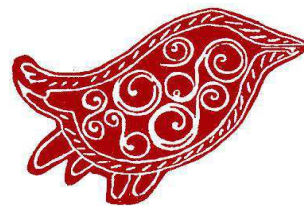


Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society



www.corkhist.ie

Title: Revd Charles Bunworth of Buttevant: patron of harpers and poets

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Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society, 1997, Vol. 102, page(s) 111-120

Published by the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society

Digital file created: September 20, 2017

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Revd Charles Bunworth of Buttevant: Patron of harpers and poets

By DIARMAID Ó CATHÁIN

Thomas Crofton Croker, the noted folklorist, in his *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* (1825)¹, includes a number of tales about the Banshee, (*bean sí*), the fairy woman who was believed, according to tradition, to lament the deaths of important people in Ireland long ago. One of these tales relates to an alleged visitation of the *bean sí* at the death of Reverend Charles Bunworth, Rector of the Church of Ireland in Buttevant for many years in the eighteenth century. Charles Bunworth was noted in his time for his ability as a harper and for his patronage of harpers and poets, and was, in fact, Croker's great-grandfather. The fullest account of him is that given by Croker himself in his *Fairy Legends*:

The Reverend Charles Bunworth was rector of Buttevant, in the County Cork, about the middle of the last century. He was a man of unaffected piety, and of sound learning, pure in heart and benevolent in intention. By the rich he was respected, and by the poor beloved; nor did a difference of creed prevent their looking up to 'the minister' (so was Mr. Bunworth called by them) in matters of difficulty and in seasons of distress, confident of receiving from him the advice and assistance that a father would afford to his children. He was the friend and the benefactor of the surrounding country — to him, from the neighbouring town of Newmarket, came both Curran and Yelverton for advice and instruction, previous to their entrance at Dublin College. Young, indigent, and inexperienced, these afterwards eminent men received from him, in addition to the advice they sought, pecuniary aid; and the brilliant career which was theirs justified the discrimination of the giver.

But what extended the fame of Mr. Bunworth beyond the limits of the parishes adjacent to his

own, was his performance on the Irish harp, and his hospitable reception and entertainment of the poor harpers who travelled from house to house about the country. Grateful to their patron, these itinerant minstrels sang his praises to the tingling accompaniment of their harps, invoking in return for his bounty abundant blessings on his white hand, and celebrating in their rude verses the blooming charms of his daughters, Elizabeth and Mary. It was all these poor fellows could do; but who can doubt that their gratitude was sincere, when, at the time of Mr. Bunworth's death, no less than fifteen harps were deposited on the loft of his granary, bequeathed to him by the last members of a race which has now ceased to exist . . .²

Croker then proceeds to give an account of alleged manifestations of the *bean sí* on the occasion of the death of Charles Bunworth, in the course of which he quotes extensively from conversations involving a daughter of the reverend gentleman.

Making allowance for Croker's tendency to tailor his material to the expectations of his nineteenth-century English audience ('rude verses' . . . 'poor fellows') there is no reason to think his account of Bunworth himself — apart from the story of the *bean sí* — to be other than factually correct, and a number of other sources confirm Croker's account. The folklore relating to the *bean sí* was probably a family tradition, as appears from his statement that 'there are still living credible witnesses who declare their authenticity and who can be produced to attest most, if not all, of the following particulars . . .'³

Charles Bunworth was born about 1704/5, the second son of Richard Bunworth of

Newmarket, Co. Cork, a farmer. He was eighteen years of age when he entered Trinity College Dublin on 4 April 1723. He enrolled there as a 'pensioner', indicating that his family was middle-class, of moderate means. Before that he was taught by a Mr Murdock. He took his BA in 1727 and his MA in 1730, being ordained deacon at Cloyne in December of the same year, and ordained to the ministry at Cloyne in March 1731.⁴

Charles's mother was Elizabeth, daughter of John Philpot of Newmarket,⁵ Bunworth's own home town, and this may indicate a marriage connection with the family of John Philpot Curran (1750-1817) the noted patriot. Richard Ryan's *Biographia Hibernica*, which was published in 1822, some three years before Croker's *Fairy Legends*, confirms Bunworth's patronage of Curran, stating (of Bunworth) that he had 'an intimate knowledge of the Classics', and that 'the celebrated Curran came to him to be examined before he entered Dublin College, and Mr. Bunworth was so much pleased with young Curran that he gave him some pecuniary assistance.'⁶

In 1729 Charles Bunworth was appointed Rector of Knocktemple, and from 1736 to 1740 Prebendary (incumbent) of Cooline. From 1740 to his death he was Vicar of Bregoge, holding also the position of Vicar of Tullylease from 1748 and Vicar of Kilbrin from 1764 as well. He died 14 September 1772.⁷

Charles married Mary Delacour of Cork in 1742. There were two daughters of the marriage, Elizabeth and Mary. Elizabeth Bunworth died unmarried. Mary Bunworth married Croker Dillon of Baltydaniel. The eldest daughter of this marriage, Maria Dillon, married Thomas Croker and became Crofton Croker's mother.⁸ Revd Charles Bunworth was thus Crofton Croker's maternal great-grandfather.

Ryan's *Biographia Hibernica* also states that Bunworth was . . .



JOHN PHILPOT CURRAN

greatly distinguished for his patronage and knowledge of Irish music. He was a remarkably good performer on the Irish Harp, and at the time of his decease . . . had in his possession fifteen harps, bequeathed to him at various times by the minstrels of his native land, as the last mark of their gratitude for his hospitality towards them.⁹

Irish harp music, at the time, according to Gráinne Yeats, combined elements of both art and folk music:

The harpers' repertoire still contained remnants of the formal music of the Gaelic era, which owed nothing to mainland European art music. But in addition the players absorbed and adapted elements of folk music, while by the 17th century the harper composers were writing pieces in imitation of the European baroque style, the kind of music that their later patrons enjoyed. Thus the harpers acted as a bridge between the two other kinds of music.¹⁰

It should be recalled that the harp had been the aristocratic instrument of Gaelic Ireland. The excellence of medieval Irish harp music is well-attested. The patronage of the harpers was taken up by the old English and in their turn by the seventeenth-century Cromwellian planters, and harpers continued as a feature of Irish society down to the end of the eighteenth century. Until the latter part of the century the harp remained the principal musical instrument of the upper classes in Ireland and the harpers were patronized in the houses of the gentry whether Protestant or Catholic, Irish-speaking or English-speaking. Donal O'Sullivan, in his authoritative account of Carolan and his times has written of Connacht in particular in the earlier part of the eighteenth century:

We may . . . note as a remarkable fact that the descendants of the Protestant settlers, who had been at most for three generations in the country, seem to have been just as devoted to the Irish music of the harp as were the old Gaelic families . . .¹¹

Although harpers did not enjoy the same high social status as they did in medieval times, they were still accorded respect in the eighteenth century. Dr James MacDonnell (1763-1845) from Antrim, the man who promoted the Belfast Harp Festival of 1792, wrote of Arthur O'Neill — a famous harper in the northern part of the country — who had tutored him as a boy:

. . . During the two years he lived in the house he was treated as a poor Gentleman — had a servant — was a man of strong natural sense, pleasing in his manners, and had acquired a considerable knowledge of the common topics, so that he acquit himself very well in mixed society, when encouraged to converse. He had, according to the customs of these itinerant musicians, travelled several times all over Ireland, and became thereby acquainted with several of the principal families, who were in the habit of enter-

taining such persons; among these were some Protestant families, but the Harpers frequented mostly the homes of old Irish families, who had lost their titles, or were reduced more or less in their estates. These they would visit once in two or three years, and remain from a week to a month in each house, and it was generally a day of rejoicing among the young and the old, when one of these itinerants appeared . . .¹²

According to Sylvester O'Halloran, the Limerick historian and eye-surgeon, writing towards the end of the eighteenth century:

In every house was one or two harps, free to all travellers, who were the more caressed the more they excelled in music; and it was a reproach to a gentleman to want this branch of education. I do not confine this custom to ancient times: it was observed forty years ago, and still subsists in many parts of the kingdom.¹³

This can probably be taken as a fair representation of the situation in the Cork area also.¹⁴ Crofton Croker himself, referring to the earlier part of the eighteenth century wrote that at that time 'almost everyone' played on the Irish harp, explaining that he meant the term 'every one' to be understood, 'in the same sense as applied to the piano-forte at present'.¹⁵

Bunworth's patronage of and interest in traditional culture seems to have extended further than the harpers and their music, however. The sale catalogue compiled for the auction of Crofton Croker's books and antiquities after his death gave another striking piece of information about the Revd Charles Bunworth: 'At the contentions or meetings of the bards of Ireland, between the years 1730 and 1750, which were generally held every three years at Bruree, County Limerick, the Rev. Ch. Bunworth was five times chosen Umpire or President.'¹⁶ This would indicate that Bunworth was as well acquainted with the poets and their compositions as he was with the harpers and their tunes.

There was an extremely close connection between poetry and song in the eighteenth-century tradition. Because of the absence of the printed medium, the tradition was strongly oral, albeit with a vigorous manuscript basis. The occasional verse of the time was written to popular airs. In fact, as has often been pointed out, in the Irish oral tradition, a poem without an air was practically inconceivable. As Prof. Pádraig A. Breatnach has written, 'Perhaps the most important single feature of Irish poetry in the eighteenth century is that it is poetry in song. . . The significance of the musical factor in the transmission of eighteenth-century poetry is . . . self-evident.'¹⁷

As there were no facilities in schools or colleges for the pursuit of literature in Irish, the amateur poets and scribes who cultivated Irish literature, maintained the tradition through patterns of association, meeting and exchanging notes, and performing their compositions. It was in this context that in eighteenth-century Munster the phenomenon of the poetic court (*cúirt éigse*) emerged, and in other parts of the country similar contacts were practised also.¹⁸

There was a very lively and active poetic tradition in the north Cork area in the eighteenth century, and one of the most noted poets, Seán Clárach Mac Domhnaill (1691-1754), lived in Charleville, less than fifteen miles from Buttevant. The *cúirt éigse* associated with Bruree and Charleville is closely linked with Seán Clárach. According to Hardiman, writing at the beginning of the nineteenth century:

In the early part of the last century, periodical meetings, or 'sessions', of the Munster bards were held at Charleville, and Bruree, in the counties of Cork and Limerick, where the aspirants for poetic celebrity recited their productions before the assembly. They to whom the prizes were adjudged, in the various departments of poetic composition, were publicly crowned, and distinguished by other marks of honour. . .¹⁹

Fr Pádraig Ó Duinnín surmised that these sessions were held half-yearly and that Bruree may have been abandoned in favour of Charleville and other locations after 1746.²⁰ Elsewhere Crofton Croker observes: 'I believe it will be found that the Munster Bardic Sessions or Meetings were held at Brury [sic] in the County Limerick and not at Charleville in the County Cork.'²¹

In the context of poetic contests, Sylvester O'Halloran wrote: '. . . there were public sessions of the poets, at stated times to exercise their genius. Mr Mac Donnell [i.e. Séan Clárach], a man of great erudition, and profound Irish antiquarian and poet, whose death I sensibly feel, and from whom, then a boy, I learned the rudiments of our language, constantly kept up this custom.'²² And Edward Walsh, writing towards the end of the last century, noted: 'The people of the districts bordering upon the town of Charleville yet retain curious traditions of these literary contests, in which the candidates for admission were obliged to furnish extempore proofs of poetical ability.'²³

Prof. Breatnach noted some stanzas in a Maynooth manuscript (MS B 11) attributed to Séamus Mór Mac Coitir of Castlelyons, beginning *A chliar nach molann an t-ól*, stated to have been composed extempore by Mac Coitir 'at a conference in Buttevant about the year 1760.'²⁴ At least one of the poets associated with Seán Clárach and this *cúirt éigse*, the famous Tadhg Gaelach Ó Súilleabháin from the Sliabh Luachra area, was also a skilled player on the harp.²⁵

Mac Domhnaill is described as a 'gentleman farmer' and after his marriage farmed at a place called Killoohig, about a mile south-west of Charleville. Here he had a mill also. The meetings or sessions of the *cúirt éigse* were held, it is said, in the old *lios* of Killoohig, located on Mac Domhnaill's farm. At Bruree, they are said to have been held 'on Lios na Ríogh, once, it is supposed,



THE OLD VICARAGE, BUTTEVANT

the residence of Allioll Olum a renowned King of Munster'.²⁶

In the context of the association of Revd Charles Bunworth with the *cúirt éigse* it may be relevant to note that Seán Clárach seems to have enjoyed close relations with members of the established church. Risteard Ó Foghludha thought it likely that Seán Clárach had attended a school established in Charleville by the first Earl of Orrery with provision for four free places for Roman Catholic children without any interference with their religion.²⁷ Furthermore, Mac Domhnaill is stated by tradition to have married a member of the Church of Ireland named Agnes White.²⁸

In the eighteenth century clergymen of the established church were regularly patrons of traditional music and some were accomplished exponents of Irish music themselves. Capt. Francis O'Neill gives accounts of various ministers of the Church of

Ireland who were patrons and players of Irish music in the same century, such as Revd Edward Sterling (1706-1766) of Co. Cavan, a noted harper and performer on the bagpipe, Revd John Dempsey of Wexford and Kildare (+1793), a noted piper, Revd Charles Macklin (uncle of the actor and dramatist) (+1797), and Revd Alexander Nichols of Co. Leitrim, pipers also — together with others of the nineteenth century, including, of course, the famous musician and collector, James Goodman, Canon of Ross and Professor of Irish at Trinity College Dublin.²⁹ Many Church of Ireland clergymen were patrons of harpers: Revd Charles Massey, Dean of Limerick 1740-1766, for example, was such an admirer of Carolan that he commissioned a portrait of the famous harper. Dean Patrick Delaney, Swift's friend, patronized Carolan's son, also a harper, and subsidized the publication of a collection of Carolan's tunes in the 1740s. 'Parson Phibbs' of Ardlaharty, Ballymote, Co.



THE BUNWORTH HARP

(Leslie Linsey Mason Collection, Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

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Sligo, was a patron of Arthur O'Neill who praised his hospitality highly: 'a credit to the cloth . . . I could live with him for ever', — to mention but a few.³⁰

And in this context one might also note in passing an outstanding north Cork Irish scholar, historian, and Church of Ireland prelate, Bishop William Reeves (1815-1892). According to a review of Lady Ferguson's *Life of Reeves*:

His . . . grandfather was agent to the Earl of Cork, . . . and in his kitchen the boy saw many fiddlers and pipers who sang the 'Aisling air Eire' [sic], or 'Vision of Ireland', and other compositions of the famous poet of the district, John Claragh MacDonnell . . . Such influences gave (Bishop) Reeves his first inclination to the study of Irish history, while his profession led him to devote himself chiefly to the ecclesiastical part of that history.³¹

Thomas Crofton Croker, on whom we depend for much of our information on Charles Bunworth, was born in 1798 'at the house of his maternal grandmother in Buckingham Square, Cork'.³² This grandmother was Mary Bunworth, one of Charles Bunworth's two daughters, whose charms were celebrated by visiting harpers. Most if not all of the anecdotal information that has come down to us about the Revd Charles Bunworth can be traced to Crofton Croker. It seems likely that his account was from the tradition of his own family, for example his statement (quoted above) of his belief that the *cúirt éigse* met at Bruree rather than at Charleville. It may not be a coincidence then that Croker's 'field-trip', so to speak, for his *Researches* took him to the north Cork area, from where his family was sprung, and yielded a manuscript of Seán Clárach's (obtained in Mallow) from which he quotes, and some biographical details on the poet, and even a transcript of Mac Domhnaill's epitaph.³³

Both Croker and Ryan, in their accounts of Charles Bunworth, record that at the time

of his death, which took place in the year 1772, he was the proud possessor of no less than fifteen harps. Unfortunately, this prize collection of instruments was destroyed when the harps were, according to Croker, 'broken up one after the other, and used as firewood by an ignorant follower of the family, who, on their removal to Cork for a temporary change of scene, was left in charge of the house'.³⁴

Happily, however, at least one of Charles Bunworth's harps survived the sad fate which befell his collection generally and is still extant. The 1863 edition of Croker's *Fairy Legends*, referring to this harp, states that 'this interesting relic was, when this book was first published, in the possession of his grand-daughter, Miss Dillon of Blackrock, near Cork, to whom the musical talent of her ancestor also seems to have descended'.³⁵ This harp was noticed in Hall's *Ireland* (vol. 2, p. 410), and the notice was accompanied by a picture of the harp, based on a drawing by the distinguished Cork artist, Daniel Maclise.³⁶

'Miss Dillon of Blackrock,' was Croker's aunt, his mother's sister, who seems to have lived with or near Croker's mother in Blackrock. This lady's musical ability was in fact honoured with a verse in a poem in Irish composed on the occasion of Croker's departure for England in May 1829. This poem or lament was composed by a Mrs Leary from whom Croker had collected poems and other folklore. The verse was translated thus by Croker:

Think on that dear aunt, too
who plays to perfection
of the real tunes of Erin
the noble collection.

Croker adds: 'to explain this verse, it is necessary to state that my 'dear aunt' (now, alas, the late Miss Dillon) had once or twice played for Mrs Leary several Irish melodies

from Bunting's collection, at which she appeared to be very much delighted'.³⁷ Revd Charles Bunworth's harp passed afterwards into the possession of Croker himself. It was sold at the Croker auction in 1854 and purchased by a Thomas Bateman. On his death in turn it passed to the collection of Revd Francis W. Galpin.³⁸ The harp seems to have passed then to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, where it is now preserved.

The 'Bunworth Harp', as it is appropriately known, has been described as follows:

Large Irish minstrel harp. Sound-box hollowed out of a solid block of bog oak, ornamented with incised flowery scrolls and colored hexafoils. Back of sound-box covered with a board with two holes. Carved neck with two brass pin plates. Curved front pillar of T-section, surmounted with a carved head, ornamented with scalloped edges, borders, and flowers; inscribed 'MADE BY JOHN KELLY FOR THE REVD CHARLES BUNWORTH, BALTDANIEL, 1734.' Thirty-seven strings, of which thirty-three are attached to the tuning pins on the neck and four to the pins on the front pillar. Original color scheme green, red, and white. The green paint is oxidized and looks black. Height, total, 169cm. Sound-box, length, 106cm; width, upper end, 10 cm; lower end, 35cm; sides, height, top, 13.33 cm; bottom, 11.5. Vibrating length of strings, shortest, 8.5 cm; longest 112 cm. (17.1787).³⁹

Armstrong gives a much more detailed description of this harp and its dimensions. He notes, for example, that the ornamenta-

tion 'mainly consists of wavy stems with foliage, from which spring roses, thistles, and lilies — symbolical of England, Scotland, and France . . . the Harp itself may be accepted as the symbol of Ireland.'⁴⁰ Although Armstrong noted that it was 'perhaps the only known example by John Kelly that has been preserved',⁴¹ another harp made by (presumably the same) John Kelly, in 1726, is represented in the frontispiece of Walker's *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards* (2nd ed., 1818). This harp, now untraced or lost apparently, was at that time in the possession of Mr Jonathan Hehir of Limerick.⁴² This John Kelly was perhaps one of the O Kellys of Ballynascreen, Co. Derry, who were noted as makers of harps.⁴³

Revd Charles Bunworth is buried in the graveyard adjoining St John's Church, Buttevant. The inscription on his tomb simply states: 'Here lies the body of the Revd. Charlis Bunworth who departed this life the 14 day of Sept. 1772 aged 68 years.'

[I should like to thank Ms Sharon Ryan for typing this article. I am very grateful to Prof. Seán Ó Coileáin of UCC, Mr Darcy Kuronen of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mr Cal. Hyland, and the Editor of this *Journal* for help. The accompanying photograph of the Bunworth Harp is reproduced by kind permission of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.]



REFERENCES

- 1 The first edition of Croker's *Fairy Legends* was published in London in 1825. The quotations below are taken from the third edition, ed. by Thomas Wright (London, n.d. [1862?]).
- 2 *Fairy Legends*, pp. 110-111.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 W. M. Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross* 3 vols (Dublin 1863-4) ii, 60; George D. Burtchaell and Thomas V. Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinensis* (London 1924) p. 111; cf p. viii. 'Mr Murdock' may have been a tutor who resided with the family: see Burtchaell and Sadleir, op. cit., under Bunworth, Wm.
- 5 Brady, op. cit., ii, 60.
- 6 Richard Ryan, *Biographia Hibernica: The Worthies of Ireland* 2 vols (Dublin 1822) i, 228. Both Curran and Yelverton (mentioned also by Croker) seem to have been speakers of Irish, as it may be assumed Revd Charles Bunworth was, in view, in particular, of his intimacy with the harpers and poets of the time. Curran was a native speaker of Irish: Risteard Ó Glaisne, *Gaeilge i gColáiste na Tríonóide 1592-1992* (Dublin 1992) p. 20. Curran is thought to have modelled the metre of a poem he wrote, 'The Deserter's Meditation', on the metre used in *Preab san Ól* by Riocard Bairéad (c. 1740-1819): this metre was borrowed in turn by Byron, the English poet, who was a friend of Curran, for a poem of his own (Brian Ó Cuiv, 'Irish Language and Literature, 1691-1845' in T. W. Moody and W. E. Vaughan (eds), *A New History of Ireland* iv (1986) pp. 374-423, (p. 389)). Barry Yelverton, later Lord Avonmore, a distinguished judge, was described as 'an Irish speaking and humane judge' by Maurice Lenihan, the Limerick historian and journalist; see Breandán Ó Madagáin, *An Ghaeilge i Luimneach 1700-1900* (Dublin 1974) p. 17. Both Curran and Yelverton were subscribers to Charlotte Brooke's *Reliques of Irish Poetry* (Dublin 1789), the first bilingual book of Irish literature ever published.
- 7 Brady, *Records*, ii, 59-60. Knocktemple, Cooline(y), Bregoge, Tullylease, Kilbrin, are all civil parishes in the area.
- 8 Brady *Records*, ii, 60; T. C. Croker, *A Walk from London to Fulham* ed. by T. F. Dillon Croker (London 1860) p. x.
- 9 Ryan, op. cit., i, 228.
- 10 Gráinne Yeats, *The Harp of Ireland* (Belfast 1992) p. 49.
- 11 Donal O'Sullivan, *Carolan: The Life, Times and Music of an Irish Harper* 2 vols (London 1958) i, 15; see also pp. 44-5. See also especially, Breandán Breathnach, *Ceol agus Rince na hÉireann* (Dublin 1989) pp. 31-50.
- 12 Letter of 8 November 1838: Charlotte M. Fox, *Annals of the Irish Harpers* (London 1911) pp. 138-9. For Arthur O'Neill (1734-1816), see Fox, *Annals*, passim; O'Sullivan, *Carolan*, ii, 143-183, and passim; and Charles Dillon, 'The Harp that once . . .' in *Dúiche Néill* vii (1992) 80-87.
- 13 Sylvester O'Halloran, *A History of Ireland: An Introduction to the Study of the History and Antiquities of Ireland and Ierne Defended* 3 vols (Dublin 1819) i, 148.
- 14 See also e.g., Alf Mac Lochlainn, 'Thomas O'Shea, A Kerry Harper', *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society* 3 (1970) 81-3.
- 15 Thomas Crofton Croker (ed.), *A Kerry Pastoral in Imitation of the First Eclogue of Virgil* (Percy Society, London, 1843) p. 16.
- 16 *Catalogue of the Greater Part of the Library of the late Thomas Crofton Croker, Esq. which will be sold by Auction by Puttick and Simpson, London, Dec. 18th-20th, 1854* (p. 20).
- 17 Pádraig A. Breatnach, 'Oral and written transmission of poetry in the eighteenth century', *Eighteenth Century Ireland* ii (1987) 57-65 (p. 59). See also Breandán Breathnach, *Ceol agus Rince na hÉireann* (Dublin 1989) pp. 7-12.
- 18 Breatnach, loc. cit. For some account of the *cúirt éigse* (*cúirt filíochta* or *cúirt na mbúrdún*) see J. E. Caerwyn Williams and Máirín Ní Mhuiríosa, *Traidisiún Liteartha na nGael* (Dublin 1979) pp. 282-290. Daniel Corkery's famous account, *The Hidden Ireland* (1924), a product of its time, is a very rewarding book. For a critique of this work see Louis M. Cullen, *The Hidden Ireland: Reassessment of a Concept* (Mullingar 1988). The whole question awaits a systematic study.

- 19** James Hardiman, *Irish Minstrelsy*, 2 vols (facsimile reprint, Shannon, 1971) i, p. xxviii. Bruree is about five miles from Charleville, in the Limerick direction.
- 20** Pádraig Ua Duinnín, *Filidhe na Máighe* (Dublin 1906), p. xiii.
- 21** Thomas Crofton Croker, *Researches in the South of Ireland* (repr., Shannon 1969) p. 343.
- 22** O'Halloran, op. cit., pp. 259-260. O'Halloran's mother, Mary MacDonnell, was closely related to Seán Clárach.
- 23** Edward Walsh, *Irish Popular Songs* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1883) p. 22.
- 24** Breatnach, loc. cit., p. 63.
- 25** Máire B. de Paor, *Tadhbh Gaelach Ó Súilleabháin 1715-1795* (Dublin 1995) pp. 29, 42.
- 26** D. A. O'Leary, 'John Claragh McDonnell, the Celtic Poet of Charleville', *JCHAS* (1893) 179-182 (p. 180).
- 27** Ristead Ó Foghludha, *Seán Clárach* (Dublin 1933), pp. 10-11. Wherever he received his schooling, Seán Clárach was well educated. He wrote and spoke modern Irish and English, and was according to his epitaph, *tribus linguis ornatus, nempe Graeca Latina et Hybernica non vulgaris*, 'accomplished in three languages, namely Greek, Latin and non-vulgar [i.e. literary] Irish,' see Ó Foghludha, p. 34.
- 28** O'Leary, loc. cit., p. 181.
- 29** Francis O'Neill, *Irish Minstrels and Musicians* (reprinted with intro. by B. Breathnach: Cork and Dublin 1987) pp. 170-176. For 'Parson Sterling' see also Seán Donnelly, 'An Eighteenth-Century Harp Medley', *Ceol na hÉireann/Irish Music* 1 (1993) 17-31 (esp. pp. 23-26); for Goodman see P. Ó Fiannachta, (ed.), *Séamus Goodman* (Baile an Fhírtéaraigh 1990).
- 30** O'Sullivan, *Carolan*, i, 108-114, 127; ii, 23, 167. See also Mac Lochlainn, 'Thomas O'Shea. . .', loc. cit., for other examples. Other C. of I. divines appear as patrons of eighteenth-century Irish scribes, including another friend of Swift, Anthony Raymond (1675-1726), Vicar of Trim, Francis Stoughton Sullivan (1715-1760), Professor of Feudal Law at TCD, and Bishop Matthew Young of Clonfert (1750-1800). For Raymond, see Alan Harrison, *Ag Cruinniú Meala* (Dublin 1988). For Sullivan and Young see William O'Sullivan, 'The Irish Manuscripts in Case H in Trinity College Dublin', *Celtica* xi (1976) 229-250.
- 31** Quoted from *The Athenaeum*, 21 April 1894, in James Coleman, 'The Last Century's Celtic Poets', *JCHAS* iiiA (1894) 331-360, (p. 336).
- 32** T. C. Croker, *A Walk from London to Fulham* (ed. by T. F. Dillon Croker, London, 1860), p. x. Buckingham Square was situated between South Terrace and George's Quay: Davis and Mary Coakley, *Wit and Wine: Literary and Artistic Cork in the Early Nineteenth Century* (2nd ed., Dún Laoghaire 1985) p. 32, n.
- 33** Croker, *Researches*. . . , pp. 62, 102.
- 34** *Fairy Legends*, p. 111.
- 35** *Ibid.*, p. 114.
- 36** *JCHAS* vi (1900) p. 121; *Catalogue*, p. 20. Maclise illustrated Croker's *Fairy Legends*. Maclise, Croker, and S. C. Hall were, of course, part of that amazing flowering of literary and artistic talent which occurred in Cork City in the early nineteenth century, before the famine: see Davis and Mary Coakley, op. cit.
- 37** Thomas Crofton Croker, *The Keen of the South of Ireland* (London 1844) pp. 101, 106-7. Edward Bunting, a young Armagh organist, was the person appointed to note down the music of the harpers at the Belfast Harp Festival of 1792. Bunting's first *Collection* of Irish music appeared in 1796 and the second in 1809.
- 38** Robert B. Armstrong, *The Irish and Highland Harps* (facsimile reprint, Shannon, 1969) pp. 91-96.
- 39** Nicholas Bessaraboff, *Ancient European Musical Instruments* (Harvard 1941) p. 216. I am grateful to Mr Darcy Kuronen of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts for this reference. Baltydaniel (E/W) is the area around Newtwopothouse, between Mallow and Buttevant.
- 40** Armstrong, *Irish and Highland Harps*, p. 93.
- 41** *Ibid.*, p. 92.
- 42** *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- 43** See Donnelly, 'An Eighteenth Century Harp Medley' (n. 29 above) p. 20.