had strong connections to places in the region but the source lyrics were not matched to an air. From an initial working list of eighteen songs curated by Trimble, we collectively agreed to enliven as many songs as we could through the collaboration of the working group from the resources, skills and time

which we had. The eighteen songs were all intrinsically linked to either county Monaghan, Armagh or Louth and some of which tell of local events or link to local places within those areas. At the outset an extensive process which included such tasks as plotting multiple airs on Noteflight software from the manuscripts provided by Trimble; playing the airs on piano; identifying the beginning and end of each phrase which may match the lyric; on most occasions slowing the air down to allow the lyric to be sung to the piece of music, were a variety of approaches utilised to musically marry the source airs with the extracts of song lyrics. While this produced several successful outputs, alongside this were songs extracts that despite our collective efforts, could not be successfully matched. Indeed, there were occasions where we could not find the source air which we believed may have accorded with the song (eg. Caoineadh Phádraig Phléimeann). Other shortcomings or stumbling blocks encountered were when the lyric was fragmented or where verses were missing lines or not fully complete in comparison to other verses of the song. The nine enlivened songs which are detailed within this study were those which we collectively considered to be successfully enlivened after a long process centred on singing the songs.

Although the songs themselves were not selected on genre, theme or style, once they were married with the air and could be sung, where possible they were assigned to each of the three community workshops based on any local significance or tangible link to either Armagh, Monaghan or Louth. This was a deliberate selection made to assist community engagement and to engender local interest. For example, in the case of the Monaghan workshop held in the Patrick Kavanagh Centre Inniskeen, songs chosen included 'Iomáin Inis Caoin' which is relevant of course to Inniskeen itself and 'Bhéarfaidh mé gruth agus meadhg ar maidin duit' which was collected from county Monaghan Piper Philip Goodman. In the case of Armagh, all of the songs presented were collected by Crossmaglen shopkeeper John Hannon and included 'Máire Chaoch', 'Chuaigh an Mhaol' and 'Do bhuig a Sheáin'. Finally, in the case of the county Louth workshop held in the Oriel Centre, the songs presented included 'Lá Fhéile Pádraig'

which appeared in the local newspaper, The Dundalk Democrat, and 'Suantraí', a verse of which was collected from Andy Markey who worked as a butcher in the town.

2.3 Participatory Action Research

My research involves collaboration with others in my community and my methodology embraces an element of Participatory Action Research (PAR). PAR is a research approach that emphasises collaboration and action by involving community members whom are affected by the research. The goal is to understand and improve the world through a cycle of reflection and action. The approach is characterised by engaging a community as co-researchers; implementing change based on the research findings and continuous reflection of the process and outcomes which informs future actions. It is a cyclical research approach (O'Flynn 2015; Kindon, S., Pain, R. and Kesby, M., 2010; McIntyre, 2008).

In the context of this dissertation the participation group is a small group of enthusiasts including myself, Gearóid Trimble, Ciara Hall and Patricia McCrink. The others are integral to the development of my research aims, methods and understanding. We move beyond 'participatory music making' through our engagement with historical sources and peer review of work, including archival research and song performance. Through our practice, and subsequently through our engagement with a wider community, we question the control of knowledge production and invite others to contribute to our praxis. We have shared our research with groups, including the Oriel Traditional Orchestra, to enrich their experience and provide resources that enable them to achieve their aims of engaging with culture from the region.

There were times of uncertainty during this research and the work is subjective. A check and balance came from the five voices in the room –Trimble, Kearney, Hall, McCrink and I. Each voice was able to ask questions, seek feedback, comment, and play the role of devil's advocate to ensure that the final product had legitimacy through this reflective process. While as a group we cannot be definitive, we can make a judgement on what sounds best, what works

well and to use the process to achieve an informed consensus within the group. In effect, this became an in-built peer review process, informed by a Participatory Action Research methodology.

2.4 Applied Ethnomusicology and Community Music

My study is also influenced by developments in Applied Ethnomusicology (Pettan and Titon 2015) and I recognise that I have taken on a role as a leader in my area. However, while I engage in community-oriented work, my focus is on developing an understanding of the local song heritage, creating resources for learning the songs, and facilitating community-based workshops that encourage engagement with local songs and the Irish language. At this point, my research does not seek to develop interventions in relation to cultural policy, advocacy or social justice (see Pettan and Titon 2015), although the research may ultimately contribute to future progress in these areas. I recognise that my research is located in an area where conflict has been part of the lived experience, and the political reality of the border and divided communities remains. Nevertheless, while this political reality is critical to understanding the songs and the experiences of singers, it is not the focus of my dissertation.

In the context of Community Music, aspects of my project reflect Lee Higgin's (2024) identification of the field as a series of interventions. Although a number of actions outlined in Chapter 6 may be understood as interventions in Community Music, this is an area that I hope to develop further beyond the current postgraduate study. An important aspect of my work in this context is the involvement of the Oriel Traditional Orchestra (OTO). The OTO is a cross-border, intergenerational community orchestra that brings together musicians from Louth, Meath, Monaghan, and Armagh. Specialising in Irish traditional music from the Oriel region, the orchestra arranges and performs pieces tailored for their ensemble. Their diverse repertoire includes works by notable composers associated with the region such as Turlough O'Carolan, Josephine Keegan, and Brian O'Kane. The approach to working with the OTO on developing

arrangements of songs from this project mirrors the process described by Long in his dissertation on composing for amateur ensembles:

> My approach to writing this piece considered the nature of the ensemble and their rehearsal schedules and involved bringing the choir into the creative process through discussion, reflection and the opportunity to contribute to the creative process. [...] It was because a socio-musical relationship based on respect, trust, and a sharing of the compositional process seemed to be the right way to approach the project. The response from the choir and the audience was overwhelmingly positive (Long 2021, p.11).

In total, orchestral arrangements were crafted for five of the nine songs. The approach to arrangement is developed further in section 6.4 of this dissertation. Recordings of performances are included in Appendix A to demonstrate an outcome of the research through the 'Lost Songs of the Border' project, which paralleled my MA research. 'Lost Songs of the Border' was a public engagement project funded by Co-Operation Northern Ireland that emanated from the activities of the PAR group and paralleled my research for this MA project 'Recovering Lost Songs – Enlivening a Local Song Tradition'. Informed by my academic research at Dundalk Institute of Technology, I undertook the role of project manager and facilitator for the 'Lost Songs of the Border' project and incorporated this experience into my ethnographical reflections, detailed in Chapter 6. Recordings created as part of this project were used, with permission, to create Appendix A, which illustrates the outcomes of my research in a specific context. As developed in Chapter 6, it highlights the potential for intersection between archival sources and contemporary creative practice. The performances reflect the process of refining and sharing the songs with the community and demonstrate the impact of the research undertaken on local musical activity. The response of participants is important to informing performance practice, which is a stated aim of the research project. The performances demonstrate how artists can engage creatively with archival material and share Irish-language

song in a community setting, satisfying objectives 3, 4 and 5 of the research project. They serve to evidence the process and disseminate the research

2.5 Autoethnography and Positionality

As with the authors in *Transforming Ethnomusicology* (2021), I present a position statement through my prologue that explains some of the motivations behind my research, presents how my own life experiences inform my approach and describes the cultural context of the geographical place where I am located. My approach to writing is influenced by autoethnography and the tradition of storytelling. In particular, I find parallels with the recent doctoral dissertation of Margaret O'Sullivan (2024) engaging with music education. She writes:

> Everything starts with a story. Finding my touchstones for this dissertation, I have sifted through mental images as possible points of entry, scenes from a life in learning, organising, and promoting participation in arts and music education, to reveal a sense of who I am in undertaking this inquiry of quality in music making and learning. Tiny, elusive glimpses appear in my mind's eye along a spectrum of happenings and encounters from minutely significant to profound impactful events. Interior imaginings from childhood music lessons, encounters in more recent years as an organiser of arts and music education, and experiences from all the decades in between—all enable me to trace memories of educational and cultural events, and reflexive moments, that line up in a disorderly parade that are neither linked by chronological nor any other kind of logic. (2024, p.6)

This extract from the work of O'Sullivan (2024) resonated with my own experience. The opening chapter of her doctoral dissertation brought to mind my own 'critical moments' and snapshots of happenings, conversations, and everyday occurrences that have shaped my journey and my interaction with Gaelic song. Some of my critical moments have felt like sliding door scenarios, which in other normal circumstances I would never have foreseen happening. Some of them have been 'eureka moments' of joy and accomplishment where a new understanding has been reached, a task that seemed insurmountable at the outset is completed or where a realisation has occurred.

During some of these critical moments, I have had an overwhelming feeling that other, far more skilled and competent individuals could have or should have done these things I was

doing. Linked to that has always been a sense of inferiority, vulnerability, a sense of guilt and fear. I have had to reflect deeply on where these feelings have originated, and the answer is quite simple – positionality. I understand and accept my position relative to the Irish language tradition in South Armagh and its singing tradition in Irish. I am not fluent in Irish nor am I an established singer in the Irish language or sean-nós tradition. I do not consider that I have 'ancestral memory', a term used to describe those who have acquired knowledge, memories or understanding in a genetic sense from our ancestors. Coupled with this have been feelings of doubt around my own ability as an adult to engage meaningfully with this subject matter and the potential for failure, which would prove any gatekeepers to a tradition 'right' about the true inheritors of that same tradition. However, in tandem with this, I have always felt a profound sense of gratitude for the opportunities and experiences I have been afforded which have allowed me to engage with activities to grow my understanding of the language, to celebrate it and to explore further my cultural identity. I have continuously and relentlessly persisted in re-engaging with this same subject matter, as if 'reaching back' to reconnect with a past and find out more. Critical moments have been key to the act of 'reaching back' during this research journey as they have led to key findings, opportunity for discovery, enrichment and additionality. Indeed, not all critical moments have been positive, they have also been negative, however in time those moments have tested character, resilience and determination to persist.

Akin to Sullivan, my positionality as an insider in that I am from Crossmaglen in South Armagh yet an outsider to the Gaelic song tradition, has characterised my way of being in singing. Whereas O'Sullivan found an 'access point to learning how I might become part of that world through voluntary event organising while starting as a beginner instrumentalist in the tradition' (2024, p.14), my access point was the organisation of a three-day festival in celebration of the Gaelic song tradition from Crossmaglen, *Ceol na Croise*. This was a critical moment where I was introduced to 'Chuaigh an Mhaol', the first song I had ever worked on

restoring based on archival material from Trimble. The festival provided me with an opportunity to observe, absorb and learn about local engagement with cultural activities.

Hannah Fahey's (2023) autoethnographic research is also pertinent. I note parallels with her formative experiences with Irish traditional song with my own experiences. She too was raised outside of a Gaeltacht region, in a town close to the border with Northern Ireland. She developed strong Irish in primary school and music and singing in this school followed a distinctly Nationalist outlook. The same could be said for my experience. The parallels continue in that her first solo vocal performance was for a school play where she sang 'An tSeanbhean Bhocht'. I also sang solo in Irish and was the central character for our school play, *An Spailpín Fánach*. Her move to secondary education changed the status of the language from a lived language to an academic subject and her focus changed to classical and sacred music on fiddle; while my experience was with classical piano; at school and church she sang sacred music in English and then engaged with classical vocal training; I too sang sacred music in English but went on to immerse myself in informal English language traditional and folk song repertoire. Fahey writes 'I developed a self-consciousness around performing traditional songs and had a deep sense of being liminally positioned' (2023, p. 193). The same could be said for my experience of singing an Irish language repertoire.

Fahey's insights into note-taking, mark-making on song lyric sheets are not far removed from my own approach to learning a song where annotations indicate a self-made code whereby I understand what I wish to do stylistically at that point in a song performance. She continually reflects on 'belonging', about her 'deeply embedded ideas around needing the approval of a teaching figure' and her positionality as an 'outsider to the tradition'. Fahey puts forward a four-step cyclical framework for engaging authoritative voice in Irish traditional song

performance – Situate, Confront, Consult, Perform, something which I have borne in mind during my research journey.

Focusing on the Irish language, Seán Mac Corraidh (2022) also presents an auto-ethnographic self-reflection on his own language journey, reflecting on his learning of Irish as a second language and his role as an academic. His journey, based primarily in Belfast, also highlights links to the Donegal Gaeltacht and the potential role of sean-nós for language revitalization.

2.6 Interviews and ethics

Interviews formed an important part of the research methodology. Ethical approval was granted by DkIT. Participants granted informed consent and had the option to have their identity anonymised but, as per discipline practice, they consented to be identified and named in the study. When researching local singers, I took the opportunity to interview Gráinne Clarke, whose lived experience provides another perspective that informs Chapter 5. To critically reflect on the PAR aspect of the project, I undertook interviews with Ciara Hall and Patricia McCrink to obtain their perspective on the process of combining lyrics with airs, refining versions and performing the songs. Ciara and Patricia were also involved in some of the workshops, including preparing resources, and provided their feedback on the practice of sharing with the community.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the methodologies employed to conduct this research, recognising the involvement of others through Participatory Action Research and acknowledging the need for ethical considerations when working in community contexts. The chapters that follow will demonstrate how these methodologies have been used to address the research questions and objectives outlined within Chapter 1.

Chapter 3

Literature Review incorporating a Framework for Study

3.1 Introduction

Several seminal studies provide invaluable perspectives on Gaelic song traditions. Older texts, including those of Seán O'Boyle (1976), Donal O'Sullivan (1981), Breandán Ó Madagáin (1985) and Hugh Shields (1993) assist in the categorisation of songs. Aspects of singing style are addressed in the work of Seán Ó Riada (1982) but developed further in more recent studies. Tríona Ní Shuíocháin's (2017) research on the poet Máire Buí Ní Laoighaire provides insights into the creative activity of a Gaelic poet and demonstrates the relationship between songwriters and their milieu. As well as providing historical perspectives on Gaelic song traditions, Susan Motherway (2013) demonstrates the globalisation of Gaelic song traditions and the changes that have taken place in an evolving and living singing tradition.

In this literature review, I focus on seven themes. The first considers scholarship on the concepts of heritage and tradition; the second leads to themes of recreation, transformation and renewal; the third considers connections between music, song and place, with a particular focus on the work of Pádraigín Ní Uallacháin and the Oriel region. I then present studies related to phonetics, which are important to understanding the work of Hannon, and also inform the sharing practice in later chapters. Singing style is an important aspect of the tradition, particularly in the context of what is termed sean-nós singing. I have also reflected on some recent documentaries and community voices, which also inform this review.

I have also consulted the research of Dr Ciara Thompson (2021) the focus of which is on lullabies within the Gaelic song tradition. Through my engagement with the collections, it became evident that a number of songs may be categorised as lullabies and Thompson provides interesting insights to inform my engagement. My research uncovered a limited number of lullabies in the collections. There are extant examples of collected lullabies in Oriel, for example A64 & A13 in Trimble (2009c), while Ó Dubhda's collection of children's rhymes

drew from remnant samples he had experienced. The 'suantraí' included in this study, sourced from the Laoide papers, represents a substantial piece that is in contrast with the fragments available for other songs of this type. The lack of documentary evidence in the Oriel tradition is the result of two factors. Ní Uallacháin points to fragmentary transcriptions and the limited engagement of collectors with this aspect of the tradition. Furthermore, the general categorisation of lullabies within the same context as song verse is challenging as the lullaby does not always warrant numerous verses like songs and is dependent on the repetition of the same words. Thompson looks at the value of the lullaby and their potential within a song tradition where they 'occupy little space or attention over the centuries'. I am also interested in the concepts she refers to, 'singing for one's sense of belonging and wellbeing' (Thompson, Abstract). The doctoral research of Dr Kara O'Brien (2023), with a focus on hunting songs, illustrates how 'songs can be useful as windows into particular historical moments that might not otherwise have been recorded, and offer insights into people, places, and events'. This is significant as several of the subject songs speak of local events or happenings, local people and local places in South Armagh, which wed and root them in the landscape and their place of origin.

The doctoral research of Dr Sandra Joyce (2011) is also relevant in the fact that the harp airs associated with Carolan are important potential airs for the lyrics of local songs. Joyce tells us that Turlough O'Carolan, 'travelled throughout Connaught, north Leinster and south Ulster over a period of approximately forty years' (2011, p. 3). She goes on to state, 'Carolan himself probably provided Irish language texts for his compositions, although not all of the original words survive. Therefore, the vocal connection in his music is very real, even if the link between the words and music is not always immediately evident (most of the surviving words bear little relation rhythmically to the tunes they are associated with by name, with a few notable exceptions)' (2011, p. 91).

While my study focuses on a local aspect of the tradition, it is not without the influence of wider national and international influences. Reviewing the work of Susan Motherway (2013) on the globalization of Gaelic song traditions, Colin Harte states:

> 'Motherway examines the historical development of Irish traditional song performance—and with it, introduces issues of authenticity, tradition, and transformation—by looking at significant academic and artistic contribution ranging from the song collections of Edward Bunting and George Petrie in the nineteenth century, to the rise of Irish country and western music, to the emergence of Celtic music' (2015, p. 151).

This has relevance for my study in that while I delve into a song collection from the late nineteenth century and seek to understand a singing tradition of a past community in South Armagh, I am mindful that transformation has occurred; a transformation which has created a singing heritage amongst the community. It is worth noting that the communal Gaelic song tradition of Oriel came under pressure from the mainstream language-shift of the nineteenth century but heavily influenced the subsequent folk and ballad-style singing in English which gained huge popularity among the people through the area (Ó Fiaich 1971; 1972). With regards to the transformation from Irish- to English-language usage, Ó Fiaich (1992) highlights the role of the Irish-speaking Hedge-school teachers of the eighteenth century who mastered English and absorbed characteristics of the Irish language poetic and song tradition.

I also reflect on the influence of Irish country and western music and its perhaps unconscious influence on song performance and presentation in the case of Albert Fry and Gráinne Clarke, and in terms of 'Celtic music' the influence on music presentation of Eithne Ní Uallacháin as outlined in Chapter 5.

3.2 Heritage or tradition

In my writing, I refer to the local song heritage rather than the singing tradition because, while some people continued to sing and a small selection of songs such as 'Dúlamán' are in the popular canon of the Gaelic song tradition, much of the material I am engaging with is not part of the lived experience of people in the region. Whereas tradition often refers to aspects or

elements of human life that are passed down from one generation to the next for more than two generations, there is a disjuncture in local practice. To this end, I embrace an understanding of heritage as a selection of practices associated with the past to which new value and meaning are ascribed in the present (Harrison, 2013; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995; 2004).

Ronström (2014) describes 'tradition' and 'heritage' as two separate concepts that both rely on the past. For Ronström, 'tradition' depends on the local and involves active engagement in cultural practices and involves the transmission of culture from generation to generation within a community. In some instances, a sense of membership of community is important to participating in traditional practices, with Ronström making reference to the importance of genealogy, something that is critically considered by ethnomusicologist Jessica Cawley (2013; 2022) in the context of Irish traditional music. 'Heritage' exists as a larger concept. It is more forward-looking and does not require membership of a community for engagement. Both 'tradition' and 'heritage' allow for something new to be developed, existing as processes that can include repatriation, renewal, recreation and revival. Ronström developed a model involving knowers, doers and marketeers. My research and career development has located me between these roles. As a singer, I am a doer; as a researcher I have become a knower; by engaging with tourism and project development, I am a marketeer. These positions require me to critically reflect on the processes and the potential impact of my research. Heritage can sometimes lead to the commodification of cultural practices, where traditions are packaged and marketed for tourism or educational purposes. This process can alter the original context and meaning of the practices. It is important to recognise how this impacts on the perception of traditional material. Ronström states:

> Doers and marketers have taken control over the mindscape, knowers have been transformed from definers and controllers to mere suppliers of material. A whole new musical infrastructure has developed, from teaching institutions to festivals and clubs. The traditional music world has become one comprised of a world of managers,

> posters, riders, festivals, copyright issues, and record releases, all rather far from the world of the old fiddlers (Ronström 2010, p.278).

Through my interventions, I hope to maintain a connection between the lived experience of a community of practice, opening up this world to participants who may not have a direct link to the tradition, and sharing the musical and linguistic heritage with others.

Tamara Livingston's (1999) work on music revivals is an oft-cited text that indicates the principal typical elements apparent in a revitalization process. In the context of song traditions, Ingrid Åkesson (2006) presents definitions and critical considerations of the terms 'tradition' and 'revitalization'. In the context of Chapter 5 in this dissertation, it is important to recognise that 'In practice, revitalization is often connected to and parallels a vitalization of living tradition; it is not merely a recontextualization of abandoned cultural elements' (2006, n.p.). Within the model presented by Åkesson, my research falls into the category of 'recreation', whereby the creative process remains close to the source material, keeping the form of the musical item and engaging in an element of imitation. The process may include 'minor (unconscious) changes typical of oral/aural tradition (for example, of intonation or ornamentation, words and phrases)' (Åkesson 2006, n.p.).

The decline in the use of the Irish language within the community meant that songs were not passed '*ó ghlúin go glúin'* [lit. from knee to knee; from generation to generation]. The disjuncture in the language use and a subsequent break in transmission, causes an absence of cultural continuity in oral practice. As a result, efforts by individuals involved in promoting Gaelic song traditions have focused on retrieving, reclaiming or reinventing a 'tradition' (Hobsbawn 1984). Tradition in this sense however is more aligned with the concept of 'heritage' that being the celebration of a cultural practices as part of a community's identity and in tandem, the preservation of that same practice. Heritage allows for adaptation and promotion

of such traditions in new and modern contexts which may include music collaborations, platforms for engaged learning and performance.

Another important consideration reflects Henry Glassie's recognition that 'change' and 'tradition' should not be considered as antonyms but rather that 'tradition is the opposite of only one kind of change: that in which disruption is so complete that the new cannot be read as an innovative adaptation of the old' (1995, p.395). Tradition is neither static nor an object of negotiation and emergence; it can be transformed and move both forwards and backwards in time (1995, p. 405).

3.3 Re-creation, re-shaping/transformation, and renewal/innovation

In her study of contemporary engagement with Swedish folk music, Ingrid Åkesson presents a model for reflecting on the 're-creative processes' that is relevant to my study on the 'lost songs' of South Armagh. The model can be seen as a potential tool for the study of creativity in re-creative processes, and as a way of considering the links between tradition and revitalization. The terms re-creation, reshaping, and renewal are my translations of the concepts *återskapande*, *omskapande*, and *nyskapande* from the Swedish language, concepts which are tightly knit together as different aspects of *skapande*, meaning creating/shaping. I will also present some musical examples of recreation, reshaping, and renewing traditional vocal music by some contemporary Swedish performers.

My research questions parallel some of those asked by Åkesson concerning 'how are the songs, or musical items, shaped, handled, and performed within the frames of a continually changing tradition, and on the borders of tradition-for example on the borders between traditional music and other genres?' (ibid). Åkesson also asks how 'today's singers regard and use the repertoires, the stylistic traits and the musical concepts transmitted by source singers or the singers of the archival recordings?' (p. 5). She goes beyond the scope of my study by also

consider the 'affective qualities and individual relationships to source singers and developing a historical consideration that goes back to earlier centuries.

There are resonances with English folk singer Ewan McColl's efforts with a group called The Critics. In an obituary, Samuel (1990) states:

> He wanted to be true to 'tradition', yet to have music made anew. He wanted to give voice to spontaneous, unmediated experience, yet also to serve radical causes. He loved the idea of free expression, yet he was immediately angered by anything which diminished the dignity of song. Despite his notional populism, he seems to have drawn back when one of his own creations began to capture the public imagination - the case first with Theatre Workshop and after with the folk clubs (1990, p. 216).

Keeping in mind different perspectives on what it means to engage with tradition and the difficult concept of 'authenticity' is important for my engagement with the songs in this project. To this end, the involvement of my community – both through the PAR group and the interventions described in Chapter 6, are important in shaping critical reflection.

3.4 Music, Song & Place

The connections between music, song and place are at the core of many ethnomusicological and geographical studies (Kearney 2009). An ethnographic approach to the study of Gaelic song traditions is provided by Lilis Ó Laoire (2002; 2005; 2007), with a focus on the community of Irish speaking singers and songs from Tory Island, located off the Donegal coast. In his study Ó Laoire looks at song transmission, song performance and etiquette within this island community. The study also highlights how singing is linked to identity and a continuity of identity amongst its inhabitants. Ó Laoire also looks specifically at song meaning taking an interpretative case study of the song, 'A Phaidí a Ghrá', and its specific significance to a family on the island; used as a tool by which to express and perform sorrow in a public away. The study also looks at humour of the lighter songs and concepts of authenticity and tradition and is accompanied with a CD disc of twenty-six songs, lyrics including English translation of singers from Tory Island. Unlike Ó Laoire's study of Tory Island, it is difficult to assess song transmissions and performance in South Armagh, resulting from the break of transmission and

fracturing of the Irish speaking community over a relatively short period of time; the last native Irish speaker being Máire Ní Arbhasaigh [Mary Harvessy] who died in 1947, less than 75 years ago. Whereas Ó Laoire highlights how certain individuals were given recognition by their community, my study demonstrates how some of the singers in South Armagh in the last fifty years, and their contribution to the repertoire of songs, are not as prominent in the minds of the singing and wider local community.

Another study which focuses on an island community, Deirdre Ní Chonghaile's 2021 study, *Collecting Music in the Aran Islands: A century of history and practice*, provides an insight into four substantial collections dating from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries including the Petrie and Curry Aran Music Manuscripts of 1857; Séamus Ennis and the songs of Aran; Sidney Roberston Cowell and Bairbre Quinn, an aunt of Ní Chonghaile's. A comprehensive historiographical study of traditional music collecting on the island, Ní Chonghaile's study highlights 'how understanding the motivations and training (or lack thereof) of individual music collectors significantly informs how we should approach their work and contextualize their place in the folk music canon'. This is an important aspect for my study as I am aware that John Hannon, was collecting the spoken Irish of the greater district of Crossmaglen, motivated by a personal goal to learn the language and so this may have influenced what information he captured within his personal notebooks. Although both Ó Laoire and Ní Chonghaile have produced valuable studies of music within these island communities, there are different contexts for language use. The impact of colonialism and occupation was island-wide but, post-partition, processes of colonialism continue in South Armagh (unlike Tory, Áran). This is distinct from geographical language continuity that occurs along the more isolated Western seaboard. In contrast with the Gaeltacht areas in Ó Laoire and Ní Chonghaile's studies, South Armagh is not a Gaeltacht.

Another perspective in relation to Ulster speakers of the Irish Language is presented by Róise Ní Bhaoill in her 2010 publication, *Ulster Gaelic Voices, Bailiúchán Doegan 1931*. Ní

Bhaoill's study focuses on a collection of audio recordings made by Dr Wilhelm Doegan (1877-1967), a scholar of phonetics from Berlin, who visited Ireland between 1928 – 1931 with his colleague Karl Tempel (1904-1940), and who captured native Irish speakers where the language was a community vernacular. Ní Bhaoill's study includes an overview on the social and historical processes of the decline of the Irish language and examines some of the research and census data from the period 1711-1911, a contextual background to the Doegan Collection and a section on the major differences between Donegal and what she describes as 'East Ulster Irish'. Of the eighty recordings made in Ulster, five pieces were captured from Mary Harvessy, the sole contributor from Co. Armagh, of which only two were sung, 'Tá mé buartha' [I am perturbed] (fragment) and 'Úirchill an Chreagaín' (in two parts). Ní Bhaoill's study is a useful source as it provides transcription of all of the recordings and additional information from the speakers, together with an English translation and two reference CD's where the recordings have been digitally remastered.

A seminal text in the literature pertinent to my study is Pádraigín Ní Uallacháin's *A Hidden Ulster: People, Songs and Traditions of Oriel* (2003). First published in 2003, reprinted in 2005, republished in 2021 and updated in 2023, it delves into the traditions, songs and history of the Oriel region. According to Ní Uallacháin, Oriel,

> is an undefined cross border region, straddling two provinces of Ireland, extending from Carlingford on the east coast of the Cooley peninsula in County Louth, across South Armagh, through the south drumlins of Monaghan; north from the borders of County Down, south to the hinterlands of Drogheda. (Oriel Arts 2020)

The publication provides in-depth research not only on the song tradition of Oriel but also of the singers, collectors, harpers and some of the early collections of songs. Of the 54 listed songs, Ní Uallacháin has gone on to produce an accompanying compilation of 27 songs together with a website that includes a variety of singers including Diane Cannon, Lillis Ó Laoire and Máire Ní Choilm along with Ní Uallacháin, who sing from the featured repertoire. It is notable that

these named singers are from the Donegal Gaeltacht, reflecting close connections between the two communities, although Ní Choilm is now resident in Co. Louth.

Hannon features as a composite source for fifteen of the fifty-four songs within this publication including songs such as 'Dúlamán', 'Casadh Cam na Feadarnaí' (An Cailleach Riabhach), 'Séamus A' Murfaidh' (Séamus A' Murchaigh), 'Úirchill a' Chreagáin', and 'An Bonnán Buí'. While some of the songs are already well established in the wider Gaelic song tradition, Ní Uallacháin has reimagined several songs in the collection by pairing them with local airs as opposed to the more popularised airs in addition to crafting airs, 'adapting metre where necessary to accommodate the assonantal stresses and internal musicality of the poem' (2003, p. 272). Furthermore, Ní Uallacháin has restored several songs which include 'Bídí Ní Mhaoldúin', 'Seán Gabha' and 'Marbhna Airt Óig Uí Néill'. Twenty-eight of the songs within the collection are noted as 'forthcoming' in terms of new recordings, of which Hannon is a source for seven of them. Ní Uallacháin (2005, p.148) has provided an example of the source Hannon papers for the song entitled 'An bhean chaointe' in the key system used by Hannon.

While Ní Uallacháin's work undoubtedly drew attention to the musical traditions and heritage of the Oriel region, a number of subsequent studies and community activities have developed other insights or results. Kearney's (2018; 2021) development of research-informed curriculum at Dundalk Institute of Technology has demonstrated how Higher Education can engage with the musical heritage of the region. The establishment of the Oriel Traditional Orchestra in 2018 and the launch of the Oriel Traditional Music Archive in 2023, provided other ways to preserve, enliven and engage with the musical heritage of the region. The socio-linguistic studies of Trimble that engage closely with the Ulster poets and Oriel song traditions are examined in Chapter 4.

3.5 Phonetics

A notable element of the John Hannon collection of songs, which are central to my study, is the use of phonetics. Phonetic notation was rarely used during the nineteenth century in Ireland and

apart from Hannon, was not evident in Oriel until the 1910s. Hannon predates later examples of individuals who used phonetic notation. These were guided by an academic-influenced, international phonetic alphabet, spearheaded by foreign linguists or Celtic language scholars, who focused on the dialects of Irish in Ireland. One such early study was that of Frans Nickolaus Finck (1867-1910), a German linguist in 1899 where he published on the dialect of the Aran Islands following a four month stay on the island, speaking with its inhabitants. Of the use of phonetics he stated,

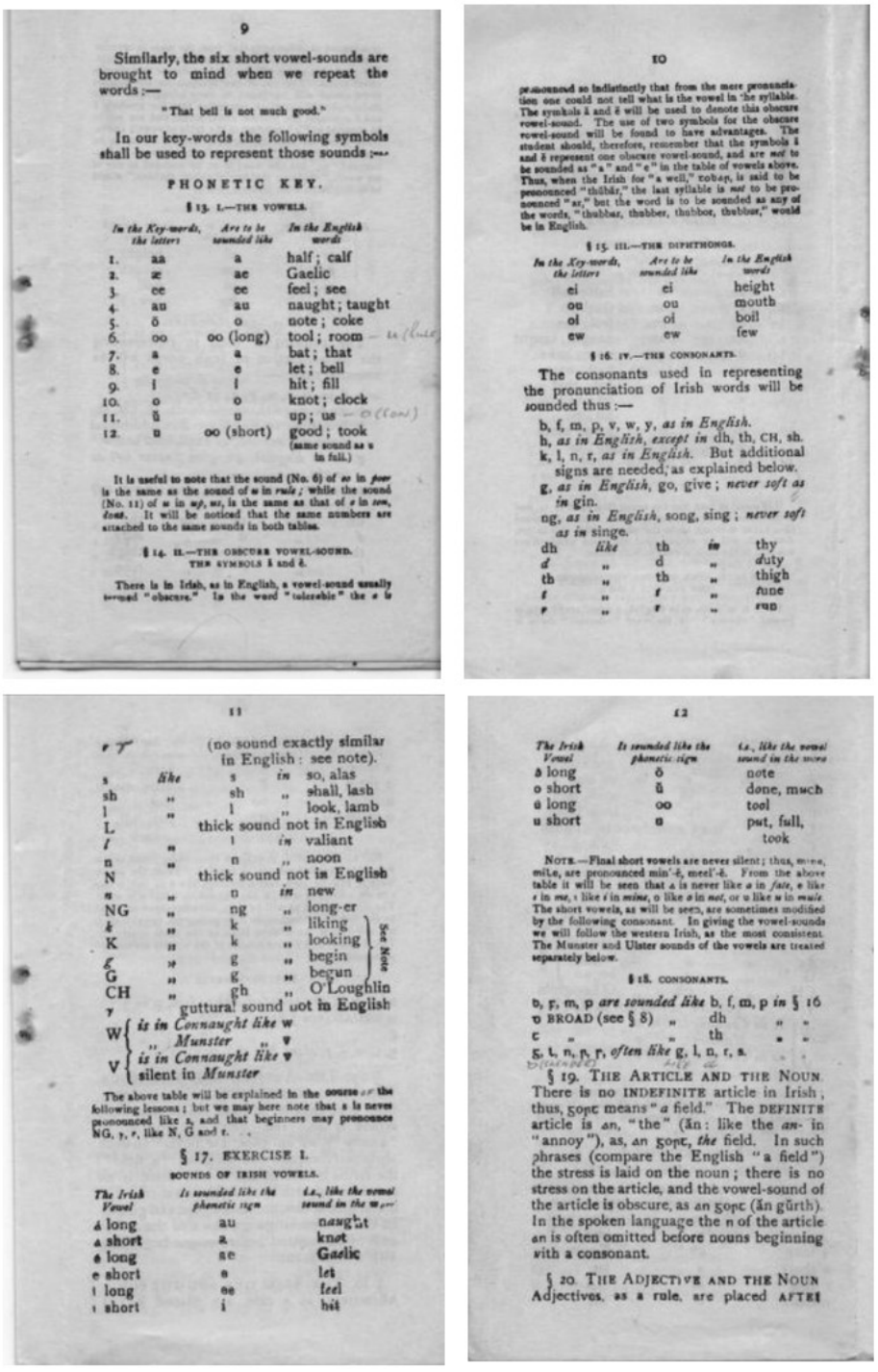
> I have tried to represent the language of the Aran inhabitants as it is actually spoken. For this reason, instead of the usual orthography, I have used a phonetic spelling marked by italics, taking into account the history of sounds, words, word forms, and word structures only in the second place, and arranging the whole thing in such a way as seemed to me most suitable for the simplest determination of the facts, without regard to what people said in ancient times (1899, Foreword p.IV).

Fr Eugene O'Growney (1863–1899) was a catholic priest and a founding member of the Gaelic League [Conradh na Gaeilge]. The phonetic system seen in the John Hannon Papers is adapted from the Father Eugene O'Growney Key as outlined in a series of publications called 'Simple lessons in Irish - Giving pronunciation of each word'. First published in the 'Weekly Freeman' and in 'Irisleabhar an Gaedhilge', he wrote self-teaching articles on the Irish language entitled, 'Easy lessons in Irish' then later produced a collection called 'Simple lessons in Irish' in 1894. The work went on to be republished as pamphlets by the Gaelic League between 1922 and 1936. Its introduction states,

> The following course of simple lessons in Irish has been drawn up chiefly for the use of those who wish to learn the old language of Ireland, but who are discouraged by what they have heard of its difficulties . . . But the difficulties of Irish pronunciation and construction have always been exaggerated. As I myself was obliged to study Irish as a foreign language, and as I have been placed in circumstances which have made me rather familiar with the language as now spoken, I have at least a knowledge of the difficulties of those who, like myself, have no teacher (1928, p. i).

The key system was included at section 13 of the booklet in Part 1, pp. 9-12 (Figure 1). We understand it was this key system that Hannon used to collect words, surnames, phrases and songs in South Armagh. Hannon's adaption of O'Growney's Key as early as 1893, from a rigid

type-set learning tool to an enhanced method suitable for hand-written notation, could be viewed as a novel, it not a pioneering innovation of the period.



9

Similarly, the six short vowel-sounds are brought to mind when we repeat the words :—

"That bell is not much good."

In our key-words the following symbols shall be used to represent those sounds :—

PHONETIC KEY.

§ 13. I.—THE VOWELS.

In the Key-words, the letters	*Are to be sounded like*	*In the English words*
1. aa	a	half ; calf
2. æ	ae	Gaelic
3. ee	ee	feel ; see
4. au	au	naught ; taught
5. ō	o	note ; coke
6. oo	oo (long)	tool ; room
7. a	a	bat ; that
8. e	e	let ; bell
9. i	i	hit ; fill
10. o	o	knot ; clock
11. ŭ	u	up ; us
12. u	oo (short)	good ; took (same sound as u in full.)

It is useful to note that the sound (No. 6) of *oo* in *poor* is the same as the sound of *u* in *rule* ; while the sound (No. 11) of *u* in *up, us*, is the same as that of *o* in *son, dove*. It will be noticed that the same numbers are attached to the same sounds in both tables.

§ 14. II.—THE OBSCURE VOWEL-SOUND. THE SYMBOLS ă and ĕ.

There is in Irish, as in English, a vowel-sound usually termed "obscure." In the word "tolerable" the *a* is

10

pronounced so indistinctly that from the mere pronunciation one could not tell what is the vowel in the syllable. The symbols ă and ĕ will be used to denote this obscure vowel-sound. The use of two symbols for the obscure vowel-sound will be found to have advantages. The student should, therefore, remember that the symbols ă and ĕ represent one obscure vowel-sound, and are *not* to be sounded as "a" and "e" in the table of vowels above. Thus, when the Irish for "a well," tobar, is said to be pronounced "thūbăr," the last syllable is *not* to be pronounced "ar," but the word is to be sounded as any of the words, "thubbar, thubber, thubbor, thebbur," would be in English.

§ 15. III.—THE DIPHTHONGS.

In the Key-words, the letters	*Are to be sounded like*	*In the English words*
ei	ei	height
ou	ou	mouth
oi	oi	boil
ew	ew	few

§ 16. IV.—THE CONSONANTS.

The consonants used in representing the pronunciation of Irish words will be sounded thus :—

b, f, m, p, v, w, y, *as in English.*
h, *as in English, except in* dh, th, ch, sh.
k, l, n, r, *as in English.* But additional signs are needed, as explained below.
g, *as in English*, go, give ; *never soft as in* gin.
ng, *as in English*, song, sing ; *never soft as in* singe.

dh	*like*	th	*in*	thy
d	"	*d*	"	*duty*
th	"	th	"	thigh
t	"	*t*	"	*tune*
p	"	*p*	"	*pup*

11

(no sound exactly similar in English : see note).

s	*like*	s	*in*	so, alas
sh	"	sh	"	shall, lash
l	"	l	"	look, lamb
L	thick sound not in English			
l	"	l	*in*	valiant
n	"	n	"	noon
N	thick sound not in English			
n	"	n	*in*	new
NG	"	ng	"	long-er
k	"	k	"	liking (See Note)
K	"	k	"	looking (See Note)
g	"	g	"	begin (See Note)
G	"	g	"	begun (See Note)
CH	"	gh	"	O'Loughlin (See Note)

γ guttural sound not in English

W { *is in Connaught like* w ; *Munster* " v
V { *is in Connaught like* v ; silent in *Munster*

The above table will be explained in the course of the following lessons ; but we may here note that s is never pronounced like s, and that beginners may pronounce NG, γ, r, like N, G and r.

§ 17. EXERCISE I.

SOUNDS OF IRISH VOWELS.

The Irish Vowel	*Is sounded like the phonetic sign*	*i.e., like the vowel sound in the words*
á long	au	naught
a short	a	knot
é long	ae	Gaelic
e short	e	let
í long	ee	feel
i short	i	hit

12

The Irish Vowel	*Is sounded like the phonetic sign*	*i.e., like the vowel sound in the words*
ó long	ō	note
o short	ŭ	done, much
ú long	oo	tool
u short	u	put, full, took

NOTE.—Final short vowels are never silent ; thus, *mine, mile*, are pronounced min'-ĕ, meel'-ĕ. From the above table it will be seen that *a* is never like *a* in *fate*, *e* like *e* in *me*, *i* like *i* in *mine*, *o* like *o* in *not*, or *u* like *u* in *rule*. The short vowels, as will be seen, are sometimes modified by the following consonant. In giving the vowel-sounds we will follow the western Irish, as the most consistent. The Munster and Ulster sounds of the vowels are treated separately below.

§ 18. CONSONANTS.

b, f, m, p *are sounded like* b, f, m, p *in* § 16
d BROAD (see § 8) " dh " "
c " " th " "
g, l, n, p, r, *often like* g, l, n, r, s.

§ 19. THE ARTICLE AND THE NOUN. There is no INDEFINITE article in Irish ; thus, gort means "*a* field." The DEFINITE article is *an*, "the" (ăn : like the *an-* in "annoy"), as, *an* gort, *the* field. In such phrases (compare the English "a field") the stress is laid on the noun ; there is no stress on the article, and the vowel-sound of the article is obscure, as an gort (ăn gŭrth). In the spoken language the n of the article *an* is often omitted before nouns beginning with a consonant.

§ 20. THE ADJECTIVE AND THE NOUN. Adjectives, as a rule, are placed AFTER

Figure 1 O'Growney Key System. Source: Simple Lessons in Irish: Giving the Pronunciation of Each Word. Part 1, p. 9-12

Trimble has reviewed the Hannon manuscripts in detail and has cross-referenced them with the Fr. O'Growney Key, together with handwritten notes and any explanations that Hannon has given, identifying any matters of clarification (Trimble 2023). Figure 2 presents the table from Trimble. While O'Growney's typeset key system was designed as a teaching tool, it's use for handwritten notation was limited, resulting in Hannon having to adapt it accordingly but more significantly, create an additional 15 key symbols to capture the distinctive sounds which he could notate.

Ó hAnnáin (lámhscríofa)	Difríochtaí (nótaí Uí Annáin)	Ó Gramhnaigh (clóscríofa)
aa *ae* *ee* *au* *ō* *oo*	Same	aa ae ee au ō oo
a *e* *i* *o* *ŭ*	Same	a e i o ŭ
ei *ou* *oi* *ew*	Same	ei ou oi ew
ă agus *ĕ*	Same	ă agus ĕ
b, f, m, p, *r, s, v, w,* *y*	Same (small letters not underlined give the ordinary English sounds of those letters)	b, f, m, p, r, s, v, w, y
dh, th, *sh,*	Same	dh, th, sh,

Ó hAnnáin (lámhscríofa)	Difríochtaí (nótaí Uí Annáin)	Ó Gramhnaigh (clóscríofa)
óó	perculiar Ulster sound of *ao, aoi,* and often of *adh-* and *agh-* inaccented syllables	-
wh	= sound of wh in when, whisper, etc	-
Ġ. Ḣ. *L.* *N.* *K* *ĠḢ* *ĊḢ* *Ɣ*	Capital letters give broad Gaelic sounds = l or ll broad = n or nn broad = c broad = ċ ponc gutteral = ċ broad = broad sound of ġ and ḋ	G, H, L, N, K GH c Ɣ
(líne faoi) *k, l, n,* *r, d, t,* *ng, g,* *bh, dh,* *gh, th*	slender sounds are underlined	*(Cló lodálach)* *k, l, n,* *r, d, t,* *ng, g,* - - - -

Ó hAnnáin (lámhscríofa)	Difríochtaí (nótaí Uí Annáin)	Ó Gramhnaigh (clóscríofa)
b~y	= sound of b in 'abuse', as 'b'fhiú' (b-yoo)	-
f~y	= sound of f in few, as fiú (f-yoo), feabhas (f-yŏ'-ăs)	
h~y	sound of h in 'Hugh'; sound of ċ slender as 'ceannuigh' (h-yaN'-ee); i slender sometimes gets the same sound, as triall (h-yree'-al)	-
kw~	= sound of qu: as in corr (Kwir, like 'quir); see also below.	-
bw~ mw~ *fw~*	(the true sounds of some other symbols are not explained)	-
m~y	= sound of m in 'muse',	-
p~y	= sound of p in pew	-

Figure 2 Phonetic key after Trimble 2023

Trimble (2023) makes reference to collector Fr Lorcán Ó Muireadhaigh [Fr Larry Murray] who also subsequently engaged in the practice of collecting in a phonetic fashion. However, there is no extant evidence of his phonetic transcriptions of songs. In his publication *Ceolta Óméith* he states:

> During the first two years I took down hundreds of lines phonetically without knowing anything of their meaning. Frequently, when I went back, a year later, to have the poems corrected or explained, I found that the singers had gone to their last resting-place in the little graveyard of Cillidh-Chuim. I am glad to say that with practice, I acquired a facility in transcribing the poems, but my ignorance of the dialect in the earlier-years must be my excuse for many imperfections in the work (1920, n.p.).

This practice was also found in Ballyvourney, west Cork when song collector Alexander Martin Freeman, who was visiting the area with his wife Aida on holiday, captured phonetically a selection of 84 songs in 1913 and 1914 which were then published in the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* (1920-21) as numbers 23-25. Some of the songs have been brought back into contemporary circulation through the work of musician and composer Seán Ó Riada and the singer Iarla Ó Lionáird. What is remarkable about this collection is that staff notation of the air is presented together with the phonetic lyric and an English translation together with details of the source singer and on occasion variants of the song.

The Norwegian sociolinguist Alf Sommerfelt (1862 – 1965) also completed study of Irish in South Armagh (1929) following a meeting with Aindreas Ó Marcaigh, facilitated by Dr Séamus Ó Ceallaigh (1886 -1965) in Dublin in 1923, so that Sommerfelt might study the dialect. Previous to this Sommerfelt had completed studies of the dialect in Donegal, more specifically of Torr (1922). He states:

> I soon found out that the main features of the dialect represented by the speaker were those of Ulster-Irish. This is why I have ventured upon publication of my materials, in spite of the short time I had at my disposal for collecting them.

Sommerfelt used the phonetic notation by Quiggin which he used in his work on other Irish dialects, although clarifying differences between the dialects of Glenties and Torr with South Armagh, adapting the key system from Quiggin where necessary. Edmund Crosby

Quiggin (1875–1920) was a British linguist and scholar who had studied the dialect of Donegal from a study of speakers from Meenawannia [*Mín an Bhainne*] in the parish of the Glenties in 1906. In his study he published a phonetic key system for the sounds he heard from the older generations. In the introduction to his study he states:

> Phonetic decay seems to have set in all over the Gaelic-speaking area; and consequently it is imperative that during the next ten or fifteen years every effort should be made to obtain scientific records of the speech of persons born before the famine who still have a firm grip of the vernacular. As a general rule the speech of the younger people is of little or no value to those who are trying to unravel the mysteries of Old and Middle Irish orthography, and unfortunately, whatever the Gaelic League may accomplish, it cannot preserve the vanishing sounds and shades of sounds of the older generation (1906, p. v).

In the context Quiggin's warning, the work of Hannon becomes an important touchstone for those interested in the dialect of South Armagh.

Irish-language scholar Séamus Ó Searcaigh (1886–1965) also published three examples taken from Ó Marcaigh in his publication, *Foghraidheacht Ghaedhilge an Tuaiscirt* [Irish language phonetics of the north of Ireland] (1923) in a phonetic fashion as well as other Ulster dialects of Irish, including speakers from Glasgevlin, Co. Cavan as refered to by Eamonn Ó Tuathail (1934). In contrast with Hannon, Ó Searcaigh developed his work on phonetics as part of an academic pursuit.

The use of phonetics remains common in song practice. Opera singers such as Irish mezzo-soprano Paula Murrihy spoke recently about her experience of how she herself manages to sing in a number of languages including French and German on a podcast 'Sound's Like Folk' (2021). She spoke of how learning new languages can be part of a music performance course through performance practice and language classes, however in her experience this process requires serious study of the International Phonetic Alphabet and the symbols to learn and understand the meaning of the word, the translation of the word and most importantly the

sound. She also works intensively with language coaches. This perspective has informed some of the interventions discussed in Chapter 6.

3.6 Singing Style

Various authors have examined different aspects of sean-nós song traditions that may provide a more in-depth and richer understanding. Lillis Ó Laoire (1999) and Éamonn Costello (2017; 2019) both engage with the competitions of Oireachtas na Gaeilge and recognize the politics of identity that are linked to the aesthetics of the singing style. Recognising the influence of nationalism on the tradition, Ó Laoire and Williams recognize sean-nós as 'a style cultivated specifically to oppose contemporary forms associated with British colonialism and popular music that was felt to embody a 'tawdry, contaminated modernity' (2011, p. 29). As an artform associated primarily with the Gaeltachts and often more specifically imagined in relation to the west of Ireland, Sean William's writings on Joe Heaney (2004) and Vanessa Thacker's (2018) examination of the lifeworld of sean-nós singing in Carna, with its multitude of singers and unbroken tradition, provides an interesting contrast to South Armagh. The seminal scholar of Irish traditional music, Seán Ó Riada (1982) discusses the characteristics about Connacht, Waterford, West Munster sean-nós singing but does not engage with sean-nós singing in or from Ulster. However, he discusses how Gaelic poetry evolved into songs whereby poets composed poetry to fit with existing tunes, which is to assert that the tune comes first before the words of the poem. Indeed the existing music was never written down together with the poetry. He states:

> 'In Ireland an existing tune was 'set to poetry'. It was common practice for poets to write the name of the tune down at the head of their poem. New tunes must have been composed from time to time but who the composers were is entirely a matter of speculation' (Ó Riada 1982, p.26)

Pádraig A. Breatnach (1981) notes that recycling existing airs for new compositions was a common practice of poets in the eighteenth century and this is evident among some of the later major Oriel poets who adopted airs, and often their accompanying themes and compositions, which would have been already widely in circulation. Popular examples include the songs

'M'Uilleachán Dubh Ó' by Peadar Ó Doirnín (Ó Buachalla, 1983 [1969], p. 83) and 'Cathal Mac Aoidh' (Ó Fiaich, 1981, p. 146). This would support Trimble's (2023) viewpoint regarding the recycling of airs for poetry. He states:

> Although recycling existing airs for new compositions was a common practice of poets in the eighteenth century, it is important to recognize that the airs to which the local informants of the early twentieth century sang were most likely the very same airs to which the original compositions had been sung (Trimble 2023, p.8)

Notwithstanding, there are several known airs to local poems including 'Úirchill a' Chreagáin' written by file Art Mac Cumhaigh and 'Séamus Mac Murfaidh', the poem reputedly written by file Peadar Ó Doirnín. Ó Laoire's (2005) study of singing on Tory Island is an important reference point, aligned with Ní Uallacháin's documentation of poetry and song repertoire from Oriel. Like Ó Laoire, I am seeking to connect to a community of singers but in contrast with Ó Laoire's experience on Tory Island, I need first to identify participants.

As a label, the term sean-nós style might be understood as that style of singing traditional songs in the 'old style'. Ó Riada (1982) states:

> The *sean nós* singer is unaccompanied. *Sean nós* singing requires great skill and technique, and an artistic understanding beyond the demands made on the average European singer. This is because a good deal of each *sean nós* song is improvised, and the singer must know how to improvise in the proper style (p.23).

He continues:

> ...the singer does not display emotion in the European style; that is to say, he does not use dynamics, he does not sing loudly and again softly for emotional or dramatic effect…. His tone of voice remains level and event; moments of intensity are portrayed either by an increase in the ornaments or by stripping the line to its stack, bare essential simplicity.' (1982, p.23)

Vallely (1999) follows with the definition of sean-nós singing as:

> A singing style developed over the centuries in Irish-speaking Ireland and Gaelic-speaking Scotland. The term is somewhat misleading. As the line of singing has never been broken the style is as modern as it is old. It has been passed on from

> generation to generation, hence the term 'traditional'; it is the traditional way of singing a song in Irish in Ireland and in Gaelic in Scotland. (1999, p. 336).

Similarly, Williams (2004) states:

> Sean-nós is an Irish song genre characterized by unaccompanied performance in free rhythm, relative lack of vibrato or dynamic change, and especially by the use of rapid, melismatic ornamentation. Songs may be performed in Irish Gaelic or in one of several different dialects of English, and the choice of language has an impact on the proper ornamentation of each song. (2004, p.1).

There is some debate regarding the language, with some sources emphasizing the importance of the Irish language but other recognizing sean-nós as an approach that can be applied to singing in English or, by default, any other language. Williams explains that contemporary hallmarks of sean-nós singing include performance in Irish – however this is not the only criterion. Plenty of songs are performed in the Irish language which do not adhere to the definitions presented. She states that sean-nós songs are generally performed in a free metre, so that one can breathe, complete a musical phrase in the time necessary rather than being beholden to an accompanist, and use vocal ornaments (rolls, turns and melismas) according to stylistic appropriateness, individual choice, or not at all. Singers may however tap their foot according to the poetic rhythm of the song. However and in respect of Ulster sean-nós style but more particularly to Donegal sean-nós style, Williams explains the traditional, unaccompanied monophonic manner. – 'a gentle, slow, triple-meter pulse underlying the melody, and the addition of subtle – as opposed to explicit and lengthy – ornamentation' (2009, p. 170). South Armagh has had a long-standing link to Donegal, 'sharing a dialect that was once spoken in Oriel' (Oriel Arts, 2019).

Williams recognises that many of the Gaeltacht areas have some sort of sean-nós singing and all of them feature singing in Irish. What constitutes sean-nós in this definition is inherently regional and then beyond this is individual performance practice. This is where the singer puts forward their own interpretation and relationship with a song through their song performance. This is articulated well in Hannah Fahey's (2022) auto-ethnography of her engagement with

Irish traditional singing and I am influenced by her four-step cyclical framework for engaging authoritative voice in Irish traditional song performance cited previously.

3.7 Singing Style - Oriel

The song tradition of Oriel or the greater Crossmaglen area, specifically the Irish or Gaelic singing traditions, experienced a complete break in intergenerational transmission and community practice. In a relatively short period of time from the loss of the last remaining Gaelic speakers in the early 1900's, there was a complete loss of a living language from society. As the tradition relied on the Irish-speaking community to keep the tradition buoyant and alive, this break in a community language impacted significantly on the Gaelic song tradition. Therefore what we have today is a reconstructed song tradition, one which has relied upon several resources to support its continued nurturing and growth together with an engaged community who wish to explore and transmit in a variety of settings so that songs are heard once again.

Historically people in South Armagh have looked north to Donegal to engage with the Irish Language. My lived experience includes spending time in the Donegal Gaeltacht to learn and nurture our knowledge and proficiency in the Irish language, learning songs, mostly from *Abair Amhrán* (1962), and set dancing as part of an overall cultural immersion process. While in practice we learn what is understood as Donegal Irish, as distinct from the other main dialects of Munster or Connacht Irish, the local Crossmaglen accent creates another sound in contrast to a Donegal native.

While there are apparent characteristics to the singing style in the established and surviving Gaeltacht regions, in general one could conclude that the singing style of Ulster is characterised by that which defines the Donegal Gaeltacht singing tradition which is established

and unbroken as opposed to Oriel which is an area geographically separate from it. Pádraigín Ní Uallacháin writes:

> The style of *sean nós* singing in the northern half of Ireland combines a stark simplicity with subtle ornamentation, much less so than the florid melismatic ornamentation style of some west of Ireland singers (2021, p.36).

She continues, 'within any province or locality, even within families, these styles can vary' (ibid.). Interestingly, Ní Uallacháin refers to singers in the English language song tradition to illustrate this point – Geordie Hanna and his sister Sarah Ann O'Neill from county Tyrone. Ní Uallacháin, and her sister Eithne (1957–1999) emerged in the later twentieth century as exponents of Gaelic song in the region. Pádraigín undertook research on the local traditions, leading to the publication of the seminal *A Hidden Ulster* (2003), followed by revised editions and a website *Oriel Arts* supported by the Arts Council and featuring a range of resources. These, along with other activities in the region support the statements of Monaghan singer Gráinne Campion, who concluded her song study by stating:

> if a strong active existence was in place in the community of sean-nós singing, it will encourage new growth and development of the (Oriel) style' (2013, n.p.).

Critically, books and websites are not sufficient to realise Campion's community as it is through shared activity that styles emerge.

The singers featured on Oriel Arts website who hail originally from that area defined as 'Oriel' extend to Ní Uallacháin, her niece Siubhán O'Connor, her nephew Feilimí O'Connor, Nuala Kennedy and Bláithín Mhic Cana. However not all those singers live or sing within the region, the majority having moved away and divorced from any community singing ecosystem. In Crossmaglen, for example, there are only a small number of established singers within that tradition and those singers take their tutelage from a single source, Ní Uallacháin via Mhic Cana to Piaras Ó Lorcain disseminating songs in this pathway to younger children, mostly in the Gaelscoil setting. Therefore, I have not observed an established 'singing style' as such, as at this point in its growth and development, there does not exist the critical mass of singers to

definitively categorise an Oriel style which is separate and distinct from a singing style associated with Donegal.

3.8 Documentaries and Community Voices

Aside from scholarly studies and academic literature, documentaries have provided important insights for my study. These forms of presentation explicitly present the voices of artists in the community. One of the sources I have been influenced by is the *Drawing from the Well* series produced by the Irish Traditional Music Archive (ITMA 2021). Amongst the artists featured who discuss their approach to creative practice involving archival material are Martin Hayes, Radie Peat, Daoirí Farrell and Brian Mac Gloinn. As a creative practitioner I am curious as to how others engage with archives and develop their creative practice and these episodes inform chapter 4.

In an episode entitled, *The Hidden Beauty in Our Archives* (ITMA n.d) Martin Hayes speaks of how the archives are direct connections to the past allowing us to build our knowledge about the tradition and those who came before us. Hayes draws on the Japanese term 'Wabi Sabi'. Hayes describes 'Wabi Sabi' as a framework and a way of thinking which allows us to appreciate the qualities of the archival recording. In this series he defines Wabi Sabi,

> Wabi Sabi - The western world has made the concept of beauty into something that is becoming more and more refined as well as more and more unachievable. Wabi Sabi accepts flaws and rawness and embraces natural beauty. It acknowledges the beauty of any substance or being in its most natural and raw form. Wabi Sabi understands the tender raw beauty of a grey December landscape and the elegance of an abandoned building or shed. To discover Wabi Sabi is to see the singular beauty in something that may look unappealing or decrepit. The main characteristics of this new aesthetic view point includes asymmetry, roughness, simplicity, economy, austerity, modesty, intimacy and the appreciation of both natural objects and forces of nature.

With this overarching structure in place provided by Hayes, I was interested in how each of the singers have found their own beauty hidden in the archives.

Singer Brian Mac Gloinn connects more with localised traditions and his family connections to Donegal (ITMA n.d.). His piece is deeply respectful and celebrates the singers of Arranmore while, in another episode, Daoirí Farrell's piece explores the life and songs of

singer Kathleen Behan (1889–1984) and includes the performance of some of the songs she sang (ITMA n.d.). Des Geraghty reminds Farrell of his importance as a singer: 'You can be proud you are carrying on a tradition' he states, 'Never let anyone talk down the Dublin Tradition'. This sense of valuing local traditions that are not always celebrated in the popular narratives or in scholarly studies is important in the context of my focus on Crossmaglen.

Reflecting on where singers draw influence from, Radie Peat raises an interesting perspective in relation to creative practice and interpretation when she states:

> When you talk about when singers can influence the transmissions of songs, this is definitely an example of me..like I took a song as a starting point, and I've changed it a lot. I've changed it to be more what I wanted it to be……I merged it with this other version that Peggy Seeger had sang and then just completely changed other parts of it. And then I changed the melody – part of it is the same, then it kind of goes off somewhere else…So if anyone ever heard this version and then thought I'd gotten it from whoever and then thought - that's how things can I suppose can get changed and you'll never know where they came from. (ITMA, Drawing from the Well Radie Peat).

Alan Wood's response is further enlightening:

> Yes, but that demonstrates the (kind of like again) role of a singer within the tradition and the impact they can have and how it also demonstrates that the things we not are talking about aren't just like things that happened over a hundred years ago, these processes in traditional music and folk music are still active and you shaping a song to your liking, then maybe the next generation somebody might take your version, so we can concede that the process continues'.

To which Peat responds:

> Thank you that adds legitimacy to it, cause sometimes when you are changing it you feel like I shouldn't be changing this but, no – yes, it's the process of tradition – it's fine.

This conversation reflects some of the anxieties I have felt when developing my engagement and practice, as articulated in the prologue.

A number of podcasts also provide access to the voices of artists in the tradition. Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh was featured in an episode of *Sounds Like Folk* (Siamsa Tíre 2021), and discusses the importance of the Irish language in her practice (see also, Kearney 2024). An episode of *The Rolling Wave* (RTÉ 2022) featured Louth singer Nuala Kennedy, who has

incorporated a sense of place in her creative practice, including references to the song heritage of Oriel.

Gael Linn is an important organisation that developed engagement in music as part of their promotion of the Irish language. In a documentary entitled *Gael Linn ag 70* (TG4 2023), the innovative approach to Irish traditional music was highlighted, from the work of Seán Ó Riada through to contemporary artists such as Iarla Ó Lionáird, Mairéad Ní Mhaonaigh, Liam Ó Maonlaí and Gráinne Holland. The documentary illustrates how the Gael Linn record label has supported artists in their performance practice of sean-nós singing as well as new compositions in the Irish Language. The artists featured exemplify the different creative approaches to traditional material. Albert Fry and Eithne Ní Uallacháin, who are examined in Chapter 5, both released recordings with Gael Linn label. A documentary about Eithne Ní Uallacháin produced by her son Dónal is an important source of information for Chapter 5. The podcast *Songs for the Dead* (BBC Radio 4 2016) featured Eithne Ní Uallacháin alongside other artists include The Gloaming and John Francis Flynn, who have been celebrated for their creative presentation of traditional songs (Long 2011; 2023).

3.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, I aimed to enhance my understanding of the Gaelic song tradition through a targeted literature review, establishing a framework to support this research. The literature review encompasses scholarship addressing various aspects of broader Irish song traditions, including an overview of existing scholarship, definitions of stylistic elements, and approaches to singing. Additionally, I have analysed the concepts of heritage and tradition, highlighting the distinctions between them. I also examined literature and scholarship on recreation, reshaping, and innovation, which is pertinent to this research. Beyond academic texts, I incorporated reflections on documentaries and other sources that feature the voices of singers and other artists within the Irish music traditions. To underpin a particular aspect of the study in relation to the archival materials used in this study, I considered works on the early use of phonetics to

transcribe the sounds of Gaelic speakers. The socio-linguistic studies of Trimble, which closely engage with the Ulster poets and Oriel song traditions, are examined separately in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

Song Collection - from Socio-linguistics to the singing circle/performance

4.1 Introduction

Many of the songs in this study were found without musical notation. In this chapter I will present how I, and others as part of participatory action research (PAR) group, have engaged with the socio-linguistic research of Trimble, to enliven, perform and share a collection of nine songs from the greater Crossmaglen area, the majority of which are found within the notebooks of collector and scholar, John Hannon (1867–1931).

The chapter is in two sections. It begins with an overview of Trimble's work, highlighting elements that are pertinent to my study. Of particular importance is the figure of Hannon, who is the subject of much of Trimble's work and a source for many of the songs in this project. I provide biographical information and context for his collecting, noting his identity in the community and ultimate contribution to preserving local song and linguistic heritage. Bríd Nic Eoghain [Bridget McKeown] (*c.*1845–1907) is another important figure in the work of Trimble connected to Hannon. In the second section, I present contextual information on each of the nine songs re-created, performed and recorded as part of the project. An audiovisual or audio recording of each of the songs can be found in Appendix A of this study. Additionally learning aids for each of the songs can be found at Appendix B.

4.2 Meeting Trimble

I cannot recall exactly when or where I met Trimble but I do have early memories of him going to the Abbey Christian Brothers in Newry, as we shared a bus from Crossmaglen to Newry each day. In more recent times however, I was encouraged by Réamonn Ó Ciaráin, the now CEO of Gael Linn, to seek Trimble out to take part in the festival concept I had curated with his help for *Ceol na Croise* (Meon Eile 2019). Réamonn is also a Crossmaglen native and someone who has supported me in my personal journey to rediscover and engage with the Irish Language. Conversations with Réamonn have led to many tangible outputs including applications for

funding support for festivals celebrating the Irish language, fundraising efforts for Aonach Mhacha [Assembly of Macha], a newly established Irish Cultural Centre in 2020 in Armagh City, to promotional videos for Irish Language Courses with Gael Linn, to singing at his official book launch of *Cú Uladh, Scéal Chúchulainn* (2018) in Tí Chulainn, Mullaghbane (YouTube 2020).

Trimble is a native of Crossmaglen and holds a MPhil and PhD in Irish Literature from Ulster University. He currently works with Foras na Gaeilge, the all-island organization dedicated to promoting the Irish language, as a Programme Manager and also sits on the board of the Arts Council NI. Also a Research Associate with the University Ulster, he places a specific focus on the Gaelic heritage of the South-East Ulster region. Upon meeting him in preparation of the festival he asked me to try and piece together a song for performance he had uncovered from Crossmaglen. When I asked him recently why he gave me that song or why he asked me particularly, he told me it was not only because I was a singer with an understanding of music, which was outside of his expertise, but more importantly because of my ancestral link and tie to Crossmaglen and the Irish Language.

In his genealogical work in preparation for the lecture, he uncovered that my great-grandfather, Patrick McEntee (1860–1926), was in fact a Gaelic speaker. He was a butcher who lived and worked on the square, married to Bridget Dowdall (1867–1936) and together they had nine children, Francis McEntee (1904–1962), my grandfather, being their eighth child. On the 1901 census, Patrick McEntee declared he could speak Irish and English. I am also indirectly related to the collector, Énrí Ó Muirgheasa, through my Mum's paternal line via Katherine 'Katie' McGinn (Née Finnegan). Trimble valued these strong local connections when sharing his research with me.

Trimble has published widely on various aspects of the Oriel region's Gaelic poetry and song heritage. His compendium of 200 songs from the Oriel Gaelic tradition was published in

2009 entitled, *Glór Gaeilge Oirdheisceart Uladh: Cnuasach de sheoda ceoil ó bhéalaibh na ndaoine* [The Irish Voice of South-East Ulster: A collection of musical treasures from the oral tradition]. This publication particularly has provided a starting point for this research as it includes eight of the nine songs within this study. Those songs include 'Chuaigh an Mhaol' (43), 'Éirí na Galltachta' (A152), 'Lá Fhéile Pádraig' (A130), 'Máire Chaoch' (p.4 An tAmhran), 'Dá bhfeicfeá tusa' (A75), 'Iomáin Inis Caoin' (34), 'Bhéarfaidh mé gruth agus meadhg ar maidin duit' (A41) and 'Sliabh gCuilinn' (A19). 'Do bhuig, a Sheáin', an additional song from the John Hannon Collection, is also included. All these songs feature in Appendix B in audio or visual format some of which have been coupled with musical accompaniment from the Oriel Traditional Orchestra.

Trimble's research has particular local significance and his engagement with local audiences has pre-empted and paralleled my efforts in sharing songs with the community. The dovetailing of our efforts has led to many instances where we have worked together. Trimble presented at the *Ceol na Croise* festival in July 2019, which I curated on behalf of Gaelphobal Ard Mhacha Theas. It was a celebration of the area's musical heritage. Trimble's presentation demonstrated how singers preserved a unique cultural heritage through their songs, which often depicted local life, landscapes, and historical events. His research was based on original transcripts, recordings, and contributions from local singers, providing a vivid portrayal of the community's social fabric. Trimble underlines the importance of these local songs in maintaining the Irish language and cultural identity during a period of significant change. The paper features such songs as 'Chuaigh an Mhaol' [There goes the Moily Cow], 'Máire Chaoch' [Blind Mary] and 'Éirí na Galltachta' [Rise of the English ways / customs] which were performed live during the public lecture, all of which were songs collected by John Hannon. Each of these songs are included in this project with recordings included in Appendix A.

Related publications by Trimble include *Poets, Minor Poets and Poetasters in Oirialla* (2011), and *Raghnall Dall Mac Domhnaill: File* (2019). These continue to highlight selected

figures in the song heritage of the region. In his 2009 paper, *The Dundalk Democrat Agus Oidhreacht na Gaeilge in Oirdheisceart Uladh ag Casadh an 20ú hAois*, (2009a) Trimble provides an extensive catalogue of Irish language material published in *The Dundalk Democrat* from the period 1895 down to 1915 which includes and highlights numerous songs from South-East Ulster from which artists, such as myself can select material. The same is true for his publication, *The Frontier Sentinel Nuachtán a Sheas leis an Athbheochan: Catalóg an Ábhair Ghaeilge a foilsíodh ann ó 1904 go 1908*, (2009) which catalogues the Irish language material, again including songs, published in *The Frontier Sentinel* between 1904 and 1908, highlighting the newspaper's role in the Irish language revival movement. Trimble's publication in the Creggan Journal (2024), *The Early Twentieth Century Gaelic Singers of Crossmaglen, Their Lives and Their Songs*, explores the rich oral tradition of Gaelic singing in the Crossmaglen area of South-East Ulster. The chapter *Fearann Oirghiall Ghlúnmhar Ghrínn: Rediscovering the Oriel Song Tradition* was included in the *Oxford Book of Irish Song, 1100-1850* (2023), placing the Oriel song traditions within a wider context. In this particular paper, Trimble references my ongoing research on the musical aspects of the songs.

Trimble's work provides an invaluable source from which I can develop musicological and ethnomusicological enquiry. His detailed archival and genealogical research, as well as expertise in the Irish language, informs my artistic and creative engagement with the material and informs how I share the outputs with the community.

4.3 John Hannon – Collector, Scholar of spoken Irish of the Fews

John Hannon or Seán Ó hAnnáin was a local shopkeeper in Crossmaglen. He was born in Co. Leitrim but by the time he was 8 years old he had moved to Crossmaglen with his family. Having spent some time pursuing a career in teaching, by his early twenties he began to spend more time working alongside his brother Francis, in the family merchant shop located on Creggan Street (now known as North Street, Figure 3). He had a deep and growing appreciation for the Irish Language and as a result of his interactions with the locals who would frequent his

shop, he developed a rapport with some of the last Gaelic speakers from the area. Using the papers within which he wrapped his wares he would jot down the songs which his customers would sing for him. He had no Irish himself, however in a phonetic manner he captured the sounds of the words he heard using his own customised notation method based on Father O'Growney's original system of 'Easy Lessons in Irish', referenced previously. Irish in Crossmaglen had certain characteristics which separate it from the standardized Irish we know today, and the Hannon papers capture elements of the local dialect through his phonetic renderings. Hannon collected words, phrases, sayings, prayers but there are also approximately 100 songs within his collection. In later years he would revisit his original work and write the same songs in Irish which he had acquired by that time.

Figure 3 Hannon Family Merchant Shop adjoining Ma Kearneys, Crossmaglen

Fifty people contributed to Hannon's collecting and within his papers the same names appear time and again. One which is most prevalent is Bríd Níc Eoghain, also known as Bridget Hearty

by marriage. She along with her brothers Michael and Thomas McKeown provided several songs for Hannon.

Between 1899 and 1900 Hannon published some of his collection and a complete list of published material by him is documented by Trimble (2016). In September 1899, Hannon published the song 'Nach fada an lá' in *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge*. In August 1900 his paper 'Irish Personal Names (Oirghialla)' was published. Ó Muireadhaigh had accessed Hannon's collection of papers by the 1920s and as editor of *An tUltach* he selected material from the collection to be published in the magazine with serial title of 'Ráidhteachas an Fheadha'. He also shared songs for print to the same publication. Hannon is also known to have shared material with collectors Seosamh Laoide, Énrí Ó Muirgheasa, Peadar Ó Dubhda and Tomás Mac Cuileannáin.

Hannon died on 27th October 1931 and now rests in St Patrick's Churchyard Crossmaglen in the family plot (Figure 4).

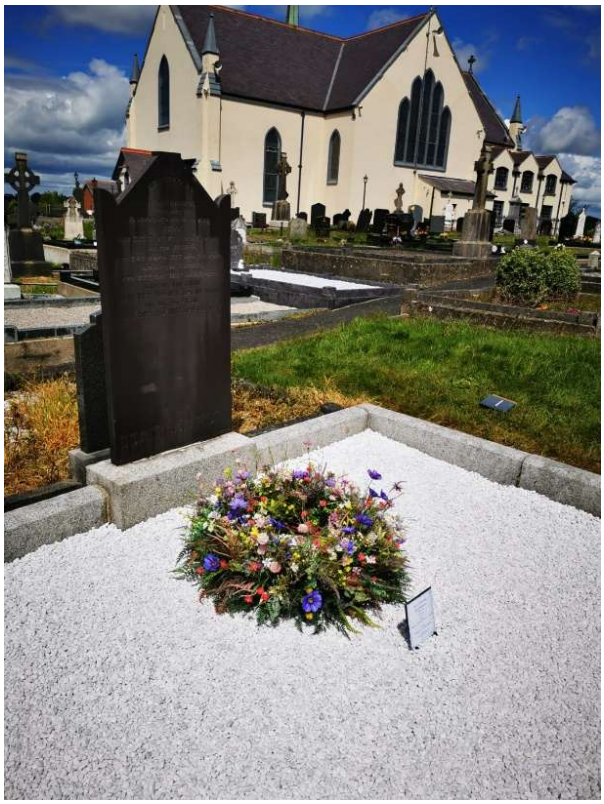


Figure 4 Grave of John Hannon, St. Patrick's Graveyard, Crossmaglen

Scholarship in recent years has led to increased recognition for Hannon. Trimble's paper 'John Hannon – A Forgotten Gaelic Collector and Scholar from Crossmaglen' highlights the significant contribution of Hannon in preserving the spoken word of the people of the greater Crossmaglen area. This was followed in 2018 with an official entry into the Dictionary of Ulster biography of John Hannon (New Ulster Biography n.d.). A biography on Hannon by Diarmuid Breathnach and Máire Ní Mhurchú also features on ainm.ie (Ainm.ie n.d.). In May 2022, the Ulster History Circle unveiled a plaque in honour of Hannon, Scholar and Collector of spoken Irish of the Fews, following a successful application made by Trimble on behalf of the Creggan Local History Society (Figure 5). The event included a performance by members of the PAR group with the Oriel Traditional Orchestra (Figure 6), recordings of which are included in Appendix A.

Figure 5 Ulster History Circle Plaque, unveiled in May 2022

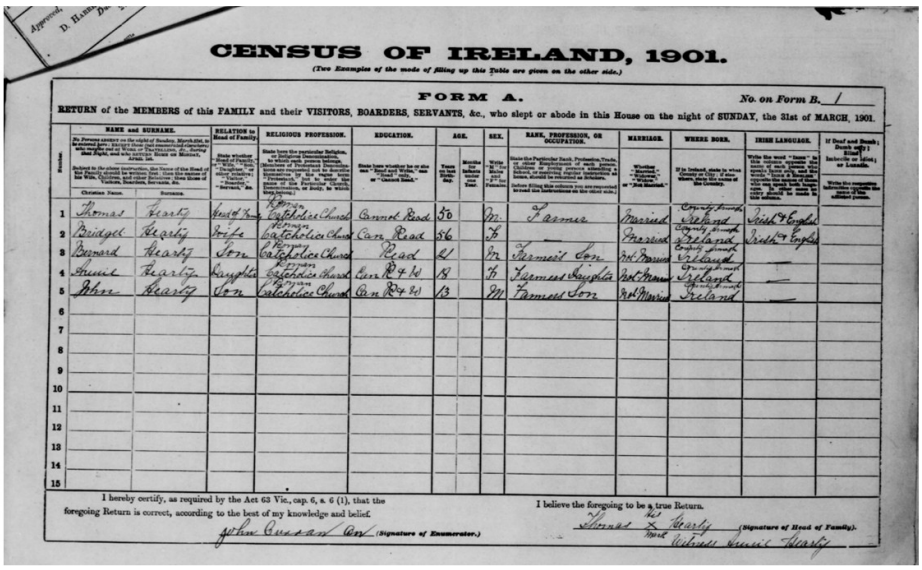
Figure 6 Chuaigh an Mhaol performed on Crossmaglen Square by Colleen Savage and the Oriel Traditional Orchestra, May 2022

4.4 Bríd Nic Eoghain [Bridget McKeown]

One of the most prolific sources of songs for Hannon was a lady called Bríd Hearty or Bridget Hearty also known as Bríd Nic Eoghain by her maiden name. A farmer's wife, she is the contributor of four songs within this study. She along with her two brothers, Michael and Thomas McKeown have been a source for many songs from the song tradition of Crossmaglen. The family resided in the townland of Loughross. Bríd went on to marry Thomas Hearty and became Bridget Hearty and lived in the townland of Claranagh / Clarnagh not far from the town of Crossmaglen.

In the 1901 census we find her in Clarnagh aged 56 with her husband Thomas and their three children, Bernard aged 21, Annie aged 18 and John aged 13 (Figure 7). On the census return, we see Bridget and her husband cannot read but both can speak Irish and English. But by 1911 the census Thomas is now a widower, at home with children Bernard and Mary.

Ní Uallacháin provides us with a detailed description of Bríd found in one of John Hannon's notebooks (2003, p. 392). We learn that her mother, Caitrín Nic 'L Eoin – Ní' c Mhaoil Eoin – Malone, has no English while her father Padhra Mór Mhac Eoghain had many songs, poems, stories and old sayings. Bríd died on 27th February 1907 and is buried in the graveyard of St Patrick's Church, Crossmaglen (Figure 8).



CENSUS OF IRELAND, 1901.

(Two Examples of the mode of filling up this Table are given on the other side.)

FORM A. No. on Form B. 1

RETURN of the MEMBERS of this FAMILY and their VISITORS, BOARDERS, SERVANTS, &c., who slept or abode in this House on the night of SUNDAY, the 31st of MARCH, 1901.

Number	Christian Name	Surname	Relation to Head of Family	Religious Profession	Education	Age	Sex	Rank, Profession, or Occupation	Marriage	Where Born	Irish Language	If Deaf and Dumb; Deaf only; Blind; Imbecile or Idiot; or Lunatic
1	Thomas	Hearty	Head of Family	Catholic Church	Cannot Read	50	M	Farmer	Married	Ireland	Irish & English	
2	Bridget	Hearty	Wife	Catholic Church	Can Read	46	F	—	Married	Ireland	Irish & English	
3	Bernard	Hearty	Son	Catholic Church	Read	21	M	Farmers Son	Not Married	Ireland	—	
4	Annie	Hearty	Daughter	Catholic Church	Can Read	18	F	Farmers Daughter	Not Married	Ireland	—	
5	John	Hearty	Son	Catholic Church	Can Read	13	M	Farmers Son	Not Married	Ireland	—	
6												
7												
8												
9												
10												
11												
12												
13												
14												
15												

I hereby certify, as required by the Act 63 Vic., cap. 6, s. 6 (1), that the foregoing Return is correct, according to the best of my knowledge and belief.

John Curran Snr (Signature of Enumerator.)

I believe the foregoing to be a true Return.

Thomas Hearty (Signature of Head of Family.)

Mark Witness Annie Hearty

Figure 7 Census return for Hearty Family, Clarnagh. Source: Census of Ireland 1901

Figure 8 Grave of Bríd Nic Eoghain, St Patrick's Graveyard, Crossmaglen

4.5 Song Collection – Amhráin na Teorann

I selected nine songs from the archival sources for inclusion in this dissertation. This section provides historical, contextual and interpretive detail in relation to these songs, which the research group engaged with to reimagine, using a variety of archival sources and adopting a participatory action research approach. Each of the three singers presents three songs; Patricia McCrink sings ‘Máire Chaoch’ [Blind Mary], ‘Éirí na Galltachta’ [Rise of the English ways/ customs] and ‘Dá bhfeicfeá tusa’ [If you could see]. Ciara Hall sings ‘Iomáin Inis Caoin’ [Inniskeen Match], Lá Fhéile Pádraig [St Patrick’s Day], and Do bhuig, a Sheáin [Your wig Seán]. I sing Chuaigh an Mhaol [There goes the Moily cow], Bhéarfaidh mé gruth agus meadhg ar maidin duit [I will give you curds and whey in the morning] and A Shliabh gCuilinn [Slieve Gullion]. Kearney composed musical arrangements for five of the songs, which are performed by the Oriel Traditional Orchestra. Audiovisual recordings of these songs were captured in DkIT by the creative team at the Duncairn Arts Centre, Belfast. Four of the songs were recorded with Dave Molloy in Cellar Club Studios Forkhill. All of the songs within the collection derive from a primary oral source; those selected from the John Hannon papers include four that have been taken down from the singing of Bríd Nic Eoghain. In only one case was there an archival audio ‘secondary’ source available, which only came to light after the initial enlivening of the song was completed (Dá bhfeicfeá tusa).

A challenge when piecing together songs to create a version for performance is the attitudes that exist to different sources, often delineated between oral and textual sources. In relation to folk song in England, David Atkinson acknowledges that:

> 'Oral tradition' has long been considered a defining characteristic of folk songs. Yet England has been a text-based society over the whole of the period from which ballads and folk songs are known (often through printed sources). In place of the emphasis on orality, therefore, a characteristic kind of textuality, described here as 'vernacular',

> unstable, or 'centrifugal', is identified in folk songs, irrespective of whether they are manifested in singing or in print (2004, p. 456).

In relation to finding the 'correct version' of a text, Atkinson notes:

> A consequence of the 'ballad revival', then, was the beginning of the entrenchment of a perception of the textual authority of ballads in print. Subsequently, some ballad and folk-song editors did begin to value much more individual textual variations and the idea of oral tradition (2004, p. 471).

Where possible, variations in textual sources have been examined, sometimes seeking to find a compromise between printed, handwritten and oral sources. Existing as 'vernacular', 'public' and 'transient' (ibid), the different versions reflect different aspects of tradition and interpretation. The Oriel collectors were to the fore of collecting and utilising the oral sources at a time when Mss were viewed as the preferred 'untainted' sources for song texts (Trimble, 2023). In my research, I have also consulted the material published in local papers which overwhelmingly represent oral versions from contemporary sources.

4.6 Máire Chaoch [Half Blind Mary]

Márie Chaoch or 'Half Blind Mary' is a song written by South-East Ulster poet Art Mac Cumhaigh (*c*.1738 – 1773). It is a satirical piece where Mac Cumhaigh takes revenge on the local priest's sister and housekeeper, Mary Quinn. One day, when Mac Cumhaigh visited the priest's house, he was left in the scullery and given a mug of buttermilk while Mary was entertaining a friend in the parlour and serving wine. Mac Cumhaigh was insulted by the differential treatment and, in creating the satire, pokes fun at a defect in Mary's eye. The song appears in Énrí Ó Muirgheasa's publication *Céad de Cheoltaibh Uladh* (1915). However, it is the phonetic version from the Hannon collection which is the most interesting. Trimble tells us that it 'survives as the sole authoritative source, with no manuscript version ever discovered since its publication' (2023). Hannon's source was Bríd Nic Eoghain. Later the song would appear in *The Dundalk Democrat* on 30 June 1906 (Figure 9), a version taken from Bríd's brother Michael McKeown and published again by Tomás Mac Cuileannáin [Thomas Hollywood] on 9 November 1907. Cardinal Tómas Ó Fiaich (1972) has also written about the

song and states that it ‘was handed on orally from Mac Cumhaigh’s day to the twentieth century’.

In respect of an air to the song, Énrí Ó Muirgheasa (1915) provides more valuable information in that the metre for the song is *aabc* where ‘the feet *b* and *c* are consistent throughout, being respectively á and í rhymes, to agree with the vowels in ‘Máire Chaoich’. He continues, ‘Of the many fragmentary oral versions obtained the best was from Mr John Hannon of Crossmaglen’ (p. 142). A facsimile copy is presented in Figure 10.

Máire Ċaoċ.

Art Mac Cobṫaiġ ro ċan.

Tá ribanna dáiṫte ar gaċ páirce 'sa tír,
Tá na mairḃ dá n-aḋlacaḋ gan cáin gan c[illegible]s;
Ní'l doirín ná cóta le fáġáil ná síol,
'S' ċan fuil na meargáin dá ḋreasáil do Ṁáire Ċaoċ.

Ċan óganaċ óg, deas ar dán léiṫe féin,
A ṗósfaḋ go ró-ḋeas no d'ḟáisgfeaḋ léi,
Aċt fear an ċromáin ċruinn, ċos-naisgṫe ar lár na créaḋ,
'Sé d'ólfaḋ punch ró-ḋeas le Máire Ċaoċ.

Ċan fuil an siogaiḋe beag diblis fuair ċrouġaḋ léiġinn,
Ó íoċtar Lag Maoláin go Clár Uí Néill,
Aċt an lion bíos snímṫe (sníomṫa) 'gus na pṙeáċaiḋe réiḋ—
Naċ ḃfuiġeaḋ buideál fíon' aige Máire Ċaoċ.

Ċan iongnaḋ Mac Íbiġ beiṫ srappta i gcréiḋ,
Agus gan aon ar biṫ tioġaile le fáġáil 'na ḋéiḋ,
'Sé a síneaḋ faoi leiciḃ d'ḟág cáċ faoi léan,
'S' d'ḟág aoibneas 'sa' tír seo aiġe Máire Ċaoċ.

Dá mairfeaḋ Sliocṫ Ċolla an dá geal-ċríċ,
'Sé naċ léigfeaḋ an dán sa tír,
'Sé naċ léigfeaḋ luċt déanta na mbárrḋóg daor
Beiṫ ar féasta i dtoiġ cléire aige Máire Ċaoċ.

Go raiḃ buaiḋ is treise in gaċ áird de'n tír,
Ag an Uaċtaraċ Eaglaiseaċ 'fé'n Cláirsaċ caoin,
'Sé'n smaċtuġaḋ an droċ-cleaċtaḋ bí gnáṫ 'sa' tír,
Agus socruġaḋ an ġoiġ aige Máire Ċaoċ.

Cuireaḋ síos an ceól so ó béal-aiṫris Ṁac mic Eóin Dia Domnaiġ so ċuaiḋ ṫart. Is breáġ an ceól é, agus 'sé a ḃfuil d'eagla orainn naċ ḃfuil sé 'sa' ceart againn.

Figure 9 Máire Chaoch. Source: *Dundalk Democrat* 30th December 1906, p.9.

Figure 10 Máire Chaoch, Source: John Hannon Papers, private collection held by Gearóid Trimble , VIII: 43–48

The air paired with this song is linked to it by title, 'Blind Mary', and is well established in the Irish traditional music repertoire. It is reputedly a composition by the harper composer Turlough O'Carolan (*c.*1670 -1738). Although I have not been able to locate an original manuscript, the tune has been found in manuscripts of William Forde (1841; see Figure 11) and also within the recently digitised version of the James Goodman Collection (1863, see Figure 12). Joyce (2011) tells us that as a composer and performer, O'Carolan frequented south Ulster as he travelled throughout this area together with Connaught and north Leinster over approximately forty years. Therefore it is not beyond the realms of possibility that Carolan was composing in the area around the same time as Mac Cumhaigh was also writing poetry. Blindness was quite common during this period (Ó Muraíle 1975). O'Carolan himself was a blind musician resulting from small pox, as was the subject of his harp tune (see O'Sullivan, 1958). However there is no direct link between the subject of Carolan's composition and the subject of Mac Cumhaigh's poem.

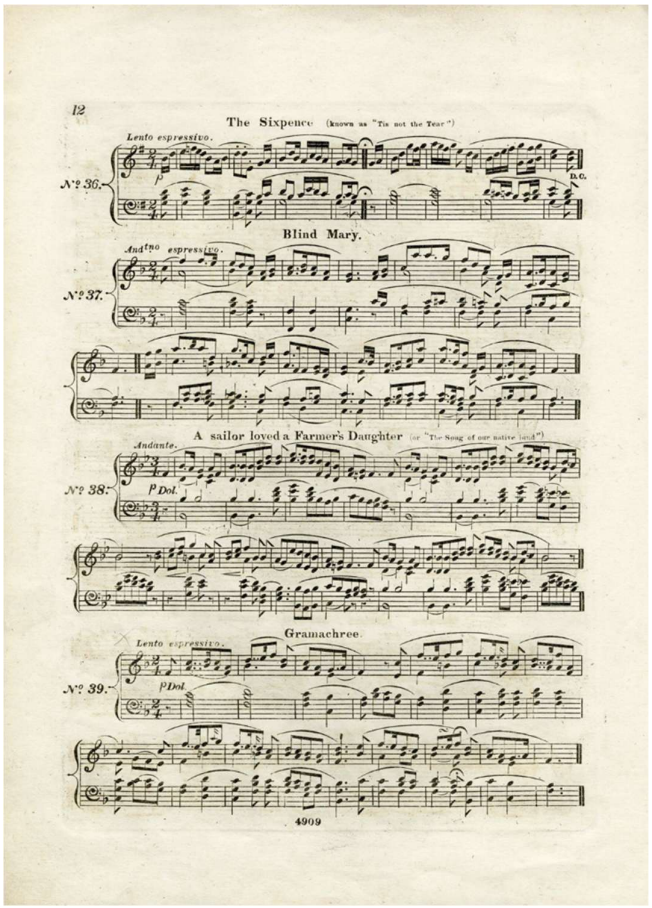


Figure 11 Blind Mary. Source: 300 National Melodies of the British Isles, William Forde, 1841, 100 Irish Airs, Volume III. p. 12

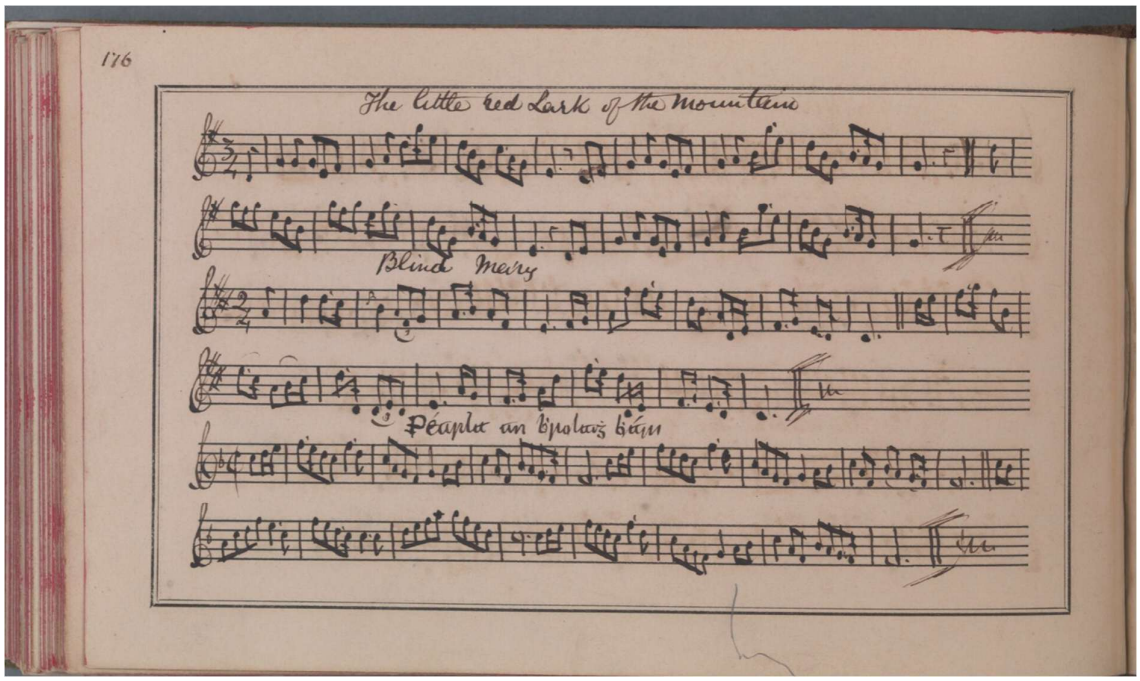


Figure 12 Blind Mary. Source: ITMA, James Goodman Collection, 1863, Vol II, p. 176

While Donal O'Sullivan (1958) has questioned the legitimacy of the air being attributed to O'Carolan, stating: 'But for Forde's high authority we should hardly be justified in including this tune, for it is very unlike Carolan in style' (p. 111), he continues to disclose that from the diary entries of Charles O'Conor, that Máire Dhall [Blind Mary] was a harp teacher to Carolan's younger brothers. Joyce also comments:

> While O'Sullivan's work on this publication was careful in many respects, he was not always academically rigorous in the way he presented the material. For example, he made some editorial decisions on the music which, in a modern context, seem unjustifiable, and are problematic in the interpretation of the music he presents (2011, p. 12)

Nevertheless, in an effort to reimagine the Art Mac Cumhaigh poem, singer Patricia McCrink had crafted an original air to marry with the poem which followed the metre which Énrí Ó Muirgheasa had referred. Patricia then went on to sing this version with original air during a social history lecture in Crossmaglen in 2019. Following further research into the O'Carolan repertoire, and at the suggestion of Trimble, Patricia married the text with the tune entitled 'Blind Mary'. The tune itself is a march and one which is flamboyant to mirror the satirical tone of Mac Cumhaigh. In the arrangement for the Oriel Traditional Orchestra, Kearney includes trumpet like salutes on strings to reflect the satire of the poem, echoing the effect of a royal march to relate the arrangement matter to the lyrical content.

4.7 Éirí na Galltachta [Rise of the English ways / customs]

This song was collected by Hannon from Bríd Nic Eoghain in July 1902 and it comprises four verses, each four lines in length. The Hannon papers tell us that this is an excerpt of a poem by the note at the top right-hand corner of the manuscript in brackets which states 'part of'. The piece is entitled 'Dán mhagaigh ar éirghe an [sic.] Gálltachta' [a mock poem on the rise of the English ways / customs], a song which Bríd acquired from the singing of a local man called Michael Halfpenny. The song is about a middle-class Catholic family living in Cullaville, close to where Halfpenny was from at the Federnagh which is the subject of another local song that

has in recent times become popularised, 'Casadh cam na Feadarnaí' [The double bend at Federnagh].

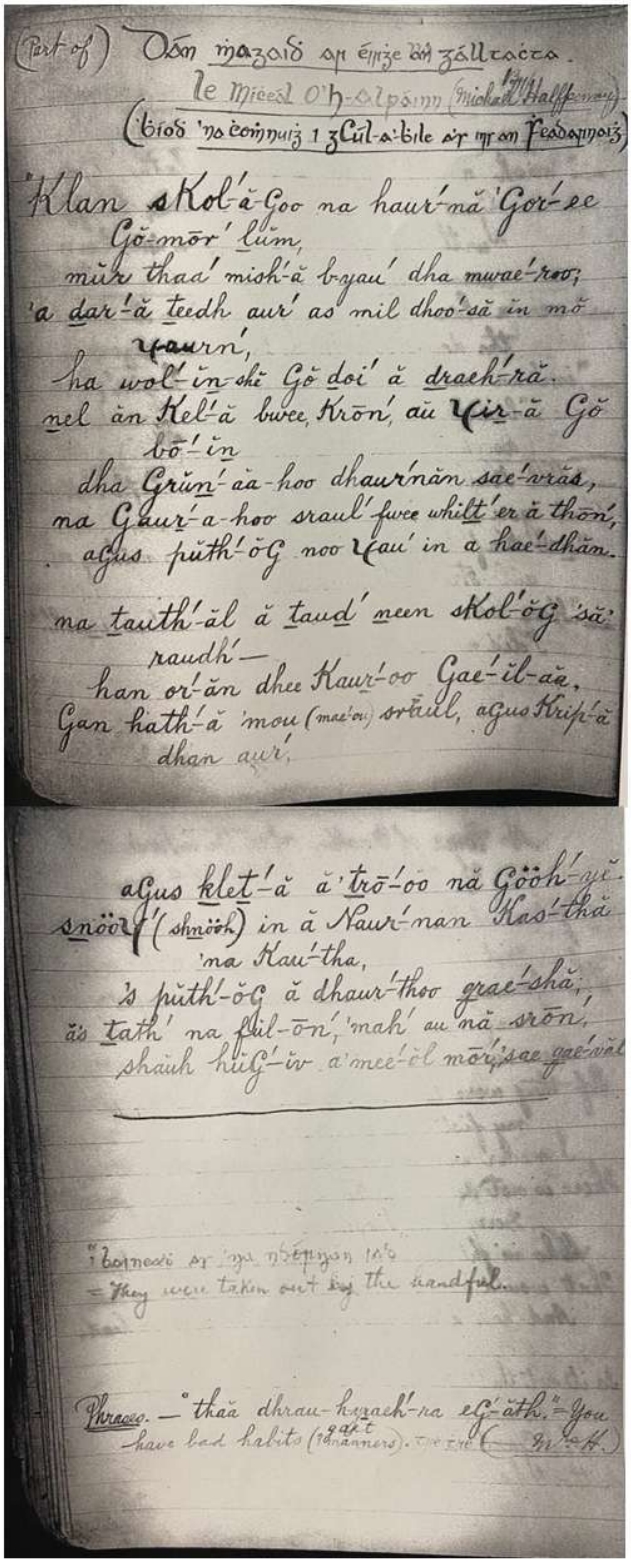


Figure 13 Éirí na Galltachta. Source: John Hannon Papers, private collection held by Gearóid Trimble, IX: 75-76

Trimble (2009c) tells us that this song is part of the Art Mac Cumhaigh [Art McCooey] (c.1738 -1773) song, 'Bodaigh na hEorna' [The Churls of Barley] and details two other sources for the same song. One is detailed within the papers of Énrí Ó Muirgheasa from Pádraig Ó Dufaigh [Patrick Duffy] of 'The Stump' near Dundalk and also a further published edited version in *Abhráin Airt Mhic Cubhthaigh agus Abhráin Eile II* (1926). The Ó Dufaigh version is certainly the more expansive, extending to 10 verses.

Cardinal Tomás Ó Fiaich (1973) states that the song belongs to what he refers to as the second period of Art Mac Cumhaigh's life. In the more expansive version, Mac Cumhaigh refers to his excommunication from the area. Ó Fiaich also states that Fr Lamb, the local parish priest, had confirmed it was written by Mac Cumhaigh while working on a farm in Tullyard. The 'Churls of Barley' to which he refers are said to be the O'Callaghan family from Culloville. Mac Cumhaigh depicts in this piece 'snobbish upstarts, interested only in material things and with no time for literature or music' (translated by Ó Fiaich 1972).

There is no surviving air to this song but the description published by Énrí Ó Muirgheasa (1916) provides information on the metre of the poem (included in the learning aid for 'Bodaigh na hEorna' in Appendix B). The structure of a the new air is determined by the metre of the lyrics and the natural stresses of the language. Ó Muirgheasa states, 'It is a variety of the three-to-one couplet'. A new original air was composed by Patricia to accompany the song. In doing so, she created a melody that captures the sentiment of the piece, offering a critical view of those who have adopted 'English ways' and portraying them with sarcasm. The process began by reflecting on the rhythm of the language and acknowledging the subject matter of the piece

this informed the tempo of the melody. The melody she composed then informed the musical arrangement for the orchestral accompaniment.

4.8 Suantraí – Huiréo Baa / Dá bhfeicfeá tusa [If you could see]

This song is the only lullaby or 'suantraí' enlivened as part of this study. It is also referred to as 'Huiréo Baa' or 'Dá bhfeicfeá tusa' owing to the opening first line and the refrain or simply 'Suantraí'. This song is exceptional as there are small number of complete examples of this type of song from the Oriel region. Ní Uallacháin (2005, p.32) writes, 'although lullabies and children's songs were also sung, only remnants of them were collected [which could not justify their inclusion here]'. While there are several sources that cite an intact verse and a chorus, there is only one source that has a complete text of three verses and that is from collector Seosamh Laoide. The air for the song also originates from the Laoide papers (Ms G856: 46, 49-50) and the tune appears to have been transcribed by Sibéal Ní Néill (2 Jocelyn Place, Dundalk), most likely from piper Philip Goodman for Laoide between 1902-1903 (a copy of dated correspondences between them are within the same file). The source with the three intact verses is likely from Laoide's own hand (based on other notes by him within the papers) but we have no details of who the source was.

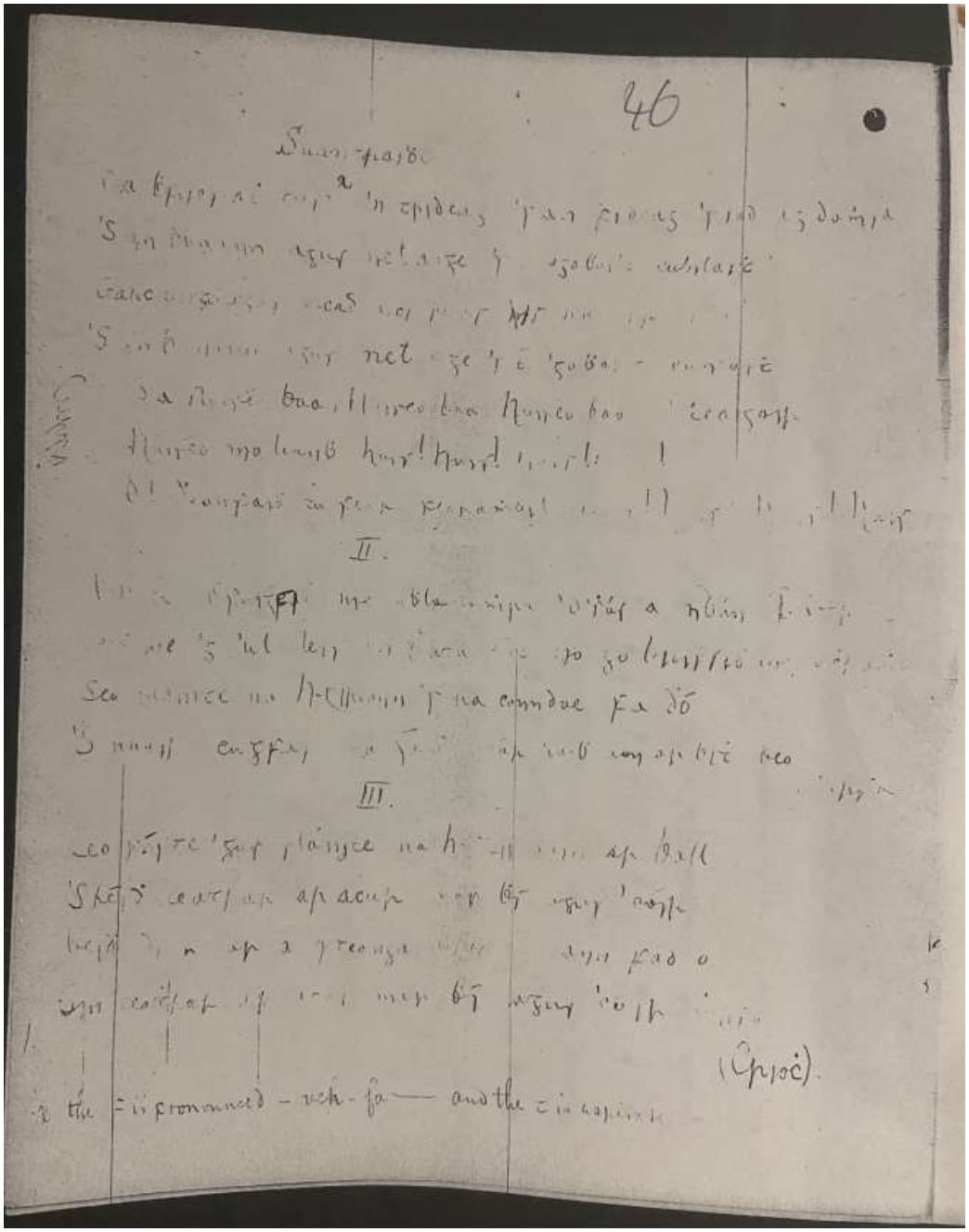


Figure 14 Suantraí. Source: Seosamh Laoide Papers, National Library of Ireland, Dublin Ms G856 (uncatalogued loose sheets)

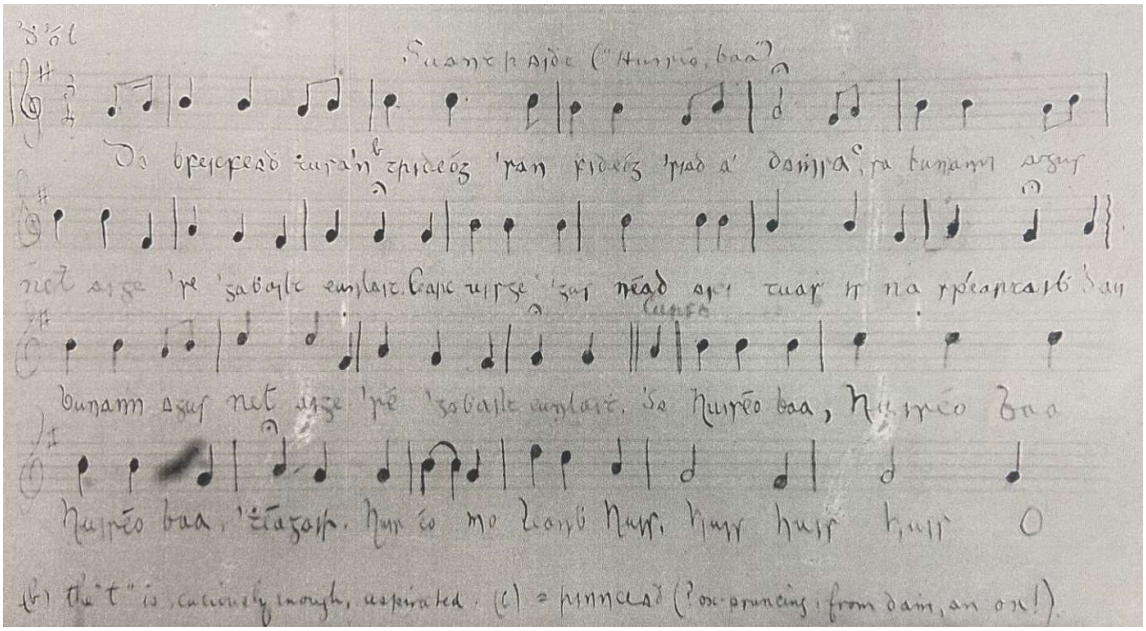


Figure 15 Suantraí. Source: Seosamh Laoide Papers, , National Library of Ireland, Dublin Ms G856 (uncatalogued loose sheets)

A fragment of the lullaby is found within the papers of collector Énrí Ó Muirgheasa [Henry Morris] taken down from Aindreas Ó Marcaigh [Andy Markey] sometime between 1900 and 1907 when Ó Muirgheasa was actively transcribing material from him for the booklet series, *Greann na Gaedhilge*, published during the same period. A printed version of the single verse and chorus appear in *Céad de Cheoltaibh Uladh*. Aindreas Ó Marcaigh (*c.* 1840–1924), a butcher who worked in Dundalk but who was brought up in Ballsmill in South Armagh. A further source identified by Trimble is *Macalla*. The piece was contributed by a P. Ó Casaide with the explicit reference that the source was Aindreas Ó Marcaigh in the papers of Ó Muirgheasa. There is an alternate translation of the text from the account in *Macalla* where the birds are named as a partridge – 'trideog' and a whistling bird – 'fhideog', however this version is limited to a single verse and chorus and nothing further of the two additional verses found in Laoide. Finally an audio source that has come to light on the RTÉ website dated 1949 from the singing of collector Peadar Ó Dubhda (c.1881 -1971) who learned from Ó Marcaigh, who was

a *seanchaí* [storyteller] at classes Ó Dubhda attended (RTÉ Archives n.d.). He sings verse one and a chorus of the lullaby.

While the handwritten notes from Laoide are, in part, illegible, following painstaking work, particularly that of singer Ciara Hall together with Trimble, we developed a complete lyric for the lullaby.

4.9 Iomáin Inis Caoin [Inniskeen Ball Match]

According to local lore, this song is a record of a true event: a match between two opposing parishes, Channonrock and Inniskeen, which took place on 26 April 1806. The song is a rich source of information in respect of the names of the families of the area at that time, naming more than twenty of the players who took to the field on that occasion. The song extends to six eight-line verses. The event is well documented in local folklore and oral tradition with a version of the song found in the School's Manuscript Collection on Dúchas (Duchas.ie n.d) provided by collector Patrick Campbell, Taplach, Co. Monaghan and a further version by Bhean Uí Mhathghamhna in 1936 (Duchas.ie n.d.). These sources would prove to be invaluable to the enlivening process. The version that informs the song performed by Ciara Hall is taken largely from the Hannon source, taken down from Tómas Ó Míocháin [Thomas Meehan], save for three lines that have been borrowed from versions on the Dúchas website. A further complete oral version was taken down from Seosamh Laoide in 1900 from singers in Donaghmoyne (Trimble 2009c). A version of the song also appeared in print in the Dundalk Democrat on 8 February 1908. A further composite version of the song was published in Énrí Ó Muirgheasa' *Dhá Chéad de Cheoltaibh Uladh* (1934).

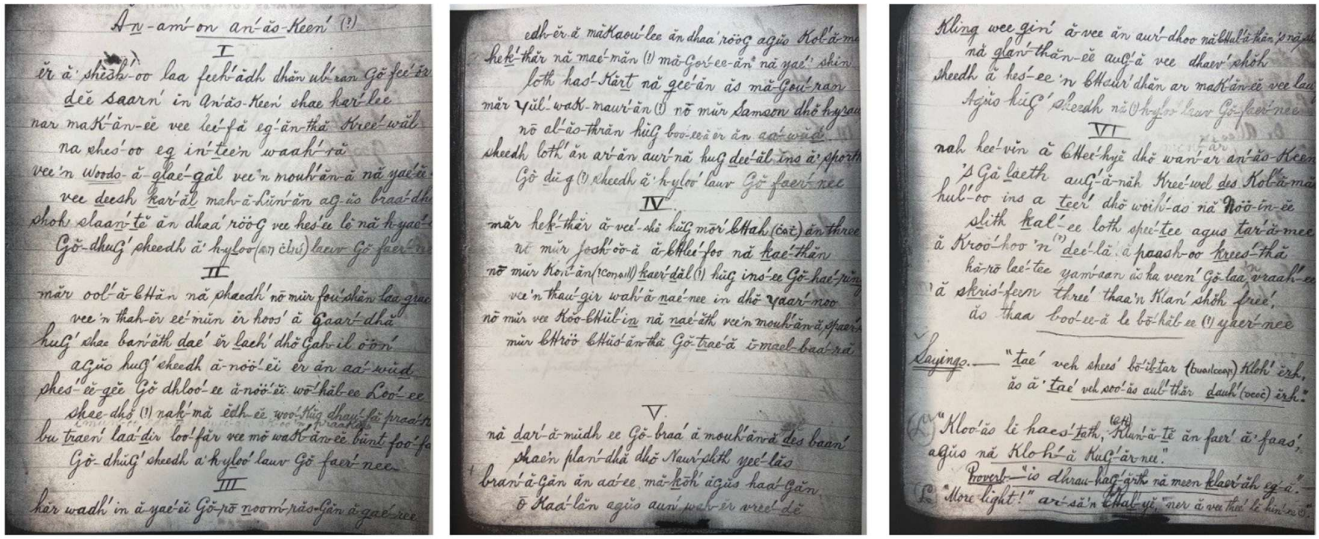


Figure 16 Iomáin Inis Caoin. Source: John Hannon Papers, private collection held by Gearóid Trimble, III: 19-24

Trimble (2009) reproduced an air from the piper Goodman found in the papers of Seosamh Laoide entitled, 'Iomáin Eanascaoin', however during the process of matching the air with the lyric, Hall discovered that the source was incomplete, extending to only three lines in an ABA format. Despite her best efforts, the words didn't fall into a rhythm to suit the air. Knowing that there were other 'Iomáin' songs in the canon, she chose to borrow the melody from another 'Iomáin' song, that of the air 'Iomáin Léann an Bhábhúin'. This air was collected by Ó Dubhda and published in (1981) in the book *Peadar Ó Dubhda: A Shaol agus a Shaothar.* It appeared again in a local publication *Pléaraca Dhún Dealgan (Humours of Dundalk)* in 1981.

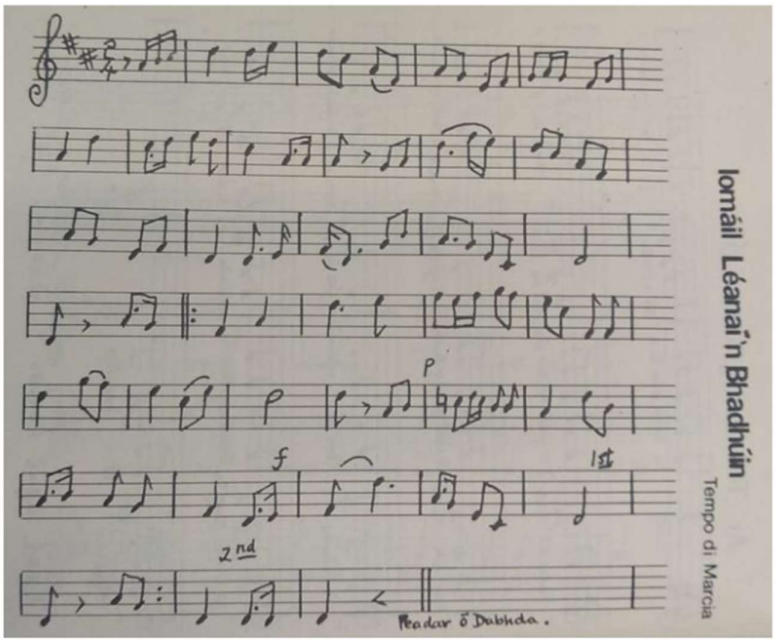


Figure 17 Iomáin Léanaí 'n Bhadhúin. Source: Humours of Dundalk, 1981

Other Iomáin songs include ‘Iomain na Boinne’ (RTÉ Radio (2024) Éamonn Ó Faogáin sings at 2h 45min 38sec of the program; ‘Iomáin Ó Méith’ which features on 1978 vinyl Oriel: Songs and Tunes of South-East Ulster alongside ‘Úr chnoc Chéin Mhic Cáinte’ and ‘Iomáin Áth na gCasán’ sang by Máire Ní Choilm to the air of ‘The Mountains of Mourne’ on appended CD with 2012 publication The Otherworld Music and Song from the Irish Tradition.

4.10 Lá Fhéile Pádraig [St Patrick’s Day]

A popular song, ‘Lá Fhéile Pádraig’, had several versions within the song tradition of South-East Ulster. The song is about the sentiment of a man who is a drinker referring to either his drinking or being in the tavern, the title of the song is taken from the beginning of the first line of the second verse.

Four verses of the song were found in the Énrí Ó Muirgheasa papers (Figure 18), collected from Sorcha Ní Dhuinn [Sally Humphries] on 14th September 1902 although only

three of the four verses made it to print in *Dhá Chéad de Cheoltaibh Uladh*. Two largely alternate verses of the song were taken down by Hannon from Bríd Nic Eoghain in 1904.

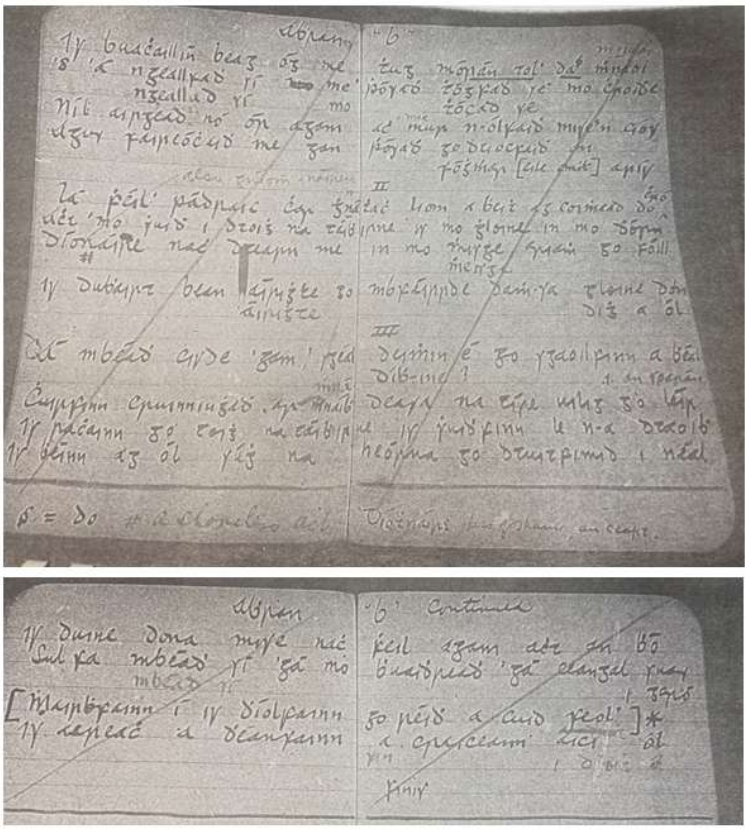


Figure 18 Lá Fhéile Pádraig. Source: Énrí Ó Muirgheasa Papers IV, Abhran 6, 14th September 1902, University College Dublin

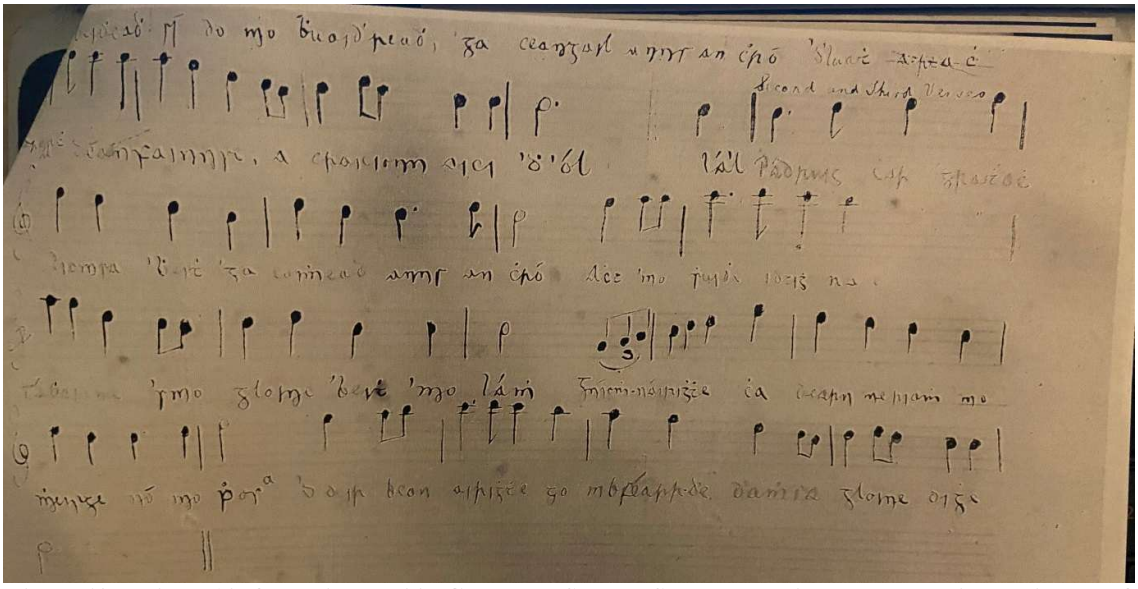


Figure 19 Untitled Air from piper Philip Goodman. Source: Seosamh Laoide Papers, National Library of Ireland, Dublin Ms G856 (uncatalogued loose sheets)

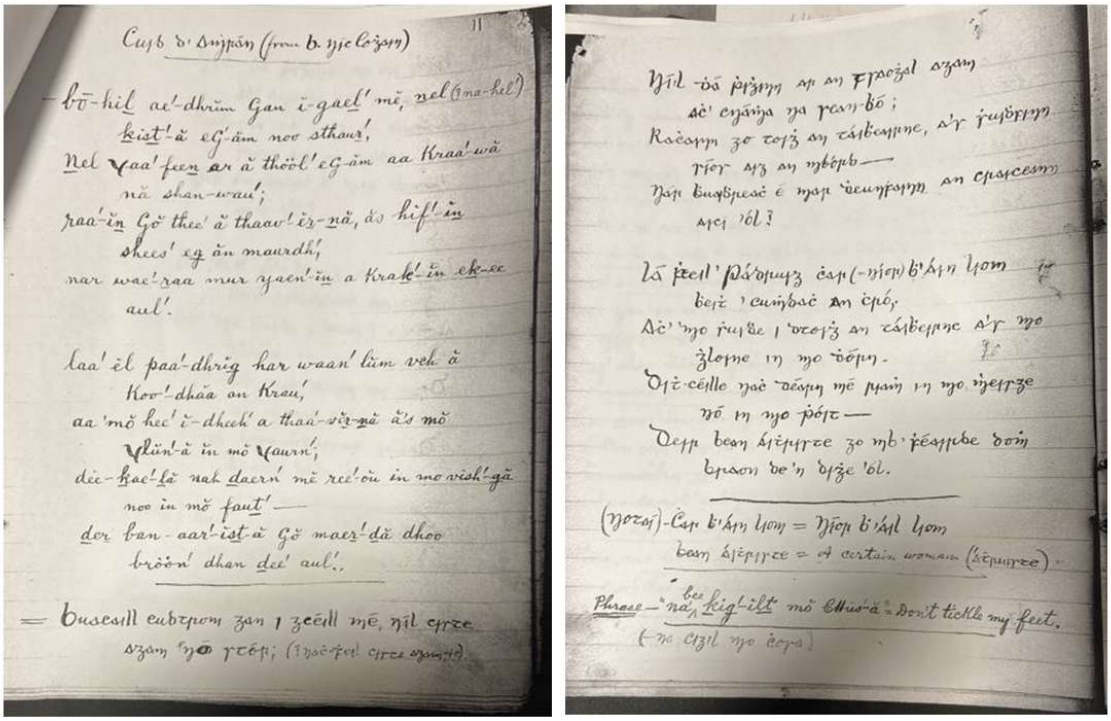


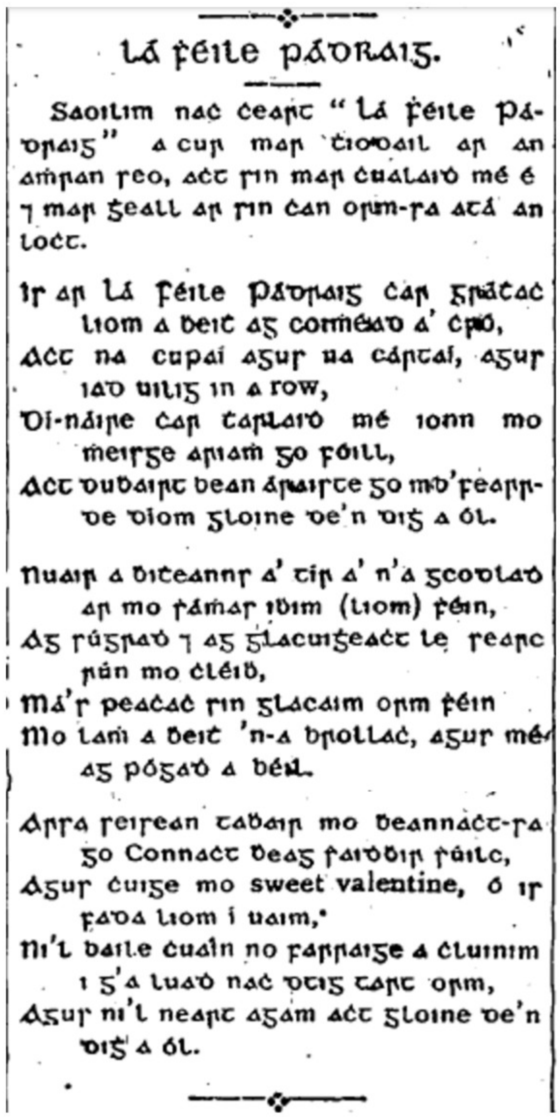
Figure 20 Lá Fhéile Pádraig. Source: John Hannon Papers, private collection held by Gearóid Trimble, XII: 11-12

The version of the song that is presented and performed by Ciara Hall is almost solely that from the Ó Muirgheasa papers, save for the insertion of new lines in italics in the printed learning aids, in both the fourth verse. These lines are taken from the Bríd Nic Eoghain version to produce a more complete verse, 'Rachainn go toigh an tábhairne, is shuífinn síos ag an mbord' [I would go to the tavern-house and sit down at the table].

The air for this song is from the piper Goodman and found within Seosamh Laoide papers as an untitled piece of music, the first page thought missing, but the second page with part of a verse from the song set to it. Some effort was required to link the melody to the lyrics, as the source was only a partial and incomplete excerpt of the full tune and the main challenge arose in trying to identify where the verse began and ended from the fragment source air. The process mirrored the same process for most of the other songs within the collection, in terms of a jigsaw approach – deciphering where an air began and ended and how the lyric would be best

sung to that air. The tune 'St. Patrick's Day' is listed as one within Goodman's repertoire (1922) and this is likely the same one as the song titled 'Lá Fhéile Pádraig'.

Two other songs that share the same title were printed in *The Dundalk Democrat* on 31st March 1900 and thereafter on 26th October 1907 (Figure 19), the latter, an alternate version of the song collected by Hollywood.



LÁ ḞÉILE PÁDRAIG.

Saoilim naċ ceart "Lá Ḟéile Pá-draig" a cur mar ṫiodail ar an aṁran seo, aċt sin mar ċualaiḋ mé é ⁊ mar ġeall ar sin ċan orm-sa atá an loċt.

Is ar Lá Féile Pádraig ċar gnáṫaċ
liom a ḃeiṫ ag coiṁéad a' ċriḋ,
Aċt na cupaí agus na cártaí, agus
iad uilig in a row,
Ḋí-náire ċar tarlaiḋ mé ionn mo
meisge ariaṁ go fóill,
Aċt duḃairt bean ársaiste go mb'fearr-
de díom gloine de'n ḋig a ól.

Nuair a ḃíteanns a' tír a' n'a gcodlaḋ
ar mo ṡámas ibim (liom) féin,
Ag súgraḋ ⁊ ag glacuiġeaċt le searc
rún mo ċléiḃ,
Má's peacaċ sin glacaim orm féin
Mo láṁ a ḃeiṫ 'n-a broллaċ, agus mé
ag pógaḋ a béal.

Arsa seisean taḃair mo ḃeannaċt-sa
go Connaċt ḃeag saiḋḃir súilc,
Agus ċuige mo sweet valentine, ó is
fada liom í uaim,
Ní'l baile cuain no fairrge a ċluinim
i g'a luaḋ naċ dtig tart orm,
Agus ní'l neart agam aċt gloine de'n
ḋig a ól.

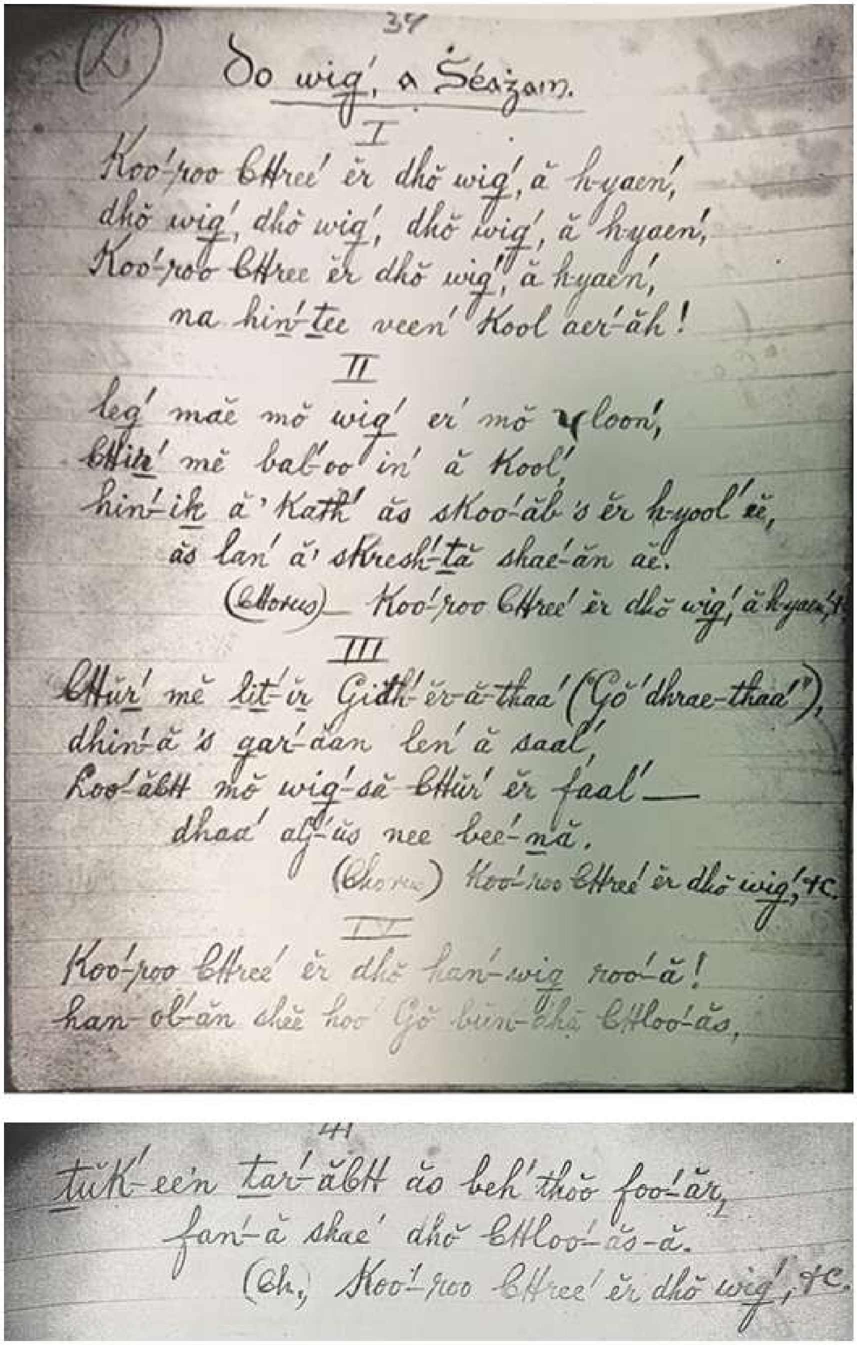
Figure 21 Lá Fhéile Pádraig. Source: Dundalk Democrat, 26th October 1907, p. 9

4.11 Do bhuig, a Sheáin [Seán's Wig]

Hannon collected a version of 'Do bhuig, a Sheáin' from Bríd Nic Eoghain and it features in two separate notebooks of his, the first dated 1898–1899. A second occurrence is dated 1897–1905. The song, which consists of 4 verses and a repetitive chorus between, is upbeat and lively. 'Do bhuig, a Sheáin' is a humorous song which tells the story of an individual named Seán who loses his wig to a cat who swipes it from his head and how he has to obtain another wig which turns out to be not so flattering.

The air which we have paired with this song was collected by Nuala Ní Chatháin [Fanny Kane] from Séamus Ó Catháin [James Kane] of Omeath Co. Louth and arranged by Éamonn Ó Gallchobhair for *Amhráin Chúige Uladh* [1977 (1927): 95]. This was republished in *An tUltach* in 1930 [VII:3] and 1941 [XVIII:2] with the original tonic solfa format as arranged by Éamonn Ó Gallchobhair. The first verse and the chorus was collected by Fr Lorcán Ó Muireadhaigh from Séamus Ó Catháin and published along with the air. Fr Ó Muireadhaigh attributes the other two verses of the song to John Hannon's source, Bríd Nic Eoghain. In the first verse we hear how Seán laid his wig upon his knee in order to grease it but while he was doing so the cat came along and swept it away leaving Seán chasing after it. In the second verse he sent a letter to Drogheda followed by a person and a horse with the price of a new wig – two and ninepence. Finally in verse three we hear how the new wig isn't so fitting in that it doesn't cover to the bottom of his ears and how when the spring comes he will be cold – it will take the skin off his ears. In the text we note the use of the county Louth town of Drogheda – which is phonetically

noted as 'dhrae –thaa' mirroring the modern-day English pronunciation of Drogheda rather than the standardised name of Droichead Átha.



37

(L) Do wig', a Séaġain.

I

Koo'-roo bHree' ĕr dhŏ wig', ă h-yaen',
dhŏ wig', dhŏ wig', dhŏ wig', ă h-yaen',
Koo'-roo bHree ĕr dhŏ wig', ă h-yaen',
na hin'-tee veen' Kool aer'-ăh!

II

leg' maĕ mŏ wig' er' mŏ ʒloon',
bHir' mĕ bal'oo in' ă Kool,
hin'-ik ă Kath' ăs sKoo'-ăb 's ĕr h-yool'ĕĕ,
ăs lan' ă sKresh'-tă shae'-ăn aĕ.
(Chorus) Koo'-roo bHree' ĕr dhŏ wig', ă h-yaen', &c.

III

bHir' mĕ lit'-ĕr Gith'-ĕr-ă-thaa' (Gŏ'dhrae-thaa'),
dhin'-ă 's gar'-dăn len' ă saal',
Koo'-ăbH mŏ wig'-să bHir' ĕr faal' —
dhad' al'-ăs nee bee'-nă.
(Chorus) Koo'-roo bHree' ĕr dhŏ wig', &c.

IV

Koo'-roo bHree' ĕr dhŏ han'-wig roo'-ă!
han-ol'-ăn shĕĕ hoo Gŏ bun'-ăhă bHloo'-ăs,

41

tiK'-een tar'-ăbH ăs beh' thŏŏ foo'-ăr,
fan'-ă shae' dhŏ bHloo'-ăs-ă.
(Ch.) Koo'-roo bHree' ĕr dhŏ wig', &c.

Figure 22 Do bhuig, a Sheáin. Source: John Hannon Papers, private collection held by Gearóid Trimble, V & XIII

4.12 Chuaigh an Mhaol [There goes the Moily cow]

This was a song collected by John Hannon in 1898 from Bríd Níc Eoghain. Trimble (2009) has published two versions of this song appearing in Hannon's notebook three (43 Chuaigh mé féin go haonach na Croise) and four (A60 Chuaigh an mhaol anonn ar an abhainn). Both versions were transcribed by Hannon in a phonetic fashion and both versions comprise four verses and a repeated chorus. One of the verses is shared in both versions given by Nic Eoghain which includes references to the towns of 'Baile Átha hÓ' [Ballyhoe], Ráth Tó [Rathoath] and Ráth Cheannaigh [Rathkenny] all of which were known as market towns in County Meath.

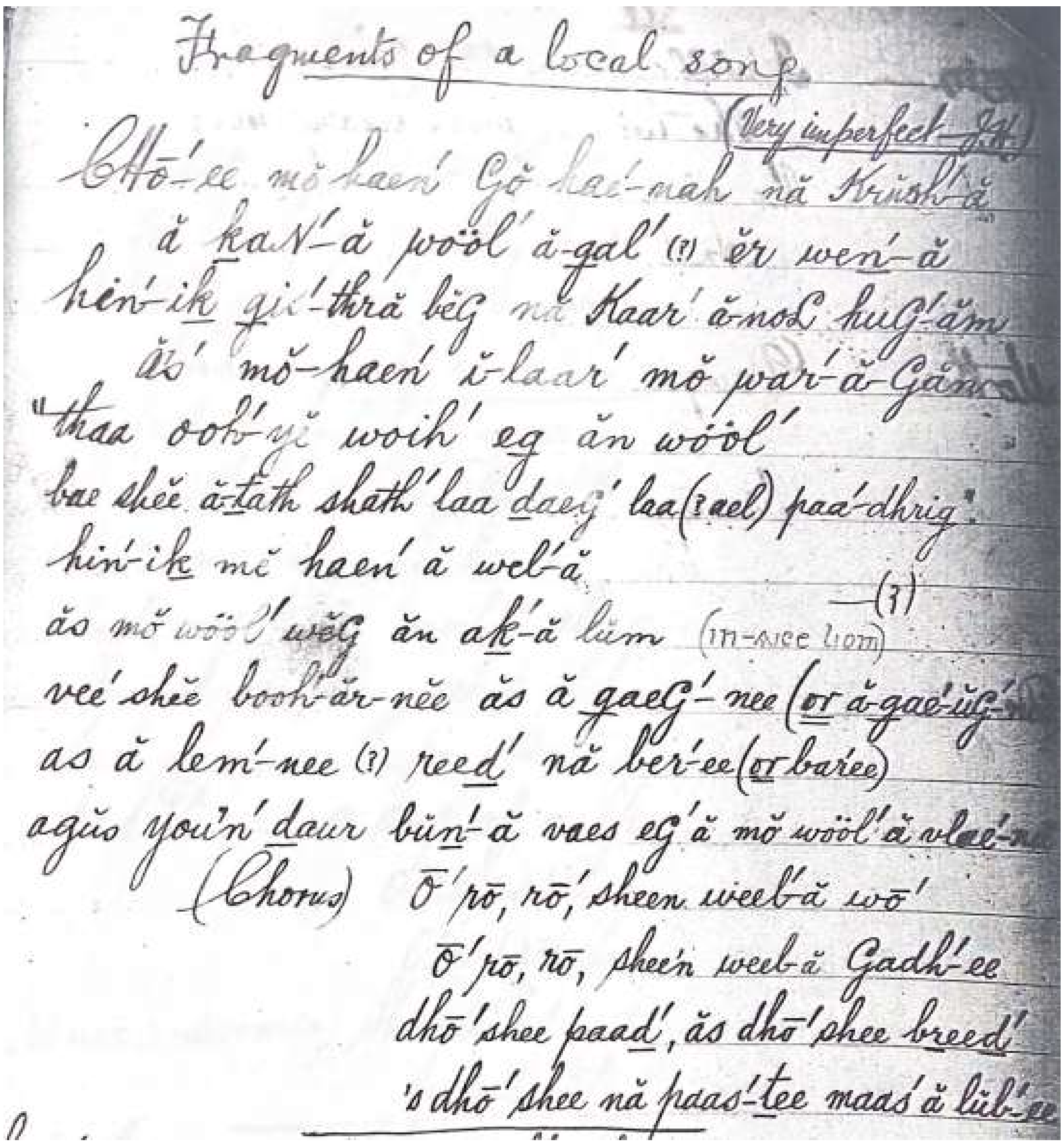

Fragments of a local song
(Very imperfect — J.H.)
Chō-ee mŏ haen' Gŏ hae-nah nă Krŭsh'ă
ă kaN-ă wööl' ă-gal' (?) ĕr wen'-ă
hin'-ik gi'-thră bĕg nă Kaar' ă-noC hug'-ăm
ăs' mŏ-haen' ĭ-laar' mŏ war-ă-Găm
"thaa ooh'-yĭ woih' eg ăn wööl'
bae shēē ă-tath shath' laa daeg' laa(?ael) paa'-dhrig".
hin'-ik mĕ haen' ă wel-ă
ăs mŏ wööl' wĕg ăn ak'-ă lŭm (in-nee lom) —(?)
vee' shēē booh'-ăr-nēē ăs ă gaeG'-nee (or ă-gae'ŭg-
as ă lem'-nee (?) reed' nă ber'-ee (or baree)
agŭs you'n' daur bŭn'-ă vaes eg'ă mŏ wööl' ă vlae'-
(Chorus) Ō' pō, rō, sheen weeb'ă wō'
Ō' pō, rō, sheen weeb-ă Gadh'-ee
dhō' shee paad', ăs dhō' shee breed'
's dhō' shee nă paas'-tee maas' ă lŭb'-ee

Figure 23 Fragment of a local Song. Source: John Hannon Papers, private collection held by Gearóid Trimble, III: 47-48

The earlier of the two versions of the song is significant in so far as it is inextricably linked to Crossmaglen as it specifically refers to 'Aonach na Croise' [Cross Fair]. The air paired with the song was collected from piper Goodman of Donaghmoyne, Co Monaghan and is found within the Seosamh Laoide papers (G856). The piece of music is entitled 'Ceol na Maoile' and the manuscript itself includes a handwritten note on the left of the score which states 'From Cross – to be repeated'. The air is in three-four time and a note is included to indicate that the tempo is 'slow'. The song tells the story of a polled cow or a Moily, which is a young hornless cow. Trimble tells us that the song was sung to young children to deter them from getting out of their beds at night. The enlivened version of the song was first sung publicly in 2019 in an acapella fashion at a local festival called *Ceol na Croise – songs of Oriel from Crossmaglen*, to illustrate a feature lecture given by Trimble entitled 'The Early Twentieth-Century Gaelic Singers of Crossmaglen – their lives and their songs'. A text of the lecture was subsequently published in *The Creggan Journal* (Trimble 2024). The song was arranged for musical accompaniment by the Oriel Traditional Orchestra and performed at the celebratory event following the unveiling of the John Hannon Plaque in May 2022 (Oriel Traditional Orchestra n.d.) which attracted national media attention from the BBC and RTÉ (BBC 2022).

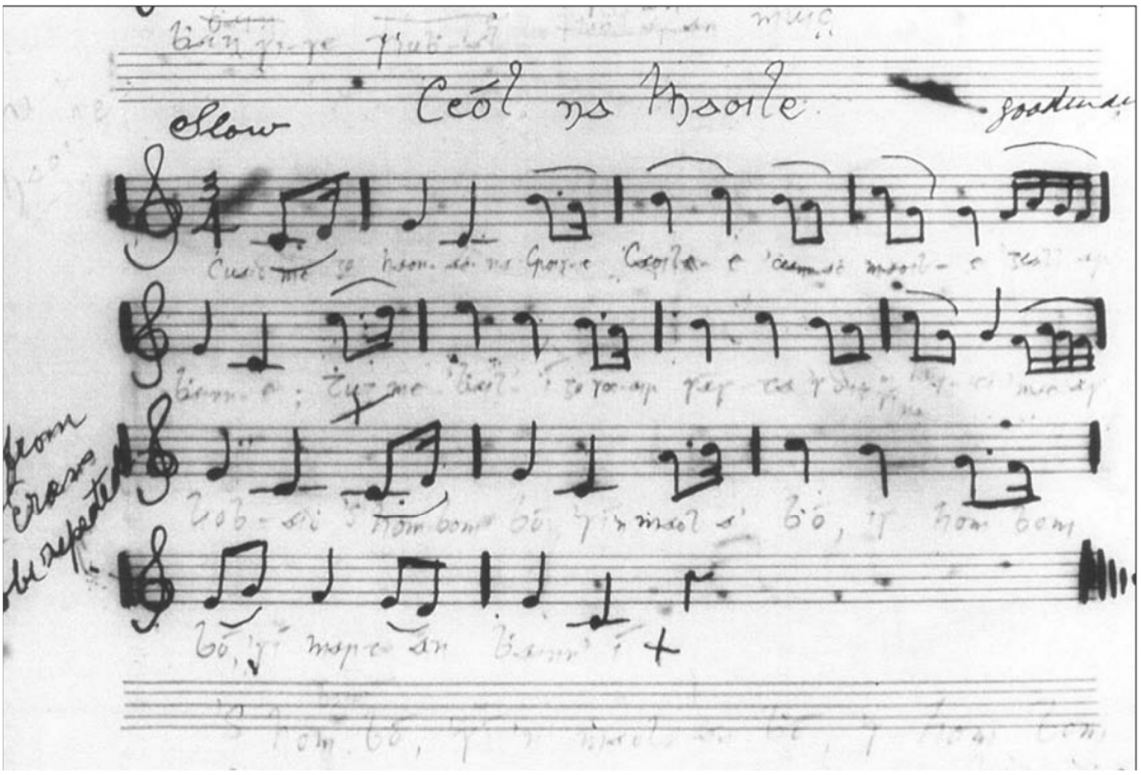
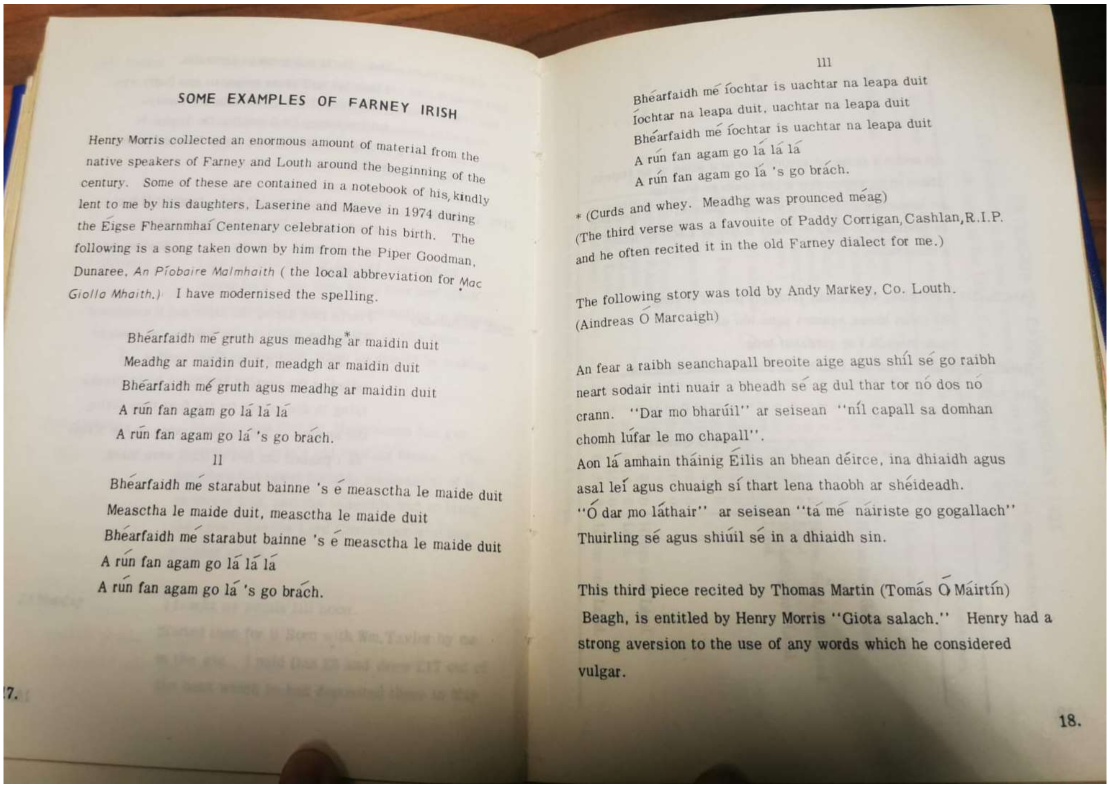


Figure 24 Ceol na Maoile. By piper Goodman. Source: Reproduced in Trimble (2009c) from Seosamh Laoide Papers, National Library of Ireland, Dublin Ms G856 (uncatalogued loose sheets)

4.13 Bhéarfaidh mé gruth agus meadhg ar maidin duit [I will give you curds and whey in the morning]

This song was collected from Énrí Ó Muirgheasa from the piper Goodman and translates as 'I will bring you curds and whey in the morning'. It has been described by Trimble (2009c) as a drinking song, which comprises three verses all of which contain a repetitive refrain at lines 4 and 5. The song appears in a notebook of Énrí Ó Muirgheasa, gifted to the editor of the *Macalla* magazine from his daughters Laserine and Maeve, where it appeared this time in print. The editorial states, 'the third verse was a favourite of Paddy Corrigan, Cashlan, RIP, and he often recited it in the old Farney dialect' (Macalla 1977). Farney is located in southeastern county Monaghan and is known as a barony, which was a historical administrative division. The

excerpt tells us that 'meadhg was pronounced 'méag'. Trimble (2009c) also refers to a further source for the song within the papers of Seosamh Laoide (MG 856: 20).


SOME EXAMPLES OF FARNEY IRISH

Henry Morris collected an enormous amount of material from the native speakers of Farney and Louth around the beginning of the century. Some of these are contained in a notebook of his, kindly lent to me by his daughters, Laserine and Maeve in 1974 during the Éigse Fhearnmhaí Centenary celebration of his birth. The following is a song taken down by him from the Piper Goodman, Dunaree, *An Píobaire Malmhaith* (the local abbreviation for *Mac Giolla Mhaith.)* I have modernised the spelling.

Bhéarfaidh mé gruth agus meadhg* ar maidin duit
Meadhg ar maidin duit, meadgh ar maidin duit
Bhéarfaidh mé gruth agus meadhg ar maidin duit
A rún fan agam go lá lá lá
A rún fan agam go lá 's go brách.

II

Bhéarfaidh mé starabut bainne 's é measctha le maide duit
Measctha le maide duit, measctha le maide duit
Bhéarfaidh mé starabut bainne 's é measctha le maide duit
A rún fan agam go lá lá lá
A rún fan agam go lá 's go brách.

17.

III

Bhéarfaidh mé íochtar is uachtar na leapa duit
Íochtar na leapa duit, uachtar na leapa duit
Bhéarfaidh mé íochtar is uachtar na leapa duit
A rún fan agam go lá lá lá
A rún fan agam go lá 's go brách.

* (Curds and whey. Meadhg was prounced méag)
(The third verse was a favouite of Paddy Corrigan, Cashlan, R.I.P. and he often recited it in the old Farney dialect for me.)

The following story was told by Andy Markey, Co. Louth. (Aindreas Ó Marcaigh)

An fear a raibh seanchapall breoite aige agus shíl sé go raibh neart sodair inti nuair a bheadh sé ag dul thar tor nó dos nó crann. "Dar mo bharúil" ar seisean "níl capall sa domhan chomh lúfar le mo chapall".
Aon lá amhain tháinig Éilis an bhean déirce, ina dhiaidh agus asal leí agus chuaigh sí thart lena thaobh ar shéideadh.
"Ó dar mo láthair" ar seisean "tá mé náiriste go gogallach"
Thuirling sé agus shiúil sé in a dhiaidh sin.

This third piece recited by Thomas Martin (Tomás Ó Máirtín) Beagh, is entitled by Henry Morris "Giota salach." Henry had a strong aversion to the use of any words which he considered vulgar.

18.

Figure 25 Bhéarfaidh mé gruth agus meadhg ar maidin duit. Source: Macalla, 1977, p. 17 -18

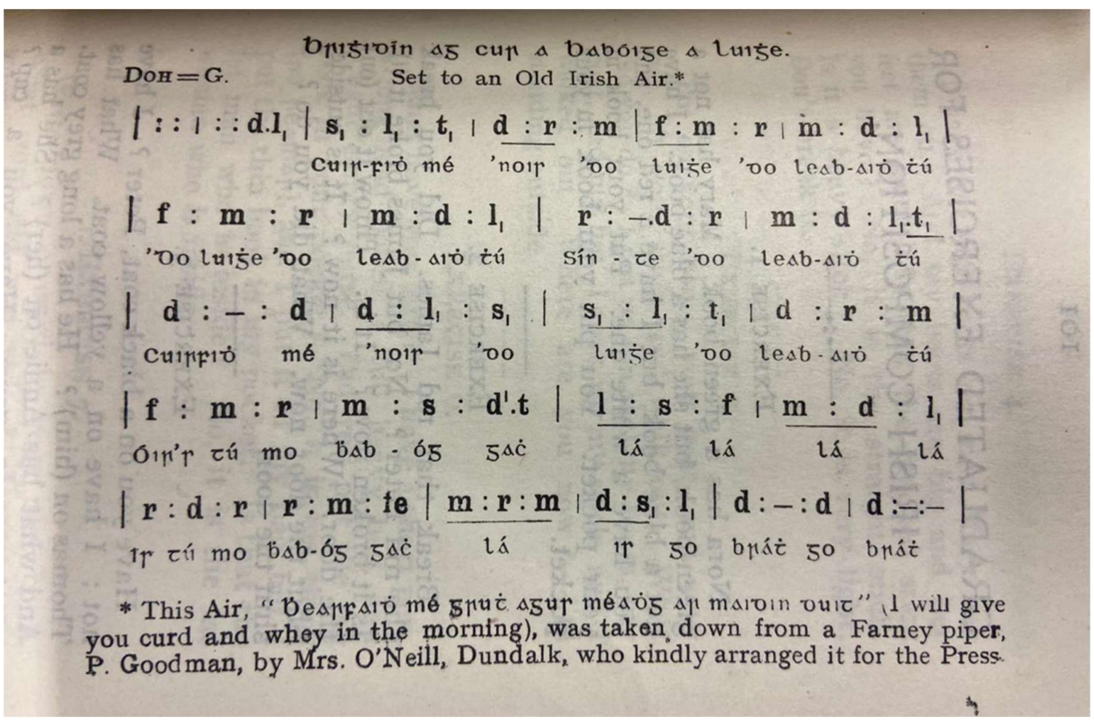


Figure 26 Bhéarfaidh mé gruth agus méadhg ar maidin duit. Source: The Cuchulainn Modh Díreach Readers. 3rd Book [1917: 100]

The air for the song, collected by a Mrs O'Neill of Dundalk from the playing of piper Goodman. The song was arranged for print in tonic solfa format, however, the air is presented for an alternate song entitled 'Brighidín ag cur a babóige a luighe'. Goodman was a source for many tunes and songs in the area and indeed Énrí Ó Muirgheasa wrote a list of 307 song, tune or air titles which he catalogued. Ó Muirgheasa went on to publish this titles list in 1922 in his paper 'A Farney Piper's Tunes'. On inspection of the list I can identify that Goodman also had the airs to other songs from the working collection including 'Iomáin Inis Caoin', as well as 'Bheirfidh (Bhéarfaidh) mé gruth agus meidhg ar maidin duit'. The list refers to an air called 'St Patrick's Day' which could of course be the song, 'Lá Fhéile Pádraig' as to earlier referred. Morris however had no musical literacy and the tunes were not transcribed at this point unfortunately.

To decipher the air I had to quickly learn how to read tonic solfa and understand what each of the symbols meant. I turned to the publication, available online, 'The Teachers handbook to the Tonic Sol-fa System' to decode the air. The piece accords DOH with G the key of which we know has one sharp. I then set out to allocate notes from DOH through to DOH and to firstly write down the note progression under each letter. I then transferred that on to Noteflight where I could allocate a time signature and a tempo. I could see that the piece was in 6/8 time as there are 2 groups of 3 notes to the bar. Given that the piece is a drinking song, I kept the tempo upbeat and bright. I sang this song and a recording can be found within the appendix of this study.

4.14 Sliabh gCuilinn [Slieve Gullion]

Collected by Tomás Mac Cuileannáin in 1908 from a singer from Lislea called Sorcha Nig Léid [Sarah McGlade], 'Sliabh gCuilinn' is a lament by a seasonal-hired worker longing for home

and Slieve Gullion. The song features in both Trimble (2009c) listed as song number A19 and as a passing reference in Ní Uallacháin, who writes:

> One spalpeen who found himself working in the hinterlands of Dublin longed for the familiar surroundings of his native place in South Armagh (2005, p. 292).

The song describes the longing of this travelling labourer, a hired hand working on the land, harvesting crops. He is longing to return to the Gaelic heartland and Slieve Guillion. Trimble suggests that he could perhaps have seen the mountain herself from the highlands of Co. Meath.

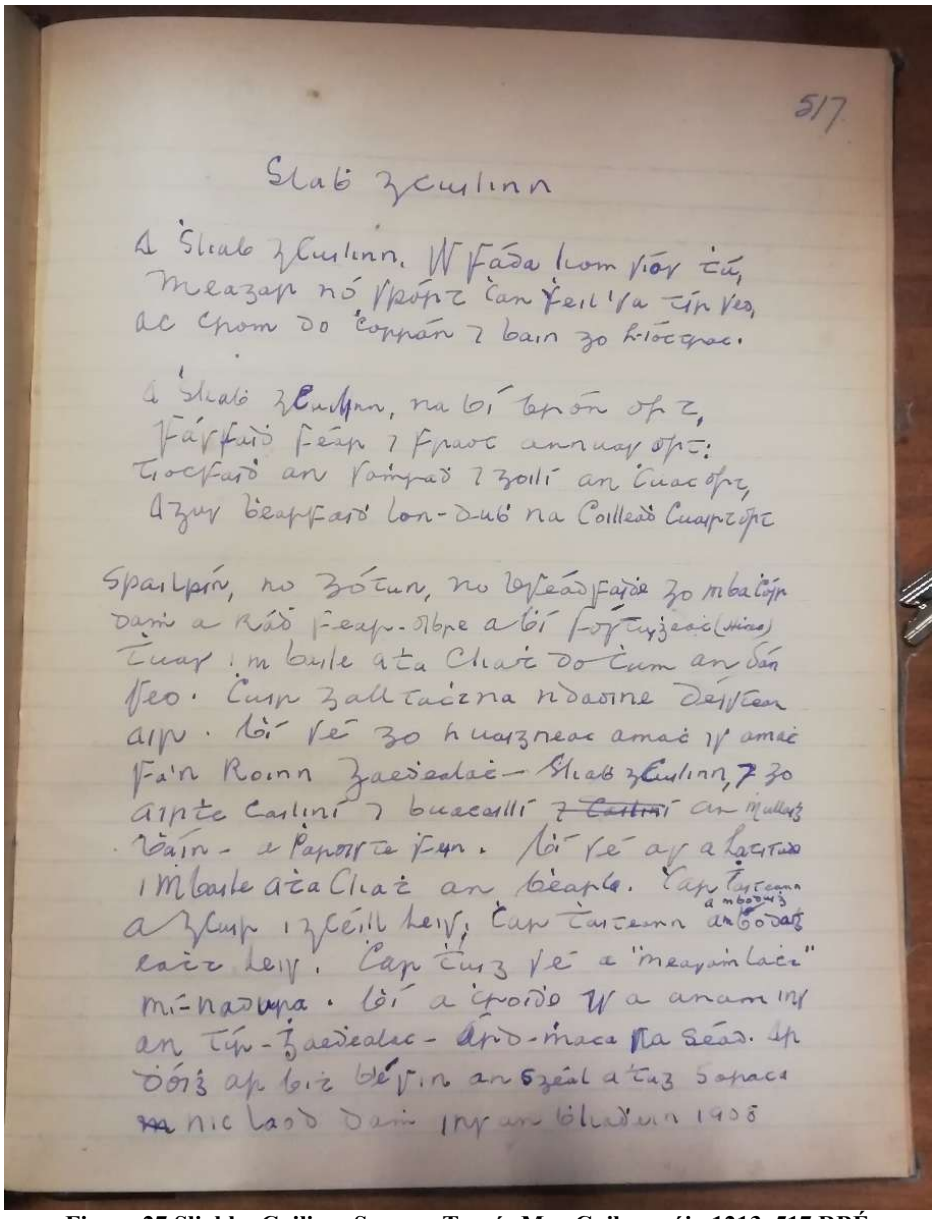
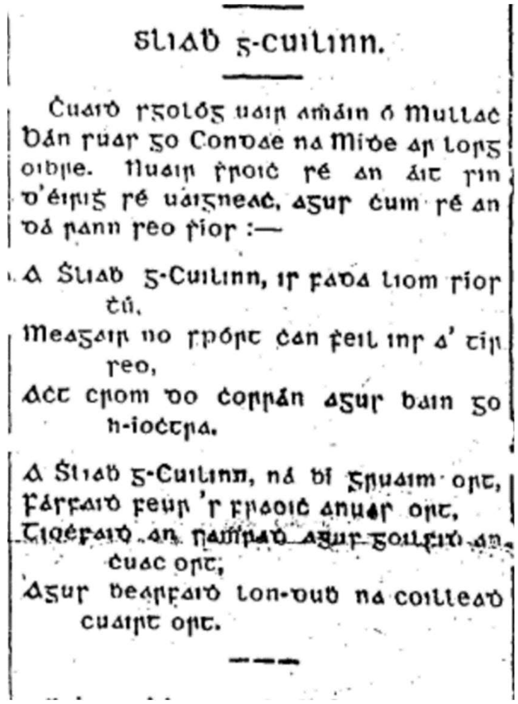


Figure 27 Sliabh gCuilinn. Source: Tomás Mac Cuileannáin 1213, 517 RBÉ

Published in *The Dundalk Democrat* in December 1912, the song appears as a seven-line fragment (Figure 29).



Sliabh g-Cuilinn.

Chuaidh sgológ uair amháin ó Mullach Bán suas go Condae na Mídhe ar lorg oibre. Nuair shroich sé an áit sin d'éirigh sé uaigneach, agus chum sé an dá rann seo síos :—

A Shliabh g-Cuilinn, is fada liom síos thú,
Measgair no spórt chan feil ins a' tír seo,
Acht crom do chorrán agus bain go h-íochtra.

A Shliabh g-Cuilinn, ná bí gruaim ort,
Fásfaidh féur 's fraoich anuas ort,
Tiocfaidh an samhradh agus goilfidh an chuach ort;
Agus bearfaidh lon-dubh na coilleadh cuairt ort.

Figure 28 Sliabh gCuilinn. Source: Dundalk Democrat, 14 December 1912, p. 9

I consider the brevity of the source a strength rather than a weakness; in that we can see through the clues in the song what the author was trying to convey, a longing for home. The reference to the cuckoo could signify a return home, as will the author. Interestingly the author refers to the song of the cuckoo as *goil* to weep rather than sing or call, further expressing his sorrow. The South-East Ulster love song, 'Cailín an Tí Bháin' collected by John Hannon from Bríd Nic Eoghain, includes two references to the cuckoo's call; in verse three and again in verse five (Trimble 2009c, p. 64). In the case of another song with metaphorical meaning, 'The Boys of Mullaghbane', the cuckoo, owing the typical act of the bird of laying its eggs in another bird's nest, signifies infidelity or unfaithfulness that is central to the theme of the song.

The reference to the *londubh* [blackbird] is popular in both Gaelic folk song and is perhaps a reference to the rapparees, who were local Irish native fighters who rose to resist the English occupation. In local tradition, Séamus Mór MacMurfaidh, who gives his name to one

of the celebrated Gaelic songs of South Armagh, was referred to as a *londubh* (Trimble 2009c; Ó Ciardha 2001). A second song fragment mentions a *londubh* entitled 'Más londubh mé, a bheas i bhfad beo' (Trimble 2009c, p. 220). A song in the English language entitled, 'The Blackbird of Avondale', laments the arrest of Charles Stewart Parnell, a prominent Irish Nationalist Leader in the nineteenth century. The *coille* [forest] referred is thought to be that of Dunreavy wood, a seventeenth-century remnant of the once expansive forest of the Fews (Fiodh Mór) which is thought to have enveloped a large area in South Armagh and was considered a place of refuge for raparees and the United Irishmen. Indeed the wood itself is immortalised in the Art Mac Cumhaigh poem, 'Mairgne fá Chaisleán na Glasdromainne', a lament for the Castle of Glassdrumman, where he mourns the decline of the O'Neill chieftains castle and the surrounding Dunreavy Wood. Ó Fiaich, in his paper 'The O'Neills of the Fews', translates,

> 'Their 'tall castle' at Glassdrummond was in ruins; Dunreavy wood beside it was a 'wilderness'; all nature seemed to be in mourning for 'each champion for the seed of kings' (1973, p.1).

While there is no known air to this song and an obvious line missing from the collected fragment, I was still determined to bring it back to life. Although this is a fragment, I am already engaged by the sentiment of song. I was inspired by its connection to Slieve Gullion and the surrounding landscape and the link to the past to the singer herself from whom it was collected. The sentiment of the song is clear – that of longing and this should influence the chosen air. Following an analysis of the surviving text and the syllables in each line of the surviving lines, I considered that either line 2 or line 4 of verse 1 was missing. Having discussed the fragment with singer Ciara Hall and to balance the verses, she suggested some alternate inserts to allow me to fill the gap.

> 1. I gcroílár ghleann na meala, na n-úll is na gcaorach [in the middle of the valley of honey, apples and sheep]
> 2. Mar a n-ólfainnse sláinte mo ghrá is na n-ógfhear [where I would drink to the health of my love and the young men]

3. Is fada liom súgradh is cuideacht' na ndaoine [I long for fun and the company of the people]

Despite my concerns about the song's brevity, I explored other traditional recordings of shorter songs for inspiration. I listened to how Eithne Ní Uallacháin treated fragments of songs in 'Omeath Music'. I also listened to the 2024 rendition of 'Gabhaim Molta Bríde' by Altan (2024), featuring Mairéad Ní Mhaonaigh. This song, which praises Saint Bridget, opens with a drone and is accompanied by sparse guitar backing in a free-time arrangement, complemented by some fiddle. It too is eight lines in length.

As the song was not collected phonetically, unlike some others in this study, I used the *Abair.ie* website to assist with pronunciation. I utilised the speech synthesis function, selecting the Donegal dialect. The program allows for modifications such as pitch, speed, gender, basic synthesis, and AI synthesis. Users can input text, and the program generates a downloadable audio file. Thereafter I sang the song for Ciara Hall and she provided feedback on local pronunciation which differed from Donegal Irish. Such words included 'bain' (bwin / bun) and 'bhéarfaidh' (ver-hee/ver-haa). I made final modifications and adjustments to the vocal parts.

Using a shruti box, an Indian instrument that produces a continuous drone, I began crafting an air to accompany the song. As I was unfamiliar with the instrument, I experimented with different keys to suit my vocal range and settled on a B, E, B drone. I recorded myself singing the words on my phone, listening back to make adjustments as needed. While I had several airs, I settled on the one which I felt sounded best melodically. The air follows an ABAB structure and features a fiddle part, played by Joanna Doran, to separate the two verses. The song was recorded with Dave Molloy in November 2024.

Sliabh gCuilinn [Slieve Gullion]

VI A Shliabh gCuilinn is fada liom síos thú
Slieve Guillion, I miss you,
Is fada liom súgradh is cuideacht' na ndaoine,

I long for fun and the company of the people
Meagair nó spórt, chan fhuil ins an áit seo
Merriment or sport, is not (found) in this place
Ach crom do chorrán agus bain go híochtarach
But get to work with your sickle and cut (it) low

VII A Shliabh gCuilinn, na bíodh gruaim ort,
O Slieve Guillion, don't let sadness be upon you
Fásfaidh féar is fraoch anuas ort,
Grass and heather will grow over you
Tiocfaidh an Samhradh agus goilfidh an chuach ort,
Come the Summer and the cuckoo's call (weep) will be heard (all) over you
Agus bhéarfaidh londubh na coille cuairt ort
And the blackbird of the woods will (again) visit you

4.15 Conclusion

In this chapter I have undertaken an analysis of the socio-linguistic work of Trimble, with a particular focus on its relevance to the collection of songs revitalised and reimagined within this study. Additionally, I have provided biographical information on two pivotal figures: the collector and scholar John Hannon, and singer Bríd Nic Eoghain. The chapter includes a presentation of the song collection, some of which were influenced by these key individuals. Utilising various archival sources, including those identified by Trimble (2009c), I have demonstrated the methodology employed to enliven the collection, further detail on which can be found in Chapter 6. Furthermore, this chapter references a suite of audio and audio-visual performances of these recreated pieces, along with resources and learning aids for the songs, which are located in Appendix B of this study.

The subsequent chapter will reflect on three singers who have historically engaged with Gaelic songs from the Oriel region, yet whose contributions have been somewhat overlooked, forgotten, or undervalued in contemporary discourse.

Chapter 5

Discovering Forgotten Singers

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will explore the contributions of three influential yet somewhat overlooked Ulster singers to the sean-nós song tradition: Albert Fry (1940–2021), Gráinne Clarke (b.1951) and Eithne Ní Uallacháin (1957–1999). Although all recording artists and contemporaries, with less than twenty years separating them, their lives and experiences reflect three very different paths. Fry developed a significant profile amongst a wide audience through his appearances on radio and television, in addition to advocacy and community leadership roles. Interestingly, despite his prominence, Fry was omitted from the first two editions of the *Companion to Irish Traditional Music* (1999, 2011). In contrast, Clarke is a local singer who came to prominence for a brief period at the turn of the 1970s before withdrawing from public consciousness. She continues to live within the Oriel region, while Fry resided in his hometown of Belfast. Ní Uallacháin however toured extensively as a recording artist in Europe and resided in the region, living in the Cooley mountains and working in County Louth. The lived experience of all three singers highlights the importance of the Donegal Gaeltacht for Irish language enthusiasts and singers.

5.2 Albert Fry

From my early days as a town planner in Belfast during the 2000s I knew Albert Fry as an engineer from Belfast and was pleasantly surprised to learn he was also a singer, Irish language activist, teacher, and broadcaster. His profile was earlier established as a footballer with Antrim while his company, Albert Fry Associates was established in 1987 and, although based in Belfast, grew to include fully resourced offices in Derry and Dublin. Born in North Queen Street, Belfast, he was one of four children to parents Sadie Savage and Jimmy Fry. Fry was well known for his love of the Irish language and music. He presented and performed on a number of RTÉ television programmes including *Isteach Leat* in 1971, a traditional folk and

music series. In the same year his singing featured on an RTÉ television episode of *Voices of a Hidden People* which focused on South Armagh and North Louth. In the 1970s, Christmas television specials entitled *Togha agus Rogha* were recorded for the RTÉ's Christmas schedule and included an episode filmed in front of a live audience in Clonliffe College, Dublin, produced by Seán Cotter and presented by Albert Fry, broadcast on 25 December 1974 (RTÉ Archives 2023).

Albert Fry was dubbed as the architect of the Irish Language revival in Belfast in the 1970's, 1980's and 1990's, He had a deep affinity with the music of the Donegal Gaeltacht, particularly Rann na Feirste and although described as an outsider (Belfast Media.com 2021), he collected songs from singers such as Seán Bán Mac Grianna and Aodh Ó Duibheannaigh.

Fry recorded several EP's and collections of Gaelic songs, which included songs penned by Rann na Feirste author Seán Bán Mac Grianna. The most noted recordings are *Fáth mo Bhuartha* (1968), *Úr chnoc Chéin Mhic Cáinte* (1969), *Maidin Luan Cincíse* (1969), *Tráthnóna Beag Aréir* (1972), *Thiar i dTír Chonaill* (1976; 1992), *Albert Fry* (1979); the vast majority of these were released by Gael Linn. His reputation was such that in 1975 he was asked by Éigse Pheadar Uí Dhoirnín to sing *Úr chnoc Chéin Mhic Cáinte* at the poet's graveside. His 1969 release also included another Oriel song *Séamus Mac Murchaidh* as a b side track. He continued to release music in the sean-nós style both collected songs and original compositions until 1979. He was also a gifted guitar player. Dr Seán Mac Corraidh writes, 'Tá binneas sna taifeadtaí sin a rinne sé agus tá barántúlacht ag baint leo' [There is sweetness in those recordings that he made and they have authenticity] (Ainm.ie. n.d.).

Fry's recording of 'Úr chnoc Chéin Mhic Cáinte' (1969) opens with broken guitar and bouzouki chords in a steady 3/4 time signature. His vocal performance demonstrates the use of head voice but without the strong nasal tone often associated with sean-nós singers from the west coast. His diction is clear with a gentle northern accent, reminiscent of recordings by

Mícheál Ó Domhnaill (1952–2006), who came to prominence in the 1970s as part of groups including Skara Brae and The Bothy Band. The single also featured Donal Lunny on bouzouki and was later included on the recording *Tráthnóna Beag Aréir* (1972) released by Gael Linn. The B-Side, 'Séamus Mac Murchaidh' features similar broken guitar chords but the singing style is less strict, with Fry often singing ahead of the beat and demonstrating more of the free rhythm associated with the sean-nós style of singing. Again, his diction is clear and there is not a strong evidence of a regional dialect. Both tracks are subtly ornamented in the sean-nós style, reflective of Ulster stylists as described by Ó Riada (1982). His use of guitar accompaniment reflected the particular developing aesthetic of the 1970s that was not only evident in the groups involving Ó Domhnaill, the Donegal group *Clannad* and the Belfast-based McPeake family, but reflected community practice that was still present in my youth as the song repertoire drifted towards popular, English-language ballads and even Irish country music.

Fry was the longest-serving Chairman to date of Cumman Chluain Ard, Hawthorn Street, Belfast from 1980-1994, and was the first person from Ulster to be President of Conradh na Gaeilge (1979–1982). He was also Uachtarán of the Oireachtas when the competition came to Belfast in 1997 and also adjudicated in the sean-nós singing competitions. He died in the Mater Hospital, Belfast on 5th May 2021 at the age of 80. Niall Comer, the then President of Conradh na Gaeilge said at the time of his passing, 'Níl léamh ná scríobh ná inse béil ar an obair a rinne Albert ar son na teanga' [Albert's work on behalf of the language is neither read nor written nor told]. Since then an entry for Albert has been penned by Dr Seán Mac Corraidh on anim.ie (Anim.ie n.d.) for his contribution and involvement in the Irish language, while I have penned an entry to the *Companion to Irish Traditional Music* (2024) regarding his contribution to the song tradition. In December 2021, *Raidió na Gaeltachta* broadcast a

programme hosted by Damien Ó Dónaill that drew upon archival material to illustrate his life (RTÉ Radio 2021).

5.3 Gráinne Clarke

Figure 29 Gráinne McCarthy (Née Clarke)

Gráinne Clarke (*b.* 1951) or Gráinne Ní Chlérigh is a singer of Irish traditional and sean-nós songs who hails originally from Crossmaglen in South Armagh. She was completely unknown to me until some months into my research project when a friend sent me a clipping from a local magazine called the *Crossmaglen Review* – a local publication by a small, dedicated group of people who wrote about local news and events and issues of the day back in the late 1970's and early 1980's. To my amazement and surprise the magazine, dated November 1978 shows Gráinne proudly holding a trophy for winning first place in the *Oireachtas Uladh* in Gweedore Co Donegal in June of that same year. Who was this lady – why didn't I ever hear about her before? I was elated – a girl from Crossmaglen winning the Oireachtas Uladh in 1978 singing sean-nós song. My head was spinning with questions – what songs did she sing – where is her

repertoire? Who did she learn it from? Where can I listen to her recordings – if there are any? But then I started to think – what age is she now– could I find her and track her down? Is she married now – is she still alive? And so I did what every right-thinking person does nowadays – I googled her and to my amazement, I couldn't find anything. Her name had never come up in singing circles that I frequented yet I knew Clarke was a popular name from the town. Minnie Clarke was an organist in Crossmaglen for many years – a blind musician who always sang and played at mass each Sunday. And I wondered was it the same connection. As I excitedly leafed through the magazine I found a full-page article entitled 'Gráinne Clarke - an appreciation' written by Seoirse Ó Dochartaigh, a musician, writer, painter and researcher who now resides in Donegal. What struck me first was a picture of Gráinne presenting an oil painting to the then-President of Ireland, Patrick Hillery. I thought at that moment that this lady was special.

The article to my amazement spoke of the same issues that we still as a community speak of today – 'the tenacity of the inhabitants who, despite hundreds of years of Anglicization, have held on to their ancient language and culture' (Ó Dochartaigh 1978, p. 17). The article spoke so highly of Gráinne and how through her singing she has breathed new life into old songs and, echoing the oft cited 'invention of tradition' (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), seemed to establish an entirely new tradition.

Ó Dochartaigh wrote of the how the song Úirchill a' Chreagáin was completely inseparable from the gifted singer from Crossmaglen – Gráinne Clarke. He goes on to state that 'Gráinne, more than anyone, perhaps, has been responsible for the popularization of Úirchill a' Chreagáin throughout Ireland, a song incidentally once known as the National Anthem of South Armagh' (p. 17). The statement makes it all the more remarkable that this young woman who made such an impact should be quickly forgotten, even in her home community. The importance of the song to the local area, later highlighted by Ní Uallacháin and others, is emphasized by Ó Dochartaigh, who states: 'Through the power of a single song and a sensitive singer the fate of a whole culture would seem to be in (the) balance' (p. 17). The article goes

on to describe how Gráinne had performed the in halls, feiseanna, fleadhanna, festivals and on radio and television and how she has won major prizes singing and that her allegiance is to the great songs of East Ulster. As a signpost, the article clearly indicated a need for me to further investigate the character and achievements of Clarke. I reached out to one of the editors of the magazine, Rose Nicholls. She was able to tell me that Clarke was since married and was called Gráinne McCarthy. To my delight I found her on Facebook. I then discovered that she was a cousin of one of the Directors in the Oriel Traditional Orchestra with whom I had been working with to enliven the songs through engagement with a large ensemble. I sent her a message and waited.

I couldn't believe the revelation that she was from the Dundalk Road in Crossmaglen – I couldn't wait to ask my Mum and especially my Dad about her. His response was remarkable – he of course knew her and then went on to tell me that he thought he had her record in the attic of all places! I couldn't believe that he kept this crucial piece of information from me while knowing my interest in local song and my ongoing studies and yet when I told Clarke this upon our meeting, she humorously responded, 'Sure isn't that the place for it!' such was her modest character and quick wit. Others in my community also spoke of her warmly when I tentatively asked if they recalled her singing locally. My friend and neighbor Martin McAlister, a session guitar player and professional musician, recalled how Gráinne was doing things when others weren't - singing local songs, sean-nós songs, when others were more interested in going to dances and listening to country and western music. He admitted that Clarke was different from the rest at the time and that was what set her apart from the other singers. I reached for the publication, '*The Sweets of May'*, concerning music and dance of South Armagh published in March 2009 by Ceol Camlocha, I wondered if there was anything there about Clarke. And there it was, buried in the middle of the book, a single line dedicated to her contribution, 'Gráinne Clarke, a member of the well-known musical family, was one of the first to record and broadcast songs in the Irish language' (p. 64). No picture was included and neither was she featured on

either of the two CD's which accompanied the book, which included songs and singers from the local area. She appeared to be consigned to a footnote of musical history but I believed that her story was worth examining further.

5.3.1 Meeting Gráinne

Gráinne now lives in County Louth in a little townland called Grange overlooking Dundalk Bay and Carlingford Lough. As I am welcomed into her kitchen with double aspect, she reaches for the kettle to put on the tea. It is as if I knew her all my life, her easy going nature was warm and welcoming and instantly put me at ease. Gráinne grew up on the Dundalk Road in Crossmaglen, where my own father lived. She knew him and my family well.

Gráinne's mother and my grandmother on my mother's side were friends at school in Broomfield Co. Monaghan and this was where is learned her Irish, from her mum Peg. She also spoke of how local people would visit and give her mother old songs on bits of paper and recordings for Gráinne to learn. Clarke spoke of how she was lucky to have a mother who was a Gaelic speaker and had a love of the Irish language as well as a love for music and song. From a very early age, she and her siblings were introduced to singing. On her father's side of the family, there was a strong tradition of singing, although not of the Irish Traditional style or the sean-nós style. Her father Tom Clarke or 'Tom the Mat' as he was known was a very good tenor. So the voice came from both sides of her family.

Gráinne's mother, Peg, taught her daughter a repertoire of songs that she herself had learned at school. Her mother instilled a love of singing that encouraged Gráinne on her own path to learning local Gaelic songs. Her mother entered her for competition and influenced her choice of repertoire. In any event, Gráinne admits she had a natural liking to singing saying that, 'what was in her mother, came out in her'.

Clarke spoke of how simple the process was for her – she would hear a song and she would like the song and would then try to find out somewhere she could get the song, the lyrics

and the air. Leading on from that she was attracted to the sean-nós style of singing. Popular music or country and western music did not feature in the home growing up. When the radio was on, it was always *Radio Éireann* and the Irish music programme *Céilí House* presented by Donncha Ó Dúlaing (1933–2021).

When Clarke was very young Con Short, a principal of the local primary school and co-author of the publication *The Dalin Men from Crossmaglen* (1973), heard Clarke singing at a local feis in Crossmaglen Rangers football club grounds and following that came to her home with a 45-inch record – a small record with two songs which were 'Úr chnoc Chéin Mhic Cáinte' and 'Séamus Mac Murchaidh' and presented them to her mum to give to Gráinne. This is where she got both songs. Following further research I discovered the two songs on a 45-inch record from 1969 by singer Albert Fry entitled *Úr-chnoc Chéin Mhic Cáinte* which she now believes to be the record in question.

Fry was an inspiration for the young Clarke and as she was not a fluent Irish speaker at that early time and her repertoire of Gaelic songs was learned by ear from listening to the records she was gifted. Clarke had an interesting insight into her own personal take on ornamentation and the singing style of Ulster sean-nós:

> You put your own twist on it and you adapt, you put your own style or ornamentation or maybe lack of ornamentation. The Ulster style of sean-nós singing doesn't have a lot of ornamentation in comparison to Munster or Connacht, but I developed my own style. I suppose I sang a lot of songs in English in a sean-nós style.

She acknowledges that some consider singing in English is not sean-nós but she goes on to state that the word sean-nós actually means of the past, old style. In her opinion one can sing in the old style in both English and Irish singing. A lot of her repertoire was in English also.

5.3.2 Reviving the Irish language

Clarke was also instrumental in the promotion of the Irish language locally and had several roles. She worked for a time with both *Glór na nGael* (established in 1961) and also *Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge* (established in 1943). The latter was the central steering council for

several organisations in the promotion of the Irish Language with a mission to 'strengthen and consolidate goodwill and support for the Irish Language and its use as a living language so that it may be used freely and widely in all aspects of Irish life' (Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge 2011).

Clarke travelled around different communities in the North to try and encourage the setting up of branches of *Glór na nGael* – [lit. the voice of the Irish], to do something to keep the language alive in the North. The very first branch in the North was in Crossmaglen. At the grassroots level Clarke, along with a small group of dedicated individuals, was instrumental in promoting the Irish language by coordinating evening classes and *ciorcail chomhrá* [conversation circles] within Crossmaglen held in St. Joseph's High School and also the Hall of the Rangers GAA Football Club; the introduction of Irish Language signage in shops and on the approach to the town, traditional music classes, history classes and access to a library of traditional records of sean-nós songs and innovation by her friend Ó Dochartaigh. He along with Clarke was also responsible for introducing the Irish language mass music, composed by Seán Ó Riada, to St Patrick's Church. The singers were accompanied by Clarke's Aunt, Minnie Clarke, the blind pianist referenced previously. Ó Dochartaigh along with Clarke taught the songs of the Ó Riada mass to the local church choir which then allowed the local community to celebrate mass in Irish at specific occasions in the year.

Gráinne admits it was difficult then to garner interest amongst the local community, for fear of bringing trouble to one's family by the Royal Ulster Constabulary. It was a difficult time for the local community as there was an intuitional assumption that use of and promotion of the language signaled an affiliation with the Irish Republican Army and the Provisional IRA. She met with the Royal Ulster Constabulary in the barracks in Crossmaglen in protest at their actions to continually remove *fáilte* [welcome] signs on the outskirts of the town which welcomed those as they travelled in along the Newry Road towards the town – such was the distain and distrust

towards the Irish Language and towards those in the community that used it, amongst the police and army at that time.

5.3.3 1975 - Bringing the Fleadh to Cross – Treoir magazine

Gráinne chuckled when I asked about bringing the County Fleadh Cheoil to Crossmaglen – exclaiming, 'That was a funny one!' From an article I found from *Treoir* magazine circulated by Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann dated 7th June 1975 I had read how 'Thousands of traditional music enthusiasts traveled to the South Armagh border town of Crossmaglen on St. Patrick's Day for the big fleadh cheol [sic.], the first of its kind ever to take place in the North'. Gráinne was part of the Comhaltas organising committee for the County Fleadh Cheoil. At that time there was no County Armagh Fleadh Cheoil but Clarke and others had aspirations to change that. The north of Ireland was lacking at that stage in terms of fleadhanna ceoil in comparison to the rest of Ireland. Gráinne spoke of how the local community rallied around and 'made sandwiches for a week to sell on the square', volunteering to be stewards – some 200 of them according to the article. TV personality Gloria Huniford with TV cameras in tow arrived to report on the momentous occasion. On the day, Gráinne had the honor of carrying the tricolor ahead of the marching band around the square of Crossmaglen to mark the opening of the Fleadh. There were centres of competition in the primary school, the Rangers GAA Hall, and St Joseph's High School and plenty of competitors did come to take part but her feeling was that the true atmosphere of the Fleadh didn't happen – with people spilling out onto the streets from public houses with impromptu sessions and singing performances. This mirrors the experience of other fleadhanna (see Kearney and Burns 2022).

Although it was a momentous achievement to bring the Fleadh to the border town, Gráinne lamented at how few people attended the event, despite what the published article stated. She began to write a song about the fact – 'Is mór an trua, ní raibh aon slua, ag an Fhleadh I gCrios Mhic Lionnáin', which translates, it's a pity there was no crowd at the Fleadh in Crossmaglen. Gráinne believes it was probably to do with the Troubles – the fear of coming

into the North. She spoke of how people living in Castleblaney in County Monaghan only a few miles away, would not have considered coming across the border at that time. The Troubles were well on their way then and Crossmaglen was considered a hot spot. Gráinne spoke of how it should not have been the case as there was no trouble in Crossmaglen. The committee had spoken with the RUC in advance and requested that the British army be 'confined to the barracks', during the occasion. Gráinne spoke of how British soldiers first arrived in 1971 to 'keep the peace between Catholic and Protestants', yet there were few numbers of Protestant families were only living in Crossmaglen and in any event they were an integral part of the community and highly respected people and who got on extremely well with their neighbors. Where Gráinne lived on the Dundalk Road were Protestants, Donaldsons, Stevenson, Hales, Mc Allisters, Marks and the Lowes. They were never seen as anything only but natives of Crossmaglen. And while British Soldiers came in to keep the peace when there was no trouble between Catholic and Protestants, their presence became an agitation to the local community.

5.3.4 1978 – Oireachtas Uladh Win

In 1978, Gráinne was going out with a young man from Gweedore at the time whom she has met through the Irish language and as a result was travelling up and down to Donegal frequently. He came to do an interview and that was how Gráinne met him. The Oireachtas was on in Donegal and she entered it 'for the craic'. She didn't fully understand how serious the Oireachtas was taken. She felt it was not at all like the Fleadh where you go along and stand with your hands in your hip pocket and you simply sing your song choices. She commented on how when she reached the competition venue the competitors were very well dressed and were all being very serious about the whole thing. She remarked how she was very sorry that all she had was a pair of jeans and a t-shirt which she arrived wearing. She sang her songs with her hands in her pockets and once done, she couldn't wait to leave. So she left the venue after her performance and went to a nearby pub. A few hours later some people arrived asking where she had went to as people were looking for her in the competition hall. 'You won', they said – and

she told me that she nearly collapsed at the news. She could not believe it and she said the fella who was with her nearly collapsed also as she maintained that he didn't think she deserved it anyway! And the two songs she sang were the two South Armagh songs, 'Úirchill a' Chreagáin' and 'Úr chnoc Chéin Mhic Cáinte'.


CROSSMAGLEN REVIEW

VOLUME 1. NUMBER 2. NOVEMBER 1978

Gráinne Ní Chléirigh with the Trophy she won in June 1978, when she took First Place in Traditional Singing at "Oireachtas Uladh", Gweedore, Co. Donegal.

In this issue:
THE CRAFT OF LACE-MAKING
THE FUTURE OF CROSSMALGEN
PHOTO NEWS OF THE PAST
CLUB FOR THE HANDICAPPED

PRICE 35p

Figure 30 Gráinne Clarke. Source: *Crossmaglen Review* 1978, Vol I, Number 2

The awards presentation took place on the Sunday night and although she had school the following morning – it is not a handy run from Gweedore to Crossmaglen, some 120 miles. Her friend Ursula Murray was with her and they stayed on leaving at 1pm to come back to

Crossmaglen, but bringing home the coveted trophy. It was a huge coup for Gráinne taking the accolade home to South Armagh, out of the Gaeltacht area and County Donegal and away from the Gaeltacht singers. The adjudicator spoke to her afterward and told her how he knew the two songs and how he had not heard someone perform them for so long and how he was waiting for Gráinne to make a mistake. Gráinne told me: 'And at that stage, they were probably the only two that I knew well enough to perform publicly! '

5.3.5 BBC NI - As I Roved out

Following her win in Oireachtas Uladh, Gráinne performed on television for the BBC. She had mentioned to me in passing that she had featured on the popular folk series *As I Roved Out* in the late 1970's. To my joy and after some weeks of searching and a few favours later, I was sent a copy of the 30 minute show. Within the 'Gap of the North' episode, Gráinne appeared alongside other popular acts at that time including traditional folk group Crubeen including Tommy Hollywood and Paddy Clerkin and Jane and Frank Cassidy. Gráinne sang her version of 'Úirchill a' Chreagáin' accompanied on guitar by musician Frank Cassidy. It was even more special for me to share the footage with her as she did not have a copy herself and was delighted to receive it.

5.3.6 Debut Album - Songs of Rogues and Honest Men

Following her win and the BBC appearance Gráinne told me of how in 1980 she was approached about recording an album with Outlet records in Belfast. Since it wasn't going to cost her anything - she jumped at the chance. It became Gráinne's only recording – *Songs of Rogues and Honest Men* and is a collection of songs that Gráinne told me, she simply liked to sing. It features a collection of fourteen songs from her repertoire, some in English and some in Irish, some with musical accompaniment and some without and some from the sean-nós singing tradition as unaccompanied songs. The title of the album takes its name from the line in the song, 'The Dalin' men from Crossmaglen', popularised by Armagh singers Tommy

Makem and John Campbell, which is historically synonymous with the area, yet the song itself does not feature on the album.

Recorded in a single day with Outlet Records in Belfast, *Songs of Rogues and Honest Men* sits amongst some of the most prolific and famed artists of their time who also recorded with Outlet records including Fiddler Josephine Keegan, The Sand's Family, John Campbell and Mick Quinn to name but a few. The sleeve notes provide an invaluable insight into her and her achievements – referring to two All-Ireland medals in singing for both in Irish and English in the same year as her Oireachtas win.

What is striking throughout the album is how one can identify her local South Armagh accent in all of her renditions of the songs, both English and Irish. It also presents accompanied song with musical accompaniment which is reflective of the musical aesthetics on recordings at that time. The musicians are not acknowledged in the sleeve notes. This album is a personal repertoire of songs Clarke liked to sing featuring both songs in English including Armagh songs such as 'Dobbin's Flowery Vale' and 'The Granmore Hare' alongside sean-nós songs from the Oriel song tradition interspersed throughout the collection – 'Úirchill a' Chreagáin', 'Seamus Mac Murchaidh' and 'Úr chnoc Chéin Mhic Cáinte'; all of which are unaccompanied songs in the sean-nós style.

5.3.7 Úirchill a' Chreagáin [The Graveyard of Creggan Church]

Referred to as the best-known composition of the eighteenth-century poet of South-East Ulster, Art Mac Cumhaigh, Gráinne presents her rendition of the aisling poem as an unaccompanied song in the sean-nós style. An Aisling poem is one which is a vision or a dream poem the style of which developed in the 17th and 18th centuries (see also McLaughlin 2018). The song is set within Creggan graveyard and tells the story of the poet himself who falls asleep, some say within the O'Neill Clann vault amongst their bones and skulls, and where he converses with an otherworldly maiden who asks him to travel away with her. After a time, he agrees on the one

condition that he be laid to rest among the Gaels in Creggan. The O'Neills were the last ruling native chieftains of the Fews during the seventeenth century yet the poet reminisced their reign and lamented such. Many renditions of the song have been recorded but this version from Gráinne is the one which is most popularized having been recorded thereafter by such artists as Clannad in 1990 and continues to do so with the latest version released by group TRÚ in 2024.

5.3.8 Séamus Mac Murchaidh

'Séamus Mac Murchaidh' is a song linked to a rapparee, hanged in Armagh Gaol following a treachery by a scorned lover and who was brought home to be waked in his home place of Carnally in South Armagh. There are many versions of the song and it has travelled to other parts of Ireland and indeed many alternate tunes have been found to for this song. Coincidentally, Séamus Mór is also buried in Creggan graveyard. I was eager to hear Gráinne's version and particularly the air to which it was sung. What struck me was the different air Gráinne sang 'Séamus Mór' to and after a time realized that it was in fact the theme tune of the Irish Sunday evening soap, *Glenroe* - a tune you dreaded to hear on a Sunday evening as it signaled time for bed ahead of school the following day. While there are several surviving airs by which 'Séamus Mór' is sung to, this air entitled 'Cuaichín Ghleann Néifinn' was also sung by Albert Fry for his recording of 'Séamus Mac Murchaidh' on an EP released in 1969.

5.3.9 Úr chnoc Chéin Mhic Cáinte

'Úr chnoc Chéin Mhic Cáinte' [The Green Hill of Cian, Son of Cáinte], is a beautiful love song, known throughout Ireland and popular with Donegal singers. It features as track 6 on the b side of the album. Written by the Forkhill poet Peadar Ó Doirnín (*c.*1700-69), it was set to an air by Peadar Ó Dubhda in 1907 which incidentally was reputed to be the original air of the above mentioned 'Iomáin Léana an Bhábhdhúin'. In the song he expresses his wish to be alone with his love on the elevated ground near his home. The hill referred to is Killen Hill, located in County Louth, just across the border from Forkhill in South Armagh. This version of the song is one that is well established in the song tradition in Donegal and throughout Ireland. It was

commercially recorded in 1969 by Albert Fry, a singer who Gráinne listened to in her early years and a musical influence on her and her singing.

5.3.10 A pause in performing

Gráinne's involvement and activities with *Glór na nGael* declined over time. She married and moved away from the town in 1980 and she admits that there was no-one there then to drive the movement locally. There wasn't anyone who stepped in. Life became busy for her with a young and growing family, working as a teacher in St Paul's High School Bessbrook, remaining there until 2007, she continued to teach song to small groups of students, preparing them for song competition on an ad hoc basis, but admits she left her singing days behind her.

Figure 31 Gráinne Clarke in St Nicholas's Church, Culture Night 2022

5.3.11 Return to singing

Since I first made contact with Gráinne, she has become a source of support for my wider research, a newly discovered friend, checking in with me on my progress and willing me on with my research. I have even shared a stage with her performing in St. Nicholas's Church in Dundalk for Culture Night in 2022 along with the Oriel Traditional Orchestra where she sang again 'Úirchill a' Chreagáin' (Figure 31). It was a special moment for her but also for me. A return to performing – something she had not done in some time. I felt like I had rediscovered her – just as through my wider research I have rediscovered and reimagined songs from my area. As I listened, I could gain further understanding of Ó Dochartaigh's descriptions of Gráinne as an artist, the importance of a song, and the need to examine further the cultural milieu from which Gráinne emerged.

I believe that Gráinne's untold story is a neglected aspect of our local song tradition in Crossmaglen and South Armagh. In competition for the Oireachtas Uladh Ó Dochartaigh says she sang 'with intense feeling and compassion with the technique of a true singer of sean-nós'. Her contribution to our song tradition and the Irish language movement is one which for me is a personal inspiration. As Ó Dochartaigh writes; 'Crossmaglen, and indeed Ireland, can be justly proud of a very beautiful and gifted singer' (1978, p. 17).

5.4 Eithne Ní Uallacháin

Eithne Ní Uallacháin (1957–1999) was a singer and recording artist from the Oriel region who performed repertoire in both Irish and English Language. A daughter of Irish-speaking parents, Pádraig Ó hUallacháin (1912–1974) and Eithne Bean Uí Uallacháin (née Ní Dhoibhlin), Eithne and her siblings were encouraged to engage with the language, song and local history by their father, a local teacher and song collector who published older songs from the Oriel area in local publications. It is notable that aside from her sister Pádraigín, a singer, her brother Ruairí is also credited as a songwriter, while her brother Éamonn is very active in relation to local history and has written many articles since 2005 for *The Creggan Journal*. Their connections with South

Armagh are strong; their mother was from the village of Cullyhanna and their grandfather, Micheál Devlin, was the local primary school principal there for over forty years.

Eithne emerged into the music scene in the 1970s, joining music and song sessions while a student at the University of Ulster at Coleraine, Co. Derry. She encountered many notable northern singers including Eddie Butcher, Joe Holmes and Len Graham. Taking up the flute at university, Eithne later formed the group *Lá Lugh* together with her husband, fiddle player Gerry O'Connor (b.1958). Eithne and Gerry first came to prominence in 1991 through their debut album as a duo recorded under Claddagh Records. Previous to this the duo had recorded *Cosa gan Bhróga* under the label Gael Linn with flautist, Desi Wilkinson in 1987. On this album Eithne sings four songs, all of which are from the Ulster sean-nós repertoire; 'Is Fada no chosa gan bhróga', 'Bádaí na scadán', 'Neillí Nic Dhónaill' and 'Ag Bruach Dhún Réimhe'. However it was the 1991 release that showcased Eithne's singing and flute playing to a more notable extent.

The second recording as Lá Lugh in 1996 saw the release entitled *Brighid's Kiss* with Lughnasa Music. This was closely followed by *Senex Peur* in 1998 under Sony Records. *Brighid's Kiss* was voted Traditional Music Album of the Year by the readers of the *Irish Music Magazine* in 1996. These albums are notable for the increasingly innovative way in which they present Irish traditional music, collaborating with musicians from other cultures and emerging into a more commercial environment through their contract with Sony. They also provide a reference point for music in the Oriel region (Kearney 2021).

Although Eithne's life and career as a recording artist may have been extremely short in comparison to her counterparts, what she achieved and created in that short time has remained significant to the singing tradition of the region. Aside from her commercial recordings, her engagement in local scenes and recordings made at these events are important in the context of my research. I recall finding the most beautiful photograph of Eithne on the Dúchas website

taken by Tom Mullenny at the Forkhill Singing weekend in the Irish National Foresters (INF) Hall, Forkhill in 1985. She looked so young and vibrant in an electric blue jumper (Figure 32). The Irish Traditional Music Archive holds four cassettes, three dated October 1994 and a further one dated October 1997,which captures the singing of Eithne along with several respected singers who attended the Forkhill Singing Weekend (also known as the Sliabh Gullion Festival of Traditional Singing) including Frank Harte (1933-2005), Luke Cheevers (*b.*1940), Micíl Ned Quinn (1930 – 2015), John Campbell (1933-2006), Patricia Flynn (*b.*1951) and Gerry O'Hanlon (1946 – 2012). Recorded between two locations; the INF Hall and The Welcome Inn, and on those occasions Eithne sang 'Éirigh 's cuir ort do chuid éadaigh', 'Thugamar féin an samhradh linn', 'The road to Clady' and 'Mal Bhán Ní Chuilleanáin' and, in 1997, 'Bold Doherty'.

One of the first recordings I ever heard of Eithne was her singing 'Mal Bhán Ní Chuilleanáin' [Fair Molly Hollywood]. My eldest son who was seven years old at the time was preparing to sing the song at Newry Feis. I was helping him with his performance and practice at home. After researching and finding a version of the song online, I discovered that the singer herself had crafted this air for this song. I thought it beautiful and entirely authentic. Later I discovered that the song had appeared in the 1915 publication *'Céad de Cheoltaibh Uladh'* by Énrí Ó Muirgheasa without music (Altan would also record a version of the song with another, faster air on their 2016 album *Blackwater*). Through her unique musical interpretation, Eithne crafted a beautiful air to accompany the song which was first released in 1991.

Figure 32 Eithne Ní Uallacháin. Source: The Photographic Collection, N120.25.00042

My research led me to explore further the work of Eithne and particularly her song repertoire. I soon discovered that this was not a one-off occurrence, in that she not only composed and crafted her own airs and arrangements but also wrote new lyrics and actively engaged with archival material which she then reinterpreted and reimagined, going on to perform and record her work for commercial release. One other such example taken from the same album is the song entitled 'Oíche fá Fhéil' Bríde (On Brigid's Eve)', where she composed an original air to accompany the song which featured in *Céad de Cheoltaibh Uladh* (1915). Additionally, Ní Uallacháin also recorded 'Fá dTear mo Mhuirnín Fháinnigh (Draw near my

wayward Darling)', a song taken from a collection by Fr. Lorcán Ó Muireadhaigh in 1927 entitled *Amhráin Chúige Uladh*.

Although Eithne was also recognized as a talented flautist, it is as a singer that her importance is greatest. Her voice has an effortless natural and authentic quality with a tone that is warm and sincere. While I was stunned at the beauty and honesty of her vocals and the expression within the delivery of the songs, I was also struck by the fact that her repertoire was bilingual, reflecting my perceptions of singers' identities in the context of Gaelic song traditions. She was not afraid to identify as both a singer of Gaelic song but also English song. For me, her singing in English is just as powerful as that in Irish. On the *Lá Lugh* album she sang 'One Morning in May' which she got from the singing of Len Graham and 'The Road to Clady' from the singing of County Armagh singer, Sarah Makem. I was so taken by her rendition of 'Lough Erne Shore' which I found online from a video recording of a live performance with Lá Lugh in Carlingford in 1996. She got this song from the singing of Paddy Tunney and was later released in 1996 on *Brighid's Kiss* and again in 1998 on *Senex Puer.* The sources of her repertoire reflect a strong singing community in the north east of Ireland, which has informed a number of studies, some of which focus on individual singers including Eddie Butcher (Shields 2011), Joe Holmes (Graham 2010), and Cathal McConnell (O'Connor 2011). All of these collections reflect a primarily English-language song tradition that is distinct from the Gaelic song heritage of South Armagh and the Oriel region.

This practice of engaging with archival material from the Oriel region continued to influence Eithne's song repertoire on subsequent albums. Eithne developed a shared ethos and collaborative approach developed with her husband and fiddle player Gerry O'Connor. They performed a mix of songs and traditional tunes from archival collections, often focusing on

sources from the Oriel region. This approach foregrounded the talents of each performer and the different aspects of the tradition in a balanced manner.

Brighid's Kiss contains eleven tracks in total of which six are songs while the others are instrumental tracks. The opening track to this release shares the title of the album – 'Brighid's Kiss / Gabhaim Molta Bríde' and is 'inspired by the Gaelic song'. The new lyrics in the song are by Fiona O'Connor but the new music on the track is by Eithne herself. She also crafted an original melody to 'Bealtaine Song / Bábóg na Bealtaine' [Child of May], collected by Énrí Ó Muirgheasa from Owen Byrne from Farney in County Monaghan and published in *Céad de Cheoltaibh Uladh* (1915). Her version of this song has become popularised within the singing tradition within the region. A further reworked song from old is 'Tá sé 'na lá' based on the now-popular song 'Níl sé 'na lá' and again the words and music are by Eithne to produce a new composition. This album also includes 'Omeath Music', described as a collation of working and nonsense songs from Omeath in County Louth. This incorporates songs learned from her mum Eithne and her dad Pádraig including 'Ring ting Ring num', 'Bacach Shíol Andi', 'Hie-do-Indiu' and 'Scadán Amháin' from the singing of Seamus Ó Cáthain of Omeath, published in *Amhrain Chúige Uladh* (1927). In this instance Eithne was adept in taking pieces and fragments of songs and threading them together in a single piece. One of these songs, 'Scadán Amháin', had earlier appeared on her sister Pádraigín's album A *Stór Is A Stóirín* (1994), released by Gael Linn. The near contemporaneous release of the albums is useful for reflection on the aesthetics and approach to production. Whereas Pádraigín collaborated with multi-instrumentalist Gary Ó Briain resulting in a fairly consistent and relatively sparse presentation of the songs with guitar, mandocello and keyboard accompaniment that maintains the integrity of each song, Eithne creates a suite of songs that changes rhythm and tempo and sound aesthetic.

A critical aspect of Ní Uallacháin's work in the context of my research is her engagement with composition as creative practice in the presentation of traditional song repertoire. In the sleeve notes for *Brigid's Kiss* is written:

> Some of the songs on this collection have been given new melodies. They are not deliberately composed in the strict sense of the word but, evoked, for music, like a dying language lives in the consciousness of its people through the succeeding generations, manifesting itself in various new forms. Through the singer living in an area once rich in traditional song, and tuned to an ancient voice, this music resonates and finds expression.

The reference to Oriel as 'an area once rich in traditional song' signifies not only the heritage from which Ní Uallacháin draws but also the loss in terms of practice as a living tradition. The notes suggest a sense of 'ancestral memory', which I referred to in my prologue, rooting Ní Uallacháin as a performer of this place and inheritor of an ancient tradition with the authority to alter and change as her creativity allows.

Released to an international market in the aftermath of *Riverdance* (1994; 1995), *Senex Puer* incorporates songs from the *Lá Lugh* and *Brighid's Kiss* album with another three previously unreleased songs which included 'Éirigh suas a stóirín', 'The Emigrant's Farewell' and the self-penned 'Senex Puer'. The notes for this track state: 'spanning ten centuries of musical influence this song draws from the Irish monastic tradition with the bilingual Latin and Gaelic hymn 'Deus Meus', to make a plea on contemporary style for the vagaries of soul'. The artists are evoking a sense of Celtic spirituality, made popular around this time through the writings of John O'Donohoe (1996), while there are also resonances with the contemporaneous work of Enya (1995), which has sometimes been described as spiritual in its aesthetic (Rycenga 2003).

Senex Puer reflects an evolving sound where the singer/songwriter is pushing the boundaries of tradition to create and recreate new contemporary musical interpretations. This collection is certainly more progressive than those previous releases, with collaborations with

a plethora of new musicians and sounds that juxtapose traditional instruments with didgeridoos and piano, vocal harmonies, and the introduction of the Latin language.

Eithne's first and only solo album, *Bilingua,* did not come until after her untimely passing on 19 May 1999. Released in 2014 with Gael Linn, the vocals had already been recorded in Homestead Studios between 1997 and 1999. But by the following September, only months after her passing, her husband Gerry and particularly her son Dónal with the contributions of invited musicians, had finished and mixed the album, but for several reasons, some contractual, the album was not released until fifteen years later in 2014. I have oftentimes thought what an expression of deep and enduring love to release a final album in such a way, something which could have been kept and concealed only for the ears of her nearest and dearest. It is an elegy to the loss of Eithne but also a celebration of her and her life as a singer and a composer. Described by Dónal as 'a gateway to Eithne for new listeners who don't necessarily know the strength of tradition that from which she comes' (YouTube 2015), the album is an eclectic mix of songs of her own compositions and at times, her interpretations of archival texts and their reworking as her own.

Eithne's work, her creativity, and musicality is such that it continues to inspire a new generation of singers. This album does not shy away from the huge emotions that Eithne's singing conveys nor does it deny her bilingual heritage, but rather celebrates it. Of her as a singer, Pauline Scanlon has said, 'She is a benchmark, she is a reference point….every singer should know she is a singer you need to go back and listen to' (YouTube 2015).

Eithne's recordings were released twenty-six years after her death but are not out of place amongst contemporary releases – referred to as 'remarkable timelessness' by Siobhán Long in *The Irish Times* (4 December 2014). It demonstrates that, as a creative artist, she was ahead of her time, presenting and engaging with archival material yet bringing it to a whole new audience, outside of the Oriel region and community. Even though I never had the chance

to meet her, I feel inspired by her and the legacy she left behind. She wasn't afraid to challenge traditional views on music and song presentation, excelling as singer, songwriter, composer and musician. Through this album we come to truly understand her; a complex, intelligent, deep, expressive singer, and while an enigma of sorts, entirely relatable. Cellist Neil Martin has said, 'The music she gifted us during her lifetime was so great that maybe she couldn't give us anymore' (YouTube 2016). Eithne was forty-two years of age when she died, three years younger than I am now, and I reflect on the vastness of her contribution to the singing tradition and how much she achieved in those short years. I often wonder about the creative works she might have produced if she were still with us today. To new listeners, her work is accepted as entirely authentic to the tradition, blissfully unaware that some of her repertoire are newly composed songs, music and airs. Furthermore, some of these same songs have gone on to be popularised amongst the singing community and accepted through the 'process of tradition' into the local canon. She is one of the most revolutionary voices within the singing tradition of the Oriel area but has not been the subject of academic study and, apart from a surge of interest following the release of the album in 2014 and documentary *Bilingua*, with celebratory concert in 2016 and references to her in the Oriel Arts project led by her sister Pádraigín, she is not given the same level of recognition on a par with some other singers of her generation; the inaccessibility of a website in her name and the documentary demonstrates how a singer can become forgotten.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have analyzed the contributions of three singers who have engaged with Gaelic song from the Oriel region. Although each singer has followed distinct paths in their creative practices, all have subsequently recorded this Gaelic material commercially. A central aspect of their practice was their connection to the Donegal Gaeltacht. For Fry, an outsider to Rann na Feirste, this involved collecting songs from singers such as Seán Bán Mac Grianna and Aodh Ó Duibheannaigh. Clarke's connection is marked by her victory at the Oireachtas Uladh in

Gaoth Dobhair in 1978, while Ní Uallacháin sourced some of the songs that informed her creative practice from this region.

Although two of these singers have since passed away and the third is no longer consistently active in singing practice, their recordings have become invaluable resources for contemporary singers and performers, including me. These recordings illustrate the diverse ways in which each artist has engaged with and presented the material. The three singers have provided models for consideration in developing my own creative practice and engagement with local song heritage. Their engagement with local song traditions demonstrates different approaches and serves as touchstones for me as a creative practitioner.

Chapter 6

Creative Practice and the Sharing the Songs

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I describe the development of Participatory Action Research (PAR) with the central aim to re-create and enliven a collection of local Gaelic songs. While chapter 5 introduced Trimble, this chapter will introduce the singers and others involved in presenting these songs to audiences. I provide insights into approaches to creative practice, including the development of music arrangements for performance by the Oriel Traditional Orchestra, and the efforts to revitalise the repertoire. The revitalisation process involved the development of pedagogical resources which assisted in the facilitation and of song engagement workshops. I critically reflect on the design of these resources and learning aids and the impact of the workshops. In this chapter, I also detail the process of recording the songs and a series of public performances of the songs by the group. I conclude the chapter by referencing other activities that are related to but beyond the scope of this dissertation, which provide a foundation for further development and dissemination of this research.

6.2 Song Research Group

My project is not an individual effort and benefits from the input of a number of collaborators. As with most successful working groups, the members share a common interest. Allied with an interest in the Irish language, I am a local singer who is part of a group that seeks to re-establish these songs in the repertoire by connecting them with airs from historical sources or composing new airs for the lyrics in the collection. From the outset, the group consisted of three singers of which I am one, under the guidance of Trimble. Later, this was augmented with the participation of Kearney, who provided input on musical arrangement and was involved in producing performances by the group members.

The impetus of the group came from the research activities of Trimble that focused on archival sources for Gaelic song in the region. Based on his published and ongoing research on the

Gaelic Song tradition of South-East Ulster, we have been putting to test a number of his conclusions and hypotheses on a collection of songs. Of course, when John Hannon collected his songs he only had the ability to write down the words. There was no ability for him to capture the air of the same said song. Trimble has identified a number of local airs, from sources including the piper Goodman, well as the Bunting and Joyce collections. It is the work of the research group to test these airs with the lyric of each of the songs. The group came together on the foot of local festival, *Ceol na Croise* in July 2019 following some early and individual work on songs which Trimble had published.

Figure 33 Participatory Action Research Group. Pictured from left to right: Dr Gearóid Trimble, Colleen Savage, Ciara Hall, Patricia McCrink

The first aspect of our collaborative work focused on developing versions of the songs that we enjoyed singing. The second aspect sought to share these versions with our communities. This reflects repatriation but recognises that the songs we are sharing are shaped by both historical and contemporary factors. As Treloyn and Charles state, 'Repatriation studies also produce substantial knowledge about the modern contexts in which music and musical styles are produced, shared, learned, and performed' (2021, p. 134). The interest in these songs

is influenced by an interest in Irish language and local culture but also the desire to engage in social activities that utilise song as an enjoyable practice.

6.3 The Singers

Ciara Hall, a native of Dundalk, Co. Louth, and with family connections to Co. Monaghan, holds an MA in Irish from the University College Galway. She has been performing sean-nós singing for many years, with a particular focus on the songs of South-East Ulster. Ciara has a keen interest in the light, humorous, satirical, and even scurrilous songs of the region. She has an rich repertoire of sean-nós songs from South-East Ulster and has been dedicated to restoring many lesser-known songs solo for several years. Ciara has showcased this repertoire in various venues across the Oriel area and beyond, including at song competitions like Sean-nós na Fearsaide and Oireachtas na Samhna, as well as in song workshops, lecture presentations, concert performances, and singing sessions. Additionally, she composes new humorous songs in Irish for performance and competition.

Patricia McCrink is a native of Cullyhanna, South Armagh and is a singer of both English folk song and Irish language folk song and sean-nós song. She studied at the University of Ulster achieving an BA in Irish Studies and there she befriended Trimble. While studying she had the opportunity at that time to look at some of the Hannon papers and the Irish contained within the songs he had collected while under the tutelage of Dr Diarmuid Ó Doibhlin. After leaving university Patricia worked on a studio album entitle *A different kind of beautiful* (2004) featuring a contemporary mixture of original music, cover versions of a few favourites and some songs as Gaeilge both old and modern. Since then, she has continued to sing a varied repertoire within the local community, performing as a duo with her husband, and with friends. She is a member of the Uplifted choir, of the Choir Studio who recently performed with Brian Kennedy at the Eats and Beats festival Newcastle Co. Down.

6.4 Musical Arrangements

The musical arrangements for some of the songs in the collection were created by Kearney, one of the academic supervisors on my MA research project. Kearney regularly composes and arranges music for the Oriel Traditional Orchestra (OTO). The OTO is a cross-border, intergenerational community orchestra that brings together musicians from Louth, Meath, Monaghan, and Armagh. Specializing in Irish traditional music from the Oriel region, the orchestra arranges and performs pieces tailored for their ensemble. Their diverse repertoire includes works by notable composers associated with the region such as Turlough O'Carolan, Josephine Keegan, and Brian O'Kane.

When Kearney composes and arranges for the orchestra, he tailors his arrangements to the members' abilities and the available instruments. For this project, in the original arrangement, 'Suantraí', the harp played a crucial role, drawing on the presence of some capable harp players. As the membership evolved and some of the harp players moved on, it was necessary to utilise the piano in place of the harp to maintain the piece's cohesion. For 'Máire Chaoch', Kearney drew on the idea that the song treated the subject – a housekeeper – with some sarcasm and so presented the air in the manner of a royal march fit for a queen. In this arrangement, the strings are heard to mimic a trumpet voluntary.

One challenge in arranging songs with multiple verses is keeping the accompaniment varied and engaging for the musicians without overshadowing the singer. At times, the accompaniment is intentionally sparse to give the singer more 'space.' Developing instrumental sections and identifying key signatures that were accessible and appropriate to both musicians and singers was important. Kearney also drew on examples from the wider tradition. One of the initial arrangements for 'Do bhuig, a Shéain' featured a lively guitar backing in the style of Séamus Begley and Steve Cooney. Through the collaborative process, the tempo was slowed a little and the arrangement involved key changes to allow for both singer and musicians to perform effectively. This flexibility allows the songs to be presented in various ways by both

singers and musicians Working with the OTO inspired engagement with the musical traditions beyond the songs themselves. An arrangement performed as an instrumental piece, 'Anna na gCraobh', demonstrates how airs can be adapted by instrumentalists, akin to the work of O'Carolan. Some of the instrumentalists within the orchestra have expressed an interest in developing their knowledge and understanding of the local Gaelic song tradition and have attended workshops that I have facilitated. This demonstrates how song has meaning and relevance to people beyond those engaged in singing.

Kearney's musical influences draw on his experiences growing up in Kerry and the performance and arrangement styles of Séamus Begley, Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh, Siamsa Tíre, and Pat Ahern, are evident in his arrangements. His contributions have been pivotal in engaging the community of musicians with the song repertoire but also reflect developments in the Gaelic song soundscape in recent years. Our work on the songs from South Armagh predates the 2021 collaboration of Dónal O'Connor and the Irish Chamber Orchestra with Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh on *Róisín Reimagined*, which 'explores the connections between classical and traditional music and reimagines these timeless songs for a new era' (Irish Chamber Orchestra, 2021).

Reflecting on releases by Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh, Ceara Conway and Inni K, Adrian Scahill recognises 'an increasing engagement by musicians and composers from across the contemporary music spectrum with the unaccompanied Gaelic song tradition, working with sean-nós songs and singers' (2022, n.p). Sørensen's engagement with the concept of sean nua, a corruption of the term that makes little sense in translation, view some of the trends 'as an attempt by these artists to take over the existing cultural capital in older songs and pieces of music (looking backward to tradition) and incorporating it into and thereby enhancing their own contemporary cultural capital' (2014, p. 2). Sørensen traces a line in popular culture from Van Morrison's collaboration with The Chieftains in 1988, through Sinéad O'Connor's *Sean-Nós Nua* (2002), and in doing so draws attention to how critics and the media confer status on artists

and recordings. More significantly in my research, authority comes from the community, which presents a challenge as outlined in my personal reflections on engaging with the tradition. Sørensen draws on Bourdieu's sense of gatekeeping as an important part of canon formation and transmission of cultural capital, recognising that 'a contemporary *sean-nós* must know the tradition, and its authority will weigh upon him or her, yet he/she must also dare to transcend the tradition and set a new level of excellence, i.e. be a *sean-nós nua'* (2014, p. 4).

Creative engagement with traditional song is not new. The early years of the Feis Ceoil at the end of the nineteenth century featured choral arrangements of Gaelic song (Costello 2015, p. 92). From the 1970s, Pat Ahern was creating choral arrangements of sean-nós songs, as can be heard on the 1976 recording *Siamsa*. In some instances, the choir is joined by traditional instruments, often incorporating elements of dance tunes into the arrangements. Contemporaneously, the Pan Celtic Song Contest was established in 1971 and often features contemporary approaches to songs in the Celtic languages. Early Irish representatives included Clannad and Skara Brae, while recent entrants have included Dianne Canon and Daithí Kearney. The Seán Ó Riada competition at the Cork International Choral Festival was established in 1972 by Professor Aloys Fleischmann, a pivotal figure in Irish music, to foster a new era of Irish choral composition (Fleischmann 2004). Fleischmann established a seminar that brought Irish and international composers together and, for many years, the competition required an Irish language text; the setting of an Irish language text is no longer a requirement. It is also notable that, through the 1970s, a choir from Siamsa Tíre regularly performed at the Cork Choral Festival under the direction of Ahern, who was a student of Fleischmann in the 1960s.

In more recent times, scholars including Stephanie Ford (2017a; 2017b) and Denis Toomey (2020) have examined the engagement between contemporary composers and sean-nós singing through both reflection and creative practice. In this context, Ford notes: 'The recurring theme of traditional music versus contemporary art music has permeated and divided

musicological discourse on Irish musical culture, and claims of essentialism have been ascribed to those on both sides of the debate. This dichotomy is naturally problematic to discussions of collaborations between sean-nós and contemporary music' (2017b, p. 87). Critically, and in contrast with the project I am engaged with, these composers are exploring contemporary approaches and soundscapes aimed at professional performers for a contemporary music audience, whereas my approach, and that of Kearney and other collaborators, is aimed at community-based participants. However this community is not immediately one that is connected to a community of sean-nós singing. Thus, there is a quadripartite understanding required between traditionalists (see Vallely et al 1999; Costello 2015; Ford 2017a), progressivists within the traditional music community, progressivists engaged in creative collaborative projects beyond the tradition, and community-based practitioners that seek to make traditional music accessible and relevant to society at large in contemporary Ireland.

A further dichotomy exists in relation to Irish and English language song traditions. Christopher J. Smith highlights musical and cultural tensions between 'the Gaelic-speaking or Gaelic-oriented pipers, fiddlers, flutists, and *sean-nós* singers of the rural South and West, and the English-speaking and English-oriented banjoists, guitarists, and harmonizing choral singers of the urban "Ballad Boom"' (2012). The latter includes groups such as The Dubliners, The Clancy Brothers and Tommy Makem, Planxty and The Chieftains. The geographical references of Smith ignores the presence of Irish-language communities elsewhere and singers such as Gráinne Clarke, who is the main subject of Chapter 5 in this dissertation.

6.5 The Revitalisation Process – Piecing Together the Puzzle

The process of piecing together air with lyric is not always an exact science. It can be one of the most frustrating and time-consuming experiences, yet when it works, one of the most rewarding and celebratory. The elation of making a discovery whereby a song comes to life, is one of the most enriching experiences as a singer researcher. There is an underlining sentiment that what we are embarking upon requires sensitivity, a respect and due care to material and of

course to the memory of the singer who once sang the song, the collector who took it down and also the musician who once played the chosen air. Furthermore, and alongside this sentiment, we understand that the material on occasion is light-hearted, humorous and songs which were shared amongst a community about everyday, more times, inconsequential themes. The process also allows use to engage with our own cultural identity in a meaningful and practical way.

The initial phase of research involved reviewing extant sources of airs, sourcing other associated or comparable airs, or composing new airs utilising the metre and syllabic character of the text. For this phase, we drew on our familiarity with both archival and contemporary recordings, focusing on sean-nós singers from Ulster but also giving consideration to artists from other places. In some instances, the challenge of matching text with airs was complicated by the fact that the air was transcribed from an instrument performance without the singer rather than sung with the text words. Sources include the Bunting collection and tunes from the piper Goodman.

As a group, we were not confident in sight-reading music and so utilised technology to help with learning the airs. The process involved each of the singers plotting each of the airs from the manuscript provided using a free software program called Noteflight. Each air was plotted using the key in which the manuscript was collected. Thereafter the air was transposed to a key which suited each of the singers and in most occasions the tempo was slowed to accommodate the insertion of the lyric. In my own case I used the piano quite a lot, playing the air repeatedly. With Noteflight however, we could play the air on a continuous loop. The next step was to insert the lyric under the appropriate notes on the staff. In some occasions this was completed with ease; in others it required the singer to adapt where necessary, perhaps shortening words like ‘agus’ or adding words like ‘O’ at the beginning of a verse. We each then made vocal recordings of the song, which we shared within and amongst the group for feedback, evalution and amendments where necessary. With the aid of these vocal recordings of the song, together with notation of the plotted airs and the lyric of each song, the OTO began to craft

musical accompaniment. In total there are five songs which have been set to musical accompaniment by the OTO. There are four further songs to the collection which are sang acapella.

6.6 Song Workshops – Engaging with the Community

The aim of the song workshops was multi-faceted. The primary aim was to have these newly revived songs adopted back into the local song tradition of the Oriel area. In addition, the workshop presented an opportunity to engage with the local community from where these songs originated. As part of the project, we had selected songs specific to the immediate area and which referred to events, people and places with which the workshop participants could instantly identify and associate with. All members of the research group facilitated the workshops which allowed for a more robust attendee experience and presentation on each of the songs together with a more detailed an in-depth discussion around the significance of each song. With the help of Trimble, attendees learned of the subject matter of each song and any historical significance they held particularly from a social history perspective.

Several mechanisms were utilised to engage and recruit participants in the community workshops. In the first instance, we identified key locations and venues that would be suitable to host the workshops – one in each county of Armagh, Louth and Monaghan. Following that, we picked a series of dates which we could work with over a period of six months. Thereafter we used Eventbrite as an online platform to craft three events for the three workshops. Tickets to the events were free to all to ensure no financial barrier to engagement. We used Facebook and Instagram to raise awareness of the events through social media postings. We also linked with the Ring of Gullion Landscape Partnership, who included information about the events in their ezine and also on their social media channels. We also used word of mouth with our own community connections to raise awareness of the workshops. The Mullaghbane workshop was included within that summer's Lúnasa festival program of events in South Armagh. In terms of attendees, there were a total of 60 people in attendance for the community workshops. This,

however, does not include the further and separate community engagement with the Oriel Traditional Orchestra and their membership, of which there were approximately 65 members

Each of the songs were introduced by each singer and thereafter an oral presentation on the personal journey of each singer – detailing the historical background of each song including the sources of each song, information about the collector and the contributor who provided the oral version of song and sources for the air for which accompanied it. The singer had an opportunity to speak of the struggles and triumphs they encountered during the process. The workshop also provided an important opportunity to information gather from the local community and to obtain further lines of inquiry. Attendees also had the opportunity to look at some of the manuscripts from which the singers were working. This allowed for further discussion and for attendees to ask questions. Finally, the song was performed and taught to the group who then performed all songs at the end of the workshop.

The style of workshop delivered was distinctly different from those typical at Irish traditional music or singing festivals and attracted a wide variety of people – and not necessarily singers. We identified that those who attended also included linguists, Irish Language students, those with an interest in local history and also instrumentalists. Each of the three-hour song workshops took place at three separate locations located within the counties of Armagh, Louth and Monaghan. The Armagh workshop was the first to take place during the summer of 2021. It was held at Bluebell Lane Glamping, Mullaghbane at an outdoor location with stunning views of Slieve Gullion Mountain. At this workshop we sang and discussed three songs from the Hannon Collection which were ‘Máire Chaoch’, ‘Do bhuig, a Shéain’ and ‘Chuaigh an Mhaol’. With Trimble present to give an overview on Hannon, his life and his work, the three singers in turn presented the pieces with their own journey to piecing together their allocated song, the collected lyric with the air. Each singer then performed the song and then taught it to the group.

The session gave spaces for questions from the floor but also signposting to other lines of enquiry which may inform further research into the collection.

The second workshop took place in the Patrick Kavanagh Centre, Inniskeen, Co Monaghan. This workshop was supported by the local Irish Language Group, Muineachán le Gaeilge. In this workshop we covered the songs 'Iomáin Inis Caoin', 'Bhéarfaidh mé gruth agus meadhg ar maidin duit' and 'Bodaigh na hEorna'. The group replicated the model of the workshop in Mullaghbane, allowing time for discussion between and within the group present.

The third workshop took place within the historic surroundings of the Oriel Centre, Dundalk Gaol, Co. Louth. In this session we looked at the songs 'Lá Fhéile Pádraig', 'Do bhuig, a Sheáin', 'Suantraí - Huiréo Baa / Dá bhfeicfeá tusa' and 'Chuaigh an Mhaol'. Each of the three workshop sessions were well attended with a total of 75 persons engaging the song workshops from August 2021 – December 2021. There are some observations which have remained with me from the workshop sessions. I noted that some of people attended all three workshops which illustrated a commitment to engaging with the material and a genuine interest in the language, the songs, and the social history. I also noted that some of the songs were better received than others, particularly those with simple Irish or those with a repetitive chorus - 'Do bhuig, a Sheáin' was always a favourite and the upbeat tempo had people's feet tapping. The suantraí entitled 'Huiréo Baa / Dá bhfeicfeá tusa' was also well received along with 'Chuaigh an Mhaol'. The more complex songs, those with longer verses and intricate airs, presented a bigger challenge, particularly for those who had little or no Irish. The songs with shorter verses were easier to teach and easier for those attending to fully grasp. This experience has informed my song choices for subsequent song workshops following the project, particularly for

communities whom have little or no understanding of Irish or indeed the song tradition of Crossmaglen and it environs.

I felt that good connections were made through the workshops with the wider community. Since then I have been invited to perform and also teach song workshops for the local Comhaltas branch in Carrickmacross and the ladies who had attended my workshops have on several occasions attended singing sessions, workshops and music events in South Armagh and the Ring of Gullion which I have curated. It was through the workshops I met local language enthusiast Vincent Fagan and chairperson of Muineachán le Gaeilge [Monaghan with Irish] Seán Ó Murchadha, which have led to further opportunities to platform the songs such as Culture Night in Dundalk in 2022. The local Dundalk branch of Conradh na Gaeilge has engaged with Ciara Hall and me to provide song workshops in celebration of Seachtain na Gaeilge.

We also collaborated with the Oriel Traditional Orchestra (OTO) and sought to craft music accompaniment to some of the songs. The OTO provide not only a sound, but a connection to a community of musical practice located in and across the Oriel Region. I have observed that the collaboration between the singers and the musicians of the OTO has evoked the strongest sense of community. This has been most evident during rehearsal and performance sessions, particularly during the recorded sessions with the Duncairn Arts Centre, Belfast which took place in DkIT in September 2024. There was an overwhelming sense of pride and profound expressions of thanks for bringing vocal and music together from a number of the musicians following the recording sessions. Some musicians expressed how it was the first time they had been involved in a recording and how they are so grateful to be part of such a multigenerational orchestra which gives them opportunities like this. In this way I see that the songs have a

currency, not only in terms of the value of bringing them back into the tradition but also in terms of the connections they have forged within this musical community.

6.7 Resources and Learning Aids

It was clear from my experience of attending previous song workshops there was certain room for improvement to aid and assist the learning experience. When attending previous song workshops, there was a limited understanding of those taking the class of the ability of the attendee to grasp the lrish language. In most cases classes were given solely in Irish. The learning aids provided were usually the lyric and little attention given to the historical background of the song or information on the transmission of that song. Never was there an attempt to provide phonetic aids.

I viewed this as a key opportunity to turn the learning experience on its head. I knew that the learning aids deserved to be more robust and in addition workshops delivered in a bilingual fashion in order to ensure that the material accessible to a wider audience amongst the community from which the songs emerged, thereby making the experience more inclusive and open to all abilities. Firstly, the learning aid included the air of the song. A notation was provided which was plotted by each singer using the software program Noteflight. The song lyric in Irish was provided together with a literal translation in English. Thereafter key footnote information was provided which included the song collector, singer, air and any other oral versions of the song. I thought it also important to point to any phonetics particularly in respect of the Hannon Collection. These songs provide and capture elements of the dialect of language of the area which I though it important to speak about with the group. The learning aids also provided images of the manuscripts – the lyrics and any notations which formed the air of the

song. We encouraged attendees to record the songs on their phones and following the workshop we made available voice notes to all attendees.

6.8 Recording the Songs

In conjunction with the Duncairn Arts Centre, Belfast and Dave Molloy of Cellar Club Studios, we have recorded a series of videos and audio recordings of each of the songs. Two methods have been utilised to capture the songs. The first has been a live audio and visual capture of the songs performed with the OTO. This took place in September 2024 in Dundalk Institute of Technology and was directed and produced by the Duncairn Arts Centre, Belfast. I have been working with this creative team on a number of projects including 'Ring of Gullion Sessions' (April 2021) and 'Land of Lore – Tales from Ireland's Border Counties' (September 2024). This method captured five songs from the Hannon Collection.

The second method was through studio recording sessions with producer Dave Molloy which captured an additional four acapella songs. Dave Molloy is a songwriter, composer, musician, and producer based in Cellar Club Studios, Forkhill, South Armagh, for over 25 years. He has collaborated with various artists, recording and producing singer-songwriters, traditional, folk, bluegrass and pop, contributing to the vibrant music scene in Ireland. Notable music projects include Paul McDonnell's *A Sweeter Confusion* (2016), Terry Conlon's *Homegrown* (2017), Cúig's *The Theory of Chaos* (2018), Cup O' Joe's *In the Parting* (2020), Dylan Pearse's *Songs from the North Country* (2020) and Paul J Bolger's *Hard Truth* (2022) His engagement with many local artists and their traditional music and song-infused projects provided him with useful perspectives when engaging with me. Molloy is also a songwriter and whose output has been recorded and performed by such artists including Tommy Flemming, De Dannan, Cathy Jordan and Leah McFall. His co-write with Paul McDonnell, 'Superman' won IMRO/Christie Hennessey song competition in 2011. As a session musician, he has worked on such shows as *The Late Late Show, The Rose of Tralee and Eurovision*. He has toured and opened for artists like Kieron Goss, Jools Holland, Kirsty McColl, Clannad, and

Eddie Reader. Dave was the band guitarist on Tommy Fleming's Irish tours in 2006 and 2007 and part of the house band for The Voice of Ireland live shows from 2012 to 2014. Being able to work alongside an artist with this level of experience has pushed me to understand my creative practice in relation to a professional musical world, parallel to my engagement in community contexts. For this research project Molloy captured the vocals of Ciara Hall and myself on four tracks; 'Lá Fhéile Pádraig', 'Iomáin Inis Caoin', 'Bhéarfaidh mé gruth agus meadhg ar maidin duit' and 'Sliabh gCuilinn'. The first three recordings were captured as acapella tracks and the last one with accompaniment from a shruti box and fiddle playing from Joanna Doran. All the recordings, either audio or visual are included at Appendix A of this study.

6.9 Public Performances

The song research group have had the opportunity to perform the songs publicly along with the OTO at a variety of local festivals and events within the Oriel region. Some of these include Féile Patrick Byrne Festival, April 2022, Íontas Theatre and Maid of the Mill Festival, April 2022. More notably, on 26th May 2022, the research group together with the Oriel Traditional Orchestra took part in a celebration of the life and work of John Hannon and his contribution as a song collector at the unveiling of the coveted Ulster History Circle Blue plaque, where songs from the Hannon collection, were sung in the Square of Crossmaglen. Together with musical accompaniment, the audience heard 'Máire Chaoch', 'Do bhuig, a Shéain' and 'Chuaigh an Mhaol'. This was an historic first for Crossmaglen which received national television coverage. Culture Night, September 2022, gave us an opportunity to perform with the orchestra in St Nicholas' Green Church, Dundalk thanks to an invitation from local Gaeilgeoir and Dundalk native, Vincent Fagan. In November 2024, the singers along with the OTO have performed five of the songs within a charity concert in the Táin Arts Centre,

Dundalk. The songs have also been used within radio broadcasts on BBC Radio Ulster and Raidió na Gaeltachta.

The group have continued to perform the songs on a solo basis. Ciara Hall has sang 'Iomáin Inis Caoin', 'Lá Fhéile Pádraig', and 'Do bhuig, a Sheáin' at various sean-nós singing competitions including Oireachtas na Gaeilge competitions (2022, 2024) in Killarney, Co. Kerry, Sean-nós na Fearsaide (2022; 2023; 2024) in Belfast, and Féile na Mí (2023) in Rath Chairn, Co. Meath. She has also delivered several ceardlann amhránaíochta where she has taught some of the songs to attendees at Féile na Bealtaine (2023) in Mullaghbane and for Seachtain na Gaeilge (2024) in Dundalk. She has also performed the songs at local singing sessions across the Oriel region.

I have continued to incorporate some of the songs within tourism and visitor experiences in the Ring of Gullion including the *Sing for your Supper* events and at singing workshops, both of which are delivered at Bluebell Lane in Mullaghbane during festivals including *Lúnasa* (2022; 2023) and *Féile an Bealtaine* (2023). I have also delivered song performances during my research journey within DkIT (November 2023) and song workshops for visiting academic groups to the college (June 2024) along with guided bus tours of South Armagh and the Ring of Gullion. Community engagement song projects including 'Take it away, sure 'tis your own' (March 2024) in Cullyhanna and Crossmaglen, 'Sing' (May 2024; June 2024) in Lislea, have provided further gateways to performance and a teaching platform for the songs. Recently secured funding from the Ring of Gullion Landscape Partnership Legacy fund and separately the Arts and Culture financial call 2024 from Newry, Mourne and Down District Council, will allow for further song projects and the continued dissemination of the songs to a local audience in early 2025. Patricia has since crafted a musical accompaniment to the suantraí with her husband on guitar and whistle and regularly performs it together.

6.10 Further Workshops – Bringing outsiders into the fold

More recently I have engaged with the local community in a series of song workshops throughout South Armagh. The song workshops have engaged with established community groups including the Lislea Centre, Lively Ladies and South Armagh Rural Women's Network and offer a few hours of guided group singing from a repertoire of songs linked to the locality, but predominantly in the English Language. However, part of the workshop series is devoted to Gaelic song and the examples chosen are from the collection and include 'Do bhuig, a Sheáin', 'Chuaigh an Mhaol' and the 'Suantraí - Huiréo Baa / Dá bhfeicfeá tusa'. These songs are uncomplicated in nature, with simple airs and incorporate a repeating chorus. Furthermore two of the songs are from the Hannon Collection and have phonetic aids.

By using a familiar repertoire as a gateway, it is possible to engage the community with this older repertoire, sparking interest by highlighting the meanings and histories implicit in the songs, such as references to local families, places and traditions. There is a disconnect between the songs in my study and the local imagination. The considered choice of songs for each workshop, such as 'Iomáin Inis Caoin' in Iniskeen, stimulated a greater deal of investment from the participants.

Sharing the songs with the local community is not without challenge. There is a feeling of apprehension around the language; many of those involved have little or no experience with the Irish language. Their main interest is in popular ballads and songs from the 'Country and Irish' scene popularised in the latter half of the twentieth century. These songs are part of a broader Irish repertoire, although some refer to local places, but there is an older, local repertoire that I am interested in.

I continue to secure tranches of funding from a variety of sources including Newry, Mourne and Down District Council (Arts and Culture Funding) and the Ring of Gullion Landscape Partnership (Cultural Heritage Funding) in order to continue to disseminate the

songs within the wider community through several song-based community projects. While this postgraduate research project comes to a conclusion with the submission of a written dissertation, the engagement with this song heritage will continue.

6.11 Conclusion

In this chapter I described the process by which I collaborated with others to re-create and enliven a collection of local Gaelic songs. By providing information on the other group members, I demonstrate the value of collaborating as part of a Participatory Action Research methodology. The process of singing and revitalising songs from archival sources, including the development of music arrangements for performance by the Oriel Traditional Orchestra, demonstrates the different creative approaches that can be engaged with. My collaborators, particularly Ciara and Patricia, have been vitally important in assisting me achieve the aims and objectives of the project, challenging me to consider my approach to performance and supporting the development of my learning throughout the project. Through their practice, they have demonstrated different interpretations of the repertoire and perspectives on the outputs of the project.

A critical aspect of this project was the development of pedagogical resources for the purpose of delivering song workshops that could engage members of the local community with the Gaelic song heritage of the region. In addition to this community-based activity, the members of the research group recorded and performed songs, raising the profile of the repertoire and attracting new audiences. The involvement of others allowed me to reflect critically on the processes of performing and recording, removing me from the role of performer in some instances. In the concluding chapter I will highlight plans for future developments that build on the activities described in this chapter, which enabled me to achieve the aims and objectives of the project as outlined in Chapter 1.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

7.1 Summary

My engagement with the song heritage of my local area has led me on a journey of discovery through archives, creative practice and community engagement. This study sought to address three fundamental research questions, incorporating philosophical and creative practice approaches. In the first instance, I sought to understand how an artist can engage creatively with archival material. This was demonstrated through my own creative practice, often in collaboration with others, discussed in chapters 4 and 6, and evidenced in Appendix A. I have also reflected on the creative practice of others, notably Albert Fry, Gráinne Clarke and Eithne Ní Uallacháin in Chapter 5. The second research question required me to illustrate how engagement with local repertoire provides insights into the the Irish traditional music heritage of South Armagh and the broader Oriel region. The third research question led to the development of workshops and interventions to demonstrate how Irish-language song can be shared in a community setting with people not fluent in the language.

In chapter 3, I engaged with scholarly literature and other sources to identify a framework for study. I focused on 5 key themes which included Heritage or Tradition, Music, song and place, phonetics, sean-nós singing style, and singing style in respect of the Oriel region as well as examples of how artists have creatively engaged with archival material of the past.

In chapter 4 I focused on the scholarly work of Trimble and presented information on each of the songs selected for this research project. I recognised the valuable socio-linguistic approach of Trimble but, in collaboration with Trimble, recognised the potential to develop musicological and ethnomusicological approaches to this material. Through a selection of nine songs from local sources, this chapter provides context for the songs and sources, and the creative process that led to performances and recordings. The paper highlights how

interdisciplinary research, such as the socio-linguistic research of Trimble, can inform artistic practice.

In chapter 5 I explored the contribution of three influential yet somewhat overlooked Ulster singers to the sean-nós song tradition; Albert Fry, Gráinne Clarke and Eithne Ní Uallacháin. These three figures represent different approaches by individual artists in response to the musical heritage of their locality, their re-creation or interpretation of archival material, and their impact on the community. Through their practice, they contribute to the definition of musical identity in this region.

In chapter 6 I explored creative practice and the sharing of the collection, reflecting on the collaboration process with others as part of participatory action research. The chapter demonstrates the praxial engagement with music through engaging in singing with peers and community participants. The project benefitted significantly from the involvement of others but, by undertaking this research dissertation, I engaged in an additional level of work that required consideration of scholarly studies and other examples. This provided a framework for understanding our efforts to enliven the song traditions and supported the development of activities to realise our aims. The recordings presented in Appendix A not only help to document our activities but also provide a resource for future engagement with singing in the region. I will continue to develop learning resources akin to those presented in Appendix B.

In learning songs in a different language, the use of phonetics is one learning aid which along with other supports such as a language teacher, singing circles and song workshops, has allowed singers outside the Gaelic song tradition to supplement their learnings. I have observed how invaluable the use of phonetics in song workshops have been. Their use as a teaching aid has allowed those outsiders to the Gaelic song tradition and Gaelic language to engage with and take part in an experience not readily open or available to them previously because of the

language barrier and also a lack of understanding around Irish pronunciation and sound and because they are outside of these traditions.

For example, in my experience in attending song workshops as a student where the song was in Gaelic, participants are usually given a brief introduction to the song accompanied with a lyric sheet. The teacher sings the song through a few times and then encourages the group usually to join in, taking the attendees through the song in a line-by-line fashion. There are a number of flaws with this teaching approach particularly for an Irish language learner. There is no barometer of understanding by the teacher of the ability of each of the students in their ability to either read, understand or pronounce the language correctly. There is usually no literal translation of the song to English to allow the student to appreciate the complexity of the Irish language and its ability to express themes and concepts. I as a student would have to write notes in the margins, scribbling indications as to how to capture the true nature of the sounds made, trying to keep up with the others in attendance, knowing too well I was in a minority as an Irish language learner and singer.

Through my experience I have seen how the presentation of learning aids through the song notation, the Gaelic text, the literal English translation together with the performance of the song by the teacher, is a more effective way to disseminating knowledge with a song student. The beauty of including a phonetic text as part of a suite of learning aids however, is such that it opens up the possibility that those who are outsiders can engage with such songs and the tradition as it assists in building the student's learnings around Gaelic sounds and pronunciation.

Furthermore there is the added benefit around the provision of the original phonetic text, as in the case with the Hannon papers. Ó Tuatháil states, 'It is sufficiently accurate to enable us to get a fairly clear idea of the pronunciation which prevails-or prevailed-in South Armagh' (1923, p.1). In effect what Hannon has captured is an invaluable record of the dialect of Irish spoken during this time in South Armagh. Looking to future public engagement on the Gaelic song heritage of the region, Hannon's collection further substantiates and validates the wider

Crossmaglen community's ownership and renewed participation with the language that their own identifiable ancestors could actually speak. In many ways, the songs which he captured can be repatriated once again to the descendants, among others, of those from whom they were once sung and collected from. To this end, the project has achieved this much.

7.2 Benefits of the research

This research journey has resulted in some key benefits. Within Irish traditional music studies, this project addresses evident gaps in knowledge related to musical practice in the South Armagh region. It has significant regional implications for culture and heritage, as well as social and educational value related to the valuing of local heritage and the creation of resources that will enhance and inspire music education within the region. There is a potential economic impact through niche tourism, whereby visitors to the region will be able to engage with places referenced in the songs.

Beyond academia, an understanding of musical heritage in the South Armagh and its ability to communicate or contribute to a sense of identity can inform community and public initiatives for engagement in the arts. The project will contribute to a deeper understanding of the development of Irish traditional music and to the place of the art form itself within the communities of Armagh and the wider Oriel region today.

In the first instance it has enlivened the song collection of John Hannon and other collectors including Seosamh Laoide, Énrí Ó Muirgheasa and the music collections of piper Goodman. Reviving song collections helps preserve cultural heritage. This is particularly important for our communities whose musical traditions are vulnerable due to a break in song transmission amongst the community.

The work has engaged and enriched a community and that process will continue as long as the material is accessible and readily available for others to peruse. The research has made material accessible to the local community through a number of mediums. Firstly through the

initial community song workshops and thereafter to ad-hoc song workshops which have taken place as part of local festivals and events. A forthcoming dedicated webpage via the Ring of Gullion Landscape Partnership will also increase accessibility to the public.

The project has engaged with local musicians from the Oriel region and beyond. It has also provided them with an opportunity to engage in creative practice and provided a performance platform as well as the experience of film and audio recording the collection where relevant.

The project has engaged with local singers in the first instance and provided a performance platform which has led to other spin-off performance opportunities with the Oriel Traditional Orchestra and on a solo basis with such interest groups and festivals such as Conradh na Gaeilge (Dundalk Branch), Ring of Gullion Landscape Partnership, Féile Patrick Byrne, Maid of the Mill Festival, Culture Night.

I have observed how the research and project has strengthened community bonds within and between members of the initial research group and also within and between singers and musicians of the Oriel Traditional Orchestra. It has also created a community in its own right. In doing so the research has promoted social cohesion. It has also provided a platform for intergenerational exchange and learning.

The research project has challenged negative held views and perceptions of South Armagh and Crossmaglen. There has been a long-held view of South Armagh, which has been perpetuated through traditional media channels as synonymous with conflict, banditry and lawlessness. Such a project has highlighted the rich cultural heritage of this region in terms of language, music and poetic history.

This work has inspired other potential future projects such as an upcoming Newry Mourne and Down District Council-funded arts and culture project called ‘The Dalin’ men of Crossmaglen’ where some of the song collection will form part of the teaching material,

utilising the learning aids. This project will engage with adults in the community and teach them the material for a finale performance at the end of the project. Since the beginning of the research, several further songs have been identified for recreation. The group will continue to add songs to the collection as they evolve with a view to repatriate them to their communities of origin.

The Oriel Traditional Music Archive (OTMA) together with the NI Screen Contemporary collecting project as also expressed a wish to include the songs and films where relevant, within their own collections. This will also increase visibility of the material and as a consequence increase engagement with the material.

This research project will contribute significantly to the awareness and knowledge of Irish traditional music and song heritage in Co. Armagh and the wider Oriel region (encompassing north Louth and south Monaghan). It is part of a broader reconsideration of the geographical and musical diversity in Irish traditional music. It challenges the Irish traditional music canon that typically locates authenticity and cultural authority in the West by providing evidence and resources for engaging with other areas. It also leads to future research opportunities by creating sustainable resources and strengthening stakeholder engagement.

7.3 Future Developments and Dissemination

There are several mechanisms for the dissemination of this research to maximise its impact. At the beginning of this document, I have provided a schedule of conferences I have attended at which I have presented my findings along the research journey. In terms of papers, I hope to be a contributor to local journals including the Creggan Local History Society Journal and Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society. Through this research journey I have observed the potential for further projects linked to song across the Oriel region and not necessarily confined to South Armagh and Crossmaglen. I have developed connections with other cultural heritage providers and identified the potential for immersive niche song

experiences that could be developed for tourists and visitors to the area which incorporate several key locations linked to song.

In respect of lectures and presentations have liaised with the Heritage officer of Monaghan County Council and plan to do the same with Louth County Council, where this may create opportunities for dissemination amongst the communities of county Louth and Monaghan incorporated within National Heritage Week (occurring in August each year) or Culture Night (occurring in September each year).

I have set out in chapter 6 how I have engaged with the local community throughout the research journey providing song workshops and performances and I plan to continue this work. I have also had a request from the local Crossmaglen Comhaltas branch, An Bonnán Buí CCÉ, to teach some of the songs to their younger singers. This is in addition to 'The Dalin' men from Crossmaglen' song project planned for Q1 of 2025, as earlier referred. There are a number of funding schemes that I can apply for to continue the intervention-type aspects of this project. For this, I hope to continue to develop resources and expand the reach of the project.

Regarding digital presence, I plan to complete the dedicated webpage in conjunction with the Ring of Gullion Landscape Partnership, which will host the songs and key insights about the collector and their sources. In addition, I plan to have an official launch and combine that with a lecture and presentation of the videos to the visiting audience. This will engage with local print and social media platforms. As a Ring of Gullion Geo Ambassador, I will continue to incorporate the collection into visitor experiences and during festivals and use my role as Chair to highlight the importance of this research and the efforts of the wider research group.

I have identified underutilised buildings and spaces which could be incorporated into such experiences. I have developed relationships with the vestry committee of Creggan Church who have recognised the potential of using the Church and the surrounding buildings for music and song events. The current owner of Forkhill Church has also indicated an interest in hosting

singing events. Other spaces include the walled garden in Creggan estate and the amphitheatre at Slieve Gullion Forest Park. I have also reflected on the loss of the Slieve Gullions Singers' Weekend or Forkhill Singing Weekend as it was known and acknowledge that there is perhaps potential to deliver something similar within Crossmaglen or its environs on an annual basis, which would provide a performance platform for the collection and other songs. All of these present opportunities to explore community enhancement and niche tourism potential in the area.

In recent times John Hannon's shop has come on the open market for sale. Its restoration would be a potential location for a song house and a small museum in honour of his work and collecting and to those from who he collected. Through collaboration with others, it would be possible to develop such a centre together with funding from organisations as An Ciste – the Irish Language Investment Fund for Capital projects whom have delivered projects such as Aonach Mhacha and Gaelaras Mhic Ardgháil.

I have spent a lot of time on this research project visiting graveyards, locating the resting places of various people I have come to know on paper. I found the resting place of John Hannon and only yards away, that of Bríd Nic Eoghain from whom he collected. Not far from that is my great grandfather, who unbeknownst to me, spoke Irish. I never knew much about him, only finding his grave in recent days. I reflect upon the fact that there is no evidence of their contribution to the Irish language tradition or song heritage when you visit their resting place and future work may explore ways to honour their memory and contribution. For now I choose to sing their songs, they are recreations and reimagined articles.

I have continued to sing and there are more songs in the offing that require attention and exploration. There are some which have not been included within this study that I have not fully

completed and would like to explore further and reimagine. A personal goal would be the curation of a collection of songs for commercial release.

The beauty of research journeys is that it never really ends. I would like to engage in PhD study on a related aspect of the region's song tradition in the near future, developing a key point in this dissertation that many recent collections and recordings from Ulster reflect a primarily English-language song tradition that is distinct from the Gaelic song heritage of South Armagh and the Oriel region.. During this project, I undertook research on several other songs that were not integrated into this dissertation. Examples include 'Séamus Buí Ó Néill', 'The Boys of Mullaghbane', and 'Cailín an Tí Bháin', which will form the basis for forthcoming papers. The recently digitised recordings of Frs Donnellan and Murray from the National Folklore Collection provide opportunities for further research and may reveal new routes for engaging with material from the Oriel region. My MA research will inform applications for funding for academic, artistic and heritage projects in the future.

Epilogue

I was driving my son home from football training late one evening. As we drove along I began to nonchalantly sing ‘Do bhuig, a Sheáin’. When I came to an end, I realised that my son, tired from his exertions, had joined in the singing. Subconsciously and through a process of enculturation, he had learned the song. I asked him where he learned it and, with a shrug of the shoulders, he indicated that he did not know. I invited him to sing it with me again and we continued on our journey.

At the beginning of this research project, I had a wish to engage with the archival material of John Hannon because I wanted to engage with the Irish language. I wanted to revisit the regret I always had around my pursuit of the learning the language in my teenage years and to cross that bridge of continued learning my chosen medium would be through song. The beauty of this was that the material was collected phonetically, making my engagement with the language much easier. I wanted to surround myself with people who accepted my liminal position but who also seen and shared in the importance and joy of such work and the benefits and growth for themselves as singers or musicians. Sharing these Gaelic songs invited people to explore the linguistic heritage of the area that was absent in the lived experience of many.

I also wanted to explore a repertoire that linked me to where I am from and which was entirely authentic to Crossmaglen and South Armagh. I wanted to do this despite my lack of song tradition lineage and Irish language lineage. I wanted to make a valid contribution. Gearóid specially asked me to consider ‘Chuaigh an Mhaol’ because of its association with Crossmaglen, my homeplace. When we gathered in the square of Crossmaglen in May 2022 with the Oriel Traditional Orchestra to celebrate the unveiling of a Blue Plaque commemorating John Hannon, we reconnected the song with its past and, in doing so gave me a stronger connection with the town in which I live.

Singing a Crossmaglen song in front of family and friends in the square of Crossmaglen and hearing my son sing a song from the Hannon collection in the back seat of the car represent moments on my research journey that reinforced my belief in the importance of this research. I am fortunate to have been joined by many others on this journey, none moreso than my son as we found our place together.

Appendices

Appendix A – Song Recordings

Appendix A - Song Recordings https://tinyurl.com/47p2sm2s

Video Recordings – Singers with Oriel Traditional Orchestra, DkIT Creative Arts and Media - 28 September 2024

1. Éirí na Galltachta / Bodaigh na hEorna - Sung by Patricia McCrink
2. Máire Chaoch - Blind Mary - sung by Patricia McCrink
3. Suantraí - Huiréo Baa / Dá bhfeicfeá tusa - sung by Patricia McCrink
4. Do bhuig, a Sheáin - sung by Ciara Hall
5. Chuaigh an Mhaol - sung by Colleen Savage

Audio – Recordings at Cellar Club Studios with Dave Molloy - August 2024

6. Lá Fhéile Pádraig – sung by Ciara Hall
7. Iomáin Inis Caoin – sung by Ciara Hall
8. Bhéarfaidh mé gruth agus meadhg ar maidin duit – sung by Colleen Savage
9. A Shliabh gCuilinn – sung by Colleen Savage

Video Recordings – Live Performance of Singers with the Oriel Traditional Orchestra - Féile Patrick Byrne, Íontas Arts & Community Resource Centre - April 2022

1. Do bhuig, a Sheáin – sung by Ciara Hall
2. Suantraí Huiréo Baa / Dá bhfeicfeá tusa – sung by Patricia McCrink

Video Recordings – Live Performance of Singers with the Oriel Traditional Orchestra – Maid of the Mill Festival, Keady- April 2022

1. Suantraí Huiréo Baa / Dá bhfeicfeá tusa – sung by Patricia McCrink
2. Do bhuig, a Sheáin – sung by Ciara Hall

Video Recordings – Live Performance of Singers with the Oriel Traditional Orchestra – John Hannon Celebratory Event, Crossmaglen Square – May 2022

1. Chuaigh an Mhaol – sung by Colleen Savage
2. Máire Chaoch – sung by Patricia McCrink
3. Do bhuig, a Sheáin – sung by Ciara Hall

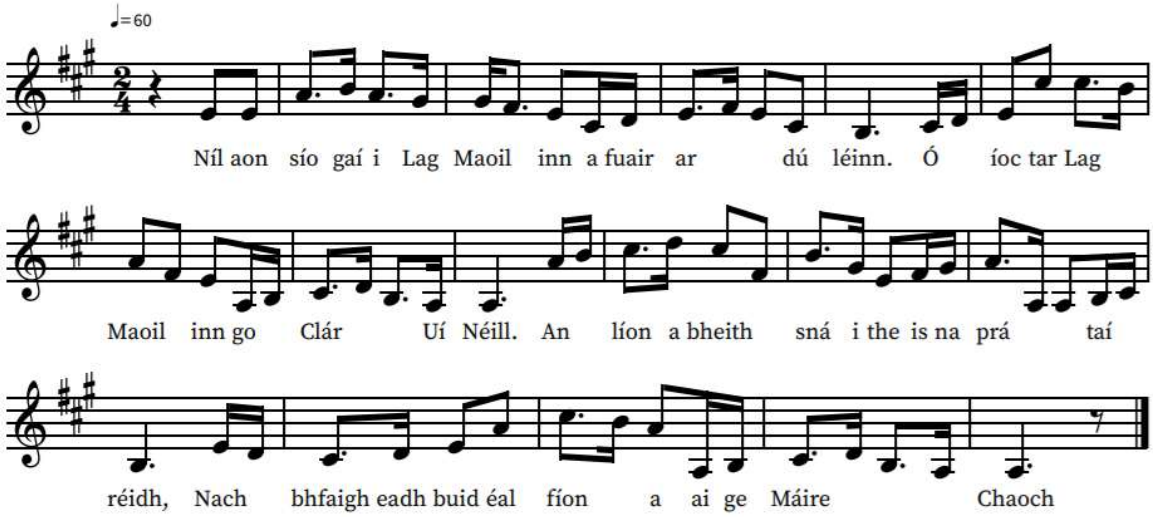
Video Recordings – Live Performance of Singers with the Oriel Traditional Orchestra – Oriel Traditional Orchestra Charity Concert, An Táin Arts Centre – November 2024

1. Chuaigh an Mhaol – sung by Colleen Savage

Appendix B – Resources & Learning Aids

1. Máire Chaoch
2. Éirí na Galltachta / Bodaigh na hEorna
3. Suantraí Huiréo Baa / Dá bhfeicfeá tusa
4. Iomáin Inis Caoin
5. Lá Fhéile Pádraig
6. Do Bhuig, a Sheáin
7. Chuaigh an Mhaol
8. Bhéarfaidh mé gruth agus meadhg ar maidin duit

Máire Chaoch, Art Mac Cumhaigh



Níl aon siógaí i Lag Maoilinn a fuair
ardú léinn,
Ó íochtar Lag Maoilinn go Clár Uí
Néill;
An líon a bheith snáithe is na prátaí
réidh,
Nach bhfaigheadh buidéal fíona aige Máire
Chaoch.

Chan ógánach ródheas a
b'áin léi féin,
A phógfadh go ródheas nó a d'fháiscfeadh
léi;
Ach fear an chróinín chruinn cosnaithe as lár
na cré,
Sé d'ólfadh an punch ródheas le
Máire Chaoch.

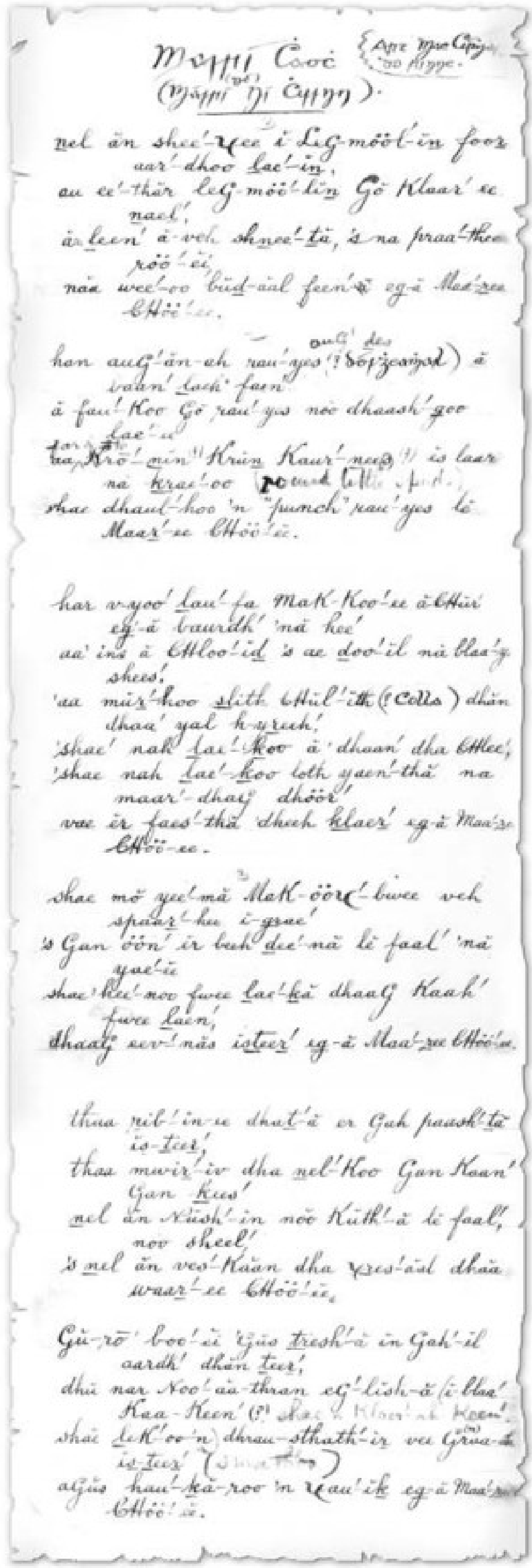
Charbh fhiú leofa Mac Cumhaigh a chur
ag bord ina shuí,
ach ins an chlúid is é ag diúl na bláithe
síos;
Dá mairfeadh sliocht Cholla den
dá gheal-chríoch,
Sé nach ligfeadh an dán dá chloí –
Sé nach ligfeadh lucht déanta na
mbarrdóg daor,
Bheith ar féasta i dtigh cléir aige Máire
Chaoch.

Sé mo dhíoma Mac Aodha Buí bheith
sparraithe i gcré,
Is gan aon ar bith díona le fáil ina
dhiaidh;
Sé a shíneadh faoi leaca a d'fhág cách
faoi léan,
Is d'fhág aoibhneas istír aige Máire Chaoch.

Tá ribíní daite ar gach páiste
istír;
Tá mairbh dá n-adhlacadh gan cháin
gan chíos;
Níl aon nduisín nó cuta le fáil
nó síol;
Is níl aon mheascán dá dhreasáil dá
Mháire Chaoch.

Go raibh bua agus treise i ngach uile
ard den tír;
Donár n-uachtarán Eaglaise, sé an Blácach
caoin;
Sé ligfeadh an drochstát a bhí gnáthach
istír,
Agus a shocródh an ghoic aige Máire
Chaoch.

Faisnéiseoir / Informant: Bríd Nic Eoghain, An Chláiríneach, Crois Mhic Lionnáin, Co. Ard Mhacha 1901, Hannon Papers [VIII: 43-48]
Port/ Air : Air based on O'Carolan's Blind Mary Metre: a a b c ; Joyce, P. W., ed., Old Irish Folk Music and Songs, Dublin, 1909, p. 396


nel ăn shee'-yee i Lig-möŏl-in foor aar'-dhoo lac'-in,
au ee'-thăr leG-möŏl-lin Gŏ Klaar' ee nael',
ă leen' ă-veh shnee'-tă, 's na praa'-thee röö'-ei,
nă wee'-oo büd-ăal feen'ă eg-ă Maa'-ree CHöö'-ee.

han auG'-ăn-eh rau'-yes (?) ă baan' lach' faen'
ă fau'-Koo Gŏ rau'-yes noo dhaash' goo lae'-ee
ta Krŏ'-min (?) Krün Kaur'-nee (?) is laar na krae'-oo
shae dhaul'-hoo 'n "punch" rau'-yes lĕ Maar'-ee CHöö'-ee.

har vyoo' lau'-fa MaK-Koo'-ee ă CHür' eg-ă baurdh' 'nă hee'
aa' ins ă CHloo'-id 's ae doo'-il nă blaa'-y shees',
'aa mür'-hoo slith CHül'-ith (? Colla) dhăn dhaa' yal h-yreeh',
'shae' nah lae'-Koo ă dhaan' dha CHlee',
'shae nah lae'-koo loth yaen'-thă na maar'-dhaG dhöör'
vae ĭr faes'-thă dheeh klaer' eg-ă Maa'-ree CHöö'-ee.

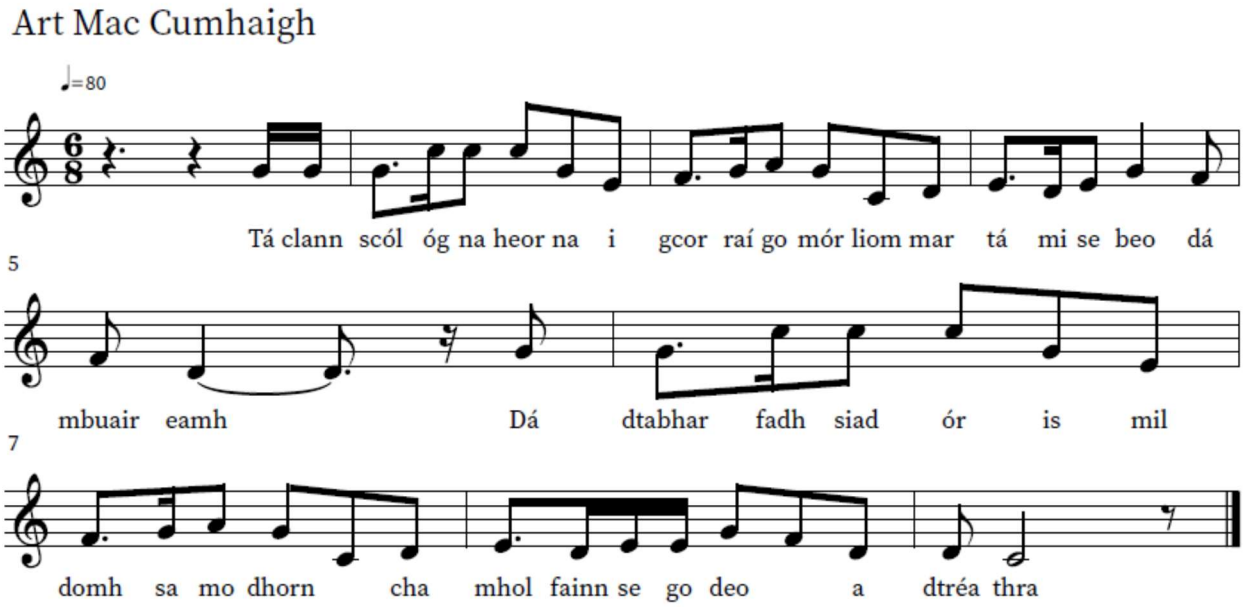
shae mŏ yee'-mă MaK-öör'-bwee veh spaar'-hee i-grae'
's Gan öön' ĭr beh dee'-nă lĕ faal' 'nă yae'-ee
shae Kee'-noo fwee lae'-kă dhaaG Kaah' fwee laen',
dhaaG eev'-năs isteer' eg-ă Maa'-ree CHöö'-ee.

thaa rib'-in-ee dhat'-ă or Gah paash'-tă is-teer',
thaa mwir'-iv dha nel'-Koo Gan Kaan' Gan Kees'
nel ăn Nüsh'-in noo Küth'-ă lĕ faal', noo sheel'
's nel ăn veo'-Kaăn dha yees'-ăal dhaa waar'-ee CHöö'-ee.

Gü-rŏ boo'-ee 'Güs tresh'-ă in Gah'-il aardh' dhăn teer',
dhü nar Noo'-aa-thran eG'-lish-ă (ĭ blaa' Kaa-Keen' (?))
shae leK'oo'n) dhrau-sthath'-ir vee Grua'-ă is-teer'
aGüs hau'-kă-roo 'n rau'-ik eg-ă Maa'-ree CHöö'-ee.

Faisnéiseoir / Informant: Bríd Nic Eoghain, An Chláiríneach, Crois Mhic Lionnáin, Co. Ard Mhacha 1901, Hannon Papers [VIII: 43-48]
Port/ Air : Air based on O'Carolan's Blind Mary Metre: a a b c ; Joyce, P. W., ed., Old Irish Folk Music and Songs, Dublin, 1909, p. 396

Bodaigh na hEorna



Tá clann scológ na heorna i gcorraí go mór liom,
Mar tá mise beo dá mbuaireamh;
Dá dtabharfadh siad ór is mil domhsa i mo dhorn,
Cha mholfainnse go deo a dtréathra.

Níl aon chailleach buí crón ó Dhoire go Bóinn,
Dá gcruinneodh dornán saibhris,
Nach gcuirfeadh sróil faoi chuilt ar a tóin,
Agus putóg nó dhó ina héadan.

Nach tuathal an tseoid iníon scológ sa ród;
Chan oireann di cóiriú Gaelach,
Gan hata maith sróil agus cnaipe den ór,
Agus cleite ag treabhadh na gaoithe.

Sniodh ina ndornán casta ina cóta,
Is putóg ag dortadh gréise;
Is teacht na Féile Eoin amach óna srón,
Seo chugaibh an míol mór agus é ag aoibheall.

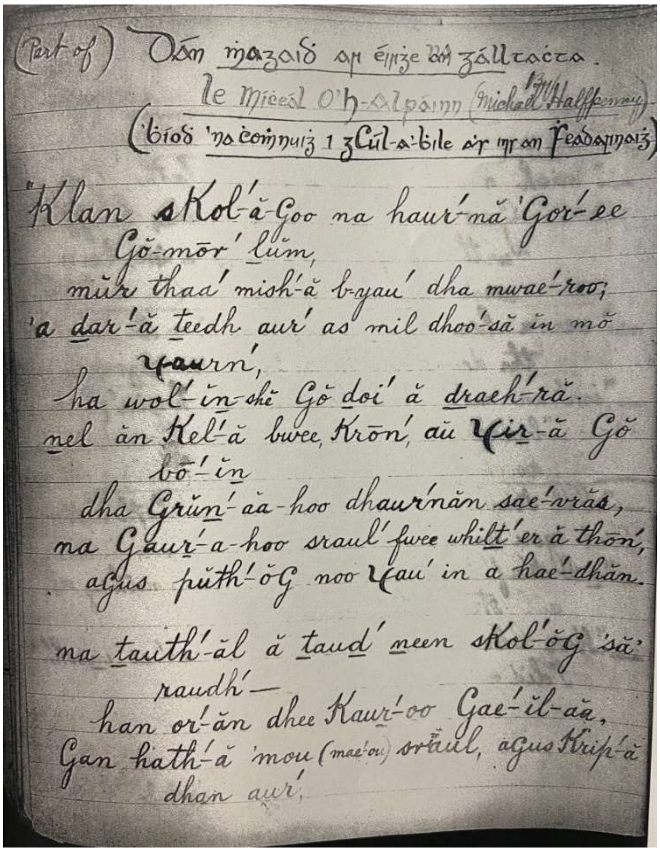
The farmers of the barley are greatly annoyed with me,
Because I'm constantly annoying them;
If they were to give me fistfuls of gold and honey,
I wouldn't ever praise their accomplishments.

There is no withered yellow hag, from Derry to the Boyne,
Who, if she'd rather a fistful of riches,
That wouldn't put a satin quilt on her bottom,
And have a curl or two on her forehead.

So conceited is the daughter when out on the road;
She doesn't think much of the Gaelic apparel,
With a fancy satin hat with a button of gold,
And with a feather that ploughes through the breeeze.

Nits in fistfuls knotted in her frock,
And a curling dripping with grease;
And with the coming of June (Féile Eoin) from her nose,
Here we have the big louse rollicking about.

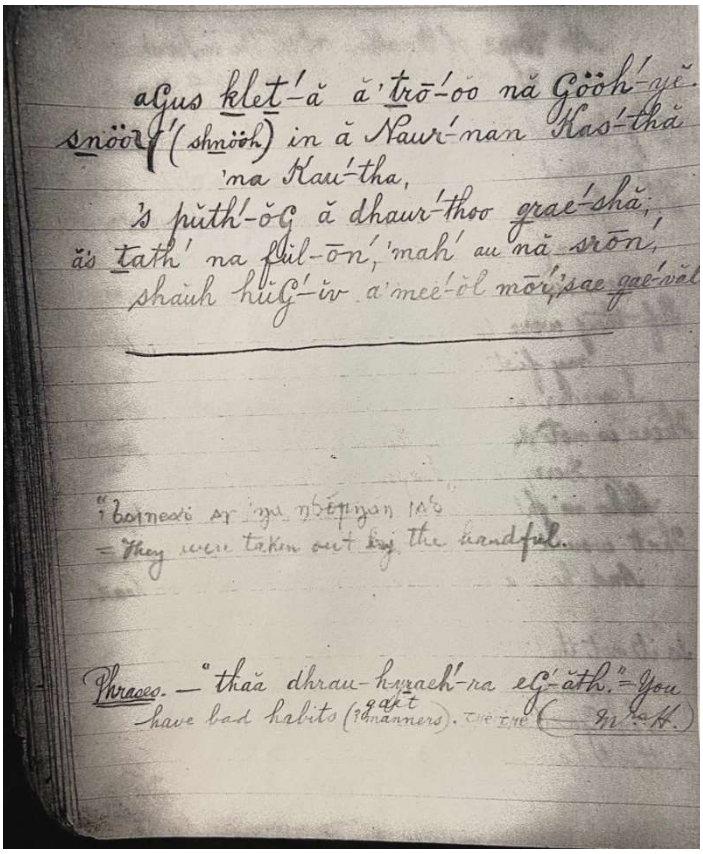
Faisnéiseoir | Informant: Bríd Nic Eoghain, Crois Mhic Lionnáin, Co Ard Mhacha. Hannon Papers [IX: 75-76].
Port| Air: Based on verse metre as collected from Pádraig Ó Dufaigh, An Stumpa, Co. Lugha. *Abhráin Airt Mhic Cubhthaigh agus Abhráin Eile* [1916: 156].
Leaganacha eile béil an cheantair | Other local oral versions: Pádraig Ó Dufaigh, An Stumpa, Co. Lugha. Morris Papers [LIX: 138-143]; cf. *Abhráin Airt Mhic Cubhthaigh agus Abhráin Eile* [1916: 60-61].



(Part of) Dán Magaidh ar Éirghe an Ghalltachta.
le Mícheál O'h-Alpáinn (Michael McHalfpenny)
(bíodh 'na chomhnuidhe i gCúl-a'-bile ar imeall Feadarnaigh)

"Klan sKol-ă-Goo na haur-nă 'Gor-ee
Gŏ-mōr' lŭm,
mŭr thaa' mish-ă b-yau' dha mwae-roo;
'a dar-ă teedh aur' as mil dhoo-să in mŏ
yaurn',
ha wol-in-shĕ Gŏ doi' ă draeh-ră.
nel ăn Kel-ă bwee, Krōn', aŭ Yir-ă Gŏ
bō-in
dha Grŭn-ăa-hoo dhaur'năn sae-vrăs,
na Gaur-a-hoo sraul' fwee whilt'er ă thōn',
aGus pŭth-ŏG noo Yau' in a hae-dhăn.

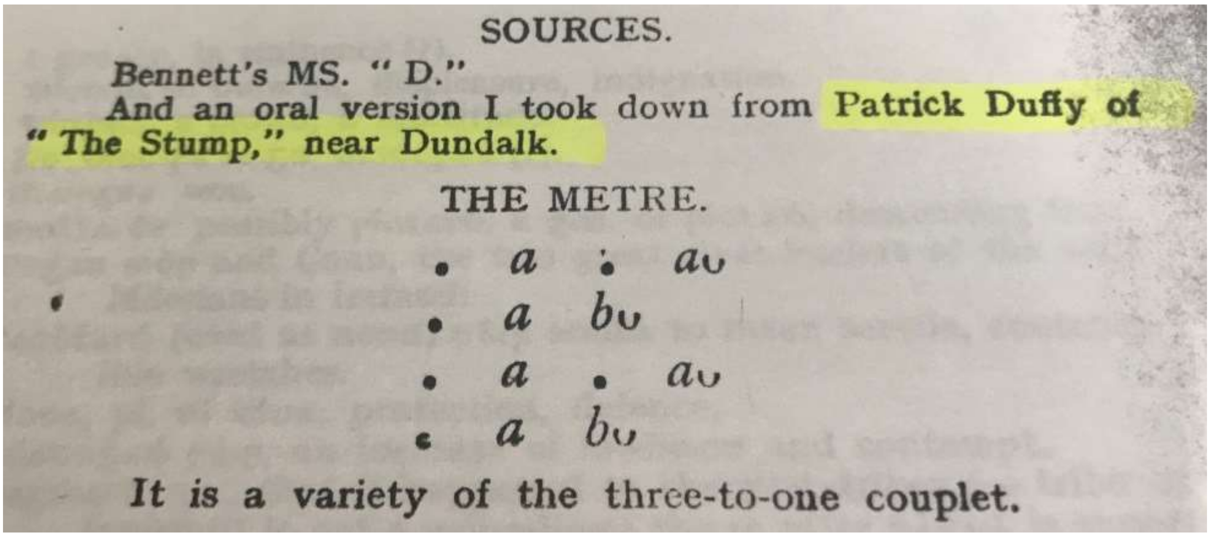
na tauth-ăl ă taud' neen sKol-ŏG 'să
raudh'—
han or-ăn dhee Kaur-oo Gae-il-ăa,
Gan hath-ă 'mou (mae'ou) srăul, aGus Krip-ă
dhan aur',



aGus klet-ă ă 'trō-oo nă Gōōh-yĕ.
snōōr (shnōōh) in ă Naur-nan Kas-thă
'na Kau-tha,
's pŭth-ŏG ă dhaur-thoo grae-shă;
ăs tath' na fŭil-ōn', 'mah' au nă srōn',
shăuh hŭG-iv a'mee-ŏl mōr, 'sae gae-văl

"Boinedh ar 'na ndóirnibh iad"
= They were taken out by the handful.

Phrases.—"thaă dhrau-hyrach-ra eG-ăth."= You have bad habits (? gait manners). (— M. McH.)



SOURCES.

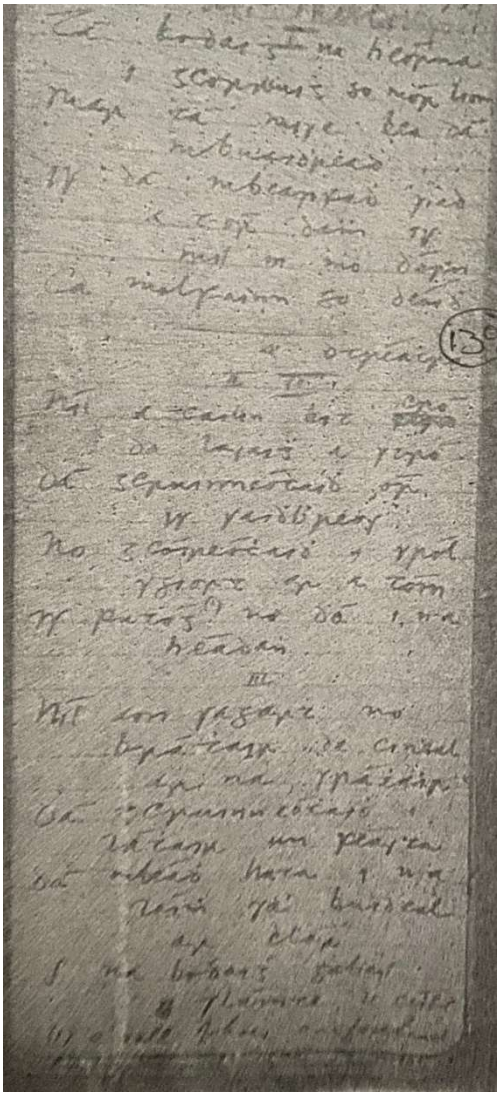
Bennett's MS. "D."
And an oral version I took down from Patrick Duffy of "The Stump," near Dundalk.

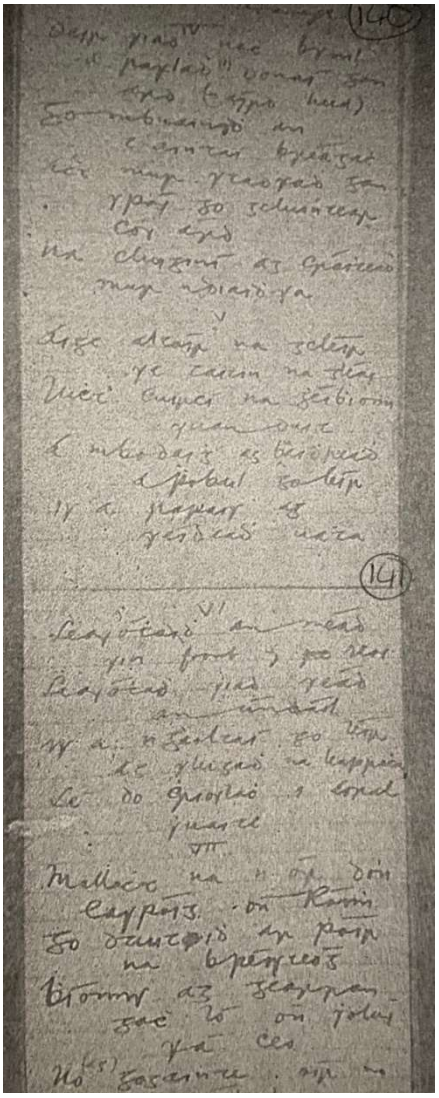
THE METRE.

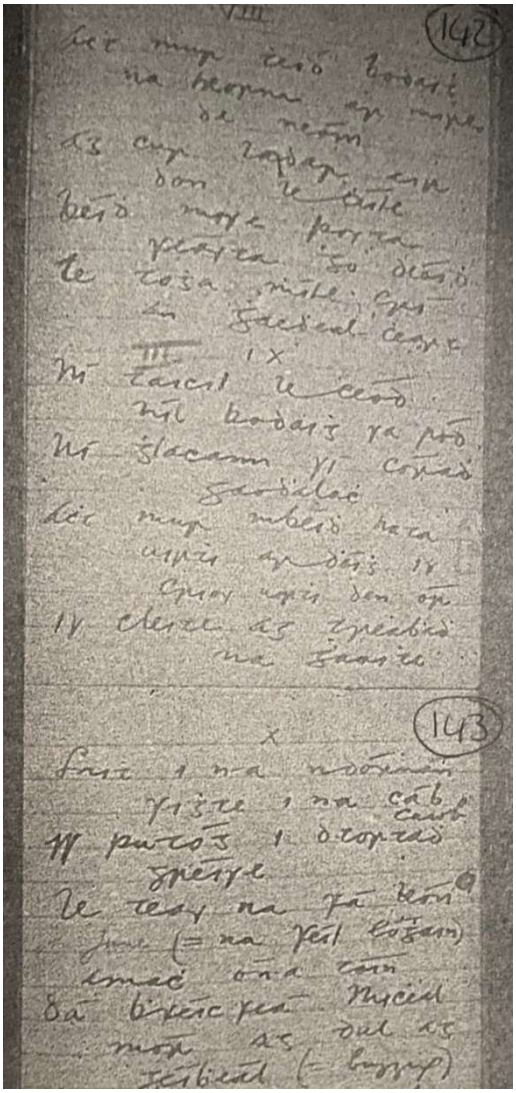
• a ⁚ a◡
• a b◡
• a • a◡
⁚ a b◡

It is a variety of the three-to-one couplet.

Faisnéiseoir | Informant: Bríd Nic Eoghain, Crois Mhic Lionnáin, Co Ard Mhacha. Hannon Papers [IX: 75-76].
Port| Air: Based on verse metre as collected from Pádraig Ó Dufaigh, An Stumpa, Co. Lugha. *Abhráin Airt Mhic Cubhthaigh agus Abhráin Eile* [1916: 156].
Leaganacha eile béil an cheantair | Other local oral versions: Pádraig Ó Dufaigh, An Stumpa, Co. Lugha. Morris Papers [LIX: 138-143]; cf. *Abhráin Airt Mhic Cubhthaigh agus Abhráin Eile* [1916: 60-61].







Faisnéiseoir | Informant: Bríd Nic Eoghain, Crois Mhic Lionnáin, Co Ard Mhacha. Hannon Papers [IX: 75-76].
Port| Air: Based on verse metre as collected from Pádraig Ó Dufaigh, An Stumpa, Co. Lugha. *Abhráin Airt Mhic Cubhthaigh agus Abhráin Eile* [1916: 156].
Leaganacha eile béil an cheantair | Other local oral versions: Pádraig Ó Dufaigh, An Stumpa, Co. Lugha. Morris Papers [LIX: 138-143]; cf. *Abhráin Airt Mhic Cubhthaigh agus Abhráin Eile* [1916: 60-61].

Transcript of the more complete oral version as collected from Ó Dufaigh:

Tá bodaigh na heorna i gcorraí go mór liom,
Mar tá mise beo dá mbuaireamh;
Is dá mbéarfadh siad an t-ór domh is mil i mo dhorn,
Cha mholfainn go deo a dtréathra.

Níl aon chailín buí crón dá lásaibh ag stró;
Dá gcruinneodh ór is saibhreas,
Nó a gcóireodh a spól sciorta ar a tóin,
Is putóg nó dhó ina héadan.

Níl aon sagart nó bráthair de chineál ar na srathracha,
Dá gcruinneodh i láthair an fhéasta;
Dá mbeadh hata ina láimh, is an buidéal ar chlár,
Is na bodaigh ag gabháil sláinte le chéile.

Deir siad nach bhfuil ráflaí dona gan aird,
Go mbuairigh[107] na dántaí bréagacha,
Ach mura stadfadh gan spás go gcluinntear os ard,
Na cloigíní ag craitheadh in bhur ndiaidhsa.

Ag Athair na gCléir, sé táithín na ngléas;
Lucht curcaí na gcéibheann suan duit;
A mbodaigh ag buaireamh an phobail go léir,
Is a rapais[108] ag séideadh uathu.

Seasóidh an méid sin front agus rear;
Seasóidh siad séad an uncail,
Is a ngaoltaí go léir ag slogadh na leapracha;
Sé do chrioslach i ndaor-ghioll tuata.

Mallacht na n-ór don Easpag ón Róimh,
Go dtite ar phór na bpéisteog;
Bhíonns ag gearán gach ló ó sholas faoi cheo,
Nó ag gogainte óir nó éadáil.

Ach mura théid bodaigh na heorna ar mire dá dheoin,
Ag cur ladar air i dtóin le chéile;
Beidh mise pósta feasta go deo,
Le togha mhíle cró an Ghaeil cheart.

Ní tócúil le céad; níl bodaigh sa ród;
Ní ghlacann sí cóiriú Gaelach,
Ach muna mbeidh hata uirthi ar dóigh is crios uirthi den ór,
Is cleite ag treabhadh na gaoithe.

Fuath ina ndornán figthe ina chab,
Is putóg ag dortadh gréise,
Le teas na Féile Eoghain amach óna thóin,
Dá bhfeicfeá Micheál mór ag dul ag géibheál.

Faisnéiseoir | Informant: Bríd Nic Eoghain, Crois Mhic Lionnáin, Co Ard Mhacha. Hannon Papers [IX: 75-76].
Port| Air: Based on verse metre as collected from Pádraig Ó Dufaigh, An Stumpa, Co. Lugha. *Abhráin Airt Mhic Cubhthaigh agus Abhráin Eile* [1916: 156].
Leaganacha eile béil an cheantair | Other local oral versions: Pádraig Ó Dufaigh, An Stumpa, Co. Lugha. Morris Papers [LIX: 138-143]; cf. *Abhráin Airt Mhic Cubhthaigh agus Abhráin Eile* [1916: 60-61].

Extract from ***Art Mac Cooey and His Times*** by Tomás Ó Fiaich [Seanchas Ard Mhacha, 1972: 242-243]

This song belongs to the second period of Mac Cooey's life, after his return from 'exile'. It contains a clear reference to his excommunication and Fr Lamb tells us that it was written by him while working as a herd on a farm in Tullyard.

The people whom he nicknamed *Bodaigh na hEorna* ('The Churls of the barley') were the O'Callaghan family of Culloville, a prominent and well-to-do Catholic family during the second half of the 18th century. Two brothers, Owen and Michael O'Callaghan, were contemporaries of the poet and set up a distillery at Culloville crossroads — hence the poet's nickname for them. The O'Callaghans have been sometimes described as 'brewers' and 'maltsters' by later writers, but documents going back to their own life-time leave no doubt that it was a distillery they possessed. Owen O'Callaghan's residence was beside the distillery at Culloville crossroads where the residence, grocery and public-house of Mr Cathal McEleavy is now situated—when he secured a new lease of the property from the landlord, William McCullagh, in 1779, it is described as bounded on the north by the road from Carrickmacross to Newry and on the east by the road from Castleblayney to Dundalk and containing a dwelling-house, distillery, malt-house, offices, turf-yard and garden. Michael O' Callaghan lived a mile further south at Ivy Lodge in the townland of Clonalig where the residence of Mr Peter Morris is now situated.

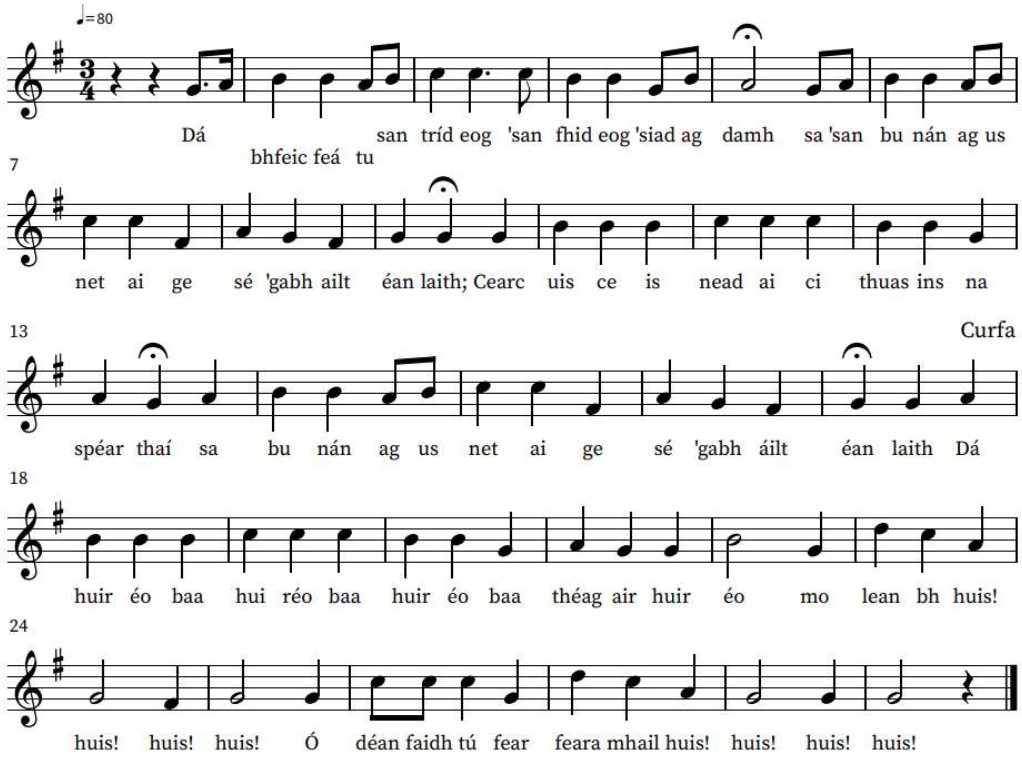
The two brothers became minor landlords during the last few decades of the 18th century. They leased the townland of Corliss in 1779 which had previously been leased by Owen O'Neill of Toprass. In 1786 Michael secured a lease of portion of Clonalig from his neighbour Hugh McMaster of Foxfield, and in 1789 Owen got land in Glasdrummond and Carrick-amone by lease from William McCullagh. They also secured leases on portion of the Bath estate in Co. Monaghan . In 1795 Owen O'Callaghan was a member of the Grand Jury in both County Armagh and County Monaghan. He died in August 1803 and is buried in Creggan, where his walled-in grave and tombstone may still be seen. Michael survived him by many years—he probably died in 1819, as his name is listed in the Index to Prerogative Wills and the Index to Prerogative Grants for that year.

Both men left large families who continued to possess considerable landed property in the area during the first half of the 19th century. The *Return of Registered Freeholders for Co. Armagh* 1813-20 lists James O' Callaghan of Cullaville, Hugh O'Callaghan of Cullaville and T. O'Callaghan, Esq.—the latter was Thomas O'Callaghan of Ivy Lodge, who moved to Dundalk and died in 1839. James O'Callaghan was involved in the Commission of Enquiry set up in the 1850s to investigate 'agrarian outrages' on the Armagh-Monaghan border and became the subject of a satirical poem in Irish by the Forkill writer, Art Bennett.

As the poems of Mac Cooey and Bennett depict the O'Callaghans as unpatriotic, it is only fair to their memory to add that according to local tradition one of them had to flee the country because of his United Irish activities. He escaped to France where he became a Colonel in the French army. Their United Irish sympathies are further borne out by the lament in Irish for John Hoey, executed in Dundalk in 1798, which states that if Michael and Owen O'Callaghan had known of his arrest, they would have come to release him. This is a far cry, however, from the snobbish up-starts, interested only in material things and with no time for literature or music, depicted in the following verses translated from Mac Cooey's most bitter satire:

Faisnéiseoir | Informant: Bríd Nic Eoghain, Crois Mhic Lionnáin, Co Ard Mhacha. Hannon Papers [IX: 75-76].
Port| Air: Based on verse metre as collected from Pádraig Ó Dufaigh, An Stumpa, Co. Lugha. *Abhráin Airt Mhic Cubhthaigh agus Abhráin Eile* [1916: 156].
Leaganacha eile béil an cheantair | Other local oral versions: Pádraig Ó Dufaigh, An Stumpa, Co. Lugha. Morris Papers [LIX: 138-143]; cf. *Abhráin Airt Mhic Cubhthaigh agus Abhráin Eile* [1916: 60-61].

Suantraí “Huiréo Baa”



Dá bhfeicfeá tusa an trideog ’s an fhideog is iad ag damhsa,
Is an bunán agus net aige is a’ gabháilt éanlaith;
Cearc uisce agus nead aici thuas ins na spéarthaibh
’S an bunán agus net aige ’s é ’gabháilt éanlaith.

Curfá
Dá huiré baa, huiréo baa, huiréo baa ’théagair;
Huiréo mo leanbh huis! huis! huis! huis!
Ó! déanfaidh tú fear fearamhail huis! huis! huis! huis!

Is mur’ bhfuighfidh mé abhla cumhra ’d’fhás i nDún Pádraig,
Beidh mé ’g ’ul leis an bhata dhuit nó go mbrisfidh mé do chnámha;
Seo sláinte na hÉireann ’s na conndaethe fá dhó,
’S nuair ’eugfaidh na Gaedheail, ná raibh aon ar bith beo.

Seo fáilte ’gus sláinte na hÉireann ar ball,
’S béidh ceathrar ar achar mar bhí agus ’cóir;
Beidh daor ar a steanga ’mar bhí ann fadó;
Sin ceathrar ar achar mar bhí agus ’cóir.

If you could see the starling and the plover jumping around,
And the bittern along with his net catching birds;
A water hen with her nest high into the skies,
And the bittern along with his net catching birds.

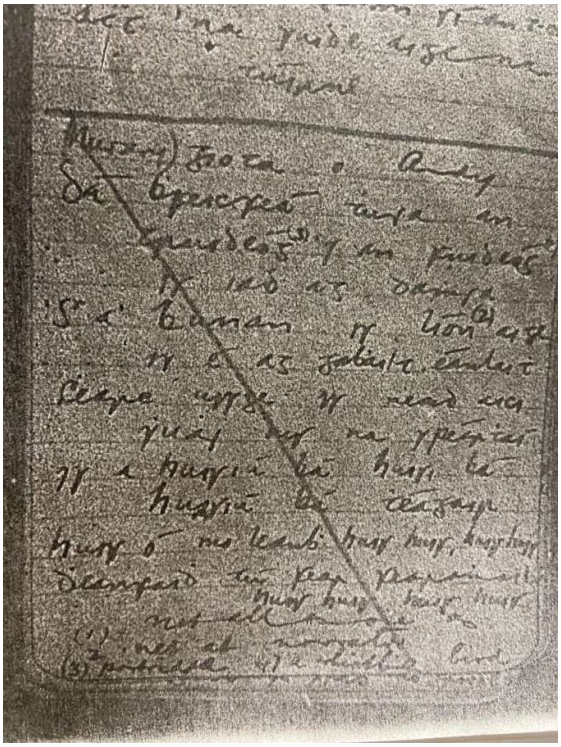
Chorus
Dá huiré baa, huiréo baa, huiréo baa my dear;
Huiréo my child huis! huis! huis! huis!
Ó! You’ll become a manly man [huis]! huis! huis! huis!

If I don’t get scented apple trees which grew in Downpatrick,
I will be beat you with a stick till I break your bones;
Here is to the health of Ireland and the counties twice over,
And when the Gaels die out, may there never be another soul alive.

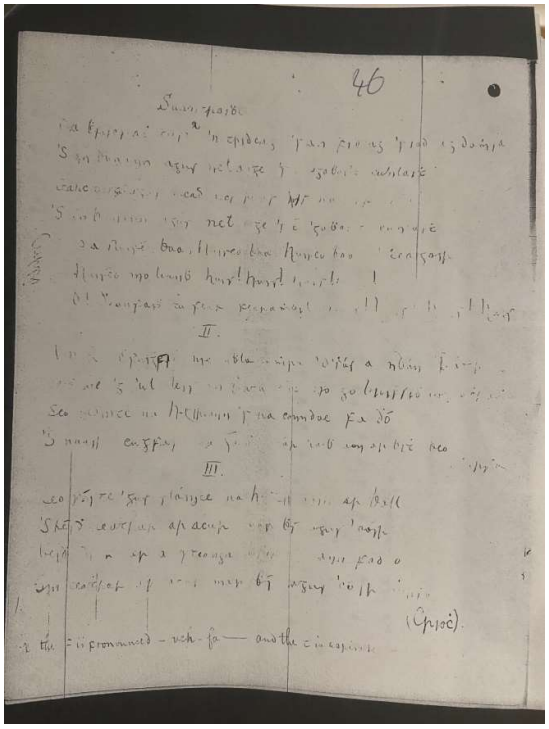
Here is to the welcome and future health of Ireland,
That is four set out as they were always and as they should be;
Their land will suffer again as it did long ago;
That is four set out as they were always and as they should be.

Fáisnéiseoir | Informant: Aindreas Ó Marcaigh, Baile na gCléireach, Co. Ard Mhacha [Morris Papers: LX: 145; Lloyd Papers: G856: 46; Lloyd Papers: G856: 49-50].
Port | Air: Unattributed air obtained by Seosamh Laoide entitled *"Huiréo Baa"*, most likely sourced from Philip ‘Piper’ Goodman [Lloyd Papers: 856: 49-50].

Morris Papers – Text

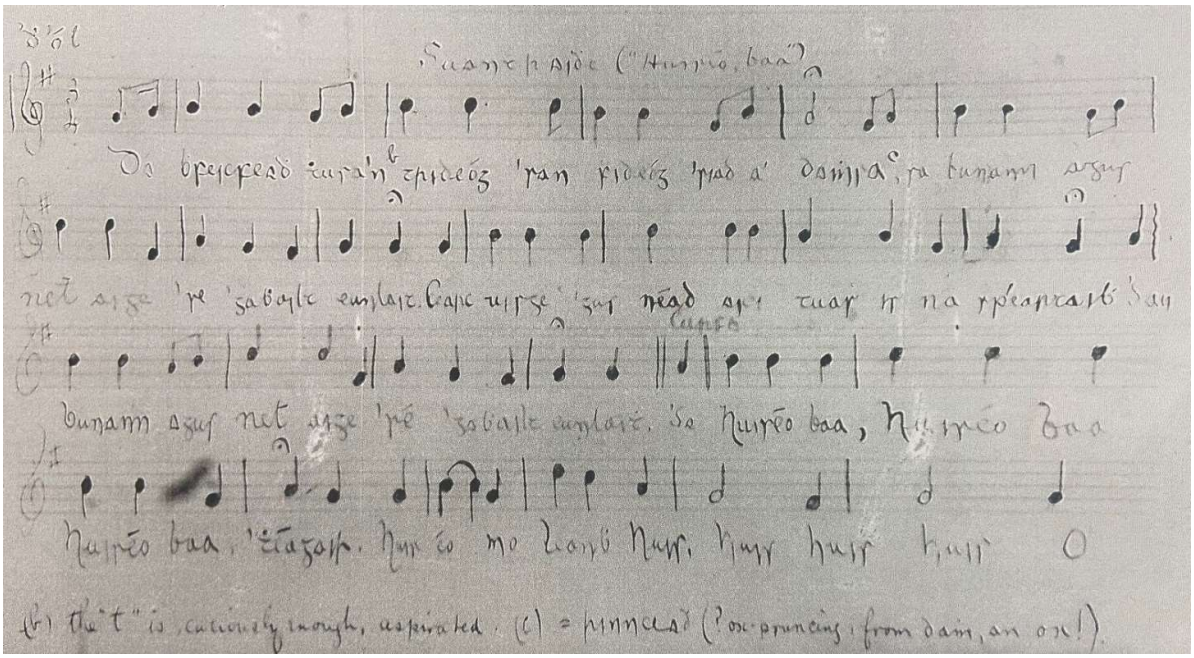


Lloyd Papers [NLI G856] – Text



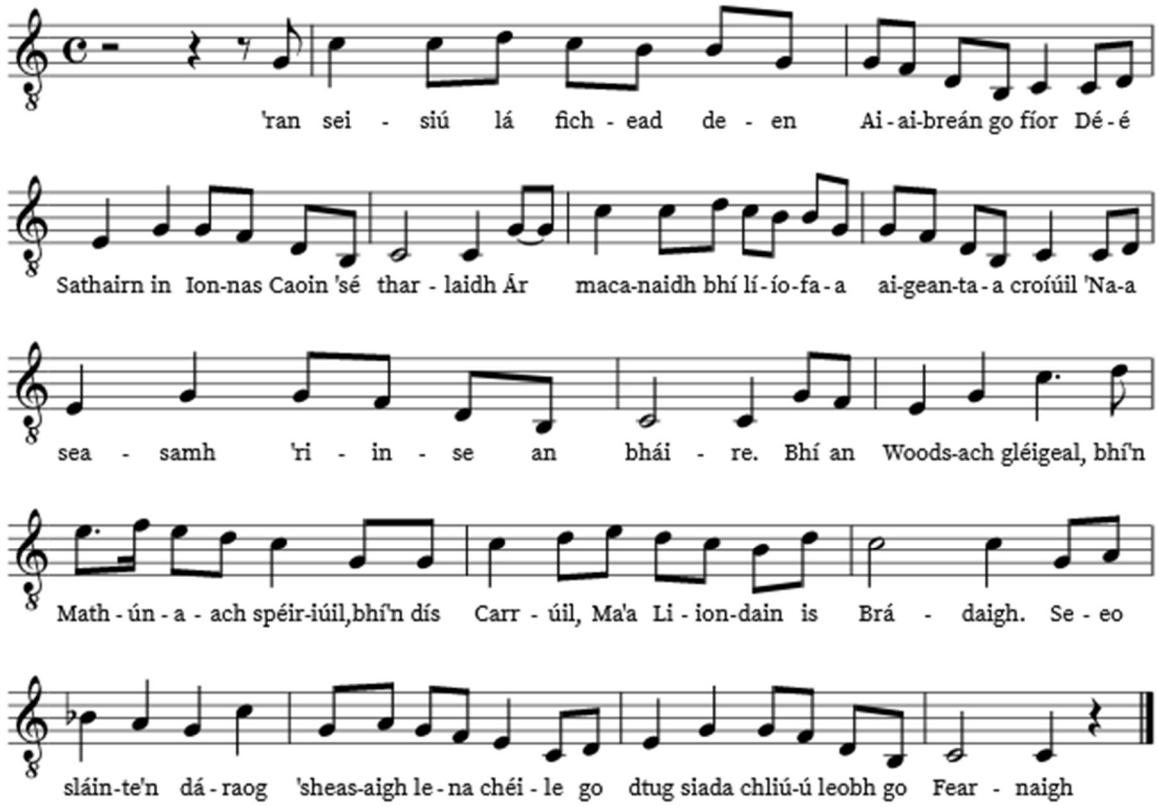
Fáisnéiseoir | Informant: Aindreas Ó Marcaigh, Baile na gCléireach, Co. Ard Mhacha [Morris Papers: LX: 145; Lloyd Papers: G856: 46; Lloyd Papers: G856: 49-50].
Port | Air: Unattributed air obtained by Seosamh Laoide entitled *"Huiréo Baa"*, most likely sourced from Philip 'Piper' Goodman [Lloyd Papers: 856: 49-50].

Lloyd Papers [NLI G856] – Air and Text



Fáisnéiseoir | Informant: Aindreas Ó Marcaigh, Baile na gCléireach, Co. Ard Mhacha [Morris Papers: LX: 145; Lloyd Papers: G856: 46; Lloyd Papers: G856: 49-50].
Port | Air: Unattributed air obtained by Seosamh Laoide entitled *"Huiréo Baa"*, most likely sourced from Philip 'Piper' Goodman [Lloyd Papers: 856: 49-50].

Iomáin Inis Caoin



Ar a' seisiú lá fichead den Aibreán go fíor,
Dé Sáthairn in Ionnas Caoin 'sé tharlaidh;
Na macanaidh bhí líofa aigeanta croíúil -
'Na seasamh ag inse an bháire.
Bhí an Woods-ach gléigeal, bhí an Mathúnach na dhéidh sin
Bhí'n dís Carrúil, Ma' 'a Lionnáin agus Brádaigh
Seo sláinte an dáraog a sheasaigh lena chéile
Go dtug siad an chliú leobh go Fearnaigh.

Mar fhaolachán na séad nó mar fosán lá gréine
Bhí an tAthair Éamonn ar thús a' gharda,
Thug sé beannacht Dé ar leith do gach uil' aon,
Agus thug siad a n-aoghaidh ar a' namhad.
"Seasaigí go dlúth in aoghaidh bhuachaillí Lughaí,
'Siad ón aicme adaí dhúthchas daofa a' prácás;"
Ba tréan láidir lúfar bhí mo mhacanaidh baint faofa,
Go dtug siad an chliú leobh go Fearnaigh.

Charbh fhada ina dhéidh go raibh an iomrascáin ag éirí
Eadar Mac Amhlaoibh, an dáraog agus Colmáin;
Hector na mbéimeann Mac Gothraidh na dhéidh sin,
Lucht coscairt na gcinn is Mac Gabhann.[1]
Mar Gholl mhac Mórnáin, nó mar Samson dhá threorú,
Nó Alastran thug buaidh ar a namhaid;
'Siad lucht an aráin eorna thug díol ins an spórt,
Go dtug siad an chliú leobh go Fearnaigh.

[1] *Supplementary line adapted from Donaghmoyne oral version.*

Mar Hector a bhí sé thug mórchath na Traoi,
Nó mar Joshua a chloífeadh na céadtan,
Nó mar Chonall ceardúil thug ionsaí go hÉirinn
Bhí an t-ógfhear Mha' an Dhéaghanaigh ann dá gcarnadh
Mar Cú Chulainn na naoi gcath bhí an Mathúnach spéiriúil
Mar chraobh cosanta go tréitheach i mbéal an bháire.
Go dtug Muineachán an chliú ón Chondae sin Lú[2]
Is thart timpeall ó Éirne go farraige.

Ná dearamadaí go brách an Mathúnach deas bán,
'S é an planda den óir-shliocht dhíleas,
Brannagáin an áigh, Mac Eochaidh agus hÁgáin,
Ó Cathaláin agus Eoghan Mha' a' Bhrighde,
Clainn mhic Fhinn a bhí in ordú, na Collatáin, is na Seonaigh,
Is na G'll' Fhiondanaigh óga bhí i dtaoibh leo,
Siad a sheasaigh an chóir donár macanaidh bhí leofa
Agus thug siad an chliú leobh go Fearnaigh.

Nach aoibhinn a choíche do mhóinéar Ionnas Caoin,
'S gach leath-ógánach croíúil deas calma
A thuillfeadh ins an tír de mhaitheas na ndaoine,
Sliocht cealaidh, lucht spíde agus tarmaigh.
Ó cruthadh an Díle is ó Páiseadh Críosta
Cha rabh léitheidí iomán' is cha bhíonn ann go lá an Bhráthaidh;
Ó scriosadh an Traoi, tá an chlann seo free
A's tá buaidh le buachaillí Fhearnaí.

Faisnéiseoir|Informant: Tomás Ó Míocháin, Mullach Uinseannach, Inis Caoin, Co. Mhuineacháin. Hannon Papers [III: 19-24].
Port | Air: Philip 'Piper' Goodman provided an air which Éamonn Ó Tuathail entitled "*Iomáin Eanascaoin*" [Ó Tuathail Papers: G865], but it does not fit with the metre or words of the song. The adapted air used here is based on "Iomáil Léana an Bhabhdhúin," an Omeath football tune collected by Peadar Ó Dubhda [Ó Cearra, A. & Céitinn, S. (1981) *Peadar Ó Dubhda. A Shaol agus A Shaothar.* 96-97] and as also published in Séamus Mac Seáin's *Pléaraca Dhún Dealgan (Humours of Dundalk)*, Séamus Mac Seáin [1981].
Leaganacha eile béil an cheantair | Other local oral versions: Complete oral version collected by Seosamh Laoide (Lloyd) c. 1900 from informants in Donaghmoyne, Co. Mhuineacháin. Éigse [II: 84-85]; *fragmenta* from Tomás Mag Bhruadhair, Carraigeach Lios na nAirne, Fearnaigh, Co. Muineacháin. Éigse [II: 85]; *fragmenta* from Máire Mhic Mhathúna, An Daingean, Fearnaigh, Co. Mhuineacháin. Éigse [II: 86-87]; a composite version in *Dhá Chéad de Cheoltaibh Uladh*, amhrán 179. Another oral transcript was collected by Pádraig Ó Dubhthaigh from Máire Mhic Mhathúna in 1936. Available at: https://www.duchas.ie/ga/cbes/4758587/4756847

[2] *Supplementary lines adapted from Máire Mhic Mhathúna's oral version.*

Background:

Fr Éamonn Ó Dufaigh, the parish priest of Inis Caoin, and Dr Atkinson from Channonrock in Co. Louth organised a football match between their two parishes on 26 April 1806. The Farney men won, but a fight broke out at the end of the match between the players and supporters from each side. The Louth contingent had brought a donkey bearing two loads of sticks with them for just this eventuality, but a Farney man named Mac Fhinn noticed this, put his shoulder to the donkey and tipped both donkey and sticks into the river Fane. The Louth contingent was entirely driven from the field, a matter of great pride for the people of Inniskeen. Deirtear gurbh é Micheál Mac Mathúna ("Micheál na Scoile") ó Dhomhnach Maighean údar an amhráin.

Dramatis personae:
Inis Caoin players: Mac Amhlaoibh/Cathmhaoil (caiptín), Woods/Mac Coille, Mac Mathúna, Carroill (1), Carroill (2), Ma' 'a Lionnáin, Brádaigh, Mac Gothraidh, Mac Gabhann, Mha' an Dhéaghanaigh, Brannagáin, Mac Eochaidh, hÁgáin, Ó Cathaláin, Eoghan Mha' a' Bhrighde.
Farney supporters: clann mhic Fhinn, na Collatáin, na Seonaigh, na G'll' Fhiondanaigh.
Louth players: Colmáin (caiptín)

<u>Literal translation</u>:
On the 26th of April [1806] on Saturday, it happened in Inniskeen,
The eager, spirited, hearty young men were standing at the playing-field.
Fairest Woods was there and Mac Mathúna next, the two Carrúils, Ma' 'a Lionnáin and Brádaigh,
Here's to the health of the twelve who stood together to bring renown to Farney.

Like a jewelled butterfly or a skylark on a sunny day was Father Éamonn in the forefront,
He blessed each man individually and they faced their enemy.
"Stand firm against the boys of Louth; they are a class of messers;"
Strong, powerful and athletic were my young men as they settled down to bring renown to Farney.

It wasn't long until the wrangling began between Mac Amhlaoibh, the twelve and Coleman
Like smiting Hector was Mac Gothraidh after that, the breakers of heads and Mac Gabhann.
Like Goll mhac Mórnáin, or like leading Samson, or Alexander who beat his enemies;
The people of the barley bread got what they deserved in the sport and brought renown to Farney.

He resembled Hector at the great battle of Troy, or Joshua who defeated hundreds,
Or like masterful Conall who came to Ireland, young Mha' an Dhéaghanaigh was there making heaps of them.
Like Cú Chulainn of the nine battles was graceful Mac Mathúna, a skilful champion in the goalmouth.
Farney won renown from your County Louth and all around from Lough Erne to the sea.

Never forget fair pleasant Mac Mathúna, scion of a noble and loyal race,
Valorous Brannagáin, Mac Eochaidh and hÁgáin, Ó Cathaláin and Eoghan Mha' a' Bhrighde,
The Mac Fhinns in good order, the Collatáins and the Seonaighs, the young G'll' Fhiondanaighs beside them.
They ensured all was right for the young men who were with them and brought renown to Farney.

How pleasant forever for the meadow of Inniskeen and for every hearty fine strong youth
Who earned in this area the regard of the people and of those who neglect, slander and dispute
Since the Flood was created and the Passion of Christ, there has never been such a game, nor will there be till the Day of Judgement.
Since Troy was destroyed, this clan is free and the boys of Farney bear the victory.

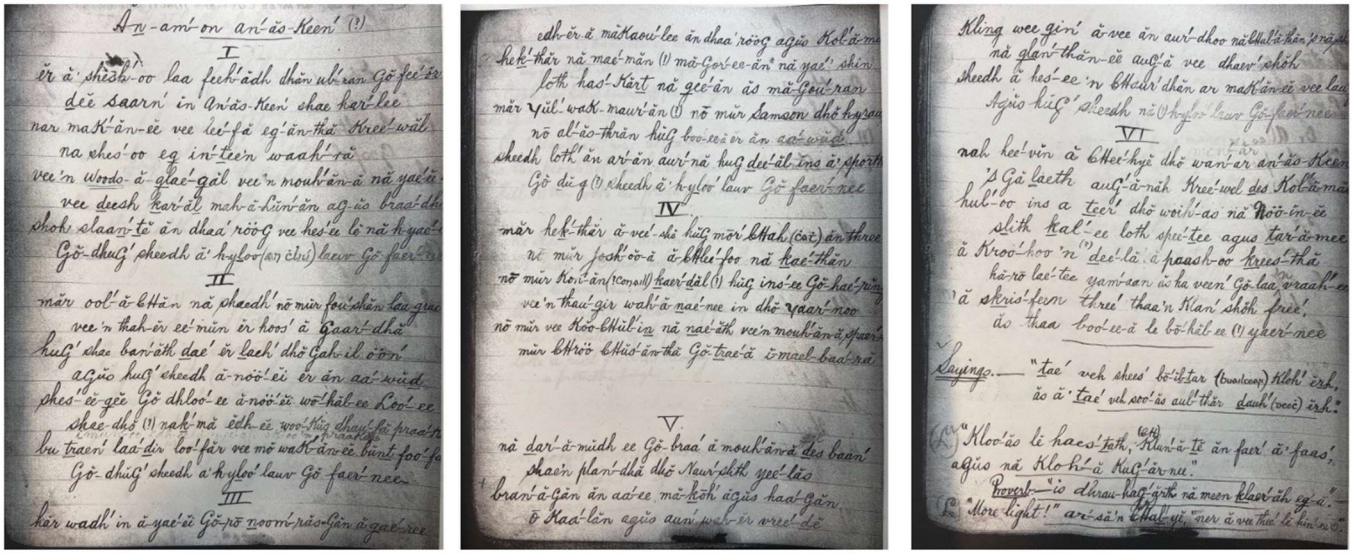
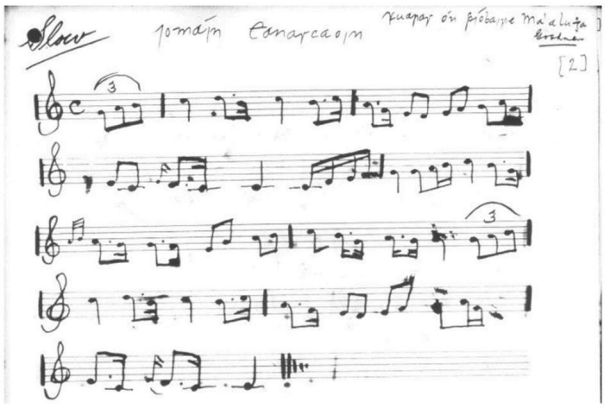


Fig 1. Phonetic transcript from Hannon Papers [III: 19-24].



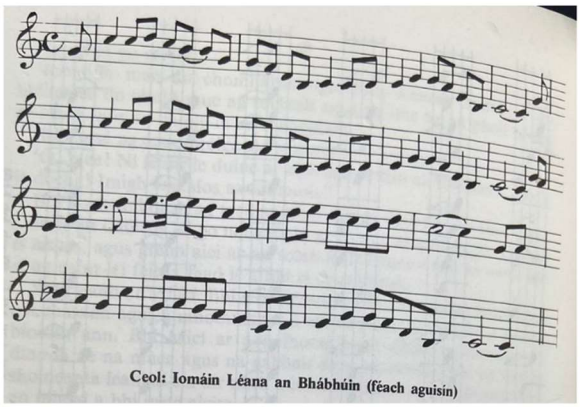


Fig 2. Fig 3.

Fig 2. Piper Goodman air 'Iomáin Eanascaoin' [Ó Tuathail Papers: G865].
Fig 3. A local 'iomáin' air sourced by Peadar Ó Dubhda [Ó Cearra & Céitinn, 1981: 96-97].

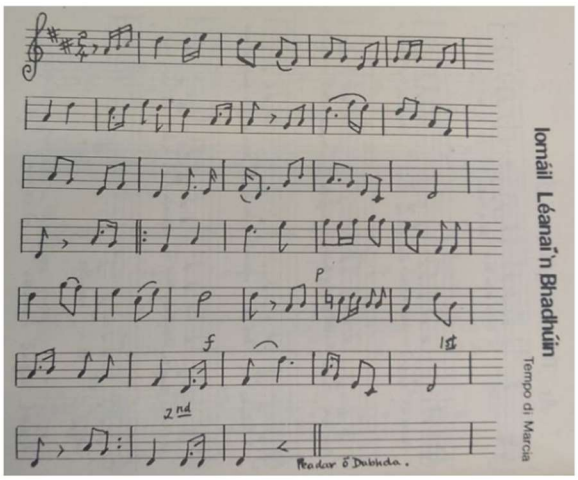
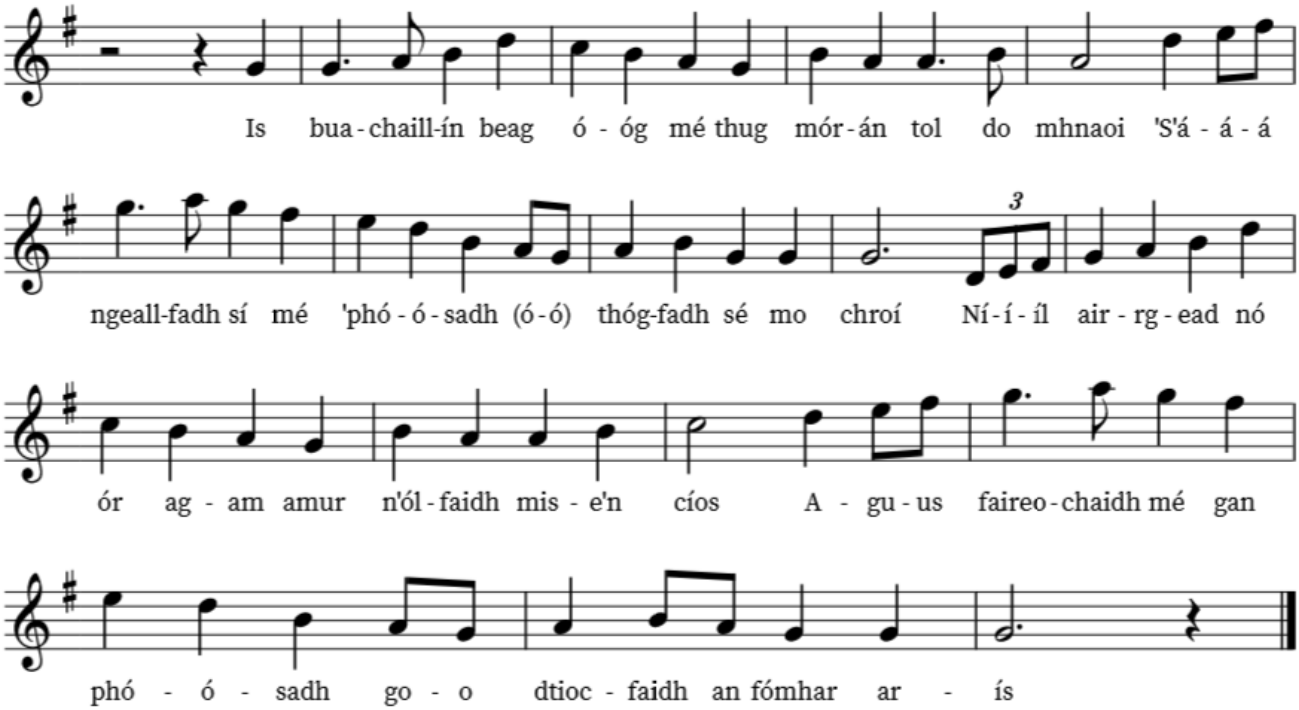


Fig 4. A further copy of the 'iomáin' air sourced by Peadar Ó Dubhda [Mac Seáin, 1981].

Lá Fhéile Pádraig



Is buachaillín beag óg mé ’thug mórán tol’ do mhnaoi
’S ’á ngeallfadh sí mé ’phósadh, thógfadh sé mo chroí.
Níl airgead nó ór agam ach mur’ n-ólfaidh mise ’n cíos
Agus faireochaidh mé gan phósadh go dtiocfaidh an fómhar arís.

I am a young little boy with a great liking for a woman
And if she would promise to marry me, it would lift my heart.
I have neither silver nor gold unless I don't drink the rent
And I will wait and not get married till Autumn comes again.

Lá Fhéil' Pádraic char ghnáthach liom a bheith ag coimhéad do chró
Acht ’mo shuí i dtoigh na táibhirne is mo ghloine in mo dhórn.
Díonáire *(díth náire)* nach dearn mé in mo mh'isce ariamh go fóill
Is dúirt bean áirithe go mb'fhéarrde damh-sa gloine don dí a ól.

On St Patrick's Day, I wasn't in the habit of guarding your byre
But rather of sitting in the tavern with my glass in my hand.
I never yet did anything shameless while drunk
And a certain woman said I would be better off drinking a glassful.

Dá mbeadh ciste ’gam, scéal deimhin é go scaoilfinn a bhéal.
Chuirfinn cruinniú ar mhnáibh deasa na tíre uilig go léir
Is rachainn go toigh na táibhirne is shuífinn lena dtaoibh
Is bhéinn ag ól sú na heorna go dtuitfimid i néal.

If I had a chest (of money), I would certainly open it.
I would summon all the fine women of the country
And would go to the tavern and sit down beside them
And I would drink whiskey with them till we fell into a stupor.

Is duine dona mise nach fheil agam acht an bhó.
Sul fa mbeadh sí ’gá mo bhuaireamh ’gá ceangal suas i gcró,
Rachainn go toigh an táibhirne is shuífinn síos ag an mbord[1]
Is is aerach a dhéanfainn a craiceann aici ' ól.

I am an unfortunate person who has only one cow.
Before I would trouble myself with tying her up in a byre,
I would go to the tavern-house and sit down at the table
And I would cheerfully drink (the value of) her hide.

[1] *Supplementary line from Bríd Níc Eoghain's version*

Fáisnéiseoir | Informant: Sorcha Ní Dhuinn (Sally Humphries) of Lislea, Co Armagh [Morris Papers IV: 9-12]. Morris published this version in *Dhá Chéad de Cheoltaibh Uladh* (1934: 292) with changes to the verse order, as well the insertion of new lines, not given in the original transcript, in the first and second verses.

Port | Air: The air was collected from Philip 'Piper' Goodman [Lloyd Papers: G856], untitled but with a verse from this song set to it. Henry Morris's article on Philip Goodman's tunes 'A Farney Paper's Tunes,' in the *County Louth Archaeological and Historical Journal* (V:112), lists an air called 'St Patrick's Day,' which is likely the same one (this tune and most of Goodman's tunes noted in Morris's list were never transcribed, however).

Leaganacha eile béil an cheantair | Other local oral versions: Two verses transcribed phonetically from Bríd Nic Eoghain, An Chláiríneach, Crois Mhic Lionnáin, Co. Ard Mhacha [Hannon Papers XII: 11-12]. One verse, spoken, recorded from Cáit Ní Ghuibhirín, Ardaghy, Omeath, Co. Louth [Doegen: LA_1223d4]. One verse collected from Maighréad Bn. Uí Cheallaigh, Carraig an tSicín, Foirceall, Co Ard Mhacha [An tUltach: 10.2.2]. One full verse and a line from another also included with the air taken down from Piper Goodman. Tommy Hollywood collected another oral version entitled 'Lá Fhéile Pádraig' complete with four verses, two of which vary significantly from the above version [Dundalk Democrat 26 October 1907].

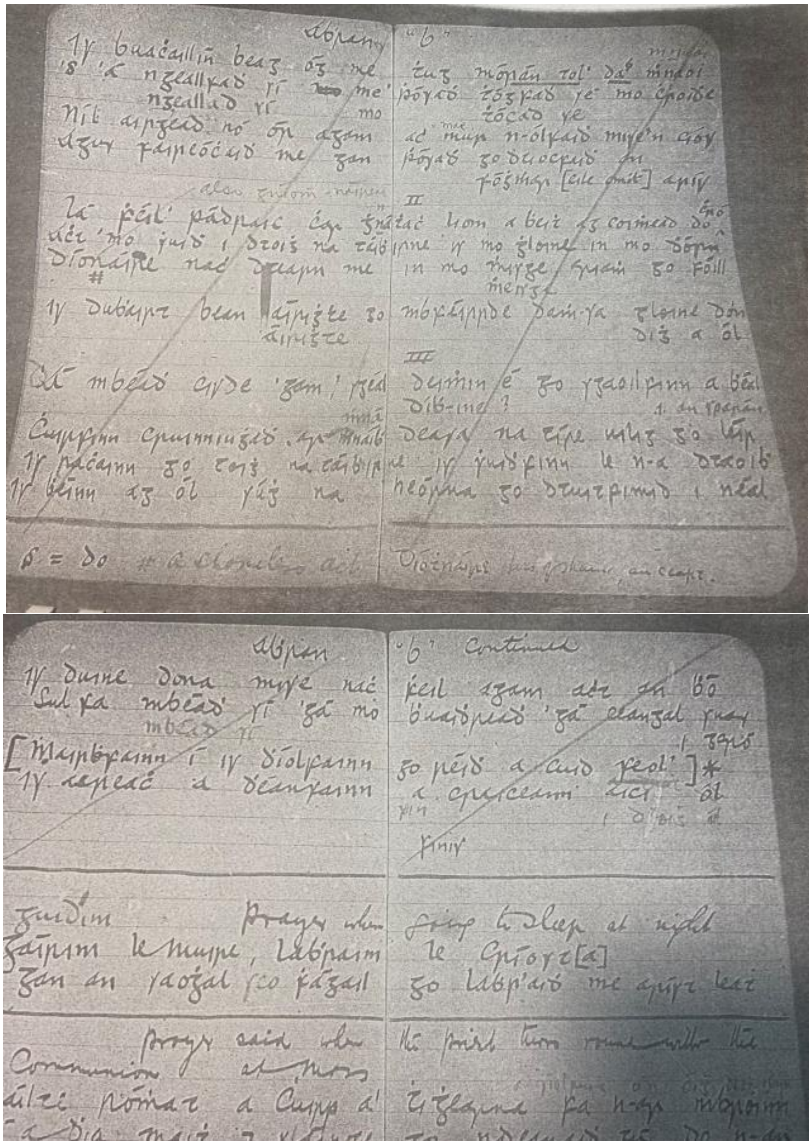


Fig 1. Four verses collected from Sorcha Ní Dhuinn (Sally Humphries) on 14 Sept 1902. Note the line inserted by Morris himself to fill in gap in the final verse.

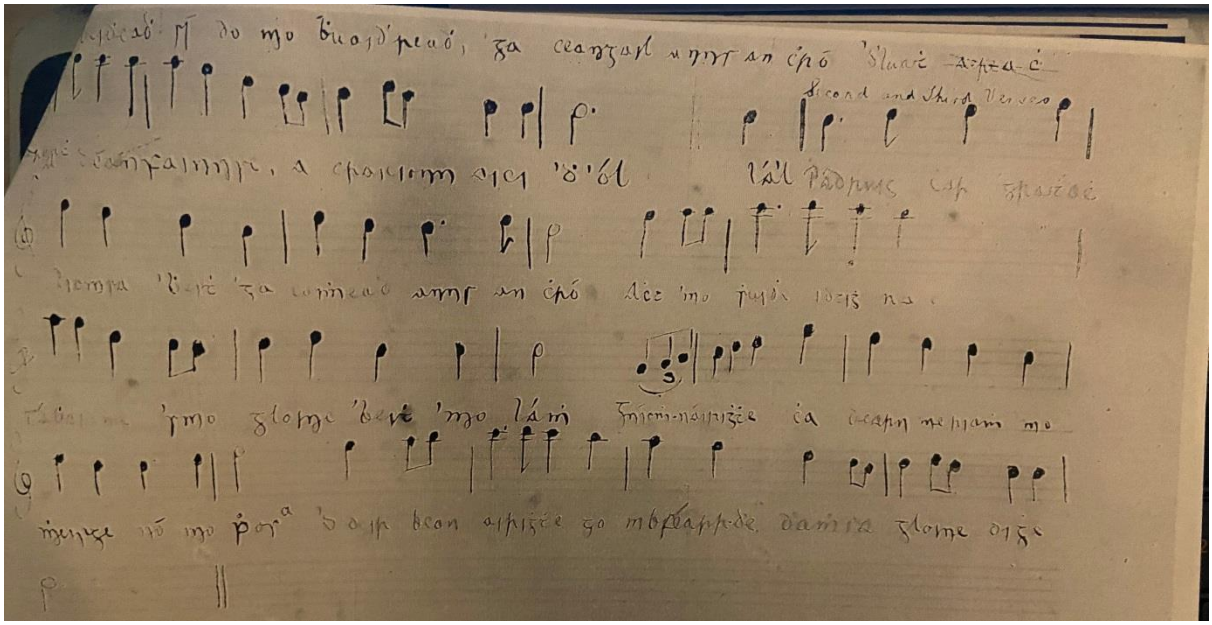


Fig 2. The tune as collected from Philip 'Piper' Goodman.

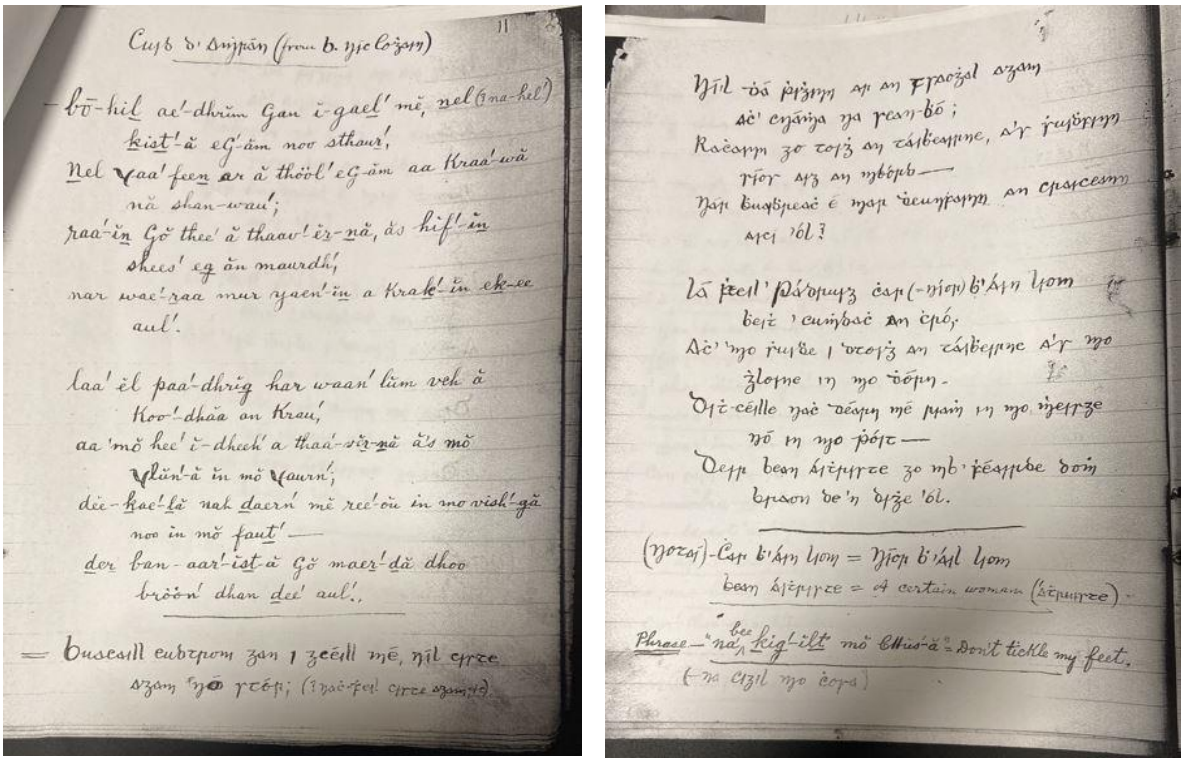


Fig 3. Two verses collected from Bríd Nic Eoghain by John Hannon.

Is ar Lá Féile Pádraig car gnáṫaċ
liom a beiṫ ag coṁéad a' ċro,
Act na cupaí agus na cártaí, agus
iad uilig in a row,
Ól-náire car tarlaiḋ mé ionn mo
ṁeisge ariaṁ go fóill,
Act dubairt bean áirṡe go mb'fearr-
de díom gloine de'n dig a ól.

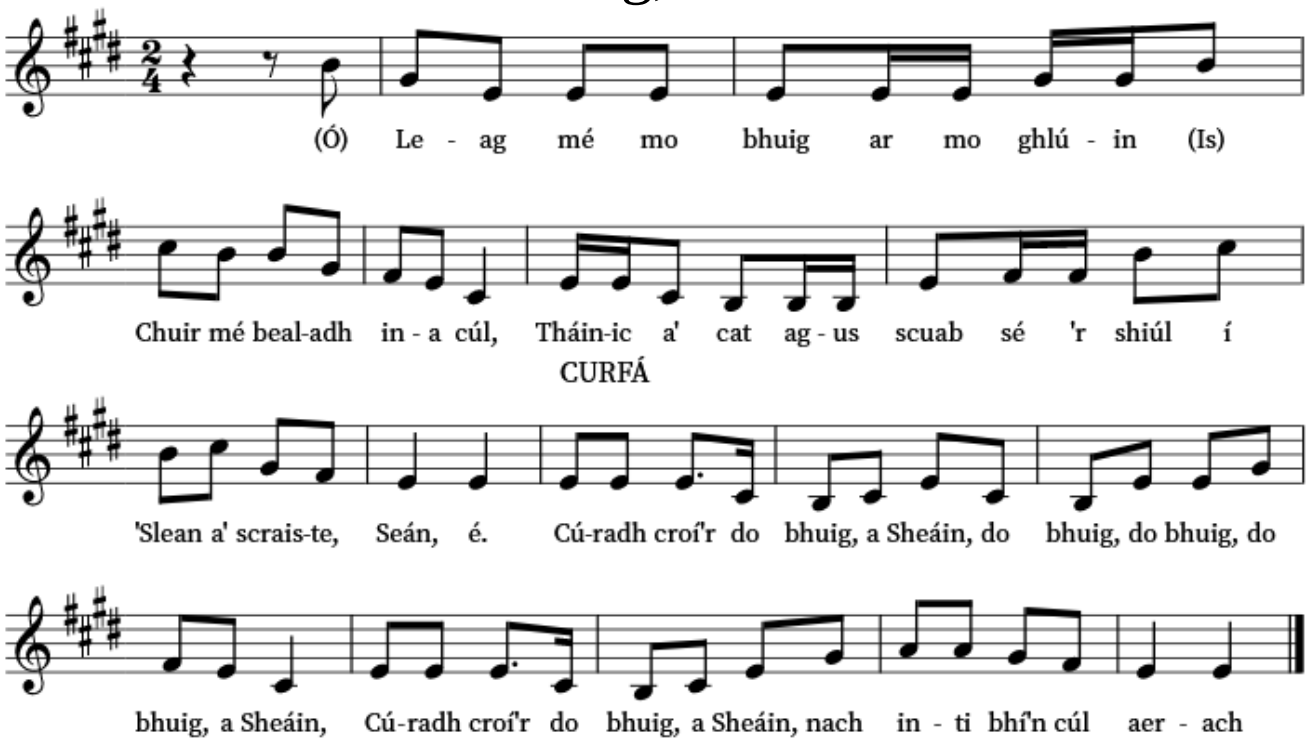
Nuair a bíteanns a' tír a' n'a gcodlad
ar mo ṡamar idim (liom) féin,
Ag rúsgad ⁊ ag glacuigeact le fearc
rún mo ċléiḋ,
Má's peacaċ sin glacaim orm féin
Mo láṁ a beiṫ 'n-a brollaċ, agus mé
ag pógad a béil.

Dá mbead spárán agam go deiṁin
d'fosglocainn a béal;
Ċuirfinn cuiread an mnáiḃ deasa
cúige Laiġean,
Sgáirtfinn ar fúg na n-eorna go
dtuitfead muinn i néal.

Arsa seisean tabair mo beannaċt-sa
go Connact beag faiḃdir fóilc,
Agus cuige mo sweet valentine, ó is
fada liom í uaim,'
Ní'l baile cuaín no fairrsige a ċluinim
i g'a luad nac dtig tart orm,
Agus ní'l neart agam act gloine de'n
dig a ól.

Fig. 4. Alternative version collected by Tommy Hollywood and published in the Dundalk Democrat, 1907.

Do Bhuig, a Sheáin



Leag mé mo bhuig ar mo ghlúin,
Chuir mé bealadh ina cúl.
Tháinic an cat agus scuab sé ar shiúl í
Is lean an scraiste, Seán, é.

Curfá:
Cúradh croí ar do bhuig, a Sheáin,
Do bhuig, do bhuig, do bhuig, a Sheáin!
Cúradh chroí ar do bhuig, a Sheáin,
Nach inti bhí 'n cúl aerach!

Chuir mé litir go Droi'ead Áth',
Duine 's gearrán lena sáil,
Luach mo bhuig-sa ’chur ar fáil:
Dó agus naoi bpingne.
(Curfá)

Cúradh croí ar do sheanbhuig rua!
Chan fholann sí thú go bun do chluas'
Tiocfaidh an tEarrach 's beidh tú fuar -
Feannóchaidh sé do chluasa.
(Curfá)

I laid my wig on my knee,
I put grease in its back hair,
The cat came and swept it away
And Seán, the layabout, followed it.

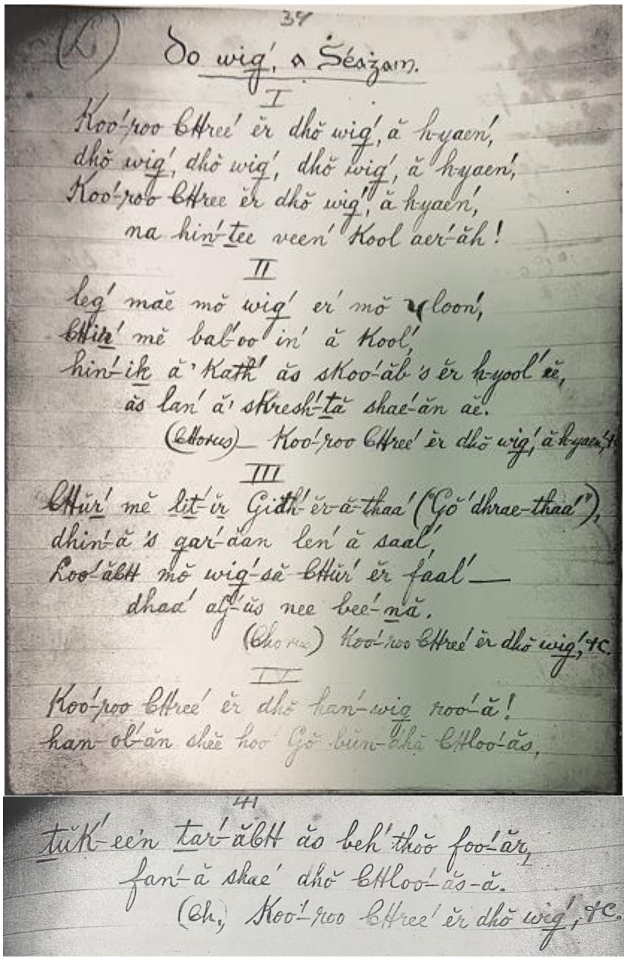
Chorus
A heart's scourge upon your wig, Seán,
Your wig, your wig, your wig, Seán!
A heart's scourge on your wig, Seán,
Didn't it have the lively back hair?

I sent a letter to Drogheda,
A person and a horse at its heels,
To get the price of my wig:
Two and ninepence.

A heart's scourge upon your old red wig!
It doesn't cover you to the bottom of your ears.
The Spring will come and you'll be cold -
It will take the skin off your ears.

Faisnéiseoir | Informant: Bríd Nic Eoghain, An Chláiríneach, Crois Mhic Lionnáin, Co Ard Mhacha. Hannon Papers [V: 39-41].
Port | Air: Air collected by Nuala Ní Chatháin from Séamus Ó Catháin, Ó Méith, Co. Lugha and arranged by Éamonn Ó Gallchobhair for *Amhráin Chúige Uladh* [1977 (1927): 95]. This was republished in *An tUltach* in 1930 [VII:3] and 1941 [XVIII:2] in the tonic solfa format as arranged by Éamonn Ó Gallchobhair.
Leaganacha eile béil an cheantair | Other local oral versions: The first verse and the chorus was collected by Fr Lorcán Ó Muireadhaigh from Séamus Ó Catháin and published along with the air in *Amhráin Chúige Uladh* and in *An tUltach*. Fr Ó Muireadhaigh attributes the other two verses to John Hannon’s informant.

Hannon Papers


37
(L) Do bhuig, a Ṡéaġain.

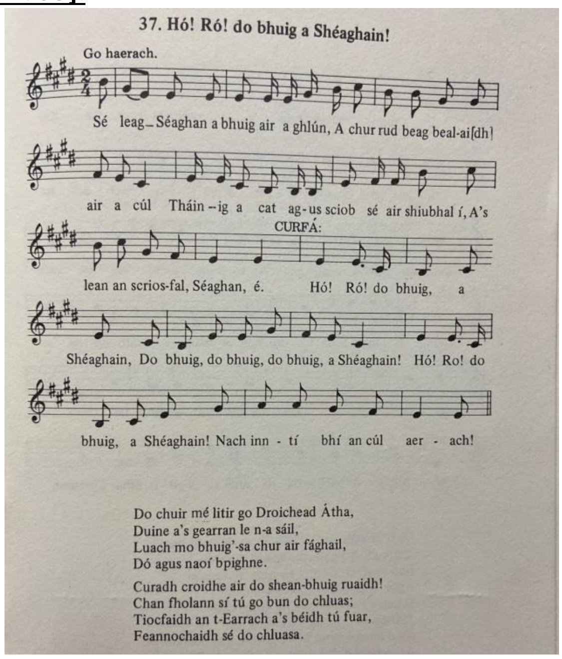
I
Koo'-roo cHree' ĕr dhŏ wig', ă h-yaen',
dhŏ wig', dhŏ wig', dhŏ wig', ă h-yaen',
Koo'-roo cHree ĕr dhŏ wig', ă h-yaen',
na hin'-tee veen' Kool aer'-ăh!

II
leg' maĕ mŏ wig' er' mŏ ɣloon',
cHŭr' mĕ bal'-oo in' ă Kool'
hin'-ik ă' Kath' ăs sKoo'-ăb 's ĕr h-yool'-ĕ,
ăs lan' ă' sKresh'-tă shae'-ăn ae'.
(Chorus) Koo'-roo cHree' ĕr dhŏ wig', ă h-yaen', &c.

III
cHŭr' mĕ lit'-ĭr Gidh'-ĕr-ă-thaa' ("Gŏ' dhrae-thaa'"),
dhin'-ă 's gar'-ăan len' ă saal',
Loo'-ăcH mŏ wig'-să cHŭr' ĕr faal'—
dhaa' ag'-ŭs nee bee'-nă.
(Chorus) Koo'-roo cHree' ĕr dhŏ wig', &c.

IV
Koo'-roo cHree' ĕr dhŏ han'-wig roo'-ă!
han'-ol-ăn shee hoo' Gŏ bun'-ĕhă cHloo'-ăs,
41
tuK'-een tar'-ăcH ăs beh' thoo foo'-ăr,
fan'-ă shae' dhŏ cHloo'-ăs-ă.
(Ch.) Koo'-roo cHree' ĕr dhŏ wig', &c.

Amhrán Chúige Uladh [1977: 95]:


37. Hó! Ró! do bhuig a Shéaghain!

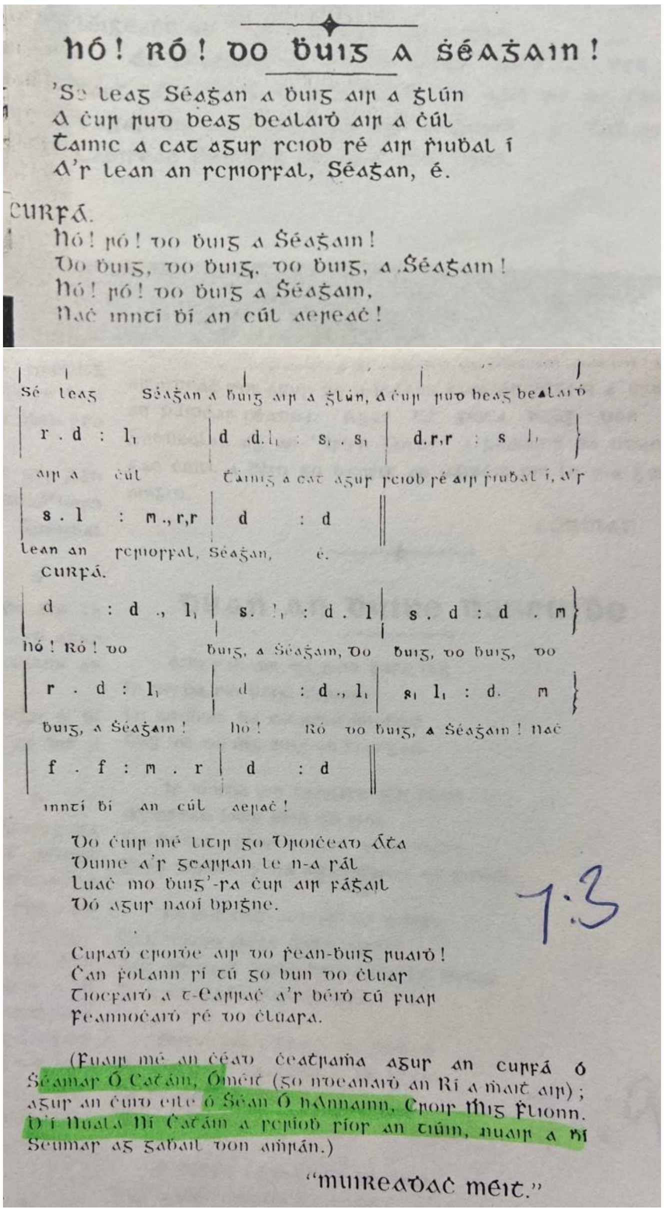
Go haerach.

Do chuir mé litir go Droichead Átha,
Duine a's gearran le n-a sáil,
Luach mo bhuig'-sa chur air fághail,
Dó agus naoi bpighne.

Curadh croidhe air do shean-bhuig ruaidh!
Chan fholann sí tú go bun do chluas;
Tiocfaidh an t-Earrach a's béidh tú fuar,
Feannochaidh sé do chluasa.

Faisnéiseoir | Informant: Bríd Nic Eoghain, An Chláiríneach, Crois Mhic Lionnáin, Co Ard Mhacha. Hannon Papers [V: 39-41].
Port | Air: Air collected by Nuala Ní Chatháin from Séamus Ó Catháin, Ó Méith, Co. Lugha and arranged by Éamonn Ó Gallchobhair for *Amhráin Chúige Uladh* [1977 (1927): 95]. This was republished in *An tUltach* in 1930 [VII:3] and 1941 [XVIII:2] in the tonic solfa format as arranged by Éamonn Ó Gallchobhair.
Leaganacha eile béil an cheantair | Other local oral versions: The first verse and the chorus was collected by Fr Lorcán Ó Muireadhaigh from Séamus Ó Catháin and published along with the air in *Amhráin Chúige Uladh* and in *An tUltach*. Fr Ó Muireadhaigh attributes the other two verses to John Hannon's informant.

An tUltach [VII:3]:



Hó! Ró! Do Ḃuig a Ṡéaġain!

'Sé leag Séaġan a ḃuig air a ġlún
A ċur rud beag bealaiḋ air a ċúl
Tainic a cat agus sciob sé air ṡiuḃal í
A's lean an scriorsal, Séaġan, é.

Curfá.
Hó! ró! do ḃuig a Ṡéaġain!
Do ḃuig, do ḃuig, do ḃuig, a Ṡéaġain!
Hó! ró! do ḃuig a Ṡéaġain,
Naċ innti ḃí an cúl aereaċ!

Sé leag Séaġan a ḃuig air a ġlún, A ċur rud beag bealaiḋ
| r . d : l₁ | d .d.l₁ : s₁ . s₁ | d.r.r : s l₁ |
air a cúl Táinig a cat agus sciob sé air ṡiuḃal í, a's
| s . l : m ., r,r | d : d ||
lean an scriorsal, Séaġan, é.
Curfá.
| d : d ., l₁ | s . l₁ : d . l | s . d : d . m |
Hó! Ró! do ḃuig, a Ṡéaġain, Do ḃuig, do ḃuig, do
| r . d : l₁ | d : d ., l₁ | s₁ l₁ : d. m |
ḃuig, a Ṡéaġain! Hó! Ró do ḃuig, a Ṡéaġain! Naċ
| f . f : m . r | d : d ||
innti ḃí an cúl aeraċ!

Do ċuir mé litir go Droiċead Áṫa
Duine a's gearran le n-a sál
Luaċ mo ḃuig'-sa ċur air fáġail
Dó agus naoi bpiġne.

7:3

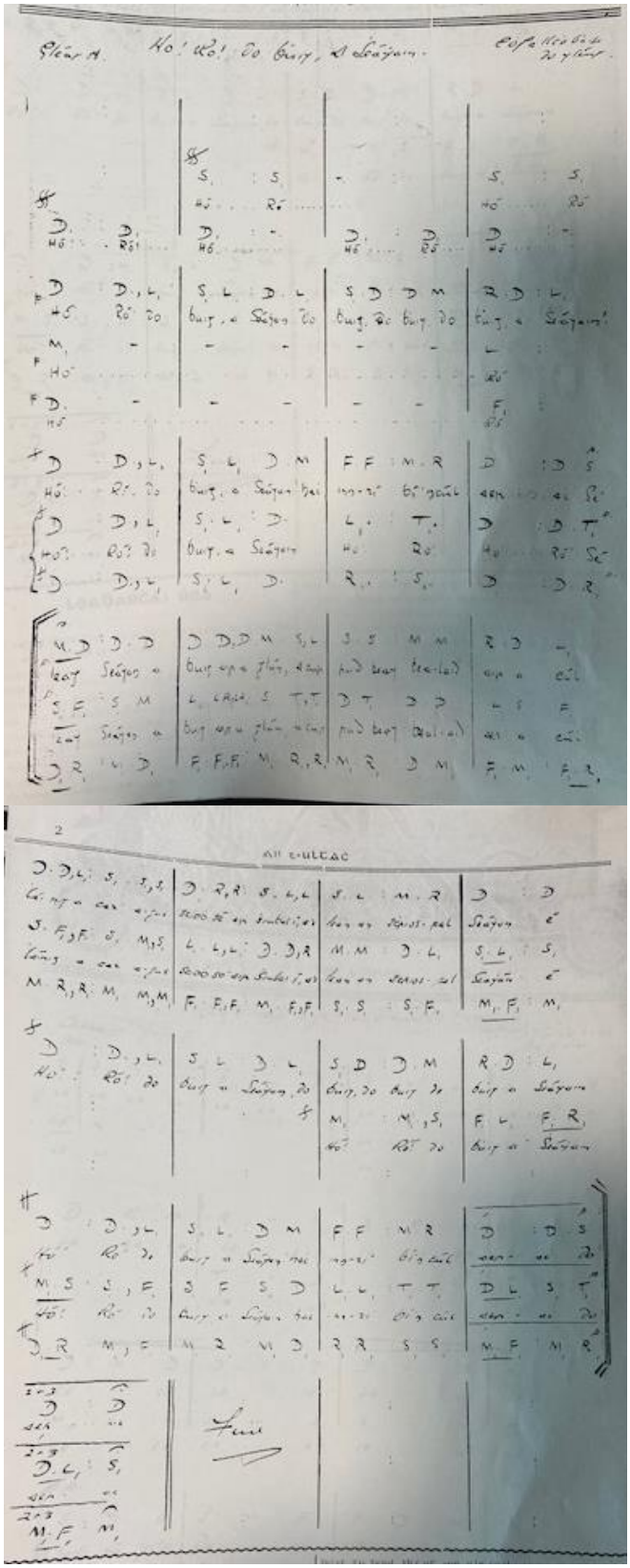
Curaḋ croiḋe air do ṡean-ḃuig ruaiḋ!
Ċan ḟolann sí tú go bun do ċluas
Tiocfaiḋ a t-Earraċ a's béiḋ tú fuar
Feannoċaiḋ sé do ċluasa.

(Fuair mé an ċéad ċeaṫraṁa agus an curfá ó Ṡéamas Ó Caṫáin, Óméit (go ndeanaiḋ an Rí a ṁaiṫ air); agus an ċuid eile ó Ṡéan Ó hAnnainn, Crois Ṁic Ḟlionn. Ḃí Nuala Ní Ċaṫáin a sgríoḃ síos an tiúin, nuair a ḃí Séumas ag gabáil don amrán.)

"Muireaḋaċ Méiṫ."

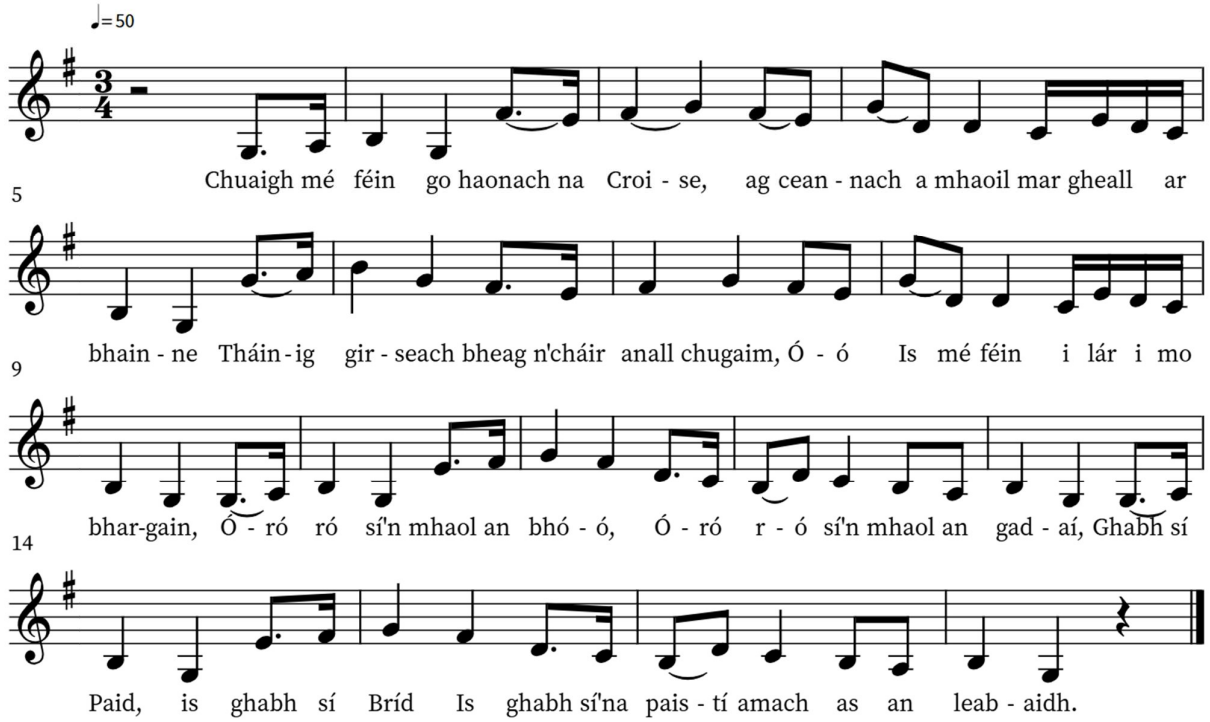
Faisnéiseoir | Informant: Bríd Nic Eoghain, An Chláiríneach, Crois Mhic Lionnáin, Co Ard Mhacha. Hannon Papers [V: 39-41].
Port | Air: Air collected by Nuala Ní Chatháin from Séamus Ó Catháin, Ó Méith, Co. Lugha and arranged by Éamonn Ó Gallchobhair for *Amhráin Chúige Uladh* [1977 (1927): 95]. This was republished in *An tUltach* in 1930 [VII:3] and 1941 [XVIII:2] in the tonic solfa format as arranged by Éamonn Ó Gallchobhair.
Leaganacha eile béil an cheantair | Other local oral versions: The first verse and the chorus was collected by Fr Lorcán Ó Muireadhaigh from Séamus Ó Catháin and published along with the air in *Amhráin Chúige Uladh* and in *An tUltach*. Fr Ó Muireadhaigh attributes the other two verses to John Hannon's informant.

An tUltach [XVIII:2]:



Faisnéiseoir | Informant: Bríd Nic Eoghain, An Chláiríneach, Crois Mhic Lionnáin, Co Ard Mhacha. Hannon Papers [V: 39-41].
Port | Air: Air collected by Nuala Ní Chatháin from Séamus Ó Catháin, Ó Méith, Co. Lugha and arranged by Éamonn Ó Gallchobhair for *Amhráin Chúige Uladh* [1977 (1927): 95]. This was republished in *An tUltach* in 1930 [VII:3] and 1941 [XVIII:2] in the tonic solfa format as arranged by Éamonn Ó Gallchobhair.
Leaganacha eile béil an cheantair | Other local oral versions: The first verse and the chorus was collected by Fr Lorcán Ó Muireadhaigh from Séamus Ó Catháin and published along with the air in *Amhráin Chúige Uladh* and in *An tUltach*. Fr Ó Muireadhaigh attributes the other two verses to John Hannon's informant.

Chuaigh an Mhaol



Chuaigh mé féin go haonach na Croise,
Ag ceannach a' mhaoil mar gheall ar bhainne;
Tháinig girseach b*h*eag an chair anall chugam,
Is mé féin i lár mo bhargain.

Curfá

Óró, ró, sí an mhaol, an bhó!
Óró, ró, sí an mhaol, an gadaí!
Ghabh sí Paid, is Ghabh sí Bríd
Is ghabh sí na páistí amach as an leabaidh.

Tá útha mhaith ag ag mhaol,
Beidh sí ag teacht seacht lá déag Lá Pádraig;
Tháinig mé féin abhaile,
Is mo mhaol bheag in aice liom.

Bhí sí ag búireadh is ag éagaoinigh,
Is ag léimnigh tríd na bearraigh,
Agus gan aon deor bainne,
A bheas ag mo mhaol *i m*bliana.

Thug mé mo mhaol go Baile Átha hÓ,
Go Ráth Tó is go Ráth Cheannaigh,
Is ag pilleadh ar a háis di anuas an bóthar,
Ghabh sí tóin den táilliúr *Uí* M*h*earáin.

I went myself to Cross fair
To buy a hornless cow for milk
The small toothy girl (hornless cow) came over to me
While I was in the middle of my bargain

Chorus

Oh, oh! She is the hornless cow, the cow
Oh, oh, she is the hornless cow, the thief,
She caught Paid, She caught Bríd,
She grabbed the children out of bed

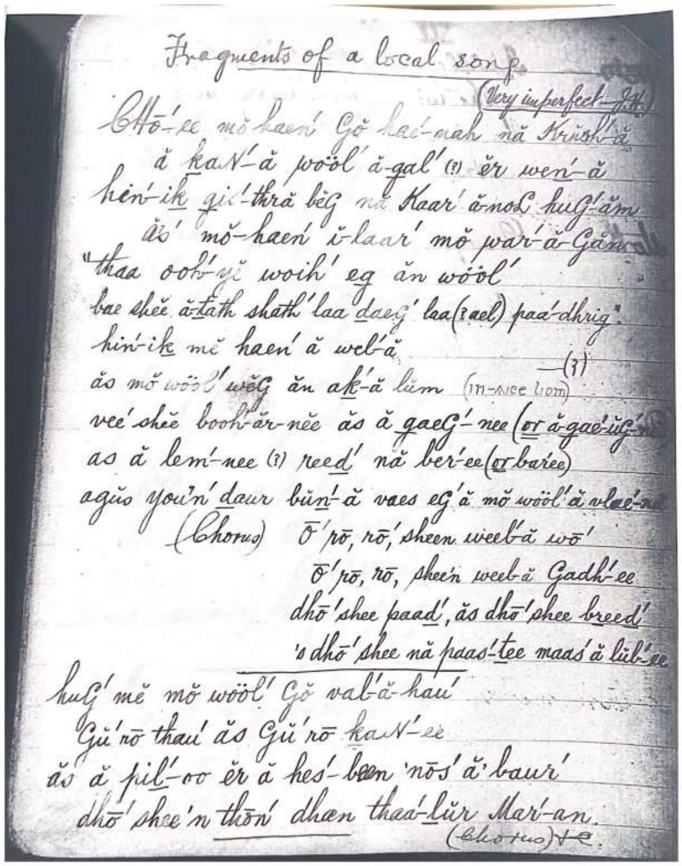
"The hornless cow has good udders
She will be calving on the seventeenth, on St Patrick's Day."
I came home myself
My little hornless cow along with me

She was bawling and moaning
And jumping among the heifers
And not one drop of milk
Will my hornless cow produce this year.

I took my hornless cow to Ballyhoe,
To Ratoath, to Rathkenny
As she was returning down the road
She caught the backside of the Tailor Marron

Faisnéiseoir / Informant: Bríd Nic Eoghain, An Chláiríneach, Crois Mhic Lionnáin, Co. Ard Mhacha. Hannon Papers [III: 47-48]
Port/ Air : Air collected by Seosamh Laoide from Piper Goodman –National Library Ireland ms G866
Leaganacha eile béil an cheantair / Other oral versions in the area: Bríd Nic Eoghain, An Chláiríneach, Crois Mhic Lionnáin, Co. Ard Mhacha. Hannon Papers [IV: 6-11].

Hannon Papers – Text



Fragments of a local song.
(Very imperfect—J.H.)

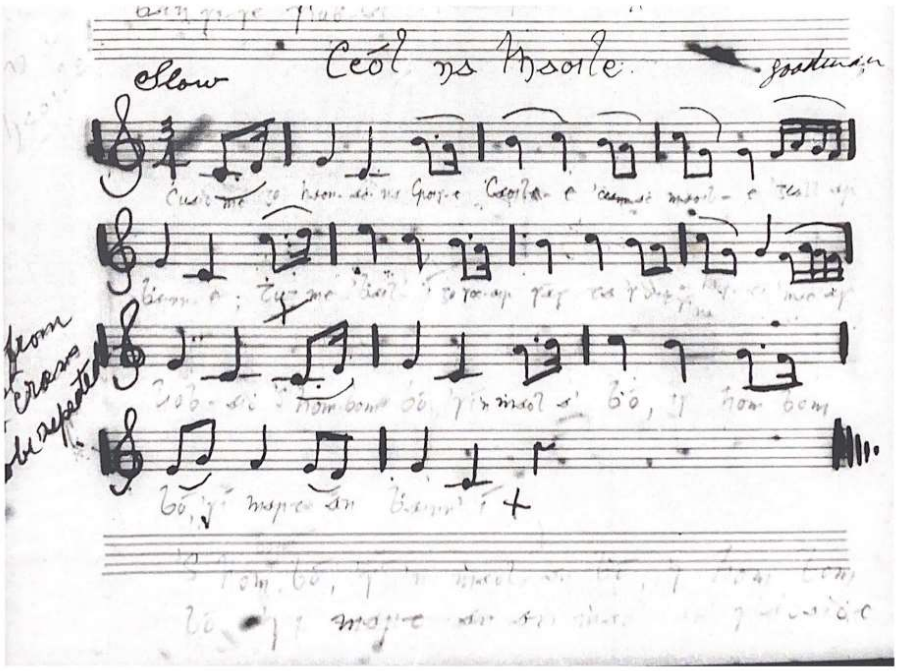
Chō-ee mŏ haen Gŏ hae-nah nă Krŭsh-ă
ă kaN-ă wool ă-gal (?) ĕr wen-ă
hen-ik gil-thră beG nă Kaar ă-noL huG-ăm
ăs mŏ-haen ĭ-laar mŏ war-ă-Găn
"thaa ooh-yĕ woih eg ăn wool
bae shee ă-tath shath laa daeg laa(?ael) paa-dhrig".
hin-ik mĕ haen ă wel-ă
ăs mŏ wool weG ăn ak-ă lŭm (in-nee liom) —(?)
vee shee booh-ăr-nee ăs ă gaeG-nee (or ă-gae-ŭG-nee)
as ă lem-nee (?) reed nă ber-ee (or baree)
agŭs youn daur bŭn-ă vaes eG ă mŏ wool ă vlae-nee

(Chorus) Ō pō, rō, sheen weeb-ă wō
Ō pō, rō, sheen weeb-ă Gadh-ee
dhō shee paad, ăs dhō shee breed
's dhō shee nă paas-tee maas ă lŭb-ee

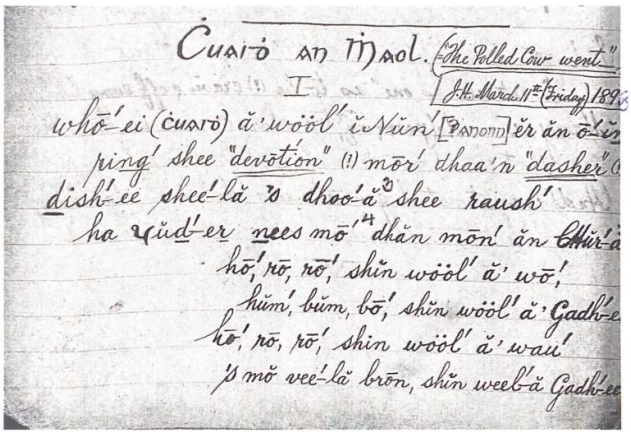
huG mĕ mŏ wool Gŏ val-ă-hau
Gŭ rō thau ăs Gŭ rō kaN-ee
ăs ă pil-oo ĕr ă hes-been nōs ă baur
dhō shee'n thōn dhan thaa-lŭr Mar-an.
(Chorus) &c.

Faisnéiseoir / Informant: Bríd Nic Eoghain, An Chláiríneach, Crois Mhic Lionnáin, Co. Ard Mhacha. Hannon Papers [III: 47-48]
Port/ Air : Air collected by Seosamh Laoide from Piper Goodman –National Library Ireland ms G866
Leaganacha eile béil an cheantair / Other oral versions in the area: Bríd Nic Eoghain, An Chláiríneach, Crois Mhic Lionnáin, Co. Ard Mhacha. Hannon Papers [IV: 6-11].

Air from Piper Philip Goodman



Hannon Papers – Text



Faisnéiseoir / Informant: Bríd Nic Eoghain, An Chláiríneach, Crois Mhic Lionnáin, Co. Ard Mhacha. Hannon Papers [III: 47-48]
Port/ Air : Air collected by Seosamh Laoide from Piper Goodman –National Library Ireland ms G866
Leaganacha eile béil an cheantair / Other oral versions in the area: Bríd Nic Eoghain, An Chláiríneach, Crois Mhic Lionnáin, Co. Ard Mhacha. Hannon Papers [IV: 6-11].

II

whō-ei ă wöōl ĭ-nae'-dhăn[1] ă tlae'-vă
ă thaur'-nă dae' agŭs ee' brae hes'-thee[2] (or hes'pee)
nĕr ă hin'-ik "Ned" ă-tath'[3] Găn öö'-ăr-Kee
laK' (or ring) shae' pĕ-traeth'[4] ăs dish'-ee'n Gun'-ă
(Chorus)

III

whō-ei ă wöōl' Gŏ braK'-lee waa'-nă
dhoo'-ă[5] shee Sthaa'-Kă Gŭd'-ee'n thal'-ou[6]
er' ă pil'-oo nae'-ei 'r ă baur' dhee[7]
dish'-ee aug'-ee[8] 'mah' ĕr ă Nŭn'-ĕg
(Chorus.)

IV

whō-ei ă wöōl' Gŏ bael'-ă-hau'
's Gŭr' ă thau' ăs Gŭr' ă kan'-ee
er pil'-oo nae'-ei er ă baur'[8] (?)
dish'-ee 'n thaa'-lyĕr Kaur' ă pŭdh'-ee
(Chorus).

V.

is doK'-thăr moih' ă wöōl' Gŏ fee'-ŏr,
ăs hă veen' shee dhöōr' ĕr röö'-nee both'-ă,

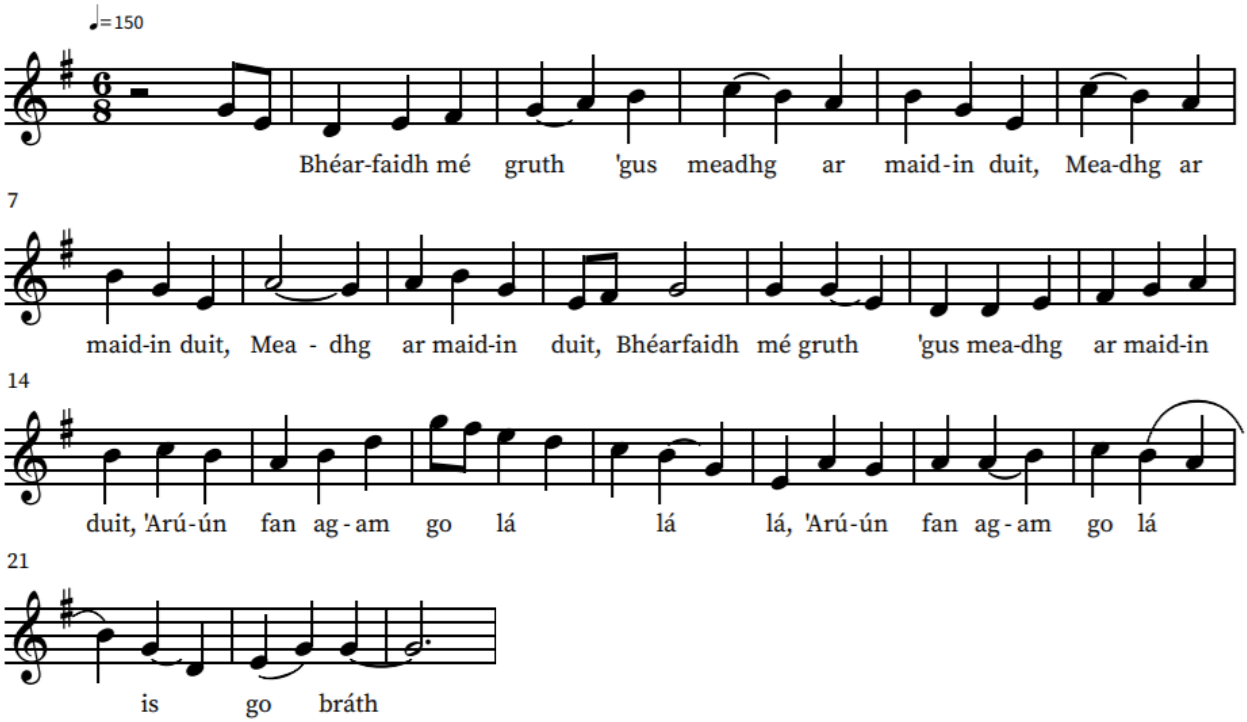
CHir'-ă-măr faen' Gŏ mwib'-in ă' möōl'
le baar' stee'-lă CHau'-roo saK'-ă
(Chorus)

VI

haa-waa'-ăn shee CHöōh'-yă[2] dhĕ "Tom" Kōōh'
mŭr dhoort' shĕ ăs-teer' Gŏ-rō' shee faar'-sin
(Chorus).

Faisnéiseoir / Informant: Bríd Nic Eoghain, An Chláiríneach, Crois Mhic Lionnáin, Co. Ard Mhacha. Hannon Papers [III: 47-48]
Port/ Air : Air collected by Seosamh Laoide from Piper Goodman –National Library Ireland ms G866
Leaganacha eile béil an cheantair / Other oral versions in the area: Bríd Nic Eoghain, An Chláiríneach, Crois Mhic Lionnáin, Co. Ard Mhacha. Hannon Papers [IV: 6-11].

Bhéarfaidh mé gruth agus meadhg ar maidin duit



Bhéarfaidh mé gruth agus meadhg ar maidin duit,
Meadhg ar maidin duit, meadhg ar maidin duit,
Bhéarfaidh mé gruth agus meadhg ar maidin duit,
A rún, fan agam go lá, lá, lá,
A rún, fan agam go lá is go bráth.

Bhéarfaidh mé brachán le bainne is é measctha le maide duit,
Measctha le maide duit, measctha le maide duit,
Bhéarfaidh mé brachán le bainne is é measctha le maide duit,
A rún, fan agam go lá, lá, lá,
A rún, fan agam go lá is go bráth.

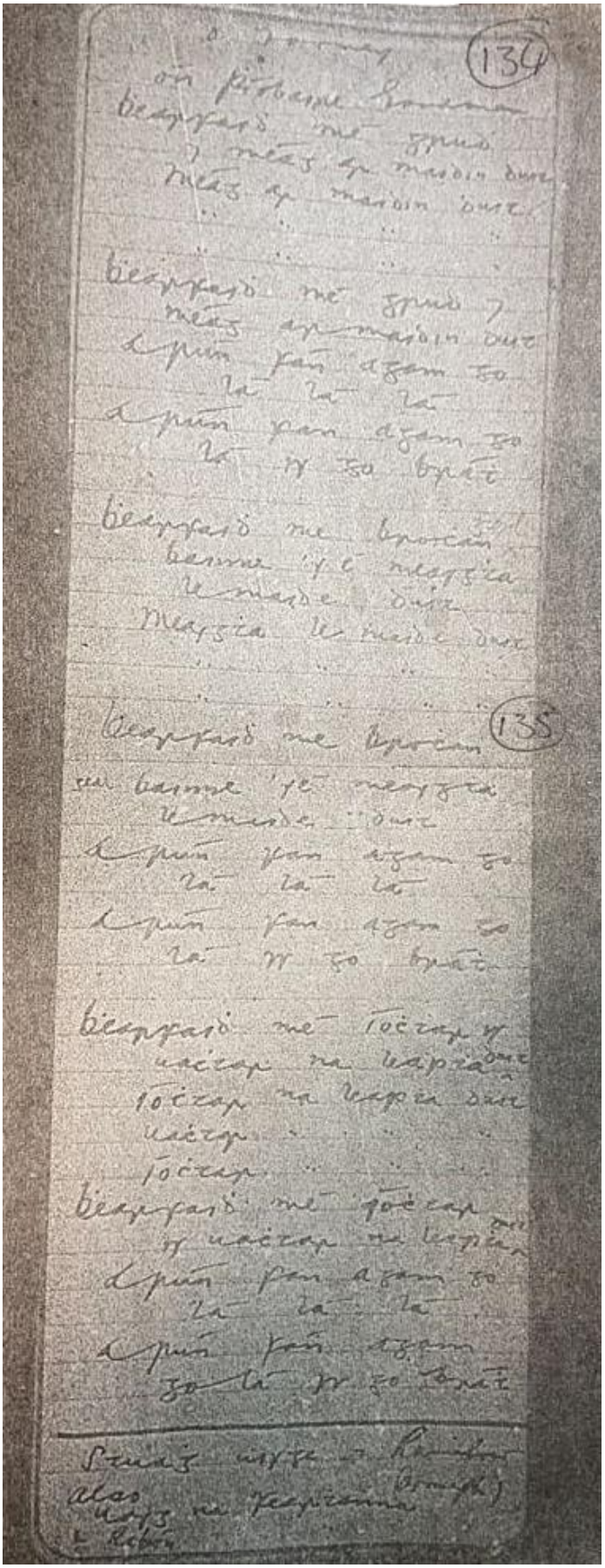
Bhéarfaidh mé íochtar is uachtar na leapa duit,
Íochtar na leapa duit, uachtar na leapa duit;
Bhéarfaidh mé íochtar is uachtar na leapa duit,
A rún, fan agam go lá, lá, lá,
A rún, fan agam go lá is go bráth.

I will give you curds and whey in the morning,
Whey in the morning for you, whey in the morning for you;
I will give you curds and whey in the morning,
My love, stay with me until dawn;
My love, stay with me from now to eternity.

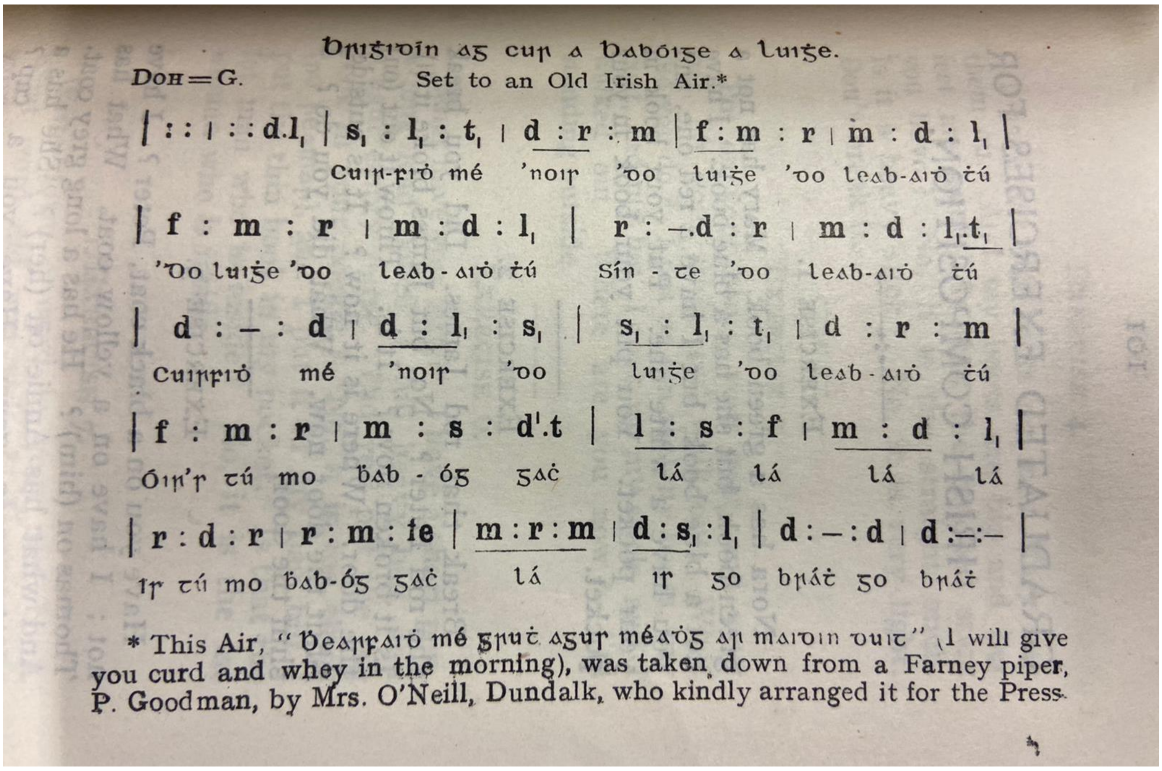
I will give you stirabout with milk, and it mixed with a stick,
Mixed with a stick for you, mixed with a stick for you,
I will give you stirabout with milk, and it mixed with a stick,
My love, stay with me for until dawn;
My love, stay with me from now to eternity.

I will give you the top and the bottom of the bed,
The top of the bed for you, the bottom of the bed for you;
I will give you the top and the bottom of the bed,
My love, stay with me until dawn;
My love, stay with from now to eternity.

Faisnéiseoir | informant: Philp 'the Piper' Goodman, Dún a' Rí, Fearnaigh, Co. Mhuineacháin. Morris Papers [LX: 134-135].
Port | Air: Collected separately from Piper Goodman and published with another song. The Cuchulainn Modh Díreach Readers. Third Book [1917: 100]
Leaganacha eile béil an cheantair | Other local oral versions: Lloyd Papers [NLI, MG 856: 20]; Macalla [2:4:18].



Faisnéiseoir | informant: Philp 'the Piper' Goodman, Dún a' Rí, Fearnaigh, Co. Mhuineacháin. Morris Papers [LX: 134-135].
Port | Air: Collected separately from Piper Goodman and published with another song. The Cuchulainn Modh Díreach Readers. Third Book [1917: 100]
Leaganacha eile béil an cheantair | Other local oral versions: Lloyd Papers [NLI, MG 856: 20]; Macalla [2:4:18].


Brigidín ag cur a babóige a luighe.
Doh = G. Set to an Old Irish Air.*
Cuir-fidh mé 'noir 'do luighe 'do leab-aidh thú
'Do luighe 'do leab-aidh thú Sín - te 'do leab-aidh thú
Cuirfidh mé 'noir 'do luighe 'do leab-aidh thú
Óir's tú mo bhab - óg gach lá lá lá lá
Is tú mo bhab-óg gach lá is go bráth go bráth
* This Air, "Bearfaidh mé gruth agus meadhg ar maidin duit" (I will give you curd and whey in the morning), was taken down from a Farney piper, P. Goodman, by Mrs. O'Neill, Dundalk, who kindly arranged it for the Press.

Faisnéiseoir | informant: Philp 'the Piper' Goodman, Dún a' Rí, Fearnaigh, Co. Mhuineacháin. Morris Papers [LX: 134-135].
Port | Air: Collected separately from Piper Goodman and published with another song. The Cuchulainn Modh Díreach Readers. Third Book [1917: 100]
Leaganacha eile béil an cheantair | Other local oral versions: Lloyd Papers [NLI, MG 856: 20]; Macalla [2:4:18].

Appendix C – Table of Song Collection

Song	Song name and author	Source Singer	Original text sources	Air	Song theme	Singer	Musical Setting	John Hannon Collection
1	**Máire Chaoch** by poet Art Mac Cumhaigh	Bríd Nic Eoghain [Bridget McKeown]	Two phonetic transcripts by John Hannon – Private Collection (Trimble).	Blind Mary – O'Carolan	Satire on Mary Quinn of Creenkill townland	Patricia McCrink	Accompanied singing with Oriel Traditional Orchestra; arranged by Daithí Kearney	Yes
2	**Éirí na Galltachta /Bodaigh na hEorna/**by poet Art MacCumhaigh	Bríd Nic Eoghain [Bridget McKeown]	One phonetic transcript by John Hannon – Private Collection (Trimble).	As composed by Patricia McCrink	Satire on the O'Callaghan family of Culloville	Patricia McCrink	Accompanied singing with Oriel Traditional Orchestra; arranged by Daithí Kearney	Yes
3	**Suantraí – Huiréo Baa / Da bhfeicfeá tusa** – anonymous	Aindreas Ó Marcaigh [Andy Markey]	Seosamh Laoide Papers – G856: 46; Laoide G856: 49-50 Ó Muirgheasa Papers LX:145	Seosamh Laoide; Laoide G856: 49-50	Lullaby	Patricia McCrink	Accompanied singing with Oriel Traditional Orchestra; arranged by Daithí Kearney	No

4	**Iomáin Inis Caoin** by poet Micheál 'na scoile' McMahon	Tómas Ó Míocháin [Thomas Meehan]	One phonetic transcript by John Hannon – Private Collection (Trimble). Additional Lines taken from Donaghmoyne Oral Versions; Patrick Campbell & Bhean Uí Mhathghamhna Duchas.ie	Collected from piper Philip Goodman and air in NLI ms G865 and published in Trimble (2009c: 66) – Air did not match amicably Song set to air of Iomáil Léana an Bhabhdhúin - P Ó Dubhda A Shaol agus a Shaothar 96-97 and also published in Séamus Mac Seáin - Pléaraca Dhún Dealgan 1981	Account of a hurling game in 1806 played in Inniskeen	Ciara Hall	Unaccompanied Singing; Recorded by Dave Molly, Cellar Club Studios	Yes
5	**La Fhéile Pádraig** – anonymous	Sorcha Ní Dhuinn [Sally Humphries]	Sorcha Ní Dhuinn [Sally Humphries – Lislea] Ó Muirgheasa Papers G856 2 verses collected from	Air piper Goodman – Laoide Papers – G856: 49-50 (untitled with a verse set to the notation)	Song about drinking	Ciara Hall	Unaccompanied Singing; Recorded by Dave Molly, Cellar Club Studios	Yes - Composite

			Bríd Nic Eoghain from John Hannon Papers, private collection held by Gearóid Trimble.					
6	**Do bhuig, a Sheáin** – anonymous	Bríd Nic Eoghain [Bridget McKeown]	Phonetic text by John Hannon – Private Collection (Trimble).	Amhrain Chúige Uladh – Air collected by Nuala Ní Chatháin from Séamus Ó Cathain, Ó Méith; An tUltach	Humorous song	Ciara Hall	Accompanied singing with Oriel Traditional Orchestra; arranged by Daithí Kearney	Yes
7	**Chuaigh an Mhaol** – anonymous	Bríd Nic Eoghain [Bridget McKeown]	Two phonetic transcripts by John Hannon – Private Collection (Trimble).	Collected from piper Goodman and air Seosamh Laoide papers (G856) published in Trimble 2009c	The fair at Crossmaglen town and often sung to children to stay indoors at night	Colleen Savage	Accompanied singing with Oriel Traditional Orchestra; arranged by Daithí Kearney	Yes
8	**Bhéarfaidh mé gruth**	Piper Philip Goodman	Handwritten text by Énrí Ó	Air noted down from Goodman	A popular light-hearted verse on	Colleen Savage	Unaccompanied	No

	agus meadhg ar maidin duit – anonymous		Muirgheasa – UCD Ó Muirgheasa Papers (XX: 134-135).	and given in booklet series 'Cuchulainn Modh Díreach reader III'	the theme of courtship		Singing; Recorded by Dave Molly, Cellar club Studios	
9	**Sliabh gCuilinn** – anonymous	Sorcha Nig Léid [Sarah McGlade]	Handwritten text by Tomás Mac Cuileannáin – RBÉ Hollywood Papers (MCCXIII: 517).	Air as arranged by Colleen Savage	Verse recalling a migrant worker's homeland at Slieve Gullion.	Colleen Savage	Shruti Box & Vocals - Colleen Savage; Fiddle – Joanna Doran; Recorded by Dave Molloy, Cellar Club Studios	No

Appendix D – Table of Names

This study includes references to several individuals whose names variously appear in the Irish and English language. In some instances, women are referred to by their maiden name or married name. In some instances, there may be other ways of referring to individuals, which is indicated in this table.

Ainm	Name	Also known as
Aindreas Ó Marcaigh	Andy Markey	
Albert Fry		
Art Mac Cumhaigh	Art Mac Cumhaigh	
Bríd Nic Eoghain	Bridget McKeown	Bridget Hearty
Éamonn Ó Tuatháil	Éamonn O'Toole	
Eithne Ní Uallacháin		
Énrí Ó Mhuirgheasa	Henry Morris	
Gráinne Ní Cléirigh	Gráinne Clarke	Gráinne McCarthy
Lorcán Ó Muireadhaigh	Laurence Murray	Fr Larry Murray
Máire Ní Arbhasaigh	Mary Harvessy	
Nuala Ní Chatháin	Fanny Kane	
Pádraig Ó Dufaigh	Patrick Duffy	
Peadar Ó Dubhda		
	Philip Goodman	piper Goodman
Séamus Ó Catháin	James Kane	
Seosamh Laoide	Joseph H. Lloyd	
Sorcha Ní Dhuinn	Sarah Humphries	
Sorcha Nig Léid	Sarah McGlade	
Tomás Mac Cuileannáin	Thomas Hollywood	Tommy Hollywood
Tómas Ó Fiaich	Thomas Fee	Fr/Cardinal Tómas Ó Fiaich
Tómas Ó Míocháin	Thomas Meehan	

Bibliography, Discography and Web Resources

Bibliography

Åkesson, I. (2006). Re-creation, Re-shaping, and Renewal among Contemporary Swedish Folk Singers. *STM-Online* vol. 9 Available at: https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:349799/FULLTEXT01.pdf

Atkinson, D. (2004). Folk songs in print: text and tradition, *Folk Music Journal*, pp. 456-483.

Boullier, N. (2012) *Handed Down: Country Fiddling and Dancing in East and Central Down*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation.

Breatnach, P.A. (1981) *A Musical Link Between Dán and Amhrán*, CEOL 4, no. 4, pp.102-9

Caldwell, C., Haslett, M., and Ó Laoire, L. (eds) (2021). *The Oxford Handbook of Irish Song, 1100–1850*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198819781.001.0001.

Carraig Mhacaire Rois : Conradh Na Gaeilge. (1977) *Macalla*. Ireland: Conradh Na Gaeilge.

Cawley, J. (2013) Musical Development in Irish Traditional Music: An Exploration of Family Influences. *Ethnomusicology Ireland*, 2(3), pp.95-111.

Cawley, J. (2020) *Becoming an Irish traditional musician: Learning and embodying musical culture*. London: Routledge.

Christian Brothers. (1906). *Graiméar na Gaedhilge*. Dublin: M.H. Gill & Son.

Comhaltas Uladh. (1962). *Abair Amhráin*. Belfast: Comhaltas Uladh.

Costello, É. (2017). Sean-Nós Song in the Oireachtas na Gaeilge Festival: The Aesthetics of Sean-Nós Song through the Gaze of the Oireachtas na Gaeilge Adjudicators, *Ethnomusicology Ireland: The Journal of ICTM Ireland*, 5, pp. 31-47.

Costello, É. (2019). Oireachtas na Gaeilge and Sean-Nós Song Competition, 1940–2012: Regionalism, Nationalism, and Gaelicness, *Éire-Ireland*, 54(1), pp. 160-187.

Cranitch, M. (2006) *Pádraig O'Keeffe and The Sliabh Luachra Fiddle Tradition* [unpublished]. PhD thesis. University of Limerick.

Cringan, A.T. (1889). *The Teacher's Handbook of the Tonic Sol-Fa System: A Guide to the Teaching of Singing in Schools by the Tonic Sol-Fa System*. Toronto: Canada Publishing Co.

Diamond, B. and Castelo-Branco, S. E. S. (eds) (2021) *Transforming Ethnomusicology: Methodologies, Institutional Structures, and Policies*. Oxford. Oxford University Press.

Fahey, H. (2022). Take it away, sure' tis your own: Negotiating authoritative voice in Irish traditional song performance through autoethnography. *Journal of Interdisciplinary Voice Studies*, 7(2), pp. 187-202.

Finck, F.N. (1899) *Die Araner Mundart: Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung des Westirischen*. Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.

Fleischmann, R. (ed.) (2004). *Cork International Choral Festival, 1954-2004: A Celebration.* Herford, Germany: Glen House Press.

Folk Song Society (1920; 1921) *Journal of the Folk Song Society* Issue 23 - 25.

Ford, S. (2017a). Emerging traditions: new perspectives on sean-nós and contemporary music collaborations. Paper presented at *ICTM Ireland Annual Conference*, Maynooth University, 25th February.

Ford, S. (2017b). Marginalised and emerging identities: the traditional voice in Irish contemporary music, *NPPSH Reflections*, 1, pp. 83-91.

Graham, L. (2010). *Joe Holmes: Here I Am Amongst You: Songs, Music and Traditions of an Ulsterman*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Grant, C. (2014) *Music Endangerment: How Language Maintenance Can Help*. Oxford. Oxford University Press.

Harrison, R. (2013) *Heritage: Critical Approaches*. London: Routledge

Harte, C.F. (2015) Review of The Globalization of Irish Traditional Song Performance by S.H. Motherway. *New Hibernia Review*, 19(2), pp. 151-152.

Higgins, L. (2024) *Community Music: History, Theory, and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Joyce, S. (2011) *Transforming Carolan* [unpublished]. PhD thesis, University of Limerick.

Kearney, D. (2009) *Towards a Regional Understanding of Irish Traditional Music* [unpublished]. PhD thesis, University College Cork.

Kearney, D. (2018) Listening for Tradition: Contributing to a Regional Musical Identity through Higher Education Research. *Musicology Research Journal*, 5, pp. 387-424.

Kearney, D. (2024). Burdens and Opportunities of Tradition in Artistic Communities: Listening to Narratives of the Arts in Siamsa Tíre's "Sounds Like Folk" Podcast Series, Studi irlandesi. *A Journal of Irish Studies*, 14, pp. 175-190.

Kearney, D., (2012). Beyond location: the relevance of regional identities in Irish traditional music. *Sonus*, 33(1), pp.1-20.

Kindon, S., Pain, R. and Kesby, M. (eds) (2010) *Participatory Action Research Approaches and Methods: Connecting People, Participation and Place*. London: Routledge.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1995) Theorizing Heritage, *Ethnomusicology*, 39(3), pp. 367-380.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (2004) From Ethnology to Heritage: The Role of the Museum, in *Conference Proceedings of the SIEF Keynote*, Marseilles, 28th April.

Long, C., (2021). *Composing for Amateurs: A practical exploration of interactive creativity and socio-musical relationships* [unpublished]. PhD dissertation, Birmingham City University.

Long, S., (2011). *The Gloaming, National Concert Hall, Irish Times*, 22 August. Available at: https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/music/roots-world-jazz/the-gloaming-1.603679 (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

Long, S., (2014). *Eithne Ní Uallacháin: Bilingua*. *Irish Times* December 4. Available at: https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/music/eithne-ni-uallachain-bilingua-1.2025691 (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

Long, S. (2023). *John Francis Flynn: Look Over the Wall, See the Sky – Dark, immersive folk music in keeping with these dark times, The Irish Times*, 3rd November.

Mac Aoidh, C. (1994) *Between the Jigs and the Reels: The Donegal Fiddle Tradition*. Ireland: Drumlin Publications.

Mac Corraidh, S. (2022) '"Nach te an rud an Ghaeilge?/Isn't Irish a warm thing?" Learning Irish language and song: an autoethnographic self-reflection', *Folk Life: Journal of Ethnological Studies*. London: Routledge.

Mac Seáin, S. (1981) *Pléaraca Dhún Dealgan*. Dublin: Jim Johnston.

Mallon, S and Short, C. (1973) *The dalin' men of Crossmaglen*. Ireland: St. Joseph's High School.

McElwain, S. (2016) *Our Dear Dark Mountain with the Sky Over It: Irish Traditional Music from the Sliabh Beagh Region of North Monaghan/East Fermanagh* [unpublished]. PhD thesis, Dundalk Institute of Technology.

McIntyre, A. (2008) *Participatory Action Research*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.

McLaughlin, M.T. (2018). *Songs between worlds: enchantment and entrapment in the Irish otherworld song tradition* [unpublished]. PhD thesis, University of Limerick.

Moley, C. (2016) *Exploring Festival, Place and Community in Irish Traditional Music*. Unpublished MA dissertation. Dundalk: Dundalk Institute of Technology

Morris, H. (1922). A Farney Piper's Tunes, *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological Society*, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 112-114

Motherway, S.H. (2013) *The Globalization of Irish Traditional Song Performance*. 1st ed. London: Routledge.

Mullen, M. (2022) *Return to Fingal: The Heritage and Practice of Irish Traditional Music in North County Dublin* [unpublished]. PhD thesis, Dundalk Institute of Technology.

Murrihy, P. (2021). *Sounds Like Folk* [podcast]. Series 1, Episode 1. Available at: https://soundcloud.com/user-318339981/paula-murrihy (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

Ní Bhaoill, R. (2010). *Ulster Gaelic Voices. Bailiúchán Doegan 1931*. Belfast: Iontaobhas Ultach, Ultach Trust.

Ní Chonghaile, D. (2021). *Collecting Music in the Aran Islands: A Century of History and Practice*. Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Ní Shuíocháin, T. (2017) *Singing Ideas: Performance, Politics and Oral Poetry*. New York: Berghahn Books

Ní Uallacháin, P. (2003). *A Hidden Ulster: People, Songs and Traditions of Oriel*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Ó Buachalla, B. (1983) [1969]. *Peadar Ó Doirnín. Amhráin*. Baile Átha Cliath: An Clóchomhar Tta.

Ó Cearra, A. and Céitinn, S. (1981) *Peadar Ó Dubhda: A Shaol agus a Shaothar*. Dublin: An Clóchomhar Tta

Ó Ciaráin, R. (2018). *Cú Uladh: Scéal Chúchulainn*. Illustrated by D. Vallely. Belfast: Gael Linn.

Ó Ciardha, E. (2001) Tories and Rapparees in Armagh in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, *Armagh: History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the history of an Irish County*. Dublin: Geography Publications, pp. 381-412.

Ó Dochartaigh, S. (1978) *An Appreciation*. Crossmaglen. Crossmaglen Review, p.17

Ó Fiaich, T. (1950) *The Kingdom of Airgialla and its Sub-Kingdoms*. Unpublished MA thesis. University College Dublin.

Ó Fiaich, T. (1971) Filíocht Uladh mar fhoinse don stair shóisialta, *Studia Hibernica*, 11 (1971), pp. 80–129.

Ó Fiaich, T. (1972). Art Mac Cooey and His Times, *Seanchas Ardmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, 6(2), p. 217.

Ó Fiaich, T. (1981) [1973]. *Art Mac Cumhaigh: Dánta*. BÁC; An Clóchomhar Tta.

Ó Fiaich, T. (1992). Na Bailéid Bhéarla, *Ón Chreagán go Ceann Dubhrann*, pp. 96-115.

O' Growney, E. (1923). *Simple Lessons in Irish: Giving the Pronunciation of Each Word*. Part 1. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan.

Ó hAnnáin, S. (1928-1930). *Ráidhteachas an Fheadha*. An tUltach. Belfast: Ultach Trust

Ó Laoire, L. (1999). National identity and local ethnicity: The case of the Gaelic League's Oireachtas sean-nós singing competitions, *The Phenomenon of Singing*, 2, pp. 160-169.

Ó Laoire, L. (2002) *Ar Chreag i Lár na Farraige: Amhráin agus Amhránaithe i dToraigh*. Indreabhán: Cló Iar-Chonnacht.

Ó Laoire, L. (2005) Irish Bodies: Current Expressions in Dance and Song. *Sionna International Festival of Music and Dance*. University of Limerick.

Ó Laoire, L. (2005). *On a Rock in the Middle of the Ocean: Songs and Singers in Tory Island, Ireland* (No. 4). Europea: Ethnomusicologies and.

Ó Laoire, L. (2007) Mothers, Sons, Brothers, Sisters: Contextualized Readings of some Gaelic Love Songs. *Irish Women's History Conference*. NUI Galway.

Ó Madagáin, B. (1985) *Functions of Irish Song in the Nineteenth Century*. Dublin: An Cumann Le Béaloideas Éireann/Folklore of Ireland Society.

Ó Muireadhaigh, L. (1920) *Ceolta Óméith*. Dún Dealgan: Liam Tempest.

Ó Muirgheasa, É. (1915) *Céad de Cheoltaibh Uladh*. Baile Átha Cliath: Mac Giolla.

Ó Muirgheasa, E. (1926) *Abhráin Airt Mhic Cubhthaigh agus Abhráin Eile II.* Dundalk: Dún Dealgan Press.

Ó Muirgheasa, É. (1969) [1934]. *Dhá Chéad De Cheoltaibh Uladh*. BÁC; Clóchullacht Chathail Teo.

Ó Muirgheasa, É. (ed.) (1916). *Abhráin Airt Mhic Cubhthaigh agus Abhráin Eile*. Dundalk: W. Tempest.

Ó Muraíle, N. (1975) *Toirialach Ó Cearúlláin*, Léacht Cholm Cille

Ó Riada, S. (1982). *Our Musical Heritage*. Dublin: The Dolmen Press.

Ó Searcaigh, S. (1925) *Foghraidheacht Ghaedhilge an Tuaiscirt*. Béal Feirste: Brún agus Ó Nualláin.

Ó Tuathail, É. (1932). The Surnames of the Parish of Upper Creggan (South Armagh), *Béaloideas*, 3(4), pp. 401-408. Available at: https://doi.org/10.2307/20521734.

Ó Tuathail, É. (1934). Supplement. Seanchas Ghleann Ghaibhle: Glandevlin Folk-Lore, *Béaloideas*, 4(4), pp. i-64. Available at: https://doi.org/10.2307/20521864.

O'Boyle, S. (1976) *The Irish Song Tradition*. Cork: Mercier Press

O'Flynn, J. (2015) Participatory Action Research and Music Education: A Case Study of Community Music in Ireland, *International Journal of Music Education*, 33(4), pp. 476-490.

O'Sullivan, D. (1981) *Songs of the Irish*. Naas: The Leinster Leader Ltd.

O'Sullivan, Donal Joseph (1958) [1983]. *Carolan: the life, times and music of an Irish harper: Vol II*. Ireland: Celtic Music.

O'Sullivan, M. (2004) *Community music making and learning for the 21st century: Autoethnographic stories, touchstones of quality, and positive youth development* [unpublished] PhD thesis. The University of British Columbia, Vancouver.

Pettan, S. and Titon, J. T. (eds) (2015) *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Ethnomusicology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Quiggin, E.C. (1906). *A Dialect of Donegal: Being the Speech of Meenawannia in the Parish of Glenties*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ranger, T. and Hobsbawm, E. (1984). *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ronström, O. (2010) Fiddling with pasts: from tradition to heritage, in Russell, I. and Guigné, A.K. (eds.) *Crossing over: fiddle and dance studies from around the North Atlantic 3*. Aberdeen: Elphinstone Institute, pp. 265-283.

Ronström, O. (2014) *Traditional music, heritage music*, in The Oxford handbook of music revival. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 43-59.

Rycenga, J. (2003). Religion and Spirituality. *Bloomsbury Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World*, Volume I: Media, Industry and Society, pp. 335-345.

S.H. Motherway. *New Hibernia Review*, 19(2), pp. 151-152.

Samuel, R. (1990). Ewan MacColl 1915–1989. *History Workshop Journal*, *29*(1), 216-222. https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/29.1.216

Scahill, A. (2023). 'Sean-nós on Its Own Terms', *The Journal of Music*. Available at: https://journalofmusic.com/reviews/sean-nos-its-own-terms(Accessed: 22 November 2024).

Shea O'Brien, K. (2023) *May she live to run again: history, meaning and change in Irish traditional hunting songs* [unpublished]. PhD thesis, University of Limerick.

Shields, H. (1993) *Narrative Singing in Ireland: Lays, Ballads, Come-All-Yes and Other Songs*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press.

Smith, C.J. (2012) Irish Traditional Music on Audio Recordings: A Core Historical Collection", in *Journal of American Folklore*, pp. 343-358

Sommerfelt, A. (1922) *The Dialect of Torr, Co. Donegal*. Christiania: Jacob Dybwad.

Sommerfelt, A. (1929). *South Armagh Irish*. Norsk Tidsskr. For Sprogvidenskap, II.

Sørensen, B. (2014). Sean-nós, Sean-nua—Sean-nós-nua?, in *Wisdom and Authority*. Oxford: Peter Lang, pp. 83-98.

Thacker, V. (2018). *Adapting Voices: The Musical Lifeworld of Sean-nós Singing in Carna, Ireland*. University of Toronto (Canada).

Thompson McKusker, C. (2021) *Mo stór é mo leanbh: story, meaning, and relationship in Irish traditional lullabies* [unpublished]. PhD thesis, University of Limerick.

Toomey, D.M. (2020). *Irish performing songwriters in creative practice* [unpublished]. PhD thesis, University of Limerick.

Treloyn, S. and Charles, R.G., 2021. Music endangerment, repatriation, and intercultural collaboration in an Australian discomfort zone. *Transforming Ethnomusicology*, *2*, pp.133-147.

E. S. (eds) *Transforming Ethnomusicology: Political, Social, and Ecological Issues*. Oxford University Press, pp. 133-147.

Trimble, G. (2009a) 'The Dundalk Democrat agus Oidhreacht na Gaeilge in Oirdheisceart Uladh ag Casadh an 20ú hAois', *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*.

Trimble, G. (2009b) The Frontier Sentinel – Nuachtán a Sheas leis an Athbheochan, *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*.

Trimble, G. (2009c) *Glór Gaeilge Oirdheisceart Uladh: Cnuasach de Sheoda Ceoil ó Bhéalaibh na nDaoine*. Baile Átha Cliath [Dublin]: Coiscéim.

Trimble, G. (2011) Poets, Minor Poets and Poetasters in Oirialla: A Chronological Account of the Gaelic Poetic Tradition of South-East Ulster, *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society*, 27(3), pp. 436-447.

Trimble, G. (2016) John Hannon – A Forgotten Gaelic Scholar from Crossmaglen, *Creggan Local History Society Journal*, 2016, pp. 1-15.

Trimble, G. (2018) 'Raghnall Dall Mac Domhnaill: File', in Mac Cathmhaoil, N. et al. (ed.) Súgán an Dúchais – aistí ar ghnéithe de thraidisiún liteartha Chúige Uladh i gcuimhne ar Dhiarmaid Ó Doibhlin. Dublin: Coiscéim, pp. 285-300.

Trimble, G. (2023) Fearann Oirghiall Ghlúnmhár Ghrínn: Rediscovering the Oriel Song Tradition, in *The Oxford Handbook of Irish Song*, 1100–1850. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Trimble, G. (2024) The Early Twentieth Century Gaelic Singers of Crossmaglen, Their Lives and Their Songs. Cullyhanna: *Creggan Local History Society Journal*, No. 20.

Uí Ógáin, R. and Sherlock, T. (2012) *The Otherworld: Music and Song from the Irish Tradition*. Dublin: Folklore of Ireland Council.

Vallely, F. (ed.) (1999*) The Companion to Irish Traditional Music*. New York: NYU Press.

Walke, E., Townsend-Cross, M.L., Garay, J., Matthews, V., Dickson, M., Edwards, D. and Angelo, C. (2024). Where our identity lies: Confirmation of Aboriginality—narratives of colonial and lateral violence, *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 20(1), pp. 3-11.

Williams, S. (2004). Traditional Music: Ceol Traidisiúnta: Melodic Ornamentation in the Connemara Sean-Nós Singing of Joe Heaney, *New Hibernia Review/Iris Éireannach Nua*, pp. 122-145.

Williams, S. (2009) *Focus: Irish Traditional Music*. 1st edn. New York: Routledge. Available at: https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203870891 (Accessed: 27 November 2024).

Weblinks

Ainm.ie. (n.d.). *Albert Fry*. Available at: https://www.ainm.ie/Bio.aspx?ID=5073 (Accessed: 25 November 2024

Ainm.ie. (n.d.). *Seán Ó hAnnainn*. Available at https://www.ainm.ie/Bio.aspx?ID=1906 (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

BBC News. (2022). *Irish language: Crossmaglen honours linguist John Hannon*. Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-61579652 (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

BBC Radio 4. (2016). *Songs for the Dead*. Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b07npx1f (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

Belfast Media.com (2021) *Ómós/Tribute: Albert Fry was "High King" of our Irish language nation.* Available at: https://belfastmedia.com/albert-fry-a-tribute-high-king-of-t (Accessed: 25 November 2024).

Blackwater Song Project. (n.d.). *Blackwater Song Project FB Page*. Available at: https://www.facebook.com/Blackwater-Song-Project-243600579667045/ (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

Campion, G. (2013). *Performance style and practice in the sean-nós singing tradition*. Available at: https://grainnecampion.wordpress.com/ (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

Chapel Gates Singers Club. (n.d.). *Chapel Gates Singers Club FB Page*. Available at: https://www.facebook.com/chapelgates.singersclub (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge. (2011) Submission regarding the drafting of the second scheme for the Legal Aid Board in accordance with Section 15 of the Official Languages

Act 2003 Available at: https://www.legalaidboard.ie/en/official-languages-act/march-11-submission-2.pdf (Accessed 25 November 2024)

Duchas.ie (n.d.) *The Schools' Collection* (1937-1939) Iomán Inis Caoin. Available at: https://www.duchas.ie/en/cbes/4758587/4756820/4936277 (Accessed: 25 November 2024).

Duchas.ie (n.d.) *The Schools' Collection* (1937-1939) An tSeanchaí. Available at: https://www.duchas.ie/ga/cbes/4758587/4756846 (Accessed: 25 November 2024).

Irish Chamber Orchestra. (n.d.). *Róisín Reimagined*. Available at: https://www.irishchamberorchestra.com/support/shop/cds/roisin-reimagined (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

Irish Traditional Music Archive. (n.d.). *All the days of his life: Eddie Butcher in his own words*. Available at: https://itmacatalogues.ie/Portal/Default/en-GB/RecordView/Index/52840 (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

Irish Traditional Music Archive. (n.d.). *Drawing from the Well: Brian Mac Gloinn*. Available at: https://www.itma.ie/drawingfromthewell/brian_mac_gloinn/ (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

Irish Traditional Music Archive. (n.d.). *Drawing from the Well: Daoirí Farrell*. Available at: https://www.itma.ie/drawingfromthewell/daoiri_farrell/ (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

Irish Traditional Music Archive. (n.d.). *Drawing from the Well: Martin Hayes*. Available at: https://www.itma.ie/drawingfromthewell/martin_hayes/ (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

Irish Traditional Music Archive. (n.d.). *Drawing from the Well: Radie Peat*. Available at: https://www.itma.ie/drawingfromthewell/radie_peat/ (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

Irish Traditional Music Archive. (1997). *ITMA field recordings of the Forkhill Traditional Singing Weekend.* [sound recording] / [various performers]'. Available

at: https://itmacatalogues.ie/Portal/Default/en-GB/RecordView/Index/52839 (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

Meon Eile. (2019). *Féile Úr Ceol na Croise Seolta i gCrois Mhic Lionnáin*. Available at: https://www.meoneile.ie/cultur-agus-ealain/feile-ur-ceol-na-croise-seolta-i-gcrois-mhic-lionnain (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

Murrihy, P. (2021). *Sounds Like Folk* [podcast]. Series 1, Episode 1. Available at: https://soundcloud.com/user-318339981/paula-murrihy (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

New Ulster Biography. (n.d.). *John Hannon*. Available at: https://www.newulsterbiography.co.uk/index.php/home/printPerson/2174 (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

Oriel Traditional Orchestra. (n.d.). *Lost Songs Project*. Available at: https://orieltrad.org/archive/lost-songs-project/ (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

Oriel Arts. (2020). *Oriel Oral Tradition*. Available at: https://www.orielarts.com/about/oriel-oral-tradition/ (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

Oriel Arts. (2019). *Song Introduction*. Available at: https://www.orielarts.com/songs/song-introduction/ (Accessed: 25 November 2024).

RTÉ Archives. (2023). *Máire agus Séamus Ó Beaglaoich*. Available at: https://www.rte.ie/archives/2023/1224/1421520-maire-agus-seamus-o-beaglaoich/ (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

RTÉ Archives. (n.d.). *Omeath Oíche na Gaoithe Míre*. Available at: https://www.rte.ie/archives/collections/acetate-disc-collection/11423362-omeath-oiche-na-gaoithe-m-ire/ (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

RTÉ Radio. (2022). *Nuala Kennedy The Rolling Wave*. Available at: https://www.rte.ie/radio/radio1/clips/11393128/ (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

RTÉ Radio. (2024) *An Ghealach Ghorm*. Available at: https://www.rte.ie/radio/rnag/an-ghealach-ghorm/2024/0323/1439648-an-ghealach-ghorm-de-sathairn-23-marta-2024/

RTÉ Radio. (2021). *Albert Fry*. Available at: https://www.rte.ie/radio/rnag/albert-fry/ (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

TG4. (2023). *Gael Linn ag 70*. Available at: https://www.tg4.ie/en/player/categories/top-documentaries/?series=Gael%20Linn%20ag%2070&genre=Faisneis (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

Wexford Song Project. (n.d.). *Wexford Song Project FB Page*. Available at: https://www.facebook.com/WexfordSongProject/ (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

YouTube. (2014). *Eithne Ni Uallachain - Lough Erne Shore*. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b_d7vCDqEsg (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

YouTube. (2015). *Bilingua - Eithne Ní Uallacháin - Short Film*. Available at: https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=qIa4GtBlpJY (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

YouTube. (2016). *Eithne – Idir dhá shaol*. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q2BSgglQ6vA

YouTube. (2020). *Mál Bhán Ní Chuilleannáin Colleen Savage*. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tO8jzq6AqBM (Accessed: 22 November 2024).

Discography

Altan. (1996). *Blackwater*. CD. Europe: Virgin.

Altan. (1997). *The Best of Altan*. CD. [Place of publication]: Green Linnet.

Bradley, D., Bradley, J., Burns, J., Makem, G., O Boyle, C., O Boyle, M., O Boyle, S. Ó., O Hanlon, D., Ruddy, E., Smith, J. and Wall, M. (1978). *Oriel - Songs And Tunes Of South East Ulster*. Eagrán – MD0001. [Vinyl, LP, Stereo] Ireland: Eagrán.

Bolger, P.J. (2022). *Hard Truth*. Ireland: Self-released.

Clarke, G. (1980). *Songs of Rogues & Honest Men*. Vinyl, LP, Album, Stereo. UK: Outlet.

Conlon, T. (2017). *Homegrown*. Ireland: Self-released.

Corrigan, P. (2004). *A Different Kind of Beautiful*. CD. London: Self-released.

Cup O'Joe. (2020). *In The Parting*. UK: Cup O'Joe Music.

Cúig. (2018). *The Theory Of Chaos*. UK: Xpress Records.

Fry, A. (1968). *Fáth mo Bhuartha*. Vinyl. Ireland: Gael Linn.

Fry, A. (1969). *Maidin Luan Cincíse*. Vinyl. Ireland: Gael Linn.

Fry, A. (1969). *Úr-chnoc Chéin Mhic Cáinte.* Vinyl. Ireland: Gael Linn.

Fry, A. (1972). *Tráthnóna Beag Aréir*. Vinyl. Ireland: Gael Linn.

Fry, A. (1976). *Thiar i dTír Chonaill*. Vinyl. Ireland: Tor Ceirnín.

Fry, A. (1979). *Albert Fry.* Vinyl. Ireland: Gael Linn.

Lá Lugh. (1991). *Lá Lugh.* CD. Ireland: Gael Linn.

Lá Lugh. (1996). *Brighid's Kiss*. CD. Ireland: Lughnasa Music.

Lá Lugh. (1998). *Senex Puer*. CD. France: Sony Classical.

McDonnell, P. (2016). A Sweeter Confusion. Ireland: Self-released.

Murphy, B. (1995). *The Longest Road*. CD. Ireland: Spring Records.

Ní Uallacháin, E. (2014). *Bilingua*. CD. Ireland: Gael Linn.

Ní Uallacháin, P. (1994). *Stór Is A Stóirín*. CD. Ireland: Gael Linn.

O'Connor, G., Ní Uallacháin, E., & Wilkinson, D. (1987). *Cosa Gan Bhróga.* Vinyl. Ireland: Gael Linn

Pearse, D. (2020). *Songs from the North Country*. UK: Self-released.

TRÚ (2024). *Eternity Near*. Belfast: Self-released.