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THEMES OF IDENTITY AND POWER IN CONTEMPORARY TOPICAL SONG

by

Hilary Warner-Evans

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for a Degree with Honors
(Anthropology)

The Honors College

University of Maine

May 2016

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Abstract

This thesis explores the role of identity and power in contemporary topical song using three case studies. The first of these deals with two songs written after the arrest of Maine's North Pond Hermit in April 2013. It makes a case for the songs, in the context of other creative reactions to the hermit's arrest, as being expressions of anxiety related to Maine identity. The second study is about new versions of the labor song "Which Side Are You On," with a particular focus on one from Wisconsin one from Maine. It looks at the theme of solidarity through analysis of the lyrics of the songs, context and function of their performance, and the attitudes about them. The third study involves two songs written in response to water metering in Ireland, looking at their differing strategies to express a shared concern regarding the new water charging system as it relates to Irishness. The concluding chapter examines the three studies together. All three relate in some manner to identity being threatened by more powerful outside interests. They, in turn, use this concept of identity to express concern or mobilize against that power. In addition to identity, other rhetorical and performance strategies are used, such as humor, invocation of previous movements, and digital technology.

Acknowledgements

There are a number of people who have contributed to my writing of this thesis in one way or another. Foremost are my informants, Stanley Keach, Troy Bennet, Morgana Warner-Evans, Daithi Wolfe, and Frances O’Keeffe, without whose generous time and thoughts spent in being interviewed, these studies would be so much poorer. Thanks also goes to my advisor, Sarah Harlan-Haughey, for her patience and guidance. I am grateful also to the members of my committee, Melissa Ladenheim, Lisa Neuman, Jim Gallagher, and Jamie Moreira, for giving suggestions regarding research and writing. Thanks is also extended to Larry Dansinger, for giving me information on his adaptation of “Which Side Are You On” and to Ciarán Ó Gealbháin for responding to my request of reading recommendations for the Irish Water songs chapter.

In addition to the aforementioned individuals, there are others who have had an indirect influence on this work. My parents, Marianne Warner and Glenn Evans, instilled in me a lifelong love and appreciation of informal singing and music-making, thereby influencing my choice of topic. Jim Walsh and the rest of the rest of the Cork Singers’ Club welcomed me as a regular attendee and it was there I became acquainted with the Irish Water songs. Pauleena MacDougall and Katrina Wynn of the Maine Folklife Center allowed and encouraged me to deposit my interviews about the North Pond Hermit songs in the Northeast Archives, thereby giving me an early excuse to undertake the research. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the influence of Karen Miller, who is responsible for my first formal introduction to the study of folklore. Her class allowed me to see folklore as a part of contemporary life.

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Introduction and Methodology

This thesis involves case studies of topical songs of known authorship. The first one looks at two songs written shortly after the arrest of Maine's North Pond Hermit. It examines the role that Maine identity and the outlaw tradition played in creative reactions to the Hermit's arrest, with a particular focus on the songs. The second deals with contemporary adaptations and rewritings of "Which Side Are You On," originally written in the 1930s as a coal miners' union song. In particular, the chapter focuses on a version adapted for the Wisconsin uprising in 2011 and one adapted in 2012 to speak about Maine governor Paul LePage's anti-union and anti-education stance and looks at how the song's text, tune, performance, and meaning to its adaptors emphasizes the theme of solidarity and concludes by looking at the importance of that theme to the movements' understanding of themselves. The third study is of songs written about the decision to meter and charge water by use in the Republic of Ireland, rather than having it funded through a central tax, as has been done up until very recently. It focuses mainly on two songs written by residents of County Cork, Ireland, one built on a tradition of serious patriotic songs and the other one a tradition of humorous songs. It examines how both songs' structure and lyrical content contribute to their differing functions but shared meaning as expressions of the relationship between Irish identity and the water charges issue. The final chapter brings the three case studies together and looks at their common theme as expressions of concern about identities being either threatened or diminished by more powerful outside institutions or forces. It also suggests other possibilities for study which involve the intersection between rhetorical or performance strategies and the concept of power.

I will begin this thesis, however, by giving an account of how I decided to do this project and went about my research. My work began in April 2013. That semester, I was working the breakfast shift at York Dining Hall when I heard on the radio about the recent arrest of the North Pond Hermit. When my shift ended, I went back to my room and googled the story. There I came upon the blog of *Bangor Daily News* journalist Troy Bennett. He had put up a video of himself singing “The North Pond Hermit Song,” which he had just written. As I listened to it, I was reminded of two things, broadside ballads and outlaws, the latter of which was in my mind because of the class I had taken the previous semester on medieval outlaw literature. It was a few weeks later, scrolling through the comments on one of the many hermit memes on the Facebook page Maine Memes, that I found a link to the *Youtube* video of a second hermit song by Stanley Keach, “What the North Pond Hermit Knows.” I recalled that my folklore professor Karen Miller, a former student of Alan Dundes, had told us that folklore exhibited “multiple existence and variation” and I thought, at the time, that I had found multiple existence here, though not necessarily variation. Was this folklore? I now believe a case could be made either way. Nevertheless, I had begun to think that I could collect these songs and interview the songwriters for the Northeast Archives of Folklore and Oral History.

I was motivated to begin such an endeavor when my family went to see Troy Bennett perform at the Maine Maritime Museum in Bath in late July 2013. Beforehand, I emailed Pauleena MacDougall at the Maine Folklife Center and asked her about depositing interviews in the archives, as I figured it would lend me credibility if I could tell my informants that the interviews were going to be archived there. Troy was already

familiar to me, as he and my mother had had a mutual friend through the contra-dance music scene in Maine, and I used the concert as an opportunity to ask if he was willing to be interviewed about his song for the Maine Folklife Center, to which he agreed. Shortly, thereafter, I contacted Stanley Keach and he was also amenable to being interviewed, so I set up the dates for both of those.

My interviewing experience was very slight and consisted solely of the collection project I'd had to do for Introduction to Folklore. I understood that context was very important, and by this, I believed I ought to ask about who performed the songs, where they were performed, who the audience members were, etc., all good things, but I completely neglected such aspects as how my informants began playing music and writing songs or their songwriting process, probably because these kinds of questions had been less relevant to the items I'd collected in Intro to Folklore. After I'd done the first round of interviews though, while I was transcribing them and also transcribing the songs themselves (no easy feat!), I started reading *Folksongs and Their Makers* and realized there was all this information that I ought to have asked about. How could it have never crossed my mind to ask about how my informants got involved in music? The content of the interviews themselves had also made me realize that I needed to change how I thought about the project. I had gone into it thinking the significance of the hermit was related to outlaws and, while Troy had clearly made this connection, Stan had spent much of his time talking about Maine, a theme which I had not considered, but one which was clearly important in the way he thought about the story.

Some time in the process of transcribing, I realized that I wanted to turn the work into a research project, with outside sources, which I would present at the Center for

Undergraduate Research Showcase in the spring. I had previously thought only to deposit the interviews in the archives along with a couple pages on my thoughts regarding their significant themes, and that it would be the raw material for some other, more established scholar to use. But then I realized that there probably weren't more established scholars who would take the project on, so I might as well do it myself. It was clear that I needed some guidance to do that though and also more interviews. To run through the rest of it, I told Stan and Troy of my intentions regarding the research project and asked about doing more interviews, which I did in October, 2013. I attempted to school myself in interviewing by reading *The Tape Recorded Interview* and getting brief advice from my former professor Melissa Ladenheim. Through the rest of that fall, and less intensely in the winter, I read some books and articles on broadside ballads and on outlaws. I didn't start writing until probably March of 2014. It took me a long time to find a unifying theme for the paper. The question became, how do you reconcile outlaws with Maine? And I was able to answer that after realizing that there was a theme of needing to assert Maine identity and realizing that the hermit was representative of what were considered to be Maine traits. I was also reading *George Magoon* at this time and understanding that the outlaw wasn't so much a criminal as someone who committed crimes to go against the social order, which allowed me to expand my idea of what an outlaw was. I wrote the first draft of the paper by the middle of April 2014 and then worked on it sporadically for the next year or so.

My junior year, I tried to think about what to write my thesis about. It was generally assumed that I would use my hermit research in some respect, but I wasn't sure if I wanted that to be the sole focus. I thought that maybe after I took more folklore

classes, as I planned to do at University College Cork in Spring 2015, I'd get a better idea of what I wanted to do. And, indeed, it was in Cork that I first thought of my topic, but it was unrelated to my coursework.

In Ireland there was much discontent about the new way of charging for water. Irish people had previously paid for it through a central tax, but the government was transitioning to a water meter system where people would pay for use. They were beginning to put in water meters at that time. People were concerned about outside interests controlling the water, about whether the corporation set up by the government to control the supply, Irish Water, would be sold off to outside interests, and about the accountability of the people running Irish Water and the amount being paid to consultants. I used to see flyers tacked to the lampposts in the city advertising water protest rallies. While I was in Ireland, I also went each Sunday to the Cork Singers' Club, which met in the upstairs room of a pub, An Spailpin Fanach, in Cork city. It was at the Singers' Club that I began to hear songs protesting Irish Water. One of these was sung and written by my friend Frances O'Keeffe, a regular attendee of the club. Another one I heard was written by Jimmy Crowley, a Cork musician and songwriter, and sung by him in a concert at the café, On the Pig's Back, in Douglas, a suburb of Cork city.

I wrote to my sister in April, having heard these songs, that I thought they would have made an interesting study, had I been around long enough. I had also been thinking back to my earlier ideas, in relation to the hermit songs, about song videos being the new broadside ballads, and remembered that someone had asked Frances if she wanted to put her song up on *Youtube*, since he thought it might help the anti-Irish Water campaign. I considered this further evidence of my theory that song videos were becoming the new

broadsides. Jimmy Crowley's song, I then discovered, already was on *Youtube*, as a film of him performing at a rally. I considered the subject of topical song videos as broadsides for a thesis, thinking perhaps that I would also bring in my ideas that the digital mode was a new kind of communication after oral and literate communication. I would use the Irish Water songs as a case study for this as well as the hermit songs.

My idea for a third case study for the thesis came to me in August 2015. My sister was working at World Fellowship Center, a camp and retreat center near Conway, New Hampshire, and I went down to visit her one Friday night and Saturday. Fridays, they always had "Fun Night," which was a variety show and open mic night. One of the performers, Aurora Levinson-Morales, sang her own rewriting of the labor protest song "Which Side Are You On." I was already familiar with this song, and with one adaptation written by my sister and another by a group called the Wisconsin Solidarity Sing-along. I realized that these new versions could be the focus of a third thesis chapter.

For the "Which Side Are You On" chapter, I interviewed my sister, Morgana Warner-Evans. I also interviewed Daithi Wolfe, who had adapted "Which Side Are You On" in 2011 for the Wisconsin Solidarity Singers. I ended up interviewing both of them over skype. I also tried to contact a couple other people for interviews, but the communication didn't work out. I had planned to interview Morgana in person, but she goes to college in Pennsylvania and I was only going to see her for a few days in October and then not again until December, and the IRB paperwork wasn't done by the time we were together, so I had to wait until she was back in Pennsylvania before I could interview her. I thought that the interview with Daithi Wolfe went a little better than the one with Morgana in that I was able to get more detailed responses from him. I think my

familiarity with her acted as a barrier on some ways. I feel like I was less inclined to ask her to elaborate on points because I knew her better. The information I asked about was, in large part, the same information I asked about in the hermit interviews, but there were a few questions specific to “Which Side Are You On” and the particular contexts in which each had sung that song. And then, of course, the follow up questions ended up being different. Interviews over skype, I feel, are okay and they still allow the interviewer to get the emotion of the interviewee because of facial expression and tone of voice. Of course, they do still limit some of what one would ordinarily put into field notes, such as the surroundings of the interviewee.

The “Which Side Are You On” chapter, in terms of source material, ended up being a bit more secondary source-heavy than the hermit chapter. I brought more books and articles into it. Of versions of the song, it necessarily focused mostly on the adaptations by my two interviewees. I also made references to Levinson-Morales’ version and a version by Larry Dansinger, that had been brought to my attention somewhat late in the project, and which I communicated with him about a little via email. I had begun the project aware of four versions of the song, in addition to the original, but I later realized there were more more than twenty. A great many of these are not mentioned at all in the paper and a revised study will hopefully include at least some of them. The paper itself is written on the theme of solidarity in various facets of the writing and performance of the song. In my research, I began to notice the theme of solidarity. For instance, the song seemed in many instances to be more directed towards an in group than in going against an outside one. The song typically involved communal participation, even in instances where a performer and audience members were clearly separate. There was also historical

solidarity in that there was often a sense of being part of a longer tradition of protest songs by adapting this one.

The “Which Side Are You On” chapter made me rethink the overarching theme of the thesis. I had wanted to do it on songwriting, but neither Daithi Wolfe nor Morgana Warner-Evans considered themselves to have written their versions of the song. I realized it had to be more about how songs were used, than how they were written. I also made a decision not to make the video-as-broadside theme the main point. As it turned out, Daithi Wolfe wasn’t even aware that his version of the song was on *Youtube*. Also, I thought there might be a difference with instances where the first way the song was disseminated was through a video, like in the two hermit songs, versus the other instances, where the songs were used primarily in person and videos just happened to be taken of the rallies where the songs were sung. That last point may be worth exploring at some point, but it’s beyond the scope of this thesis now.

The Irish Water songs study was the third one I undertook and suffers from time constraints for that reason. I went about trying to arrange a skype interview with Frances O’Keeffe about her song, and it turned out that she had used skype before, but several years ago. We set a date and time for the interview, but she kept having trouble opening it up again. I finally grew anxious about the timing and told her not to worry about skype and that I’d just email her the questions. So we ended up exchanging several emails back and forth about her song. Of course this is somewhat limiting as far as fieldwork goes, making it more difficult to get the “texture” of the interviewee’s remarks. The emails with Frances were also the only personal communication I had about the Irish Water songs, but, in addition to focusing on her song, I also wrote quite a bit about Jimmy

Crowley's song, which I had seen performed, but had no communication about it with Crowley himself. The greater strength of the study is that it does use observations of in-person performances more than the other two and in some ways that helped to compensate for the fewer number of interviews. Like the study on "Which Side Are You On," I began this one thinking there were a few songs written to protest Irish Water, but then I discovered many more, most of which I have not discussed in the paper. I chose to focus the paper on Frances' song and also the one by Jimmy Crowley because I had the most background information about them and I had been present for the performance of both of them.

Similar to how I went about the hermit songs study, I tried to reconcile the two songs on which I had decided to focus and determine their common theme. Frances' song was a humorous one and, in my communications, it became clear that this was important to her, as were language and wordplay. She was inspired to write her song because of an offhand comment by a government minister, which was joked about by people later. And she wrote to me about often writing songs based on things she overheard people say which were humorous. Most of the songs she writes are humorous and also have a current event or social commentary involved with them. And I would have loved to pursue humorous Irish water songs, or humorous current events songs more. But Jimmy Crowley's song didn't lend itself well to a paper focused solely on humor, as it was serious. His song was clearly an assertion of Irish rights to control their own water supply and the importance of not having outsiders do this. I also knew that it had been viewed as being related to the concept of Irishness because of a comment an audience member had made at a performance of the song, because of its lyrics, and because of its status as a

rewrite of an older patriotic song. On the one hand, here was a song which used humor to protest Irish Water and on the other, here was a song which used Irish identity and patriotism to protest Irish Water. The connection came for me in the fact that there was a certain amount of ridicule present in the idea that Ireland, known for being rainy, needed to charge extra for their water. I noticed this because of what Frances had written to me and also because of what I had read in newspaper articles. It made me realize that a humorous song like Frances' was also about the concept of Irish control of their own water, only in a subtler way. That became the takeaway of the chapter.

After having done the three case studies, it became clear to me that the unifying themes were identity and power. Identity, I will define as a person or people's understanding of themselves as part of a particular group with certain characteristics. Much of the identity I discuss here is esoterically determined. Power, for the purposes of this thesis, is the ability, or perceived ability, of one group of people to control the ideological legitimacy of another group. Because of the esoteric nature of many peoples' identity in this thesis, power may be perceived by only one side. The "Which Side Are You On" chapter probably has the most tenuous link to the concept of identity, though perhaps the strongest link to power. Identity however, did still play a role in the context of the song's adaptations. The rhetoric surrounding the Wisconsin uprising stressed reclaiming Wisconsin for the Wisconsin people. In terms of Morgana Warner-Evans' adaptation of "Which Side Are You On," although it is recalled by those who have seen its performance in person at the State House or on the *Youtube* video as "the song you sang for LePage," there is no concept of Maine identity specifically playing into its importance. However, Morgana was inspired to write the song because of her own

identity as the child of teachers. The chapters on the hermit songs and the Irish Water songs both follow a more straightforward pattern of looking at how local or national identity is perceived to be threatened by change imposed from what are thought to be more powerful outsiders and how topical songs play into that. In addition to identity and power, I also found other themes running across the songs and their contexts. I have mentioned the online video format earlier and I was able to touch on that briefly in the concluding chapter. Humor and the sense of being part of earlier movements were strategies of songwriters which emerged as I did this research and I have also discussed them. All of these themes I have attempted to relate to the concept of power in some regard, as being able to empower people involved in social movements and/or take away the power of those institutions and individuals by whom they feel threatened.

A more direct explanation of the research methods also bears mentioning. I made at least two major decisions regarding research. The first was to use qualitative interviews as a primary source of information. I chose to use interviews, primarily because I felt they were the best way to get at attitudes about the songs and their importance, by giving as direct access as possible to the thoughts of their creators. The second decision I made was to use case studies. To be honest, it simply never occurred to me to do anything else. Having said that though, I think there is a specific value to using case studies, that being that it makes it easier to look at phenomena in their full context and I am somehow convinced of the inherent importance of that.

A final note on the topic: I believe the forefronting of identity in my papers is an unconscious reflection of my own experiences of personally feeling in many situations that I somehow don't identify myself as belonging with many other acquaintances. From

an academic perspective of course, I obviously understand that I identify myself as belonging to certain groups. I am a Mainer, a college student, a member of the American middle class, etc. and these broad identifications still shape the way I see the world. But because I tend to forget about these and get caught up in the smaller points, I think the process of who identifies with whom and why has always been both fascinating and mystifying to me in its frequent unattainability and that is why it shows up in my academic work.

Literature Review

In addition to “raw data” from interviews, observations, and news articles, the thesis was influenced by many books and journal articles from different fields in the humanities and social sciences. Many of these can be found in the works cited, but I will draw attention here to a number which were particularly influential and attempt to explain their use to me.

Because my work deals with topical songs where the songwriter is known, the studies which have influenced it the most are those done of songs, particularly topical ones, with known authorship. The first of these was *Folksongs and Their Makers*, a book made up of three chapters by Henry Glassie, Edward D. Ives, and John F. Szwed, each one being a separate case study. Glassie and Szwed’s chapters both deal with topical songs by living songwriters are thus more relevant to my own work. Ives’ chapter on Joe Scott and “The Plain Golden Band” is less relevant to my thesis because the song is not about a topical event of interest to anyone but Scott himself, though Ives’ studies of Scott’s other songs, such as “Howard Carey” and “Benjamin Dean,” are more pertinent to my own. Glassie’s chapter is about “Take that Night Train to Selma,” a song by Dorrance Weir of Oaksville, New York. Glassie discusses Weir’s songwriting process as he changed his song over time, shifting it from an anti-Italian song meant to annoy a specific man into a broader and more political song against the integration of African Americans in the south during the 1960s (Glassie 1970, 10) as well as the response of Weir’s community to the song. Like many of the songs I discuss, Weir’s song is not particularly a protest song, since it is not “action oriented” but offered a comment on current events of the time (Glassie 1970, 29). Szwed writes about Paul E. Hall of the Codroy Valley,

Newfoundland, and his “Bachelor’s Song,” looking at how the song related to the values and anxieties of Hall’s community and Hall’s role as a songwriter (Szwed 1970). The latter two chapters could probably also give me more insights also on the role of humor and satire in topical song, which a future study of the songs I discuss in this thesis could utilize. Reading *Folksongs and Their Makers* made me realize that, beyond looking at the performance of a song, the process of writing it and the background of the songwriter could contribute information about its meaning. In that regard it shaped how I went about forming interview questions and directly influenced the direction of the project.

Ives’ book, *Joe Scott: The Woodsman Songmaker* (Ives 1978) was important in that its influence over Stanley Keach helped me to understand his understanding of his own songwriting process and his interest in Maine, which contributed to his desire to write a song about the North Pond Hermit. Ives’ book also offers other perspectives which are not included in this thesis but are taken up in a second paper on the North Pond Hermit Songs¹. The discussion of the songwriting process in *Joe Scott* as it pertains to topicality and the tension between fact and artistry is also particularly useful.

Another work which intersects with my own is Clifford Murphy’s article, “The Diesel Cowboy in New England: Source and Symbol in Dick Curless’ ‘A Tombstone Every Mile.’” In his article, Murphy discusses Curless’ influences from the realm of New England Country music and the meaning of his “A Tombstone Every Mile” to his audience. Of particular interest is the discussion of Curless as a writer of topical songs which resonated with the regional audience in Maine (Murphy 2014, 198) as well as the exploration of the relationship between New England country music and Nashville

¹ This paper, “Contemporary Topical Song Videos as Broadside Ballads: ‘The North Pond Hermit Song’ and ‘What the North Pond Hermit Knows,’” is not included in the thesis, because it does not connect well with the overarching theme.

country (ibid, 194). One of the things Murphy mentions in the article is that Curless' song was popular because its figure of the truck driver helped lend an authenticity to New England Country and Western in defiance of the idea that the place of country music was in the south (ibid, 191). I read this article in the midst of writing my hermit chapter and it resonated strongly with Troy Bennett's discussion of his own musical influences and the importance of local music, even when much of what one hears on the radio is music dealing with other locales (Bennett October 2013). Also, Murphy's article presented for me an example of a song which, likely, never entered oral tradition, but still had a basis in local identity and was popular with passive bearers for that reason (ibid, 223), like many of the songs I discuss here.

Peter Narváez' dissertation on the labor songs written for the 1973 strike in Buchans, Newfoundland, interestingly, contributed mostly to the chapter on the Irish Water songs. His concept of the "serious folk parody" (Narváez 1986, 13-14) helped to illuminate for me the meaning and importance of Jimmy Crowley setting his song to an older Irish nationalist song. This concept can also be applied to the chapter on "Which Side Are You On," but its application to "Which Side Are You On" would have been more clear to me than its application to Crowley's "The Water Campaign" even without having read Narváez's work. Since I read this study somewhat later in this process, after I had already started writing, there are other ideas in it which I have not yet applied to my work, but could be used in a revision of the "Which Side Are You On" chapter in particular.

Two recent articles which partially deal with topical song and were influential were Casey R. Schmitt's "The Barefoot Bandit, Outlaw Legend, and Modern American

Folk Heroism” (Schmitt 2012) and Michael S. O’Brien’s “This is What Democracy Sounds Like: Live and Mediated Soundscapes of the Wisconsin Uprising.” Schmitt’s article gave me another example of a modern American outlaw hero whose story inspired topical songs, put up online. Seeing the similarities between reactions to the Barefoot Bandit and the North Pond Hermit allowed me to develop my ideas on the latter as fitting into the outlaw concept. O’Brien’s article looks at the use of songs, music, and chants during the Wisconsin Uprising, and partially discusses the Solidarity Sing-along, though it does not cover “Which Side Are You On.” His work also discusses the role of digital technology in the uprising, as a place to combine sound and image to make statements about the protests (O’Brien 2013, 7), or as venue to collaborate on developing songs and chants (ibid, 9). It also contributed ideas to me about the purpose of recycling older protest songs (ibid, 16-17).

As well as the aforementioned studies on particular songs, songwriters, or events inspiring songs, John Greenway’s *American Folksongs of Protest* (Greenway 1953) was useful to me. It contributed particularly to the chapter on “Which Side Are You On.” Greenway’s book provides a general, broad overview of protest songs in the United States in the late nineteenth and early 20th centuries. It includes some discussion of the protest songs of various industries and then focuses specifically on a few different writers of protest songs, their lives and creations. It provided me with some information on the function of protest songs as well as historical background on “Which Side Are You On.” However, I find myself disagreeing with Greenway’s assertion that the modern folk are unskilled blue collar workers (ibid, 9) and hope that my work on the new versions of

“Which Side Are You On” contributes to understandings of the use of protest songs for those of a wider occupational background.

Additionally, R. Serge Denisoff’s *Sing a Song of Social Significance* provided me a good overall picture of urban protest songs in the United States during the 20th century. While the book also discusses non-localized music heard on the radio, Denisoff’s treatment of union songs gave me background with which to look at the Solidarity Sing-along in Wisconsin in particular. His discussion of the use of protest songs in already sympathetic groups, the importance of using familiar songs, and the role of group singing, led me to put those aspects together to discover the infusion of solidarity in seemingly disparate elements of the performance of “Which Side Are You On.”

Certain chapters of Thomas Turino’s *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation* (Turino 2008) I also found relevant to my own work. It gave me information about the functions of participatory music making and the relationship that has to the structure of songs, both concepts which can be applied to the chapters on “Which Side Are You On” and the Irish Water songs. Its discussion of participation as giving shared identity informed the chapter on “Which Side Are You On.” Future work could include expanding upon that concept in both that chapter and in the Irish Water songs chapter in discussion of how members of both the Cork Singers’ Club, where I heard Irish Water songs, and the Solidarity Sing-along in Wisconsin where an adaptation of “Which Side Are You On” was sung have a strong sense of shared identity, as evidenced by certain songs participants have written about their own groups.

With the exception of the work done by Schmitt and O’Brien, all of these works deal with songs written fifty years ago or more and there have been new changes in

technology since then. This thesis brings some of that into discussion, and upon the relationship between in person performance and performance online. Schmitt does not focus on that at all, and while some of that is covered by O'Brien, it is still relatively uncharted territory. There have also been cultural changes which have shifted the relationship many people have to music. Thomas Turino insinuates that many Americans today have not grown up in a tradition of participatory music making (Turino 2008, 158). While most of the songwriters discussed in this thesis did grow up making music in community settings like home or church, many of their audience members did not necessarily have this experience. In some ways, my work looks at the role songs play in a context where many people did not grow up participating in singing. This is particularly noticeable in regards to the North Pond Hermit songs. Yet, these songs have still managed to enter what Archie Green, drawing upon a conversation with Sandy Ives, refers to as "the community consciousness" (Green 1971, 84). Their focus is local or specific in scope. They are written by songwriters who identify as members of particular groups, for others with the same identity, and they speak about group concerns, often regarding shared identity and values and respond to events which appear to threaten these identities and values. They resonate with their audience members for this reason.

The North Pond Hermit as Outlaw: Reactions to a Challenge of Maine Identity

For over 20 years, residents around the shores of North Pond in Smithfield and Rome Maine had been victims of burglaries which local stories had attributed to a “hermit-burglar” (Pickett 2013). The burglar, Christopher Knight, was finally caught in April 2013. “The North Pond Hermit,” as he was dubbed, had survived alone in the woods for 27 years, stealing from camps around the shores of North Pond and Little North Pond in order to survive. During that time, he had had interaction with only one other person, a hiker he had met walking in the woods. He allegedly avoided lighting a fire or leaving his camp in the winter for fear of being detected from smoke or footprints (Cousins 2013). Knight's arrest instantly expanded his reputation to the rest of the state where he sparked a flurry of reactions, including numerous memes, the invention of deli sandwich special called “the Hermit,” and at least two songs, written by Stanley Keach of Rome, and Troy Bennett of Portland, Maine. While most residents around North Pond were glad to see the hermit's arrest, the rest of the state seemed to romanticize him and defend his way of life (Seelye 2013). For these people, the hermit represented a sort of ideal Maine identity, a notion of self-sufficiency. This representation is based upon a few key components which crop up both in attitudes about Maine and reactions to the hermit: survival of the cold, connection to nature and disconnection from technology, and the isolation which results from rurality. Consequently, the hermit's story struck a chord with people precisely because of this deep connection to their conception of Maine.

It was this connection to perceptions of Maine that marked the hermit's story as significant material for the two aforementioned songwriters, Troy Bennett, and Stanley Keach. For Keach, Maine plays the dominant role in terms of inspiration for songs and he

has written several songs about Maine history and culture (Keach July 2013). Keach was born in New Hampshire and has lived in several different states, but kept returning to Maine periodically for vacations during his childhood at which time it seemed “very romantic to come up to Maine to go into the woods” (Keach October 2013). Keach fell in love with Maine as a child and today considers himself a Mainer, although he was born over the state line (Keach July 2013). In many parts of the United States, one can claim belonging to a particular state after being a long time resident. In Maine, however, one has to spend one's whole life in the state and, among those with deep roots in the area, some believe that one cannot be a Mainer without having family going back at least five generations, a notion which is often strange to newcomers. Keach acknowledged the conditions of his belonging in the state by noting that “many Mainers would not consider [him] a Mainer” (Keach July 2013). In a sense, because he returned there almost every year, Maine was probably a more consistent part of his childhood than the states in which he actually lived.

In light of this outsider status, not surprisingly, two of Stanley Keach's most prominent influences on his connection to Maine and his songwriting are people “from away,” a colloquial term for “out of state,” who later became associated with Maine. The first of these is Donn Fendler, whose story of being lost in the woods for nine days near Mt. Katahdin inspired the book *Lost on a Mountain in Maine*. Keach's experience with reading this book is closely connected to his experience of falling in love with the state of Maine. When asked about how he became so interested in the state, he also readily volunteers the narrative of how he became interested in Donn Fender. He remembers visiting friends who lived in Bangor and going camping in Baxter State Park with them

as a child and believes he heard about Fendler's story from them. He recalled that when he read the book, he was “about ten or twelve, about the age [Fendler] was when he was lost, so it made a huge impression on [him].” He stated that he later “read [*Lost on a Mountain in Maine*] to all my kids and I read it to a lot of my students in school and kids that I worked with in the neighborhood” (Keach October 2013). Donn Fendler's story consequently appeared as one of the various Maine topics Keach has used as songwriting material and it is one of the songs he feels closest to. He noted that he “started trying to write a song about Fendler probably thirty, forty years ago,” early in his songwriting career, and revised the style of it after it was recorded, from “a fast, banjo driven [bluegrass] song” (Keach July 2013) to “a kind of an a capella ballad, the kind of song that people would have sung sitting around lumber camps and campfires, and out in the woods or something like that” (Keach October 2013). Perhaps more importantly, this style of music which could be sung in “lumber camps” and by “campfires” is synonymous in Keach's mind with Maine. He noted that “acoustic music” “seems to go with the way things are” in Maine (Keach July 2013) and later stated that this was because he associated it with “a natural state of things” and was something “that you can do when you're sitting around with friends, even if it's in a primitive camp with no electricity” (Keach October 2013). Although Keach believes that bluegrass music still fits this acoustic category, it's clear that a capella ballads are something he associates with being in a camp and thus with Maine. Changing the style of “Don Fendler” then would perhaps be changing the song to fit in with his conception of Maine.

The style of “Donn Fendler” was changed to reflect Keach's newfound “interest in Joe Scott, the Woodsman Songmaker” (Keach July 2013) another influence on his

songwriting. Keach's connection to Scott is not surprising, in part given the similarities between the two. Scott was also born just over the state line from Maine, in New Brunswick, but spent much of his adult life within the state (Ives 1978). Keach's father “was a Baptist minister” (Keach October 2013) while Scott's father was “a pillar of the local Baptist church” in Lower Woodstock, New Brunswick and “several times superintendent of the Sabbath school” (Ives 1978, 7). Although he began making up poems and tunes as a child, Keach stated that “I had a marriage break up when I was about twenty-five, and I’d gotten a guitar again, and I think that was really the thing that spurred me to start to write songs,” although most of these early pieces are ones he does not consider to be very good quality (Keach October 2013). And it was popularly believed that Joe Scott himself began to write songs in earnest after being jilted by his then-fiancée Lizzie Morse (Ives 1978, 54). Whether or not Keach is aware of these more superficial connections between himself and Joe Scott, he is clearly conscious of an imitation of the man's songwriting and appears to use Scott as a comparison point for his own songwriting process (Keach October 2013). He views Scott as “somebody living in Maine and writing about stuff that goes on here” and “like[s] to see [himself] a little teeny bit in that tradition” (Keach July 2013). It is significant that even though Scott was not born in Maine, Keach associates him primarily with this state, just as he himself is another outsider who lives in Maine and uses it as inspiration for songs. While part of Keach's desire to write Maine songs stems from an affection towards this particular place (Keach July 2013), he also noted that “doing what Joe Scott did” and writing songs about things that happen in Maine, “gives me a good feeling” (Keach October 2014). Perhaps emulating Joe Scott, who is another outsider associated with Maine, helps Keach feel

more of a connection with the state, where, according to the values of those inside of it, he is still an outsider.

The hermit story provided significant songwriting material for Keach because it falls into the category of events happening in Maine (Keach July 2013). And if one considers the fact that writing about Maine topics is a way for Keach to strengthen his connection with the state, the hermit story was thus especially significant for him not only because it happened in Maine, but because it happened practically in his own town. He said, “it had a very strong pull” (ibid) for this reason. It provides that much more connection to the place with which he identifies. Writing the hermit song, with all of the other Maine songs, then, becomes a way for Keach to feel he can identify as a Mainer.

For Troy Bennett, author of “The North Pond Hermit Song,” Maine would also seem to play a role in songwriting, although it seems he is not quite as conscious of it as Keach is. Bennett was inspired to play and write music after attending a Schooner Fare concert when he was about twelve, at which time he was living in Buxton, Maine (Bennett October 2013). The music “seemed closer to home. It seemed about ships and things like that, which was very romantic.” It was also about topics like “shipwrecks and bootlegged rum and it was much more dramatic” than his conception of more mainstream southern folk music which is “all about farming and bad crops or something” (Bennett October 2013). However, it was not just the more exciting subject matter which inspired Bennett, it was also the band's Maine, and thus local, focus which “drew [him] immediately to Schooner Fare” (ibid). Bennett draws a distinction between Maine music and southern music and feels that the former speaks to him in a way the latter does not. He noted that southern music “is not me. I'm a yankee” and that “to this day, I don't really

like bluegrass because...it doesn't speak to me because I'm not from the South. It seems funny to hear bluegrass up here” (ibid). Furthermore, he appears to feel that local, Maine music is marginalized in the media in favor of music based in the south, noting that “you get sung to all the time on the radio by people who don't know you and only sing songs about the southland.” It's “sort of degrading to [him]” that “southern music is so important in folk music and in popular music” (ibid). While music rooted in other places exists, the fact that southern music is seen as the norm acts to deny the existence of the musical culture of other places, such as Maine, thereby stripping them of any musical identity.

Bennett is not the only one to have this view. In his article, “The Diesel Cowboy in New England: Source and Symbol of Dick Curless' 'A Tombstone Every Mile,’” Clifford Murphy discusses the dynamics between New England culture and country music. He writes that “country music's grand narrative tells us that the South...has won the battle of American identity through the popular cultural triumph of southern country music” (Murphy 2014, 193) and that this “cultural grey-out,” the notion that country music is exclusively southern, can be seen in part because “commercial country radio in 21st Century New England is devoid of any and all local or regional music content” (ibid, 194), a sentiment which echoes Bennett's comment that “you get sung to all the time on the radio by people that don't know you” (Bennett October 2013). Murphy recalls that as a young man and a musician in 1990s New Hampshire, he felt “as though [his] corner of the world was one that had largely been without music for much of its long history” (Murphy 2014, 194). When he came into contact with the music of Dick Curless, a country songwriter from Maine, who wrote about New England based topics, it “struck

[him] as anomalous” (ibid, 194). However, Curless' successes as a New England country musician very much connected to his regional identity, belies the surface idea that only the south has a regional music tradition. Murphy writes that he “found Curless’ singing in his native tongue about local places downright empowering” (ibid, 193). The success of Curless’ “A Tombstone Every Mile,” which details the hazards faced by truckers in the Haynesville woods of Aroostook County, “is considered irrefutable proof that New England is a perfectly authentic site for country music making, despite the contrary opinions of the southern-oriented music industry, the popular press, and scholars” (ibid, 191). It is “a rallying point for Mainers” and “evidence to them of Maine's place as an authentic country music region” (ibid, 196). Curless’ song was, therefore, an instance of local music and local interests surviving despite the “powerful hold” (ibid, 194) of the Nashville based country music industry.

In much the same way as the success of Curless’ song was because of its rootedness in the local, Troy Bennett, sees the localized connection to Maine as being part of the reason for his song's success, at least among those in the state. He thinks that part of the reason why the “North Pond Hermit Song” has had a “longer shelf life than [he] thought” is “because it's local” and “people like to hear about something close to home” (Bennett October 2013). He said that a friend's sister who now lives in Florida came up for a concert and requested it, he thinks “because it reminds her of Maine” (ibid). Further proof of Bennett's perception that this is a local song, although it contains events which could happen in any rural area (Bennett August 2013), is the fact that he did not play it on his last tour out of state because he did not think people would really appreciate it (ibid). Performing “The North Pond Hermit Song” is a way for Bennett to

assert the notion that Maine has a musical identity and to connect other Mainers with music that speaks to them.

The connection between songwriting and Maine shines through in the songs written about the North Pond Hermit. In both of these songs, we can see clearly reference to survival of the cold a very apparent part of our self identity as Mainers, as even a cursory examination of our humor will show. For instance, we have multiple traditional humorous ways of renaming the four seasons which play into this idea such as, “almost winter, winter, still winter, and road construction” or “ten months of winter and two months of piss-poor sledding.” Not surprisingly, cold weather is a constantly recurring element in reactions to the hermit. Troy Bennett says that “part of what people found fascinating was that he didn't leave his camp in the wintertime so he wouldn't leave footprints” (Bennett October 2013). Another general reaction, according to Bennett, is that people say, “there's no way he was alive out there without a fire” (ibid). Of course, the hermit very likely used propane for heating, as his camp was littered with propane cylinders (Holyoke and Sarnacki 2013), but this fact seems to be ignored in favor of the much more prominent observation that he survived winter without a fire. The *Bangor Daily News* website plays off this idea that the most remarkable thing about the hermit was his survival of the winter in a fun poll for visitors to the site, asking them, “Do you think you could survive a Maine winter in the wilderness as a hermit?” It is interesting to note here that they say specifically “Maine winter,” implying that Maine winters are different than winters in other states, further emphasizing the idea that having to put up with the cold is part of our identity.

The cold theme of course surfaces in songs. Bennett's song includes the line, "Through the summer, the winter, the spring, and the fall, the seasons came and went," drawing attention to the hermit's ability to survive all weathers. In the same verse he makes mention of "no leaving camp in the wintertime" and "no fire" (Bennett April 2013). His song dedicates a whole verse to the hermit's survival of all weathers. Keach's song also places importance on the hermit's survival of the cold, which is brought up in every chorus of his song, each of which is slightly different. The first chorus mentions:

What it's like to sleep outside when its 25 below
And you feel it from your forehead right down to your aching toes (Keach April 2013).

The second includes "when the ice storm rages and the frozen north wind blows" and the third mentions that "we drive around...and stay home when it snows" (Keach April 2013). The second chorus brings up an especially interesting point. Keach mentions the "ice storm," quite possibly a nod to the Ice Storm of '98 which many Mainers remember, sometimes as a sort of "standard" for the severity of other storms, making the point that few stand up to it. Indeed, a meme from October 2012 compares Hurricane Sandy with the Ice Storm of '98, implying that Sandy was nothing compared to the Ice Storm (Hurricane... 2012), although, while it was not particularly severe in Maine, Sandy had devastating effects on the Mid-Atlantic states. Furthermore, Keach's song is not the only reaction to the Hermit's discovery where the ice storm is mentioned. A meme from April 17th makes use of the Ice Storm of '98 as the definitive "test" for the hermit's survival, with Knight's mug shot superimposed over a scene with snow and downed power lines bearing the caption "I survived the Ice Storm of '98" (Caverly 2013). This implies that the '98 Ice Storm was a particularly difficult trial for the hermit, while simultaneously

connecting him with an important event in our collective memory as Mainers. The hermit has been connected, in creative reactions, to this definitive event. He has been placed into the matrix of our self identity.

In addition to this survival of the cold, another prevalent attitude about Maine is lack of technology and its result, connection to nature. As mentioned earlier, Stanley Keach believes that acoustic music “seems to go with the way things are” in Maine (Keach July 2013) because he associates it with “a natural state of things” (Keach October 2013). Although, for Keach, Maine is not the only state where this connection can be achieved since he also mentions going to bluegrass festivals in Maryland and Pennsylvania where “all [people] had were their instruments and their voices,” the concept of being “a little closer to nature” is still inherent in his sense of Maine (ibid). Troy Bennett says that he thinks part of the interest in the hermit's story stems from the way we are “overwhelmed by technology” today and that even though the hermit did not do any stereotypical survival activities like hunting and fishing, he still “got away from it all” (Bennett August 2013). This aspect of the hermit is part of what made the story so compelling for Bennett. He does not explicitly connect this fantasy of lack of technology to Maine, but sees it as an American “manifest destiny” and “self sufficiency” theme (ibid). He does however, believe that Mainers like to think of ourselves as “rugged” and “still having wilderness” even though “there's not a lot of wilderness in Maine that isn't owned by a paper company” (ibid). At the very least, a perceived connection to nature is part of our self identity.

Connection to nature and distance from technology and modern life manifests itself in both songs. Stanley Keach's song contains this couplet in the third chorus:

We drive around and go to jobs and stay home when it snows
We're losing touch with nature and we don't know how it flows (Keach April 2013).

When questioned about the line's relation to attitudes about the hermit representing the connection to nature which we lack in our modern society, Keach said, "to people who aren't his victims I think that's one of the most fascinating things about him....the fact that so many of us have at least daydreamed about, he went off into the woods, stayed by himself" (Keach July 2013). In this couplet as well is an implicit reference to technology in the form of cars. "We drive around and go to jobs," would seem to suggest a lack of connection from nature and also a busier life. Furthermore, it does not just suggest a lack of connection to nature, but a loss of connection. The song specifically says we are "losing touch with nature." We were connected, but it is slipping away from us. Bennett's song does not have the same overt references to our loss of connection to nature, but he devotes an entire verse to the hermit's everyday connection to the environment around him. The content of his third verse is:

They say he'd sit for days, just watching things to grow
Or counting eagles overhead and everything below
Sometimes he'd listen to the wind, filling up his mind
Counting raindrops one by one to pass away the time (Bennett April 2013).

The focus of this verse is on the hermit's connection to nature which surrounds us almost every day, wind, raindrops, plants, but are things we take for granted, thereby implying our disconnect from it. The verse also comments on our busyness, by exploring the notion of time for the hermit. The hermit "watch[es] things to grow" and "count[s] raindrops one by one to pass away the time." Evidently he has the time to spend in pursuits which we define positively as relaxing or negatively as idle. He also "listen[s] to the wind, filling up his mind," a line which indicates that his mind is not full of thoughts

which produce anxiety, like ours. Both of these songs include lines which indicate our lack of connection to nature as a result of modern life and worries.

Related to the connection to nature is the concept of being isolated from civilization, and of being in a rural place. Bennett said that he “didn't think [the hermit story] could happen in an overly urbanized place” and that “it might play better [in Maine] than it would play in a more urbanized place like Rhode Island or Connecticut where [the hermit] would just end up being a hood” (Bennett August 2013). As mentioned earlier, Bennett said also that we in Maine like to think of ourselves as having wilderness (ibid). Most of Keach's attachments and ideas about Maine also appear to be based upon its rural nature. He says that when he was a child, “it was very romantic to come up to Maine to go into the woods and stuff” (Keach October 2013). In addition, as discussed earlier, the book *Lost on a Mountain in Maine* “made a big impression” on him. He read the book when he had “just been up in the woods and hiking through the trails [in Baxter State Park], sometimes by myself, and imagining myself being lost in the woods” (ibid). We see from this last statement that it is not just the rural nature of Maine, its woods, but also the isolation resulting from this rurality, that figures in Keach's idea of Maine. As a child, he imagined himself “being lost in the woods,” in a sense somewhat like the hermit, although the hermit chose to go into the woods and lose himself. And for Keach, the story of Donn Fendler, and the song he later wrote about the topic, is something he is “very close to” (Keach July 2013). Keach's closest associations with Maine have to do with its rurality.

Reactions to the hermit would seem, in part, to emphasize his isolation. Troy Bennett's song, as mentioned earlier, talks about “listen[ing] to the wind, filling up his

mind” (Bennett, April 2013). The wind here is in contrast to listening to other people or other noises of civilization. The song also mentions how “nobody [saw] his face in 27 years” and how:

He walked away into the pines to live out in the woods
Turned his back on everything and he was gone for good (Bennett April 2013).

The hermit's isolation is one of the most important parts of this song, as it begins the first verse. When asked why he began the song this way, Bennett said, “Well, overall, isn't that the most stunning part of the story, that supposedly only one person saw him in 27 years?” (Bennett October 2013). For Bennett, the isolation is one of the most compelling parts of the hermit's story. He also said that, at one gig, when he was about to perform this song, he did not tell his audience that it was about the hermit specifically but said it was about “Maine's most notorious introverted long-term camper” (ibid). Here we have a sample of Bennett's notions of the most important points of story, combining isolation with being in a rural location. Keach's song also focuses on the isolation aspect. It is interesting to note that it also begins with a reference to the 27 years, “Twenty-seven years ago he went into the woods” (Keach April 2013). He does not know exactly why he started with this line, but said it made a good first line because it draws the listener into the story and sets it up fairly quickly (Keach, October 2013). The isolation in Keach's song is explored through the couplet:

You and I will never know what the North Pond Hermit Knows
What it's like to be alone as a decade comes and goes (Keach April 2013).

The isolation is developed through the line mentioning the hermit's aloneness, but also through the “you and I will never know,” which figures prominently in his song. The hermit is so isolated from other people that we can never truly understand him. Keach's

song also emphasizes the rural nature of the hermit's location in, "He came to think of the woods of Maine as the place that he belonged" (ibid). Here we also have Keach's own primary impression of Maine, its woods. In addition to the songs, various memes about the hermit also emphasize the rural aspect of the story, comparing him to a camper the way Bennett did. One has the hermit's mug shot with "I don't always go on camping trips, but when I do, they last 27 years" (Chesley 2013). Since camping is an inherently rural activity which often involves isolation from "civilization," this would indicate that other perceptions of the hermit emphasize his own isolation from society.

Not only do reactions of Knight cast him in the mold of the archetypal Mainer however. They also cast him in the role of an outlaw hero. Many of the stories and articles surrounding Knight would seem to line up with several of the traits outlined by Richard Meyer in his article, "The Outlaw: A Distinctive American Folktype," especially if we consider the fact that Knight's outlawry is not necessarily just his literal crimes, but his lack of belonging in mainstream society. For example, legends typically ascribe the beginning of an outlaw's career to a crime caused by "extreme provocation or persecution," typically "manifested in the physical abuse of a close member of the hero's family" (Meyer 1980, 99). A neighbor of Knight's, interviewed by the *Bangor Daily News*, wondered if "the [untimely] death of Knight's cousin...had anything to do with his desire to get away from society" (Curtis 11 Apr. 2013). In spite of the fact that there is no concrete evidence to suggest that the death of a cousin had anything to do with Knight's desire to become a hermit, later reasons ascribed to his disappearance have managed to conform somewhat to the traditional pattern of outlaw narratives.

A second trait concerning the outlaw hero is that he is “good-natured” and “kind-hearted” (Meyer 1980, 105). After his arrest Knight “expressed shame and remorse over the burglaries” (Crosby 2013). According to an article in *GQ Magazine*, Knight felt that “he deserved to be imprisoned” and admitted that he “felt guilty about [the stealing] every time” he did it (Finkel 2014, 2). When the state trooper who arrested him, Diane Perkins-Vance, “asked why he didn't want to answer any of the questions [she asked him], he said he was ashamed” (ibid, 1). Knight also stated that “it took a while to overcome my scruples” and that he “took no pleasure in” stealing (ibid, 3). Songwriter Troy Bennet, of Portland, said he had heard that after breaking in Knight would “[put] the key back if he could” and “not break the door down if he didn't have to” (Bennett August 2013). In addition, Knight was said to be a “model prisoner” who was “extremely polite and very articulate” (Curtis 12 Apr. 2013). Knight apparently would not allow his mother to visit him in prison, saying, “Look at me. I'm in my prison clothes. That's not how I was raised. I couldn't face her” (Finkel 2014, 3). Although Knight is a convicted criminal, the above examples demonstrate that, like most outlaw-heroes, he has a strong sense of morality.

Additionally, the outlaw is “characterized by the audacity, daring and sheer stupendousness of exploits” (Meyer 1980, 105). Much of what was discussed about Knight immediately following his arrest concerned his surviving harsh weather outside. Songwriter Stanley Keach of Rome said Knight was unusual because he “went off into the woods [and] stayed by himself...through terrible conditions” (Keach July 2013). A meme posted on April 17, 2013 superimposed Knight's face over a scene with snow and downed power lines with the caption, “I survived the Ice Storm of '98” (Caverly 2013).

The article in *GQ*, whose writer was from another state, stated that, “Winters in Maine are long and intensely cold: a wet, windy cold, the worst kind of cold. A week of winter camping is an impressive achievement. An entire season is practically unheard of” (Finkel 2014, 1). Knight's surviving winters was described as “surreal” by state trooper Diane Vance (Cousins 2013). Residents around North Pond, unable to believe it, often insisted that Knight had help to survive the winters or spent them in an empty cabin (Finkel 2014, 3). The fact of Knight's lengthy isolation can also be characterized as “stupendous” (Meyer 1980, 105), being noted by Troy Bennett as “the most stunning” part of the story (Bennett October 2013). Like most outlaws, the deeds ascribed to the North Pond Hermit are so outrageous as to be unbelievable.

The outlaw also “outwits...his opponents through... 'trickster'-type tactics” (Meyer 1980, 106) and this is certainly true with Knight. He allegedly outwitted many of the camp owners by finding their hidden keys in order to break in to cabins (Bennett August 2013; Pickett 2013). Additionally, he engaged in many other tactics to keep himself hidden such as not leaving camp when there was snow on the ground and not lighting a fire for fear of being caught from the smoke (Cousins 2013). Perhaps most in line with the tricks of other outlaws, one man, in a clip from a documentary about Knight, stated that, “when [Knight] would walk in the snow...if he went across a road, he would walk backwards, not forward” and that “that's how a lot of people couldn't find out which way he was going in and out” (*The Hermit* 2014). The motif of walking backwards, or shoeing one's horse backwards, in order to evade pursuit, is prevalent in many outlaw stories dating back to the Middle Ages (Swanton 2005, 98). A common motif in older outlaw stories has here also been applied to legends about the North Pond Hermit.

Because of these “trickster type tactics,” the outlaw cannot be caught “through conventional means” (Meyer 1980, 108). Knight was only caught on surveillance camera once before 2013 and this was unsuccessful at leading to an arrest (Pickett 2013). In order for him to be finally arrested there needed to be an unusual amount of determination on the part of the warden who caught him as well as a system where a camera set up in the Pine Tree Camp set off an alarm at the warden's home (Crosby 2013). The very fact that Knight managed to elude capture by conventional surveillance cameras and the police for 27 years despite his presence being clearly known (Crosby 2013) also speaks to this element of the outlaw story. He managed to defy capture well beyond the ordinary amount of time.

The outlaw's death “provokes great mourning on the part of his people” (Meyer 1980, 108). Knight is still living, but if we substitute capture for death and consider the newly aware people of Maine as his “people,” we can make a case for this point. One person commenting on the *Bangor Daily News* article about the hermit's capture wrote “Free the Rome/Smithfield Hermit!!!” Two others made similar comments. Another prefaced a remark about the likely punishment with “sadly” (“Comments...” 2013). Bennett said that Knight was “a sympathetic character” (Bennett August 2013). And as recently as March 2015, in the comments to an article detailing Knight's release from his court program, one person wrote “FREE THE HERMIT!” (“Comments...” 2015). While noticeably fewer, sentiments of sympathy for Knight have certainly not disappeared.

Of course, this “mourning” was not universal and “the outlaw's actions and deeds...may upon occasion elicit everything from mildly stated criticisms and moral warnings to outright condemnation of the [other] elements” (Meyer 1980, 111). This is

most certainly true with regards to the North Pond Hermit who has become a polarizing figure. For example, after the aforementioned *Bangor Daily News* article, there were also a number of comments deriding the hermit (“Comments...” 2013). Stanley Keach said that in Smithfield, “so many people [had] been burglarized by the hermit that they [had] a very different perspective than people away from the Rome-Smithfield line.” The hermit “kind of terrorized them,” so they “[saw] him as primarily a thief and a burglar” (Keach July 2013). While many people in Maine romanticized Knight after his capture, this was not universal and there were several, especially those who were his victims, who disapproved of his activities. This is consistent with what Sandy Ives maintains in *George Magoon*, that in order for people to support lawbreaking as a kind of social banditry, it is necessary to have some psychological distance (Ives 1988, 295). Reading about Knight's burglaries, instead of experiencing them, creates this necessary distance.

However, the most universally prevalent theme in outlaw stories according to Meyer, the “Robin-Hood theme,” is that the outlaw is viewed as “one who serves to 'right wrongs'” (Meyer 1980, 101). He is “a people's champion who espouses a type of higher law by defying the established 'system' of his time” (ibid, 94). Another example of a modern outlaw hero, with some similarities to the North Pond Hermit, illustrates this point well. Colton Harris-Moore, “The Barefoot Bandit,” was a robber from Washington, caught in 2010, who also garnered large amounts of online discussion and ballads uploaded to *Youtube* (Schmitt 2012, 75). Like the those who talked about the North Pond Hermit, commenters on news stories about the Barefoot Bandit also discussed Harris-Moore's relative harmlessness compared to the ostensibly more corrupt and powerful social authority. According to Casey Schmitt in the article “The Barefoot Bandit, Outlaw

Legend, and Modern American Folk Heroism,” one commenter on a news video uploaded to *Youtube* wrote, “So long as hes [*sic*] not harming anyone, I'm wishing him luck” and “The US government is more of a criminal than he is” (Schmitt 2012, 77). This is easily comparable to comments made about Knight, that “he...never hurt anyone” and that “the government steals from us daily” (“Comments...” 2013). Schmitt, drawing upon work by earlier researchers about the outlaw tradition, writes that, “the Barefoot Bandit represents a particular kind of outlaw hero, specific to modern American society: the anarchic and footloose wilderness rebel...flying in the face of materialistic ideals” (Schmitt 2012, 75). The Barefoot Bandit was viewed as reacting against the perceived oppression of the suburban lifestyle. But what sort of oppression is the concept of the North Pond Hermit fighting? What wrongs does his manner of life right? Harris-Moore stole from “ostentatious vacation homes and personal aircraft.” His crimes were excused on the grounds that they represented a perceived rebellion against “material extravagance” (ibid, 80). The North Pond Hermit stole from camps, the majority of which belonged to people who were not society's elite. It is not the wealthy that he is perceived as robbing. Instead, it is stressed that he robbed to survive. Multiple people have cited his burglary of food, not drugs, as a point of sympathy, something to set him apart from most burglars (“Comments...,”2013). In fact, both Keach and Bennett independently brought this up in interviews (Keach July 2013; Bennett August 2013). The hermit's stealing for survival is excused on the grounds that it's okay to commit wrong acts in order to make it in this world, a kind of espousal of the Maine self-sufficiency ideal. While at first glance, Knight may not seem like a “champion,” as he was not seeking to defy any system by taking to the woods, he in fact fits this model well. As Sandy Ives writes in his book

George Magoon and the Down East Game War, “heroes are not heroes so much because of what they actually did as because of what they came to represent” (Ives 1988, 288). With the example of the North Pond Hermit, Knight has come to represent a champion of self-sufficiency, and thus Maine identity in spite of the fact that many of his acts were morally questionable.

Through the living of this perceived ideal Maine life, the North Pond Hermit, can be viewed as not righting wrongs so much as he is symbolizing resistance to the wrongs Mainers unconsciously view as being committed against them by a world controlled by outside powers which increasingly threaten their self identity. The hermit is “seen to stand in opposition to certain established, oppressive...systems” (Meyer 1980, 97) and represents what is viewed as a defiance of their power. The system in question here is the encroachment of modernization, which brings digital technology, a distancing from nature and the elements, and a perceived dissipation of isolation, elements which combine to create an ideal sense of identity for Mainers, a notion of being self-sufficient. This sense of self-sufficiency however, is being challenged by modernization and more specifically by the widening use of electronic devices. As an example of this system at work, we can turn to an article published in *The Portland Press Herald*, in which a CEO in Biddeford has attributes the fact that Maine has the second slowest internet speed in the country to an “old Yankee mentality” (Anderson 2014). In his view, many Maine companies would rather not use the internet to do business because they prefer the traditional ways (ibid). In other words, Maine belongs to the digital age, but is still perceived as being more “old-fashioned” than other states. The article also states that “Internet providers in all 50 states, including Maine, are rapidly improving their

networks” (Anderson 2014). Even though we are less “wired” than other states, we are still becoming increasingly digitally connected. And we might note that this change is also being imposed by powerful out of state companies like Time Warner Cable (ibid). Likewise, changes have occurred to mitigate the effects of cold weather and isolation. Indeed, this attempted improvement of internet speed will also almost certainly have an effect on our isolation by connecting us to other people.

Although, overtly, Mainers may welcome the comforts of modernization and complain about the “harsh” existence they lead compared to people in other states, these factors still remain a crucial part of their sense of being self-sufficient. With the advent of modernization and electronic technology though, there is a perceived lack of need to be as self-sufficient. The internet, hand held devices, keep us in more frequent contact with people in other places, lessening the isolation. They provide ready made entertainment, distracting us from our connection with nature. Older technologies, such as cars, limit the amount of time we need to be out in the cold. Modernization, on the whole, makes our lives much more convenient, thereby lessening our need to survive hardships by ourselves. With the lack of a need for self-sufficiency comes a crisis of identity. If we are being homogenized into a generic “American” culture, losing the self-sufficiency aspect of ourselves, how do we stand apart as Mainers? The hermit has been glorified because Mainers see him as defying the powers of modernization with which they have such an ambivalent relationship. The hermit thus becomes a champion for their own sense of identity. By reacting positively to the hermit, by stressing his survival of cold and isolation, and his connection to nature, Mainers are able to unconsciously “avenge” the

slow destruction of their identity of being self sufficient at the same time they overtly, and safely, support modernization.

The Theme of Solidarity in Versions of “Which Side Are You On”

The song, “Which Side Are You On” has been referred to as “the most famous song to come out of the coal fields” (Greenway 1953, 169). It was written by Florence Reece in 1931. Reece’s husband, Sam, was an organizer for the National Miners Union (NMU) in Harlan County, Kentucky, an organization which the coal operators were attempting to destroy by claiming that it was connected to foreign communist ideology. The operators used Kentucky’s anti-syndicalism law to oppose the NMU (ibid, 51). Days after deputies of Sherriff J. H. Blair broke in and ransacked her home to search for Sam, Florence Reece wrote the words to “Which Side Are You On” on a sheet torn off the calendar (Greenway 1953, 169). The song is an appeal to the miners in her community to join the union. It presents a series of contrasts between the lives of the bosses and the lives of the workers and emphasizes the point that if the workers do not support the union, they are supporting the bosses. It has a number of four line stanzas with a refrain which repeats the line, “which side are you on?” The tune is in 2/4 and in a minor key. Greenway and others state that Reece set her song to the tune “Lay the Lily Low,” which was “an old Baptist hymn” (ibid, 169). In his notes to *Strike Songs of the Great Depression* though, Timothy P. Lynch writes that there was confusion surrounding the model of the tune for the song. He writes that in an interview of Reece by Ron Stanford, she stated, “I think I got it from a hymn called ‘I’m Going to Land on that Shore.’ He also mentions that in *Hillbilly Women*, by Kathy Kahn, Reece was quoted as saying the tune was from a hymn but she couldn’t recall which one and in the liner notes to *They’ll Never Keep US Down: Women’s Coal Mining Songs*, Reece said the tune was “Lay the Lily Low,” but did not mention it as a hymn. Also according to Lynch, Archie Green

thought the tune of “Which Side Are You On” was related to the broadside ballad “Jackie Frazier” (Laws N7) (Lynch 2001, 141-2). Edith Fowke and Joe Glazer note that A.L. Lloyd had made this same observation and pointed out that “Jack Munro” (a version of “Jackie Frazier”) uses the words “Lay the Lily Low” as a refrain (Fowke and Glazer 1973, 55). It’s worth noting that at least one version of “Jackie Frazier,” collected in Virginia in the 1930s, also contains a refrain of “Lay the Lily-O” (Lomax 1960, 164), further evidence that that may have been the song Reece was referring to when she said she based the tune on “Lay the Lily Low.”

Some time after Reece wrote the song, it spread throughout the country in an adapted form where it was both sung by professional musicians like Pete Seeger and the Almanac Singers on mass media or in concert and adapted to be used in other labor movements (Green 1972, 83-4), including for the motion picture strike of 1946 (Greenway 1953, 170). The song has retained currency and has been adapted at least twenty times to comment on a wide variety of social issues, and not necessarily always related to workers’ movements. Some versions almost completely rewrite the verses of the song and keep the tune and the chorus, such as one written by Aurora Levinson-Morales in Fall 2014 on the theme of peace and equality in Israel-Palestine (Levinson-Morales 2015) or one written in by David Benson and Anita Best in reaction to the handling of the 1992 cod moratorium in Newfoundland (Narváez and Best 1995). Other versions, generally those which retain a focus on labor, stay closer to the words of the original, probably because those words are easier to adapt to workers’ movements than to other causes. Of the twenty adaptations and rewritings I’ve come across in full, six have a verse structure similar to the original in all regards, thirteen have all or all but one verse

different from the original and keep the chorus, and one has a verse structure based on the original version of “Which Side Are You On” but a chorus based on another 1930s miners’ song to the same tune, “Union Woman.” There are a handful of other versions I have seen referenced, but for which I do not have full lyrics. Most of the versions are from the United States, Canada, or the United Kingdom, but there is at least one German version (Wolfe 2015; Warner-Evans 2015; Levinson-Morales 2015; Gaughan 2008; “Versions of ‘Which Side Are You On?’ (Reece)” 2015). Two which more closely follow the original are one written in March 2011 by Daithi Wolfe about Scott Walker’s attempt to break the power of public sector unions in Wisconsin (Wolfe 2015) and one written in Winter 2011-2012 by Morgana Warner-Evans to make a statement about the attitude of Maine governor Paul LePage and other republicans towards unions and education (Warner-Evans 2015).

Why this popularity? John Greenway cites the song’s “simple stanzas easily adaptable to all situations” as the reason why it’s been used so often by groups outside of the Harlan County coal mines (Greenway 1953, 170). Certainly this accounts for some of the song’s widespread currency. R. Serge Denisoff writes that, to be effective, the “song of persuasion” must “have a simplistic musical scale facilitating audience attention and participation” (Denisoff 1983, 3). Also of importance however, is the deeply widespread importance of solidarity in social movements. This theme runs through the lyrics of the song, its role in movements, its audience, the ways in which it is sung, and attitudes about it and its place in the larger canon of protest songs. In the following chapter, I will examine the presence and function of this solidarity theme in “Which Side Are You On,”

focusing primarily on the versions by Wolfe and Warner-Evans, but referring to other versions as necessary.

In *Sing a Song of Social Significance*, R. Serge Denisoff lays out the definition and function of what he refers to as a “song of persuasion,” or a “propaganda song,” that is, “a song designed to communicate social, political, economic, ideological concepts, or a total ideology, to the listener” (Denisoff 1983, 2). According to Denisoff, a “major function” of this type of song “is to create solidarity...in a group or movement to which the song is verbally directed” (ibid, 4). In discussing the importance of songs in workers’ movements, Denisoff notes that management often attempted to destroy social movements by destroying the unity of their members. He cites “Which Side Are You On” as one of many labor songs which “measured [the] concept of being either in or against a given movement,” as a way to combat the divisive tactics of management (ibid, 4). Solidarity, and the self identification of workers with each other, therefore becomes an important tool to resist the power of company bosses who would attempt to break the unity of workers. This was certainly true of the function of the song in Harlan County. Timothy Lynch writes that “the songs that came out of Bloody Harlan...helped create a shared identity of attitudes and values” by “articulat[ing]” and “promot[ing]” the miners’ claim to justice (Lynch 2001, 51). “Which Side Are You On” in that sense is not necessarily unusual. However, it does differ from many of the other songs from “Bloody Harlan” in that it proved to have a wider and longer lasting popularity than many others and continues to be used as an active part of present day social movements and not simply sung as a historical piece about a struggle which is no longer happening.

At its most basic level, the lyrics of the song are based on the theme of group support. From the very beginning, it was viewed as a song which summoned workers to join one group or another. Florence Reece apparently stated that, in the song, she was asking the miners which side they were on, “they had to be for themselves or against themselves” (Lynch 2001, 67). The song has a, “if you’re not with us, you’re against us” message. In Reece’s version, the verses contained such phrases as “You’ll either be a union man, or a thug for J. H. Blair” and “Will you be a lousy scab, or will you be a man” (Greenway 1953, 171). Reece uses terms with negative connotations to refer to the opposition, telling the audience that if they are not supporters of the union, they are “thug[s]” or “lousy scab[s].” With this kind of wording, the song strongly advocates solidarity among workers. It also promotes solidarity in its lines “Their children live in luxury. Our children’s almost wild” (ibid, 171). Here Reece uses the contrast between the lives of the operators and the lives of the miners to stress their common identity and problem. Lack of neutrality was part of the song’s appeal for Daithi Wolfe. Wolfe adapted the version of “Which Side Are You On” popularized by Pete Seeger, which is still about Harlan County but differs somewhat in lyrics from Reece’s original version, for use in the Wisconsin Uprising which began in 2011 when the State Assembly, by request of governor Scott Walker, introduced a bill which had a number of harmful benefits to public sector unions including cuts to their pension and insurance programs and the elimination of collective bargaining (O’Brien 2013, 5). Wolfe stated:

My favorite verse is that “there are no neutrals there,” because to me that’s the whole idea of “Which Side Are You On.” You don’t get to stay in the middle. You don’t get to say...’I’m indifferent to whether people get to join unions or not... You have to choose sides and if you’re not on the side of the workers, then you’re on the side of people who don’t care about workers or don’t care about unions or don’t care about families (Wolfe 2015).

When Wolfe adapted words to the song, he kept the line about “no neutrals there,” making it:

They say that in Wisconsin, there are no neutrals there.
You’re either with the workers, or with the billionaires

so the song retained “that powerful language” about there being no neutrals, but made the place and the opposing parties specific to the situation in Wisconsin (ibid). Making a statement such as the song does, that if one is not with the workers, one is against them, coalesces support for the unions. The song’s highlight of the division between the workers and the management implies the greater common identity of working people, thereby increasing their solidarity with one another.

In addition to the original lyrics of the song expressing solidarity, later changes to versions by contemporary songwriters were often made on the basis of making the song apply to a broader range of people, thereby uniting them. For instance, Morgana Warner-Evans had originally adapted a verse that says:

Don’t scab for the bosses, don’t listen to their lies
Us working folks ain’t got a chance unless we organize” (Blood and Patterson 2004, 260)

to:

Don’t believe the governor, don’t listen to his lies
The middle class ain’t got a chance unless we organize” (Warner-Evans 2015).

She changed the first part because she had written the song with the teachers’ union in mind and in the song “they talk about scabs and teachers don’t really strike,” so the part about scabs was not relevant. At first, she adapted the second part of the verse the way she did because, at the time, “there was a lot of political rhetoric about preserving the middle class.” However, a year or two later, she changed the second part to “the people,

we ain't got a chance, unless we organize" because she doesn't "think that's really right, because...we should be fighting for everybody" and "people forget about the other segments of society that also need to be protected against the capitalist system" (Warner-Evans 2015). Daithi Wolfe also changed words in his version in a way which made a statement apply to more people. He changed "You're either with the Fab 14, or you're a billionaire" (Wolfe 2011), to "You're either with the workers, or with the billionaires" (Wolfe 2015). The "Fab 14" were fourteen Democratic state senators who left Wisconsin to ensure there would not be a quorum to vote on the Budget Repair Bill (O'Brien 2013, 5) and also inspired the song "Fourteen Senators" by Madison singer-songwriter Ken Lonquist (ibid, 8). Shifting the "Fab 14" to the more general "workers" includes more people in the struggle, forming connections with others. The down side of this kind of expanding who the song applies to, of course, is that it loses some of its rhetorical force. Nevertheless, it allows for support from a broader range of people.

The manner in which the song is performed also contributes to its relationship with solidarity. "Which Side Are You On" is structured in a way which aids group singing. Thomas Turino, in *Music as Social Life* discusses the need for music used in participatory performance to have certain characteristics. According to Turino, this kind of music often consists of short, repetitive forms (Turino 2008, 37). Repetition is especially important so that newcomers "won't be caught off guard" (ibid, 38). "Which Side Are You On" fits this description. The chorus of the song is highly repetitive and basically consists of the same five words repeated four times. The music also contains some repetition. The tune begins with a short phrase which virtually repeats itself a second time, followed by a second phrase which also virtually repeats itself. After that

comes a fifth phrase which is also repeated in the second and fourth phrases of the chorus. It is also simple, having a range of one octave plus one extra note and has no accidentals.

Consequently, the context of performance for “Which Side Are You On” often involves group singing. Although, Daithi Wolfe had originally performed the song with his traditional Irish band on St. Patrick’s Day of 2011, his song later became more closely associated with an event known as the Solidarity Sing-along, which has happened since March of 2011, shortly after the beginning of the Wisconsin Uprising. Wolfe heard about the Sing-along from friends and started attending when the group got a permit to have instruments inside the Rotunda one Friday. The Solidarity Sing-along takes place Monday through Thursday from noon to one p.m. in the Rotunda of the Wisconsin State Capitol in Madison, and Fridays outdoors near the Capitol building. Wolfe has become the de facto leader of the Friday group. Although attendance has varied widely over time, from as many as three hundred to as few as ten, it has recently had somewhere on the order of 40 people showing up. To aid in singing, they use stapled packets of song lyrics, the “Solidarity Songbook,” which contains newly created songs, Wisconsin-specific adaptations of older protest songs, such as “Roll the Union On,” and new lyrics to apolitical songs in the standard American repertoire, such as “My Bonnie Lies Over the Ocean,” which has become “Bring Back Wisconsin to Me” (Wolfe 2015). “Which Side Are You On” is sung almost every week and has even a larger level of audience participation than the other songs in the book. As Wolfe explained, “we kind of do a ‘We Will Rock You’ beat to ‘Which Side Are You On,’ so it’s kind of stomp stomp clap, stomp stomp clap,” and because of that, it’s “one of the few songs we do that kind of has

an audience participation part.” For Wolfe, “audience participation” meant the group was engaged in something other than just singing, here clapping and stomping. Because of the extra participation, the song “just really gets people going” and it “always kind of gets people fired up,” which makes it “a very popular one” (ibid). A large part of the appeal of “Which Side Are You On” for the Wisconsin Solidarity Sing-along is the ability for all of the participants to become involved in it on a deeper level than merely singing.

Even in contexts where the song is sung by a solo performer and the lines between performer and audience are more clearly delineated, meeting Thomas Turino’s concept of a “presentational performance” rather than “participatory performance” (Turino 2008, 26), it often involves audience members singing along on the chorus. Morgana Warner-Evans, for instance, sang her version at the “March Against Fiscal Madness Rally” in Augusta, Maine on March 20, 2012. The rally was about diverting dollars spent on war into social programs. A sign held there read “bring the dollars home for healthcare, education, and jobs.” The protesters also explicitly connected their movement to Occupy Wall Street. One couple held up an American flag with the stars in the shape of “99%” and a video recording of the song was shown on “Occupy ME TV,” a show on a community station out of Portland, Maine. Regis Tremblay, the filmmaker, uploaded the segment to *Youtube*, stating in the description that the song was an “‘Occupy’ inspired composition,” and that he “had been wondering when contemporary songwriters would lend their music to the Occupy Movement” (Tremblay 2012). While Morgana’s version of “Which Side Are You On” is about the attitudes towards unions and education that she was seeing among contemporary politicians, there is a certain similarity between the ideology of the Occupy movement and that of the unions in that

they both involve people stressing their common identity in order to strengthen themselves against a more powerful, elite entity, an expression of the solidarity theme. At Warner-Evans' performance of the song at the rally, she performed the song with a microphone in front of an audience, denoting a separation of audience from performer. However, the audience at the rally clearly picked up on the chorus right away and sang along on it (Tremblay 2012). Like Warner-Evans, Larry Dansinger also adapted "Which Side Are You On" to sing at a rally in Augusta, this one sponsored by Alliance for the Common Good. Although he and three others performed the song for an audience, the audience members joined in with the aid of song sheets (Dansinger 2016). A similar situation occurred when Aurora Levinson-Morales performed her version at an open mic night at World Fellowship Center in New Hampshire on August 21, 2015. Levinson-Morales stood up at the front of the room and sang her version, explaining how she had rewritten the words to "Which Side Are You On" as part of the group Jewish Voices for Peace. Her version urges equality and peace for Israelis and Palestinians. She encouraged the audience to sing along on the chorus and they did so.

In part, the group singing which occurs in many of the contexts in which versions of "Which Side Are You On" are sung is not a surprise since group singing was something which was already familiar to some of the adapters. Both Morgana Warner-Evans and Daithi Wolfe grew up singing informally with their families. Warner-Evans stated, "I would sing with my family" as a child and "I don't really like performing very much. But I really enjoy singing in a group with other people in an informal setting." Later, as she started becoming interested in political music, she learned from recordings, but some of her political song repertoire was learned in group settings, sometimes with

the aid of the book *Rise Up Singing*, which is subtitled “The Group Singing Songbook” (Warner-Evans 2015; Blood and Patterson 2004). Daithi Wolfe also “grew up in a family that did a lot of campfire singing and other kinds of sing-along...things,” especially at his paternal grandparents’ summer place in northern Michigan. He was familiar with “Which Side Are You On,” because he had sung it with other people with the aid of *Rise Up Singing* (Wolfe 2015). However, although it may have been natural for the adapters of the song to sing any song with other people and to encourage audience participation, this kind of singing has a special role for a protest song such as “Which Side Are You On.” Group singing in social movements has a long history. Michael O’Brien, in his article, “This is What Democracy Sounds Like,” states that “the American labor movement in the first decades of the twentieth century used printed song pamphlets and social gatherings like hootenannies to construct and consolidate the repertoire and musical practices of their movement” (O’Brien 2013, 9). These gatherings allowed musicians to create shared repertoires of song for use in movement events (ibid, 3). Denisoff writes that songs of persuasion which involve group singing work by “further involving the listener in the ‘reality’ of the situation and increasing his identification with the social movement” (Denisoff 1983, 9) while Turino writes that “participatory music making leads to a special kind of concentration on the other people one is interacting with” and this makes it “a strong force for social bonding” (Turino 2008, 29). The very act of singing the song together creates a feeling of togetherness and makes the participants feel they are on the same side.

The importance of group singing in promoting solidarity can be seen in the example of union songwriter Joe Glazer, who, in the mid 20th century, organized group

singing at labor union meetings. According to Greenway, Glazer believed that “a strong group-singing program...would preserve in time of industrial peace that solidarity of purpose and warm camaraderie which seem spontaneously to appear during strikes.” Other union educational directors later adopted his successful ideas (Greenway 1953, 303). The Wisconsin Solidarity Sing-along clearly demonstrates the use of group singing even after a movement has essentially failed and is no longer actively going on. After Walker’s bill passed and the effort to recall it failed in 2012, the group considered cutting back the sing-along to only on Fridays, but people still showed up the next Monday to sing. Wolfe noted that they were “the last vestige of the uprising” and this caused them to be looked upon positively by many supporters who saw them as evidence that the cause was still alive. He also mentioned the fact that other social movements have “needed the power of music and song to embolden them and help keep them together,” saying “that’s what’s done with this group” (Wolfe 2015). Unlike other parts of the Wisconsin Uprising, the Solidarity Sing-along is still going after nearly five years because of the role music has played for them. Like Glazer’s program of singing at union meetings, the Solidarity Sing-along preserves the feeling of togetherness and purpose which occurs when a movement is actively happening.

The composition of the audience for some of the new versions of “Which Side Are You On” also speaks to the solidarity theme. In several cases, the song is performed for sympathetic listeners. This is not unusual among protest songs. Denisoff writes that one of the “function[s] of the propaganda song is...to reinforce the a priori belief system of the listener” (Denisoff 1983, 4). This was especially so in the period after World War II, when union populations had stabilized and there was less recruitment happening,

causing songs to be “usually performed in situations where individuals supported the sentiments of the material” (ibid, 11-12). Moving out of the realm of labor songs, those used during the Civil Rights movement were also often inwardly directed (ibid, 56). However, this is not to say that directing songs towards an in-group is not useful, for Denisoff also states that part of their function is to create “cohesion and morale in the movement” connected to the songs (ibid, 5). Turino discusses this happening in the Civil Rights Movement, writing “mass singing was one of the primary forces that helped unite people to action and bolster courage” (Turino 2008, 215). He also notes that “many voices sounding together creates the experience of unity, directly and concretely felt” (ibid, 217). “Which Side Are You On” follows this pattern of inwardly directed songs in some ways. The original words were directed towards the workers themselves and not the management, in an attempt to get them to band together (Lynch 2001, 67). Morgana Warner-Evans stated that the audience for the songs she writes is “mostly like minded people.” She said that her “target audience is people who don’t agree with [her] also, but mostly [she’s] ended up singing at things like rallies where most people are already pretty supportive.” Her adaptation of “Which Side Are You On,” she said, “is definitely not aimed at somebody that doesn’t agree with [her]...It’s definitely aimed at a union audience” (Warner-Evans 2015). The rally in Augusta was an example of this singing for a sympathetic audience. Daithi Wolfe’s “Which Side Are You On,” although it is more often exposed to those who do not agree with its sentiments because it is more often sung in public, also mainly plays a role for the sake of its supporters. Wolfe’s idea of the importance of the Solidarity Sing-along is connected with the camaraderie of its members. He stressed the fact that the sing-along had brought people together. He stated

that the sing-along group had “become a community of activists/musicians” and it “motivate[d them] to keep working for change.” As Wolfe sees it, they are focused on “larger progressive goals” than just “electoral politics” (Wolfe 2016). Since the failure of the Wisconsin Uprising to recall Scott Walker, the Solidarity Sing-along’s present role is motivation for its members.

The solidarity present in “Which Side Are You On” does not simply relate to the people singing the song and their sympathetic audiences. There is also a notion of being heir to previous movements who used songs in similar fashions and having a certain connection to and sense of identity with earlier writers of protest songs. This is especially true with the Wisconsin Solidarity Sing-along and Daithi Wolfe put a lot of emphasis on it. He compared the Solidarity Sing-along’s utilizing existing songs to communicate their message to turn of the century labor organizer Joe Hill and his followers rewriting the lyrics to hymns “because hymns were...throughout the peoples’ lives and they knew these songs.” He went on to compare the songwriting in Wisconsin to “what Woody Guthrie did and what Pete Seeger did and what Billy Bragg did, what everybody else who sort of does political [music], or what Florence Reece did. She took a hymn...and she made it into “Which Side Are You On.” He stated that:

What we do today is exactly the same as what people have been doing for a hundred years or more. So it feels kind of cool to be connected to that tradition. And we definitely try to honor and respect [that]...like we did today with Joe Hill, is to really say, we’re not doing something new or special. We’re following in the footsteps of these other singers and songwriters and musicians and activists, and music has always played an essential role in peoples’ movements (Wolfe 2015).

Our interview in November 2015 was right around the 100th anniversary of Joe Hill’s death, and Wolfe noted that at the Solidarity Sing-along that day they had sung the song “Joe Hill” as a tribute to him (Wolfe 2015). The connection to previous songwriters

appeared to instill a sense of pride in the participants of the Solidarity Sing-along. Michael O'Brien believed that the utilization of older protest songs had a specific function for the group in Wisconsin. Because their movement was, he argued, focused on restoration, seeking to bring back "the historically stable and functional system of broad social support for public sector workers and institutions," it was "particularly well suited to musical practices and repertoires that perform the history of the labor rights movement as a living tradition" (O'Brien 2013, 16-17). O'Brien stated that the Solidarity Sing-along's practice of reviving and updating older songs meant "they were staking a claim to that history that made it sonically part of the present discourse as well" (ibid, 17).

However, the concept of building on earlier movements has also appeared in contexts where restoration is not the primary focus of a movement. Morgana Warner-Evans did not herself explicitly compare her own songwriting to previous political songwriters, although she did say that she had "always admired people like Phil Ochs and Woody Guthrie." But she did not appear to feel she was actually following in their footsteps. She saw no significance in her rewriting "Which Side Are You On," and in fact said that she was less proud of songs she'd rewritten rather than new ones she'd created. It is her audience who appears to be more interested in "Which Side Are You On." She stated, "Actually, I normally don't choose to sing this particular song. It's more like, I'll be singing other songs, the songs that I'm more proud of and somebody will say, 'Oh remember that song you sung about LePage'" (Warner-Evans 2015). It is her audience also, who makes the comparisons to previous political songs. One commenter on the *Youtube* video of her performance put up by Regis Tremblay in 2012, who had also seen

her perform in person at the Side Door Coffeehouse in Brunswick, Maine, said, “Somebody’s got to take over for Pete Seeger, Peggy Seeger, Phil Ochs, Tom Paxton, Joan Baez, etc. Why not you?” A second one wrote, more along the lines of her use of “Which Side Are You On” specifically, “Thank you for this great revival of a wonderful old United Mineworkers Song. This is real folk music, powerful tunes reborn in every age.” The connection to political songs of previous eras then lends a kind of legitimacy and authenticity to the new ones, at least according to the sympathetic audience.

As the final discussion about solidarity with previous movements begins to show, the solidarity aspect of protest songs such as “Which Side Are You On” is not just important for functional reasons such as giving strength against powerful bosses or inspiring morale among sympathizers, but for ideological ones. Above all, the context of how “Which Side Are You On” is used and adapted is representative of the identity of particular movements as being democratic and grassroots oriented. The Wisconsin Uprising, for instance, used the popular chant “Show me what democracy looks like. This is what democracy looks like” (O’Brien 2013, 14). “Which Side Are You On,” as a union song, is not exactly representative of capitalistic and hierarchical values. In fact, some adaptors would likely see their songs as antithetical to these values. Warner-Evans, for example, discussed the importance of protecting marginalized members of society from “the capitalist system” and connects her song to expressing that need (Warner-Evans 2015). The Wisconsin uprising was explicitly connected to democracy through songs and chants (O’Brien 2013, 15). Thomas Turino, when discussing participatory music making, discusses the values behind it, some of which may seem at odds with mainstream America. One of the things he mentions is that, in the modern United States,

“presentational and recorded musics are the most valued forms” and, because of this, participatory music values may be “hard to grasp” (Turino 2008, 35). He also notes that:

As compared with other musical fields, participatory music making/dancing is the most democratic, the least formally competitive, and the least hierarchical. As such, participatory performance does not fit well with the broader cultural values of the capitalist-cosmopolitan formation, where competition and hierarchy are prominent and profit making is often a primary goal (ibid).

“Which Side Are You On” is heavily participatory and the movements for which it has been used tend to protest outside control on ordinary people and the values which make profit making more important than human welfare. The notion of solidarity fits extremely well with these values. It is necessary to stand together against the bosses, and such standing together emphasizes that the needs of the many outweigh the needs of the few at the top. Through the role of solidarity present in the text, music, and performance of “Which Side Are You On” as well as attitudes about it, the song becomes representative of these anti-hierarchical, anti-profit values. It has been adapted so many times because it is an expression of the identity of particular movements as representing and working towards alternatives to the competitive and individualistic status quo.

Humorous and Patriotic Song Traditions as Responses to the Irish Water Issue

Until just a few years ago, the water system in the Republic of Ireland was funded through government taxes. However, the water infrastructure needs to be updated as in some areas water is undrinkable and in others water is leaking out of the system. The Irish government agreed to introduce water charges as a condition of a bailout by the European Union, European Central Bank, and International Monetary Fund in November 2010. Instead of having water funded through taxes, water meters are being installed and people are billed based on consumption at rates which can range from 176 euros a year for one person to almost 500 euros for four adults (Fleming 2014). Billing began in 2015 (McGee 2015). The new water system is being run by a government owned company, Irish Water (Fleming 2014). Although other austerity measures were introduced as part of the 2010 bailout, the charges on water have proved to be particularly unpopular (Daley 2015). Often, the irony of the situation is stressed. Ireland, after all, is known for being particularly rainy. In response to the new water charges, Irish people have engaged in protest rallies as well as attempts to block the installation of the new water meters or refusals to register with Irish Water (Daley 2015). Only 43% of customers paid their first quarterly bill in 2015 (McGee 2015). The discontent surrounding Irish Water has also given rise to a number of songs, written by people from all four provinces. Some of the songs are written to older tunes or based on older Irish topical songs, while others are completely new. A cursory survey of *Youtube* indicates that there are at least two from Connacht, three from Ulster, seven from Munster, six from Leinster, four from unspecified parts of Ireland, and one from Australia. The majority of these songs are serious, but there are a few humorous ones as well and songs which, overall, are serious

but incorporate humorous elements into their performance, either textually or outside of the text.

This chapter examines two anti-Irish Water songs written by residents of Cork, Ireland. I heard one of these songs performed in the weekly Cork Singers' Club in the pub An Spailpín Fanach between February and April 2015. As yet untitled, it was sung and written by Frances O'Keeffe, a regular attendee of the Singers' Club. Songs sung by Singers' Club regulars tend to fall into one of about five categories: traditional Irish language songs, traditional English language ballads, early 20th century sentimental popular songs, popular and singer songwriter type songs from the mid 20th century, and original songs. Many singers stick to one particular category and Frances O'Keeffe often sings her own compositions. These are invariably set to traditional Irish tunes and are typically humorous or lighthearted. Many of them also offer some kind of comment on society. For instance, one of O'Keeffe's songs, "They Made a New Woman of Me" is a humorous critique of plastic surgery. Her "Irish Water Song" also fits this description. It is set to the tune of "Spanish Lady" and retains the refrain of that song, but keeps none of the lyrical structure or thematic content. It is a humorous and satirical treatment of the politics surrounding Irish Water and the potential ramifications of the new charges. In particular, it was based on a remark made by government minister Martin Conway in October 2014 that water "doesn't just fall out of the sky." O'Keeffe stated that Conway was "no doubt meaning that water has to be treated etc., [but] the remark [had] been the subject of much mirth for weeks after" (O'Keeffe 2016). In O'Keeffe's song, the phrase "Mr. Conway has firmly told us it doesn't fall down from the sky" is in the refrain and she occasionally sings a final verse with the lines:

Now it seems we have to learn it doesn't fall from the sky
I always thought it did, I always thought it did (O'Keeffe 2016).

The other song primarily discussed in this chapter is "The Water Campaign," written by Jimmy Crowley, a full time singer and instrumentalist known for singing and writing songs about Cork. The few times I saw Crowley perform in Cork, it was as a solo act, but he has played with a few different bands in the past. I heard Crowley sing it at a concert at On the Pig's Back, a café in Douglas, Cork in April 2015. Crowley's song is set to "The First Cork Brigade," a patriotic rebel song from the Irish Civil War, which itself was set to the American hymn "Say, Brothers, Will You Meet Us" (Crowley 2015, 206-7) more commonly known to those of us in the United States as "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." Crowley's song also retains certain phrases from "The First Cork Brigade" and has some thematic similarities. As such, it could be considered, drawing upon the work of Peter Narváez, a "serious folk parody" (Narváez 1986, 13-14).

While these two songs are both from County Cork, and react to the same topic, their approaches are in some ways very different. O'Keeffe's song is part of a tradition of using humor to react to current events. It is essentially a satire, fitting Sandy Ives' criteria in that it both ridicules an entity, in this case Irish Water and the Irish government, and elicits laughter from its audience (Ives 1962, 65). Humorous topical songs have a long history in Ireland. Fintan Vallely, in *The Companion to Irish Traditional Music*, writes that satirical and comic songs in Ireland have been used for political ends since the 1830s (Vallely 2011, 645) and we know that humorous political songs are still being created since O'Keeffe herself mentioned that she "think[s] everything that happens here leads to comments, often humorous" and that "songs and jokes were going the rounds...on all sorts of subjects." She also stated that "the whole debacle surrounding Irish Water has

given people many jokes” and that the annoyance over the lack of accountability was “bound to lead to comic songs and comments” (O’Keeffe 2016). Other comic songs written about Irish Water include “Cool Clear Water,” written by Phil Coulter of County Derry to the tune of “Cool Water,” a 1930s American Country song written by Bob Nolan which was known to O’Keeffe (ibid) and “The Water Meter Song” by Richie Kavanagh of County Carlow (Kavanagh 2014).

Crowley’s song, on the other hand, holds more in common with serious patriotic and rebel songs from Ireland’s past. Georges-Denis Zimmermann, in *Songs of Irish Rebellion* writes of two “main trends” in Irish political songs, “the struggle of the peasantry to take possession of the land and the nationalist yearnings of the middle class” (Zimmermann 1967, 9). Jimmy Crowley’s song continues both of these themes to a certain degree. It portrays a less powerful people, the citizens, attempting to stop the powerful corporate entity of Irish Water. It also argues against Irish Water on the grounds that the government is attempting to imitate other countries, a repudiation of Ireland’s identity and uniqueness. Many other Irish Water songs also contain these two themes, either stressing how many people cannot afford to pay their water bills after so many other extra taxes since the bailout or how Ireland is being overrun by outside interests. Moreover, Crowley’s song follows the pattern of a previous patriotic rebel song, in keeping with Breandán Ó Madagáin’s discussion of older topical songs being recycled to fit new topics (Ó Madagáin 1985, 186). His model was “The First Cork Brigade,” a song which “is still sung around Cork city” and he “often heard at sing-songs in the Thomas-Ashe Hall in Cork in the early seventies” (Crowley 2014). His inclusion of the song in his

Songs of the Beautiful City: The Cork Urban Ballads would seem to indicate that he considers it important to Cork history and music.

Frances O’Keeffe’s song is a humorous one and its tune and lyrical structure very much reflect this. In the first place, the fact that it has a chorus plays a role in its use as a humorous song. In his article, “Functions of Irish Song in the Nineteenth Century,” Breandán Ó Madagáin writes that “Many...humorous songs had a chorus— often merely of vocables— which had the important social function of actively involving the entire company in the funmaking” (Ó Madagáin 1985, 194). While Ó Madagáin was writing primarily about nineteenth century Irish language song, his words also apply to Frances O’Keeffe’s English language songs from the twenty-first century. The majority of her songs contain choruses, which would be expected from humorous songs, as per Ó Madagáin (ibid). At the Cork Singers’ Club, it is standard practice for people to join in on choruses or last lines and people often do this when O’Keeffe is singing her song. O’Keeffe’s song also fits Ó Madagáin’s description because the first line of the chorus is “merely of vocables,” being the “Whack fol de toura loura laddie. Whack fol de toura loura lye” retained from “Spanish Lady.” The second line of the chorus, based on Martin Conway’s comment, is “Mr. Conway has firmly told us it doesn’t fall down from the sky.” The final line of the chorus means that the song actually heightens Ó Magadáin’s idea of involving the community in the fun making because everyone present at a performance of O’Keeffe’s song is not only participating in the singing of the song, but they are participating in the singing of its most humorous part. As can be imagined, the singing of the final line was combined with laughter when the song was debuted at the Singers’ Club in 2015. The tune of O’Keeffe’s song also fits its humorous feeling. While

Ó Magadáin states that humorous songs are often found in 6/8 time (ibid, 195) and O’Keeffe’s song is in 4/4, other aspects of its rhythm and tempo fit with its humorous character. Its tempo is somewhat upbeat and it is a polka, rather than a march or waltz, which might suggest a song of a more serious character². Additionally, the tune model, “Spanish Lady,” is itself a fairly lighthearted song, though not an outright humorous one. While, there is no other thematic connection between “Spanish Lady” and O’Keeffe’s song, it was known to Singers’ Club attendees, having been sung there once or twice by other people in the roughly three and a half months I attended, and its original emotions would not have seemed entirely incongruous to O’Keeffe’s song. The structural elements of O’Keeffe’s song thus fit its purpose as a song of ridicule.

The structure of Crowley’s song is just as effective in maintaining its own role as a song about the interests of Ireland as a country. In large part, this is due to its keeping with its model, “The First Cork Brigade.” The chorus of the Crowley’s song goes:

Glory, glory to old Ireland!
Sing the story of our sireland!
We’re out for buckshee³ water and to hell with metered mains
No surrender is the war cry of the water campaign (Crowley 2015).

The original song had the second line “Glory glory to our sireland” and the third line “Glory, glory to the men who fought and fell” and, instead of “water campaign” in the fourth line, had “The First Cork Brigade” (Crowley 2014). The third line of Crowley’s chorus is reminiscent of the third line of the third verse in “The First Cork Brigade,” “We’re out for a republic and to hell with the Free State!” (ibid). The first verse of his

² This discussion can be qualified to note that our connections between certain emotions and certain kinds of tunes is not always borne out and is cultural rather than inherent.

³ Free of charge

song begins, “We stopped them down in Queenstown⁴ and we stopped them in Fairhill⁵” (Crowley 2015), echoing the original song’s beginning of the third verse, “They bombed us in the alleys and they bombed us in the Glen” (ibid). Beyond the lyrics however, there is a thematic similarity. During the Irish Civil War in the early 20th century, Cork was the headquarters of the anti-treaty side, those who were against any sort of ties with the United Kingdom. “The First Cork Brigade” is largely about how outsiders, “the Staters, came from Dublin” (Crowley 2014) and thought they could defeat Cork’s rebels, but the rebels were able to seriously fight back despite their lack of arms and power. In much the same way, Crowley’s Irish Water song is about the Irish people making valiant attempts to stop the installation of water meters in front of their homes by a more powerful government. Of the song, Crowley stated at an anti-water-charges rally in Cork in December 2014 that, he “was so moved by [his] neighbors [in Cobh] out every morning at half past five” to prevent the installation of the water meters, that he “just had to write a song in support of [them] all” (Zalewski 2014). The theme of freedom is also carried over from the original song. Crowley’s song has the line “we’re resolute and free” in the third verse. And, of course, his line “From the Slaney to the Shannon, from the Lagan to the Lee, Irish water must be free” (Crowley 2015), which plays on the fact that the word “free” in English carries both the meaning of being free of charge, but also having liberty, something which is echoed in other expressions surrounding the Irish Water issue, such as the couplet, “Irish water will be free, from the river to the sea” (Fleming 2014).

Breandán Ó Magadáin discusses the importance of reusing older songs in the topical song genre. He states that a topical song can “[pass] into the entertainment

⁴ an old name for the town of Cobh

⁵ an area in the north of Cork City

repertoire” and “becom[e] a symbol which singer and listeners can identify with and so give indirect expression to their emotions” (Ó Magadáin 1985, 185). In 19th century Ireland, a song would often be sung to the tune of a previous song on a similar subject (ibid, 186). Such a song then becomes symbolic of that theme. In this case, “The First Cork Brigade” has achieved the symbolic importance typical of a song about power and liberty in the hands of the Irish people. There is also at least one other Irish Water song which recycles the tune of an older rebel song, “The Irish Water Song,” by Michael Douglas, from Ulster, which is based on “Go on Home British Soldiers” (Douglas 2015), another instance of linking control by Irish Water to control by colonial oppressors. Indeed, Douglas writes next to his video of the song on *Youtube*, “New words, but the same angst against tyranny and oppression!” (ibid). The comment would indicate that Douglas equates the “tyranny and oppression” of Irish Water with that of the British army. Narváez also discusses the role of this kind of songwriting with his discussion of the folk parody, writing that folk parodies have innovations which “do not obscure elements of sentiments and significance in the original model, which are still recognizable to [the composer] and often to a performer and audience as well” (Narváez 1986, 13). In Narváez’s study of labor songs in Buchans, Newfoundland in the 1970s, he points out that this concept helped facilitate learning of songs by the community (ibid, 248). Certainly, Crowley’s song was easy enough for audience members to pick up the chorus of. Crowley also assumed that his audience at an anti-water-charges rally in 2014 knew the song that his was based on (Zalewski 2014). The structure of Jimmy Crowley’s “The Water Campaign” has then helped in its role as a political protest song.

Like their structure, the surface themes of the two songs appear to differ. Frances O’Keeffe’s song, like many other humorous Irish Water songs, uses exaggeration to critique the new charges. This is particularly noticeable in the third verse, which goes:

Forget lawn-sprinkling or washing cars, put a brick or bottle inside the loo,
And when your hair gets lank and greasy get out your trusty dry shampoo.
Forget about those deep, deep baths which gave us sparkling, spotless pelts,
And the many hours you spent in showers, especially with somebody else.

The verse makes statements about how water charges will seriously interrupt aspects of daily life people take for granted, while exaggerating them to indicate that extra water charges will create a vastly less desirable world to ridicule the government’s idea of charging extra for water. Other exaggerations in the song include the line in the fourth verse about looking for a politician “with some magical skills to change the wine back into water” and one in the second verse about banishing Phil Hogan, the government minister who first developed the plan to charge extra for water (O’Keeffe 2016) “to Mongolia or even darkest Fianna Fáil.”⁶ These are both impossibilities and their inclusion in the song heightens the sense of the absurd in it and thus in the new system of water charges. Exaggeration of the kind used in the third verse of O’Keeffe’s song is also used as a tactic in other humorous Irish Water songs. Phil Coulter’s “Cool Clear Water” contains, among other stanzas:

When your hands are full of dirt
Never let the water spurt
For you know it wouldn’t hurt
Just to wipe them on your shirt
And save the water (Coulter 2014)

These lyrics show a similar technique of exaggeration to that used in O’Keeffe’s third verse.

⁶ The main opposition to Hogan’s party, Fine Gael, who are rivals (O’Keeffe 2016).

Jimmy Crowley's song, on the other hand, uses lyrics which fit with its role in echoing earlier patriotic and nationalist songs. Its "Glory, glory to old Ireland" line is of course a piece of this as is the fourth verse:

Why must they make us imitate the ways of other lands
Irish ways and Irish laws don't suit their greedy plans
They sell the nation's jewel's to greedy foreign thieves (Crowley 2015)

These lyrics indicate that the people running Irish Water are outsiders and implies both that Irish people should control their own water and that there is something uniquely Irish in the way water has been managed previously. The means of control over water is thus linked to the concept of the Irish self identifying as a unique group. In fact, at a concert at On the Pig's Back in Douglas, Cork, after Crowley sang this song, one of the audience members started to speak to him about how Ireland "used to be different than every other country in the world," but was no longer like that, thereby clearly connecting Crowley's song to the theme of pride in the uniqueness of Ireland. However, there are also subtler and more symbolic ways in which Crowley's song is a patriotic one and makes the Irish Water issue one of having the right to manage one's own country. Another Irish Water song, like Crowley's and Douglas,' "No Privatization. Irish Water, Irish Nation," by the Rolling Tav Revue from County Galway, also equates control over Irish water with control over Ireland (The Rolling Tav Revue 2014). Crowley's song does this in a more symbolic way however. It refers to the fact that "they tried to sell our legacy," i.e. water, and also has the line "Sweet water from the font of Erin's heart, her legacy" (Crowley 2015). Such references address the role of water in Irish mythology, which would likely be familiar to Crowley who spent some time studying *Béaloides* at University College Cork. The "font of Erin's heart" may be a reference to the Well of Segais in the center of

the otherworld, from which is said to flow Ireland's sacred rivers (Brenneman and Brenneman 1995, 26), of particular interest when we consider the line in Crowley's song which mentions four major rivers, "from the Slaney to the Shannon, from the Lagan to the Lee" (Crowley 2015). By referencing water as being part of Irish symbolism in this way, Crowley makes a more powerful statement about the ramifications of water charges on Irish identity.

Furthermore, it is the connection of water with notions of Irishness which gives us the key to the commonality between anti-water charges songs using humorous tactics and those using serious ones. Charging extra for water in Ireland is viewed by many as ludicrous. Frances O'Keeffe stated that Conway's "comment got much attention at the time, due to the fact that we get loads of rain here" (O'Keeffe 2016). And a protestor in Dublin in 2014 apparently said, "We could supply the rest of Europe with water... We're all wondering now what's going to happen— are they going to charge us for air?" (Fleming 2014). The sense of the ludicrous is carried through in the humorous songs created to respond to the politics surrounding the issue, songs which take advantage of the perceived absurdity of the situation. Thus, while they may not be as overtly connected to the concept of Irishness as the serious songs which have come out of the Irish Water issue and which make clear connections to previous songs about Irish oppression by the English government, they are still relying somewhat on Irish identity. Much of the discontent over the water charges has been economically motivated, expressing stress at having one more new tax to pay, and many songs, although not necessarily Crowley's and O'Keeffe's, reflect this view. Douglas' song, for instance, has the line addressed to Irish Water, "I bet you've never tried living on the dole" (Douglas 2015). However,

ideology, through intangible understanding of Irish identity, clearly also plays a role in the protesting of Irish Water and this is the heart of the connection between the humorous and serious songs written on the issue. Irish people have reacted with more opposition to the water charges than to any of the other post bailout charges and this is partially because the water charges carry with them not just a material threat but an ideological one in that they have been perceived, in certain instances, as powerful entities ignoring Ireland's uniqueness. The songs, themselves an ideological reaction to the charges, play out these concerns.

Conclusion: Identity and Power in Contemporary Topical Song

As we consider the meaning of the songs discussed here, it becomes clear that they all are related in some way to the concept of power. Jimmy Crowley's Irish Water song emphasizes the Irish people standing up to a powerful corporation and Frances O'Keefe's makes fun of the way Irish Water is being run as well as the remark of a government minister. "Which Side Are You On" has been used in many contexts to speak about the need for workers to stand up to more powerful bosses, or adapted for non labor contexts in which it also may involve a rallying call for ordinary people to band together against more powerful entities. The two songs about the North Pond Hermit may not necessarily appear to be about the question of power on the surface, but, as I discuss in the chapter about them, the interest in them can be, in some measure, related to the feeling of Mainers that their claim to self-sufficiency is being threatened by outside forces, a sentiment which is similar to how Irish Water is sometimes regarded. Of particular interest in these songs, though, are the ways in which identity intersects with that concept of power.

In many cases, the songs themselves are created as a result of identity being threatened by a more powerful outside entity. The Irish Water songs are a clear example of this. Jimmy Crowley's song has the lines:

Why must they make us imitate the ways of other lands
Irish ways and Irish laws don't suit their greedy plans
They sell the nation's jewels to greedy foreign thieves" (Crowley 2015).

The Irish Water issue is felt to be an issue of outsiders imposing control on Ireland. One man who was in the audience at a performance of Crowley's song made comments right afterwards about how Ireland used to be different from every other country in the world,

but was losing its uniqueness, evidence that the new water charging system is viewed as threatening the Irish sense of self. The interest in the North Pond Hermit can be perceived as a reaction to concerns that Maine is losing its identity. However, this can also be related on a more personal level. Troy Bennett believes that the popular conception of American roots music is that it's from the South and he finds it "degrading" that that's seen as the norm (Bennett October 2013). His hermit song stems partially from the desire to write about topics which relate to Maine people. A perceived slight to personal identity is also partly the reasoning behind Morgana Warner-Evans rewriting "Which Side Are You On." While part of her rewriting the song has to do with wanting to make a statement about "the general attitude of most Republicans in our country towards education," it also stemmed from her personal experience as the daughter of two public school teachers who were both union members and the rhetoric at the time calling teachers lazy (Warner-Evans 2015). It was the devaluing of her family's identity which partly led to her writing the song.

In turn, the concept of identity itself often serves as a focal point for the songs or the movements with which they are associated. While the only appeal to a particular identity in Daithi Wolfe's version of "Which Side Are You On," is the first line which begins, "Come all Wisconsin workers," the songs and actions of the Wisconsin Uprising itself involved the notion of the state government belonging to the Wisconsin people. Songs in the *Solidarity Songbook*, express the Wisconsin peoples' ownership of their state and include "Bring Back Wisconsin to Me," which expresses pride in the populism that used to define Wisconsin and focuses on the desire to see it return (*Solidarity Songbook*, 20) and Wisconsin specific lyrics to "This Land is Your Land" (ibid, 4).

Wolfe spoke about the importance of the Wisconsin Capitol building, where the Wisconsin Solidarity Sing-along takes place every Monday through Thursday, saying that although he only regularly attends the Sing-along on Fridays, he “like[s] to go every now and then when it’s in the Rotunda because it’s very special to be in that building” and “Our Capitol is actually one of the largest state Capitols” and “they actually have these tiles that are spaced, I think there’s sixteen of them...and if you stand on each of those, your voice carries. It’s acoustically sort of special” (Wolfe 2015). An article by Michael S. O’Brien also discusses the symbolic importance of being able to sing in the Capitol and be “in direct proximity to the people and institutions [the singers] critiqued” (O’Brien 2013, 16). I would also argue that to be in the Capitol is to invoke a feeling of ownership and identity with Wisconsin itself. The Wisconsin people are being appealed to on the basis of their identity as such.

Like the movement in Wisconsin, the movement in protest of Irish Water also makes use of identity as a rhetorical strategy. Jimmy Crowley’s water song has the lines:

Why must they make us imitate the ways of other lands
Irish ways and Irish laws don’t suit their greedy plans (Crowley 2015)

indicating that the new water charges are undesirable because they do not fit Irish sensibilities. His song, and some of the other Irish Water songs, also make use of frameworks of Irish patriotic songs in order to connect this movement to earlier movements about national identity. Also, much of the criticism of the new system of metering water revolves around the fact that Ireland is known for having a lot of water.

Similar to the way the concept of Irishness is used to protest the water charges in Ireland, concepts related to Maine Identity are used to as a point to excuse the transgressions of the North Pond Hermit. His stealing is excused on the grounds that he

stole food and was doing it to survive (Comments...2013), which fits into the concept of Mainers being self sufficient. In terms of the songs themselves, Stanley Keach connects his song to the concept of Maine and his own love for the state (Keach July 2013) while Troy Bennet connects the response to his song to the feeling of Mainers who want to hear music which speaks to their geographical identity, in a country where most place based music is about the Southern United States (Bennet October 2013). Both songs also emphasize points about the hermit which are related to Mainers' sense of self, such as survival of the cold.

In addition to the role identity plays in the contexts of these songs as expressions against more powerful outside entities, there are some other themes and strategies used in the songs which bear mentioning and would be worth exploring further. Perhaps most connected to the use of identity is the invocation of historical movements or previous song traditions in song lyrics or in attitudes about the songs. This occurred to some degree with all of the songs discussed at length in this paper with the possible exception of the one written by Morgana Warner-Evans, who saw her song as an adaptation of its original, but did not specifically link her process of adapting the song to any previous entity (Warner-Evans 2014). The invocation of previous traditions is in some ways most apparent in the Wisconsin Solidarity Sing-along. Daithi Wolfe said that he felt that they were “part of this long tradition of rewriting songs” and that they “try to honor and respect” that tradition in the Sing-along. One example he brought up of this was singing the song “Joe Hill” on the 100th anniversary of Hill’s death, as Hill was another labor organizer who rewrote songs for the cause of unions (Wolfe 2015). Jimmy Crowley was clearly aware of the tradition of earlier Irish nationalist songs when he set his “The Water

Campaign” to “The First Cork Brigade” and he is also someone who sings traditional songs rooted in a particular place, Cork, and writes his own in continuation of that tradition of Cork songs. By setting his song to an earlier nationalist song, he highlights the role of nationalism in his own rewriting. To some degree, Troy Bennett also used a kind of modelling practice when writing his song. He made the connection between the hermit’s story and outlaw narratives when discussing the story with a friend and justifying why it would make a good song topic. He was also aware of the similarity in the language beginning the last verse to many outlaw songs:

The cops, they caught him in the spring, stealing one more time
They took him to the jailhouse to answer for his crime (Bennett August 2013).

While neither Frances O’Keeffe nor Stanley Keach modelled the text of their songs on any one song in particular, there was still some sense of seeing themselves as part of a previous tradition. O’Keeffe considered her song written in a tradition of humorous comment, which included both folk and elite literature and said that Irish Water wasn’t unusual in spawning songs, but that “songs and jokes were going the rounds as far as [she] can remember, on all sorts of subjects” (O’Keeffe 2016). Stanley Keach, did not consider the style of his hermit song to be anything in particular, saying it was “any genre friendly” (Keach October 2013), but he did put it in a category of current event songs about Maine topics and link it in that way to Joe Scott, whose work he admires (Keach July 2013).

For those who write songs as part of social movements, the connection to previous movements may lend a certain amount of legitimacy and perception of power to their cause. The role of adaptation and reliance on existing song structures, particularly as they apply to social movements, is discussed by Peter Narváez in his concept of the “folk

parody” (Narváez 1986, 13-14). In his study of a strike in Buchan’s, Newfoundland, he notes that, for labor union members, songs “function as vehicles of solidarity and accusation” and the use of pre-existing frames for tunes and lyrics speeds the learning process of the songs (ibid, 248). Michael S. O’Brien, on the other hand, takes a slightly more symbolic approach to understanding the use of song rewrites. In an article on the Wisconsin Uprising, he says that the use of older protest songs repurposed with new lyrics is particularly appropriate for a movement which is, in some ways reactionary, as the Wisconsin Uprising was (O’Brien 2013, 16). The songs stress the concept of restoring Wisconsin to how it had been before Walker. While this understanding is somewhat ironic since Daithi Wolfe discussed their movement being focused on “larger progressive goals” (Wolfe 2016), O’Brien’s point is true to an extent. However, this concept, and Narváez’s, really only work for those songs which are based on models that the audience knows. While it’s possible that some people in Troy Bennett’s audience at performances of his Half Moon Jug Band would be familiar with the conventions of outlaw balladry, it’s extremely unlikely that anyone who watches Stanley Keach perform is familiar with Joe Scott and his tradition of writing songs about local events. Perhaps because the two hermit songs were not protest songs per se, but more a form of commentary on current events, these interpretations are less applicable anyway. And, indeed, if we look at the other song in the study which places less of an emphasis on protest, Frances O’Keeffe’s water charges song, we see that she did not model her lyrics on anything in particular and her tune, while familiar to her audience, did not come from a song with explicit connections to the theme or lyrics of the one she wrote.

Humor is another strategy used in many of these songs, which may be worth exploring further. It is present in more than one of the Irish Water protest songs, including in Frances O’Keeffe’s, which grew from a line from a government minister that people interpreted as funny. She stated that “Irish Water has given people many jokes and also has given much annoyance with little or no accountability, it’s bound to lead to comic songs and comments” (O’Keeffe 2016) which would indicate that the whole situation lent itself well to being made fun of. Humor also plays a role in Morgana Warner-Evans’ version of “Which Side Are You On.” While, Warner-Evans intended to make a serious adaptation of the song, because of the context in which most people know it, it is often regarded as humorous. She said that she thought people “think [the song] is funny,” partly because they think it’s “clever” to repurpose an old song and “it’s very outspoken” (Warner-Evans 2015). However, another source of amusement from the song is likely the *Youtube* video of Warner-Evans singing her song at a rally in the State House in Augusta at which Paul LePage was present. Regis Tremblay, the filmmaker, focused the camera on LePage at points, noticeably after the line which goes, “You’re either with the union or you support LePage,” at which point the audience laughed (Tremblay 2012). Some people think that it’s entertaining to watch the reactions of LePage and his spokesperson, Adrienne Bennett, because they appear to be visibly annoyed, particularly Bennett. Because the video has been shared among Warner-Evans’ family and friends and this is the first way many people encounter her version, a request for the song in person may be to “sing that song you sang for LePage.” The song was requested as such by Bob Foster, a band mate of Warner-Evans’ mother, at a party in October 2015.

The empowering role of humor has been treated of by other scholars, both as applies to songs and also non musical genres. In his chapter, “The *Forward* as Folklore,” Russell Frank quotes Mary Douglas as writing that a joke “is an image of the leveling of hierarchy, the triumph of intimacy over formality” (Frank 2009, 107). This can be applied to the humor related to the video of Warner-Evans’ song. “Intimacy over formality” clearly describes the relish with which people look at LePage’s annoyance in an unguarded moment. It is funny because an authority figure has been made to appear uncomfortable. The way people made fun of Martin Conway’s comment that “water doesn’t just fall from the sky” can perhaps also be related to the concept of “intimacy over formality” in that what was meant to be a rational argument to be taken seriously, has instead become a way to portray Conway as lacking in common sense. Fintan Vallely, in *The Companion to Irish Traditional Music* also discusses nationalist songs of “humor and laughter” being used to “reduce those in positions of power to objects of ridicule,” a description of what’s happened to Martin Conway.

A final aspect of these songs which bears mentioning is their use of digital technology in dissemination. The six songs in this paper represent four kinds of interaction, or lack thereof, between live and mediated performance. Stanley Keach’s and Troy Bennett’s songs were first disseminated to the public as online videos and were later performed in person at concerts and recorded for a CD. Morgana Warner-Evans’ began as a song in an in person context, played at a coffeehouse in Brunswick, Maine, and a rally in Augusta, but the video of her playing the song in Augusta has become almost the primary context in which people hear the song now. However, those who watch the video may refer to it when asking her to sing the song in person. It has become a jumping off

point for in-person performances of the song. Jimmy Crowley and Daithi Wolfe also both wrote songs to be sung in person which were taped at rallies and the videos put up online. But their primary mode of performance is still in person. Wolfe, at least, had no idea of his song's being on *Youtube* until I told him. However, I would qualify the speculation that the in-person context is still primary by admitting that I probably do not have enough information about Crowley's song at this point to be firm in that conviction. Only Frances O'Keeffe's song has, as yet, no relationship to digital performance and is still only performed in person.

Digital technology has a particular relationship to topical song. It can be viewed, in some ways, as the next piece in a chain of ways information is disseminated, after the spoken word and the printed one. In his *Oral and Literate Culture in England*, Adam Fox discusses the relationship between print and word of mouth dissemination of broadside ballads in early modern England, noting that print "sometimes...enshrined material picked up from the oral realm; certainly it fed back into it" (Fox 2000, 9). Print refreshed the oral materials in circulation at the time by providing new texts of older songs (ibid, 50). This is, in some ways, a similar practice to what's going on with Morgana Warner-Evans' song. The digital performance of the song is used to encourage the in person one. O'Brien, while he does not discuss Daithi Wolfe's song, also discusses the relationship between the use of digital technology and in person performance during the Wisconsin uprising, citing how internet forums and videos were used by participants to compose song lyrics and discuss their repertoire (O'Brien 2013, 9). The other role of digital technology, besides being a way to further in person singing, is in its ability to reach a wider audience. O'Brien mentions a listener of Ken Lonquist's "Fourteen Senators"

taking the song and creating a video with it showing footage of the protests which he then uploaded to *Youtube*. According to O'Brien, this allowed the song to reach a larger number of people (ibid, 8). This is particularly important with topical songs, where it's necessary to perform them before the events are no longer current. Stanley Keach and Troy Bennett both cited this as a reason why they wanted to put their songs up in online videos. Keach said that he used the video format because he wanted to put the song out as quickly as possible and it would take too much time to get enough songs for a CD (Keach October 2013), while Bennett cited the fact that he did not play that many concerts as a reason why he had not written many topical songs in the past (Bennett October 2013). Related to this is the fact that, since figuring out that he could put songs up as videos on his *Bangor Daily News* blog, he has written many other topical songs in the past few years.

The relationship of digital technology to power is discussed in a recent *Journal of American Folklore* article by Robert Glenn Howard. Howard discusses the internet as a space in which vernacular expressions can be empowered by allowing them to establish their authority over official understandings, although this is somewhat qualified by the fact that we are still, to some degree, at the mercy of institutional structures in the context of the internet. Though he focuses mostly on non-musical aspects, of interest to my own work is his assertion that by "using network media today, we are better able to engage creatively with music than during the fallow period dominated by institutional media because we have more ways to create, share, and comment on our own durable media products" (Howard 2015, 256). For those songwriters who are not professional full time musicians, as all but one of the ones in this study are, online videos get around the

overhead of having to produce CDs while still getting songs, and thus their message, out to a wider audience. For those semi-professional musicians who already have the infrastructure to put out occasional CDs, the videos still allow the songs to reach a wider number of people faster, and may also give name recognition for concerts and CD sales.

All of these songs are expressions of concern or protest over identity being threatened by more powerful outside groups. In addition to identity being used as a rhetorical strategy, humor, digital technology, and identification with previous songs all play a role in expressing the power of groups which themselves feel powerless. But why song? For answer, we might expand upon a discussion begun in the chapter on “Which Side Are You On” on the role of singing in social movements. Thomas Turino (2008) and R. Serge Denisoff (1983) both discuss how singing can be a force for social bonding. Such bonding is necessary to resist oppression (Turino 2008, 215). Turino also states that “public expressive cultural practices” such as music, dance, and festivals “are key to identity formation because they are often public presentations of the deepest feelings and qualities that make a group unique” (Turino 2008, 2). The group participation in such activities creates a direct feeling of togetherness (ibid, 3). As such, a cultural form which is already often related to identity would be the natural choice for voicing concerns about identity. The songs examined in this paper are thus expressions of how, when identity is threatened, that same identity can be mobilized and poured into artistic creations which give voice to and strengthen it. As such, the act of creating a song is in itself perceived as an act of defiance against outside entities.

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Appendix A: The Songs


The North Pond Hermit Song


Troy Bennett


Voice 
No - body - 'd seen his face in twen - ty se - ven years,

³Vo. 
Since that day in eigh - ty six, when he up and dis - a - ppear -

⁵Vo. 
ed. He walked a - way in - to the pines, to live out in the

⁷Vo. 
woods. He turned his back on ev - ry thing and he was gone for good. He's the

¹⁰Vo. 
North Pond Her - mit Liv - ing in the woods. He's the

¹²Vo. 
North Pond Her - mit. They'd catch him if they could.

“The North Pond Hermit Song” by Troy Bennett

Nobody'd seen his face in twenty-seven years
Since that day in '86, when he up and disappeared
He walked away into the pines, to live out in the woods
He turned his back on everything and he was gone for good

He's the North Pond Hermit
Living in the woods
He's the North Pond Hermit
They'd catch him if they could

Some said he was a ghost; some said he wasn't real
And all he ever had to eat was all that he could steal
In and out of every camp, all around the pond
Stealing food in the dark; by morning he was gone

He's the North Pond Hermit
Living in the woods
He's the North Pond Hermit
They'd catch him if they could

Well they say he'd sit for days, just watching things grow
Counting eagles overhead and everything below
Sometimes he'd listen to the wind, filling up his mind
Counting raindrops one by one to pass away the time

He's the North Pond Hermit
Living in the woods
He's the North Pond Hermit
They'd catch him if they could

Through the summer, the winter, the spring, and the fall, the seasons came and went
Still he lived there all alone in a solitary tent
No leaving camp in the wintertime, no footprints in the snow
No fire, for fear that he'd be seen sending up the smoke

He's the North Pond Hermit
Living in the woods
He's the North Pond Hermit
They'd catch him if they could

Well the cops they caught him in the spring, robbing one more time
They took him to the jailhouse to answer for his crimes
And they said, we've got one question to ask before you go
What would make you do it; and he said he didn't know

But he's the North Pond Hermit
He's living in the woods
He's the North Pond Hermit
They'd catch him if they could

Yes, he's the North Pond Hermit
Living in the woods
The North Pond Hermit
They'd catch him if they could

What the North Pond Hermit Knows

Stanley Keach

Voice 
Twen-ty se - ven years a - go he went in - to the woods. He

Vo. 
did - n't rea - lly have a plan, guess he did it 'cause he coul - d

Vo. 
He was on - ly nine - teen, did - n't know he'd stay that long. He

Vo. 
came to think of the woods of Maine as the place that he be - long - ed.

Vo. 
You and I will ne - ver know what the North Pond Her - mit knows.

Vo. 
What it's like to sleep out - side when it's twen-ty five be - low, And you

Vo. 
feel it from your fore - head right down to your ach - ing toe - s.

Vo. 
We don't know what the North Pond Her - mit know - s.

Vo. 
No, we don't know what the North Pond Her - mit knows.

“What the North Pond Hermit Knows” by Stanley Keach

Twenty-seven years ago he went into the woods
He didn't really have a plan, guess he did it 'cause he could
He was only nineteen, didn't know he'd stay that long
He came to think of the woods of Maine as the place that he belonged

You and I will never know what the North Pond Hermit knows
What it's like to sleep outside when it's twenty-five below
And you feel it from your forehead right down to your aching toes
We don't know what the North Pond Hermit knows
No, we don't know what the North Pond Hermit knows

Nobody ever saw him 'cause he only moved at night
He knew how to hide his tracks and stay down out of site
His campsite hidden well beneath a canopy of trees
They say that he committed a thousand burglaries

You and I will never know what the North Pond Hermit knows
What it's like to be alone as a decade comes and goes
When the ice storm rages and the frozen north wind blows
We don't know what the North Pond Hermit knows
No, we don't know what the North Pond Hermit knows

He'd slip into an empty camp through a window or a door
He just took what he needed to survive and not much more
He never lit a fire; he was afraid it would be seen
How he kept alive in winter is a mystery to me

You and I will never know what the North Pond Hermit knows
We drive around and go to jobs and stay home when it snows
We're losing touch with nature and we don't know how it flows
We don't know what the North Pond Hermit knows

No, we don't know what the North Pond Hermit knows
No, we don't know what the North Pond Hermit knows
We don't know what the North Pond Hermit knows

Which Side Are You On

Lyrics adapted by Daithi Wolfe

The image shows a musical score for the song 'Which Side Are You On'. It consists of four staves of music, each with lyrics underneath. The first staff is labeled 'Voice' and the subsequent three are labeled 'Vo.'. The music is written in a 3/4 time signature. The lyrics are: 'Come all Wis - con - sin work - ers, the news to you I'll tell, How the good old un - ion is still a - live and well. Oh, which side are you on boys, which side are you on? Oh which side are you on gals, which side are you on?'.

“Which Side Are You On,” adapted by Daithi Wolfe

Come all Wisconsin workers. Good news to you I'll tell.
How the good old union is still alive and well.

Oh which side are you on boys? Which side are you on?
Oh which side are you on gals? Which side are you on?

We fight for working families. Our struggle's just begun.
But we'll all stick together till every battle's won.

Oh which side are you on boys? Which side are you on?
Oh which side are you on gals? Which side are you on?

They say that in Wisconsin, there are no neutrals there.
You're either with the workers or with the billionaires.

So which side are you on boys? Which side are you on?
Oh which side are you on gals? Which side are you on?

Oh workers can you stand it. Tell me how you can.
Will join the Koch machine or will you lend a hand?

Oh which side are you on girls? Which side are you on?
Which which side are you on gals? Which side are you on?

Don't believe the governor. Don't listen to his lies.
Us working folks haven't got a chance unless we organize.

So which side are you on boys? Which side are you on?
Oh which side are you on gals, which side gals?

[*octave higher*]

Which side are you on boys? Which side are you on?
Which side are you on gals? [*slow tempo*] Which side are you on?

Which Side Are You On

Lyrics adapted by Morgana Warner-Evans

The image shows a musical score for the song 'Which Side Are You On'. It consists of four staves of music, each labeled 'Vo.' (Voice). The music is written in a treble clef with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#) and a 2/4 time signature. The lyrics are written below the notes. The first staff starts with a rest followed by the lyrics 'Come all of you good work ers, the news to you I'll tell. Of'. The second staff starts with a measure rest (marked '5') and continues with 'how the good old un - ion is coml-ing here to dwell. Which side are you'. The third staff starts with a measure rest (marked '10') and continues with 'on? Which side are you on? Which side are you on? which side are you'. The fourth staff starts with a measure rest (marked '16') and continues with 'on?'.

“Which Side Are You On,” adapted by Morgana Warner-Evans

Come of all of you good workers, the news to you I'll tell
Of how the good old union is coming here to dwell

Which side are you on? Which side are you on?
Which side are you on? Which side are you on?

They say up in Augusta, they're on a big rampage
You're either with the union or you support LePage

Which Side Are You On? Which side are you on?
Which side are you on? Which side are you on?

My parents they are teachers, don't call them lazy bums
And I'll stick with the union, 'til every battle's won

Which side are you on? Which side are you on?
Which side are you on? Which side are you on?

Don't believe the governor, don't listen to his lies
The people we ain't got a chance unless we organize

Which side are you on? Which side are you on?
Which side are you on? Which side are you on?

Oh workers can you stand it? Oh tell me how you can?
Will you listen to those lying tongues or will you lend a hand?

Which side are you on? Which side are you on?
Which side are you on? [*slows tempo*] Which side are you on?

Irish Water Song

Frances O'Keefe

Voice 
What are they do - ing in I - rish Wa - ter, what's happ - en - ing in -

⁴Vo. 
side that door? I think they could do with a - no - ther ad - vi - sor

⁷Vo. 
where so ma - ny have been be - fore. I don't know what those con -

¹⁰Vo. 
sul - tants! do, but I'm sure I could do as well a ny day. They

¹³Vo. 
ought to have called in - Mac - ra na Feir-me or bet - ter still the I C A.

¹⁷Vo. 
Whack fol de tou - ra lou - ra lad die. Whack fol de tou - ra lou - ra lye.

²¹Vo. 
Mis - ter Con - way has firm - ly told us, it does - n't fall down from the sky.

Irish Water song by Frances O’Keeffe
Tune: “Spanish Lady”

What are they doing in Irish Water, what’s happening behind that door,
I think they could do with another advisor where so many have been before.
I don’t know what those consultants do, but I’m sure I’d do as well any day,
They ought to have called in *Macra na Feirme or better still, the *ICA.
Whack fol de toura loura laddie, whack fol de toura loura lye,
Mr. *Conway has firmly told us it doesn’t fall down from the sky.

First came blustering Mr. *Hogan, his household charge caused many storms,
And then they used the collected data for sending out our water forms.
They didn’t banish him to Mongolia or even to darkest *Fianna Fáil,
Instead they gave him a big promotion and now he’s in the *Europe Dáil.
Whack fol de toura loura laddie, whack fol de toura loura lye,
Mr. Conway has firmly told us it doesn’t fall down from the sky.

Who is left to vote for now, who can we trust in real conviction,
With taxes here and taxes there and promises proving to be fiction.
We need to find a true deliverer who’ll listen and give us some quarter,
Preferably with some magical skills to change the wine back into water.
Whack fol de toura loura laddie, whack fol de toura loura lye,
Mr. Conway has firmly told us it doesn’t fall down from the sky.

Forget lawn-sprinkling or washing cars, put a brick or bottle inside the loo,
And when your hair gets lank and greasy get out your trusty dry shampoo.
Forget about those deep, deep baths which gave us sparkling, spotless pelts,
And the many hours you spent in showers, especially with somebody else.
Whack fol de toura loura laddie, whack fol de toura loura lye,
Mr. Conway has firmly told us it doesn’t fall down from the sky.

Optional closing verse in different tune:

Once upon a time, our hopes were running high,
Back when water charges were a gleam in *Enda’s eye,
Now it seems we have to learn it doesn’t fall from the sky,
I always thought it did, I always thought it did.

Explanatory notes by Frances O’Keeffe included in the copy of the lyrics sent to me on March 10, 2016:

Macra na Feirme: a successful voluntary organisation for young farmers

ICA: a successful voluntary organisation for women

Mr. Conway: a government minister who made the comment that “it doesn’t fall from the sky,” no doubt meaning water has to be treated etc. However the remark has been the subject of much mirth for weeks after.

Mr. Hogan: The minister responsible for bringing in the first Household Charge.

Fianna Fáil: The biggest opposition party in the Dáil (parliament).

Europe Dáil: A joke way of saying the European Parliament

Enda: Mr Enda Kenny, Irish Prime Minister (Taoiseach)

The Water Campaign

Jimmy Crowley

Voice 
We stopped them down in Queens - We

Vo. ² 
stopped them in Fair-hill. We kept them from the ball-cocks, with

Vo. ⁴ 
un - i - ty and skill. The peo - ple are u - ni - ted, the

Vo. ⁶ 
crews re-treat in shame. As we go march-ing on. Glo - ry, glo - ry to old

Vo. ¹⁰ 
I - re - land. Sing the sto - ry of our si - re - land. We're

Vo. ¹³ 
out for buck - shee wa - ter and to hell with me - tered mains. No sur -

Vo. ¹⁵ 
ren - der is the war cry of the wa - ter cam-paign.

“The Water Campaign” by Jimmy Crowley
Tune: “The First Cork Brigade” aka “John Brown’s Body”

We stopped them down in Queenstown we stopped them in Fairhill
We kept them from the ballcocks with unity and skill
The people are united, the crews retreat in shame
As we go marching on

Glory glory to old Ireland
Sing the story of our sireland
We’re out for buckshee water
And to hell with metered mains
No surrender is the war cry of the water campaign

The blueshirts and the bondsmen, fat cats and elite
They tried to sell our legacy, they force us on the street
From the Slaney to the Shannon, from Lagan the to the Lee
Irish water must be free

Glory glory to old Ireland
Sing the story of our sireland
We’re out for buckshee water
And to hell with metered mains
No surrender is the war cry of the water campaign

From Coolock down to Killaloo
We’re resolute and free
So let us march together boys and shun austerity
Sweet water from the font of Erin’s heart, her legacy
As we’ll go marching on

Glory glory to old Ireland
Sing the story of our sireland
We’re out for buckshee water
And to hell with metered mains
No surrender is the war cry of the water campaign

Why must they make us imitate the ways of other lands
Irish laws and Irish ways don’t suit their greedy plans
They sell the nations jewels to greedy foreign thieves
But we’ll go marching on

Glory glory to old Ireland
Sing the story of our sireland
We're out for Buckshee water
And to hell with metered mains
No surrender is the war cry of the water campaign

They may test us and arrest us, Ridicule our cause
dismantle the Republic and bring in Thatcher's laws
Nothing's safe no longer, likewise democracy
So we'll go marching on

Glory glory to old Ireland
Sing the story of our sireland
We're out for buckshee water
And to hell with metered mains
No surrender is the war cry of the water campaign

Appendix B: IRB Approval

(KEEP THIS PAGE AS ONE PAGE – DO NOT CHANGE MARGINS/FONTS!!!!!!!!!!)

APPLICATION FOR APPROVAL OF RESEARCH WITH HUMAN SUBJECTS Protection of Human Subjects Review Board, 114 Alumni Hall, 581-1498

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Hilary Warner-Evans
EMAIL: Hilary.warnerevans@umit.maine.edu TELEPHONE: (207) 798-1657
CO-INVESTIGATOR(S):
FACULTY SPONSOR (Required if PI is a student): Dr. Lisa Neuman, Dr. Sarah Harlan-Haughey
TITLE OF PROJECT: Writing process and audience response to performance of contemporary topical songs

START DATE: October 11, 2015 PI DEPARTMENT: Anthropology
MAILING ADDRESS: 67 College Ave, Orono, ME, 04473
FUNDING AGENCY (if any): None
STATUS OF PI:

FACULTY/STAFF/GRADUATE/UNDERGRADUATE

1. If PI is a student, is this research to be performed:
 for an honors thesis/senior thesis/capstone? for a master's thesis?
 for a doctoral dissertation? for a course project?
 other (specify)
2. Does this application modify a previously approved project? (Y/N). If yes, please give assigned number (if known) of previously approved project: (Y/N)
3. Is an expedited review requested? (Y/N).

Submitting the application indicates the principal investigator's agreement to abide by the responsibilities outlined in Section I.E. of the Policies and Procedures for the Protection of Human Subjects.

Faculty Sponsors are responsible for oversight of research conducted by their students. The Faculty Sponsor ensures that he/she has read the application and that the conduct of such research will be in accordance with the University of Maine's Policies and Procedures for the Protection of Human Subjects of Research. REMINDER: if the principal investigator is an undergraduate student, the Faculty Sponsor MUST submit the application to the IRB.

Email complete application to Gayle Jones (gayle.jones@umit.maine.edu)

FOR IRB USE ONLY Application # 2015-10-07 Date received 10/7/15 Review (F/E): E
Expedited Category:

ACTION TAKEN:

- Judged Exempt; category 2 Modifications required? Y Accepted (date) 10/21/2015
 Approved as submitted. Date of next review: by Degree of Risk:
 Approved pending modifications. Date of next review: by Degree of Risk:
Modifications accepted (date):
 Not approved (see attached statement)
 Judged not research with human subjects

FINAL APPROVAL TO BEGIN 10/21/2015
Date

08/2015

Appendix C: Informed Consent Letter for IRB

Dear Potential Participant,

You are invited to participate in a research project being conducted by Hilary Warner-Evans, an undergraduate student in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Maine. Information from the research project will be used in a written honors thesis at the University of Maine (UMaine). The faculty sponsors of this project are Dr. Sarah Harlan-Haughey, from the Department of English, and Dr. Lisa Neuman, from the Department of Anthropology and Native American Studies at UMaine. The purpose of the research is to understand the connections between the meanings of contemporary topical songs, the processes by which they are written, their performances, and the roles they play for songwriters and their audiences.

What Will You Be Asked to Do?

If you decide to participate, you will be asked to answer a series of questions concerning your background in music and songwriting, the process and decisions of writing your song, your opinion on the event that spurred you to write it, the typical context of performance of your song, the reaction of the audience, and your understanding of the song. Examples include: “Describe your experiences in singing/playing music” or “What constitutes the demographics of your audience?” It will take approximately one to two hours to participate. The interview will be recorded on audio and transcribed, except if it needs to be conducted via email. You will be given a copy of the transcript which you may review if you like. If you would like, the interview transcript and audio can be archived in the Northeast Archives of Oral History at the University of Maine. If you would like to archive the interview, you will be asked to sign a separate deposit form for that. You may refuse the archiving of your interview after reading the deposit form. The deposit form will explain in detail the conditions of archiving the interview. It gives the Northeast Archives the right to use the interview for scholarly or public programming uses. If you wish, you will be able to place restrictions on how your interview is used or who gets to use it. You will get a copy of the deposit form. If your song is archived, you will still continue to hold the copyright for it.

Risks

Risks for participating in this study are your time and inconvenience.

Benefits

Benefits to you:

- More people may know about your song and/or songs.

Benefits of the research:

- The project may help people learn about topical songwriting in the 21st century and future researchers may be able to draw upon it.

Confidentiality

The interview will not be confidential. Your name will be linked to your responses and will be reported in the researcher's honors thesis, which will be housed at UMaine. Anyone may have access to this information. The thesis may end up being published as well. The researcher will keep copies of the interview transcripts and audio, including emailed interviews, after the completion of the project, in her home and/or personal computer, indefinitely. If you would like, the interview transcript and tape can be archived in the Northeast Archives of Folklore and Oral History. If this occurs, you will be asked to sign a deposit form. Any requests you make regarding archiving of the material will be honored.

Voluntary

Participation is voluntary. If you choose to take part in this study, you may stop at any time. You may skip any questions you do not wish to answer. You may refuse to allow the researcher to keep copies of the tapes and transcripts. You may refuse to sign the deposit form for the Northeast Archives and refuse to have your interview audio and transcripts archived. If you decide that you want your interview archived, it will also be possible for you change your mind and ask the Northeast Archives to pull it from their collections. It will be possible for you to request copies of the interview transcript and/or audio and edit them. The Northeast Archives will then file the edited versions in place of the originals. The archives may be reached at: (207) 581-1844; 5773 South Stevens Hall; Orono, ME, 04469-5773; northeast.archives@umit.maine.edu. You will get a copy of the deposit form.

Contact Information

If you have any questions about this study, please contact me at: (207) 798-1657; 67 College Avenue; Orono, ME, 04473; hilary.warnerevans@umit.maine.edu. You may also reach the faculty advisors on this study, Dr. Lisa Neuman, at: (207) 581-4489; lisa.neuman@maine.edu; Aubert Hall 327C; Orono, ME, 04469 and Dr. Sarah Harlan-Haughey, at: (207) 581-3816; sarah.harlan-haughey@umit.maine.edu; 309 Neville Hall; Orono, ME, 04469.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact Gayle Jones, Assistant to the University of Maine's Protection of Human Subjects Review Board, at 581-1498 (or e-mail gayle.jones@umit.maine.edu).

Your participation in this non-confidential interview implies that you have read and understood the consent form, that you will be asked questions about your experiences in songwriting, your songwriting process, the context of performance, and your opinion of the attitudes of your audience, that the interview will take one to two hours, and that you will be asked if you want to sign a deposit form to have your interview placed in the Northeast Archives of Folklore and Oral History at the University of Maine. You will receive a copy of this form.

Appendix D: Schedule of Interviews

July 30, 2013: Interview with Stanley Keach. The interview took place at his home in Rome, Maine. Also present was his wife, Liz Keach, in another room.

August 10, 2013: Interview with Troy Bennett. The interview took place at my house in West Bath, Maine. Also present were my parents, Marianne Warner and Glenn Evans, and my sister, Morgana Warner-Evans in another room.

October 12, 2013: Interview with Stanley Keach. The interview took place at his house in Rome, Maine. Also present was Liz Keach, in another room. It was interrupted by Dan Simmons one time.

October 14, 2013: Interview with Troy Bennett. The interview took place at his house in Portland, Maine. His coworker Seth Koenig was in another room for part of the interview. His wife was also in the house for part of the interview.

November 13, 2015: Interview with Daithi Wolfe. This was done over skype. I was in Orono, Maine, in my bedroom, and the informant was in his house in Madison, Wisconsin.

November 15, 2015: Interview with Morgana Warner-Evans. This was also done over skype. I was in Orono, in my room, and the informant was in the kitchen of her apartment in Haverford, Pennsylvania. Some of her apartment mates were in and out, of the apartment during the interview. One of them interrupted the interview briefly.

February 13, 2016: Follow up email with Daithi Wolfe. This is when he sent replies to my questions.

March 29, 2016: Email “interview” with Frances O’Keeffe. This is when she sent replies to my questions, which were originally sent on March 23rd. All subsequent dates are a reference to when questions were answered.

March 31, 2016: Email “interview” with Frances O’Keeffe.

April 9, 2016: Email “interview” with Frances O’Keeffe.

Author's Biography

Hilary Warner-Evans was born in Portland, Maine on June 22, 1994 and grew up in West Bath, Maine. She graduated from Mt. Ararat High School in 2012. At the University of Maine, she majored in anthropology with minors in English, folklore, and Maine studies. She is a member of Phi Beta Kappa and Phi Kappa Phi and was awarded a George J. Mitchell Peace Scholarship and a Maine Studies Research and Creative Activity Award. This fall, she will begin graduate studies in folklore at Indiana University.

