

Parading Music and Memory in Northern Ireland

Ray Casserly

Abstract

The following article provides an overview of the relationship between music, memory, and separation in Northern Ireland by outlining how parading bands and the music which they perform are an integral part of the process of communal commemoration. The music performed by the marching bands binds a community together, acting as the expressive social glue that brings strangers and friends together in an act of ritualised commemoration. Although the selection of songs and tunes performed refers to historical events, the differences in the interpretations of the collective memories enacted in the commemorative parades has contemporary consequences, as these acts of commemoration heighten the political difficulties in implementing the Northern Ireland peace process.

Keywords: parading bands, Northern Ireland, contested memories, parades

Resumo

Este artigo oferece uma visão geral da relação entre música, memória e as divisões sociais da Irlanda do Norte, através de uma discussão do papel das bandas de música e a música que tocam no processo das comemorações coletivas. A música das bandas une a comunidade, servindo de 'cola social' que junta estranhos e conhecidos num ato de comemoração ritualizada. Apesar das peças musicais se referirem a eventos históricos, as diferenças nas interpretações das memórias coletivas atualizadas nas paradas comemorativas tem consequências sociais, posto que estes atos da comemoração articulam com as dificuldades políticas na implementação do processo de paz na província.

Palavras-chave: bandas de música, Irlanda do Norte, memórias contestadas, paradas

Parades remain the most prominent means of asserting collective identities and claiming political dominance over territory... Parades and the associated visual [and sonic] displays have been a vibrant feature of political life in Northern Ireland for two hundred years. These displays have always flowered most powerfully at times of crises (Jarman, 1997, p.79).

In Northern Ireland the most visible and audible display of communal memory is through parades. During the past 40 years parading has increased considerably, as the number of marching bands swelled during some of the most turbulent years of the recent conflict. These parades and the associated parading bands envelope the cities, towns, and rural villages through their booming musical sounds, often performed in commemoration of both recent and centuries-old historical events. Recalling a community's past through

parading music has historically been a significant feature of the musical landscape of Northern Ireland. The music performed by the marching bands binds the community together, acting as the expressive social glue that unites strangers and friends in an act of ritualised commemoration of a common past. In Northern Ireland, however, there are competing memories of the past, and parading is a primary means of marking these differences. Thus, just as parading can strengthen community bonds, it also demarcates boundaries between the distinct social groups that populate the Province. The recalling of collective memories in commemorative parades, therefore, has contemporary consequences, as these acts of commemoration often resonate with the political difficulties Northern Ireland faces as it strives to move the peace process forward.

Across the world parades are events that involve groups of people moving en masse in a ritualised manner to display their power, prestige, wealth, identity, politics, religion, and/or other messages. In moving groups of people towards a predetermined goal, such as a place of significance or the prearranged end of the parade, commemorative parades provide a setting for the embodiment of communal memory in those who participate. To explain why large numbers of people often participate in these ritualised events, Dominic Bryan states that parades and processions are an intricate feature in the process of collective representation, as these 'rituals are capable of turning the possibility of a practical group into an instituted group, or community, be it a social class, ethnic group or perhaps nation' (Bryan, 2000, p.19). They help to build and maintain groups, often in the absence of consensus or a strict singular ideology. Parades, being a part of these ritualised processes, move our sense of identity from being something we think about to something we see as a physical and even natural annually recurring feature of our existence and identity. Most parades throughout the world are accompanied by some sort of music as music serves as a 'primary catalyst in promoting collective sentiment in a processional environment' (Brucher; Reily, 2013, p.19) To this day performing music in parades still remains 'the most prominent means of asserting collective identities and claiming political dominance over territory' (Jarman, 1997, p.79).

Music and Parading in Northern Ireland

As Neil Jarman argues, parades in Ireland, particularly in Northern Ireland, are sites of ideological difference between the Catholic and Protestant people that often lead to widespread intercommunity violence along the various interfaces, or 'peace walls', in Belfast city and beyond (Jarman, 1997, p.79). These divisions are also present in the parading band tradition in Northern Ireland, with the Catholic community on one side and the Protestant community on the other, both attempting to express fundamentally opposed ideologies in terms of national and religious identity. However, although the communal memory both communities wish to recall may be fundamentally different, the manner in which they choose to commemorate musically can be very similar.

With the Catholic community and the Protestant community considered to be political and cultural opposites it is not surprising that music becomes a central aspect of this separation. As Martin Stokes reminds us, music is one of the less innocent ways in which dominant categories, or boundaries, are enforced and resisted. He claims that '[t]he boundaries constructed in musical contexts defining 'Irish' and 'British' are as much part

of the violence of the political situation as shootings and bombs' (Stokes, 1994, p.10). On one hand, through its music and parading tradition the Catholic community seeks to express ideas of being Irish, speaking Gaeilge/Irish, being of 'Celtic' origin, and holding nationalist and/or republican stances, which, in the Northern Irish context, refer to the political ambition of re-unifying Ireland as an independent state of the United Kingdom. On the other hand, the Protestant community uses music and parading to express ideas of being British, unionist and/or loyalist, with the latter two terms referring to a political ideology that seeks to maintain the union of Northern Ireland with Great Britain. From the Catholic perspective, traditional Irish music is stereotypically viewed by the people of Northern Ireland as a musical representation of that community, whilst parading flute and drum bands are also stereotypically viewed as the musical representation of the Protestant community. However, in truth Northern Ireland's traditional music and parading tradition are a means of recalling history by both the Catholic and Protestant people. The main reason for the common presumption that the parading tradition is Protestant is due to the ratio of Protestant bands to Catholic bands, as the former far outnumber the latter. In the most recent census of bands in Northern Ireland carried out in 2006 (Witherow *et al*, 2011) a total of 700 bands were identified, of which 633 were linked to the Protestant community and only 54 with the Catholic community; a further 13 were classed as non-described.

Northern Ireland (figure 1), being the smaller of the two parts of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, has a population of less than two million people. Despite its size there are over 4,000 parades annually throughout the urban and rural landscape. During these parades the music performed by a variety of marching bands becomes a central part of the experience, acting as a binding force, a rhythmic, melodic and harmonic focus for the large groups of people in attendance. Many of those observing or participating in the parade may never have met each other prior to the event. Yet the performance of music by marching bands consolidates their experience into a communal act of commemoration. The performance of music during a parade is a ritualised experience that focuses on the direct engagement of one's emotive and bodily processes with one's sense of identity. Through the performance of music on parade participants are making that act part of an expression of their identity. Communities therefore often find it an important element of culture to retain. It is a way of 'encoding social memory into the individual body' (Jarman, 1997, p.8). The past is 'conveyed and sustained' through a combination of recollection and bodily action (Connerton, 1989, p.4).



Figure 1: Map of Northern Ireland

Conversely, the music performed during these parades is also subject to extensive criticism from differing parts of the community. In contested parts of Northern Ireland, especially, these musical performances are considered offensive, triumphalist, and antagonist. Consequently, bands and parades (and the events which they claim to represent) throw the oppositional political discourses of Northern Ireland into relief. Parading bands in Northern Ireland and the historical narratives associated with the wide variety of parades in the Province are fraught with political difficulty, as the two largest traditions in Northern Ireland, the Protestant and Catholic, rarely find commonality when interpreting their heritage. Historical events that took place over 400 years ago or less than 40 years ago are recalled throughout the annual parading tradition between March and September. According to the Parades Commission, the statutory body charged with issuing determinations on parade restrictions, notification of requests to organise parades was received for 4,182 parades between 1 April 2011 and 31 March 2012. Of these, 213 required detailed analysis by the Parades Commission leading to restrictions on 147 (69%) of them (Parades Commission, 2013, p.7). It is these 147 parades and associated protests that tend to lead to political and inter-community tension, as they often pass points of contestation, or interface areas, where community boundaries meet (Casserly, 2013). It is at these points that the manner of recalling communal memory through music performance, and the memory itself, is most sensitive.

Many of these parades are organized by associations that exist to commemorate their interpretations of a historical narrative. Of the 4,182 requests received by the Parades Commission, 60% were deemed to be Protestant or 'Loyal Order/Broad

Unionist' (Parades Commission, 2013, p.8). The sheer dimensions of this tradition, compared to the relatively small size of the region, makes the commemoration of history through parading incredibly significant to the people of Northern Ireland. Representing part of the 'Loyal Order/Broad Unionist' category are the so-called loyal institutions and fraternities, such as the Orange Order, the Apprentice Boys of Derry, and the Royal Black Institution, who organize parades on an annual basis for the promotion of the Protestant faith, the British Protestant communal identity, and its cultural heritage. The institutions do not perform the music heard on parade, but instead hire Protestant marching bands to lead the various branches of these institutions for the commemorative events.

Other groups that organize Protestant commemorative parades are known as loyalist, a term used in Northern Ireland to refer to predominantly working-class or extreme groups within the Protestant community (Bell, 1990; Bryan, 2000; Casserly, 2010 & 2013; De Rosa, 1998; Radford, 2001; Ramsey, 2011b; Witherow, 2006). Within these loyalist extremes, proscribed paramilitary groups such as the Ulster Volunteer Force typically exert significant amounts of control and influence over local communities and their marching bands. This influence is often displayed and reinforced through commemorative parades where historical events are recalled in an idealistic and romanticised narrative designed to justify their continuing existence within society. It goes without saying that these musical acts of commemoration are typically the most sensitive, as they refer positively to the role of the paramilitaries in Northern Ireland's history. Thus parades are the sites where these ideological differences and conflicting historical narratives are performed in a public setting. On one side of an interface the music is the driving focus that encourages participation and regulates through rhythm the movement of the parade from departure to destination. From the other side, it is an acoustic assault which reminds the community on the opposing side of the peace wall that division can be heard and felt even when it is not seen.

Commemorative Parades

Throughout the marching season the calendar is densely populated with a variety of commemorative parades recalling different events for each community. These include, but are not limited to, the Twelfth of July Parades, the Mini-Twelfth/Somme commemoration parades, the Apprentice Boys of Derry parades, the Easter Rising commemorative parades, and the Hunger Strike parades.

Without doubt, the largest parades in Northern Ireland are the Twelfth of July parades, organised across the Province by the Orange Order, and the largest of these is the Twelfth Parade in Belfast. These parades are described as demonstrations by the Order, and are designed to commemorate the infamous Battle of the Boyne in 1690 between Protestant King William of Orange and Catholic King James II. This battle, which was won by King William's forces, is significant to Protestants as it was the only occasion in which the opposing Kings met in battle. After the battle was finished King James departed from Ireland, never to return again. The war continued for another year, but overall victory for King William was largely determined by the Battle of the Boyne. This event is of such importance to the Protestant fraternal organisations in Northern Ireland, particularly the Orange Order, that virtually all the lodges join in the parading,

each hiring a band to accompany it onto the streets. The Twelfth of July is a public holiday in Northern Ireland; it is the highlight of the cultural calendar for Protestant unionism and loyalism, where people from this community typically enjoy time off work to participate in the festivities. The parade has strong religious overtones, which are particularly expressed near the starting and half-way points of the parade.

In Belfast, shortly after the beginning of the parade route at Carlisle Circus, less than a mile from the city hall, the various Orange Order lodges and approximately seventy bands pause for a commemoration ceremony at the city centre war memorial on the grounds of city hall. At the Barnett's Demesne site, approximately three miles south of the city hall, the parade breaks for a few hours to accommodate a series of religious sermons held on a nearby stage or platform. After the sermons and lunch breaks the parade reforms and marches back along its route towards the city centre. Overall the parade also has a celebratory overtone where people drink, enjoy fried food, ice-cream and sweets from street vendors, and wave or wear flags relating to the Protestant identity in Northern Ireland.

Although the Battle of the Somme commemoration parade is similar in its celebratory tone amongst the audience, the event recalled is significantly different. Every year on the first day in July Protestant bands from across Northern Ireland march with lodges from the Orange Order in commemoration of the First World War 'Battle of The Somme' of 1916. The Battle of the Somme, in contrast to the Battle of the Boyne, did not secure the Protestant Unionist agenda in Ireland, but it is regarded amongst Protestants as a sign of the sacrifice Protestants made for their right to exist in the northernmost province of Ireland, Ulster (Loughlin, 2002; Novick, 2002). It was during this battle that members of the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) fought and died as part of the 36th Ulster Division within the British Third Army. In Belfast city there are three commemorative parades on July 1st, the largest of which is in the east of the city, where the parade travels westward along the A20/Albertbridge Road through an interface where republican and loyalist residential areas meet. This parade is known as the 'Mini-Twelfth' in Northern Ireland. Officially, the parade is organised by the Orange Order; however, elements of the contemporary Ulster Volunteer Force, formed by Gusty Spence in the 1960s, are claiming a direct lineage with the original Ulster Volunteer Force that fought in the 36th Ulster Division. This is expressed through the symbols on the banners they carry and the uniforms of some bands in the parade. For example, two bands aligned to the contemporary Ulster Volunteer Force, The UVF Regimental Flute Band (Figure 2) and the Shankill Protestant Boys (Figure 3), marched with flags, banners, uniforms and drums with the organisation's name or acronym on display.



Figure 2: Ulster Volunteer Force Flute Band



Figure 3: Shankill Protestant Boys Flute Band

Parading Bands in Northern Ireland

There are many types of band that partake in the parading tradition of Northern Ireland. These include brass/silver bands, bagpipe bands, accordion bands, and flute bands. These band genres do not separate neatly into the sectarian categories of Catholic or Protestant, but rather are best understood as instrumental and stylistically-based genres that are part of the parading tradition of both the Catholic and Protestant community. However, within the flute and accordion band categories there are further sub-categories partly based on sectarianism, that include blood-and-thunder bands, republican bands, melody bands, part music, and nationalist bands. Within the Protestant tradition, these sub-categories are generally divided into blood-and-thunder bands, part music bands, and melody bands, whilst republican bands and nationalist bands are part of the Catholic tradition. Although these band genres are separated across the community divide, there are significant similarities between the different genres, in terms of their socio economic status, stylistic nuances, presentation, and instrumentation.

The instrumentation for flute bands includes the corps of flutes and the corps of drums. In the case of blood-and-thunder and republican flute bands there is typically just one type of flute in the corps, the B^b keyed flute. In their corps of drums there are typically snare drums and a bass drum, and sometimes cymbals for young members. The snare drummers are organised by rank whereby one drummer is appointed as lead-tip. The role of this drummer is to 'lead' the corps in 'tipping' the drums in a call-and-response method of performance.

Bands also express their views on their unique historical situation by recalling certain events in commemoration i.e. a band may name itself in memory of a significant event or person. For example, the Mourne Young Defenders Flute Band from Kilkeel, County Down, has a name that refers to the long-standing legacy of the Ulster-Protestant tradition to 'defend' itself from nationalist policies and politics. Other bands name themselves after persons who have died, such as the William King Memorial Flute Band from the Fountain Estate in Derry/Londonderry. The band was named in commemoration of William King, the first Protestant fatality in the month of August, 1969, who was killed in the hand-to-hand fighting that occurred throughout the divided city at the time (Wallace 1970). It is through these names that the bands express their identity on the street. In taking the name of William King, this band aligns itself with the Protestant community and invokes the idea of Protestant victimhood in the face of perceived republican aggression.

Like Protestant bands, many republican bands also seek to express their political identity or their locality through the name they give their bands, such as the Belfast Martyrs, *Eire Nua* (New Ireland), South Derry Martyrs, The Carrickhill Republican Flute Band, Henry Joy McCracken Republican Flute Band, and the James Connolly Memorial. While the *Eire Nua* band, whose name when understood in the Northern Irish context suggests connotations with the ideology of revolutionary republicanism, such bands as the South Derry Martyrs, Henry Joy McCracken, and James Connolly Memorial intentionally choose their names to associate their bands with republicanism, conflict and sacrifice as necessary for a cause.

Protestant blood-and-thunder bands and republican bands share one vital feature

between them: both are regarded as the musical representations of the loyalist and republican ideologies respectively. In Northern Ireland ‘republicanism’ does not always refer to a political system in which the majority of the population exercises control and determines the trajectory of their country through elections; rather the term has evolved to become part of the sectarian structure of society and is now almost exclusively associated with extreme Irish nationalist political objectives.

In Northern Ireland loyalism and republicanism are regarded as the most radical elements in their respective communities, each proclaiming differing historical narratives to advance their respective political aims of unionism and nationalism. These narratives are the subjects for most of the musical performances by blood-and-thunder and republican bands. Both blood-and-thunder bands and republican bands are also music groups that are based within predominantly working class areas. These are often, but not exclusively, in urban areas. The reasons for joining these bands can often be similar, as musicians in both bands speak about providing support to their community by participating in these music groups. The support typically comes in the form of providing music for events, parades, and political rallies within their respective communities.

Essentially this allows for the performance of music within the commemorative parade context to support a number of similar and related themes, but also act as a means of promoting similar experiences amongst participants. Through their performances, for instance, the musicians express their solidarity with the political message associated with the communal memory being commemorated. At the 2010 annual commemoration for the battle of Saint Matthew’s Church in the Catholic Short Strand district of east Belfast, for example, Dáithí, a member of a West Belfast Republican Band, stated that people join and participate in bands as ‘You want to do your part, you know. Support the cause in remembering these things for the people’ (‘Dáithí’ 27/06/2010).

For some members of the band community the attractive element of musical participation in republican and blood-and-thunder bands is the accessibility of the music; since its structures are based upon comparatively simple elements, it does not require extensive training to learn to perform (Casserly, 2013, p.161). For these bands the locally accepted standards of musical competence are perceived as being lower than those required for other types of band. The primary advantage for these bands as organisations is that they can attract and train new recruits with ease and speed. The advantage for new members is that they are able to move from initially joining a blood-and-thunder or republican band, with little or no previous musical experience, to being able to perform on parade with the band within a relatively short timeframe, which, in some cases, can be as little as eight weeks.

Memory and Band Repertoires

While many of the practices associated with musicking are similar across Protestant and Catholic bands, there are differences in their repertoires. While some tunes may be chosen because they are ‘easy to play’, others are performed because they are popular amongst the band community; that is, they are tunes that evoke strong feelings of solidarity among members of the bands and their wider community, or they are tunes that make unambiguous historical references to events dear to particular sectors of the Northern Irish society. Such tunes are referred to in Northern Ireland as ‘party tunes’, the

most well-known of which within the Protestant marching tradition is arguably *The Sash My Father Wore*. In this song tune obvious references are made to the war fought mostly in Ireland between the Protestant King William of Orange and the Roman Catholic King James. Indeed, *The Sash*, as the tune is commonly known, refers to four significant battles fought between the two kings at Derry, Aughrim, Enniskillen, and the River Boyne. The narrative recalled about these events in the song is one of a great, heroic struggle by Northern Irish Protestantism over the influence and impact of Irish Catholicism. Subtly imbued into the song text is the male orientation of these memories, and how the song recalls the father's sash, and how presumably the son would carry the tradition forward.

It is old but it is beautiful,
 And its colours they are fine.
 It was worn at Derry, Aughrim,
 Enniskillen and the Boyne.
 My father wore it as a youth
 In bygone days of yore,
 And on the Twelfth I love to wear
 The sash my father wore.

Similarly, another popular tune amongst the Protestant marching band tradition is *Y.C.V. Brigade*. The lyrics of this song recall the narrative of the Young Citizen Volunteers (YCV), the youth wing of the Ulster Volunteer Force, and their large scale enlistment into the British Army during the First World War. As a consequence of joining the army the YCV members participated in the Battle of the Somme on July 1st, 1916. The song reiterates for today's Protestants the story of a sacrifice made by earlier generations in maintaining the union between Northern Ireland and the United Kingdom. Furthermore, it reinforces the view of some Protestant loyalists regarding the need for paramilitary organisations and, as in the previous song, it highlights the role of men in upholding Ulster Protestant culture.

Oh father, why are you so sad this 1st of July morn,
 When Ulster men are proud and glad of the land where they were born?
 Oh Son, I see in memory of days that used to be,
 When being just a lad like you, I joined the Y.C.V.

These tunes are often performed as the parade audience sings the lyrics whilst the bands march by. The singing of songs such as *The Sash* during commemorative parades emphasises the experience of community through music making for those in the band, those following the band, and those singing with the band from the side-lines of the parade. This experience of joining together as one chorus with thousands of fellow singing Protestants and parading musicians occurs most notably at particular points along the parade route referred to by locals as 'hotspots'. These hotspots are popular vantage points along the route where the density of the crowd is significantly higher than elsewhere. Often the hotspots are static in that they do not move from year to year, with the Shaftsbury Square (immediately south of Belfast city centre) being one of the more popular hotspots for crowd attendance during the Twelfth of July Parade in Belfast. Whilst parading through these dense crowds bands often strive to form a musical

connection with their audience by performing such well-known and popular tunes like *The Sash*. At the hotspot the level of audience participation increases as a massive singing chorus overwhelms the soundscape of the area. The drummers and flautists in the Protestant blood-and-thunder bands may never have encountered anyone in the crowd before, yet they are conjoined in this musical experience as one community of British Protestants in Northern Ireland commemorating the victory of King William over King James. As one loyalist band member described it to me, ‘when you walk through the hotspots the hair stands up on the back of your neck. You feel ten feet tall!’ (‘Dave’ 17/02/2010).

The performance of party tunes at interface hotspots, however, does not have the effect of creating a unified community amongst all those witnessing the parade, these being locations in which Protestant and Catholic boundaries meet, such as the Short Strand interface in East Belfast (figure 4). It is worth noting that party tunes are often the focus of objections from the Catholic community, as their performance by the bands and the accompanying singing by the crowd is interpreted as aggressive, with the lyrics considered triumphalist or offensive. It is at these interfaces that the competing interpretations of history are highlighted, as the different sectors confront each other in displays of history, embodied in such symbols as band names, uniforms, banners, repertoires among other historical references. Strong objections to some of the parades is predicated on the view that the parade, and the performance of music by certain bands on parade, also serve to legitimize some of the proscribed Protestant paramilitary organisations in Northern Ireland, most notable the Ulster Volunteer Force.

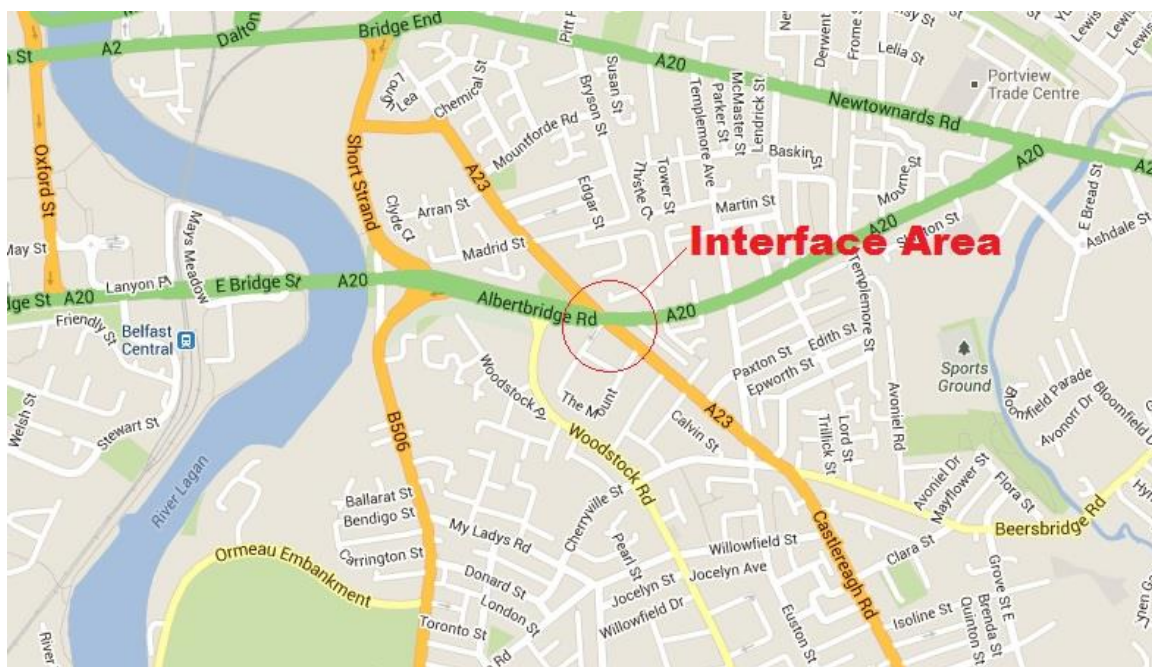


Figure 4: Map of East Belfast

This year’s (2013) annual commemoration parade of the Battle of the Somme in East Belfast was subject to restrictions by the Parades Commission. In June 2013 the commission determined that those on parade ‘must behave with due regard for the rights, traditions and feelings of others in the vicinity; refrain from using words or behaviour

which could reasonably be perceived as intentionally sectarian, provocative, threatening, abusive, insulting or lewd' (Parades Commission, 2013, p.5). The commission also determined that 'in the vicinity of interface areas...there shall be no singing, chanting, or loud drumming and that marching should be dignified' (Parades Commission, 2013, p.5). Furthermore, the commission stated that although flags can be important representations of culture and history, no flags or emblems on parade should align with a paramilitary force. The various bands are typically able to overcome this determination by printing a date on their banners (i.e. the year 1914) and by wearing uniforms reminiscent of the First World War (figure 3). The parade was also heavily policed whereby a temporary and mobile peace wall was set in place by the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) earlier in the day (figure 5) to keep the two communities apart. Many bands performed as they would at any other parade, with one band opting to sing, in defiance of the Parades Commission determination, the popular traditional Protestant song *The Sash my Father Wore* as it passed the interface. Such displays serve to reinforce the republican view that these parades are not the sincere commemorations of significant historical events, as advocated by the Orange Order, but instead triumphalist displays of authority, or challenges to authority, by the bands. As the Sinn Féin local politician for the area Cllr. Niall Ó Donnghaile argued, 'It is important to remember that the only homes on this stretch of the Albertbridge Road are on the nationalist side and it makes no sense to have such a large volume of supporters along this route of the parade only to antagonise residents who live there' (Ó Donnghaile, 2013).



Figure 5: Temporary Mobile Peace Line

The use of music during parades to recall a collective past is not exclusive to the Protestant marching tradition, as republican bands also perform carefully selected tunes in order to draw historical connections. For example, a popular song tune choice amongst republican bands is *The Foggy Dew*. The lyrics of the tune recall the events during the Easter holidays in Dublin, 1916, when an Irish republican rebellion sought to establish an independent Irish republic (Beiner, 2007). Romantically, the song refers to the Catholic Angelus bell and the ‘better cause’ of fighting against the British in Dublin, rather than alongside them in the First World War at ‘*Sulva or Sud El Bar*’. The brief rising ended with British artillery, having been brought to Dublin city centre up the River Liffey by boat, bombarded the remaining city centre strongholds of the rebels.

As down the glen one Easter morn
 To a city fair rode I
 There Armed lines of marching men
 In squadrons passed me by.
 No fife did hum nor battle drum
 Did sound it's dread tattoo.
 But the Angelus bell o'er the Liffey swell
 Rang out through the foggy dew.
 Right proudly high over Dublin Town
 They hung out the flag of war.
 'Twas better to die 'neath an Irish sky
 Than at Sulva or Sud El Bar.
 And from the plains of Royal Meath
 Strong men came hurrying through.
 While Britannia's Huns, with their long range guns
 Sailed in through the foggy dew

Similarly, the song tune *James Connolly* recalls the narrative of one of the Easter Rising leaders. This tune is especially popular amongst republican flute bands and serves a similar purpose as the previous tune of drawing parallels between the most recent republican conflict and the Easter Rising. The significance of invoking the memory of James Connolly derives from Connolly's role in Irish political history; he was an Irish socialist militant who led the Irish Citizen Army to join the Irish Volunteers in the rebellion. This juxtaposes comfortably with contemporary Irish republicanism which regularly advocates a comparatively radical left-wing political position.

Many years have rolled by since the Irish rebellion,
 When the guns of Brittainia they loudly did speak,
 When the bold IRA battled shoulder to shoulder,
 While the blood from their bodies flowed down Sackville Street.

The performance of this tune at commemorative parades in Catholic areas of Belfast is an attempt to develop a connection between the Easter Rising in Dublin, 1916 and the more recent violent campaign of the Provisional Irish Republican Army. What the examples of *The Sash*, *The YCV Brigade*, *The Foggy Dew*, *James Connolly*, and the UVF Flute Band performance at the Somme Commemoration parade highlight is how all claims marking a consistent solidarity and/or continuity with the past through calendrical

re-enactments of historical events are means of identifying with the past in order to redefine the present. In the case of *The Foggy Dew*, the Provisional Irish Republican Army could not have been involved at the fighting during the Easter Rising as their organisation did not yet exist. Yet, recalling the Rising through the performance of *The Foggy Dew* at Easter parades allows contemporary Irish republicanism to construct similarities between their most recent conflict and the Rising in 1916. Similarly, the UVF Flute Band performance at the 'Mini-Twelfth', whilst overlooking the fact that the contemporary UVF was not formed until the 1960s, allows the paramilitary organisation to define themselves as the descendants of the Ulstermen who fought in the Battle of the Somme. Jarman claims that violent paramilitary groups in Northern Ireland managed to maintain the support of their respective communities by 'appealing to abstract ideals of nationality and to the precedent of history' (Jarman, 1997, p.3). Furthermore, he contended that 'we use the past by remembering those events that help to explain or justify what is happening in the present, a present that can therefore be portrayed as the inevitable and only outcome of those same events' (Jarman, 1997, p.5). Similarly, Paul Connerton states that 'our experiences of the present largely depend upon our knowledge of the past, and that our images of the past commonly serve to legitimate a present social order' (Connerton, 1989, p.3). The choices of music in these circumstances help the performers legitimize their contemporary agenda, in this case a political agenda, by providing a correlation with the past.

Although the choices of music aims to connect the events of 1690 and 1916 to 2013, the tunes are altered to suit the parade performance. The important factor in the performance of music during commemorative parades in Northern Ireland is its rhythmical regulation, the determining and driving element of the parade's marching pace. The music provides a marker for regulating the pace of marching for musicians performing with the bands, participants following the bands in the parade (such as the various fraternal organisations that hire the bands to perform), and those in the audience who choose to follow the parades, such as girlfriends of the musicians performing (Radford, 2001).

By looking more closely at the way the various instrumental parts in the tune *The Foggy Dew* (figure 6) are organised, it is possible to see how music regulates marching during parades. The percussion is played in a way that maintains accessibility whilst allowing the music to serve as a binding, regulatory focus for the body whilst marching. With most parading bands marching in unison, the first step in the march is typically taken by the left foot. In the case of *The Foggy Dew*, if the band is already in the process of marching, the left foot, having already been in motion, falls to the ground on the crotchet rest of the first bar. The right foot then falls on the first quaver of the first bar. This process is repeated throughout the performance of the song tune. One of the roles of the lead-tip snare drummer, and subsequently the rest of the snare drum corps, is to emphasize these beats as a means of clearly identifying for the marchers band when their feet should meet the ground. This role is fulfilled through the performance of accents at strategic points throughout the tune. For example, the first and second beats of bars two, four, six, eight, and so on, are marked by the playing of an accentuated tremolo semi-quaver, followed by another tremolo semi-quaver and a quaver. Collectively, these notes form what local snare drummers call the 'five roll' rudiment (Casserly, 2013:151). The placing of the accent at the start of the five-roll provides a distinctive and unmistakable

marker for the rhythmical regulation of the marching pace. It is part of the determining and driving element of the parade whereby music, in this case percussion rudiments, provides the acoustic reference to other parade participants to set the marching pace.

♩ = 110

Flute

Snare Drum Lead Tip

ff

Snare Drum Corps

5

Musical score for measures 9-12. The score is written for three staves: a treble clef staff at the top, and two piano staves below. The key signature is one sharp (F#). Measure 9 is marked with a '9' above the treble staff. The piano part features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes with accents (>) above them. A dynamic marking of *ff* (fortissimo) is placed below the piano staves.

Musical score for measures 13-16. The score is written for three staves: a treble clef staff at the top, and two piano staves below. The key signature is one sharp (F#). Measure 13 is marked with a '13' above the treble staff. The piano part continues with the rhythmic pattern of eighth notes with accents (>) above them.

Musical score for measures 17-20. The score is written for three staves: a treble clef staff at the top, and two piano staves below. The key signature is one sharp (F#). Measure 17 is marked with a '17' above the treble staff. The piano part continues with the rhythmic pattern of eighth notes with accents (>) above them. Dynamic markings of *f* (forte) are placed below the piano staves.

3

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with three staves. The top staff is a vocal line in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The two lower staves are piano accompaniment in bass clef. The first system starts at measure 21 and ends at measure 24. The second system starts at measure 25 and ends at measure 28. The third system starts at measure 29 and ends at measure 32. The piano accompaniment consists of a steady eighth-note pattern in the left hand and a more melodic line in the right hand, often featuring slurs and accents. The vocal line is primarily composed of quarter and eighth notes, with a long note in measure 22 of the first system.

Figure 6: The Foggy Dew

Conclusion

In conclusion, music is a central feature in the commemorative parades of Northern Ireland. Playing music in a marching band that partakes in commemorative parades gives its members an opportunity to participate in the collective recalling of significant historical events. Emotional experiences are fostered through the embodiment of practice, the act of participating in the recalling of communal memory through music performance. Parading and performing music in the commemorative context provide an opportunity to highlight one's solidarity with the political cause that draws upon the historical narrative. The performance of certain songs and tunes amongst both blood-and-thunder bands and republican bands also refers unambiguously to events from the past. In the examples in which bands are closely aligned to paramilitary or political organisations, this connecting to the past through music creates a sense of legitimacy to the organisations' reclaiming of older banners and causes. It instils within the performance the narrative that they, the organisation and the associated band, have a direct connection to these past events. The more well-known of these song tunes, such as *The Sash My Father Wore*, also emphasise the experience of community, as all musicians in the band, those following the band, and those singing with the band from the side-lines of the parade join together in the performance of the song tune. The crowd made up mostly of people who are strangers to one another, are conjoined in a musical expression of solidarity as they recall in song the events of a battle from 1690, the event that constructs them as a community with a common past. In examining the percussion music accompanying the playing of *The Foggy Dew*, we see how particular features of performance provide a framework for the synchronising of bodies and voices, allowing the community to act as a unified entity marching forward toward the future they envisage for the Province.

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