bea townland, Leap village (Milestone Society db. no. COR_CKSB46), and were all surveyed in 2003–04. These milestones may now simply be hiding in the overgrowth.

46 Cork County Council does not normally remove milestones but in the case of road widening they are usually picked up during the assessment phase and kept or reinstated. Some milestones in Ireland may have been removed or defaced during World War II (Benford 2002, 36-7), as was certainly the case in the North (*Fermanagh Herald*, 24 Aug. 1974). If any 'lost' milestones reappear *ex situ*, because they display locations and distances, and given their inclusion on historic maps, proof of provenance should be a straightforward matter.

47 Reads 'SKIBB^{N} 1' (left side), 'ROSSCARB^{Y} 12' (right side), 'SKIBB^{N} 1 / CORK 52' (top); coordinates: 51.5537799,-9.2625996. The *Southern Star* in 1937 refers to local contention surrounding the distance of one mile to the centre of Skibbereen stated on this milestone (6 Feb. 1937).

REVIVING THE REEL

Traditional Irish Music in pre- and post-Famine West Cork

Tomás Tuipéar

Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Background

Traditional Irish music was central to the lives of all social classes in pre-Famine Ireland. It is clear from contemporary chronicles and from the writings of published collectors of music such as Edward Bunting (1773–1843), George Petrie (1790–1866) and Corkman William Forde (c. 1795–1851) that there was an active music-making culture among the Irish people.[1] While most rural communities had their own resident musicians, a feature of Irish life was the travelling dancing master accompanied by his musician, who would have spent about six weeks in a particular parish before moving on to the next parish.[2] From at least the early medieval period, the harp had enjoyed a special status among Irish musicians.[3] However, in the late eighteenth century, Bunting observed the decline of harp playing and was among those responsible for organising the Belfast Harp Festival which sought to collect traditional harpers' music. Harpers were being replaced by *uilleann* pipers who were enjoying a new status among traditional musicians and dancers. 'As the harp declined, the vogue of the Irish or union bagpipe increased'.[4]

Pipers are in evidence in West Cork in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A song in the Irish language called '*Amhráinín Siodraimín*' describes a fuller called Máirtín from near Innishannon who sails to Kinsale to go piping.[5] Pipe music played an important role at 'patterns' and pilgrimages on the feastdays of local saints and other holy days of veneration. Thomas Crofton Croker described in detail the drinking, dancing, singing and lighting fires which continued through the night on St John's Eve at Gougane Barra in 1813 and makes special reference to the contribution to the festivities made by pipers:

> Almost every tent had its piper, and two or three young men and women dancing the jig, or a peculiar kind of dance, called the rinkafadah, which consists of movements by no means graceless or inelegant. The women invariably selected their partners, and went up to the man of their choice, to whom they freely presented their hand. After the dance was concluded, the men dropped a penny each, or, such as were inclined to display their liberality, something more, into an old hat which lay at the piper's feet, or in a hollow made in the ground for the purpose. The piper, who seldom makes a moment's pause, continues playing, and another dance immediately commences … The tents are generally so crowded that the dancers have scarcely room for their performance: from twenty to thirty men and women are often huddled together in each … All become actors, none spectators, rebellious songs, in the Irish language, are loudly vociferated, and received with yells of applause …[6]

Contemporary writings also refer to specific eminent pipers in the area. In the parish of Caheragh, near Drimoleague, two pipers are recorded namely Peter Hagerty known as the '*Piobaire Bán*' ('White Piper') and Charley Murphy nicknamed '*Cormac na Paidreacha*' ('Cormac of the Prayers').[7] From the Skibbereen area we have Bernie O'Donovan, often referred to as 'The Carbery Piper', and John Hingston who became chief steward of Trinity College (Fig. 1); he was an associate of the piper and collector Canon James Goodman who also lived in the town for some time. Professor Denis O'Leary was a piper from Ballyvourney (Fig. 2). Then there was the 'Prince of Pipers' Dick Stephenson,

Fig. 1: John Hingston, piper, from the Skibbereen area (Photo: courtesy of the Irish Traditional Music Archive).

Fig. 2: Prof. Denis O'Leary, piper, from Ballyvourney (Photo: courtesy of the Irish Traditional Music Archive).

born in Clonakilty in the 1840s (Fig. 3). He learnt his trade, however, not in West Cork but in Shanagolden, Co. Limerick, where he had moved to as a child.[8] There were also prominent fiddlers and flute players in West Cork, like Timothy Dowling from Tralibane and John O'Neill of Bantry.[9]

On the eve of the Famine, the position of Irish traditional music in West Cork, and in the country as a whole, appeared vibrant. But the Great Famine of the 1840s decimated the population of West Cork and the haemorrhage of emigration that followed for decades must have wiped out traditional music in many areas. While the total nationwide death toll figure of one million is often presented, this is purely an estimate.[10] The same is true of the numbers who emigrated, often cited as two million;[11] however, the exodus from Ireland continued into the twentieth century and far exceeded this. As our people

Fig. 3: Dick Stephenson, piper, from Clonakilty (L.) and John Dunne, banjo player (R.) (Drawing: courtesy of the Irish Traditional Music Archive).

were dispersed and spread across the globe, our music accompanied them and found a new home on many foreign shores. The Famine had an inordinate impact on Irish musical culture, and the loss of musicians and their repertoires was irreplaceable. The vast majority of the people who had been closest to both the musical culture and Irish language had vanished either by death or emigration. A silence had been inflicted on the land and the music would never recover in some places.

Post-Famine Ireland was a very different place and what remained of society was a shadow of its former self. In the decades that followed, the population was still under the threat of hunger, evictions and emigration and even further famine was a possibility. For many, life was punctuated by landlords, bailiffs, proselytisers, corn dispensers, clerics and Poor Law guardians to name but a few. Many people who survived the Famine and remained in Ireland, chose to put as much distance between themselves and the old ways as they could in what could be considered a communal 'great forgetting'.[12] As a result, the English language made strong inroads into all areas of Irish life and society. New anglicised placenames changed the cultural connection with the landscape and age-old songs and tunes containing old Irish placenames no longer fitted into the new way of life. George Petrie, writing in 1855, noted that the decline of the song tradition in rural areas was due to changes in agricultural practices,[13] almost certainly the radical shift in land use from tillage to pasture which was less labour intensive. This contributed further to the economic and cultural decline of those trying to make a living from agricultural employment. A further result of the change in land-use was the dwindling of songs and airs associated with rhythmic manual group activities such as ploughing, reaping and sowing, the singing of which helped to bond individuals living within the small rural communities. The biographers of the compiler of the celebrated Irish–English dictionary, Fr Patrick S. Dinneen (1860–1934), observed that, 'the people of *Sliabh Luachra* were not half as musical in the second half of the century as in the first … *bhí an teaspach bainte díobh ag amhgar agus ag drochshaol*' [the spirit had been taken out of them by want and famine].[14]

When a certain level of recovery came, great efforts were undertaken to save the Irish language and the musical culture from extinction and many

organisations grew up with this intention. For example, in Cork City the Cork Pipers' Club was founded in 1898 with the aim of promoting Irish music, dance and language, and was among the first Irish traditional music clubs in the country.[15] While Fr Dinneen was evidently sympathetic to efforts to protect Irish culture, others in the Irish Church were not and the revolution of post-Famine Catholicism put the Church at the centre of a new conservative Ireland. However, by the early nineteenth century, as Helen Brennan observed, the more formal dances organised by the Gaelic League (discussed further below) found favour with the clergy who had long criticised the country house dances.[16] For some, the catastrophe of the Famine was even seen as an opportunity to purge the countryside of sinners, and consequently Protestant evangelists and the Catholic hierarchy were zealous in their crusades to quell spontaneous, communal traditional entertainment. Oftentimes, old customs were discouraged or forbidden. According to Skerrett and Lesch, 'After the Great Famine of 1848, traditions such as 'dancing at the crossroads' nearly disappeared as a result of death, emigration and the hostility of Irish priests to such festive gatherings of young men and women'.[17] While 'dancing, singing in harmony, flute-playing, intermingling [of the sexes?] and other such abuses' had been forbidden at holy places by a Synod of Tuam in 1660,[18] by the end of the nineteenth century, we see a greater suppression of patterns and pilgrimages which frequently included boisterous activities like drinking, courting and faction fighting,[19] such as the great fights between the Lynchs and the Twomeys which seem to have occurred regularly after the annual Whitsunday devotions at Ballyvourney.[20]

Despite these challenges, what remained of musical Ireland was resilient and it endured even though its foothold in the Irish-speaking communities – which had housed nearly three-quarters of the population – was virtually erased.[21] This deprived the travelling dancing masters and musicians of their patrons. While the dispossessed and traumatised population had little time for music making, the cyclical calendar of the agricultural year was still marked. Music continued to be an essential component of farming and religious festivals like Imbolc/St Brigid's Day, *Bealtaine* (May Day), Whitsunday (Pentecost), *Lughnasa* (August), *Samhain* (Halloween) and St Stephen's Day. Race meetings, as well as the patterns and pilgrimages which had survived, managed to attract musicians and dancers alike. For example, patterns on

Whitsunday and on 11 February (St Gobnait's feastday) have continued at Ballyvourney to the present day, the latter involving a dance, which had been held in the nearby hotel up to approximately twenty years ago. In the later years of the nineteenth century, organisations like the Gaelic League, founded in 1893, promoted music through its popular *feiseanna* (traditional Gaelic arts and culture festivals) where dancing took centre stage. *Céilí* dances were an invention of the Gaelic League and the first céilí was held on 30 October 1897, for *Féile Samhain,* in Bloomsbury Hall, London.[22] This new activity for the London branch soon spread to Ireland and other countries, and to provide music for this new phenomenon the *céilí* band was born. 'Hundreds of bands proliferated all over the island, varying hugely in instrumentation, personnel, repertoire, music, taste and professionalism'.[23]

A parallel musical world also existed in post-Famine Ireland in the form of the fife and drum bands.[24] These bands were commonly associated with political organisations all over Ireland, particularly from the early 1800s.[25] They often used small flutes and piccolos which had more sophisticated tuning. These accessible instruments gradually found their way into the house dances of rural Ireland. According to flute player Rev. Gary Hastings, 'Flute bands are historically important since they are the most likely vehicle for the introduction of flute into recreational music'.[26]

Late Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century West Cork

Like the traces of the abandoned potato beds on the landscape, remnants of the musical culture were still to be found in parts of post-Famine West Cork. West Cork has no official geographical boundary but it has a long-defined coastline to the south while its northern and eastern extremities can vary according to fashion. For the purpose of this paper, the area has been divided into three distinct regions: the northern region, a *Gaeltacht* (Irish-speaking area), called *Múscraí* (Muskerry), the central river valleys, and the southern coast which contained the former Catholic Diocese of Ross (see Fig. 4).

Múscraí

This area contains the West Cork *Gaeltacht* including *Cúil Aodha* (Coolea), *Baile Bhuirne* (Ballyvourney) and *Béal Átha an Ghaorthaidh* (Ballingeary). The

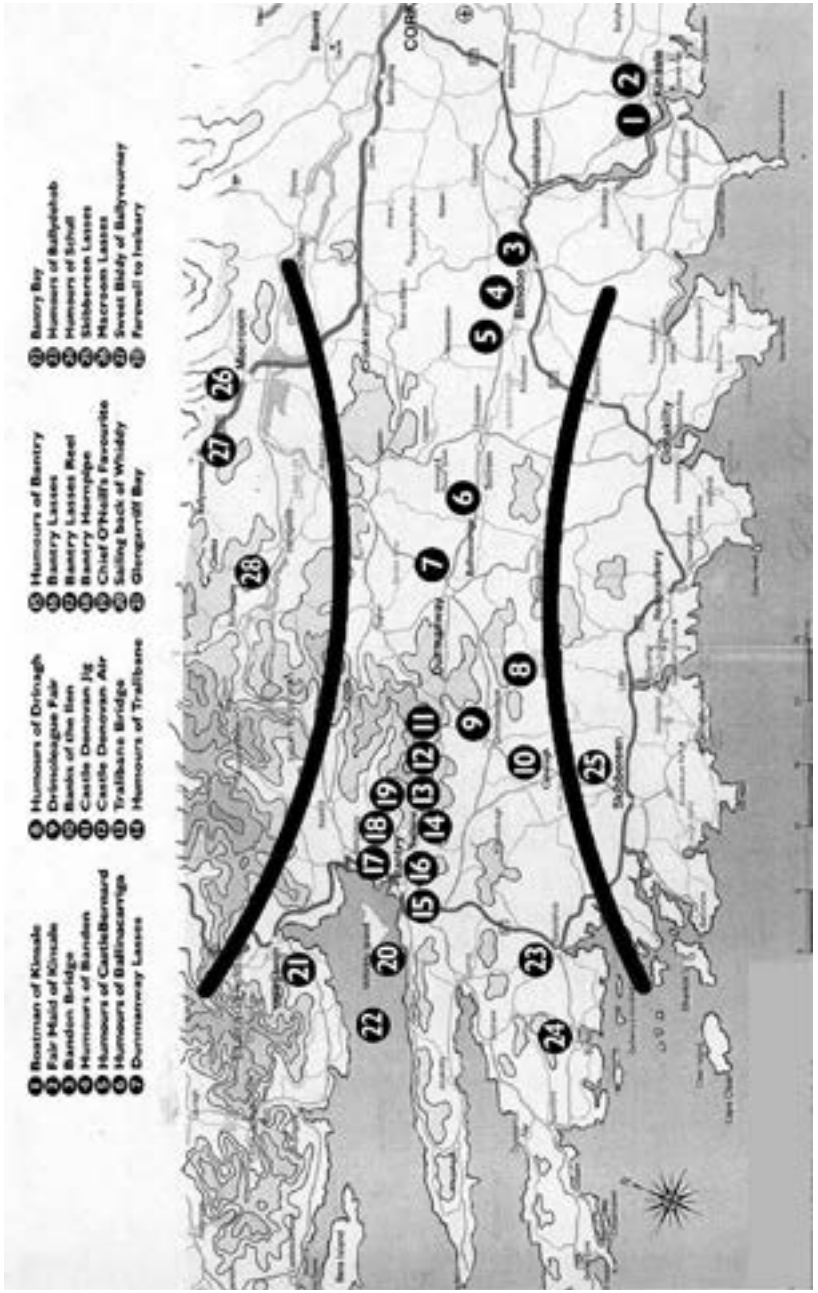

Fig. 4: Distribution of West Cork placenames occurring in Francis O'Neill's 1903 collection of Irish tunes (Map: author; base map: Gleeson, M. D. 1983. *Ireland of the Welcomes* 32, no. 1, pp. 24-5).

Irish language survived here and the area has a rich cultural heritage. It has produced an extraordinary number of song composers in both the Irish and English languages, a trend which continued into the twentieth century, and the richness of its culture also inspired many poets. For example, the famous poet Seán Ó Ríordáin (1916–1977) was born in Ballyvourney.[27]

> The area is remarkable for its poetry and song, in schools, in houses and pubs. Central to the tradition was *An Dábh Scoil* [the Bardic School, first meeting in 1926] which is held every year and where many poets have a chance to air their work. '*An Poc Ar Buile*' was heard first here. The Bardic School generated a huge interest in songs and in competition.[28]

The tradition of *scoraíocht* (sessions by storytellers and poets in alternating neighbouring houses) and *aeríocht* (open-air concerts) remained strong in *Múscraí* into the twentieth century. From the 1960s, the Ballyvourney area was home to Seán Ó Riada (1931–1971), academic, composer and musician (Fig. 5).[29] Here he established a male choir called *Cór Chúil Aodha*. Ó Riada had a major nationwide influence on the direction of traditional Irish music from the early 1960s onwards. By the mid-twentieth century there were also notable female advocates of Irish music active in the region, namely the *sean-nós* singer Cáit

Fig. 5: Seán Ó Riada, academic, composer and musician, 1920 (Photo: *Irish Independent*, 27 Nov. 2017).

Fig. 6: Elizabeth 'Bess' Cronin (L.) with Jean Ritchie (R.) in 1952
(Photo: George Pickow, permission to reproduce kindly provided by Professor Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and Ritchie-Pickow Collection, James Hardiman Library, NUI Galway).

Ní Mhuimhneacháin from the Ballingeary area[30] and singer Elizabeth 'Bess' Cronin (née Ó hIarlaithe; 1879–1956) from Ballyvourney, often referred to as the 'Muskerry Queen of Song' (Fig. 6).[31] Both traditional English and Irish songs collected by Cronin, such as '*Táim Cortha Bheith Im' Aonar Im' Luí*', 'The Good Ship Kangaroo' and 'The Bonnie Blue-Eyed Lassie' were later performed and recorded by well-known folk singers Christy Moore, Tríona Ní Dhomhnaill (of the Bothy Band) and Iarla Ó Lionáird (Cronin's grandnephew). In terms of dancing, the Ballyvourney set dance has been preserved in the region.

Central River Valleys

The central region within West Cork stretches from Innishannon to Beara. It follows the river valleys of the Bandon and the Ilen and also the mountains and valleys that reach the sea at Bantry Bay and Roaringwater Bay. The great collector of traditional Irish music Chief O'Neill (1848–1936) hailed from this area. Daniel Francis O'Neill was born in Tralibane, near Bantry (Fig. 7).[32] Music surrounded him as a child and following many world adventures, he finally settled in Chicago where he eventually became chief of police. O'Neill dedicated his life to the collection of traditional Irish dance music from Irish immigrant musicians. A flute player himself, he began this work by compiling the many tunes he recalled from his childhood, thus preserving the West Cork music of his ancestors. This project expanded and with the help of James O'Neill, another musician (no relation), they gathered, for posterity, thousands of tunes from musicians from all parts of Ireland.[33]

Chief O'Neill's first publication, *Music of Ireland*, in 1903, contained some 1,850 tunes, many from his own remarkable memory of the music of West Cork.[34] The West Cork component of O'Neill's 1903 repertoire has been

Fig. 7: Francis O'Neill (collector of Irish music), Superintendent of Police, Chicago Police Department, 1901–05 (Photo: https://en.wikipedia.org).

mapped in Fig. 4. It illustrates that the majority of the tunes with West Cork placenames follow the geography of this central region along the river valleys. The cluster in and around the Bantry area demonstrates O'Neill's natural bias towards his birthplace; Bantry has had a branch of *Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann* since 1970.[35] As Fig. 4 shows, O'Neill recorded several tunes from the Bandon area, and this may demonstrate that musicians found patrons among the wealthy landowners of the Bandon valley. It is interesting to note that Bandon supported an FCÁ pipe band from the 1940s up until the 1970s.[36] The Bandon and District Pipe Band emerged here in 1995, thus forging a link with the tradition of piping.[37] Midway between Bandon and Bantry, Dunmanway proved to be a stronghold of set dancing and also has had a branch of *Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann* since 1974.[38] The town has hosted the county and Munster *fleadh cheoil* (music competition) on several occasions.[39] Just south of Dunmanway, the village of Drinagh, located off the beaten track, can trace its musical tradition back through local families, in some cases for six generations.[40] Places around Drimoleague, Caheragh, Castle Donovan and Tralibane have always produced musicians not least Chief O'Neill himself.

The Coast

The third and final piece of the West Cork jigsaw is the coastal strip from Timoleague to Baltimore which includes the towns of Clonakilty and Skibbereen. The area corresponds to the Catholic Diocese of Ross (1849–1958). Reference to traditional music in this area is sparse, and it is interesting to note from Fig. 4, that in comparison to the central river valley region of West Cork, there is an absence of traditional tunes associated with the coast. Like the rest of West Cork, music did of course exist here but it was not preserved in memory. Further research in the future may reveal lost music from this area. Nonetheless, a Barryroe set dance of nine parts survives as well as other locally named sets.

The famous collector of Irish music, Canon James Goodman (1828–96) lived in different places in West Cork from 1852, namely Creagh, Ardgroom and finally Skibbereen from 1866 (Fig. 8). Born at Ballyameen, Dingle, Co. Kerry, to an Irish-speaking Church of Ireland clerical family, he learned to play the flute and *uilleann* pipes.[41] He documented over 2,000 traditional Irish

melodies,[42] and it has been said that 'He never neglected an opportunity of collecting unrecorded strains from wandering minstrels'.[43] Much of his collection originated from the Kerry piper Tom Kennedy, who followed him to Ardgroom but there seems to be no evidence of him collecting in the area around Skibbereen.[44] Goodman is commemorated in Skibbereen by an archway, erected in his memory, at the entrance to Abbeystrewry Church and, beside this, is a statue of him playing the *uilleann* pipes. As noted above, places further inland such as Caheragh and Drinagh kept the thread of traditional music alive in the area around Skibbereen until a branch of *Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann* was formed in the town in 1969.[45] Just two years later, Skibbereen held its first county *fleadh cheoil*.[46] The remainder of this coastal region presented very little in the way of traditional Irish music but there was instead a strong tradition of brass and silver bands, often associated with temperance movements.[47]

The Catholic Diocese of Ross may have been influenced by the temperance movement of Fr Theobald Mathew who was responsible for the formation of temperance bands in Cork City during the 1840s to gather crowds for pledge

Fig. 8: Canon James Goodman, collector of Irish music (Photo: courtesy of the Irish Traditional Music Archive).

meetings.[48] At one stage Cork City had thirty-three temperance bands with instruments financed by Fr Mathew.[49] However, the *Freeman's Journal* records that as early as 1822 a branch of Geoffrey Sedward's total abstinence movement had been established in Clonakilty where it says '"temperance bands" were first formed'.[50] It has been argued that such bands were viewed as offering an opportunity for social and cultural advancement which appealed to those with middle-class aspirations.[51] In the 1840s, writers Samuel Carter Hall and his wife Anna Maria (née Fielding, known as 'Mrs S. C. Hall') recounted the dilemma facing *uilleann* pipers in the wake of Fr Mathew's temperance crusade:

> The piper consequently finds it hard to live by his music. But his worst "enemies" are the "brass bands" of the Temperance Societies; they are now become so numerous as to be found in nearly every town and at the time of which we write had attained sufficient popularity to make the old pipers, and their adherents, tremble for the results.[52]

Newspaper reports refer to the existence of a brass band in Clonakilty in the late 1860s.[53] Later, members of a temperance band in Clonakilty, were described as wearing a uniform of 'blue coats with white braid, white pantaloons and crimson satin caps with gold bands'.[54] During the same period, the town boasted the Workingman's Fife and Drum Band.[55] In March 1880, a fife and drum band accompanied Charles Stewart Parnell into town and its members were later threatened with excommunication as Parnell's liaison with Kitty O'Shea had drawn the attention of the Catholic Church.[56] A brass band was resurrected in Clonakilty in 1900, later called St Patrick's Brass Band and is still in existence today under the name Clonakilty Brass Band.[57] The Timoleague Fr Mathew Brass Band was active by the end of the nineteenth century.[58] In the early 1900s, Rosscarbery had a fife and drum band and later in 1903, they established a brass band.[59] By the 1930s, the band was resurrected under the banner of the Blue Shirts (National Guard).[60] Skibbereen's brass band was in existence since at least the 1880s,[61] and was resurrected in 1899/1900 under the Land and Labour Association.[62] Skibbereen's St Fachtna's Silver Band has existed since 1912.[63] It seems likely that the promotion of brass and silver band music had a detrimental effect on the playing of traditional music in this part of West Cork.

Fig. 9: Clonakilty Brass Band, Pound Field, Island Road, Clonakilty, 1928.

Clonakilty since the 1950s

Growing up in Clonakilty in the 1950s and 1960s, one would have had to dig deep to find a note of traditional music. Apart from the annual night-time concert on St Patrick's Day, the Festival of West Cork Feis (Irish dancing competition) and an occasional *céilí* in John Lowney's Hall, on Sand Quay, run by Liam P. Foley who travelled from Cork with his record player, the only other opportunity to listen to traditional music was to tune in to Din Joe's (Denis Fitzgibbon) weekly Irish dance programme, 'Take the Floor', on *Radio Éireann*. As poet Thomas Kinsella saw it,

> The status of traditional music in the 1950s in Ireland was low. It was confined mainly to the rural areas of the country, or to Irish-language

> revivalist groups, or to a small coterie of traditional players living in the cities. The broad mass of the Irish public had little connection with its traditional music.[64]

Nonetheless, this decade witnessed a growth in interest in Irish music and this was augmented by the founding of a new organisation called *Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann* in 1951. It sought to 'promote Irish traditional music in all its forms'.[65] By the end of the 1950s, the *céilí* band had reached its zenith but in an extensive list of céilí bands produced by renowned musician Fintan Vallely, West Cork is noticeably absent.[66] In comparison, during the 1960s, there was a revitalisation of traditional Irish music with Seán Ó Riada (discussed above) helping to introduce it to a new audience.[67] However, this phenomenon did not reach Clonakilty until the visit of the group Planxty to the Festival of West Cork in 1972. This concert exposed a new generation in Clonakilty to high-quality live traditional music for the first time.

A number of years spent abroad in the Irish communities of London and Boston during the mid-1970s and early 1980s introduced me to a thriving world of traditional Irish music. The London Irish music community consisted of musicians from all parts of Ireland who were hugely active in the promotion of the music, and in passing it on to younger generations. The city's Sunday lunchtime sessions were legendary with uplifting and exciting playing a privilege to witness. On the other hand, Boston's Irish music scene was a legacy of generations of emigration. The great cities of America had been home to countless Irish emigrant musicians, many of whom in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries recorded the music for the first time on the newly invented Edison cylinders and 78 RPM records. Eventually, these recordings found their way back to Ireland where the extraordinarily high standard of music played by Michael Coleman (1891–1945), James Morrison (1893–1947) and others had a major influence on the music at home. Musician Séamus Mac Mathúna recalled the effect that Coleman's music had on an Irish exile in New York in the 1930s, 'on hearing him playing "Lord McDonald": "It cannot be, it cannot be" he repeated, "no earthly man could make music like that"'.[68] While in Boston I was given a manuscript from a relation containing a jig called 'The Humours of Clonakilty' (Fig. 10). It had been composed by George White, a Longford flute player, in honour of the ancestral home of his wife Eileen née

Burke.[69] George never visited Clonakilty but Eileen made her first visit in 1983. The tune was first played in Clonakilty in 1981, when I returned home with it.

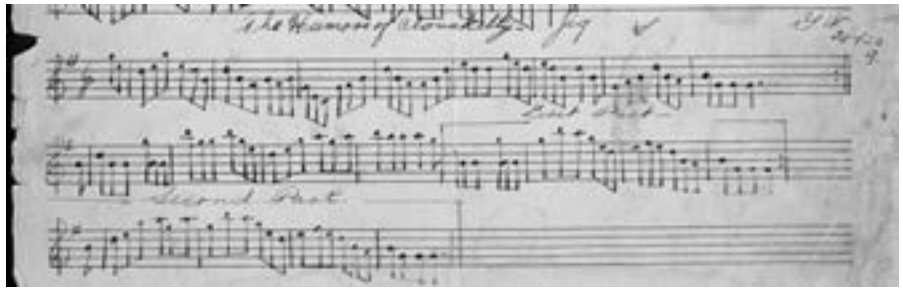

Fig. 10: 'The Humours of Clonakilty', a jig composed by George White in Boston in 1933.

Fired up by my experiences abroad, I went about setting up a weekly traditional music session with Denis Noonan on vocals, bodhrán and bones and me on vocals, flute and tin whistle, in Fahey's Bar on Pearse Street, Clonakilty, in the spring of 1982. In a time before social media, we spread the word by seeking out other musicians personally and were soon joined by Jerry Lombard (fiddle), Johnny O'Neill (banjo), Dónal McCarthy (box, guitar and vocals), the Grainger brothers, Michael and Diarmuid (*uilleann* pipes) and the Ó hIcí brothers, MacDara and Cathal (flute and banjo). Many others also joined us, among them Tommy O'Leary (box, banjo, guitar and vocals) and Robbie O'Donoghue (tin whistle, guitar and vocals). The popular sessions at Fahey's took place on both Wednesday and Saturday nights, and Denis and I were permanent fixtures there for the first five years in order to ensure its continuity. Following on from this success, Robbie O'Donoghue set up the Folk Club in De Barra's bar in 1983; he and I ran it for two years before handing it over to the proprietor, Bobby Blackwell.

The year 1983 saw Paddy Keenan, the famous *uilleann* piper of the Bothy Band, move to Clonakilty. Soon a Sunday night session grew up around Paddy in De Barra's. Many musicians from all over Ireland came to Clonakilty over the nine years of Paddy's sojourn to hear one of the greatest exponents of the *uilleann* pipes perform.

The present status of traditional Irish music in West Cork is a healthy one. Clonakilty now boasts of two weekly sessions throughout the year, one in De Barra's and another in O'Donovan's Hotel. The latter also provides music in *An Teach Beag*, a venue that sees Irish traditional music played seven nights a week during the summer months. In December 2014, a branch of *Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann* was formed in Clonakilty,[70] thus ensuring that the music will be passed on to future generations.

Fig. 11: Fahey's Bar, 26 Pearse Street, Clonakilty, 18 September 1990. Standing L–R: Tommy O'Leary and Mrs Eileen Fahey (RIP); seated L–R: MacDara Ó hIcí, Denis Noonan, Tomás Tuipéar (author), Jerry Lombard and Diarmuid Grainger (Photo: courtesy of Eileen Óg Lacey née White, daughter of Eileen and George White, composer of 'The Humours of Clonakilty').

Fig. 12: L–R: Brendan Ring, Paddy Keenan and Jorgan Fischer outside Paddy Keenan's antique shop on 30 Ashe Street, Clonakilty, in 1991 (Photo: courtesy of Roland Paschhoff).

(Endnotes)

1 See for example, Bunting, E. 1796. *A General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music.* London; Petrie, G. 1855. *The Petrie Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland*, vol. 1. Dublin; Joyce, P. W. 1909. 'Part iii: The Forde collection'. In *Old Irish Folk Music and Songs: A Collection of 842 Irish Airs and Songs Hitherto Unpublished.* Dublin and London, pp. 243-342. For more examples of early published collections, see the online Irish Traditional Music Archive (hereafter ITMA), available at https://www.itma.ie.

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4 O'Neill, F. 1987 (1st published 1913). *Irish Minstrels and Musicians*. Cork, preface, transcription of work available to view at http://billhaneman.ie/IMM. The *uilleann* pipes were first referred to in English as 'union pipes'.
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12 For more on the concept of social 'disremembering', see various works by Guy Beiner, e.g. Beiner, G. 2017. 'Irish studies and the dynamics of disremembering'. In M. Corporaal, C. Cusack and R. van den Beuken (eds) *Irish Studies and the Dynamics of Memory: Transitions and Transformations*. Oxford and Bern, pp. 297-321; Beiner, G. 2017. 'The formation of modern Irish memory, c. 1740-1914'. In E. F. Biagini and M. E. Daly (eds) *The Cambridge Social History of Modern Ireland*. Cambridge, pp. 586-93.
13 Petrie, *Petrie Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland*, pp. xii and 26.
14 Ó Conluain, P. agus Ó Céilleachair, D. 1958. *An Duinníneach, Sáirséal agus Dill*. Dublin, p. 58. *Sliabh Luachra* is a mountainous region in Munster which includes northwest Cork, east Kerry and southwest Limerick. Fr Dinneen was from this area being born near Rathmore, Co. Kerry.
15 Mitchell, M. 1992. 'The Cork Pipers' Club: 1898-1930'. *The Cork Review*, pp. 29-31.
16 Brennan, H. 1994. 'Reinventing tradition: The boundaries of Irish dance'. *History Ireland* 2, no. 2, pp. 22-4, available to view at http://www.historyireland.com/18th-19th-century-history/reinventing-tradition-the-boundaries-of-irish-dance-by-helen-brennan/ [accessed 25 Nov. 2017].
17 Skerrett, E. and Lesch, M. 2008. *Chief O'Neill's Sketchy Recollections of an Eventful Life in Chicago*. Dingle, p. 6. Author Mary Lesch is a great-granddaughter of Chief O'Neill.
18 Carroll, M. P. 1999. *Irish Pilgrimage: Holy Wells and Popular Catholic Devotion*. Baltimore, USA, p. 45.
19 O'Sullivan, A. and Sheehan, J. 1996. *The Iveragh Peninsula: An Archaeological Survey of South Kerry*. Cork, pp. 336-7. The term 'pattern' comes from the word 'patron',

and these events would have involved conducting 'rounds' of penitential stations while reciting specific prayers.
20 *National Folklore Collection, Schools' Collection*, vol. 0326, p. 23. These fights apparently stopped in c. 1880.
21 Donnelly, J. S. Jr. 2002. *The Great Irish Potato Famine*. Gloucestershire, p. 2.
22 Vallely, F. (ed.) 1994. *Companion to Irish Traditional Music*. Cork, p. 60; Brennan, 'Reinventing tradition: The boundaries of Irish dance', pp. 22-4; see also Foley, C. 2011. 'The Irish *céilí*: A site for constructing, experiencing, and negotiating a sense of community and identity'. *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research* 29, no. 1, pp. 43-60.
23 Vallely, *Companion to Irish Traditional Music*, p. 61.
24 A fife is a small, high-pitched flute-type instrument.
25 Vallely, *Companion to Irish Traditional Music*, p. 130.
26 Vallely, *Companion to Irish Traditional Music*, p. 140.
27 Ó Coileán, S. 1982. *Seán Ó Ríordáin: Beatha agus Saothar*. Baile Átha Cliath.
28 Vallely, *Companion to Irish Traditional Music*, pp. 99, 359.
29 Ó Canainn, T. 2003. *Seán Ó Riada: His Life and His Work*. Cork.
30 Ó Tuama, F. 2015. 'Cáit Ní Mhuimhneacháin'. In Cumann Staire Uibh Laoire (ed.) *Memories of Keimaneigh National School*. Cork, pp. 53-4.
31 Cróinín, D. 2000. *The Songs of Elizabeth Cronin, Irish Traditional Singer: The Complete Song Collection*. Dublin. The author, Professor Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, is the grandson of Elizabeth Cronin.
32 Vallely, *Companion to Irish Traditional Music*, p. 285.
33 For more information on Chief O'Neill, see Carolan, N. 1997. *A Harvest Saved: Francis O'Neill and Irish Music in Chicago*. London; Meek, B. 1999. 'Hail the chief! Francis O'Neill: Collector, musician, adventurer and policeman'. *History Ireland* 7, no. 1, pp. 42-5. Author Nicholas Carolan is director emeritus of the ITMA.
34 O'Neill, F. 1903 (reprinted 1996). *O'Neill's Music of Ireland: Eighteen Hundred and Fifty Melodies ... etc.* Arranged by James O'Neill. Missouri.
35 *Cork Examiner*, 26 Mar. 1970.
36 For various references to the Bandon FCÁ Pipe Band, see *Southern Star*, 16 May 1964, 9 Sep. 1967; *Cork Examiner*, 14 July 1948, 18 Mar. 1971. FCÁ stands for *Fórsa Cosanta Áitiúil* and was the local defence force.
37 Ryan, A. 1995. 'New Bandon pipe band to have first outing for raft race'. *Southern Star*, 11 Feb. 1995.
38 *Southern Star*, 9 Mar. 1974, 2 Nov. 1974.
39 *Fleadh Cheoil Chorcaí* has been held in Dunmanway on six occasions, in 1979, 1995, 2002, 2006, 2007 and 2011, see *Southern Star*, 26 May 1979, 20 May 1995, 25 May 2002, 21 Apr. 2006, 19 May 2007, 14 May 2011. The junior county *fleadh* has also been held in the town, see *Southern Star*, 21 June 2008. *Fleadh Cheoil na Mumhan*

took place in Dunmanway in July of 1982 and 1983, see *Southern Star*, 31 July 1982, 23 July 1983.

40 Based on an interview with Pat O'Sullivan, accordion player, from Drinagh, 5 Apr. 2009.

41 Vallely, *Companion to Irish Traditional Music*, p. 154.

42 Daly, E. 2007. *Skibbereen and District, Fact and Folklore.* Leap, p. 150; Shields, H. (ed.) 1998. *Tunes of the Munster Pipers: Irish Traditional Music from the James Goodman Manuscripts*, vol. 1. Dublin; Shields, H. and Shields, L. (eds) 2013. *Tunes of the Munster Pipers: Irish Traditional Music from the James Goodman Manuscripts*, vol. 2. Dublin. Much of Goodman's collection has remained unpublished in the library of Trinity College Dublin (where he was professor of Irish) but in 2016, ITMA in collaboration with Trinity College made six volumes of his manuscripts available online at http://goodman.itma.ie.

43 O'Neill, *Irish Minstrels and Musicians*, p. 174.

44 O'Neill, *Irish Minstrels and Musicians*, p. 174.

45 http://www.skibbereencomhaltas.com/ [accessed 27 Nov. 2017]. While the official website says that Skibbereen *Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann* was founded in 1969, a newspaper report in 1972 refers to their first annual meeting and states that the branch were not yet in existence twelve months, see *Southern Star*, 18 Mar. 1972.

46 *Cork Examiner*, 22 May 1973.

47 In the context of this paper, the terms 'brass band' and 'silver band' are interchangeable; the vast majority of these bands incorporated musicians playing a variety of lacquered, silver-plated and raw brass instruments.

48 Indeed, Michael O'Mahony's detailed research into the life of prominent Clonakilty businessman Maxwell Irwin shows that he was an avid supporter of Fr Mathew's temperance movement, see O'Mahony, this vol.; see also *Cork Examiner*, 2 Sep. 1842.

49 Lane, L. and Murphy, W. (eds) 2016. *Leisure and the Irish in the Nineteenth Century.* Liverpool, p. 27.

50 *Freeman's Journal*, 18 Oct. 1882.

51 Malcolm, E. 1986. *Ireland Sober, Ireland Free.* Dublin, p. 132.

52 Hall, Mr and Mrs S. C. 1843. *Ireland: Its Scenery, Character &c*, vol. 3. London, p. 421.

53 *Cork Examiner*, 3 Sep. 1869; *Nation*, 11 Sep. 1869.

54 Coombes, Rev. J. 1980. *The Church of the Immaculate Conception, Centenary Record.* Clonakilty, p. 6.

55 A report on Clonakilty Fife and Drum Band in the *Southern Star*, 20 May 1911, commented on 'the great progress they had made in a short time'. This might suggest the band had re-formed in the early decades of the twentieth century.

56 Tuipéar, T. 1988. *Historical Walk of Clonakilty and its Sea-front.* Clonakilty, p. 12. The account of the fife and drum band accompanying Parnell into Clonakilty was first heard by this author on a radio interview aired in c. 1997 with Eibhlís De Barra

possibly on Donncha Ó Dúlaing's 'Highways and Byways' programme on RTÉ Radio One. Any further information on this event in 1880 would be much appreciated.

57 *Cork Examiner*, 13 Sep. 1900; *Southern Star*, 4 Jan. 1930.

58 Coombes, J. 1969. *Timoleague and Barryroe.* Timoleague, p. 70; see also *Southern Star*, 27 July 1895.

59 *Southern Star*, 2 May 1903, 1 Aug. 1903. There is a reference to St Fachtna's Brass Band in 1907 playing at the Rosscarbery Annual Regatta, see *Skibbereen Eagle*, 3 Aug. 1907.

60 *Southern Star*, 12 Aug. 1933; *Cork Examiner*, 22 Aug. 1933.

61 *Cork Examiner*, 10 May 1881.

62 *Cork Examiner*, 2 May 1899; *Southern Star*, 2 Dec. 1899, 1 Sep. 1900.

63 http://www.skibbereensilverband.net/ [accessed 27 Nov. 2017].

64 O'Connor, *Bringing It All Back Home*, p. 93.

65 Vallely, *Companion to Irish Traditional Music*, p. 77.

66 Vallely, *Companion to Irish Traditional Music*, pp. 61-4.

67 O'Connor, *Bringing It All Back Home*, p. 103.

68 O'Connor, *Bringing It All Back Home*, p. 89.

69 Eileen was the daughter of Ellie O'Sullivan Rua who was born in the Clonakilty area c. late 1860s; it is thought that the following records are hers: baptismal record, 26 Sep. 1867, Desertserges parish, microfilm 04798 / 05, p. 20, Catholic Parish Registers, National Library of Ireland, available to view at http://registers.nli.ie; civil birth record registered 20 Oct. 1867, in Murragh, in the Union of Bandon, Civil Registration Office of Ireland, available to view at https://civilrecords.irishgenealogy.ie.

70 https://cloncomhaltas.wordpress.com/about/ [accessed 27 Nov. 2017].