

From ‘Ellen a roon’ to ‘Aileen aroon’: Kitty Clive and the Irish Ballad

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[please withhold applause until end]

In June 1741, Kitty Clive, Drury Lane’s top star, greeted Dublin audiences for the first time. Uniquely for a London stage celebrity, Clive had built her career on English vocal works before moving into drama. Her grandest-ever portrait, painted 1740 [slide 2-3], shows her as the songstress of British Worthies. She holds Handel’s aria ‘Sweet Bird’, sung by Euphrosyne, the Goddess of Mirth, from Milton’s poem *L’Allegro*. Euphrosyne was Clive’s signature role, hewed out of *L’Allegro* to create her *in propria persona* part in Thomas Arne’s resetting of Milton’s *Comus*.¹ A hit since 1738, *Comus* was led by two London celebrities – Clive, and in the spoken title role, James Quin.²

A Dublin production of *Comus* seems to have been what brought Clive, Quin, the player Lacy Ryan and the dancers Charles Lalauze, James Oates and his son to the Aungier [Ah-jeer] Street theatre in 1741.³ Ireland bound this company together: Quin, Clive and Ryan all had Irish forebears, and the dancers had in the early 1730s been members of Madame Violante’s Dublin-based company.⁴ Until the summer of 1741, Clive’s Irish ancestry had never been public. At the end of her Dublin season, however, she staged her embrace of her host country by singing ‘Aileen aroon’, whose Gaelic words were from the traditional Irish song *Eileanóir na Rún*. This was a first: as far as we know, the Irish language had never before been sung on a licensed playhouse stage. ‘Aileen aroon’ was Clive’s Dublin *coup de theatre*: novel, unanticipated, and a success that she took back to London with her. It incorporated Irishness into Clive’s peculiar brand of Britishness.

By 1741 Clive was not just London’s ‘Sweet Bird’, but the voice of Patriot Opposition. Through epilogues, new parts, and above all songs, Clive had since 1732 routinely articulated to audiences a hatred of Britain’s Catholic foes, and since 1737 a

critique of the administration of first minister Robert Walpole. ‘I have observed’, she said *in propria persona* in 1739, ‘that ...Tunes and Songs have a very great effect on Publick Affairs’.⁵ Clive stirred listeners with her impassioned address, making English-language vocal numbers glow with her persona: proper, patriotic, witty, rational, forthright, indomitable.

Ironically, Clive the Patriot came from a family not just Irish, but Catholic. Her grandfather had been a Jacobite land-holder in Kilkenny, and after James Stuart’s defeat at the Battle of the Boyne her father William Raftor had fled to France, where he probably joined Louis XIV’s Irish Brigade.⁶ Clive’s Kilkenny roots may indeed have opened Drury Lane’s doors to her. The theatre’s prompter William Chetwood [slide 4], an Irishman, appears also to have had ties to Kilkenny.⁷ Around 1727 Chetwood was sharing living quarters with Theophilus Cibber, the youngest son of Drury Lane’s manager, and together they procured Clive an audition. ‘The Moment he heard her sing’, Chetwood later recalled, Colley Cibber hired her, and ‘never any Person of her Age flew to Perfection with such rapidity’.⁸ Chetwood was to be a staunch ally throughout Clive’s career: in 1730 he wrote her earliest hit, *The Lover’s Opera*;⁹ in 1743 he defended her character against attacks during a theatrical war; in 1749 he wrote her first capsule biography.¹⁰

In 1731, another Irishman, the playwright Charles Coffey, helped Clive achieve her definitive career breakthrough. Together with John Mottley, Coffey revised the part of Nell in *The Devil to Pay* in Clive’s image.¹¹ The playwrights in fact had little choice, because without Clive their ballad opera would have failed. Her winning song and stage manner – totally at odds with Nell’s spoken part in the brutal Restoration farce to which they had merely added ballads – won the hearts of Drury Lane audiences. Coffey and Mottley swiftly turned their comedy about wife-beating into a sentimental afterpiece about Nell, the beaten

wife. In this new version, Clive was a heroine with a romantic climax set to Handel's music.¹²

As a popular songstress, Clive became known for one repertory in particular: English-language airs that toggled between common balladry and polite taste. The Drury Lane staging of Coffey's very first ballad opera, *The Beggar's Wedding*, shows that before 1741 Irishness had no place Clive's particular stage line. In Coffey's version of *The Beggar's Wedding* – both in Dublin, where in 1729 it flopped,¹³ and in London, where its success provoked a rival Clive-led production¹⁴ – 'Irish' tunes were a novelty meriting print [slide 5].¹⁵ But at Drury Lane Coffey's Irish tunes were excised, leaving only English and so-called 'Scotch' tunes for Clive and others to perform [Handout 1].¹⁶

In the summer of 1741, during her first weeks at the Aungier [**Ahn**-jeer] Street theatre, Clive displayed her Britishness through song as she performed her most renowned stage parts. To her celebrated Lappet in *The Miser*, she added 'Life of a Beau', a song from her anti-Spain Patriot farce *The Coffee House*.¹⁷ She may have performed in the 'Grand Concert' of July 1st celebrating the Battle of the Boyne.¹⁸ She added a 'Scotch' air to her part of Lady Froth in William Congreve's *The Double-Dealer*.¹⁹ Then, on August 6th, the summer season climaxed in the Dublin premier of *Comus*.

Not only the presence of the London principals of *Comus*, but also the careful planning which went into this premiere suggest that it was the main reason for the Dublin visit. The wordbook and songs of *Comus* had been printed in Dublin by 1740, priming its residents for this show.²⁰ For the 1741 Dublin production, 'Dresses, Machines, Flyings, and all other Decorations were entirely new' – meaning they must have been prepared in advance – and new 'eminent Hands', including the virtuoso violinist 'Signor Pasqualino', had been hired for the orchestra. Above all, the musicians were a 'long time in Practice under the Inspection of Mr Dubourg'.²¹

In press reports of the Dublin *Comus*, Quin and Clive were puffed in one breath with Milton: ‘The Sublimity of the great Milton, the Eloquence of Mr Quin and the harmony of Mrs Clive delighted and charmed everyone’.²² From a Dublin-issued broadsheet of *Comus* songs [slide 6 and 7; Handout 2] we learn that Clive took virtuosic airs that in London had gone to Arne’s wife, while her signature ‘Cuckow’ air from *As you like it* became the *Comus* finale.²³ A newly-issued *Second collection of Comus Songs* made Clive its focus [slide 8]. Subtitled ‘the choicest balat songs, sung by Mrs. Clive’, it was dominated by the additional songs she had performed for Dubliners: airs from Handel’s ‘L’Allegro’, Shakespeare songs, and politely sentimental airs like the ‘Lass of St Osyth’ [slide 9].²⁴

As *Comus* drew to a close, a special treat was announced for Clive’s penultimate appearance in Dublin: ‘in Compliment to the Irish Ladies and Gentlemen, for the Civilities which she hath received, she is learning the Song Elen-a-Roon’. This was remarkable: Clive had never before sung an Irish melody, and Gaelic on stage was unknown. The language had been banned from official usage for centuries;²⁵ in Dublin, not even street ballads were sung in Irish.²⁶ Engravers had hardly ever printed a traditional Irish song with its words.²⁷ Clive may have elected to sing Irish partly as a novelty, and, as advertised, to ‘Compliment’ her hosts. But I think the main reason she chose to sing in Irish was Peg Woffington [slide 10]

Already the darling of Dublin playhouse audiences, Woffington had been taking London by storm since 1739, and was to be Clive’s Green Room colleague soon after Clive returned from Dublin. Part of Woffington’s fascination for London audiences lay in her Irishness. As Felicity Nussbaum has shown, being the Irish Other imbued Woffington’s onstage shape-shifting – between male and female, Catholic and Protestant, English and Irish – with a dangerous exoticism.²⁸ But while Woffington beguiled the eye, the male eye especially, Clive enticed the ear, through song especially. Singing Gaelic to Dubliners, Clive could out-Irish Woffington in her native tongue.

Clive's verses in Aileen aroon were from what's considered a genuinely Irish song, Eileanóir na Rún [Eleanor na run], performed here in 1978 by Joe Heaney in sean-nós [shannos] or 'old style' [slide 11; Audio sample 1].²⁹ This is not how Clive sang Aileen aroon. Indeed to the polite audience member, her song would probably have sounded English, because its melody approximated that of the country dance 'Ellen a roon'. This had been first engraved in John Walsh's *Second Book of Country Dances* in 1721. [slide 12 and 13].³⁰ 'Country dance', I must emphasise, was the pastime of the wealthy English; the designation 'Country' came from the estates where longways dancing flourished, as shown in recent films on the life and works of Jane Austen [slide 14; video plays silently in background]. By 1741 Ellen a roon was one of many 'favourite English and Scotch Dances ... at most public & private Balls', to quote Daniel Wright's preface to his dance collections of the 1730s [slide 15].³¹

As a country dance, Ellen a roon [Fig. 12, slide 14] is a bold, strictly diatonic tune around which the band [slide 16] – shown in here [slide 17 and 18] as a traverse flute, violin, and two recorders with a continuo section of harpsichord, bassoon and gamba – would extemporize.³² In the absence of a band, David Adams will play the country dance tune Ellen a roon [Adams plays]. The dance's popularity may have encouraged Coffey to include it in his 1729 *The Beggar's Wedding* [slide 19], where it sounded like this: [Adams plays]

Although Clive never sang Ellen a roon before 1741, she may have known from Coffey about Nancy Sterling singing it in Smock Alley in 1729. Sterling had been hugely popular as Polly in that year's hit, *The Beggar's Opera*. Trading on this success, she and her adaptors created for her season benefit a 'new Epilogue' with ballads,³³ one of which was 'Ellen-Agh-Roon' [slide 20]. Its words were in 'Imitation of the Irish' [slide 21] meaning that Gaelic had been translated into English. Sterling's 'Ellen-Agh-Roon' consisted of one stanza,

an Irish blessing which may or may not have been taken from the traditional song³⁴ but which allowed Sterling to woo her audience as she sang, [Joncus sings] ‘With ten thousand Welcomes I greet you all here’. This may have given Clive the germ of the idea for her performance twelve years later.

Although we can’t know precisely how eighteenth-century common folk sang *Eileanóir na Rún*, they very likely followed *sean-nós* [shan nos] practices, which we heard in Joe Heaney’s performance, such as holding a drone within the voice, adding intervallic leaps, and mixing throat with nasal resonances.³⁵ Eighteenth-century residents of Ireland who wrote about traditional music, such as Mary Delany, Oliver Goldsmith, Matthew Pilkington, or Laurence Whyte seem to refer to such ‘old-style’ techniques when they describe the gulf between Irish singers and art singers, whom they identified with Italians.³⁶

Clive’s vocal production was peculiar to her, and combined Italian *dramma per musica* and English ballad technique; that is, an opera singer’s precision and range with the direct attack and straight tone of a London street balladeer. This twofold capability enabled Clive, as she sang ‘Aileen aroon’ [slide 22] to unite Irish-styled authenticity with polite English song. The setting of the first stanza contains largely unadorned notes sprinkled with trills. To build contrast, Clive will have had to alternate straight tones with a vibrato through which trills were sounded [Joncus sings]. The first section of the second stanza mostly follows that of the first stanza, but in its second section we find so-called ‘Scotch’ snaps, a fashionable ornament, after which the vocal line stretches out by a fourth [Joncus sings]. In the first section of the last stanza, the expanded vocal line sounds again. To build to the final cadence, the ‘Scotch’ snaps yield in the last stanza’s second section to trilled quaver pairs, culminating in the largest leap in the song, from low d’ to a high g’ [Joncus sings]. Such additions in performance transformed *Ellen a Roon*, the country dance, into ‘Aileen aroon’, at

once a strophic song with a clearly repeated melody – like an Irish traditional song – and a through-composed work, like a well-crafted playhouse song.

The words of Clive’s Aileen aroon appear to have been an amalgam of multiple variants of the traditional song [Handout 3]. The middle stanza was the same blessing that Sterling had sung in 1729, now in Irish rather than in English. The outer two stanzas recall Joseph Walker’s later sentimental version of the song’s fable [slide 23], which tells of the courtship between the poet Cearbhall [Ó Dálaigh [kwarwell O-Dawligh] and a noblewoman, Eleanor Kavanagh [ka-vana].³⁷

In print, the words of ‘Aileen aroon as sung by Mrs Clive’ were phonetically transcribed into the Latin alphabet, rather than written in Gaelic [Handout 3]. Starting in 1722, the Protestant bishop Francis Hutchinson had helped to establish a phonetic Irish, putting into ‘English letters’ a form of the language through which he hoped to convert Irish Catholics.³⁸ That Clive’s ‘Aileen aroon’ drew on phonetic Irish made good commercial sense: at that time Gaelic was mostly transmitted orally, so a phonetic transcription would have been more easily grasped even by Irish speakers than printed Gaelic. ‘English letters’ also helped to remove the whiff of commonness that clung to the Irish language.³⁹ In deploying this Romanized Gaelic text to accompany its Anglicized Irish melody, ‘Aileen aroon’ helped Clive bridge the gap between these traditions and step into a new role as the euphonious Irishwoman.

The musical score to Clive’s Aileen aroon was probably written out by Matthew Dubourg, the master of state music in Ireland and the band leader for *Comus*.⁴⁰ In 1746, Dubourg issued his *Select Minuets ... to which is added Eleen a Roon by Mr Dubourgh, set to the harpsichord, with his variations*, from which David will play us a sample [slide 24 and 25; Adams plays]⁴¹ Already in 1745 the trumpet player Burk Thumoth had composed some ‘Aileen aroon’ variations [slide 26 and 27], and after 1750 Peter Thompson added to his latest

country dances a fresh version of Ellen aroon – and this resembles Clive’s song [slide 28, Adams plays].⁴² All these re-workings suggest a trickle-down of Clive’s personal rendition into instrumental adaptations. Clive must have owned her own manuscript of her song, since after returning to London she debuted it ‘as she perform’d it in Dublin’ for her benefit the next season.⁴³ There it became one of her signature airs,⁴⁴ and a display of Irishness with which she could challenge Woffington.

After Chetwood publicly verified Clive’s Irish roots in 1749, and after she had given up singing, her revived ethnicity found spoken expression in her 1765 benefit, *The Faithful Irish Woman*.⁴⁵ In this seemingly autobiographical sketch, Clive revisited and merged tropes –her sincerity, her Irishness, her stout loyalty to England – long established in song. Aileen aroon exemplifies one of the ways in which Clive built her celebrity status: using music to play identity politics to her own advantage. Even today the song resonates with her ambition, her audacity, and her irresistible voice.

¹ Clive never sang this aria; rather it was synecdoche for her reputation and stage line. Berta Joncus, ‘Handel at Drury Lane: Ballad Opera and the Production of Kitty Clive’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131, no. 2 (2006): 179–226.

² *Comus* was not just a vehicle for its principals and Arne (via his wife), but also contributed to a contemporary Milton revival and paid homage to the Opposition figurehead Frederick, Prince of Wales. Berta Joncus, “‘His Spirit is in Action Seen’: Milton, Mrs. Clive and the Simulacra of the Pastoral in *Comus*”, *Eighteenth-Century Music* 2, no. 1 (2005): 7–40 and Todd Gilman, *The Theatre Career of Thomas Arne* (Newark Lanham, ML: University of Delaware Press and Rowman & Littlefield Pub. Group, 2013), 76–111.

³ Other summer company members were: Marie Chateaufneuf (dancer from Drury Lane), Giles (dancer from Smock Alley), Lewis Layfield, Jr. (dancer), Mrs Martin (dancer from Smock Alley). John C. Greene and Gladys L.H. Clark, *The Dublin Stage, 1720-1745: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments, and Afterpieces* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, c1993), 278. Chateaufneuf left London in April 1741, due to her engagement for the 1741-42 season at the Aungier Street Theatre. (‘The *Dublin Journal* announced in mid-April 1741 that the proprietors of the Aungier Street Theatre had contracted with her to play there during the ensuing winter and that she was “already on her journey thither”’). <http://0-www.eighteenthcenturydrama.amdigital.co.uk/catalogue/libraries.london.ac.uk/BiographicalDictionary#> Accessed 15 January 2017.

⁴ On the dancers, see Grainne McArdle, ‘Signora Violante and Her Troupe of Dancers 1729-32’, *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr* 20 (2005): 55-78. The paternal grandfather of James Quin (1693–1766) was Dublin’s Lord Mayor in 1667; his father, also called James Quin, moved to London after studying law at Trinity College, Dublin. James Quin junior was schooled in Dublin, and probably began his career on a Dublin stage in 1713 or 1714, debuting in London on 4 February 1715. Peter Thomson, ‘Quin, James (1693–1766)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, 2004 [<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com/catalogue/libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/22962>, accessed 14 Jan 2017]. Ryan was Quin’s exact contemporary, born one year after Quin, in 1694. His father was Daniel Ryan, a tailor of Irish descent. Mark Batty, ‘Ryan, Lacy (c.1694–1760)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University

Press, 2004 [<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/24386>, accessed 14 Jan 2017].

⁵ Edward Phillips, *Britons strike Home* (London: Printed for J[ohn] Watts, 1739), 6.

⁶ Patrick J. Crean, 'The Life and Times of Kitty Clive' (PhD diss., University of London, 1933), 1-10.

⁷ Evidence of Chetwood's links to Kilkenny lies in his poem, *Kilkenny: or, the Old Man's Wish* (Dublin: Printed for the Author 1748), where Chetwood wrote about his youthful haunts. Ann Tierney, the honorary librarian of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, Rothe House, Kilkenny, notes that 'William Chetwood seems to have spent some time in Kilkenny, judging by his remarks on St Canice's, published in his 1748 *Tour of Ireland*.' Ann Tierney, email message to author, 30 December 2016. Mary Flood has found a marriage licence of 13 June 1801 for the rector in Thomastown, Rev. Alexander Chetwood Hamilton and 'Elenor Stubber, spinster from the Parish of Durrow'. Mary Flood, email message to author, 3 January 2017. I am grateful to Ann Tierney and Mary Flood for their research into the Chetwood family on my behalf.

⁸ William R. Chetwood, *A General History of the Stage ... with the Memoirs of most of the principal Performers* (London: Printed for W. Owen, 1749), 127.

⁹ *The Lover's Opera* earned 'sixty performances at the various theatres between 1729 and 1738'. Edmond M. Gagey, *Ballad Opera* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), 103. Of these, Clive led the first twenty-five.

¹⁰ In 1743 Chetwood wrote a justification for the actor's rebellion. At this time, Clive was being criticised for helping to lead the revolt. See William Chetwood, *A short State of the Stage under the present Management* (London: Printed for M. Cooper, 1743). Chetwood's capsule biography of Clive is cited above.

¹¹ On the collaboration between Coffey and Mottley, see Yvonne Noble, 'Charles Coffey and John Mottley: An Odd Couple in Grub Street', *Restoration and 18th Century Theatre Research* 16, no. 1 (2001): 1-12.

¹² On Clive's duet in *The Devil to Pay*, see Joncus, 'Handel at Drury Lane'. On the means by which Clive changed Nell's characterization during performance, see "'The Assemblage of every female Folly": Lavinia Fenton, Kitty Clive and the Genesis of Ballad Opera', *Women of Fashion: Popular Culture in the Eighteenth Century and the Eighteenth-Century in Popular Culture*, ed. Tiffany Potter (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 25–51.

¹³ Mounted in March 1729 *The Beggar's Wedding* struggled to reach three performances at Smock Alley. William J. Lawrence, 'Early Irish Ballad Opera and Comic Opera', *The Musical Quarterly* 8, no. 3 (1922): 397-412, esp. 401.

¹⁴ Coffey took *The Beggar's Wedding* to the Little Haymarket Theatre. It opened that house's summer season on 29 May 1729, achieving 34 performances. William J. Burling, *Summer Theatre in London, 1661-1820, and the Rise of the Haymarket Theatre* (Madison, NJ, and London: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press and Associated University Presses, 2000), 93-94. Drury Lane's rival production, which was titled *Phebe, or The Beggar's Wedding* and cut down to one act, opened a year later (13 June 1730), and flopped. William J. Burling, *A Checklist of New Plays and Entertainments on the London Stage, 1700-1737* (Rutherford, Cranbury NJ and London: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, Associated University Presses, c1993), 130.

¹⁵ Frank Llewelyn Harrison, 'Music, Poetry and Polity in the Age of Swift', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr*, 1 (1986): 37-63. Harrison, on pages 53 to 56, analyses and reprints the six Irish tunes from the 1729 Dublin production. All six tunes were retained in Coffey's Little Haymarket Theatre production.

¹⁶ Drury Lane specialised in ballad operas that were Clive-led, rustic, sentimental and peddled as 'native'. Berta Joncus, 'Ballad Opera: Commercial Song in Enlightenment Garb', *The Oxford Handbook of the British Musical*, ed. Robert Gordon and Olaf Jubin (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 32-77.

¹⁷ *Dublin Journal* 13-16 June 1741; cited in Brian Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press 1988), 72. On the pro-Patriot sentiments that underpinned James Miller's *The Coffee House*, see Thomas McGeary, *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 175.

¹⁸ William Neal, the publisher of the songs of *Comus*, was the treasurer of the Charitable Musical Society that organized the concert. Neal included Clive's 'favourite songs' in his second *Comus* collection, and would have therefore welcomed her participation. The advertisement does not name any performers. *Dublin Journal* 30 June 1741 and *Dublin News-Letter* 4 July 1741. Cited in Brian Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar*, 72.

¹⁹ *Dublin Journal* 21-25 July 1741; cited in Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar*, 72.

²⁰ It was announced on 8–11 November 1740: 'prd [printed] for and sold by William Neal and William Manwaring in College Green: Collection of ye favourite Songs out ye celebrated masque of Comus and ye oratorio Athalia [n.d.], 2mo'. Mary Pollard, *A Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade 1550-1800* (London: Bibliographical Society 2000), 427. See also the *Dublin Music Trade*, <http://www.dublinmusictrade.ie/node/335>, accessed on 10 January 2017.

²¹ The announcement reads: 'Dresses, Machines, Flyings, and all other Decorations were entirely new, and very beautiful; the Orchestra was enlarged, several eminent Hands being added to the Band, for the Occasion, particularly Signora Pasqualino: the Music was finely performed, having – as we hear – been a long time in

Practice under the Inspection of Mr Dubourg'. *Dublin Journal*, 4-8 August 1741; cited in Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar*, 73.

²² *Dublin Journal*, 4-8 August 1741; cited in Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar*, 73.

²³ Collating the advertisements with the broadsheet, the Comus cast of players included James Quin, Clive, James Worsdale, Mrs Richard Reynolds and Robert (?) Layfield.

²⁴ *A second collection of the celebrated songs out of the masque of Comus with several of the choicest balat songs, sung by Mrs. Clive* (Dublin: W. Neal and W. Manwaring, [1740]). National Library of Ireland Add Mus 9906. The 'Lass of Osyth' appears in later collections such as *Calliope, or, English Harmony: a Collection of the most celebrated English and Scots Songs neatly engrav'd and embelish'd*, vol. 2 (London: Engrav'd & sold by Henry Roberts, c1746).

²⁵ Legislation against the use of Irish began with the Statute of Kilkenny in 1366. For an overview of this complex history during the eighteenth century, see Aidan Doyle, 'Two Irelands, Two Languages (1700–1800)', in *A History of the Irish Language: from the Norman Invasion to Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press 2015), 81-105 and Tony Crowley, 'Introduction', *The Politics of Language in Ireland 1366-1922: A Sourcebook* (Routledge 2002), 1-12, and chapter four, 83-132.

²⁶ Hugh Shields, *Narrative Singing in Ireland: Lays, Ballads, Come-all-Yes, and other Songs* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press c1993), 43. For examples, see Hugh Shields, ed., *Old Dublin Songs* (Dublin: Folk Music Society of Ireland 1988).

²⁷ 'Not one music manuscript or other source of notated music of Irish provenance is known to survive from the nearly two-hundred period ... from the mid- to late-fifteenth century'. Barra Boydell and Kerry Houston. 'Introduction: the Seventeenth Century and the History of Music in Ireland', in *Music, Ireland and the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Barra Boydell and Kerry Houston (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), 16. Nicholas Carolan identifies possibly the only eighteenth-century printed song with Irish words before 'Aileen aroon'. This was 'Shein, shein sheis shuus lum' ('Stretch down alongside me') published in *A Collection of Songs, in several Languages / compos'd by Mr. John Abell* (London: Printed by William Pearson, 1701). Cited in Nicholas Carolan, 'Gaelic Song', in *Popular Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin* (Dublin: Na Piobairi Uilleann / Folk Music Society of Ireland, 1985), note 21, page 36. The song was reprinted in 1715: *A Collection of Songs in several Languages. To be perform'd at Mr. Abell's Consort of Musick* ([London] : [s.n.] [1715]) and, as a songsheet, *An Irish Song. Sung by Mr Abell at his Consort at Stationers Hall* ([London] : [s.n.] [1715]).

²⁸ Felicity Nussbaum, 'The Actress, Travesty, and Nation: Margaret Woffington', *Rival Queens: Actresses, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century British Theater* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 189-225.

²⁹ <http://www.joeheaney.org/default.asp?contentID=816>]. I am grateful to Dr Lillis Ó Laoire of NUI Galway for his generous help, his guidance on this resource and for providing me this link.

³⁰ '[No.] 503. The Second Book of the Compleat Country Dancing-Master ...'. William C. Smith and C. Humphries, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh during the years 1721-66* (London: Bibliographical Society 1968), 112. In this volume, Smith and Humphries identify the date of issue using newspaper advertisements. Walsh's *Second Book of the Compleat Country Dance Master* was, according to the *Post-Boy*, sold from around 13-15 April 1721 ('There is lately publish'd a new edition of the 1st and 2^d great Dance-Books').

³¹ *Wright's Compleat Collection of Celebrated Country Dances both Old and New that are in Vogue [sic]: with the Newest and best Directions to each Dance* ([London]: Printed for I [John] Johnson [c1740]).

³² *Compleat Collection of (200) Celebrated Country Dances*, vol.2 (London: James Johnson, 1742)

³³ *The new Epilogue spoke and sung by Polley Peachum at her Benefit Play: The Way of the World* (Dublin: Printed, for J. Carr, c1729) [broadsheet]. Sterling's benefit was around May. Greene and Clark, *The Dublin stage, 1720-1745*, 120.

³⁴ James Doan shows that the words to this song co-existed in many versions; he has found seventeen just in the province of Connacht. It is impossible to date the point at which the Irish blessing, 'Céad míle fáilte romhat' was integrated into song's verses. James Doan, 'The Folksong Tradition of Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh', *Folklore* 96, no. 1 (1985): 67-86. I would like to thank Prof. Doan of Nova Southeastern University for generously sharing with me his thoughts about the verses in Clive's 'Aileen Aroon' and their relation to the Irish versions that he has researched.

³⁵ Scholarship on sean-nós singing – a practice identified alternately or collectively with a location, family, or repertory – defies summation. For an introduction, see James Cowdery, *The Melodic Tradition of Ireland* (London: Kent State University Press [1990]), especially his descriptions in 'Putting it Over', 26-42. The Irish

Traditional Music Archive collates a great volume scholarship with audiovisual resources, for 'study of Irish traditional music'. <http://www.itma.ie/about/about-the-itma>, accessed 14 January 2017.

³⁶ For Delany's comments, which are taken from her collected correspondence, see Martin Dowling, *Traditional Music and Irish Society: Stones in the Field* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 58-74. Hugh Shields discusses Goldsmith's commentary on traditional music, noting that Goldsmith contrasted the singing of the household dairy-maid Peggy Golden with that of 'Signor Columba [Mattei]'. Hugh Shields, 'Oliver Goldsmith and Popular song', *The Long Room* 26-27 (1983): 27-36, esp. 28. On the writings of Whyte and Pilkington, see Barra Boydell, "'Whatever has a Foreign Tone / We like much better than our own": Irish Music and Anglo-Irish Identity in the Eighteenth Century', *Music and Identity in Ireland and Beyond*, ed. Mark Fitzgerald and John O'Flynn (Farnham: Ashgate [2014?]), 19-38.

³⁷ The three lines used to create the words of 'Aileen aroon' are found in many versions of the poem. The phrase 'sgra ma chree tu' eludes an identification of its provenance, although it is redolent of a line from the traditional song found in County Clare, Liscannor ('Grádh mo chroidhe i nganfhiós tú', or 'You are the secret love of my heart'). 'Aileen aroon' verses are closest to a conflation that Doan has found of the 'Connacht' with the 'Munster' version. James Doan, 'The Folksong Tradition of Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh', 67-86. The transcribed Gaelic bears phonetic resemblance to Northern dialects. Personal communication with author, Clár Ní Shúilleabháin, 30 January 2017.

³⁸ McBride singles out Hutchinson as one of the Anglican bishops who helped to 'spearhead' the antiquarian enthusiasms for a Gaelic revival. Ian McBride, *Eighteenth-Century Ireland: The Isle of Slaves* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2009), 86. On Hutchinson's phonetic system, see Nicholas Williams, 'Gaelic Texts and English Script', in *Oral and Print Cultures in Ireland, 1600-1900*, ed. Marc Caball and Andrew Carpenter (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), 85-101, esp. 91-93. Williams believes that Hutchinson's system may have derived from Manx spelling.

³⁹ As Ian McBride succinctly states, 'from the 1730s there is very little sense that Irish – viewed as a language of the common people, or, in a few cases, as a subject for antiquarian investigation – presented any kind of cultural threat', McBride, *Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, 61.

⁴⁰ Brian Boydell, 'Music, 1700–1850', in *A New History of Ireland*, iv: *Eighteenth-Century Ireland 1691–1800*, ed. T.W. Moody and W.E. Vaughan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 576.

⁴¹ *Select Minuets, Collected from the Castle Balls, and the publick assemblies in Dublin ... to which is added Eleena Roon by Mr Dubourgh* (Dublin, [1746]), National Library of Ireland, Add. Mus. 9013; cited in Barra Boydell "'Whatever has a Foreign Tone'", 32, note 66.

⁴² *Thompson's Compleat Collection of 200 favourite country dances ... with proper Figures or Directions to each Tune; set for the Violin, German flute & hautboy* (London, Printed for Peter Thompson [ca. 1755]). New York Public Library *MGS-Res. (English) 73-353. This version of Ellen aroon matches what is said to be a transcription of the second of Johnson's country dance volumes – a copy of which I have not yet found – on the online resource, *The Village Music Project* http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/?page_id=770.

⁴³ As a mark of her rank, Clive's benefit was among the first that season, on 8 March 1742. The announcement emphasises that she sang in Gaelic: "The celebrated Irish Ballad Elin a Roon, sung by Mrs Clive in Irish, as she perform'd it at the Theatre Royal in Dublin". Following her singing was that of her protégée, Mary Edwards. *The London Stage, 1660-1800. Part 3: 1729-1747*, vol. 2; see page 974. *Eighteenth Century Drama: Censorship, Society and the Stage*. [http://0-](http://0-www.eighteenthcenturydrama.amdigital.co.uk.catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/)

[www.eighteenthcenturydrama.amdigital.co.uk.catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/](http://0-www.eighteenthcenturydrama.amdigital.co.uk.catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/) Accessed 30 January 2017.

⁴⁴ According to advertisements, Clive sang "Aileen aroon" exclusively until the mid-1740s. From this date, as Arthur H Scouten notes, the song was "at little theatres, booths, and great rooms, far and way the most repeated piece", and from the 1744-45 it was the most frequently interpolated vocal number in plays. Arthur H. Scouten, 'Introduction', *The London Stage, 1660-1800. Part 3: 1729-1747*, vol. 2; see page clvi and clviii. *Eighteenth Century Drama: Censorship, Society and the Stage*. [http://0-](http://0-www.eighteenthcenturydrama.amdigital.co.uk.catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/)

[www.eighteenthcenturydrama.amdigital.co.uk.catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/](http://0-www.eighteenthcenturydrama.amdigital.co.uk.catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/) Accessed 30 January 2017. Building on her MA dissertation on the song's reception, Nollaig Casey McGlynn is currently researching 'Eileanóir na Rúin' for her PhD dissertation at the University of Belfast. I am grateful to her for sharing with me the progress on her research. Email message to the author of 26 January 2017.

⁴⁵ For a discussion of Clive's farce, see Nussbaum, 'Performative Property: Catherine Clive', *Rival Queens*, 186-90. The manuscript of Clive's farce is housed in the John Larpent Collection at the Huntington Library, and a digitized copy may be accessed through the online resource, *Eighteenth Century Drama: Censorship, Society and the Stage*.