‘The Forgotten Voice’

The Richard Henebry (1863-1916) Collection of Irish Music

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which has been accepted for an award in any other university or institute of higher learning, except where due acknowledgment has been made in the text.

Signed_____ Date_____

Christopher Mac Auliffe

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Richard Henebry (1863-1916) was ordained to the priesthood at All Hallows College, Dublin in 1892, but subsequently established a linguistic career for himself centred on the study of the Gaelic language. In 1898 he was appointed Associate Professor of Celtic Studies at the Catholic University of America, Washington DC, where he remained for two years, and in 1909 he was appointed Professor of Irish Language and Literature at University College Cork. Henebry was also a traditional fiddler and made field recordings and transcriptions of Irish music. Indeed, he was one of the first Irish music collectors in Ireland to recognise the potential of the Edison phonograph for the documentation of Irish music. Henebry’s wax cylinder collection of Irish music was one of the first of such aural collections made in Ireland. This thesis will give biographical details on Richard Henebry, explore his theories and analyses of Irish music, and provide a catalogue of the extant Henebry wax cylinder collection.

Chapter 1 offers biographical detail on Richard Henebry and chronicles the three main periods in his life: his birth and education; his sojourn in America; and his return to Ireland. Chapter 2 discusses how an antiquarian and political connection with Irish music can be traced through the lineage of antiquarians, and how the antiquarian and political influences may have shaped Henebry as a music collector and analyst. In Chapter 3 Henebry’s analytical approach to Irish music in his publications is examined in detail. The first publication, ‘Gaelic Melody Schemes in Word and Sound’ (published lecture notes 1900), was a somewhat tentative and confused exploration of the structure of Irish music. His second, *Irish Music* (1903), is a more detailed document describing unique scales and modes in Irish music, and the third, *A Handbook of Irish Music* (1928), was Henebry’s most definitive, and utilises a scientific, tonometric analysis of music on phonograph recordings to verify his conclusions. Henebry’s wax cylinder recordings are catalogued and discussed in Chapter 4. His wax cylinder collection is preserved in three different locations: University College Cork; University College Dublin; and the Berliner Phonogram-Archiv, with copies in the Irish Traditional Music Archive. Detailed descriptions of the collection in each location and biographies of Henebry’s sources are given in the chapter. Henebry’s music transcriptions have also been catalogued and copies of which are included at the end of the thesis in Appendices A, B, and C.

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List of Abbreviations

UCC……University College Cork

UCD……University College Dublin

BPA…….Berliner Phonogram-Archive

ITMA…...Irish Traditional Music Archive

CUA……Catholic University of America

AOH……Ancient Order of Hibernians

UC……University of California

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Preface

Richard Henebry was both a provocative and argumentative figure. He seems to have courted controversy on many occasions and as a result his activities were widely reported. This controversial and argumentative characteristic of Henebry's, while undoubtedly detrimental to his later career at the Catholic University of America, also ensured that his activities were well chronicled and as a result an accurate account of his life can be gauged. In order to collate Richard Henebry's life, his biography has been divided largely into three periods: his early family life and ordination to the Priesthood; his appointment to the Catholic University of America; and his return to Ireland.

Newspaper and journal articles from Ireland and the United States were a particularly valuable source in constructing a biography of Richard Henebry. The most informative of the newspaper articles were published in *The Kentucky Irish American* and the *Waterford News*. The *Kentucky Irish American*, for example, not only reported on Henebry's career in America as Associate Professor of Celtic Studies at the Catholic University of America (CUA), but also provided information about his early education. The latter was included in an unattributed article titled 'Henebry', printed 28 January 1898 announcing Henebry's appointment to the above-mentioned University. This article contains detailed information on Henebry's early life, indeed such is the detail that it is likely that its author either interviewed Henebry in person or received substantial information from Henebry in written format.

Various other American newspapers reported on the activities of Richard Henebry and his association with the Gaelic League of America in the period 1898-1903: the *New York Daily Tribune*; the *San Francisco Call*; the *Norfolk News*; the *Richmond Dispatch*; the *St Paul Globe*; the *Sun* (New York); and *The Times Washington*. Henebry spent time in Colorado recuperating from ill-health, and his time there, from 1902-1903, was conveniently documented by yet another US newspaper, *The Intermountain and Colorado Catholic*. This newspaper, although based in Utah, catered for the Catholic community in Colorado, and the information on Henebry's time as a parish priest and Gaelic activist in Denver Colorado is documented in its pages.

The aforementioned *Waterford News*, and other Irish newspapers, regularly reported on Henebry's career as a Gaelic Professor at University College Cork (UCC) and Coláiste na Rinne, as well as his attendance at *feiseanna*. Irish newspapers in particular *The Irish Times*, *The Southern Star*, *An Claidheamh Soluis*, *Nation*, the *Irish Independent* and *The Freeman's Journal* chronicled his Gaelic League activities in Ireland between 1903 and 1909. Henebry's interest in Irish music also developed during this period as is evident from the many references to his musical activities in the *Waterford News*. In 1909 Henebry's appointment to UCC was announced by *The Irish Times* and the *Waterford News*, and Henebry's gradual decline in health in the period 1915-1916, which resulted in his inability to continue his teaching duties in either UCC, or Coláiste na Rinne, was also noted by the *Waterford News*.

Henebry's obituary, written in 1916 for the *University College Cork Gazette* (1916), by a former class-mate from St John's College, Fr Power, is also helpful in tracing

Henebry's early life. Although other obituaries were printed in *The Waterford News*, *An Claidheamh Soluis*, and *The Munster Express*, Power's obituary is the most informative. Power, for instance, gives the date that Henebry joined the seminary at St John's College in Waterford and his subsequent transferral to St Patrick's College, Maynooth, details which are not available elsewhere. Power also mentions that Henebry volunteered for missionary work in England and was therefore ordained at All Hallows College, Dublin. While in Manchester, England, Henebry continued his Gaelic language studies and was taught, according to Power, by eminent Celtic Professor Dr John Strachan; evidence of this is also included in the previously mentioned article, 'Henebry', in the *Kentucky Irish American*.

There are also a number of book publications which detail elements of Henebry's biography. W.F.P Stockley's biographical essay 'Dr Henebry' in his, Stockley's, *Essays in Irish Biography* (1933) is a source of biographical information. Stockley gives a general overview of Henebry's life; however it is mainly in anecdotal form with few reliable references. A number of facts are incorrect, for example, Stockley claims that Henebry was born on 18 September 1863 but in fact, Henebry was born either on or before 17 September 1863, the date of his baptism.[1] Stockley also claims that Henebry was present in Manchester when the 'Manchester Martyrs' were executed. The 'Manchester Martyrs' were executed in 1867, when Henebry would only have been four years old, therefore, unless Henebry was taken to Manchester as a young child, it is unlikely that Stockley's information is correct. After having read Stockley's essay,

[1] Copy of Baptismal Certificate obtained from Fr Hasset, C.C. Portlaw, Co. Waterford

Richard Henebry's sister, Nora, stated, in a letter to her friend Mrs Cross, 'there is not much of the truth in it, I wonder where he got his information' (Henebry 1934, p. 1).[2]

In the book *Maynooth Students and Ordination Index 1795-1895* (1982), author Patrick Hamell gives 3 September 1885 as the date on which Henebry commenced his studies at St Patrick's College Maynooth. Henebry's academic progress at St Patrick's College, is recorded in the *College Calendarium* from 1885 to 1892. The status of the Gaelic language at St Patrick's College in the period 1885-1892 and information relating to Eoghan O'Growney, Henebry's Gaelic tutor at Maynooth, is discussed in P. Corish's book *Maynooth College 1775-1995* (1995). Robert Bracken's book *Irish Born Secular Priests in the Diocese of Salford* (1984) provides a short account of Richard Henebry's parish duties while in Manchester. Further information regarding Henebry's appointment to the Chair of Celtic Studies at the Catholic University of America (CUA) are included in Peter Hogan's book, *The Catholic University of America, 1896-1903* (1949). In this book, Hogan provides details on Henebry's appointment to the CUA, together with descriptions of the arguments between Henebry and the University, and Henebry's subsequent dismissal. Much of Hogan's information was gathered from letters written by key figures in the dispute, some of which have also been cited in this thesis. Further information regarding Henebry's appointment to the CUA is outlined in another book, *Michael Cavanagh His Life and Selected Works* (2010). The authors Pádraig Ó Macháin and Thomas F. Overlander describe how ex-Young Irelander and Waterford native, Michael Cavanagh, and the Ancient Order of Hibernians were instrumental in Henebry's selection for the Chair of Celtic Studies at the CUA. Captain Francis O'Neill describes his meeting with Henebry in 1901 in his books *Irish Minstrels*

[2] This letter is part of the Henebry Collection in the Waterford County Museum.

and Musicians (1913), and *Irish Folk Music* (1910).While working at the CUA Henebry regularly travelled back to Ireland on his summer vacations and an account of one of these trips in 1899, is given in Pádraig Ó Macháin's book *Riobard Bheldon* (1995). Further accounts of Henebry's summer trips to Ireland can also be found in Seán Ó Cuirín's book *Scribhne Risteird de Hindeberg* (1924).

A number of letters to, from and about Henebry are also extant. The earliest, an undated letter in the Henebry Manuscript Collection in the Library at Coláiste na Rinne (No. 3, Item 458), from Henebry to an unidentified 'Reverend', suggests that Henebry applied for entry to All Hallows College prior to his attendance at the St John's College School in 1882. Henebry's first association with the CUA is shown in a series of letters sent to Dr Shahan of the CUA which are held in the archives of the University. These letters are from Fr Michael Hickey (30 March 1895), Fr Richard Henebry (2 April 1895), and Fr Eoghan O'Growney (7 November 1896 and 23 December 1896). In the first letter Hickey recommends Henebry for the Chair of Celtic studies at the CUA. The letter from Henebry is an expression of enthusiasm and interest in the proposed post at the CUA. The letter from Fr O'Growney to Dr Shahan contains favourable references to Henebry, also recommending him for the Chair of Celtic Studies at the American University.

Rev. Michael P. Hickey also wrote a letter to the editor of the *Nation* newspaper in 1897 (Nation 23 January 1897). Hickey highlights Fr. Henebry's appointment to an 'Irish Language and Literature Chair' in the CUA in Washington DC. The writer informs the reader that Henebry was the first to be chosen for the post. The letter also details Henebry's early education: his first formal education in Carrick on Suir and Portlaw

together with his attendance at the College School and St. John's Seminary in Waterford City. Hickey also reveals that while in England on mission work Henebry was in contact with the most prominent 'Celtologists' of his time and that he contributed articles to a number of different journals including *Zeitschrift Fur Celtische Philologie*. Hickey also states that Henebry was sent to Germany for further study in Celtic philology for a two-year period.

There are two relevant letters in the Bancroft Library at the University of California (UC), Berkeley. The first letter, addressed to University President, Benjamin Wheeler, dated 29 March 1906, contains Henebry's apology and explanation as to why he could not accept his proposed post at UC. In the letter Henebry also gives an account of his mother's illness and subsequent death. The second letter, dated 12 April 1906, is from Dr Wheeler to Henebry, in which he expresses regret at Henebry's decision. Both letters give Henebry's address in 1906 and highlight the fact that Henebry did not take up the position of Instructor in Gaelic Philology at UC, as previously believed.

Henebry's whereabouts in Waterford between the years 1903 and 1909 can be traced through *Thom's Directory for Waterford* (1909-1910), *The Irish Catholic Directory and Almanac* (1903-1909), and various letters written by him, and to him, in the period. A number of these letters and postcards are held in the Waterford County Museum in Dungarvan, Co. Waterford, as part of its Henebry Collection. Detailed information regarding Henebry's use of the Edison phonograph to record Irish music is contained in a letter from Henebry to Lord Castletown, dated 1 April 1907. Henebry also mentions in this letter that he had sent recordings to Berlin for analysis and that he ordered copies of

these recordings to be made using a ‘gold moulding process’ method. This letter is included in the manuscript collection of Lord Castletown’s Papers, MSS 35,306, Folder No. 5, currently held in the National Library of Ireland, Dublin.

Apart from his dispute with the CUA, Henebry’s involvement with the Gaelic League of America was also somewhat controversial, and an example of this controversy is reported in the Irish-American journal *The Gael*. In its January 1903 edition, *The Gael* reported on the angry meeting of the Gaelic League of America conference the previous November in Philadelphia, in an article titled ‘The Henebriates on the Run’. The unattributed article describes an argument between the Californian delegates and the New York delegates at the conference. The article appears to be biased in favour of the New York delegates, and although Henebry did not attend the conference he is clearly linked, by the article’s author, to the California faction and its leader Fr Peter Yorke. In two other journal articles, the first by James P. Walsh, titled ‘Peter Yorke of San Francisco’ in *An Irish Quarterly Review* (1973), and the second by James P. Walsh and Timothy Foley, titled ‘Peter C. Yorke Irish-American Leader’ in *Studia Hibernica* (1974), Peter Yorke is described as another controversial Irish-American priest and Gaelic enthusiast that allied himself to Henebry and attacked the CUA through the pages of his, Yorke’s, San Francisco based newspaper *The Leader*. These journal articles, by Walsh and Foley, and other articles from the previously mentioned American newspapers outline a fractious period in Irish-American affairs at the beginning of the 20th century, a period in which Henebry was clearly very active.

In three journal articles − ‘Scríbhneoirí Gaeilge: 1. An Dr Risteard de Hindeberg’; ‘Scríbhneoirí Gaeilge: 2. An Dr Risteard de Hindeberg’; and ‘Scríbhneoirí Gaeilge: 3. An Dr Risteard de Hindeberg’ − published in the November 1961, January 1962, and February 1962 issues of *Comhar* respectively, author Flann Mac an tSaoir discusses Henebry’s contribution to the preservation of the Irish language. Henebry’s desire to resurrect the Gaelic of the 17th century is discussed in Mac an tSaoir’s articles, and may indicate that Henebry held antiquarian ideals regarding the language’s revival. Mac an tSaoir highlights an argument between Henebry and Padraig Pearse in which Pearse disagreed with Henebry’s views regarding 17th Gaelic; this argument was conducted through the pages of *An Claidheamh Soluis* and reveals something of Henebry’s stubborn personality. In the 1987 edition of the journal *Iolscoil na Mumhan*, author Micheál Ó Domhnaill gives a brief biography of Henebry. This account by Ó Domhnaill also suggests Henebry’s antiquarian approach to the Gaelic language by giving a description of the complexities of Henebry’s Gaelic classes at Coláiste na Rinne, during which he compared Gaelic with other languages such as Sanskrit, Latin, and Greek. Neill Buttimer’s article ‘An Ghaeilge I gColáiste na hOllscoile, Corcaigh, 1845-1995’ in *The Irish Review* (1986), also provides details of Henebry’s complex Irish language classes at UCC.

Chapter One

Richard Henebry

1.1 A Biography

Richard Henebry was born in September 1863 in Mount Bolton, Portlaw, Co. Waterford. Although Henebry's birth certificate is not available his birth can be deduced from his baptismal certificate which is dated 17 September 1863. It is likely that he was baptised soon after his birth, if not on the actual day of his birth. His father was Piarus,[3] a farmer from Mount Bolton, and his mother Ellen Cashin from Clogheen, Co. Tipperary. Richard was the oldest of their four children: Richard (b. 1863); Nóra (b. 1868 or 1869); Kate (b. 1870 or 1871); and John (b. 1871 or 1872).[4] In 1860 the Henebrys' landlord Jane Bolton lived in Bath England while the Henebry family occupied the Bolton family house at Mount Bolton. In *Griffith's Valuation* of 1850 the Henebry farm consisted of 171 acres. This had increased to 205 acres by the *Griffith Valuation* of 1860. In 1886, however, Piarus Henebry and his family were evicted (Waterford News 17 September 1886).

Little is known of the motives for the eviction but according to William Power, a direct descendent of Richard's uncle, Philip Henebry, it may have been politically motivated. In the 1860s, according to local lore, a contingent of the Irish militant nationalist movement, the Fenians, trained on Piarus Henebry's land. William Power has suggested

[3] Also known as Pierce.
[4] Approximate dates of birth obtained from the 1901 Census of Ireland.

that in 1886, the then landlord, Charles Percival Bolton, in a bid to exact revenge on a rebellious tenant, refused to renew the lease on the Henebry land. While there is no proof of this it would explain the 20 year gap between the eviction and the believed Fenian activities on Pierce Henebry's land in the 1860s. It is possible that the *Waterford News* reported the event as an eviction only because there was some resistance from the family to the decision to vacate the land. This resistance is mentioned in an article titled 'John Henebry, The Waterford Piper', by Jimmy O'Brien Moran. In his article O'Brien Moran interviewed Bríd Fielding, John Henebry's daughter, where she tells of how her father, John Henebry, Richard's younger brother, threw a bottle at one of the bailiffs and hit him in the head (O'Brien Moran 2001). After the eviction the family moved in to the village of Portlaw. The 1901 Census of Ireland records that Ellen Henebry, her daughters Kate, Nóra and son John operated a grocery shop in Brown Street, Portlaw. In the 1911 Census of Ireland only the son John is listed as the shopkeeper.

Richard Henebry was raised in an Irish-speaking household. Both of his parents were native speakers but it would appear that it was his mother, Ellen, who most encouraged a love of the Irish language in the young Richard (Kentucky Irish American 28 January 1899). This notion is also supported by Fr Power, Henebry's classmate in St John's College, who later wrote Henebry's obituary in the *University College Cork Gazette*:

> It was chiefly from his mother, who was a fine Irish speaker and owned a rich store of Celtic legend, music and song, that the future professor imbibed his literary taste and his mental acuteness.
>
> (Power 1916, p. 174)

It seems that Richard received his initial education at home (Kentucky Irish American 28 January 1899), presumably from his mother or another family member. In the aforementioned Henebry obituary in the *University College Cork Gazette* (1916), Fr

Power mentions that Henebry first attended a 'small school in Carrick on Suir' (Power 1916, p. 174). Presumably, having been 'home schooled' for a period, Henebry was then sent to school in Carrick on Suir, Co. Tipperary. It is possible that Richard may have stayed with his aunt, Kate Henebry, while at school there. Kate worked as housekeeper for her two brothers Richard and Robert Henebry, both priests, who resided at Carrick Beg, Carrick on Suir, until their deaths in 1862 and 1866 respectively. Kate continued to live in Carrick Beg until her death in 1880 and therefore would have been in the area during Richard's school days. Richard was later a pupil at national schools in Clonmore, Co. Kilkenny and Portlaw, Co. Waterford both schools would have been within walking distance of Henebry's home in Mount Bolton (Power 1916). *The Kentucky Irish American* also names Richard's first Gaelic language tutors, Seán Ruadh O'Sheehan and Tom Lannon, both from Portlaw, and Bob Weldon (1835-1914) from Comeragh Mills, Co. Waterford (Kentucky Irish American 28 January 1899). Since Gaelic was not taught in the national schools at the time it is probable that Richard received additional tuition from the above tutors which coincided with his national school education.

The strong tradition of clergy in the Henebry family may have inspired Richard Henebry to consider the priesthood himself. In an undated letter amongst Henebry's manuscript collection in Coláiste na Rinne in Ring, Co. Waterford, Henebry seeks a recommendation from an unnamed Reverend for admission to the Catholic Seminary at All Hallows College, Dublin. It would appear from the contents of the letter that it was written early in his life and before he entered St John's College in Waterford:

> I have been from infancy intended for the priesthood, but my family is finding it impossible from the depression of the time to carry out their intention [and I am] to their deep regret and mine, obliged to return home from St. Kyran's [*sic*]…after an interval of two years. I am as hopeful as ever as to any procuring [of] aid from home. [In recognition] of your great zeal in [the] furtherance on (sic) the laudable objects of the missionary college of All Hallows, I

> confidently place my case in your hands. My family, pressed by various demands of a pressing nature can afford not to ascertain [funding]. Unless, through your kind intercession, I am admitted gratuitously into All Hallows College, [and] until an opportunity offers, of sending me to a foreign destination, I know not what to do.
>
> (Henebry undated, Ring College Manuscript Collection No. 3, item No. 458)

Although Henebry mentions in the above quote that he attended St. Kyran's College, in Kilkenny, there is no extant record of his attendance there.

In 1882, at the relatively late age of 19, the young Richard Henebry finally began preparations to become a priest (Power 1916). He first attended the College School in Stephen Street, Waterford City, a 'pre-seminary' school for those contemplating the priesthood (Taylor 1991). In a letter to the *Nation* in 1897 Michael P. Hickey, Professor of Irish in St Patrick's College, Maynooth, refers to Henebry's time in the College School:

> His higher studies he pursued for some time in the College School, Waterford and in St. John's College, in that City.
>
> (Hickey cited in the *Nation* 23 January 1897, p. 11)

Henebry appears to have studied Classics for two years there, and also to have taught Irish at the school during the same period (Kentucky Irish American 28 January 1899). This reference to Henebry teaching Irish suggests that his fluency and ability in the language were already well established by 1882. In Henebry's obituary Fr Power also suggests that Henebry was interested in the Irish language from an early age:

> Gifted with a keen intellect, a taste for philological study and a native knowledge of Irish, he secured recognition as an Irish scholar at an early age.
>
> (Power 1937, p. 239)

In 1884 Richard entered the seminary in St. John's College, Waterford City, where he appears to have been something of a rebellious student, who challenged authority:

> Of robust intellect, independent of view and a little cynical, unmethodic, disputatious, unconventional and rather lacking in reverence for certain things like authority, which counts for much in the life of a seminary.
>
> (Power 1916, p. 174)

Power also suggests that because Irish was not taught in St. John's College, Henebry was unhappy there. Despite his 'disputatious' nature Henebry still achieved first place in his first year in St. John's College and was awarded a scholarship to St Patrick's College, Maynooth, Co. Kildare (Power 1916).

1.2 Maynooth

On the 3 September 1885, Richard Henebry entered St. Patrick's College, Maynooth (Hamell 1982), and began his seven-year preparation for the priesthood. In the 1886/7 edition of the Maynooth *College Calendarium* Henebry is recorded as attending the first year Philosophy class. The *College Calendarium* for 1887/8 and 1888/9 are not extant, however, the *College Calendarium* for 1889/90, indicates that Henebry was a second year student in Theology. Therefore he presumably studied first year Theology at some stage in the 1887/8 and 1888/9 academic years.

In 1889/90 Henebry was awarded the Order of Tonsure, the first order in the initial stages of ordination. The *College Calendarium* for the following academic year, 1890/91, lists him in third year Theology and also as receiving the Order of Acolyte. The records of the *College Calendarium* for 1891/92 show that Henebry was in his final year of Divinity Studies, on completion of which he was given the Order of Deacon, the

final step before ordination. In a letter from Rev. Michael Hickey, Professor of Irish in St Patrick's College, Maynooth, to the Rev. Thomas Shahan (board member of the CUA), dated 30 March 1895, Hickey, in order to endorse Henebry for a position in Washington DC, alludes to Henebry's literature studies and achievements while at St Patrick's College Maynooth:

> He is furthermore a scholar all-round, he knows English well having secured all the first prizes in the English language and literature class in Maynooth…He has studied too, scientifically on philological lines.
>
> (Hickey 1895, p.1)

In 1891 Gaelic language enthusiast Rev. Eoghan O'Growney (1863-1899) was appointed Professor of Irish Language, Literature and Antiquities in St Patrick's College, Maynooth, and taught Henebry during the latter's final year there. It was only after O'Growney's arrival in 1891 that Irish classes in Maynooth were made compulsory for junior students. Irish classes there had previously been taught by Rev. Michael Logue until he became Bishop of Raphoe in 1876, and then by an unidentified student from Dunboyne (Corish 1995). O'Growney brought an enthusiasm to the subject which probably affected the young Henebry. Eoghan O'Growney appears to have been a tireless promoter of the Irish language: he gave two classes a week to the first and second year students, one class per week to the third year students, and an optional Irish class to all senior Theology students. O'Growney also gave six public lectures on Irish Literature and Antiquities in the academic year. Henebry must have been in one of the three senior Theology classes at the time and probably attended O'Growney's lectures. It was fortuitous that O'Growney should have arrived in Maynooth in Henebry's final year as Henebry's already burgeoning interest in the Gaelic language must undoubtedly have been strengthened by contact with O'Growney:

> In Maynooth, Dick Henebry, as he was known to his fellows, came somewhat under the influence of Father O'Growney: possibly it was this circumstance which finally determined his career.
>
> (Power 1916, p. 174)

In 1900 Henebry favourably mentions O'Growney's assiduous loyalty towards the promotion of an Irish identity, which undoubtedly included the Irish language:

> To his single effort is owing in large measure the present happy condition of affairs in that the Irish people are awakening to a right perception of the principle of Nationality, and bestowing themselves to action upon it.
>
> (Henebry 1900, p. 50)

Henebry was ordained to the priesthood in 1892, but at All Hallows College, Dublin rather than at Maynooth. In his biographical essay, 'Dr. Henebry', Stockley states that Henebry was caught smoking in Maynooth, and believes that as a punishment Henebry was ordained in All Hallows College (Stockley 1933). While smoking was indeed frowned upon in Maynooth, there is no other evidence or reference to Henebry's alleged 'punishment'. It is possible that Henebry may have volunteered for the 'English mission' and could have been ordained at All Hallows as a result. As indicated above, Henebry had already expressed an interest in All Hallows College and this may also have had some bearing on his being ordained there.

All Hallows College was opened in 1842 to provide priests for the foreign missions. By the 1840s St. Patrick's College, Maynooth was becoming overcrowded and it was therefore decided that St Patrick's would cater for the domestic demand for priests while All Hallows would train priests for the missions (Corish 1995). Henebry appears

to have opted to work in the foreign missions and was based in England after ordination:

> Ordained on completion of a seven years' course in Maynooth, Father Henebry volunteered for the English Mission.
>
> (Power 1916, p. 174)

Figure 1.1: Father Richard Henebry[5]

1.3 Manchester

After his ordination, Henebry was sent to the Diocese of Salford in England and was first appointed to St Augustine's Church, Granby Row, Manchester (Kentucky Irish American 28 January 1899). In 1894 he was Chaplain of the Withington Poor Law Hospital, and was also attached to the Santhern Cemetery (Bracken 1984). In a letter from Henebry to Rev. Shahan, dated 2 April 1895, the former gives his address as St Joseph's, Bury, Manchester, Lancashire. While in the Salford Diocese Henebry became acquainted with Dr John Strachan, Professor of Greek and Comparative Philology at Owen College (later to become Manchester University). Fr Power suggests that the academic relationship between Strachan and Henebry was of a symbiotic nature:

[5] Photograph of Fr Richard Henebry courtesy of Coláiste na Rinne.

Henebry, the fluent native Gaelic speaker, studied with and taught Strachan, the academic, who was well versed in the grammatical and structural forms of old Gaelic:

> He exchanged his phonetics and idiom for the professor's lessons in Old and Middle Irish and in Sanskrit.
>
> (Power 1916, p. 174)

If Fr Power's claim that Henebry was inspired by O'Growney to follow a linguistic career is true, then it might also explain why he chose the Salford Diocese; being in Manchester, Henebry had easy access to Professor Strachan:

> While in Manchester he was fortunate enough to enjoy the familiar companionship of the celebrated Keltist, Prof. John Strachan, of Owen's College, with whom he exchanged modern and late middle Irish for old Irish and Sanskrit.
>
> (Kentucky Irish American 28 January 1899, p. 3)

One definite mention of this academic relationship between Henebry and Strachan is recounted in Strachan's article 'A Manx Folksong' (Strachan 1897). Here Professor Strachan details a field trip to the Isle of Mann when both he and Richard Henebry gathered the words and music to Manx folk songs. The field trip is said to have occurred in 1883 but this is possibly a misprint, as Henebry would only have been seventeen years old at that time and Fr Power clearly states that Henebry first met Strachan when he, Henebry, was assigned to the Salford Diocese after his ordination (Power 1916). It is possible therefore that the correct date should be 1893 which would be one year after Henebry's ordination. It is also possible of course, that the seventeen year old Henebry may have been known to Strachan and employed by him as an interpreter of Manx Gaelic in 1883, since Irish Gaelic and Manx are related. There is no other evidence however that Strachan and Henebry were acquainted before 1892. Another indication of the connection between Henebry and Strachan can be seen in the aforementioned letter from Henebry to Rev. Shahan, 2 April 1895 (at the time Shahan was advisor to the

first Rector of the CUA, Thomas Conaty). Henebry gives both, Professor John Strachan, and Kuno Meyer, Professor of German and Anglo Saxon in Victoria University, Liverpool, as references. As Liverpool is not far from Manchester, this reference to Kuno Meyer suggests that Henebry availed of this close proximity to improve his linguistic studies with Professor Meyer. Yet further evidence of Richard Henebry's connection with Strachan and Meyer during his stay in Manchester is contained in a letter from Professor Hickey of Maynooth to the *Nation* in 1897:

> During the years he spent on the English mission he was such in communication with Whitely Stokes, Kuno Meyer, Professor Strachan, Dr. Stern (Berlin), Father O'Growney, and other eminent Celtologists.
>
> (Hickey cited in the *Nation* 23 January1897, p. 11)

The foregoing therefore seems to strengthen the argument that perhaps Henebry deliberately went to the 'English mission' to improve his philological education.

1.4 The Chair of Celtic Studies

In 1896 Richard Henebry was appointed to the Chair of Celtic Studies in the CUA, Washington DC. This Chair of Celtic Studies was the result of a $50,000 endowment by the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH) to the CUA in 1896. The endowment had been first proposed in 1889 by Congressman Thomas Addis Emmet Weadock, of Bay City Michigan and the money for the endowment was presented by Weadock to Cardinal Gibbons, Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore, on 21 October 1896 (AOH. 1896). Although this endowment was only officially announced in 1896, Richard Henebry had already been contacted regarding the position in 1895. This contact was due to the efforts of another Waterford man, Michael Cavanaugh (1822-1900) of Cappoquin, Co. Waterford and Washington DC. Cavanaugh was a veteran Young Irelander who had taken part in the Young Ireland military campaign of 1849 (Ó Macháin and Overlander 2010). Michael Cavanaugh relocated to America in 1850 and was instrumental in

promoting and encouraging Irish cultural and literary activities there (Ó Macháin and Overlander 2010). When the AOH had collected the $50,000 for the endowment, Cavanaugh, an influential AOH member, contacted his friend Fr Michael Hickey, at that time a Waterford and Lismore diocesan priest, and suggested that Richard Henebry should be encouraged to apply for the university position (Ó Macháin and Overlander 2010). Hickey then contacted Henebry and the latter wrote to Shahan expressing enthusiasm for the post on 2 April 1895:

> I for my part shall be happy to accept the position in case it be offered me, grateful for the honour conferred and rejoicing that such a position affords me opportunities of indulging the dearest bent of my mind, my Gaelic Studies.
>
> (Henebry 1895, p. 1)

A report in the *Kentucky Irish American* also states that Henebry was offered the Chair of Celtic Studies in 1895:

> When in 1895 the founding of a Gaelic Chair in the Catholic University of America at Washington by the Ancient Order of Hibernians became an accomplished fact Father Henebry was the unanimous choice of the leaders of the Gaelic revival in Ireland and America for the professorship and he was accordingly appointed by the University Authorities.
>
> (Kentucky Irish American 28 January 1899, p. 3)

Richard Henebry wrote an article, 'The Progress in Gaelic', which was published in the 1895 edition of the university's *Catholic University Bulletin.* The publication of this article implies that the Catholic University of America knew of Henebry's expertise in Irish early in 1895, and may explain why he was chosen for the position of Associate Professor of Celtic Studies. Henebry's appointment to the Celtic Chair was to commence with an initial trial period of three years (Hogan 1949). In a letter, dated 2 June 1896, from Henebry to Bishop Keane of the CUA, Henebry accepted this trial period:

> Your rule to enter into probationary contracts seems just and practical.… In my own case however, I trust that the term of trial will be as short as possible. Initial contracts for three years only as part of that rule are to be held fair and reasonable.
>
> (Henebry cited in Hogan 1949, p. 116)

Although Richard Henebry was appointed to the Chair of Celtic Studies in 1896, the CUA decided that he should have a doctorate degree in Celtic Philology before taking up the position. Henebry was therefore sent to Germany for two years to further his studies and obtain his doctorate (Meyer 1966). The CUA allowed Henebry an annual allowance of $1000 while studying in Germany.[6] Henebry first attended Freiburg University where he studied with Professor Rudolf Turneyson. He later studied at Greifswald University under Professor Heinrich Zimmer (Kentucky Irish American 28 January 1899). Both Professors were considered to be amongst the best in the field of Celtic Philology at that time. In 1897 Henebry published two articles in *Zeitschrift Fur Celtische Philologie*, a German philological journal edited by Professor Kuno Meyer. The first article, 'Conach', discusses the origin of the Irish word *conach*. The second article is a review and translation of an Irish language poem by 19th-century Irish poet W. English (Henebry 1897). In writing the first article in German with an English translation, Henebry is indicating his growing command of languages. Of English's poem Henebry states:

> There is reason to suspect that this simple and effective skeleton of verse building lived from old times in popular song side by side with elaborate prosody to reappear afterwards when the folk language became the only literature.
>
> (Henebry 1897, p. 141)

Richard Henebry was awarded a Doctor of Philosophy from Greifswald University in 1898 for his thesis, *A Contribution to the Phonology of Desi-Irish to serve as an Introduction to the Metrical System of Munster Poetry*.

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[6] Henebry File, Rector's Files in the Archives of the Catholic University of America (1902).

Henebry arrived in America in October 1898 and agreed to a three-year term as Associate Professor of Celtic (Meyer 1966) with a salary of $2000 per annum. The Henebry file in the CUA archive contains an article taken from an untitled American newspaper, dated October 1898.[7] This article lists the classes which Henebry intended to offer in his position as Associate Professor: Old Irish Grammar, Interpretation of Old Irish Texts, Middle Irish Texts, Modern Irish Grammar and Composition, Readings from Keating's *History of Ireland*, 18th century Gaelic Poets, and Medieval Handwriting and Miniature (Untitled newspaper 1898). These classes are also listed in the 1898 edition of the university's *Catholic University Bulletin* (Catholic University Bulletin 1898, p. 536). There was undoubtedly great enthusiasm amongst Irish Americans for this new Celtic Chair, but Henebry was also attracting the attention of Philological departments in other American universities:

> Among the Philological departments of American universities Dr Henebry's course is eliciting much attention.
>
> (Kentucky Irish American 22 October 1899, p. 4)

In a letter to the New York newspaper, *The Irish Word*, Professor F.N. Robinson, Professor of Irish at Harvard University expressed great enthusiasm for Dr Henebry's work:

> May I suggest a way in which the various Irish societies could perform a direct and valuable service to scholarship? A publication fund might be established which would enable the Rev. Professor Henebry of Washington to bring out some well-edited texts of the modern Irish period. A good chrestomathy of modern Irish, with grammatical introduction, glossary and the like, is very desirable.
>
> (Robinson 1899, cited in An Claidheamh Soluis 22 April 1899, p. 94)

Another article, 'On Irish Phonology', by Henebry, was also published by the *Catholic University Bulletin* in 1898. In this article Henebry notes the importance of the spoken

[7] Henebry File, Rector's Files in the Archives of the Catholic University of America (1902).

language, and states that a study of Gaelic can only be properly undertaken when the sounds, or phonology, of spoken Gaelic are studied in tandem with its literature. In 1898 Henebry's thesis *A Contribution to the Phonology of Desi-Irish* was published in book form in Dublin by M.H. Gill under the same title. In the 1899 edition of the *Catholic University Bulletin,* Fr Eoghan O'Growney favourably reviewed Henebry's book. In the 1900 edition of the same Bulletin, two of Henebry's lectures are reproduced, 'Irish Literary Monuments and their Contents', given at the CUA on 9 February 1899, and 'Gaelic Melodic Schemes in Word and Sound', also delivered at the CUA but on 2 March 1899. Henebry also wrote an article 'Eugene O'Growney and the Revival of Gaelic', which was published in the 1900 edition of the *Catholic University Bulletin.* It would appear therefore, from both his class list and the above published articles, that Henebry was very active in his role as Professor of Celtic Studies.

Richard Henebry also promoted the revival of the Irish language outside the confines of the CUA. In 1899, in an article titled 'Gaelic World', the *Kentucky Irish American* praises the growth of the Gaelic League in both Ireland and America. Henebry's position at the CUA is mentioned and the reporter states that 'he [Henebry] [intended] to devote to the interests of the movement outside as well as inside the university' (Kentucky Irish American 14 January 1899, p. 1). Henebry's intention to promote the Irish Language is illustrated in a number of newspaper reports which chronicle his activities outside the university. In an article in *The Southern Star* in 1898 it is reported that 14 Irish language societies in America merged to form the Gaelic League of America, and that 'the President of the new organisation [was] Rev. Dr Richard Henebry, professor of Irish at Washington' (The Southern Star 3 December 1898, p. 2).

This merging of Irish societies took place in New York on 2 November 1898 (Kentucky Irish American 28 January 1899). In a letter to the *New York Times,* dated 27 November 1898, not long after his appointment as President of the Gaelic League of America, Henebry defends the Irish language revival and combines its defence with a strong sense of Irish nationalism:

> His [the Irish man] patriotism to be reasonable must be motived by nationality and that is not distinguishable from its essence, which is language. He must therefore stand by his language.
>
> (New York Times 27 November 1898, p. 5)

On 24 December 1898, in an article titled 'Gaelic Class', *The Kentucky Irish American* records that with the assistance of Dr Richard Henebry, the AOH intended to establish an Irish language class in Louisville, Kentucky. In a 'follow up' article on 14 January 1899, the *Kentucky Irish American* reports that progress has been made in establishing the aforementioned class and again mentions Henebry's assistance and encouragement. In the *Kentucky Irish American,* there is another reference to Henebry's work in promoting the Irish language. It reports that in 1900:

> Div. 5 [AOH] is about to issue a pamphlet containing a phonetic version of the prayers in Gaelic, prepared by Rev. Dr. Henebry, Professor of Gaelic at the Catholic University.
>
> (Kentucky Irish American 24 November 1900, p. 4)

Despite his ready encouragement and assistance in the promotion of the Irish language, Henebry's ideas were not always well received. In the Henebry file at the CUA, an untitled newspaper article reports on the negative reaction of members of the Washington DC branch of the AOH to a speech given by Henebry at one of their gatherings in October 1898. The article suggests that Henebry invoked the ire of the members gathered when he implied that native Irish scholars were not as diligent in promoting the Irish language, as scholars in Europe:

> In the course of his remarks he dwelt on the eminence attained by Irish scholars on the continent, and seemed to imply that the Irish themselves were not so diligent in the pursuit of their ancient language as the scholars of the continent.
>
> (Untitled October 1898 CUA Archive)

The AOH sponsored the Celtic Chair in the Catholic University, and they were also instrumental in Henebry's appointment. Although the members of the AOH were not necessarily Gaelic scholars, it must undoubtedly have irritated them to hear that they 'were not so diligent' as European scholars. Henebry later apologised for any offence caused by his remarks and added:

> I am a stranger in this country and have yet to make my place, but I can say confidently that when the people of the United States know me better they will not be so prone to accept a hostile interpretation of my motives and character.
>
> (Untitled Newspaper October 1898)

A similar incident is recounted by Stockley in his essay 'Dr Henebry' (Stockley 1933). Here Stockley relays a story regarding a speech allegedly made by Henebry at a St Patrick's Day gathering in Washington DC. The speaker before Henebry, an Irish MP, spoke 'glowingly' of Ireland using romantic and nostalgic imagery. The MP proudly assured the gathering that 'the shamrock on the hills and in the valleys of Erin is as green as it ever was' (cited in Stockley 1933, p. 142). Henebry, apparently irritated by this speech, shocked the audience as he denounced that unrealistic and romantic imagery of Ireland specifically the round tower, the wolfhound, and shamrock. Henebry apparently referred to the shamrock in particular as 'green immortal cabbage' (Stockley 1933, p. 142).

Another example of Henebry's somewhat tactless manner is also included in the aforementioned letter from Henebry to the editor of the *New York Times* 27 November 1898. In this letter Henebry inextricably links the Irish language with Irish nationalism

and states that ‘if Irishmen in Ireland speak only English they must in time become Englishmen’ (New York Times 27 November 1898, p. 5). In response to this letter, the editor of the *New York Times* expresses his annoyance by stating that: ‘some irritation is excusable when the specialist preserves his haughty air after leaving the classroom’ (New York Times 5 December 1898, p. 5). Although Henebry was not very tactful at times, he did later recognise this flaw in his character and regretted it. Stockley relates a story where a colleague of Henebry’s, on leaving for America, was told by Henebry:

> Whatever you do, don’t do as I did. You know I was a good deal like the bull among the crockery ware.
>
> (Stockley 1933, p. 151)

Richard Henebry’s Irish language activities were not only confined to America. He appears to have travelled regularly between the United States and Ireland. One such visit to Ireland took place in July 1899 when Henebry gave a Gaelic address, or *agallamh*, to the audience at *Feis na h-Áirde Móire* in Ardmore, Co. Waterford (Ó Cuirín 1924). On 13 August 1899 Henebry attended a Gaelic League gathering in Kilrossanty, Co. Waterford (Ó Macháin 1995). At this gathering Henebry was greeted with a Gaelic poem by one of his old Gaelic tutors, Riobáird (Bob) Bheldon:

> ‘S é do bheatha chughainn thar chaladh, / bheirím leat mo bhuíochas, / ar son ár dteanga a chur i ngradam, / ‘s go mbuanaí Dia do shaothar. (You are welcome back to us from across the sea, / I give you my thanks, / for placing our language in high esteem, / may God preserve your life.)
>
> (Bheldon quoted in Ó Macháin 1995, p. 50)

This is the first of four verses of a poem composed and recited by Bheldon praising Henebry for his role in the revival of the Irish language. In his book *Amhráin agus Dánta*, Padraig Ó Macháin recorded that as Riobard Bheldon was reciting the verses, Henebry apparently transcribed them (Ó Macháin 1995, p. 11). Henebry also gave an

opening Gaelic speech at a gathering in Modeligo, Co. Waterford in the same year (Ó Cuirín 1924). In Dublin in September 1899, Richard Henebry gave another Gaelic address welcoming Irish-American priest, and fellow Gaelic language activist, Fr Peter Yorke, to Ireland (Ó Cuirín 1924). In 1900 Henebry again travelled to Ireland and gave another speech at the *Feis Dúngarbhán* in Dungarvan, Co. Waterford (Ó Cuirín 1924). As these trips to Ireland were during the summer months it suggests that Henebry returned to Ireland each year during the CUA summer recess.

1.5 Dismissal from the Catholic University of America

Henebry taught at the CUA up to the end of September in 1900 (CUA Rector's Files 1902). He had contracted tuberculosis and was in poor health by the end of his first academic year (1898-1899) at the university. His health gradually deteriorated, and during his second academic year Henebry was unable to undertake a full teaching schedule. By the beginning of the third academic year (September 1900), the deterioration in Henebry's health was so pronounced that the university appears to have given him 'a vacation', relieving him from teaching duties completely (The Times Washington 15 November 1901, p. 2). It was because of his ill-health and leave of absence that the Governing Board of the Faculty of Philosophy at the CUA decided not to re-appoint Henebry when his agreed three-year contract ended. Dr Conaty, University Rector, informed Henebry of this in July 1901:

> It is my duty to inform you that as the term of your engagement at the university closes with this year, the Faculty of Philosophy was called upon to make recommendations concerning the Chair of Celtic and they recommended in view of the responsibility of the university to this chair endowment, your health did not warrant a recommendation of reappointment.
>
> (Conaty cited in Hogan 1949, p. 118)

Henebry wrote to Dr Conaty on 11 July 1901, assuring him that his health had improved. He asked that the board might reconsider its decision (Hogan 1949). Dr Conaty replied that he would refer Henebry's request to the Board of the Faculty of Philosophy (Hogan 1949).

While the Board of the Faculty of Philosophy was deliberating on his request for reinstatement, Richard Henebry attended the 4th Annual Convention of the Gaelic League of America, in Chicago on 25-26 August 1901 (San Francisco Call 25 August 1901, p.30). Henebry gave talks on the Gaelic revival at this convention (The Times Washington 13 August 1901, p. 6), and was also re-elected as President of the Gaelic League of America (Norfolk News 30 August 1901, p. 6). During his stay in Chicago, Henebry also met with Francis O'Neill, Chicago Police Captain, and Irish music collector. O'Neill said of this meeting with Henebry that:

> Among the happiest days of our life were those in which the genial doctor favoured us with his music at our residence in Chicago in 1901, playing solo or in concert with the Irish American pipers, fiddlers and fluters whom he subsequently immortalised in current literature.
>
> (O'Neill 1913, p.178)

The Gaelic League of America's 1901 convention in Chicago was expected to be a very large gathering of League members 'from every state in the Union as well as from Canada' (San Francisco Call 25 August 1901, p. 30). While in Chicago, Henebry was re-acquainted with his friend and fellow priest, Fr Peter Yorke (San Francisco Call 25 August 1901, p. 30). Yorke, born in Galway, was also a passionate promoter of Irish and was to become an exceptionally vocal advocate of Henebry's (Walsh and Foley 1974). As most of the protest to Henebry's dismissal appeared after the date of the 4th Annual Gaelic League of America convention, it seems likely therefore, that Henebry

used the convention to organise a campaign, protesting the Catholic University of America's decision not to reinstate him.

Henebry was not reinstated; his request to the Board of the Faculty of Philosophy was denied, and on 2 of October 1901 Rector Conaty informed him 'that he no longer belonged to the teaching corp of the University' (cited in Hogan 1949, p. 119). In a letter to the *Leader* of 8 March 1902 Henebry stated that when he attended the university's opening day in the autumn of 1901 he was asked to leave as he was no longer employed by the Catholic University of America:

> Dr Conaty sustained that contention by arguing that the term for which I had been appointed by the Trustees expired on October 15th. I urged that I held my appointment granted by the Trustees until they formally withdrew it.
>
> (Henebry to San Francisco Leader 8 March 1902, cited in Hogan 1949, p. 122)

The decision, to dismiss Henebry, was protested vigorously by the Gaelic League of America and the AOH. A campaign was launched by the latter, and supported by the former, to have Richard Henebry reinstated. In October 1901, John T. Keating, President of the AOH, wrote to Rector Conaty demanding that Henebry be returned to his post at the university (Hogan 1949, p. 119), Keating threatened to bring legal action against the university if Henebry was not restored to his former position:

> In this condition of affairs [allocation by the university of AOH $50,000 endowment fund] I am authorised to request you furnish me with a detailed account of all the monies accruing from the AOH fund since the date of our gift to the university, together with particulars of the objects for which such monies were distributed. Also to announce to you that in case the university persists in its intention of discussing Dr Henebry in the manner already stated [his dismissal] the AOH body will institute legal proceedings for the recovery of the whole fund.
>
> (Keating to Conaty cited in New York Journal 12 November 1901, p. 8)

A letter of protest from the national officers of the Gaelic League of America was also sent to Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, and Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the CUA. Keating's letter to Conaty and the Gaelic League's letter to Gibbons were both published in *The New York Journal* on 12 November 1901. In the letter to Cardinal Gibbons regarding Henebry's dismissal, the Gaelic League's anger at the university is quite clear:

> Knowing as we do that this action is unwarrantable, unwise and most unjust: that it is fraught with menace to the standing of the Gaelic League in America: that it bodes ill to the university itself and is an insult to the Irish race at both sides of the Atlantic, the national officers of the Gaelic League in America beg leave humbly to utter a vigorous protest against it.
>
> (Gaelic League to Gibbons cited in New York Journal 12 November 1901, p. 8)

The letter from the Gaelic League continues with unrestrained praise for Henebry's character and ability:

> He is the greatest Celtic philologist within the pale of the Catholic Church, and the only man living who joins to a native knowledge of Irish the rich fruit of the highest philological training. His name, worth and dignity should be beyond the reach of near-sighted malice or pettifogging intrigue and the Gaelic League in America looks confidently to the good sense and honesty of the trustees for his rehabilitation in his office and a vindication of his character.
>
> (Gaelic League to Gibbons cited in New York Journal 12 November 1901, p. 8)

Rector Conaty responded to these attacks and protests in a letter addressed to the University Senate dated 12 November 1901 (Hogan 1949). In this letter he regrets the campaign which he considers to have been orchestrated by Henebry himself. He also expresses his dismay at Henebry's apparent attempt to turn the AOH against the Catholic University of America:

> The Senate is no doubt aware of the campaign which Rev. Dr Henebry is apparently waging against the University, as we fear that he is largely responsible for it. It seems to be a determination on his part to excite against the University those who have been its friends, and particularly the organization of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. It is strange that reasonable men should believe all that he says and allow themselves to be used by him without hearing the other side or giving us credit for reasonable judgement.
>
> (Conaty to Senate of CUA 12 November 1901 cited in Hogan 1949, p. 120)

Henebry's 'apparent campaign' continued to be waged through the newspapers. The *New York Journal* dated 17 November 1901, printed an angry letter from the Irish Historical Society of Maryland, Baltimore (a society affiliated to the Gaelic League of America), demanding Henebry's reinstatement. In this letter the Irish Historical Society complains that Henebry was falsely accused of not attending all his classes during his second academic year. In its letter the Irish Historical Society states that, because there were not many Gaelic students at the university Henebry also offered classes in German, Sanskrit, and Old English Philology, therefore, suggesting that he did work until the end of term in 1900:

> Dr Henebry for his own improvement offered courses in other studies during the year of his alleged inability to work. In addition to his own work, he actually taught Sanskrit and German, and offered classes in two branches of old English philology besides. He also contributed articles to learned journals dealing with his subject. At the end of that year the trustees, in accordance with the practice of other colleges gave him one year's leave of absence to recover his health.
>
> (New York Journal 17 November 1901, p. 64)

Henebry did teach from January 1900 to the summer of 1900, but by the end of September 1900, due to ill-health, he absented himself from teaching and went to Denver, Colorado, to recover (Hogan 1949). He did not, therefore, teach for the full academic year as implied by the Irish Historical Society, as confirmed by Henebry himself when, in a letter, from Denver, dated 2 January 1901, he wrote to Dr Conaty highlighting that he had not yet received his salary for September 1900:

> I forgot to make arrangements with you about my salary. …My September salary I have not yet drawn. Advise me of your intensions in this matter, and let me have a check at this address, for I am running low.
>
> (Henebry cited in Hogan 1949, p. 117)

The tone of the letter from the Irish Historical Society is very passionate in its desire to have Henebry reinstated but it is also either deliberately or unintentionally misleading. In its letter to the *New York Journal* the Irish Historical Society also alleged that the

AOH funds were not used to finance Celtic Studies exclusively. The letter states that, as the Celtic Studies course was a postgraduate one, the interest amongst students was not as great as anticipated, and Henebry voluntarily offered the above mentioned extra classes in German, Sanskrit, and Old English Philology to compensate for his lack of work (New York Journal 17 November 1901, p. 64). It would indeed appear therefore that the AOH funds were not used to fund Celtic Studies exclusively, and the CUA did subsidise other studies. This appears to have happened not only with Henebry's full cooperation however, but also at his instigation. It may be that the Irish Historical Society was referring to subjects outside the Philological Department of the CUA when it alleges misapplication of AOH funds, but this is not specified in the letter.

There is also the suggestion by the Irish Historical Society in its letter to the *New York Journal*, that Richard Henebry was given a regular leave of absence without pay, and should, therefore, have been reinstated after the agreed term of absence. Apart from the salary he was due for September 1900, the CUA refused to pay Henebry during his year of absence. This however was not without precedent at the CUA: another Professor, Charles Warren Stoddard, at the CUA, also fell ill in 1900 and requested a one year sabbatical with pay (Hogan 1949). Stoddard maintained that he should get the same benefits as the staff in Harvard University, but 'because of the financial conditions of the institution [CUA], his request had to be refused' (Hogan 1949, p. 124). In a letter dated 10 January 1901, Dr Conaty informed Henebry that his request for pay while on a leave of absence had been denied:

> With regard to salary this year: as you have not been on duty, and are not at present doing any work of the University's, you can readily see that the University is not expected to pay you any salary. …I cannot see my way to approve any bill for salary during your absence.
>
> (Conaty cited in Hogan 1949, p. 118)

This question of pay was contested by Henebry in a letter to the *San Francisco Leader* on 8 March 1902, when he claims to have said to Dr Conaty that 'my contract was for three years teaching with salary, and only two such had elapsed' (Henebry cited in Hogan, p. 122).

In the course of its letter, The Irish Historical Society also alleged that the university deliberately hampered Henebry's attempts to teach by withholding necessary books (New York Journal 17 November 1901, p. 64). This accusation that the university withheld books from Henebry is also claimed by him in the aforementioned letter to the *San Francisco Leader* of 8 March 1902. In this, Henebry states that at the end of his first year at the CUA Dr Shahan 'took back from my room a number of books he had given my department' (Henebry cited in Hogan 1949, p. 122). It is also stated by The Irish Historical Society that Henebry contributed more articles to journals than any other professor at the Catholic University of America at the time (New York Journal 17 November 1901). Two of those articles were published in the 1901 edition of *Zeitschrift Fur Celtische Philologie*: 'The Renihan Air' and 'The Life of Columb Cille (Part 1)' (Henebry 1901).

Protestations similar to those of The Irish Historical Society were repeated in an undated article 'Gaelic Chair Sets University at Odds', which was published in the *San Francisco Examiner*.[8] The allocation of the AOH endowment fund is the principle question raised by this article. This article outlines how the AOH gave $50,000 to the

[8] This is an undated newspaper article in the Henebry File at the Catholic University of America, taken from the San Francisco Examiner. It can be dated roughly between 10 November 1901, and the Trustee's of The Catholic University of America meeting on 20 November 1901.

CUA with the intention of establishing ‘a professorship of the Irish language in the University’ (San Francisco Examiner 1901, p. 3). According to the *San Francisco Examiner,* the AOH did not sign a contract in 1896 stipulating the precise use of the fund (San Francisco Examiner 1901, p. 3), the article then alleges that the CUA diverted the money from the Celtic Chair to other uses in 1900. The *San Francisco Examiner’s* article supports the President of the AOH’s call for an immediate investigation into the University’s allocation of the AOH endowment fund. Henebry’s proposed replacement, Dr Dunn, is described as ‘a young man entirely unacquainted with Irish’. The article then finishes by alleging that on Dr Dunn’s return from Europe the money in the AOH fund was to be used to teach other languages besides Irish:

> The money of the Ancient Order of Hibernians is to be used to teach French and Italian, and the Celtic is to be relegated to a subordinate place.
>
> (San Francisco Examiner 1901, p. 3)

On 20 November 1901 the annual meeting of the Trustees of the CUA was held (New York Daily Tribune 21 November 1901). Despite the protestations in the above mentioned newspaper articles, the concerns of the AOH regarding its endowment fund were allayed and the Trustees of the CUA reaffirmed their commitment to the continuance of the Celtic Chair. Dr Conaty conveyed the Trustees’ decision to the public. The Trustees of the CUA also upheld the ruling of the Board of the Faculty of Philosophy that Henebry was not to be reappointed:

> At the annual meeting of the board of Trustees at the Catholic University Wednesday November 20 the most careful consideration was given to the recommendations of the university faculty and senate relative to the Rev. Dr. Henebry s reappointment as associate professor in Gaelic. The board of trustees unanimously declined to reappoint him. With equal unanimity it declared its intent of holding sacred the trust committed to it by the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and yields to no body of men in its conscientious interest in the purpose of this endowment. No thought of diverting the earnings of the Ancient Order of Hibernians chair to any other teaching than that of the Gaelic has ever been or ever can be entertained.
>
> (New York Daily Tribune 21 November 1901, p. 2)

As already stated Dr J. Joseph Dunn was chosen by the CUA to replace Dr Henebry. Dunn was a graduate of 'Yale in the academic department, in the class of '95' (New York Daily Tribune 16 November 1901, p. 8). He also received his doctorate from Yale in 1898 (New York Daily Tribune 16 November 1901, p. 8). *The Times Washington* described him as:

> A son of a leading member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians … a linguist of high repute and has been assistant instructor in the Romance languages at the Catholic University for some time.
>
> (The Times Washington 15 November 1901, p. 2)

Despite the AOH's opposition to Henebry's dismissal, expected protestors at the aforementioned Trustee's meeting did not appear (Evening Times Washington 20 November 1901). The absence of protestors at the meeting may have suggested a decreasing enthusiasm amongst the members of the AOH for Henebry's cause. Perhaps, the fact that Dr Dunn was 'a son of a leading AOH member' (The Times Washington 15 November 1901, p. 2) may also have helped to placate some protesters within the ranks of the AOH. The fact that there was now a 'waning enthusiasm' amongst Henebry's former allies is further suggested by the negative tone of an article in *The Intermountain and Colorado Catholic*, reprinted from the *Catholic Citizen*, dated 7 December 1901, the article implied that Henebry was not well enough to teach at the University:

> Dr Henebry appeared to lack the qualification of health. It was a chair in a living university not a bed in a hospital that the AOH endowed.
> (Catholic Citizen cited in The Intermountain and Colorado Catholic 7 December 1901, p. 4)

Regardless of the possible fading enthusiasm of his supporters, Henebry continued to agitate for his reappointment to the CUA. He was supported in his efforts by the aforementioned Fr Peter Yorke of San Francisco. Yorke was president of the California Chapter of the Gaelic League of America (Walsh and Foley 1974). Peter Yorke was an outspoken cleric who campaigned for the rights of the 'ordinary' Irish-American

through the pages of his weekly San Francisco-based Irish-American newspaper, *The Leader* (Walsh and Foley 1974). Yorke established his newspaper in 1902 to escape 'the immediate supervision of his religious superiors' (Walsh and Foley 1974, p. 92). One of his first controversial campaigns was to support Richard Henebry. On 11 January 1902 he stated in *The Leader* that Henebry was dismissed 'because he [was] an Irishman' (cited in Walsh and Foley 1974, p. 93). On 22 February 1902 Yorke further declared that because Henebry was a 'true Irishman' he was not welcome at the CUA as that university was 'the preserve of Anglo-Irish-American Churchmen' (cited in Walsh and Foley 1974, p. 93). On 12 June 1902 Yorke launched a strong attack on Dr Conaty (Walsh and Foley 1974, p. 93). He questioned Conaty's academic qualifications and abilities, and suggested that Conaty was not suitable as a University Rector:

> Dr Conaty is a D.D., to be sure, but his one claim to learning is a little book which he published for Sunday school and which is so raw that it was received with a universal howl of derision. It might be credible as the performance of a seventh-grade schoolboy, but, as the work of a University Rector -Ye Gods!
>
> (Leader cited in Walsh and Foley 1974, p. 93)

Dr Conaty was however a highly respected Irish-American priest. He was born in Ireland in 1847 and was ordained in 1872 for the Diocese of Springfield, Illinois (Hogan 1949). He was President of the Springfield Diocesan Temperance Union in 1877 and he was awarded an honorary doctorate from Georgetown University in 1889 (Hogan 1949, p. 18). Conaty was president of the Catholic Summer School from 1892 to 1896. In 1893 the Summer School was able to 'offer accredited courses, becoming a forerunner of the now practically universal summer school system of university education' (Hogan 1949, p. 20). On 24 November 1901 Dr Conaty was consecrated Titular Bishop of Samos (Hogan 1949). It would appear therefore that Yorke's attack on Conaty was both derisory and misleading, and designed presumably, to discredit Conaty's role in the 'Henebry matter'.

On 8 March 1902 Fr Yorke's *The Leader* published the aforementioned letter from Henebry, outlining, as he perceived, why he was wrongfully dismissed from the CUA. In his book *The Catholic University: 1896-1903*, Peter Hogan maintains that the overall tone of the above mentioned letter from Henebry to *The Leader* was self-centred and the:

> … pettiness of Richard Henebry was revealed by himself in the statement of the case which he presented in March, 1902.
>
> (Hogan 1949, p. 121)

The contents of this letter appear as a litany of alleged injustices and slights, often trivial, perpetrated against Henebry by the CUA. One example of this 'pettiness' is evident in Henebry's complaint that Dr Conaty refused to grant him permission to attend Gaelic League and AOH meetings:

> When the Gaelic League and AOH Conventions were held concurrently in Boston, I applied to Mgr Conaty for permission to attend, and he refused me leave of absence for the purpose.
>
> (Henebry cited in Hogan 1949, p.123)

It could be that these meetings interfered with Henebry's teaching schedule and, understandably, Dr Conaty refused to give Henebry leave to attend them. In the course of the letter to *The Leader* Henebry also refers to his appointment to the CUA in 1895, as 'a contingent appointment' which was 'to be made absolute upon payment of the endowment fund by the AOH' (Hogan 1949, p. 122). Henebry, however, neglects to mention that in 1896, when the AOH endowment fund was arranged, he had agreed to a trial period of three years and that his appointment at that time was not 'absolute' (Hogan 1949). Presumably, members of the AOH who were familiar with the terms of Henebry's appointment recognised the apparent misleading inaccuracies in his interpretation of the conditions of his employment. Henebry states in the letter that when he arrived in America he was given a letter which instructed him 'how to acquit

[himself] on reaching America' (Hogan 1949, p. 122). He was particularly irritated that the letter 'contained a caution to say nothing about the Anglo-American alliance' (Hogan 1949, p. 122). This 'Anglo-American alliance' is a reference to an emerging political and military alliance between Britain and America. As this was a purely political matter it is perhaps understandable that the CUA would ask that Henebry not become involved in it. The CUA, founded in 1889, was a relatively new institute, (Hogan 1949), and perhaps did not want to jeopardise its future by becoming embroiled in politics (Hogan 1949). By objecting to the university's 'caution' on this matter, Henebry showed his political affiliation, that he was, presumably, opposed to the alliance. Dr Henebry also alleges in his letter that Dr Shahan threatened him with dismissal. Henebry claims that Shahan, when talking about 'somebody's lack of loyalty to the university', supposedly said that 'they had got rid of Professors before and they would do so again' (Hogan 1949, p. 122). Whether the allegations and complaints made by Henebry were true or not, his misleading and self-serving letter to *The Leader* did not help his cause. It would appear that public opinion was quickly turning against him. This shift in opinion is remarked upon in a letter from P. J. Haltigan of the *National Hibernian* to P.J. Garrigan, Vice Rector of the CUA, on 28 March 1902:

> The New York and Chicago Gaelic League people have turned on Dr Henebry, and that they now begin to see him in an entirely different light than they did when he first posed as martyr.
>
> (Haltigan cited in Hogan 1949, p. 123)

On 7 April 1902 John Keating, AOH President, from Chicago, wrote to Rector Conaty. He enquired if he might have an appointment to discuss the matter of the Celtic Chair and Dr Henebry (Hogan 1949). Keating's letter was apologetic in tone and expressed regret for his part in the 'Henebry controversy' the previous November:

> I take this opportunity to say that I sincerely regret the attitude taken last November relating the Henebry controversy, as far as Dr Henebry is concerned. … Recent events have proven that Dr Henebry was not the individual fitted for so important a position.
> (Keating cited in Hogan 1949, p. 123)

The above meeting took place in Washington DC on 22 April 1902 (Hogan 1949). The proceedings of the meeting were subsequently published in the May 1902 edition of *The Gael,* an Irish-American journal 'devoted to the language, literature, music and art of Ireland' (The Gael January 1903, p. 1). These were then reprinted in *The Intermountain and Colorado Catholic* on 31 May 1902. John Keating, national president of the AOH, was accompanied by Stephen Richardson, treasurer of the Gaelic League of America. The principle reason for their meeting was to determine whether or not the AOH endowment fund was still intact. The Rector of the CUA, Dr Conaty, 'courteously and voluntarily furnished the desired information' (cited in Intermountain and Colorado Catholic 31 May 1902, p. 4). Both Keating and Richardson were satisfied that the financial accounts were correct and that the fund was 'intact and that no part of it has been diverted' (cited in Intermountain and Colorado Catholic 31 May 1902, p. 4). The article from *The Gael* also states that while in Washington DC, Keating and Richardson learned from the Washington branch of the Gaelic League of America that Henebry did not take part in any Gaelic League activities in that city. Henebry had also refused to become a member of the AOH when asked to do so, even though the AOH endowed the Celtic Chair and had recommended him to the position of Associate Professor of Celtic Studies at the CUA (Intermountain and Colorado Catholic 31 May 1902, p. 4). In this article Conaty is quoted, as stating that, Henebry would still be employed by the CUA if he had applied himself to his work as enthusiastically as he did to his protest:

> Had Dr Henebry displayed one-tenth of the energy in holding his position at the university that he exerted in trying to get back, there would have been no occasion to refuse to re-engage his services at the termination of his contract.
> (The Gael cited in Intermountain and Colorado Catholic 31 May 1902, p. 4)

In summing up its somewhat negative overview of Dr Henebry, the article in *The Gael* states that, although it bears no ill will towards Dr Henebry, it 'loves the cause of the Gaelic League more than any individual' and that its readers 'should be made acquainted with the facts of the case' (cited in Intermountain and Colorado Catholic 31 May 1902, p. 4). It might be inferred from this last statement by *The Gael* that a section of the Irish-American community were beginning to revise their support for Henebry.

On 17 July 1902, Dr Conaty, Rector of the CUA attended a convention of the AOH in Denver Colorado (New York Daily Tribune 18 July 1902, p. 9). The AOH Convention and Henebry's involvement in the opening ceremony was publicised by the *Kentucky Irish American*:

> The Denver convention [AOH] will be opened by Dr Henebry with a prayer in the native tongue of the delegates. Gov. Orman will welcome them on behalf of the State and Mayor Wright will speak for the City.
>
> (Kentucky Irish American 28 June 1902, p. 3)

Conaty had some misgivings about attending the convention and expressed these in a letter to Dr Dunn, dated 7 July 1902. Conaty noted that Henebry's 'nasty campaign' may have created 'a little bad blood' between the AOH and the CUA (Hogan 1949, p. 123). The convention commenced with a Pontifical High Mass at which Fr Yorke and Fr Henebry were both assistant celebrants (Intermountain and Colorado Catholic 19 July 1902, p. 2). At the convention Dr Conaty addressed the AOH delegates and assured them that 'it was the desire of the college authorities to continue the Gaelic Chair' (New York Daily Tribune 18 July 1902, p. 9). He also stated that the five main sponsors of the university also guaranteed the continuance of the Celtic Chair:

> The Bishop said that the fact that Archbishop Ireland and four more of the most prominent and best beloved churchmen in the United States were the principal sponsors for the institution was an evidence to the Irish people that it would be conducted properly. It was the desire of the college authorities to continue the Gaelic chair, which had been established with $50.000 donated by the Hibernians.
>
> (N.Y. Daily Tribune 18 July 1902, p. 9)

In a letter from Conaty to William Robinson, Dean of the School of Law (CUA), dated 7 August 1902, Conaty said that his attendance at the AOH convention was a 'complete triumph for the University' (Hogan 1949, p. 123). Conaty was pleased with the enthusiasm he received from the AOH delegates 'as followed my address to the Convention' (Hogan 1949, p. 124). The 'Henebry matter' was only briefly mentioned by Conaty and he seems to have gotten some satisfaction when Fr Yorke's motion to withdraw the words 'completely satisfactory' from the AOH's expression of thanks to Dr Conaty was defeated:

> Fr Yorke who represented the opposition was completely humiliated on a test question of striking out the words "completely satisfactory" from the vote of thanks.
>
> (Conaty cited in Hogan 1949, p. 124)

The article 'Copious Synopsis of Proceedings of AOH Convention' in the *Intermountain and Colorado Catholic* dated 26 July 1902, states that the 'Henebry matter' was momentarily referred to at the convention and that:

> Dr Conaty of the Washington University… explained that Dr Henebry's ill health rendered him unfit for the arduous labors attendant upon the Gaelic Chair. Although Dr Henebry had a number of friends among the delegates they were in the minority and Dr Conaty won the day.
>
> (Intermountain and Colorado Catholic 26 July 1902, p. 3)

In July 1902 when Dr Conaty addressed the AOH convention in Denver, Dr Dunn, Henebry's proposed successor, was studying Gaelic in Europe in preparation for the Chair of Celtic Studies, and until his return a Professor of Gaelic, Dr Frederick N. Robinson of Harvard University (Hogan 1949, p. 117) was teaching Gaelic at the CUA (New York Daily Tribune 18 July 1902). Although Fr Yorke continued to campaign for Dr Henebry through the pages of *The Leader,* the result of the 1902 AOH convention seems to have conclusively ended Henebry's teaching career at the CUA.

By the end of April 1902 Henebry's health had weakened and in order to recuperate the *Kentucky Irish American* reported that he returned to Colorado 'in quest of health and will spend some time on a ranch in Colorado' (Kentucky Irish American 5 March 1902, p. 4). Richard Henebry published the concluding part of his article 'The Life of Columb Cille' in the 1903 edition of *Zeitschrift Fur Celtische Philologie* (Henebry 1903). At the end of the article he included his address − Notts Ranch, Bennett, Colorado − which suggests that he did indeed spend time on a ranch in Colorado. In the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* for January-July 1902, however, Henebry's name is included in the membership list and his address is given as 1738 Logan Avenue, Denver, Colorado (Hopkins and Torrey 1902). The appearance of 'The Life of Columb Cille' in the later 1903 volume of *Zeitschrift Fur Celtische Philologie* suggests that he had initially stayed in Logan Avenue in Denver but had moved to Notts Ranch by 1903.

A considerable amount of information regarding Henebry's life in Colorado can be gleaned from issues of the Utah and Colorado weekly newspaper, *The Intermountain and Colorado Catholic.* It would appear that Henebry's health had improved in Colorado when he assumed the duties of a parish in Denver. In the absence of a Fr Carrigan, 'Rev. Dr Henebry will have charge of St Patrick's', a Catholic parish in Denver (Intermountain and Colorado Catholic 26 April 1902, p. 3). Another example of Henebry's pastoral work is given when a 'Rosa Lillian Higgins was baptised at St Patrick's church on Sunday [4 May 1902] by Rev. Dr Henebry' (Intermountain and Colorado Catholic 10 May 1902, p. 3). In a further example of his duties as Parish priest, Fr Henebry, on Tuesday 17 June 1902, addressed the students and guests prior to

the conferring of diplomas at the graduating ceremony of The Immaculate Conception School, Denver (Intermountain and Colorado Catholic 21 June 1902).

Although Fr Henebry was now engaged as a Parish priest he did not abandon his interest in the promotion of the Gaelic language. In *The Intermountain and Colorado Catholic* of 24 May 1902 it was announced that the United Irish Societies of Denver were to hold a picnic on 8 June 1902 in Denver at which 'Dr Henebry [would] deliver a lecture in the Irish Tongue' (Intermountain and Colorado Catholic 24 May 1902, p. 3). Henebry, as President of the Gaelic League of America, did not neglect his League duties while in Denver and on Friday 20 June 1902 he was instrumental in organising a branch of said society in Denver:

> On last Friday a large and enthusiastic meeting was held in the basement of St Leo's Church at which Dr Henebry addressed the assemblage on the objects of the League and the motives of learning the Irish language. There was a very good attendance and a considerable enthusiasm was manifested.
>
> (Intermountain and Colorado Catholic 21 June 1902, p. 2)

Henebry attended the second meeting of the Denver Branch of the Gaelic league of America at St Leo's Hall on Sunday, 22 June 1902. An Irish language class of 76 was organised with 10 teachers (Intermountain and Colorado Catholic 28 June 1902). It was decided at this meeting that further Branches of the Gaelic League would be opened at the Cathedral, Annunciation and St Patrick's parishes in Denver (Intermountain and Colorado Catholic 28 June 1902, p. 3). *The Intermountain and Colorado Catholic* of 12 July 1902 reports that the Irish language classes in St Leo's Hall on Sunday evening 6 July 1902 were a success, and that Henebry was very pleased with the class's progress. The article also mentions that the performance of Irish music and dancing was part of the evening's events, and a rare reference to Henebry the musician is included:

> Dr Henebry was agreeably surprised to find that a large number of young men and young women were able to read the Irish language. The text books not being there, Fr Henebry gave a blackboard lecture on the common forms of salutation… Genuine Irish dancing was indulged in while Fr Henebry and Miss Burke of North Denver played real Irish music on the fiddle.
>
> (Intermountain and Colorado Catholic 19 July 1902, p. 2)

In August 1902 Dr Henebry was appointed chaplain of the Glockner Sanitarium in Colorado Springs (Intermountain and Colorado Catholic 16 August 1902).[9] Henebry's chaplaincy at the Sanitarium seems to indicate that his temporary appointment to St Patrick's Parish in Denver had ended and he was relocated elsewhere in the Diocese. It is also possible that Henebry was a patient at the sanitarium himself, and, being in reasonable health, was given the post of Chaplain there. The Irish language classes in St Leo's Hall continued throughout 1902 and on 23 August 1902, *The Intermountain and Colorado Catholic* refers to the weekly classes, taught by Henebry, as 'Dr Henebry's Gaelic class':

> Dr Henebry's Gaelic class is increasing in enthusiasm and numbers. It meets every Sunday evening in St Leo's Hall. For the beginners Father O'Leary's "Phrase Book" is used, and for the more advanced pupils, the Ossianic tales are read.
>
> (Intermountain and Colorado Catholic 23 August 1902, p. 3)

On Friday, 10 October 1902 the New York newspaper *The Sun* reports on the proceedings of the 5th Annual Convention of the Gaelic League of America in Philadelphia. It is perhaps indicative of the state of Henebry's health that he was not present at the Convention, as, 'Vice-President, Major McCrystal, presided in the absence of the President, Father Richard Henebry of Baltimore' (The Sun 10 October 1902, p. 6). An acrimonious dispute between the Californian and New York delegates at the Convention is mentioned, and it apparently:

[9] The Glockner Sanitarium, Colorado Springs, was founded in 1889 by Mrs Albert Glockner after her husband died from TB. In 1893 Mrs Glockner asked the Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati Ohio to run the Sanitarium. By 1910, under the management of the Sisters of Charity the Glockner Sanitarium had earned the reputation of being one of the best in America (Daily Press Newport News 24 July 1910).

> grew out of a report of the Committee of Credentials to unseat the delegates from California on the grounds of irregularity…Major E.T. Mc Crystal, the Vice President of the League… declared the convention adjourned before the question was settled [and] there was rebellion… Mr P.C.B. O'Donovan of Philadelphia was elected Chairman in [Mc Crystal's] place. The report against the California delegates was rejected.
>
> (The Sun 10 October 1902, p. 6)

According to the author of 'The Henebriates on the Run' in the January 1903 issue of *The Gael,* the dispute arose when the Convention was 'interrupted by certain Western rowdies sent there for that specific purpose' (The Gael January 1903, p. 19). This dispute became very heated and resulted in Major McCrystal and other prominent New York members retiring from the committee 'when threatened with bodily assault from the thugs' (The Gael January 1903, p. 19). The dispute apparently arose when the New York delegates alleged that the California branch of the Gaelic League, led by Fr Yorke and Fr Henebry, was engaged in fraud. The California branch supposedly issued a fraudulent Gaelic League document condemning the proprietor of *The Gael,* Mr Richardson, 'for assuming to make arrangements for the O'Growney funeral without their permission' (The Gael January 1903, p. 20). This refers to the arrangements to have the remains of Fr Eoghan O'Growney returned to Ireland which eventually took place in September 1903 (Corish 1995). The 'Western rowdies' described in this article are also referred to as 'Henebriates', this presumably is a reference to their previous campaign to reinstate Henebry to the CUA, and clearly associates Henebry with Yorke's California branch of the Gaelic League. As already stated Henebry was not present at the Convention but was, according to the article in *The Gael* 'relegated to a sanitarium' (The Gael January 1903, p. 20).

Despite Henebry's apparent connection with the above mentioned dispute and the alleged fraud claimed by the correspondent in *The Gael,* he was well liked by the Irish-

American community in Denver, Colorado. *The Intermountain and Colorado Catholic* reported that on Sunday, 16 November 1902, in appreciation of his tuition at the Irish classes, the Denver branch of the Gaelic League 'presented the Rev. Dr Henebry, who is instructing the classes, with a handsome gold purse' (Intermountain and Colorado Catholic 22 November 1902, p. 3). Although pleased with the presentation Henebry modestly declined the 'purse' because:

> As President of the [Gaelic] League of America he has the interests of that body at heart and refuses to accept any remuneration for his service on behalf of that organisation. The money [was then] devoted to the purchase of books for the library.
> (Intermountain and Colorado Catholic 22 November 1902, p. 3)

1.6 Return to Ireland

On Monday, 29 June 1903 Richard Henebry left Denver and travelled to New York City where he was to 'sail immediately for Ireland to visit his mother' (Intermountain and Colorado Catholic 4 July 1903, p. 3). This article from the *Intermountain and Colorado Catholic* states that Henebry was still President of the Gaelic League of America at that time. As already mentioned Henebry was held in high esteem by many people in Denver, 'he endeared himself to a host of people who sincerely [regretted] his departure' (Intermountain and Colorado Catholic 4 July 1903, p. 3). He was to visit Ireland for a short period before returning to America to take 'the chair of Indo-European languages in one of America's leading colleges', the University of California (Intermountain and Colorado Catholic 4 July 1903, p. 3). Fr Yorke was the instigator of this appointment to a 'leading college'. In September 1903 Fr Peter Yorke, Regent of the University of California (UC), officially proposed the establishment of a department of Celtic Languages and Philology at UC, to be 'staffed by one instructor' (Walsh 1973, p. 27). President Wheeler of UC, agreed to Yorke's proposal and Dr Richard Henebry

was chosen for the position (Walsh 1973, p. 28). On 9 March 1904 the *San Francisco Call* announced Henebry's appointment as 'instructor in Gaelic Philology' to the University of California (San Francisco Call 9 March 1904, p. 3). Further mention is made of Henebry's appointment to UC in the article titled 'Return of Faculty Members and Coming of New Men Adds to College Curriculum' in the *San Francisco Call* of 29 April 1904:

> There are a number of additions to the curricula for next year that will be valuable. Instruction in Celtic will be given by Dr Richard Henebry, the recently appointed instructor in Celtic Philosophy.
>
> (San Francisco Call 29 April 1904, p. 6)

It would appear that Dr Henebry was to commence his new position in September of 1904 as this would have been the start of the new college academic year referred to in the above quote. Henebry however did not take up the position. In 1904 Henebry's ill-health returned and he postponed his return to America (Walsh 1973, p. 28). In 1905 Henebry's mother died and he was apparently so distraught that he once again postponed his return. In a letter to President Wheeler, dated 29 March 1906, Henebry apologises for his delay in replying and explains that, because of his mother's death and his sister's illness he could not assume his position in UC:

> You must excuse me for my long delay in answering your kind letter. The truth is that I have been so beset by domestic troubles that I had no heart to pay much attention to anything. My mother died last year and my sister was follow.
>
> (Henebry1906, p. 1)

Despite the 'domestic troubles' cited by Henebry in his letter to Wheeler, he also gives two other reasons for his resignation from his position at UC. He claimed that the salary was too low and that he objected to spending his 'summer vacation at exterior lectures or summer school work' (Henebry 1906, p. 1). It has already been mentioned that, when teaching at CUA Henebry regularly visited Ireland during the summer vacation periods, Henebry cites this in his letter to Wheeler as a reason for not wanting to do 'summer school work':

> I should like if possible to come to Ireland as often as there might be opportunity because naturally my work centres here, the materials are here, and I am drawn besides by feelings or considerations that I cannot define nor express. Wherefore I should find summer school work very irksome.
>
> (Henebry 1906, p. 1)

President Wheeler replies to Henebry on 12 April 1906, and in addressing the question of salary informs Henebry that, had he assumed his position, 'the salary would have been gradually increased' (Wheeler 1906, p. 1). Wheeler also states that the summer school work was not obligatory and that it was separate from regular work at the university:

> As far as the Summer Session is concerned, participation in that was entirely optional with you. The person who takes classes there receives extra pay. No one is obliged, however, to do so. I am sorry that you did not quite understand this. The Summer Session is an entirely distinct thing from the rest of the college work.
>
> (Wheeler 1906, p. 1)

Henebry's home address is not listed in either the 1903 or the 1904 volumes of the *Irish Catholic Directory.* It is probable that in 1903 he lived in Portlaw, Co. Waterford, with his family. This is corroborated to some extent by the *Irish Times,* when on 12 September 1903, as part of its school letter writing contest it printed a letter from school boy, Robert Froude to his Grandmother. In the letter Froude described a concert in late August or early September 1903, of Irish dancing and music in Clonea, Co. Waterford. Henebry is depicted playing the fiddle with his brother John playing the uilleann pipes while his two sisters danced:

> A notable and interesting feature…was…the dancing of the double by the Misses Henebry, Portlaw and in which the music for same was rendered by their two brothers, the famous Dr Henebry on the fiddle, and Mr J. Henebry, the second brother on the Irish pipes.
>
> (R. Froude cited in *The Irish Times* 12 September 1903, p. 22)

Henebry also addressed the audience, of the concert, in Irish during the interval. The title of his lecture was 'Language is Nationality' (R. Froude, *The Irish Times,* 12 September 1903, p. 22). *The Kentucky Irish American* on 21 November 1903 reported that Dr Henebry continued to promote the activities of the Gaelic League. The article

states that Henebry and the Rev. J.K. Fielding of Chicago 'recently delivered lectures on the Gaelic movement at Clonmel' (The Kentucky Irish American 21 November 1903, p. 4).

In October or November 1903 Henebry's first major work on Irish music was published, *Irish Music, Being an Examination of the Matter of Scales, Modes, and Keys, with Practical Instructions and Examples for Players.* This pamphlet was an instructional tutor for Irish music practitioners showing the 'correct' scales and intonation on the fiddle. The pamphlet was generally favourably received. In a review of the pamphlet in *The Irish Times* of 9 January 1904, the reviewer states that Irish music had not been properly studied since Dr O'Sullivan's introduction to O'Curry's M*anners and Customs* (1873)

> Since Dr O'Sullivan wrote on Irish music in the introduction to O'Curry's "Manners and Customs" this is the most valuable contribution to the study of Irish modes, and it should prove of the highest interest to musicians in general.
>
> (The Irish Times 9 January 1904, p. 11)

Irish Music was also favourably reviewed in January 1904 in the *Ulster Journal on Archaeology.* The reviewer (H.H.) recommends Henebry's *Irish Music* 'most strongly to all those interested in our national music' (H.H. 1904, p. 43).

In an article in *The Waterford News*, on 8 January 1904 a report on the activities of the Waterford branch of the Gaelic League titled 'Waterford Branch Gaelic League' mentions that in a forthcoming concert on 12 January, the Rev Dr Henebry will give a lecture and performance of his theories regarding Irish music:

> Rev. Dr. Henebry, PhD., the world-famed Irish scholar, who has recently come before his countrymen as the champion of our national music, will illustrate the Irish scales and notes on the fiddle.
>
> (Waterford News, 8 January, 1904, p. 3)

On St Patrick's Day 1904 Dr Henebry celebrated Mass in Manchester and 'preached a sermon in Irish' (The Irish Times 2 April 1904, p. 7). In August 1904, Henebry attended the Irish cultural gathering *Feis Mór na Mumhan* in Killarney where he was elected to the Munster Council of the Gaelic League (Southern Star 27 August 1904). Henebry also addressed a Gaelic League meeting in December 1904, this time in Belfast (The Irish Times 24 December 1904, p. 8). This apparent freedom to travel to various Gaelic League functions suggests that Henebry was not allocated a parish or Diocesan work in the Waterford and Lismore Diocese. It is likely that, as he was expecting to return to America, it may have been deemed unnecessary by the Diocese to give him a pastoral position.

Richard Henebry is listed in the *Irish Catholic Directory and Almanac* for the year 1905 as Chaplain to the 'Lunatic Asylum' (St Otteran's Mental Hospital) in Waterford City (Irish Catholic Directory and Almanac 1905, p. 236.). On 25 July 1905 Henebry's address in Waterford was 11 South Parade, Waterford City. This can be determined from a postcard sent to Henebry from Douglas Hyde on 5 July 1905 (Waterford County Museum). The postcard was incorrectly addressed to 'The Asylum,' Dungarvan, Co. Waterford. As there was no 'Asylum' in Dungarvan it was redirected to Waterford City and Henebry's South Parade address was added. Henebry also began work on his second book on Irish Music, he recorded musicians and singers from the West Waterford area between 2 and 5 July 1905 and copies of these recordings were later sent

to Germany for analysis with the dates of each recording included. On 8 and 9 July 1905 Richard Henebry was the adjudicator for the singing, literature, and fiddle competitions at the *Feis na nDéise* Dungarvan, Co. Waterford (*Feis na nDéise* program 1905, p. 2).

In the 1906 issue of *The Irish Catholic Directory and Almanac* Henebry is again listed as Chaplain to the 'Lunatic Asylum' (Irish Catholic Directory and Almanac 1906, p. 234). In the previously mentioned letter to President Wheeler, 29 March 1906, Henebry states that, in August 1905, his sister Kate recovered her health after a 'poor woman cured her by using some old Irish treatment with herbs' (Henebry 1906, p. 1). The apparent 'cure' however was short lived as Kate Henebry died on 6 May 1906 (Waterford News 11 May 1906). It would also appear from this letter that Henebry had changed address and was now living in 1 St Declan's Place, Waterford City. On 1 July 1906 the Irish language school *Iolscoil Na Mumhan* was opened in Ring, Co. Waterford. The first teachers were Dr Sheehan, Dr Henebry, Padraig Ó Cadhla, Séamus Ó h-Eochadha and Diarmait Stóice (Ó Domhnaill 1987). Henebry was very enthusiastic about this new Irish language school and immersed himself completely in his lessons. In the book *Iolscoil Na Mumhan,* Coláiste Na Rinne, Padraig Ó Cadhla is quoted as saying that, Henebry gave lessons describing similarities between 'Old Irish', 'Middle Irish', Sanskrit, Greek and Latin. Ó Cadhla also added that in the beginning his lessons were so complicated that few understood them:

> Bhíodh an tSanscrit, an Laidin, an Gréigis, an mheán-Ghaedhealuinn agus glan-Ghaedhealuinn agus droch-Ghaedhealuinn na h-aimsire seo, buaite breachta i bhfochair a chéile ar an gclár dubh aige. Ba é an feall ba mhó gur beag a thagadh a mbíodh aon tuiscint acu sa scéal. (He covered the entire blackboard with Sanskrit, Latin, Greek, Middle-Irish, and the good and bad Irish from our time. It was a shame that few of those in attendance understood what was being said.)
>
> (Ó Domhnaill 1987, p. 22)

It is recorded annually from 1905 to 1915 in the 'Irish Ireland' column of the *Waterford News* that Henebry continued to teach Irish in Ring every summer until his illness returned in 1915.

The *Irish Catholic Directory and Almanac* for 1907 also lists Henebry as being both a Chaplain to the 'Lunatic Asylum' in Waterford, and a Professor attached to St John's College in the city (Irish Catholic Directory and Almanac 1907, p. 241). In Henebry's obituary in the *UCC Gazette* (1916) Canon Power mentions that Henebry taught Irish in St John's College in Waterford. As he was first listed as a Professor to St John's College in 1907 this would indicate that he probably first began teaching Irish there in that year. In a letter from Henebry to Lord Castletown, dated 1 April 1907, Henebry includes Bunker Hill, Waterford, as his address. This coincides with his Chaplaincy at the Little Sisters of the Poor Convent which was also situated at Bunker (Manor) Hill, Waterford (Irish Catholic Directory and Almanac 1907). In the aforementioned letter Henebry also informs Lord Castletown that his experiments in making a harp were somewhat successful:

> My little harp and the harping…are both a success. In the harp the only defect was caused by myself in departing from old models when making the sound box. The old people dug the sound box out of one yew or red sally block and pulled the strings (wire) directly from the belly. Having no yew at the time I built a box but fearing that such would not be strong enough I put a guider bar of wood inside and took the pull from that. As a result there is a want of the proper resonance. But the defect can be remedied and the harp is alright for practice.
>
> (Henebry 1907, p. 1)

Henebry states in the letter that he recently sent the 14 recordings of Déise singers, made by him in 1905, to the University of Berlin 'with a view to getting a scientific and independent support' for his conclusions (Henebry 1 April 1907, p. 1). He also mentions that his brother John 'plays the pipes fairly well besides making them very well indeed'

(Henebry 1 April 1907, p. 1). He finishes the letter by stating that he will be teaching in Ring College ‘as usual this summer… and [he] shall be there lecturing as last year’ (Henebry 1 April 1907, p. 1).

On 23 August 1905 Henebry received a letter from Irish Independence activist Roger Casement regarding the promotion of the Irish language. Casement states that ‘we must all try and fight for the language this winter’ (Irish Independent, undated, Waterford County Museum). This letter reveals a friendship between Casement and Henebry and, given Casement’s later involvement in the Irish Independence movement it may also indicate Henebry’s own political leanings with regard to Irish politics. Henebry also received a letter from Casement dated 3 June 1907 but only a fragment of this letter survives which includes Casement’s address, the Consulate of Great Britain and Ireland, Santos and Brazil (Waterford County Museum). In another fragment of a letter from Casement to Henebry (undated) Casement states that ‘I wonder if prayers for the delivery of Ireland from England might not be tried’ (Undated letter fragment, Waterford County Museum). These fragments of letters along with another which has Casement’s name in Irish were donated to the Waterford County museum by the Cross family of Cork City who were friends of Henebry’s. According to Waterford County Museum Curator, William Fraher, the contents of the letters were torn out, by members of the Cross family, to hide what might have been construed, by the English forces, as seditious material during the Irish War of Independence, 1919-1921. If this is true it might therefore indicate that Henebry entertained Irish nationalist, political inclinations.

On Friday, 1 May 1908, Henebry attended the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the Good Shepherd Sisters in Waterford City (Freeman's Journal 2 May 1908, p. 7). Henebry seems to have embroiled himself in another controversy when on 16 May 1908 he chaired a gathering of the Waterford Branch of the Gaelic League (Freeman's Journal 21 May 1908, p. 2). This meeting was convened to ask if it was appropriate for the President and Vice-President of the Gaelic League (Douglas Hyde and John Mac Neill) to accept positions on the Senate of the newly proposed University of Ireland. Apparently Hyde and Mac Neill disagreed with the Waterford Branch that Irish should be the 'teaching language' of the University. This angered the members of the Waterford Branch of the Gaelic League, and a resolution calling for the resignation of Hyde and Mac Neill 'from their positions on the Gaelic League, or their office as members of the Senate' of the proposed university was passed (Freeman's Journal 21 May 1908, p. 2).

On Sunday 14 June 1908 Henebry attended the annual Waterford Feis, which took place in the Courthouse grounds, and delivered a speech to the audience in Irish which was met with frequent 'outbursts of enthusiasm amongst the rev. gentleman's hearers' (Waterford News, 19 June 1908, p. 6). Henebry's devotion to the Irish Language is further revealed when, in 1908, in a series of articles for *The Leader*, he outlines his objections to the 'new revival' of Irish literature. On 14 November 1908, in the *Leader*, Henebry reviewed *Cathaoir Conraí agus Sgéalta Eile* by S. Ó'Dubhghaill (Mac an tSaoir 1961). Henebry attacks this work and denounces it for its use of a literal or 'mechanical' translation of English into Irish. Henebry referred to this literary development in Irish literature as *nua litríocht* and dismissed it because:

> If translation was done very badly, e.g., a mechanical word for word translation without regard to the propriety of the second language [Irish], then it would speak in the words of the language of translation but the voice would be the voice of the original [English].
> (Cited in Mac an tSaoir 1961, p. 23)

Henebry was of the opinion that the Irish of the 16th century should be revived and that it should form the basis of a Gaelic literary revival. He felt that if the revival of a literary tradition in Irish was based solely on the *nua litríocht* instead of classical Irish, then it would not be based on a sound tradition (Mac an tSaoir 1961). Padraig Pearse, an advocate of the 'new' Irish literary revival, responded to Henebry's condemnation of the *nua litríocht* in the newspaper *An Claidheamh Soluis,* on 21 November 1908, (Mac an tSaoir 1961). Pearse claimed that Henebry did not recognise the spoken language of the time and was only interested in 16th century Gaelic:

> Dr Henebry insists that Irish is a dead language. He asserts that we must write it exactly as it was written three hundred years ago… Literature must be based on living speech. Dr Henebry would divorce it from the spoken language altogether.
> (Cited in Mac an tSaoir 1961, p. 23)

According to Flann Mac an tSaoir in his article 'An Dr Risteárd de Hindeberg' Pearse misunderstood Henebry. Mac an tSaoir maintains that it was Henebry's wish that once the reintroduction of spoken Irish was complete it would then be possible to revive Old Irish and begin 'the re-establishment of our suspended literature' (Mac an tSaoir 1961, p. 24).

In the *Thom's Directory for Waterford* 1909-1910, Henebry's address is listed as St John's College, Waterford (Thom's Directory for Waterford 1909-1910, p. 96). He is also listed in the *Irish Catholic Directory and Almanac* 1909 as Chaplain to the Little Sisters of the Poor (Irish Catholic Directory and Almanac 1909, p. 238). On 11 January 1909, Henebry gave a lecture titled 'Ogham Inscriptions' in the Committee Room of the Waterford City Town Hall (Waterford News 15 January 1909). The text of his lecture

was printed in full in the Waterford News, 15 January 1909. In this lecture Henebry proposed that the language of the Ogham inscriptions is an ancient form of Gaelic. He summarises his lecture by adding that, because of their early usage, Ogham inscriptions may indicate 'an early and possible independent use of letters amongst the Irish' (Waterford News 15 January 1909, p. 3). Dr Henebry gave a second lecture in the same venue on 25 January 1909, titled 'The Documentary Sources of Old Irish' (Waterford News 22 January 1909). The *Waterford News* describes these lectures as 'extension lectures which [were] being delivered in connection with the Ring Summer College' (Waterford News 22 January 1909, p. 5).

On 21 October 1909 Dr Henebry was appointed Professor of Irish Language and Literature at University College Cork (Irish Times 22 October 1909). Henebry's appointment to UCC was also announced on 29 October 1909 in the *Waterford News.* There is a death notice for Mrs Hassett, Knockaturney in the *Waterford News* dated 26 October 1909, and Rev. James Walsh is named as Chaplain to the Little Sisters of the Poor in Waterford City. This change in chaplain suggests that Henebry had assumed his new position in UCC and was no longer Chaplain to the Waterford convent. In a further reference to Henebry's new appointment, the *Irish Times* of 6 November 1909 gives a more detailed description of Henebry's new position: 'Professor of Irish, Old and Middle, and Irish Literature at University College Cork' (The Irish Times 6 November 1909, p. 13).

In his article 'An Ghaeilge I gColáiste na hOllscoile, Corcaigh' Neil Buttimer states that Henebry was appointed to the post of Irish Professor because of his opposition to the abandonment of Irish classical literary form in the emerging *Nua-Ghaeilge* revival of Irish literature (Buttimer 1995, p. 58). According to Buttimer the Irish Language and Literature course offered by UCC was subdivided into two components, Henebry's 'Classical, Old and Middle Irish, *An Ghaeilge Ársa,* and a course in *Nua Ghaeilge* by Éamoinn Uí Dhonnchadha (Buttimer 1995). In the academic year 1909-1910 there were 26 pupils in Henebry's class and 4 pupils in Éamoinn Uí Dhonnchadha's class (Buttimer 1995). UCC's syllabus for its Irish Language and Literature course is given in the 1910-1911 *UCC Calendar*. Henebry is listed as the Professor and Éamon Ó'Donoghue (Éamoinn Uí Dhonnchadha) as Lecturer (UCC Calendar 1910-1911, pp. 70-72). The course was of three years duration and pupils were given a choice of either a Pass or an Honours level. Although the *Calendar* does not refer to an *An Ghaeilge Ársa* and a *Nua Ghaeilge* distinction, as outlined by Buttimer, the course content in each level (Pass and Honours) suggests that the Honours course was Henebry's *An Ghaeilge Ársa*, and the Pass course was Ó'Donoghue's *Nua Ghaeilge* class. The Honours course consisted of advanced subjects such as the phonetics of the Irish language, based on Henebry's own doctoral thesis, the 17th-century Irish of Geoffrey Keating and the metrical structure of Middle Irish poetry. The works of leading Gaelic scholars were also studied, such as Dr Thurneysen's *Handbuch des Altirischen Teil II,* and also Thurneysen's *Altirische Grammatik,* Dr Kuno Meyer's *Primer of Irish Metrics,* and Dr Strachan's *Old Irish Paradigms* (UCC Calendar 1910-1911, pp. 72-73). A handwritten page fragment in the Waterford County Museum also suggests the advanced nature of Henebry's class, and it lists him as the examiner for the Welsh language in UCC in 1914. This further suggests

that Henebry's class may also have been concerned with the broader study of Keltic languages as well as Irish, it states:

> University College Cork. Examination for the BA Degree in the Faculty of Keltic Studies, autumn 1914. Welsh. Examiner, Richard Henebry.
>
> (Waterford County Museum)

The Honours course also included weekly lectures on Irish Archaeology, Irish Music, and Irish History. These extra lectures were not compulsory for pupils in the Pass course (UCC Calendar 1910-1911). Henebry also gave at least one specialist lecture on Irish music at UCC, as indicated by an undated invitation card in the Waterford County Museum announcing a lecture on Irish folk music given by Henebry, which might suggest that he also gave some of the Irish music lectures for the Honours course. The invitation card reads:

> You are invited to attend a Lecture on Irish Folk Music, with Instrumental and Phonograph Illustrations, to be delivered here [St Anthony's Hall. UCC], by Dr Henebry on Sunday 13th December, at 8pm. Sir Bertram Windle will preside.
>
> (Waterford County Museum)

In 1910-1911 academic year there were 10 pupils in the *An Ghaeilge Ársa* class and 19 in the *Nua Ghaeilge* class (Buttimer 1995). Given the advanced nature of the subject matter in Henebry's classes such as 'the main principles of Indo-Keltic Philology and of comparative Keltic grammar', Neill Buttimer suggests that a number of his students transferred to Ó'Donoghue's *Nua Ghaeilge* class:

> Taispeánann na figiúirí…nach fada a sheasamh na scoláirí an regimen fileolaíoch úd, ach gur thugadar a ndílseacht do ranganna Éamoinn Uí Dhonnchadha sa Nua-Ghaeilge. (The figures show …that the scholars did not stand long for the regimen of Philology, but gave their allegiance to the New Irish classes of Éamoinn Uí Dhonnchadha.)
>
> (Buttimer 1995, p. 58)

This trend continued throughout Henebry's tenure in UCC and by the academic year 1914-1915 there was only 5 pupils in Henebry's class in comparison to 43 in Ó'Donoghue's (Buttimer 1995).

Despite Henebry's criticism of the literary output of others, he himself contributed very little to the literary revival of Irish. In 1910 however Henebry published a play titled *Eachtra an Ghobbáin Saoir So* (Ó Morónaigh 2007). This was a comedy about the comic antics of a 'jack of all trades,' which was first performed in Ring, Co. Waterford in 1910, under the direction of Henebry himself. It was also performed in 1939 in Ring, and again in the 1950s (Ó Morónaigh 2007). Ó Morónaigh describes the play as having a richness of language, being both funny and clever, and as having an underlying sense of bitterness and truth mixed with the comedy:

> Tá saibhreas cainte, greann agus gliceas fite fuaite san Eachtra fantaisíochta seo aige, agus meascaithe tríd an ghreann, tá an searbhas agus an fhírinne. (He has added a richness of speech, humour and cleverness throughout this fantasy adventure, and mixed into the humour is bitterness and truth.)
>
> (Ó Morónaigh 2007, p. 70)

A short extract of *Eachtra an Ghobbáin Saoir So* was printed in the Irish language column in the *Waterford News* on 12 May 1911. The columnist praised the play for its wit:

> The little work scintillates with true Irish wit and humour expressed in the raciest of Deise Irish.
>
> (Waterford News 12 May 1911, p. 2)

In 1911 Henebry's address was 28 Sunday's Well Road, Cork City, where he rented two rooms from Mary McCoy (Irish National Census 1911). He was also listed as the literary adjudicator for the Waterford Feis on 2 July 1911 with his brother John as the vocal and instrumental adjudicator at the same event (Waterford News 7 July 1911, p. 6). In his article 'Henebry, the Reverend Richard', in the book *The Companion to Irish Traditional Music,* Colin Hamilton mentions that Henebry made some more 'field recordings' of Déise musicians and singers in 1911 which was funded by UCC (Hamilton 1999). This is confirmed in a letter to the *Waterford News* in 1911 by Henebry, where he announces that UCC have launched a 'Phonogram Archive Project

for the collection and preservation of Irish music' (Henebry cited in Waterford News 12 May 1911, p. 2). This project was initiated by the then President of UCC Dr Windle. Henebry states that he was given the responsibility for the project. He also states that he recorded a number of tunes from a travelling fiddle player, Tomas Higgins, who was then resident in Waterford city.

Richard Henebry is mentioned in an article titled 'Ring, Pictures of the Co. Waterford Irish College' in the *Waterford News* on 4 August 1911. In this article is another rare reference to Henebry the musician where one of the attractions at the college is Henebry's music class:

> You have the rarest delight in hearing Dr Henebry's very musical voice or whistling as he teaches the old Irish airs.
>
> (Waterford News 4 August 1911, p. 6)

A more detailed account of Henebry the musician is given in another article titled 'Ring Irish College, Close of the 1911 Summer Session', Henebry apparently played his fiddle every night of the 1911 'summer session' and was accompanied by the travelling piper Séamus Byrne:

> During the session the Rev. Dr Henebry attended every night at the old College building and provided a splendid entertainment of Irish music on the violin for the students and residents of the district. He was accompanied by Seamus Byrne the well known piper. Irish dances, songs and stories formed part of each night's entertainment.
>
> (Waterford News 8 September 1911, p. 6)

Henebry also acted as an Irish language adjudicator at a *Feis* in Old Parish, Ring, Co. Waterford on Sunday 13 August 1911 (Waterford News 18 August 1911, p. 6).

In 1912 the *Waterford News* also mentions that in the forthcoming summer season in Ring College Dr Henebry will teach his theories of Irish music using a phonograph, harp, fiddle and bagpipes:

> Dr Henebry will explain Irish music; he will illustrate his theories on the phonograph, the harp, the fiddle, and bagpipes…Traditional singing will get special attention.
> (Waterford News 3 May 1912, p. 6)

The *Waterford News* also reported that Henebry taught Gaelic during the summer seasons of 1913 and 1914.

When Henebry had returned to Ireland in 1903 he appeared to be in good health. This was not the case however because the T.B. which plagued him in America was merely in remission and not cured:

> Dr Henebry returned to Ireland in 1903 apparently restored to health, but in reality with the seeds or roots of the disease which carried him off thirteen years later.
> (Power 1916, p. 174)

Power recalls that it was in the Glockner Sanitarium in Colorado that Henebry 'developed the peculiar hygienic views which … amused, astonished, and often alarmed his friends' (Power 1916, p. 174). These 'peculiar hygienic views' consisted of sleeping in a tent, not wearing a hat or a raincoat, regardless of the weather conditions, and sleeping on a hard, bare floor with all the windows and doors opened. Power states that because he used this 'treatment' in Colorado Henebry believed it should work in Ireland:

> Open air treatment restored him to health in Colorado – it ought [to] be as efficacious in preserving as in restoring.
> (Power 1916, p. 174)

In the aforementioned essay 'Dr Henebry' Stockley also describes these 'peculiar hygienic views' of Henebry's. He states that Henebry lived in a tent at times and exposed his body to the elements:

> Indeed it was his fashion to lie on the floor, o' nights, with no clothes at all; nay in gardens…Even as he used to lie, covered, out on those damp unpleasant fields by the River Lee, when he came back here and perhaps killed himself by his extraordinary habits of exposing his body to wet and cold.
>
> (Stockley 1933, p.144)

There is further evidence of the return of Henebry's illness in a letter to Henebry from Lord Waterford's wife, Beatrice, dated 4 July 1913. The letter is signed B, Waterford, with B presumably standing for Beatrice. In the letter B expresses regret that Henebry was unwell and suggests that he will recover after his, Henebry's, holiday in France:

> You will no doubt not feel quite fit until you have had a thorough change, and I hope you will enjoy your time in France.
>
> (Waterford 1913, p. 1)

There is also a reference in this letter to the preparatory work being done by Henebry for his second book on Irish music, *A Handbook of Irish Music*:

> You seem very hard at work over Irish music and I hope you will succeed in unravelling all the mysteries of it, but it seems terribly complicated.
>
> (Waterford 1913, p. 1)

During his summer vacation in Waterford in 1915 Henebry may have known that his illness had worsened. In a letter to his friend Tom Cross of Sullivan's Quay, Cork, Henebry asks that Cross might 'look after my interests' in Cork (Henebry 1915, p. 1). Henebry also mentions how he enjoyed a trip to the seaside resort at Tramore, Co. Waterford with his brother's children. There is a suggestion in this reference to his trip to Tramore that his illness had returned:

> I drove to Tramore and back again with Jack's kids. There is some prospect that I will go there again, as I find the air very good there.
>
> (Henebry 1915, p. 1)

The *Waterford News* of 20 August 1915 announces in an article titled, 'Ring Irish College' that Dr Henebry was unable to teach that summer due to health reasons:

> The committee learned with regret that for reasons of health Dr Henebry was unable to take his usual part in the teaching of Old and Middle Irish, Irish Philology and music at the Summer College this year.
>
> (Waterford News 20 August 1915, p. 6)

It may be that Henebry's illness abated somewhat as it is reported in the *Waterford News* that in October 1915 he returned to Cork and was elected President of the Cork Piper's Club and Cork School of Irish Dancing (Waterford News 15 October 1915, p. 6). His illness worsened however and he returned to the home of his brother John in Brown St, Portlaw, Co. Waterford. Despite Henebry's election to the Presidency of the Cork Piper's Club in 1915, the columnist of the 'Irish Ireland' column in the *Waterford News* on 11 February 1916 states that Henebry's health had not improved since the summer of 1915:

> In consequence of ill-health An Dochtúir was unable to conduct his usual classes in Old Irish last summer, and there has been no perceptible improvement since that time.
> (Waterford News 11 February 1916, p. 6)

His condition deteriorated further and on St Patrick's Day, 17 March 1916, he died (Death Certificate 1916). His funeral Mass was celebrated in Portlaw on 20 March 1916 by the Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, Dr Hackett (Munster Express 25 March 1916). He is buried in the Henebry family plot in Carrickbeg, Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary.

1.7 Conclusion

Richard Henebry was committed to the restoration of a Gaelic Ireland which became the all-encompassing passion that governed his life. He was born at a politically fraught period of Irish history, and it is likely that his passion for all things Gaelic was coloured, if not directly then indirectly, by events in his family history and childhood; the Fenian activity on his father's land, Richard's own emersion in the Irish language and music, and the family's eviction in 1886. This same sweeping passion also seems to have influenced Henebry's academic career and also his involvement in Irish-American cultural events and politics. His desire for the restoration of Gaelic Ireland led Henebry

into a cultural and political battleground which angered his employers in America and resulted in a dispute which throws some light on Henebry's character. Henebry's 'disputatious' nature, as described by Fr. Power, is clearly evident in the argument between Henebry and the CUA. He appears to have been rather dogmatic in his opinions and absolutist in his declarations. It is also possible that his somewhat self-serving letter, protesting his treatment at the CUA, was perceived by some to portray him as a petty man, and this may have contributed to his failure in the dispute between himself and the CUA.

Although he seems to have had a vocation to the priesthood early in life he was not, due to financial difficulties, able to pursue his wishes until he was nineteen. It is also possible that, despite this apparent early request to enter All Hallows, Henebry saw the priesthood as a way of improving his academic career as a Gaelic linguist. While he spent two years in Manchester assigned to the parish of St. Augustine's, Henebry also studied Gaelic with Dr Strachan and Dr Meyer. It is possible that his desire to go to the English missions, and especially the Diocese of Salford, was influenced by the proximity of two of the foremost academics on Gaelic at the time. His eagerness to take the post in Washington, after a two year study period in Germany, also seems to suggest that his academic career was his priority. Although he was engaged as a teaching professor in Washington DC, as a priest he would have celebrated Mass every day. There is however no evidence of his involvement in pastoral duties in America until he moved to Colorado to recuperate from TB. As a parish priest in Denver Henebry was well liked and another side to his character is evident, one which seems to contradict his aforementioned 'disputatious nature'.

On his return to Ireland in 1903 Henebry continued his involvement with the promotion of the Gaelic language. Because he was not a diocesan priest for Waterford and Lismore, and was expected to return to America, he was not assigned a parish and was free to continue with his Gaelic League activities. This changed in 1905 however when he decided not to return to America, and was assigned the Chaplaincy of St Otteran's Hospital, the 'lunatic asylum', in Waterford city. It is possible that he requested this assignment as it afforded him time to further pursue his linguistic interests. The culmination of his linguistic career came in 1909 when Henebry was employed by UCC as Professor of Irish. His classes in UCC were ambitious and offered a detailed syllabus covering an advanced study of 16th and 17th century Gaelic and other Celtic Studies. It would appear that while there was an initial enthusiasm for his classes attendance gradually diminished. This would suggest that Henebry's passion for Old Gaelic was perhaps not shared by his pupils or that they found his lectures too complicated or difficult. This is also evident when, in Ring Co. Waterford, Henebry's pupils, despite being native speakers, also found his lessons difficult to understand initially.

Henebry was seen by many people of his time as argumentative and somewhat rigid in his opinion regarding the Gaelic language. This is also true of his thoughts regarding Irish music. It may be however that his disputatious nature was merely the result of a growing frustration that the Gaelic traditions in Ireland were rapidly fading and unless this fading was stopped they would disappear completely. Henebry left behind a detailed description of the spoken Gaelic of his native county Waterford. He was one of the principle teachers and founders of Coláiste na Rinne, Co. Waterford, and is still remembered today by the people of Ring with pride and affection. The wax cylinder

collection amassed by Henebry offers a wonderful insight into the music and song tradition of late 19th-century and early 20th-century Waterford. By applying his linguistic analytical techniques to the study of Irish music, and together with his use of a scientific analysis called tonometrics, Henebry displayed an intimate knowledge of the music of his native Waterford. His premature death in 1916 meant that this intimate understanding of the Irish language and especially his radical description of Irish music was largely misunderstood and forgotten by subsequent scholars, and his works subsequently consigned to the library shelf.

Chapter Two

Irish Music Antiquarianism and Politics

2.1 Introduction

Richard Henebry had a strong interest in the preservation and analysis of Irish music. It is likely that as a linguist and a musician, he recognised that as the Gaelic language declined so too did the music, especially the Gaelic language songs. It was Henebry's intention that Irish folk music should be collected from native Irish musicians and singers before it disappeared completely, and as a collector he was among the first to make both written transcriptions as well as phonograph recordings of the music.

He was not content however to merely preserve the music for posterity but wished to re-establish a Gaelic music in a Gaelic Ireland. With this in mind Henebry emphasised an Irish/Gaelic provenance to the music, indeed his overall analysis of the music may have been influenced by the political environment of the late 19th century together with a romantic Gaelic antiquarian concept of the provenance of Irish music. Henebry's friendship with Roger Casement, for example, suggests that he may have been sympathetic to the Irish nationalist cause at the time, and his family's eviction may also have swayed his political beliefs towards Irish nationalism. Henebry's membership of the Gaelic League may also have influenced his desire to identify a unique Gaelic origin for the music.

It is intended in this chapter to briefly look at the history of Irish music collecting, and how a distinct Irish nationalist identity was gradually appended to the music. This gradual assimilation of Irish identity and music can be traced from the 18th century to the early 20th century through a continuous 'relay' of music collectors and antiquarians, with Henebry being a latter member of this 'relay'. Henebry added a further identity marker to the music when he affixed the term 'Gaelic' to the music and further emphasised its 'Irishness'.

2.2 An Emerging Anglo-Irish Identity

The 18th century in Ireland was arguably the most peaceful period in Irish history, especially the period between the ending of the Williamite war (1691) and the 1798 rebellion. The internecine wars between the native Irish and the Anglo-Irish population had largely subsided. Attention could now be turned towards improvements to agriculture and industry, and this move towards improvement was fostered by the emerging antiquarian societies. The Irish Antiquarian movement had begun in the 17th century, and one of the first Irish antiquarian societies, the Dublin Philosophical Society, was founded in 1683. This society, founded by the brothers Thomas and William Molyneaux, encouraged and promoted advances and developments in science and technology and was modelled on the Royal Society in London (Barnard 1974). It was followed by The Royal Dublin Society which was founded in 1731 'for improving husbandry, manufactures, and other useful arts' (Fitzpatrick 1915, p. 6).

In addition to the initial aim of the antiquarian societies to improve science and technology, they also turned their attention towards the antiquities and literature of

‘ancient’ Ireland. It may be that a growing interest in agriculture, industry, and trade in 18th century Ireland, led the Anglo-Irish inhabitants of Ireland to consider a different identity for themselves, separate to that of England (Ní Mhunghaile 2003). An early indication of a growing desire for a separate identity is suggested in William Molyneaux’s pamphlet, *The Case of Ireland’s Being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England.* Molyneaux (founder member of The Dublin Philosophical Society) indicates his dissatisfaction with the economic relationship between England and Ireland at the end of the 17th century. He argues against the restrictions and tariffs imposed on Irish trade, especially those restrictions imposed on the Irish woollen trade.

One of the few viable industries in Ireland was the woollen trade, but because of the unrest between Britain and Europe, trade with European countries was banned. Ireland’s only market was England. The English Parliament imposed tariffs on Irish woollen products to protect its own woollen industry (Leerssen 1996). Restrictions such as this were to last for most of the 18th century, and Molyneaux asks why Ireland should be controlled unfairly by an English Parliament:

> That Ireland should be bound by Acts of Parliament made in England, is against Reason, and the Common Rights of all Mankind.
>
> (Molyneaux cited in Leerssen 1996, p. 298)

Molyneaux’s indignation was echoed by others, and in response to the trying economic times a ‘patriotic movement’ emerged amongst the Anglo-Irish population. Unlike the separatist ‘patriotic movements’ of the latter part of the 18th century and the 19th century, the ‘patriots’ of the early 18th century promoted public duty and civic responsibility (Leerssen 1996). In his book *Mere Irish and Fíor Ghael*, Leerssen describes the nature of these early ‘patriots’, he states that the term was used to describe

people with a civic duty rather than the later political and militaristic connotations of the late 18th and 19th centuries:

> Patriotism was rather a form of political philanthropy: a desire to contribute to the public benefit, to live up to one's responsibilities as a citizen by contributing actively to the improvement of society-of the state, as a political and economic entity, that is, not the affective fatherland which has since become the object of modern 'patriotic' feelings'.
> (Leerssen 1996, p. 300)

The aforementioned trade restrictions and tariffs experienced by the Anglo-Irish merchants of the 18th century were similar to restrictions and tariffs imposed on the American colonies, however, unlike the American separatists the Anglo-Irish patriots were content to remain within the British Empire. They sought autonomy rather than independence. These patriots consisted of Protestant men 'who were reasonably happy with their judicial and political links with England' (Costello 1998, p. 3).

The formation of the Irish Volunteers in 1779 was, to a certain extent, the culmination of this emergence of a separate political identity. During this period England was fighting the American colonists in the American war of Independence; regular troops were withdrawn from Ireland and sent to America, leaving Ireland largely undefended. A volunteer army was formed to help defend Ireland from a feared French invasion (Zimmermann 2002). The organisation of the Volunteers by the Anglo-Irish population was therefore 'patriotic' with noble intentions of defence of their homeland and is further proof of a growing sense of identity in Anglo-Irish Ireland. This sense of identity and indeed pride in the Volunteers is clear in the first verse in the 1795 song titled 'The Irish Volunteer':

> In what history can you find, / Of all the soldiers of mankind, / A host of heroes form'd in line, / Like Irish Volunteers?
> (The Irish Volunteer 1795, cited in Zimmermann 2002, p. 122)

The Irish Volunteers adopted the patriotic movement's values of 'public utility and civic duty' and because of this they were seen as the 'military wing of the parliamentary patriots' (Leerssen 1996, p. 350). This large independent military power controlled by local Anglo-Irish 'patriots' also gave a strong political leverage to the Anglo-Irish in matters of trade, and their presence helped enforce a 'freedom of trade in 1780 and legislative independence in 1782' (Zimmermann 2002, p. 36). Although the expressed aim of the volunteers was not to rebel against Britain, their presence, however, as an Irish army must surely have added to the concept of a separate identity for the Anglo-Irish within the British Empire. It is possible therefore, that if the Anglo-Irish manipulated an identity based on politics and commerce, they would also have wished for a separate cultural identity. It is this search for a cultural and intellectual identity that may have been the reason for the antiquarian societies' interest in 'ancient Irish' antiquities, literature, and music.

2.3 The Development of an Anglo-Irish Cultural Identity

Although other European antiquarian societies, also gathered information about archaeology, folklore, music, history, and poetry, Irish antiquarian societies also sought information proposing a specific 'ancient' Celtic, pre-Celtic, or non-Celtic origin for many antiquarian subjects. In her article 'Joseph Cooper Walker's Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards' Leasa Ní Mhunghaile also suggests that this quest to find distant Celtic origins for Irish antiquities, including music, sprang from a desire to create a cultural identity separate from that of England. This was particularly evident in the Anglo-Irish antiquarian approach to literature and music:

> Many Protestants began to view the appropriation of Gaelic literary heritage as a suitable means of differentiating themselves from the English.
>
> (Ní Mhunghaile 2003, p. 232)

Their findings were often based on romantic ideas of 'celticism' rather than serious scientific or historical findings. In his essay 'Observations on the Romantic History of Ireland', Anglo-Irish antiquarian Edward Ledwich criticises the romantic nature of 18th century Irish histories and says that they are 'but specious delusions, and some of the numberless vagaries of the human mind' (Ledwich 1792, p. 21). As will be shown later, Ledwich approached the antiquarian research of Irish antiquities rather differently from his contemporaries. His criticism, although negative, of the romantic descriptions of Irish historical subjects serves to further highlight a desire amongst the Anglo-Irish for their own identity. Four antiquarians from the mid to late 18th century dominated this apparent antiquarian search for an identity. They were Charles O'Conor (1710-1790), Charles Vallancey (1725-1812), Joseph Cooper Walker (1761-1810) and Edward Ledwich (1738-1823). Each of these antiquarians was linked with the four principal antiquarian societies of the 18th and 19th centuries. It was due in part to their efforts that a cultural identity acceptable to the Anglo-Irish population was established.

In 1744 the Physico-Historical Society was formed to 'preserve manuscripts, rare printed tracts or books and natural curiosities relating to Ireland', the society ended in 1752 (O'Conor 1949, p. 326). In 1772 the Royal Dublin Society formed a 'Select Committee' of Irish Antiquarians to preserve Irish manuscripts and literature (O'Conor 1949, p. 330). The Hibernian Antiquarian Society was active in the period 1779-1783 (Love 1962) and acted as an intermediary between the 'Select Committee' and The Royal Irish Academy. By 1774 interest in the 'Select Committee' had waned but it was

not until 1782 that the Royal Irish Academy was founded. Two of its original members, Charles Vallancey (1721-1812) − who was influential in all three societies, the Royal Dublin Society's 'Select Committee', The Hibernian Antiquarian Society, and the Royal Irish Academy − and Joseph Cooper Walker (1761-1810) were among the first to isolate native Irish music for antiquarian examination (Ní Mhunghaile 2003).

In the preface to his book *Dissertations on the History of Ireland* (1753) native Irish antiquarian Charles O'Conor, praised the efforts of the members of the Physico-Historical Society (1744-1752) in their bid to preserve old Irish documents and manuscripts (O'Conor 1753). Presumably O'Conor was not particularly interested in an Anglo-Irish identity and his interest in antiquarian matters was solely to preserve his people's history. This is evident in the preface where, despite his praise for the work of members of the Physico Historical Society, O'Conor clearly outlines his views regarding the native Irish, and strongly refutes claims made by other antiquarians that the Irish were barbarians:

> In truth, our people were in no time savages; what Mr Hume represents them to have been. Their barbarism, in later ages, was owing to a civil state, the worst that can possibly exist… nor were they greater barbarians than some of their neighbour nations.
>
> (O'Conor 1753, p. xvi)

After the collapse of the Physico-Historical Society in 1752 Charles O'Conor petitioned the Royal Dublin Society for its help in the preservation of old Irish manuscripts. It was not until he became acquainted with Colonel Vallencey in the 1760s and the formation of the 'Select Committee' that his request to the Royal Dublin Society was acted upon (O'Conor 1949). Although Charles O'Conor was a descendent of Roderick O'Conor, the last high king of Ireland (Leerssen 1996), as a Catholic, he was generally excluded from the Protestant, Anglo-Irish society. His Gaelic scholarship, however, was highly

respected by many of his Anglo-Irish antiquarian colleagues, and despite his exclusion from Anglo-Irish society, he was elected an honorary member of the 'Select Committee' in January 1773 (Nevin 1993). He was regularly consulted by them on Irish antiquarian matters and Leerssen says of him that he was 'the most important mediator of Gaelic learning to non-Gaelic audiences' (Leerssen 1996, p. 320). Regardless of O'Conor's Gaelic scholarship, however, he was also an antiquarian with romantic leanings, and, along with Vallancey, believed in a Phoenician and Scythian connection with Ireland (Nevin 1993). An example of O'Conor's belief in a Phoenician connection with Ireland is contained in a letter from O'Conor to Joseph Cooper Walker and published in Walker's *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards* (1786). Here O'Conor states that the *clárseach* was introduced to Ireland by the first Celts:

> The Clárseach was introduced hither by the Celto-Phoenician colony, called Milesians, which arrived from Spain before the Christian era.
>
> (O'Conor cited in Walker 1786, p. 95)

Despite his belief in a Celtic-Phoenician origin for the harp in Ireland, O'Conor credits the native Irish with the further development of their own music. He also seems to dismiss the idea that there was a foreign influence on Irish music, and perhaps is another indication that O'Conor was confident in his own Irish identity. This is referred to in the aforementioned letter to Joseph Cooper Walker in 1786:

> In every concert the Abhram [*amhrán*] or song accompanied the instrumental music, and the Ode was invariably adapted to the species intended; whether the heroic, the dolorous or the somniferous. By this loose description you find that our ancients in Ireland were far from being strangers to the powers of harmonized sound, in directing as well as exciting, the human passions. Sounds were therefore cultivated and modified, so as to produce extraordinary civil and political effects on the minds of men, whom we account barbarous, because they held no intellectual commerce with the more polished people of Greece and Rome.
>
> (O'Conor cited in Walker 1786, pp. 93-94)

The above quote from O'Conor, in addition to proclaiming an Irish ownership of the music, also suggests a 'glorious' period of Irish music history, and may perhaps, have

validated, to some extent, the Anglo-Irish antiquarian desire of a mysterious and 'romantic' origin for Irish music. O'Conor was consulted on antiquarian matters regularly by prominent antiquarians such as Charles Vallencey and Joseph Cooper Walker. As a respected native Irish historian and antiquarian, O'Conor added an authenticity and a certain validity to the work of the aforementioned Anglo-Irish antiquarians.

Although the first known book of Irish music to be printed in Ireland, Neale's *A Collection of the Most Celebrated Irish Tunes,* was published in 1724 it was not intended as an antiquarian study (Carolan 2011). It was merely a tune book for the violin, hautboy and flute which contained many old Irish harp tunes. It does show, however, that there was an emerging interest in native Irish music amongst the Protestant, middle class, Anglo-Irish community. There may also have been a certain patronising element involved with this interest in Irish music and the harp. In his essay titled 'Georgian Lollipops' Brian Boydell poses this question regarding the motivation for the Anglo-Irish interest:

> There was a certain patronising attitude in the adoption of elements of the music of the native Gaelic community…Was there a hint of this patronising attitude when Carolan is taken up by the gentry, and Dr Delaney uses his influence in promoting the publication of a volume of Carolan's melodies shortly after his death?
>
> (Boydell 1985, p. 7)

To further illustrate the Anglo-Irish patronising, or perhaps patronage, of the Irish harp, Boydell relates a story of how, in *c.*1750 a Mrs Delaney (wife of the above mentioned Dr Delaney) hired an Irish harper 'to entertain her guests at *al fresco* afternoon tea' (Boydell 1985, p. 8). It was not until 1770, however, when Charles Vallancey published an antiquarian journal titled *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis,* that Anglo-Irish

antiquarians took a strong interest in Irish music (Nevin 1993). The *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* also later acted as the journal for the Hibernian Antiquarian Society of which Vallencey was a member (Love 1962).

Colonel Charles Vallancey was an Englishman attached to a British army engineering corps (O'Conor 1949) and developed an interest in the Irish language when he was stationed in Cork in the 1750s (Nevin 1993). He had a particular interest in the antiquity of the Irish language and was convinced that Gaelic was related to Phoenician (Nevin 1993). Vallancey believed in a 'romantic and idealised' history of Ireland, he applied this romanticism to much of his writings in the *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis.* Leerssen describes Vallancey's writings as 'fantastical speculations and etymological solecisms' (Leerssen 1996, p. 293). In 1804 an essay by Vallencey 'A Second Essay on the Round Towers of Ireland' included in volume 6 of his *Collectanea,* is a good example of his 'solecism' in which he suggests an oriental origin to the Irish round towers. He states that the towers 'as in Persia' were originally used to 'contain the sacred fire' (Vallancey 1804, p. 121). His essay continues with a comparison between the ancient mythologies of Persia and Scythia and Irish legends:

> From my first knowledge of Irish history, and of the mythology of the pagan Irish, I did conceive, that these towers were erected to contain the sacred fire, and I have had no reason to alter my opinion. From that history it appeared evident, that, as in ancient Persia, so, in ancient Ireland, there were two sects of fire worshippers; one, that lighted the fires on the tops of mountains and hills, and others in towers; an innovation said to be brought about by *Modh Nuadhat*, or the Magus of the new law, otherwise called *Airgiod-lamb*, or Golden hand of the Persians, who is said to have lost his life by a Touranian Scythian, in a tumult raised by this innovation; so *Mogh Nuadhat* had his hand cut off in the struggle, but one of the *Tuatha-dadan* colony, or Chaldean magi, supplied the loss with a silver or golden hand.
>
> (Vallancey 1804, p. 121)

In 1763 Vallancey was to become a member of the Royal Dublin Society (RDS) and it was at his insistence that in 1772 that the aforementioned 'Select Committee' was

founded (O'Conor 1949). Vallancey worked diligently for both the RDS and the Royal Irish Academy (RIA) and sought out old Irish manuscripts from a variety of sources. In 1787 he travelled to Paris to the College of Lombards, where he viewed the Irish medieval manuscript 'The Book of Lecan', thanks to Vallancey's efforts the manuscript was presented to the RIA in 1788 (Nevin 1993).

The journal, *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, contained some commentaries on Irish music and Irish musical instruments. An example of the idealism, naivety, and romanticism of the early antiquarians is evident in an essay titled 'Brian Boiromh's Harp' in volume 4 of Vallancey's *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* (1786). Here Vallencey discusses the origin of the 'Brian Ború Harp' which is now housed in Trinity College Dublin. He gives a somewhat fanciful account of how King Brian Ború's harp was presented to the Pope in 1064 by Donogh, son of Brian, to atone for his, Donogh's, sins. The harp was then apparently given to Henry VIII by the then current Pope. Then by a circuitous route the harp came into the possession of the Right Hon. William Conyngham in 1782, by whom, in the same year, it was donated to Trinity College Dublin (Vallancey 1786). This questionable account of the 11th century origin of the 'Brian Ború Harp' is repeated verbatim in Walker's *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards* (Walker 1786). Although the article gives a very good practical description of the harp, the inclusion of Vallancy's 'historical' account in *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards* gives the idealised history of the harp a sense of validity. Today however, it is generally accepted that the Brian Ború harp dates from the 14th century (Rimmer 1969).

In the aforementioned essay 'Brian Boiromh's Harp', apart from the specific history of the Brian Ború harp, Vallencey also gives an extravagant history of the Irish harp's origins (Vallancey 1786). Comparisons are made between the Irish harps and harp-like instruments from civilisations such as the Egyptians, Chaldeans, Scythians, and Persians. Vallencey also, rather tenuously, attempts to connect the Irish Harp with a Chinese instrument called a 'Kine':

> The fabulous history of the Chinese informs us, that Fou-hi took the wood of Tong, made it hollow, and formed a *Kine* (harp or lyre, says Gouget) of twenty-seven strings of silk; it was three feet six inches high; this instrument he called *Li;* he took the wood of Sang, and made a *She* or *Se* (harp, lyre or guitar) of thirty-six strings.
>
> (Vallancey 1786, p. 34)

In adopting this fanciful account of the 'ancient' history of the harp Vallancey enabled the Anglo-Irish community to adopt an Irish cultural identity which was apart from that of the native Irish. Vallancey's concentration on the harp is also significant. Since the harp was always associated with a high Gaelic aristocratic tradition, it appears to have been adopted by the Anglo-Irish antiquarians to symbolise a 'high', noble cultural identity.

In order to substantiate his sometimes outlandish claims for the 'ancient' provenance of the Irish Harp, Vallancey relied on his knowledge of old languages. He lists four 'ancient' Gaelic names for the harp − 'the *clárseach*, the *cionar*, the *cruit*, and the *crabtine* or *creamtine cruit'* (Vallancey 1786, p. 35) − and compares their names to phonetically similar words from 'ancient' languages which depict unfamiliar musical instruments. He translates *clárseach*, for example, as meaning a melody or harmony board, or table, *clár* meaning table or board and *seach* meaning harmony or melody; however, he then compares the word *seach* with the Arabic word for harmonious,

shook, thereby attaching an acceptably ancient or mysterious association to the Irish instrument (Vallancey 1786). It is tenuous comparisons of this nature that are used continuously by Vallencey to support his inferences of a non-native 'ancient' origin for the Irish harp. In this way Vallancey creates a sense of romance and intrigue regarding this apparent ancientness of the instrument

Vallancey also claims an Irish origin for the fiddle (Vallancey 1786, p. 30). Once again he relies on his linguistic capabilities to make this claim. Apparently the Irish name for the metal harp string was *téad* but the gut string for the fiddle was called a *feith* or *feidh* which means sinew in Gaelic, 'whence *feidhlin,* a fiddle; and perhaps the English fiddle, phiol, violin' (Vallencey 1786, p. 30). The Phoenician and Chaldean words for nerve or sinew are, according to Vallancey, *feith* and *pheta* respectively. By alluding to the ancient languages of Phoenicia and Chaldea Vallancey is associating 'ancientness' with Irish music which perhaps, in this case, it does not deserve. It would also appear that Vallancey conveniently overlooked the possibility that *feidhlin* is merely a Gaelic phonetic rendering of the Italian word violin, and does not indicate an Irish or 'ancient' origin of this instrument despite similar sounding words in ancient languages. Vallancey, therefore, clearly ascribed an 'ancient' origin to the music and instruments of Ireland such as the harp and the fiddle.

In 1786 Joseph Cooper Walker published *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*; this book contained 15 tunes in its appendix along with a commentary on Irish music in the text (Walker 1786). A second edition of the book was published in 1818 with 43 tunes (Walker 1818). It would appear, from the preface to his 1786 book, that Walker was

aware of his pioneering venture into Irish musical antiquarianism. He modestly states that he has 'marked out a path' for others to follow:

> I trust I am offering to my countrymen an acceptable present: the gift has novelty, at least, to recommend it. Though Ireland has been long famed for its Poetry and Music, these subjects have never yet been treated of historically. I do not pretend to have done completely, what has lain so long undone: no doubt, many sources of information still remain unopened, and many documents unconsulted. However, I have marked out a path, which may facilitate the pursuit of those who shall hereafter follow me.
>
> (Walker 1786, p. xiii)

Although it was perhaps the first major effort in the English language to trace the history of Irish music and musical instruments, Edward Ledwich, a contemporary of Walker's, and fellow RIA member, criticised Walker's work and claimed that it was marred by the 'uncritical use of ancient sources and the unquestioning acceptance of bardic fiction' (Ní Mhunghaile 2003, p. 240). This criticism by Ledwich possibly stems from Walker's reliance on the idealised works and letters of O'Conor and Vallancey and translations from Gaelic sources such as historian Geoffrey Keating (1569-1644). Walker acknowledges their help and advice in his preface, and states that 'with them I was content to stand or fall' (Walker 1786, p. vi). Walker, however, also acknowledges his 'learned friend Dr. Ledwich' (Walker 1786, p. 69) and includes a letter from Ledwich in his appendix which outlines a Greek origin for Irish harp music. Ledwich states that the influence of Greek music arrived in Ireland with Christianity:

> We received the knowledge of the Gospel about the end of the 4th century, and with it the Greek or eastern harmony, then universally in use.
>
> (Ledwich cited in Walker 1786, p. 24, appendix II)

It is possible that Walker did not fully agree with Ledwich's views, which rejected a Celtic-Phoenician origin for the Irish harp or its music, and therefore included his letter in the appendix but not in the main body of the book. This exclusion by Walker may also explain Ledwich's above mentioned criticism of Walker's *Memoirs.* While Walker states that 'everything we owe to the Milesians has an Oriental origin', (Walker 1786 p.

4) in his book he concentrates mostly on the development of the music within Ireland. In doing so he depicted an idealised and romantic period in Irish history:

> At the University of Teamor…the youth of the nation were to receive their education under the filidhe. Here they were taught the powers of verse and song by being initiated in the mysteries of metrical cadence, vocal harmony, and graceful action, These branches of knowledge were deemed indispensably necessary to young princes, to candidates for magistracy, and to the ollavin.
>
> (Walker 1786, p. 26)

The subtitle of a section within Walker's book is *An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Musical instruments of the Ancient Irish.* Walker's use of the word 'ancient' further suggests the aforementioned search for an acceptable period of Irish history upon which an assumed Anglo-Irish cultural identity could be based. A particular emphasis is placed on the origin of the bards, and various bardic orders, the harp, and supposed ancient music such as the *caoine* and the 'Irish cries'. According to Walker the *caoine* was sung at the grave side of a prince or a chief (Walker 1786). By using 18th century musical terminology, such as recitativo and arpeggio, to describe the 'ancient' performance of the *caoine,* Walker made it more accessible to his Anglo-Irish audience:

> The Caoine, (or funeral song), which was composed by the Filea of the departed, and set to music by one of his Oirfidigh, was sung in recitativo over his grave by a Racaraide (or Rhapsodist) who occasionally sustained his voice with arpeggios swept over the strings of his Harp: the symphonic parts being performed by Minstrels, who chaunted a chorus at intervals, in which they were joined responsively by attending Bards and Oirfidigh.
>
> (Walker 1786, p. 17)

He also refers specifically to the 'Irish Cries' and their origin. Walker includes copies of the 'Irish cries' for each of the four provinces of Ireland in the appendix of his book, and remarks upon their 'remote antiquity' (Walker 1786, Appendix p. 126). He suggests an ancient provenance for the 'Irish Cries' chiefly because of their lack of bass accompaniment:

> Perhaps the Ceanan, or Irish Cry, as it is commonly called, is the most ancient of those remains extant, as, from frequency of use, it had the best chance of preservation. Indeed, its high antiquity is unquestionable, from the circumstance of its obstinately refusing the accompaniment of a base.
>
> (Walker 1786, p. 66)

Walker also includes a romantic and idealised description of bardic colleges which, supposedly, were established for the bards in mysterious locations such as 'in the bosom of deep woods of oak [where] the garish eye of day was excluded from them' (Walker 1786, p. 6).[10] In describing the bardic orders and their idealised education system, Walker poses the question 'can that nation be deemed barbarous in which learning shared the next honours to royalty' (Walker 1786, p. 5). It is possible that by denouncing the barbarous image of old or 'ancient' Ireland, Walker had, along with O'Conor and Vallancey, established an acceptable premise upon which a new Anglo-Irish cultural identity could be built.

In 1790 Edward Ledwich (1738-1823), 'Vicar of Aghaboe, and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, London' (Walker 1786, p. 14), published *The Antiquities of Ireland.* A second edition of this book was published in 1804 (Ledwich 1804). When Ledwich criticised Walker's *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards* he was referring specifically to Walker's use of Gaelic scholars and historians such as Muiris Ó Gormáin and Charles O'Conor of Belanagare (Ní Mhunghaile 2003). In his essay 'Observations of the Romantic History of Ireland' Ledwich criticises the adherence of Irish antiquarians to Irish romantic fables in the 'enlightened age' of the 18th century:

[10] In his description of the various ranks within the bardic order Walker draws on the works of O'Conor, Vallencey, and Keating. There were seven ranks or degrees, the first was the *Fochlucan* the second was the *Mac-Fuirmidh*, the third was the *Doss*, the fourth was the *Canaith*, the fifth was the *Cli*, the sixth was called the *Anstruth*, and the highest rank was *Ollamh* or chief doctor (Walker 1786, pp. 30-32).

> Irish romantic history [is] a subject of little curiosity and less value, yet necessary to be thoroughly examined to be for ever exploded. In this enlightened age it can require no apology for exposing this wild chaos of absurdity and fable.
>
> (Ledwich 1790-1792, p. 30)

Ledwich did not use these Gaelic sources for his book but gave a somewhat different history and origin to many antiquarian subjects including music and musical instruments. Of the Irish bards Ledwich says that 'the genial warmth of oriental fiction enlivened their songs' (Ledwich 1790-1792, p. 23). While Walker was giving English translations of Irish Gaelic poetry, thereby making it accessible to the Anglo-Irish population of Ireland, its provenance, in antiquity, was still Gaelic Ireland. The same is true of Walker's description and transcriptions of the music of Ireland, ancient but Gaelic. Ledwich set out to establish an Anglo claim to the antiquarian and cultural heritage of Ireland. It is implied in the preface to Ledwich's *Antiquities of Ireland* that Gaelic Ireland was of a 'barbarous' nature and would have continued to be so were it not for 'the fostering care of Britain' (Ledwich 1804, p. 2). Ledwich, by dismissing the work of Gaelic scholar Geoffrey Keating, appears to be 'setting the stage' for a new Anglo-Irish identity based on select items from Ireland's past:

> No longer is the wild romance of Geoffrey Keating, the heraldic registry of the Irish nation: its learning its valour, and fame, are recorded in the more durable monuments of true history. When Hibernians compare their present with former conditions: their just and equal laws with those that were uncertain and capricious: the happy security of peace with the miseries of barbarous manners, their hearts must overflow with gratitude to the Author of such blessings: nor will they deny their obligations to the fostering care of Britain, the happy instrument for conferring them.
>
> (Ledwich 1804, p. 2)

Ledwich, like Walker and Vallancey, chose the harp as the ultimate musical representation of Ireland. Unlike them however, he proposes an alternate history for the instrument. He states that the harp originated in northern Europe amongst the Scythic or Teutonic people. It is further claimed by Ledwich that the harp became the national instrument of England before it arrived in Ireland:

> From the Teutonic derivation of the harp, it is easy to account for its becoming the national instrument of the English. The Anglo Saxons were of Germanic race, and introduced the harp into Britain.
>
> (Ledwich 1804, p. 229)

Ledwich also maintained that another stringed instrument, the crwth, was the favoured instrument of the native Britons but it was 'banished' to Wales and Cornwall with the arrival of the Anglo Saxons. The harp was supposedly favoured by the Anglo Saxons until the Normans invaded Britain. While he speculates that the crwth was supplanted by the harp in Ireland 'on the establishment of the Danish power in the kingdom' (Ledwich 1804, p. 230) Ledwich also hypothesises that the harp was possibly introduced to Ireland by the Anglo Saxons:

> The Irish I think received it [the harp] in the 4th and 5th centuries from their close connection with the Saxons, and other rovers from the Baltic States.
>
> (Ledwich 1804, p. 230)

This account of the harp's origins clearly contradicts Vallancey's history of the Irish harp. Ledwich also directly challenges Vallancey's aforementioned history of the Brian Ború harp. In order to prove the connection between the 'Brian Ború' harp and king Brian, Vallancey refers to the coat of arms of Brian Ború on the harp to prove its supposed 11th century provenance. Ledwich questions whether the Irish had 'gentilial armories' before the Normans and dismisses Vallancey's history:

> The arms therefore on the harp of Brian Boiromh, and the harp itself, can neither be of the age nor belong to the person that an anecdote in the 13th number of Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis would persuade us. Nothing less than positive proof will convince the heraldic antiquary that the Irish preceded their neighbours in gentilial armories.
>
> (Ledwich 1804, p. 232)

Ledwich and Vallancey were originally colleagues and both contributed to the early editions of the *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis.* It would appear however that they bore conflicting opinions on Irish antiquities from the beginning. In 1776 in volume 2 of the

Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis Ledwich proposed a Danish origin for the Irish round towers. In the same edition Vallancey disagreed with Ledwich and proposed the previous mentioned fanciful Persian or Scythian origin for the towers (Nevin 1993). In her essay 'General Charles Vallencey' Nevin states that in volume 2 of *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis,* Charles O'Conor corrects Ledwich's faulty interpretation of the word *gaedhlach*, 'Never', says O'Conor 'was etymology put more on the rack' (Nevin 1993, p. 25). Despite the differences between Ledwich and the other three mentioned antiquarians their goal was the same; to create an acceptable musical, cultural identity by assigning an idealised provenance to the music and instruments. O'Conor, Vallancey, and Walker each sought an idealised origin for the music of Ireland in the ancient cultures of the near east. Ledwich sought an alternate but equally idealised origin for the instrument, and therefore its music, in northern Europe and Britain.

2.4 The United Irishmen, the Belfast Harp Festival and Edward Bunting

By the 1790s the political mood in Ireland was changing. The loyal patriotism of the early and mid 18th century was being supplanted by a separatist and republican ideology which was inspired by both the American and French revolutions. These revolutionary ideals of America and France were promoted by a new political organisation founded in 1791, the Society of United Irishmen. Amongst the first members of the United Irishmen were, Theobald Wolfe Tone, Thomas Russell, and Henry Joy McCracken (Bartlett *et al* 1998). An example of this shift in political thinking is evident in the sense of disaffection towards England amongst the Presbyterian and Protestant population of Northern Ireland. An early instance of their anger was manifested in 1790 when the Irish Volunteers marched in Belfast, not only to celebrate the battle of the Boyne, as

was usual, but also the fall of the Bastille in the French revolution (Bartlett *et al* 1998). One of the main aims of the Society of United Irishmen was to unite all Irishmen regardless of religious beliefs:

> [The Society sought] A brotherhood of affectation, an identity of interests, a communion of rights and a union of power among Irishmen of all religious persuasions.
> (The Society of United Irishmen cited in Bartlett, Et al, 1998, p. 35)

By forming an alliance between all the people of Ireland, the United Irishmen not only endeavoured to establish a political identity but also encouraged a cultural identity through the adoption of Irish music and Irish iconography (Boydell 1998). A political songbook was printed by the United Irishmen in 1795 titled *Paddy's Resource*; *being a select collection of original and modern patriotic songs, toasts and sentiments, compiled for the use of the people of Ireland* (Zimmermann 2002). In this songbook 99 melodies are mentioned to which the songs are to be sung. One quarter of these melodies are Irish and the rest are English, French, or American (Boydell 1998).

In his essay 'The United Irishmen, music, Harps, and National Identity' Boydell maintains that the Irish harp became a 'metaphor' for Ireland (Boydell 1998, p. 45). It was originally perceived as a symbol of the ascendency rule, it was then adopted by the United Irishmen to symbolise its revolutionary aspirations and later it was used as the icon for the 'emerging romantic nationalism of the nineteenth century' (Boydell 1998, p. 45). This use of the harp as a political and cultural symbol can be directly linked to antiquarian endeavours which portrayed the harp as a symbol of an idealised Irish/Anglo-Irish identity. One example of the Society of United Irishmen's interest in Irish music, particularly the music of the harp, is seen in the association of some of its prominent members with the Belfast Harp Festival in 1792.

In 1791 the Belfast Reading Society, later renamed the Belfast Society for the Promotion of Knowledge (Anderson 1888), issued a circular inviting support for an Irish harp festival. This circular outlined the purpose of the festival, which was to preserve the music of the harpers before it completely disappeared:

> It must appear obvious to those acquainted with the situation of this country that it will be necessary to assemble the harpers, those descendants of our Ancient Bards, who are at present almost exclusively possessed of all that remains of the music, poetry and oral traditions of Ireland… And when it is considered how intimately the spirit and character of a people are connected with their national poetry and music, it is presumed that the Irish patriot and politician will not deem it an object unworthy of his patronage and protection.
>
> (Cited in Fox 1912, p. 97)

The Belfast Harp Festival was arranged deliberately by the Belfast Reading Society on 11, 12 and 13 July 1792, to coincide with the United Irishmen's commemoration of Bastille Day (Harbison 1986). As already mentioned the United Irishmen adopted the image of the Irish harp to represent their organisation together with the motto 'It is New Strung and Shall be Heard' (Davis 2006). The committee responsible for what became the Belfast Harp Festival comprised of Henry Joy, Robert Bradshaw, Robert Simms, and Dr James MacDonnell. Both Robert Simms and Henry Joy were involved in the emerging revolutionary politics and are both mentioned in Theobald Wolfe Tone's memoirs (Wolfe Tone 1827). The organist Edward Bunting is also mentioned in Tone's memoirs when the latter recounts an argument between himself, Bunting, and others on 23 October 1791:

> Went at nine to the Washington Club. Argument between Bunting and Boyd of Ballycastle.
>
> (Wolfe Tone 1827, p. 383)

Thomas Russell was also present at the above mentioned argument between Wolfe Tone and Bunting (Wolfe Tone 1827). Russell was a close friend of Wolfe Tone's and also had an indirect involvement with the Belfast Harp Festival. Between 1794 and in

1796 Russell was librarian for the Belfast Reading Society and he encouraged the society to fund the publication of Edward Bunting's first book *A General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music* (Davis 2006). This suggests that Bunting and Russell were acquainted with each other prior to 1796.

Dr MacDonnell was not involved in the United Irishmen but, although a Protestant, agreed with Wolfe Tone's call for the emancipation of Catholics.[11] James MacDonnell, aware of his Gaelic heritage, and having learned to play the harp as a boy from harper Arthur O'Neill, was 'the moving spirit in the matter of the harp festival' (Fox 1912, p. 7). It is possible that it was MacDonnell, recognising the accelerating demise of Irish harp music, who decided to have the last remnants of the 'ancient bards' recorded for posterity. In this the Belfast Harp Festival differed from the earlier harp festivals in Granard, Co. Longford, and with this in mind, the festival committee commissioned 19 year old Edward Bunting (1773-1843), a classically trained musician, to transcribe the music from the harpers at the Belfast Harp Festival in 1792.

Edward Bunting, professional organist and music collector, was the son of an English mining engineer. He was born in Armagh and could trace an Irish lineage through his mother, whose name was O'Quinn (Fox 1912). At the age of eleven Bunting went to Belfast to study the organ and while there stayed with the McCracken Family in Donegal Street. In her book *Annals of the Irish Harpers,* Fox states that the McCrackens were 'musical and lovers of folk song' (Fox 1912, p. 13). Bunting wrote tunes in his

[11] Although not directly involved in the revolutionary politics of the United Irishmen, Charlotte Milligan Fox, in her book *Annals of the Irish Harpers,* maintains that he, MacDonnell, was 'a better nationalist than he would allow himself to be considered' (Fox 1912, p. 7).

notebooks which also suggest this with titles such as ‘John McCracken’s Tune’ and ‘William McCracken’s Tune’ (Fox 1912, p. 13). Although this might imply that Bunting was exposed to folk music early in life, it was not until he was commissioned to transcribe the music at the Belfast Harp Festival that he developed a passion for Irish music:

> [When] not more than nineteen, an event occurred which gave his ardent and excitable temperament a worthy object of ambition on which to employ it and which necessarily required a cultivation of his powers to enable him to effect it. The event we allude to was the assemblage in Belfast in 1792 of the harpers from all parts of Ireland, the aged and feeble Minstrels, who had given pleasure in a state society now rapidly undergoing a radical change.
>
> (Petrie, cited in Fox 1912, p. 14)

It was originally decided that a Rev. Mr Edward Bryson was to transcribe the Gaelic words to the songs of the harpers, and three musicians − William Ware, John Sharpe and Edward Bunting − were to record the music (Harbison 1986). Neither, Bryson, Ware or Sharpe attended the festival and the task of recording the music fell to Bunting (Moloney 2000). John McCracken’s wife was also a sister to Henry Joy (Harbison 1986), and Henry Joy, together with Dr MacDonnell, regularly visited the McCracken home (Moloney 2000). It is likely therefore that both men became acquainted with Bunting on these visits (Moloney 2000). Bunting published his first music collection *A General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music* in 1796, some of the music in this volume consisted of his transcriptions from the 1792 harp festival. His second collection *A General Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland* followed in 1809 and his final volume *The Ancient Music of Ireland* in 1840 (Moloney 2000).

In his first volume, *A General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music*, Bunting included 66 tunes arranged for the pianoforte. It is possible that by arranging the music for the pianoforte Bunting was aiming for a middle class Anglo-Irish audience, perhaps also suggestive of the Anglo-Irish community's search for an alternative cultural identity. Some of the music in this volume was collected by Bunting from singers when he 'made a tour through a principal portion of the Kingdom' (Bunting 1809 preface, p. 1). This tour was undertaken to compare the musical examples collected in Belfast with other extant musical examples elsewhere. Bunting was therefore amongst the first collectors to make field transcriptions of Irish music. As shall be discussed later he shared this distinction with Richard Henebry (although both used different methods of recording).

In the preface to Bunting's first volume in 1796, he, like Walker, makes considerable reference to the 'remote antiquity' of the music (Bunting 1796 p. 1). Bunting endeavoured to show an 'ancientness' in the music collected by him and in doing so, echoed the works of the previously mentioned antiquarians. This is evident when he describes the strict conditions under which he was to undertake the task of recording the music of the harpers at the 1792 festival:

> The compiler of this volume was appointed to attend on that occasion, to take down the various airs played by the different harpers, and was particularly cautioned against adding a single note to the old melodies, which would seem from inferences, that will afterwards be drawn, to have been preserved pure and handed down unalloyed, through a long succession of ages.
>
> (Bunting 1796, p. 1)

Although Bunting repeats many antiquarian concepts in the preface to his first volume, his observations as a musician occasionally contradict previous antiquarian contentions. One example of this is clear when he states that the oldest tunes which he collected contained a more elaborate bass accompaniment than more recent compositions (Bunting 1796). This clearly differs from Walker's previously mentioned assertion that a tune was ancient because of its lack of a bass accompaniment. Neither of the aforementioned antiquarians were professional musicians, Bunting was however, and it was the combination of a detailed musical knowledge and a somewhat balanced approach to the antiquarian history of the music which made Bunting's work an integral link in the 'academic relay' from the 18th to the 20th century. Despite the initial enthusiasm for Bunting's first collection, it was not until Thomas Moore (1779-1852) adapted tunes from Bunting's collection for a polite middle class audience, that the 'ancient' music of the harpers was widely heard and enjoyed by a 19th century audience.

Thomas Moore published his first volume of original songs, *Irish Melodies*, in 1808. A total of ten volumes of *Irish Melodies* were published in the period 1808-1834 (Comiskey 2011). The lyrics were composed by Moore and were often of an Irish nationalistic nature. The music for Moore's *Irish Melodies* was obtained from various sources but largely from Bunting's collections (Vallely 1999). Moore, while not actively involved in the political and martial activities of the United Irishmen, did befriend a number of their members at Trinity College Dublin, especially Robert Emmet and Edward Hudson. This friendship between Moore and these United Irishmen inspired a certain nationalistic fervour in the young Moore, and by using the tunes from Bunting's collection, Moore highlighted an escalating political interest in Irish music. In

the preface to the collected edition of Moore's works he speaks of the political climate of 1796, and states that Bunting's work and the emerging political sentiments of the time, complimented each other:

> It was in the year 1796 that this gentleman [Bunting] published his first volume; and the national spirit and hope then awakened in Ireland, by the rapid spread of the democratic principal throughout Europe, could not but insure a most cordial reception for such a work; flattering as it was to the fond dreams of Erin's early days, and containing in itself, remarkable testimony to the truth of her claims to an early date of civilization.
>
> (Moore 1852, p. viii)

The romantic imagery and the lightly disguised nationalist sentiments of Moore's works appealed to both the Anglo-Irish and native Irish communities. The publication of Moore's *Irish Melodies* with their polite lyrics and altered versions of Irish music became, for many, an acceptable vehicle for a new Irish cultural identity.

Despite Moore's praise for him, Bunting was not overly enamoured with Moore, and in the preface to Bunting's third volume *The Ancient Music of Ireland* (1840), he dismisses the arrangements of the music to fit Moore's lyrics:

> Instead of the words being adapted to the tune, the tune was too often adapted to the words…The beauty of Mr Moore's words, in a great degree atones for the violence done by the musical arranger to any of the airs which he has adopted.
>
> (Bunting 1840, pp. 5-6)

Bunting's second collection, *A General Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland* (1809) includes 76 tunes also arranged for the pianoforte.[12] Although Bunting did intend to include the Irish-language lyrics with the music, it may be that the addition of English lyrics, despite Bunting's misgivings regarding Moore's musical arrangements,

[12] The music arrangement in this collection differs from that of Bunting's first book in that the piano accompaniment is more elaborate and new English words are added. This may indicate that the pianoforte bass line in his first book followed the bass line of the harpers closely.

was intended to attract the polite, middle class society of Anglo-Ireland, perhaps in an effort to emulate Moore's success. The lyrics added by Bunting are either original compositions or literal translations from the original Irish (Bunting 1809). This, along with the continued use of the word 'Ancient' in the title, further suggests that Bunting may have been pandering to an on-going pursuit for a cultural identity amongst the Anglo-Irish community. It is also possible that Bunting merely used the word 'ancient' in the title as a marketing ploy to sell his book.

In this second collection Bunting also included a 'Historical and Critical Dissertation on the Harp'. This dissertation draws on the works of many noted antiquarians and historians such as Edward Ledwich, Charles Vallencey and Geoffrey Keating. Bunting does not profess a certainty as to the origins of the Irish harp. He submits conflicting antiquarian ideas, such as those of Ledwich and Vallencey, and allows the reader to decide which is correct:

> Instead of promoting with certainty of the era in which Ireland received the music of her harp, or the country where she immediately derived it, the principal documents and authorities extant shall be laid before the reader, that he may draw his own conclusions.
> (Bunting 1809, p. 1)

Although Bunting does not appear to have taken an active part in the emerging nationalist politics of the time, his concluding remarks to his dissertation suggest that he may have had some nationalist sympathies:

> In paying [the music] regard, we are not merely indulging national pride, we are tracing the progress of the human mind, and restoring a page in the history of man.
> (Bunting 1809 p. 28)

In his third book, *The Ancient Music of Ireland*, Bunting analyses the music in some detail. Comparisons are made between the original version of a tune played by the harpers in 1792 and Bunting's own pianoforte arrangements. The antiquarian desire for antiquity is again evident in the index where many tunes are labelled 'very ancient, author and date unknown' (Bunting 1840, p. x). George Petrie aided Bunting in the publication of the 1840 volume, and it is possible that the stronger antiquarian influence here can be attributed to Petrie (Petrie 1855). Bunting himself quotes Joseph Cooper Walker when describing the uniform worn by the 'ancient' bardic order (Bunting 1840, p. 77). Two essays by prominent 19th century antiquarians are also included in the 1840 collection, 'Of the Antiquity of the Harp and Bagpipe in Ireland', by Samuel Ferguson (1810-1886), and 'Memoir of Ancient Irish Harp Preserved in Trinity College', by George Petrie (1790-1866).[13] Neither Petrie nor Ferguson claim an oriental or mysterious origin for the harp but, rather, affirm its Irish antiquity. Edward Bunting was therefore an important link between the 18th century antiquarians and those of the 19th century.

After the publication of his second collection in 1809 Bunting did not wish to publish another. It was only through the coaxing of his good friend George Petrie that he published his third collection (Petrie 1855). George Petrie, as well as coaxing Bunting to continue with another volume, also contributed music to Bunting's collections (Petrie 1855) and he was the next important link in the succession of Irish music antiquarians.

[13] While both essays dispel the notion that the 'Brian Ború' harp dates from the 11th century, each author also provides a detailed account on the antiquity of the harp in Ireland, quoting such authors as Galilei and Geraldus Cambrensus (Bunting 1840).

2.5 George Petrie's role in the Succession of Irish Music Antiquarians

George Petrie was an antiquarian with interests in many subjects including archaeology, painting, literature, ordinance survey and music. Petrie was a musician himself and amassed a considerable manuscript collection of Irish music collected by him since he was a young man (Graves 1914). In 1821 Petrie travelled to county Clare to collect Irish music, and was aided in his endeavours by two Clare men, Teige Mac Mahon and Eugene O'Curry (Breathnach 1974). O'Curry translated the Gaelic songs of Mac Mahon and attached commentaries to some of the songs. O'Curry and Petrie were reacquainted in 1826 when both, along with fellow antiquarian John O'Donovan, worked for Captain Lorcom, Director of the Land Survey and Valuation of the Ordnance Survey from 1828-1843 (Doherty 2004). Petrie and O'Curry continued to collect music as they travelled widely throughout Ireland.

Although Petrie encouraged Bunting to publish a third volume of Irish music, his views regarding the authenticity of versions of Irish folk melodies differed from Bunting's (Petrie 1855). Edward Bunting was adamant that the versions collected by him from the old harpers were 'ancient' and therefore authentic and perfect:

> It would appear that the old manuscripts in transmitting this music to us through so many centuries treated it with the utmost reverence, as they seem never to have ventured to make the slightest innovation in it during its descent. This inference we naturally deduce from our finding that harpers collected from parts far distant from one another, and taught by different masters, always played the same tune in the same key, with the same kind of expression, and without a single variation in any essential passage, or even in any note.
> (Bunting 1796, cited in Bunting 2002)

As a musician in the western art music tradition Bunting may not have understood the nature of a non-'classical' music tradition. His quest for the authentic may have been influenced by western art music conventions, which demand an original composition upon which subsequent variations and adaptations are built. In his book *Folk Music and*

Dances of Ireland, Brendán Breathnach states that the unique nature of folk music is its malleability, or fluidity, of form allowing it to change with each performance and with each generation (Breathnach 1971). It is possible that Petrie, as a non professional, but nonetheless a musician in the western art music tradition, recognised this 'malleability', and tried to reconcile it with his 'classical' music instinct of finding the original authentic version. The inclusion of many duplicates and slight variations of tunes in Petrie's manuscripts seem to support his, Petrie's, contention that a more accurate understanding of Irish Music could be had by comparing differing versions of the music from different musicians:

> [Irish music] caught up from the chanting of some one singer or, as was more commonly the case, from the playing of some one itinerant harper, fiddler, or piper, settings of them have been given to the world as the most perfect that could be obtained, without a thought of the possibility of getting better versions; or of testing their accuracy by the acquisition, for the purpose of comparison, of settings from other singers or performers, or from other localities; and the result has often been most prejudicial to the character of our music.
> (Petrie 1855, p. xiv)

Petrie maintained the opinion that 'correct' or authentic settings of Irish folk music could not be ascribed to one specific source. It was Petrie's opinion that a broader understanding of Irish music could be had by comparing music from a variety of different sources. For the most part Bunting only included single versions of tunes in his manuscripts but, because he employed many collectors to collect and notate music for him, some duplicates do exist and this may be coincidental rather than deliberate.

Petrie apparently arrived at his conclusions regarding the transmission of Irish music, having heard the various different musicians and singers encountered by him in the course of his travels while working for the Ordnance Survey. Despite this apparent

understanding of the transmission of Irish music, however, Petrie the antiquarian was not without fault when it came to analysing Irish music. Although Petrie maintained that Irish music could not be authenticated solely from a single source, he was, nevertheless, like Bunting, obsessed with finding 'authentic' versions of the music. Unlike Bunting, Petrie claimed that an authentic version of an air could be had from singers:

> It was from the chanting of vocalists who combined words with the air that settings could be made which would have any stamp of purity and authenticity.
>
> (Petrie 1855, p. xvi)

George Petrie believed that the airs owed 'their peculiarities of structure' to the rhythm and metre implied by the song lyrics (Petrie 1855, p. xvi).

In 1851 George Petrie was elected president of the Society for the Preservation and Publication of the Melodies of Ireland (SPPMI). One important aim of this society was to publish Petrie's manuscript collection of music. Another prominent 19th century antiquarian, and music collector, John Edward Pigot (1822-1871) was one of the Honorary Secretaries. In addition to Petrie, the Society's publishing committee consisted of noted antiquarians, including Rev. Dr James Henthorn Todd (1805-1869), Rev Dr. Charles Graves (1812-1899), William Elliot Hudson (1796-1853), Dr Henry Hudson (1798-1889), and the aforementioned Eugene O'Curry (1794-1862) (Petrie 1855). In 1855 the Society published *The Petrie Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland.*[14] Petrie's published collection contained 147 airs arranged for the piano. Volume 2 was published posthumously in 1882 under the title, *Music of Ireland* (39

[14] Due to the delay in publication, however, some tunes from the publication were published earlier in fascicle form. Although William Elliot Hudson died in 1853, two years before the publication of Petrie's first volume, his name is included as one of the committee members on one these fascicle copies (O'Brien Moran 2006).

airs).[15]

Petrie aimed his 1855 publication at a musically literate middle class audience, and the use of the word 'ancient' in the title indicates his antiquarian interests. These antiquarian interests are also alluded to in the introduction where he assigns an 'archaeological interest' to Irish music:

> I have been during the whole course of my life, a zealous collector of Irish melodies, I have been actuated in this pursuit by no other feelings than those of a deep sense of their beauty, a strong conviction of their archaeological interest, and a consequent desire to aid in the preservation of remains so honorable to the national character of my country.
>
> (Petrie 1855, p. x)

2.6 Patrick Weston Joyce, the last direct link in the Antiquarian Succession

The next in the 'relay' of music antiquarians is Patrick Weston Joyce (1827-1914). Joyce was born in Glenosheen in the Ballyhoura Mountains of county Limerick. He played Irish dance music on the fife during his youth and recalls playing for dancers in his native Ballyhoura:

> I loved that graceful music from childhood, and I learned all the tunes-or, I should rather say, they clung to my memory almost without any effort of my own, like the words and phrases of my native language, so that I could whistle or sing, or play them on my little fife, with the utmost facility.
>
> (Joyce 1914, p. 9)

He developed his interest in collecting music when he became aware of the SPPMI, after moving to Dublin in the early 1850s. He was encouraged to collect music by George Petrie, and transcribed the music, which he, Joyce, remembered from his youth in county Limerick. Joyce also collected music 'in the field' while on vacation:

[15] In 1877 another collection, *Ancient Music of Ireland from the Petrie Collection* with additional melodies from Petrie's manuscripts, and piano arrangements by Francis Hoffman was published. *The Complete Collection of Irish Music as Noted by George Petrie*, edited by Sir Charles Stanford, was published in three parts between 1902 and 1905 (Vallely 1999, p. 295). Petrie also contributed music to the collections of Bunting, and Moore (Vallely 1999).

> When my own memory was exhausted, I went among the peasantry during vacations, for several successive years, noting down whatever I thought worthy of preserving, both music and words. In this way I gradually accumulated a very large collection.
>
> (Joyce 1909, p. vii)

Petrie used music from Joyce's manuscript collection for his 1855 and 1882 collections and cites Joyce as the source for 16 tunes (Cooper 2002). In his *Old Irish Folk Music and Songs* Joyce claims that 23 tunes in Petrie's published works were contributed by him (Joyce 1909). George Petrie valued Joyce's knowledge of Irish music and referred to him as 'one of the most zealous and judicious of the collectors of Irish music' (Petrie 1855, p. 52).

In his book *Ancient Irish Music* (1873) Joyce seems to anticipate the opinions of Henebry regarding the variable qualities of the seventh note in Irish music and states that in Irish tunes in the minor mode the seventh note is never sharpened. Joyce also states that the unique quality of the seventh note in the minor mode is also an indication of the antiquity of Irish music:

> In modern music the seventh note of the minor scale is generally raised half a tone, so as to bring it within a semitone of the octave. This, however, was hardly ever done in Irish airs in the minor mode…I cannot help observing that editors of Irish music appear to me to be often too much inclined to force those of Irish airs that are in the minor scale into a compliance with the modern rule, thereby, in many instances, falsifying the airs, and depriving them of their antique character.
>
> (Joyce 1873, p. iv)

It would appear that Joyce was the antiquarian heir to Petrie in that he, Joyce, like Petrie, also differed from Bunting regarding the original or 'authentic' version of an air. Being a traditional musician himself Joyce recognised that many tunes transmitted in an oral tradition were often altered either deliberately or otherwise, and he dismisses Bunting's assertion that an air is 'unchangeable' once heard:

> Bunting asserted, in his Preface to *The Ancient Melodies of Ireland*, that, an air, once impressed on the popular ear, is unchangeable; an assertion utterly groundless, as every one knows who has the least knowledge of popular music. Its fallacy is fully exposed by Mr George Farquhar Graham, in his *Introduction* to *Wood's Songs of Scotland*, and by Dr Petrie, in his *Ancient Music of Ireland*.
>
> (Joyce 1873, p. 22)

In *Old Irish Folk Music and Songs* (1909) Joyce gives examples of tunes which are variants of each other which support the above quote from his 1873 publication. He also explores a possible pre-Christian origin for Irish music and states that the history of the music 'is as old as the history of the Irish race itself' (Joyce 1909, p. xiv).

Joyce became a member of the Royal Irish Academy in 1863 and was a member of the Academy's council from 1884-1885 he was also Hon. President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries (O'B 1914). Patrick Weston Joyce published his first collection, *Ancient Irish Music,* in 1873 followed in 1888 by *Irish Music and Song*. In 1906 he published a small collection of 6 songs set to music notation. His last major work on Irish music *Old Irish Folk Music and Songs*[16] appeared in 1909.

2.7 The Emergence of Political Balladry in Mid 19th Century Ireland

By the middle of the 19th century the ideals of Irish nationalism were becoming entrenched in the minds of the Irish, and the ideals of the loyalist patriotism of the 18th century were largely abandoned. This new concept of Irish nationalism grew out of the political aspirations of the United Irishmen and was further encouraged by the Catholic

[16] The latter collection consisted of music collected by Joyce himself, together with music gleaned from manuscript sources such as the manuscript collections of William Forde, and James Edward Pigot. Neither of the latter manuscripts was published in the lifetime of their respective collectors, and music from them (although edited) in Joyce's 1909 collection helped to strengthen Joyce's connection with the music collectors and latter antiquarians of the 19th century. The Forde and Pigot manuscript collections, initially held by Joyce, were later submitted by him to the RIA for preservation

Association led by Daniel O'Connell (Brady 2000).[17]

In 1842 the Young Ireland movement was founded. This was a militant revolutionary group which split from O'Connell's Repeal Association. It espoused a non-sectarian nation independent from Britain. One prominent member of the Young Irelanders, Thomas Davis (1814-1845) was impressed by Thomas Moore's success in combining old Irish airs with modern lyrics, and wished to follow Moore's example. Davis wrote about 50 songs and many were printed in the Young Irelander's newspaper, the *Nation* (Vallely 1999). Thomas Davis was aided, in particular, by two antiquarians, William Elliott Hudson and John Edward Pigot (O'Hagan 1891). As already mentioned both William Elliot Hudson and John Edward Pigot were members of the SPPMI which published Petrie's 1855 collection of music. Both men wrote political ballads which were printed in the *Nation.* Pigot[18] under the penname of 'Fermoy' wrote such political ballads as ''Tis the Green, Oh! The Green is the Colour of the True', and 'Oh Irishmen never forget 'tis a foreigner's farm your own little isle' (Davis 1888, p. 261). John Edward Pigot was also a collector of Irish music and a number of tunes from Pigot's collection were used by Petrie in his 1855 collection (Petrie 1855).

In a letter to John Edward Pigot on 12 May 1844, Thomas Davis states that William Elliot Hudson wrote music for 'The Men of Tipperary' (Davis 1888, p. 268). William Elliot Hudson also composed the music for the popular political ballad 'The Memory of

[17] After the ill-fated rebellion of 1803 the republicanism of the United Irishmen was suppressed. In 1823 Daniel O'Connell formed the Catholic Association to campaign for Catholic emancipation, and when emancipation was achieved in 1828 the Association then campaigned for the repeal of the 1801 'Act of Union' between Ireland and Britain (Mac Manus 1921).

[18] Pigot was an avowed Young Irelander and in a letter to William Smith O'Brien April 1847 he affirms his political convictions: 'Before Duffy, Mitchel or Meagher, before yourself, before even Thomas Davis, had come over to the opinions now called Young Ireland, I had begun to work in my own way to gain others to that side.' (Pigot 1847, cited in Gwynn, 1949, p. 145)

the Dead' (Cooper 2002). Thomas Davis recognised the importance of music in the dissemination of revolutionary ideals, and according to Harry White in *The Keeper's Recital,* Davis believed that 'cultural history in the making should influence, rather than be influenced by politics' (White 1998, p. 56). Other significant contributors to the *Nation* were the above mentioned antiquarians John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry (White 1998). Neither, O'Curry or O'Donovan was a song writer but the *Nation* published articles by both men on antiquarian subjects (Vallely 1999).

During the period 1839-1843 both William Elliot Hudson and his brother Henry Hudson were involved in a periodical titled *The Citizen* or *Dublin Monthly Magazine* (O'Brien Moran 2006). William was the general editor of the magazine and Henry maintained a column in this magazine titled 'The Native Music of Ireland' (O'Brien Moran 2006). This column also contained antiquarian-like descriptions of Irish music and instruments:

> This word [crowd] was of Celtic origin and imported into English probably from Wales. In Irish the word is cruit…and there is no part of the country where the instrument has not been one of popular use.
>
> (Hudson 1841, p. 66)

At the age of 14 Henry copied 78 tunes from the manuscript music collection of Gaelic teacher, Edward Farmer, and publisher, Edward O'Reilly (Hudson 1841). This copy of the Farmer, O'Reilly manuscript is the only one extant today and it was the beginning of Henry Hudson's music manuscript collection (O'Brien Moran 2006).[19] William Elliot Hudson, a classically trained amateur musician, also collected Irish music but his manuscript collection has been lost, some of his collection, however, was copied by

[19]In his collection Hudson made an attempt to categorise and analyse the music. He isolated tunes according to structure and phrasing and was also aware of the gapped pentatonic and hexatonic scales within Irish music (O'Brien Moran 2007).

William Forde and John Edward Pigot for their respective collections.

While *The Citizen*, under the auspices of the Hudson brothers, was not affiliated to a political party, its sympathies lay with the political aspirations of the Young Irelanders.[20] In volume three of *The Citizen*, for example, Henry Hudson includes and analyses the political ballad, 'The Wearing of the Green', and he also wrote new words for the song (Hudson 1841, pp. 64-65). It is likely therefore that as Thomas Davis and the Young Irelanders used Irish music as a 'propaganda' tool, so too did the Hudsons.

The combination of music antiquarianism and political balladry gradually shifted the interest in Irish music from romantic idealism to political 'propaganda'. The lyrics of the political ballads of the Young Irelanders, and those printed by the Hudsons, were in English, and celebrated recent rebellions such as those of 1798 and 1803, as well as heroic deeds of Ireland's past. While the lyrics of Moore's songs were covertly nationalistic, the ballad lyrics of the Young Irelander's were decidedly and overtly nationalistic. Several of these song airs were taken from Bunting's collections. Thomas Davis' English language version of 'Eibhlín a Rún', and Davis' song 'Lament for the Milesians', which uses the old Irish air 'Bruach na Carraige Báine', are two such examples of the use of old Irish airs (Duffy 1845).

[20] The Hudson family had an interesting political history, their father enrolled in the Volunteers in 1782 and their cousin Edward Hudson who had befriended Thomas Moore at University was deported for his participation in the 1803 rebellion of Robert Emmet (O'Brien Moran 2006).

After the failure of the Young Irelander's rising of 1848 the Young Ireland movement gradually fractured and floundered. In 1858 the Irish Republican Brotherhood, the Fenians, was formed (Mac Manus 1921). This militant political movement was divided between America and Ireland; it was opposed by many of the former Young Irelanders and its support in Ireland was poor (Davis 2008). It was not until 1867 and the executions of the 'Manchester Martyrs' in England, that widespread support in Ireland emerged (Davis 2008). In an essay titled 'From Nationalist Sentiment to Nationalist Movement', Ita Beausang states that the first open use of 'patriotic' music on a 'concert platform' occurred on 17 March 1871:

> The first overt use of patriotic music on a concert platform occurred at a Grand National Concert on St Patrick's Day 1871, when the Skinner's Band from the Dublin Liberties played the French national anthem, 'The Marseillaise', and the Fenian anthem 'God Save Ireland', as a finale to a programme of operatic and national music.
>
> (Beausang 2007, p. 40)

The lyrics of the 'Fenian anthem' mentioned were written by T.D. Sullivan to the music of an American march, 'Tramp Tramp Tramp the Boys are Marching', and commemorate the deaths of the aforementioned 'Manchester Martyrs' (Zimmermann 2002). Sectarian Irish nationalism began to emerge at this period and for the remainder of the 19th century there were many concerts of 'nationalist music' which drew on the ballads of Thomas Moore and those popularised in the song book *Spirit of the Nation* (Beausang 2007).[21]

2.8 A Convergence of Antiquarianism and Nationalism

All the major antiquarians and political ballad writers and politicians of the early to mid

[21] In 1845 many songs from the *Nation* were reprinted in a songbook titled, *The Spirit of the Nation*, and its many reprints indicate the popularity of political balladry, with the last reprint in 1934 (Vallely 1999). It is also noteworthy that the first edition of *The Spirit of the Nation* was funded by William Elliot Hudson (O'Daly 1859).

19th century seem to have converged, figuratively, on George Petrie. It is possible, therefore, that, with the growth of nationalism, Petrie's music collection was perceived not only as an attempt to preserve a dying musical tradition, but also as a statement of 'Irishness' with which the radical politics of the time became associated. In his book *The Keeper's Recital,* Harry White mentions this blending of political and antiquarian ideals:

> The consolidation of antiquarian research as the expression of a Gaelic musical culture, and the exponential growth of the ballad tradition as an agent of political and cultural nationalism…These were the forces which respectively depended upon and advanced the concept of a palpably *Irish* music.
>
> (White 1998, p. 54)

George Petrie also refers, somewhat obliquely, to the blending of antiquarian research and popular song tradition when he states that the old music of Ireland was given a new lease of life when it was combined with the lyrics of Thomas Moore and others:

> The finest of our Irish melodies have obtained their just appreciation far less from any immediate estimate of their merits, than from their accidental union with the lyrics of Moore and others, which had taken a hold on the popular mind.
>
> (Petrie 1855, p. xx)

Although he was never a member of the Young Irelanders, Petrie was a close friend of Thomas Davis and refers to him in his 1855 publication as 'my lamented friend, the late Thomas Davis' (Petrie 1855, p. 20). Davis is also acknowledged by Petrie as one of the sources for the song 'An Buachaill Caol Dubh' (Petrie 1855, p. 20). In his book *The Keeper's of the Recital*, Harry White comments that because the antiquarianism of the mid-19th century was so mixed with the current politics it could not but be influenced by it:

> Petrie belonged to an Ireland in which antiquarianism had become so imbued with political resonance that the recovery of the past could not but signify immediate implications for the present.
>
> (White 1998, p. 64)

Although Petrie had connections with all the above mentioned 19th-century antiquarians and balladeers, it was, perhaps, his association with fellow Irish antiquarian, Eugene O'Curry, that may have significantly influenced the perceived 'Irishness' of Petrie's subsequent music collection. Eugene O'Curry, a noted antiquarian and scholar of old Irish manuscripts, was a native Irish speaker from county Clare. In addition to his work for the Ordnance Survey, O'Curry was also employed the British Museum and the Bodleian Library in Oxford and the library of Trinity College, Dublin (Cooper 2002). In 1854 Eugene O'Curry was appointed Professor of Irish History and Archaeology at the Catholic University of Ireland (Cooper 2002).[22] While at the Catholic University of Ireland O'Curry gave a series of lectures, titled *Of Music and Musical Instruments in Ancient Erinn,* which dealt specifically with the music, instruments, and origins of old Irish music. These lectures were 'among the first works of what today would be termed ethnomusicology' (Vallely 1999, p. 275).[23] O'Curry's approach to the history of Irish music was, like 18th -century antiquarian Charles O'Conor's, that of a native Irishman confident in his own identity. He dismissed a romantic foreign history for Irish music[24] and stated categorically that Irish music belonged to the Irish people:

> Ours [the history of Irish music] is not the shadowy myth of Orpheus going to the realms of Pluto, and by his lyre softening the obdurate hearts of the grim monarch of the infernal abodes. It possesses something much more of the real life, and belongs more to definite history.
>
> (O'Curry cited in Sullivan 1873, Vol. 3, p. 213)

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[22] It was during his tenure at the Catholic University of Ireland that O'Curry delivered two important lecture series, 'On the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History' and 'On the Social Customs, Manners and Life of the People of Erinn' (Cooper 2002).

[23] Many of O'Curry's lectures, including those concerned with Irish music, were collected and edited in three volumes by W.K. Sullivan in 1873, and titled *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* (Sullivan 1873).

[24] Although O'Curry also referred to mythic 'Irish histories', such as accounts of the *Tuatha Dé Dannan*, he criticised former antiquarians such as Walker and Bunting for using the same material (O'Sullivan 1873). O'Curry maintained that because neither Walker nor Bunting could speak Gaelic their interpretation of Irish texts was flawed: 'These writers had no acquaintance with our ancient language: they did not even understand our language: they had a reference to *Craiftine* and his wonderful harp in Keting [*sic*], a few references to horns or trumpets in what are called the poems of Oisín, and to these their own imagination and effrontery made large additions' (O'Sullivan 1873, p. 302).

In his *Ancient Music of Ireland,* Petrie relied heavily on O'Curry for the lyrics and translations of Irish language songs. Petrie mentions that not only was O'Curry a Gaelic language scholar he was also a singer, and that the song 'Péarla an Bhrollaigh Bháin' was transcribed from 'Mr Curry's' singing:

> The melody is given exactly as noted down from Mr. Curry's singing of it, and as he had learnt it from the singing of his father in his native home… the lands of Dal Cass [*sic*].
> (Petrie 1855, p. 9)

In his essay 'Petrie and the Music of Clare', Brendan Breathnach maintains that without the Gaelic scholarship of O'Curry, Petrie's *Ancient Music of Ireland* would have been just a curiosity reflecting Petrie's political and social opinions:

> Without O'Curry's transcription and notes, Petrie's volume would be somewhat of a curiosity, affording us an insight into the social and political sentiments of its compiler.
> (Breathnach 1974, p.70)

It is possible, therefore, that, just as Petrie may have added an antiquarian aspect to Bunting's work, O'Curry, together with Petrie's association with the aforementioned political balladeers, may have added a strong 'Irish' characteristic to Petrie's work.

2.9 The Gaelic League

While the Irish Republican Brotherhood continued the Young Irelander's militant struggle for Irish Independence, it did not make use of music as a 'propaganda' tool to the same extent as its predecessors consequently the ballads of the Young Irelanders continued to be sung throughout the 19th century as an expression of Irish nationalism. The next significant political/cultural adaptation of Irish music emerged in1893, with the establishment of *Conradh na Gaeilge*, or The Gaelic League.

The Gaelic League was established by Douglas Hyde and Eoin Mac Neill, to revive and promote the Irish language, but it also turned its attention to Irish music, song and

dance. On 25 November 1892, a year before the formation of the Gaelic league, Douglas Hyde addressed the Irish Literary Society of London outlining his beliefs in the preservation of Gaelic culture. In a later summary of this address Hyde mentions the importance of Irish music and its preservation:

> I showed the rapid decrease of our musicians and the neglect of Irish airs, and advocated the stern repressing of English music-hall songs and return to and recultivation of our beautiful national melodies.
>
> (Hyde 1892, cited in O Lúing, 1973, p. 128)

In his essay 'The Gaelic League, 1893-1913', Arthur Clery states that Irish music and dance was used by the Gaelic League to encourage people to attend Irish language classes:

> So linguistic study is sweetened by Irish music and much Irish dancing… Irish music is one of the most attractive parts of the League's work. Irish dancing has, however, made it more converts.
>
> (Clery 1919, p. 403)

As with earlier cultural/political movements, the Gaelic League's intention was to promote cultural cooperation between the native and Anglo-Irish population. Many of the early members of the League were not traditional musicians and were not from the same cultural or social background as the practioners of the music, and were therefore somewhat divorced from the Irish music tradition. This is evidenced in League-member, Edward Martyn's essay 'The Gaelic League and Irish Music' where he expresses his astonishment on hearing Irish music at the Galway *Feis Ceol* in 1898:

> In the autumn of 1898 I attended the Galway Feis, where I heard some good country singing and piping. I was astonished at its rich colour and ancient tonality, and at the exquisite refinement of ear manifested by the best singers.
>
> (Martyn 1911, p. 449)

The first Irish *céilí* was held by the London branch of the Gaelic League on 30 October 1897 (Quinn 1999). Due to the League's aversion to the influence of English culture, it

is possible that the Gaelic League was copying the Scottish *céilí* dances that were common at the time. It is also possible that the prominent members of the League who were not totally familiar with Irish folk music wished to create music and dance which conformed to their perception of what Irish 'Gaelic' music and dance should be. An idealised image of the music was adopted by the Gaelic League and, guided by Douglas Hyde's views regarding the preservation of Irish music, went to great lengths to eradicate what it perceived to be non-Gaelic music and dance. The couple dances, such as 'sets', for example, which were widely danced in Ireland at the time, were denounced as foreign by the Gaelic League, and it set about re-creating old Irish figure dances suitable for a dance hall (Cullinane 1999). These figure dances were supposedly based on old Irish figure dances that were still danced in county Kerry at the end of the 19th century (Vallely 1999). In 1897 the Gaelic League also established its *Oireachtas* competitions to encourage Irish music and dance, and in 1903 a *sean nós* singing competition was included (Vallely 1999). In 1911 the Gaelic League organised a committee, *Cumann Ceoil*, to help preserve Irish music; the classically trained musician, Carl Hardebeck, was made president of this committee (Martyn 1911).

Despite the non-political/non-sectarian aspirations of the original members of the Gaelic League, religious nationalism was gradually gaining ground in the organisation. In an unattributed article in the *All Ireland Review* of 1901 the correspondent criticises the Gaelic League's 21st pamphlet for its 'Roman Catholic sectarian intentions' (All Ireland Review 1901, p. 6). This attempt at infiltration of the Gaelic League by sectarian nationalists culminated in 1915 with the resignation of its President, Douglas

Hyde.[25]

2.10 Richard Henebry 'The Gaelic Antiquarian'

Richard Henebry was both a collector and an analyst of Irish Music. Unlike his predecessors he did not accumulate a large written collection of folk music. Instead, it was his collection of wax cylinder recordings that marked Henebry as a significant collector of Irish folk music. Henebry was also an antiquarian and had an antiquarian interest in the archaeological and cultural history of Ireland. This antiquarian interest in matters Irish has already been alluded to in Chapter 1 (see p. 54), where Henebry was very interested in and gave lectures on Ogham stones and their inscriptions. Henebry also contributed to the *Journal of the Waterford and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society.* In the first volume of said journal Henebry suggests that the inscriptions on some old tombstones in the graveyard of Kilmolesh Church, Co. Waterford are unusual and 'appear to be characters of some oriental language' (Henebry 1895, pp. 235-236). This vague reference to an 'oriental language' is reminiscent of the idealised beliefs of earlier antiquarians. It is possible that Henebry also maintained a certain idealised and perhaps romantic viewpoint regarding the history of Irish music:

> As for compositions it might be asserted that all our genuine Irish music is as flawless in its way as the illumination in the great initial pages of the Book of Kells.
>
> (Henebry 1903, p. 7)

As previously mentioned Richard Henebry was primarily interested in the revival of the

[25] At the annual gathering of the Gaelic league in 1915 Sean Ó Murthuile, who was a member of the Gaelic League and the I.R.B received fifty proxies which, should have been given to Irish speakers but were instead given to politically motivated people who were not interested in the promotion of Irish. This resulted in the election of a largely political *Coiste Gnótha* (business committee). When combined with the aforementioned 'Roman Catholic sectarian intentions', an overtly political/sectarian Gaelic League emerged, Douglas Hyde disagreed with this and resigned (O'Lúing 1973, pp. 135,136).

late 16th - and early 17th - century Gaelic of Geoffrey Keating. This somewhat nostalgic look back at what he considered to be an ideal chapter in the history of the Irish language is mirrored to some extent in his idealised opinions on the history of Irish music:

> The oldest evidence of the power of our performers is found in the Keltic sagas, where the witchery of music was a common theme.
>
> (Henebry 1903 p. 8)

Henebry acknowledges the 'academic relay' of antiquarian music collectors from Bunting to Joyce in his first book, *Irish Music* (Henebry 1903). Edward Bunting is lauded by Henebry as being the first and 'the best of those who undertook to solve the puzzle' (Henebry 1903, p. 9). Thomas Moore's *Irish Melodies,* however, is dismissed outright by Henebry as 'bad and debased from every point of view' (Henebry 1903, p. 9). Henebry holds George Petrie in high regard and states that he, Petrie, collected a large amount of Irish music 'with the devotion that marked everything he did for his country' (Henebry 1903, p. 9). It must be assumed, therefore, that the aforementioned 'Irishness' of 19th-century Irish music antiquarianism, and the work of George Petrie in particular, influenced Henebry. In his first book Henebry also mentions Joyce (Petrie's antiquarian successor) as having published two 'small collections and numerous single tunes' in other publications (Henebry 1903, p. 9).[26] Although he praises the efforts of his predecessors he also maintains that because they did not recognise what he, Henebry, perceived to be the correct intervallic pattern for Irish music their work was lacking a certain authenticity:

[26] Joyce had not yet published his *Irish Folk Music and Songs* in 1903, but Henebry did refer to it favourably in his second book *A Handbook of Irish Music* (Henebry 1928).

> In reality what they did was to report the Irish interval accurately where it chanced to coincide with the modern, and where it did not to substitute the nearest modern interval.
> (Henebry 1903, pp. 9-10)

In his essay 'The Progress in Gaelic', published in the first volume of the CUA's *Catholic University Bulletin,* Henebry also gives favourable mention to the aforementioned antiquarians, O'Donovan, O'Curry, and Petrie (Henebry 1895). While Henebry primarily welcomes their work in the preservation of the Irish language and Irish antiquities, it is possible that the emerging nationalism, previously mentioned in the work of said antiquarians, also influenced Henebry's own political and cultural beliefs. It is also interesting to note that in the same essay, Henebry dismisses Vallencey's idealism as 'wild theories' derived from 'false philological deductions' (Henebry 1895, p. 524). This further suggests that Henebry adhered to the emerging Irish nationalist antiquarianism of the mid 19th - century and rejected much of the earlier 18th - century antiquarian beliefs.

Being a member of the Gaelic League may also have coloured Henebry's thinking with regard to the authenticity of Irish music. In his *A Handbook of Irish Music,* for example, Henebry analysed untitled tune number 106 in volume 1 of Stanford's edition of Petrie's manuscript collection and, while acknowledging its popularity as the music hall song air, 'Cassidy Brought Me Home', he suggests that it may have been altered from an older, Gaelic song. Considering Douglas Hyde's opinion regarding English music-hall songs, it is possible that Henebry's desire to find a 'more Gaelic', retrospective, origin for much of the Irish music repertoire may have stemmed from his membership of the Gaelic League and its desire to re-establish a 'Gaelic' Ireland. The Gaelic League's apparent involvement in the development of 'Gaelic' music is referred to, negatively, by Colm Ó Lochlainn in the preface to his book *Irish Street Ballads.* Ó

Lochlainn alludes to the Gaelic League's dismissal of non-Gaelic music and states that the music hall song declined 'with the advent of the Gaelic league and a more virile nationality' (O Lochlainn 1939, p. x).

In his 1903 book, *Irish Music*, evidence of Henebry the romantic antiquarian also emerges. As with the earlier mentioned antiquarians, Henebry also looked upon the Irish harp and its repertory as the ultimate representation of Irish music. Because he recognised that the old technique of harp playing was 'irrevocably lost' (Henebry 1903, p. 24), he proposed a revival of the instrument based on his, Henebry's, calculations of scales and intonation. His plan to revive the harp was also somewhat 'romantic' in concept. He proposed that a group of musically talented boys from an Irish speaking area which has a good music tradition, should be taught the technique of the 'bagpipes' (uilleann pipes) and the 'bowing and fingering of the fiddle in the Irish manner' (Henebry 1903, p. 25). These boys should then learn to play an Irish harp similar in construction to the 'Brian Ború' harp in Trinity College Dublin. With this in mind Henebry recommended Bunting's information about the harp, and he also suggested that techniques on the pipes and fiddle, if studied closely, may help to restore traditional harp technique:

> The pipes subsisted from time immemorial side by side with the harp, and the fiddle succeeded it. There is no doubt but these instruments have yet a good deal of technique which could be re-applied to the harp.
>
> (Henebry 1903, p. 25)

Henebry displayed a somewhat confused and simplistic view of the history of the pipes and fiddle in Ireland. The present day uilleann/union pipe was a development of the pastoral pipe which emerged in the 18th century for a middle class Anglo-Irish audience

(Geoghegan 1743). The chanter for this instrument was chromatically tuned and was widely used as a theatre instrument. The union/uilleann pipe, as it is known today, did not emerge until the 19th century and therefore could not have 'subsisted from time immemorial' with the harp. Although there is evidence that a bowed instrument that was tuned in fifths preceded the violin in Medieval Europe (Munrow 1976) the fiddle, referred to by Henebry is the Italian violin which was not developed until the 16th century and probably did not come to Ireland until the 17th century (Vallely 1999). It did however precede the bellows-blown pipes in Ireland. By alluding to an earlier provenance for these instruments in Ireland, it appears that Henebry may have adopted the previous romantic antiquarians' selective understanding of history.

Although he differed from his predecessors on many points, Richard Henebry may be looked upon as an indirect link in the relay of antiquarians from the 18th to the 20th century. He was interested in an antiquarian history of Ireland, and while he rejected the romantic idealism of early 18th century historians, he appears to have adopted, instead, a romantic perception of the history of Irish music based on Gaelic principles. In his perceived defence of a correct interpretation of Gaelic music he likened himself to historian Geoffrey Keating. Henebry states however that although Keating defended Irish music from the foreigner, he, Henebry, was engaged in the task of convincing the native Irish audience of the music's unique structure:

> I am entirely heedless of the foreigner's opinion of me or mine. My task is more to refute those of my own nation and blood who have been so unnaturally de-educated out of their own dear traditions.
>
> (Henebry 1903, p. 14)

His unshakeable belief in the Irishness of the music is reflected throughout his work.

While previous antiquarians and music collectors endeavoured to associate the music with either an Anglo-Irish idealism, or a political, sectarian, militancy, Henebry sought to establish a truly ‘Gaelic’ provenance and structure to Irish music. With this in mind, therefore, perhaps Henebry is better described as an Irish ‘Gaelic’ antiquarian, his rejection of Anglo-Irish concepts regarding Irish music is absolute, and his dedication to an Irish, ‘Gaelic’, analysis and interpretation of the music is central to his work.

Chapter Three

Analysing the Analyst

3.1 Introduction

In order to analyse Irish music Richard Henebry drew on his knowledge of linguistics and Gaelic philology. He combined the rules of language structure with his rudimentary knowledge of music theory to develop a unique analytical approach to Irish music. His understanding of the structure of Irish music developed over time and this evolving understanding is evident in three publications. The first of which, 'Gaelic Music Schemes in Word and Sound', was a lecture given by Henebry at the CUA in 1899, and was subsequently published in the Catholic University Bulletin in 1900. The second publication, a 42 page pamphlet published in 1903, is titled *Irish Music, Being an Examination of the Matter of Scales, Modes, and Keys, with Practical Instructions and Examples for Players.* Henebry's third publication, *A Handbook of Irish Music,* was published in 1928, twelve years after his death. Each of the above mentioned publications will be examined in detail in this chapter. An alphabetical reference code based on the alphabetical system devised by Aloys Fleischmann is used in this chapter when referring to some of Henebry's musical examples and scales. As Irish music seldom ranges beyond two octaves the chart below (see Figure 3.1) will be sufficient to represent the musical examples in each of Henebry's publications.

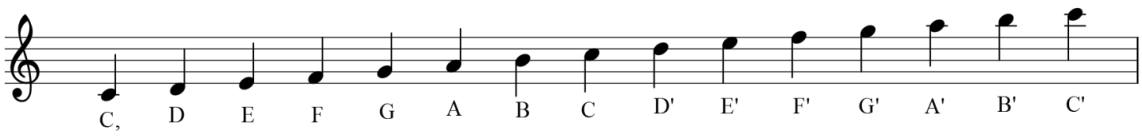


Figure 3.1: An adaptation of Aloys Fleischmann's musical reference code

3.2 Henebry's First Description of the Unique Structure of Irish Music

On 2 March 1899 Richard Henebry gave a lecture at the CUA, Washington DC on the structure of, and the scales used in, Irish folk music, titled 'Gaelic Music Schemes in Word and Sound'. The contents of the lecture were subsequently published in the 1900 edition of the university's *Catholic University Bulletin* (Henebry 1900). This appears to be the first attempt by Henebry, in print at least, to illustrate a unique structure and playing method of Irish folk music. Henebry maintained in this lecture that Irish music differed from western art music in three ways: scale, keys or tonics, and accent or phrasing (Henebry 1900).

Henebry began his analysis by comparing the major scale of western art music and its intervals with what Henebry called the 'gapped quinquegrade scale' (see Figure 3.2).

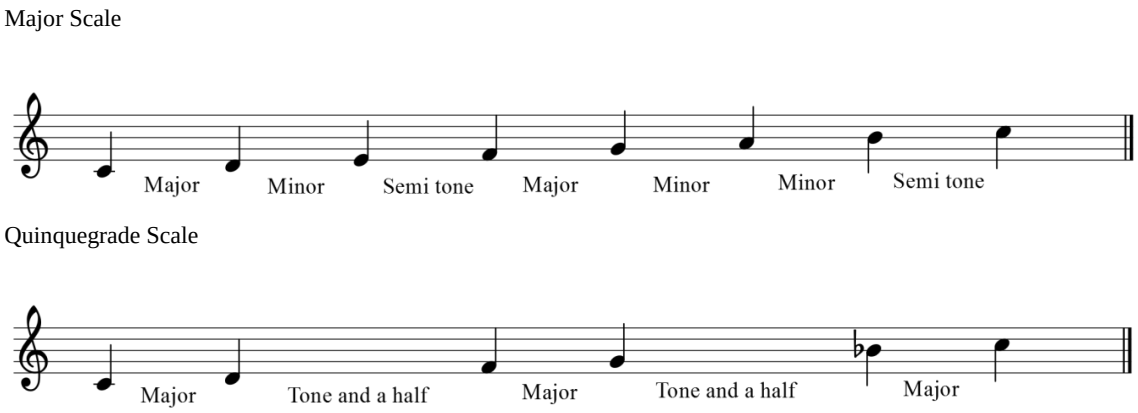


Figure 3.2: Richard Henebry's Comparison of Major and Quinquegrade Scales

Henebry's depiction of the intervals in each scale is curious and requires some explanation. His use of the terms major and minor to describe the distance between the notes in the western art music major scale should not be confused with the usual use of

said terms in the genre. In western art music the intervals of the fourth, fifth, and octave are called perfect intervals, which can be diminished with the subtraction of a semi-tone and augmented with the addition of a semi-tone. The remainder of the intervals − 2nd, 3rd, 6th, and 7th − are referred to as major or minor intervals, a minor interval being a semitone smaller than a major interval. Henebry's major interval corresponds with a 'tone' in western art music. His minor interval, however, is greater in length than a semi tone but shorter than a tone, and his semitone interval is the same length as a semitone in western art music. Henebry, only used the terms major and minor, to indicate the distance between each successive note of the scale, not for harmonic purposes. In order to avoid confusion the terms major and minor will be italicised when they are used to imply Henebry's meaning rather than the standard meaning. Henebry's interpretation of the western art music major scale − *major, minor, semi-tone, major, minor, minor, semi-tone* − differs from the normal intervallic pattern for the equal tempered western art music major scale, tone, tone, semi-tone, tone, tone, tone, semi-tone. Although Henebry's interval of the *minor* tone is less than the interval of the *major* tone the difference is negligible and both intervals are considered whole tones (Johnston 1989).

In his book *A Handbook of Irish Music,* Henebry explains the meaning of the *minor* and *major* intervals by using monochord measurements. In *The Oxford Companion to Music,* Percy Scholes describes the monochord as a sound box over which was stretched a single string. The string was then divided at various points using a movable bridge. These divisions are recorded in the form of ratios which show the position of the note in relation to the overall length of the string. By dividing the vibrating string exactly halfway, for example, the octave is found. Its numerical ratio therefore, is 2/1. The

vibrating string is again stopped at two thirds its length creating the fifth of the scale and its ratio is 3/2. By dividing and subdividing the vibrating string in this way it was determined that the ratio of the *major* interval (tone) is 9/8, the ratio of the *minor* interval is 10/9, and the semi-tone's ratio is 16/15. These however are not the measurements of an equal tempered scale. It is possible that Henebry confused the western art music tempered major scale with the non-tempered just intonation scale. The tempered scale consists of twelve equal semitone intervals, therefore each tone should consist of two semi-tones and every tone interval should be equal in length. According to Jeremy Montague in *The Oxford Companion to Music* (2011) 'just intonation' is 'a system of tuning the scale to perfection, based on the ratio of natural harmonies'.[27] Montague further states that the 'just intonation' scale contains two sizes of whole tone a *major* one of the ratio 9/8 and a *minor* tone of the ratio 10/9. Henebry states that these differing whole tone intervallic ratios of 9/8 and 10/9, together with the semi-tone measurement 16/15, form the western art music major scale. This might suggest therefore that Henebry was incorrect in his calculation of the western major scale, and might also add some doubt, or confusion, on his subsequent calculations of an 'Irish' scale. This confusion is compounded further when he constructs an 'Irish' scale based on the third quinquegrade scale in Figure 3.3 (see Figures 3.3 and 3.4). The intervallic pattern in his 'Irish' scale seems to be a closer match to the western art music tempered major scale than his actual depiction of that scale.

The 'gapped quinquegrade scale', mentioned by Henebry, is a scale of five notes 'constructed on a chain of fifths' (Henebry 1900), a scale of this type, when compared

[27]Montagu, J. (2011) 'just intonation', *The Oxford Companion to Music* [*online]*, available: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e3611>. [accessed10 Dec. 2011]

with the standard major scale, lacks a third and a sixth but has a flattened seventh (see Figure 3.2). Henebry appears to have developed this theory of the quinquegrade scale from Professor W.K. Sullivan's detailed description of Irish scales in his introduction to his edition of Eugene O'Curry's lectures, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* (Sullivan 1873).[28] Sullivan states that the tonic, the fifth, and the fourth were the first intervals to be recognised in music and by using C as the tonic two tetrachords are possible, C-F and G-C. The quinquegrade scale used by Henebry, and Sullivan, was obtained by adding the interval of a fifth to G to get D and by adding the interval of a fourth to F to get Bb. This quinquegrade scale utilises two intervallic measurements, the *major* (whole tone) and a long interval of a tone and a half. Sullivan states that this scale forms a 'chain' of fifths and that it was used in Irish music:

> Nearly all the genuine old Irish and Scotch airs are composed in the above scale. The tones F and G in the quinquegrade scale are directly related to C, but D is only related to G, and Bb to F. The whole scale forms a chain of fifths: Bb-F-C-G-D.
>
> (Sullivan 1873, p. dxliv)

In his lecture notes Henebry states that although the addition of extra key signatures to the major scale allows for easy transposition of music to other major keys, the intervals, in the new key, always remain the same. Henebry maintains that this is not the case in Irish music, and by taking each note from the first quinquegrade scale and using it as a tonic he shows how five unique scales are created, each with its own intervallic pattern (see Figure 3.3). Using this method Henebry maintained that 'Irish music retained the full wealth of medieval scale systems' (Henebry 1900). Henebry's does not explain his reference to the 'wealth of medieval scale systems', but presumably it refers to scales in medieval music before the advent of keys and western art music.

[28] Richard Henebry praised Sullivan's introductory volume as being, 'the first rational attempt to determine the nature of the Irish scale system' (Henebry 1903, p. 10).

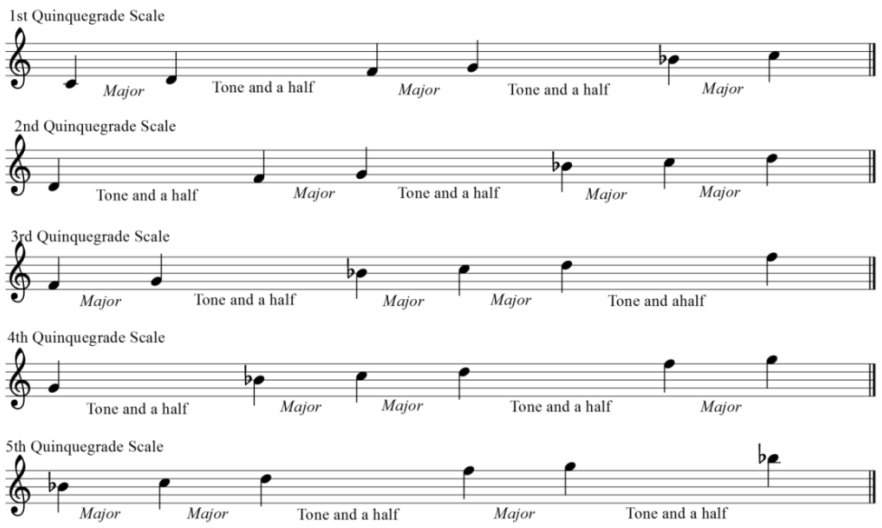


Figure 3.3 The Intervallic patterns for Henebry's Five Quinquegrade Irish Medieval Scales

Henebry's claims regarding the quinquegrade scales are corroborated to some extent by Breandán Breathnach and Percy Scholes in their respective works on the structure of music. In his book *Folk Music and Dances of Ireland* (1971) Breandán Breathnach states that a pentatonic scale has 'five notes to the octave' and the predominant pentatonic scale in Irish music being one which lacks a fourth and a seventh (Breathnach 1977, p. 11). Scholes also refers to the pentatonic scale and mentions that the 'commonest order of intervals' is one which lacks a fourth and a seventh. He also states that pentatonic scales are often called 'Gapped Scales' and appear 'as though a mouth had had a tooth or two knocked out here and there' (Scholes 1984, p. 917). The pentatonic scale described by both Breathnach and Scholes corresponds with Henebry's abovementioned fifth quinquegrade scale illustrated in Figure 3.3 and it therefore could also be regarded as a 'gapped' major scale.

In his description of the development of the Irish scale from the quinquegrade, or pentatonic, scale, W.K. Sullivan notes how, by the addition of fifths, all the notes of a

diatonic scale were obtained (Sullivan 1873). Henebry states that the 'Irish scale' is achieved by inserting a *major* (9/8) interval in each of the long intervals of the quinquegrade scale. This insertion results in a scale close to the major diatonic scale. It is especially apparent when a *major* interval is placed in the long intervals of the third scale illustrated in Figure 3.3. The intervals of the major scale and the 'Irish' scale will not match exactly however (see Figure 3.4.).

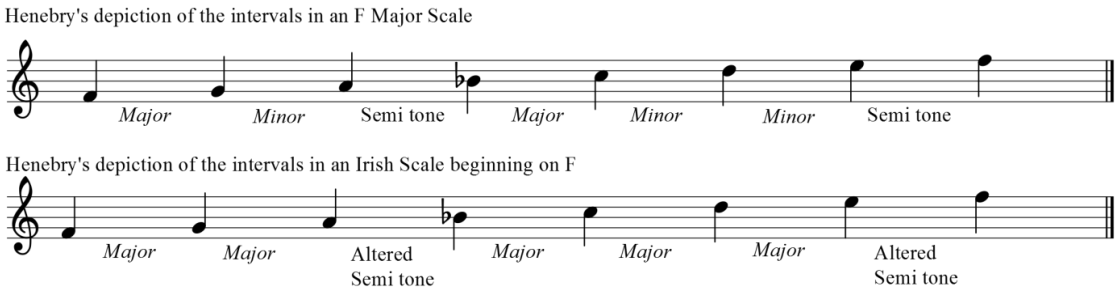


Figure 3.4: Differences between F Major and Henebry's Irish Scale

The difference between both scales in Figure 3.4 is not immediately apparent and requires further explanation. When the *major* interval is introduced into the gaps in Henebry's third quinquegrade scale, the length of some intervals begin to differ from those of the major scale. The interval between G and A in Henebry's Irish scale is now a *major* interval and the A is slightly sharper, consequently the interval between A and Bb is smaller than the semi-tone interval indicated in Henebry's depiction of the major scale and is referred to above as an altered semi-tone. As Henebry has changed the interval from *minor* to *major* between C and D' in his 'Irish' scale, the D' has been 'pushed' forward sharpening it slightly. The interval between D' and E' has also been changed from *minor* to *major* and since the D' has already been slightly sharpened this 'pushes' the E' forward sharpening it slightly also. The perfect intervals between the tonic, fourth, fifth and octave remain the same as the major scale. As already stated the

difference between *major* and *minor* intervals is negligible and only creates a small subtle difference. Henebry states however that despite the subtleness of the differences they nevertheless contribute significantly to the 'essential mark of Irish music':

> If scale three above so completed the ground work of an Irish air it is evident that it approaches pretty closely in construction to a strain built on the modern major scale, because the semi tones will fall between the third and fourth and the seventh and eight, still many of its intervals will be a little too sharp, as may easily be evinced by a comparison of the two kinds of scale with their inequalities of interval. Such an air could be rendered approximately by a modern musician on an instrument tuned in the modern manner, but the subtle shades of tone, the essential mark of Irish music, would of course be lost.
>
> (Henebry 1900, p. 435)

In his introduction to O'Curry's lectures Sullivan states that a true study of the rhythm and structure of Irish music is not possible without a detailed study of 'Irish prosody'[29] (Sullivan 1873, p. dxli). It would appear that Henebry also recognised this and approached the analysis of the music with the practiced ear of a Gaelic language scholar. As regards accent and phrasing Henebry states that the rules of old Gaelic poetry such as vocal assonance, or rhyming vowel sounds, and alliteration applied to Irish song:

> The modern prosodial system begins to appear in the 16th century. Its characteristics were, beat accent, alliteration and vocal assonance…a skeleton of vocalic succession was first chosen and the song made to correspond to it.
>
> (Henebry 1900, p. 433)

It would seem from the above quote that Henebry believed that 'a skeleton of vocalic succession', or spoken phrase, was decided upon first before the application of melody. Henebry dealt with this in more detail in his third work, *A Handbook of Irish Music,* and will be discussed later in this chapter (see p. 154).

[29] Prosody is defined as, 'The science of poetical forms, including quantity and accent of syllables, meter, and versification and metrical composition'. (Markwardt. A. 1976) The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* defines prosody as being chiefly concerned with the 'study of rhythm and sound effects as they occur in verse or prose.' (Encyclopaedia Britannica (2012) 'Prosody', *Encyclopaedia Britannica* [online], available: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/479409/prosody [accessed 28 March, 2012)

In his desire to elevate Irish music Henebry vehemently dismisses western art music. He refers specifically to the strict conventions of expression and performance directions in art music as being 'so artificial and limited' (Henebry 1900, p. 435). Of Irish music Henebry states that each tune had its own character and expressive qualities which could not be written down on paper:

> Nearly every Irish air had a peculiar character and mood of its own that could not be defined on paper, and so was learned directly from performers who played according to the method of technique and tradition.
>
> (Henebry 1900, p. 435)

With these differences between Irish folk music and European art music in mind, Henebry finishes his lecture by stating that when Irish music was played by musicians from outside of the tradition, or genre, it did not sound correct and was 'a silly and imperfect travesty of Irish music' (Henebry 1900, p. 435). This was Henebry's first published foray into the analysis of Irish music and while his conclusions regarding the structure of an 'Irish' scale are intriguing, they are not entirely without fault. Although Henebry did recognise subtle differences between scales in Irish music and the western art music major scale his arguments in his 1899 lecture are not entirely convincing. His depiction of the major scale is not the familiar one of the equal tempered scale of western art music, therefore his comparison between the 'Irish' scale and the major scale might not be considered reliable. He was to pursue this argument in more detail in his next publication, *Irish Music* (1903).

3.3 Irish Music 1903

In October 1903 Richard Henebry published his second work on the analysis of Irish Music: *Irish Music, Being an Examination of the Matter of Scales, Modes, and Keys,*

with Practical Instructions and Examples for Players. This is a relatively short book, or pamphlet, consisting of 42 pages divided into three chapters. Chapters One and Two detail his opinions regarding the scales, modes and 'proper' writing methods necessary for Irish music. He also gives his opinion on the appropriate use of particular instruments, discussing their suitability for the performance of Irish music, or otherwise. The third chapter concentrates on a visual representation of the scales, modes and Henebry's 'correct' method of notating Irish music. It also includes ten tunes chosen by Henebry to illustrate his various theories. These tunes were sourced from printed sources, or family members and friends in the Portlaw/West Waterford area.

3.3.1 The Irish Scale

Richard Henebry maintained that because Irish music did not sound 'correct' when played using the modern diatonic scale it must therefore have a scale of its own. This first became apparent to Henebry when he, after having learned Irish fiddle playing as a young boy, decided to learn 'correct' violin technique from the book, *The Violin Without a Master,*[30] and 'was astonished to find that the 'correct' fingering failed to return Irish music' (Henebry 1903, p. 10). In chapter 2 of *Irish Music,* Henebry outlines two scales and their 'modes' that are unique to Irish music, the first scale begins on D and the second on G. In order to illustrate these scales he also provides diagrams of a violin fingerboard with the pitches indicated (see Figure 3.5). Henebry gave actual measurements in inches on a diagram of a fingerboard from a violin which has a string length of 'twelve and seven eights inches long' (Henebry 1903, p. 28). He advises the reader to take the measurements from the diagram and mark them onto their own instruments:

[30] Howe. E. (1870) *Howe's New Violin Without a Master,* Boston, Elias Howe, Agt., 103 Court Street.

> For beginners it will be well to take accurate measurements of the intervals on this diagram with a pair of compasses, and prick them with the same instrument on the finger board of their own fiddles. All measurements should be taken from the nut downwards.
> (Henebry 1903, p. 29)

Henebry highlights the notes of the 'Irish scale' which differ from those in the western major scale in Gaelic script.

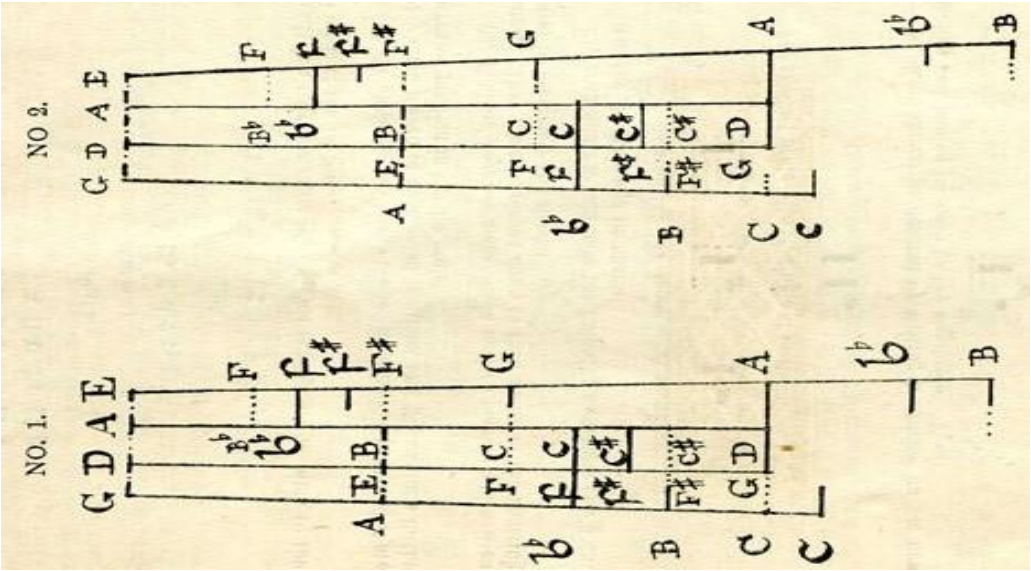


Figure 3.5: The 'correct fingering' for Irish music on the violin fingerboard from *Irish Music* (1903)

In the first scale described by Henebry, which begins on D, he states that the notes D, E, G, A, B, are more or less the same as the equivalent notes in the major diatonic scale of western art music (Henebry 1903) but the third and seventh notes, F and C, are treated differently than their major scale counterparts. It is interesting to note here that Henebry seems to have altered his ideas somewhat from his 1899 lecture. In the aforementioned lecture he states that the insertion of a *major* interval in the large gaps of the quinquegrade scale subtly altered the third, sixth, and seventh notes of the scale, not just the third and the seventh (see Figure 3.4).

The first difference noted by Henebry in his 'correct fingering' for Irish music (see Figure 3.5) is the 7th note, C#. Normally in the D major scale it is expected that the seventh is sharpened but in Henebry's Irish scale this note is flatter than the standard C# by a 'quarter-tone' and the Irish C natural is a 'quarter-tone' above C natural (see Figure 3.5). Henebry admitted in *Irish Music* that his knowledge of the theory of music was limited; therefore his use of the term 'a quarter-tone' is somewhat ambiguous and is not meant to represent a precise measurement:

> A quarter-tone here is meant the minutest interval value of the Irish scale merely; it is not intended as a mathematical expression…I strive here to make my meaning clear, especially in the use of terms, because I have never received a lesson in music, and am un-learned in the science of modern music.
>
> (Henebry 1903, pp. 11-12)

In his introduction to O'Curry's lectures, Sullivan also refers to this intervallic anomaly and seems to corroborate Henebry's description:

> Pieces written according to the old scale derived from a series of fifths could not be correctly played on an instrument tuned according to our modern diatonic scale.
>
> (Sullivan 1873, p. dxlv)

Sullivan referred to this anomaly as a 'comma', and the definition of a 'comma' in the *Oxford Dictionary of Music*, also attests to its existence in a chain of untempered fifths and octaves. When this chain of untempered fifths and octaves is compared to a chain of fifths based on the tempered scale a slight intervallic difference is observed between each chain. This slight difference in interval length, according to the *Oxford Dictionary of Music*, is called a 'comma':

> A minute interval such as that resulting when a rising succession of untempered fifths and a similar succession of octaves arrive at what is ostensibly the same note, but is not really quite such.
>
> (Kennedy 1996, p. 154)

Therefore, despite Henebry's lack of knowledge of music theory, he was aware of this intervallic difference in Irish music.

The next note in the first (D) scale which differs from its counterpart in the major scale is F sharp. On both the first and third strings of a violin this note should be played a 'quarter-tone' flatter than a normal F sharp 'in order to give roundness, fullness and truth to the tone' (Henebry 1903, p. 17). The F natural in the 'D' scale is, like the C, played a 'quarter-tone' higher than a normal F natural. These differences confirm Henebry's earlier theories regarding the intervallic anomalies of the quinquegrade scale. Henebry indicated these 'Irish notes' with the letters F and C written in old Gaelic script, but here, they are indicated in a scale, which Henebry termed the 'chromatic scale', using bold italics: D E ***F F#*** G A B ***C C#*** D'. This 'chromatic scale' must not be confused with a standard western art music chromatic scale as it is only a diatonic scale with an altered F natural, F#, and C natural and C#. In Figure 3.6 Henebry's 'chromatic scale' beginning with D is compared with its equivalent notes in the major scale.

Western Art Music Diatonic Scale of D	**Henebry's 'Chromatic Scale' of D**
D'	D'
C#	
	'Irish' C#
	'Irish' C
B	B
A	A
G	G
F#	
	'Irish' F#
	'Irish' F
E	E
D	D

Figure 3.6: Henebry's 'chromatic scale' compared with the diatonic scale

The diagram in Figure 3.6 indicates, in grey, where the intervals in each scale differ. The column on the left represents the western art music diatonic scale and the column on the right represents Henebry's 'chromatic scale'. By comparing Henebry's 'chromatic scale' with the intervallic pattern of Henebry's 'Irish' scale in Figure 3.4 it can be seen why these differences occur. Henebry's 'Irish' scale in Figure 3.4 is constructed using equal *major* intervals and two smaller intervals compared to the *major, minor* and semi-tone intervals used in Henebry's depiction of the major scale. The third, and seventh notes are altered and the anomalies encountered by Henebry and Sullivan, the 'Irish' F# and the 'Irish' C, are the result, but as already mentioned this is a divergence from his description of the 'Irish scale' in his 1899 lecture. In the 'Irish scale' of D, Henebry refers to the altered notes as 'disturbed notes' and states that the 'Irish **F#**' and the 'Irish **C**' are normally used in the scale of D, but the 'Irish **F** natural' normally occurs in an unaccented position and the 'Irish **C#**' as a passing note (Henebry 1903).

On 14 November 1903 Henebry's pamphlet, *Irish Music,* was reviewed by P.J. O'Sullivan in *An Claidheamh Soluis*. O'Sullivan's review was generally favourable and states that for students of Irish music 'Dr Henebry's work is a God send' (An Claidheamh Soluis 1903, p. 6). Despite this however, O'Sullivan, having previously heard Henebry play the 'Irish' scales in question, states that some of the 'Irish' intervals sounded 'foreign':

> Some of his notes seemed to be foreign to the musical phrase while others rang out with a voice unmistakeably Irish.
>
> (O' Sullivan, 1903, p. 6)

Henebry addressed O'Sullivan's criticisms in a letter to *An Claidheamh Soluis* on 28 November 1903. He disagreed with O'Sullivan's contention that his scales sounded 'foreign' and countered that Irish music would sound foreign to those not familiar with it:

> If foreign then the chances are that I played a correct Irish phrase. For Irish is foreign to foreign music and there's the rub.
>
> (Henebry, 1903, p. 6)

On 5 December 1903 *An Claidheamh Soluis* ran another review of Henebry's 1903 pamphlet on Irish music. This second review was written by H. Bewerunge. This is the same Rev. Prof. H. Bewerunge of Maynooth, to whom Henebry expressed his thanks, in the preface to *Irish Music,* for his 'many valuable suggestions and corrections'. Bewerunge also gave an overall favourable review of Henebry's work and like O'Sullivan concentrated his review on Henebry's interpretation of an 'Irish' scale. Rev. Bewerunge focuses on Henebry's measurements of the intervals for the 'Irish' scale on the violin fingerboard. In a diagram included in his review (see Figure 3.7) Bewerunge compares Henebry's measurements of the 'Irish' scale (a) in inches, with Henebry's measurements of the western art music scale (b), both of these are then compared with, what Bewerunge refers to as the 'theoretical measurements' of the western art music scale (c). The G (fourth string) measured at 12.875 inches is the open string length of twelve and seven eights, already mentioned by Henebry. This is the same measurement for the open D string and both conform to the same notes in both calculations of the western art music scale in (b) and (c).

Bewerunge noticed that Henebry's measurements for the western art music scale were sometimes incorrect. Due to the relatively large discrepancy between Henebry's A and the 'correct' A in column (c), Bewerunge suggests that Henebry may have made a mistake in his calculations here. Bewerunge also remarks on how close Henebry's 'Irish' F# is to the 'theoretical' measurements of 'modern' F#, but it seems that Henebry's own measurements of 'modern' F# are incorrect. Bewerunge also measured the 'Irish' F# on the first string and compared it to the 'theoretical measurements' for 'modern' F#. He found that Henebry's measurements of 11.755'' differed only slightly from the 'theoretical measurements' for F#, 11.707''. Henebry's measurements, on the first string, for the 'Irish' F natural, 12.04'' also differed very little from the 'theoretical measurements' for 'modern' F natural, 12.07''. Bewerunge however did acknowledge the difference between the 'Irish' C in Henebry's measurements and the 'theoretical measurements' of 'modern' C.

	(a) Henebry's Measurements (in inches) of the Irish Scale	(b) Henebry's Measurements (in inches) of the western art music diatonic scale	(c) Bewerunge's Measurements (in inches) of the western art music diatonic scale
G	12.875	12.875	12.875
A	11.6	11.6	11.444
B	10.175	10.175	10.3
C	9.375	9.675	9.65
D	12.875	12.875	12.875
E	11.6	11.6	11.5875
F#	10.35	10.175	10.3
g	9.675	9.675	9.65

Figure 3.7: The measurements of Henebry's 'Irish' scale compared to Bewerunge's measurements of the western art music diatonic scale

Bewerunge concluded his review by saying that Henebry's 'Irish' scale was not altogether different from the modern 'just intonation' scale. It is unclear what Bewerunge means by 'just intonation' here. He has already stated that his (Bewerunge's) measurements in column (c) are the 'theoretical measurements' of the modern scale and not those of 'just intonation', however, his measurements are not those of an equal tempered scale either. It has already been shown that Henebry's depiction of the intervals in the 'modern' scale differed considerably from those in equal temperament (see Figure 3.4). It appears therefore that neither Henebry nor Bewerunge were comparing the 'Irish' scale to the piano's equal tempered scale, but rather a pre-tempered scale which uses the whole-tone interval ratios of 9/8 and 10/9. As previously mentioned these ratios form part of the pre-equal tempered scale and is referred to as a 'just intonation' scale. It is possible that Henebry confused the just intonation scale with the western art music diatonic scale and perhaps this explains the inaccuracies in his (Henebry's) depiction of the diatonic scale in Figure 3.7. As Bewerunge, therefore, did not consider Henebry's findings to have differed significantly from Bewerunge's measurements of a non-tempered scale, it might therefore explain Bewerunge's use of the term, 'just intonation', in his review.

3.3.2 The Modes connected to Henebry's First Scale

Henebry's stated aim in *Irish Music* is to give a practical description of Irish music which can be referenced by collectors and musicians alike:

> My present purpose…is to present a practical conspectus of the scale and modal peculiarities of our music for the instruction of our collectors and musicians.
> (Henebry 1903, p. 19)

With this in mind Henebry has presented a detailed description of what he perceives to be modes in Irish music:

> By a mode I mean the scale constructed by counting from any note other than the lowest, *i.e.*, the Doh. of the scale. For example, when some tunes end on one note of the scale and others on another without causing tranferrance[*sic*] of fiddle fingering or re-tuning of the harp, one set of tunes are on the tonic and the other on a mode.
>
> (Henebry 1903, p. 12)

Many tunes in the Irish repertoire end in D, G, or A, with each note often acting as a tonic note without a change of key signature. This was recognised by Henebry to be a modal quality of Irish music:

> This quality of the freedom of the tonic shows that the scale differs fundamentally from the modern.
>
> (Henebry 1903, p. 18)

Having observed the three endings, and tonal centres, of D, G, and A, Henebry concluded that there are three modal scales associated with the first 'Irish scale' in D. These are D E ***F#*** G A B ***C*** *D',* and G A B ***C*** D' E' ***F'#*** *G',* and A B ***C*** D' E' ***F'#*** G' A'.[31] These might be referred to as 'Irish Ionian', 'Irish Lydian', and 'Irish Mixolydian' modes, and are illustrated in Figure 3.8.

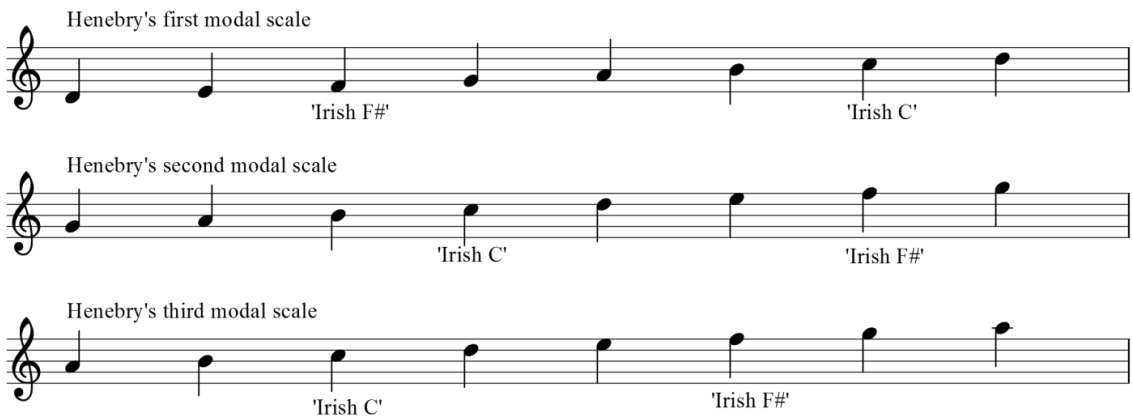


Figure 3.8: Henebry's three modal scales associated with the 'Irish' scale of D

Due to the aforementioned intervallic differences described by Henebry in the 'Irish scale', the intervals in the modes also differ, and do not conform exactly with modes constructed using notes from the major scale. These different or 'disturbed notes', as

[31] The italicised and bold letters represent the aforementioned 'disturbed notes' in Henebry's Irish scale.

Henebry terms them, are labelled clearly in Figure 3.7. Of these three modes Henebry states that the A mode is the rarest and the D and G modes are the most common. It was also noted by Henebry that the modes are each separated from each other by the interval of a fifth. He seems to place a certain importance on this interval of a fifth and debates whether or not the tuning of a violin has some bearing on the construction of the scales in Irish music:

> The fifth appears to be the dominating interval in all Irish music, as may be seen by the number of notes in the diagram [violin fingerboard] that occupy corresponding places on adjacent strings. The matter should be thoroughly examined to discover what part the fifth plays in filling in the octave interval of Irish scales.
>
> (Henebry 1903, p. 18)

Although Henebry based his theory on Irish modes which ended with G, D, and A, he also notes that, in general, the accepted endings in Irish music are D, E, G, A, and B. He explains this by referring to 'fiddler's keys'. While Henebry acknowledges the importance of the song in Irish music he also recognised that much collected music was recorded from fiddlers. He states that the fiddle was the most common source instrument for much of the collected material, and its ability to transpose tunes up a fifth is, explains Henebry, the reason for the above mentioned five accepted endings. He claims that it is relatively easy to transpose a tune from the lower strings to higher strings providing the range of the tune does not exceed the range of first position on the violin:

> In this way the fingering of the fourth string would be transferred to the third, that of the third to the second and so on.
>
> (Henebry 1903, p. 19)

Exact transposition of the aforementioned 'Irish modes' resulted in tunes which ended on the five accepted endings, thus tunes which previously ended on A on the fourth string end on E on the third string. Henebry states that as B is a fifth above E it can also therefore be related to the A mode. Tunes ending on D on the second string are often

transposed versions of tunes which would previously have ended on the G on the third string. The ‘fiddler’s keys’ therefore are transpositions of the modes by the interval of a fifth. Henebry’s advice to performers with regard to determining whether a tune was in a mode or ‘key’ was to ‘play the tune as written if it ends in a permitted final, if not play it in one’ (Henebry 1903, p. 20). This is perhaps a reference to many tunes which were written in keys unfamiliar to an Irish folk musician and presumably Henebry is proposing that such tunes should be transposed into one of the above mentioned modes or keys.

3.3.3 Henebry’s Second ‘Irish Scale’

Apart from the previously mentioned ‘Irish scale’ beginning with D, Henebry also identified another which begins and ends on G: G A ***Bb C*** D’ E’ ***F’*** G’ (see Figure 3.9). As already described in the first scale, the **C** and **F** have been altered. This second scale however has a third ‘disturbed’ note, **Bb.** Henebry states that because **Bb**, on the second string, is a fifth below the ‘Irish’ **F** on the first string of the fiddle, and because this ‘Irish’ **F** is slightly sharper than F natural in the standard diatonic scale, therefore the ‘Irish’ **Bb** should also be slightly sharper than its counterpart in the standard diatonic scale.

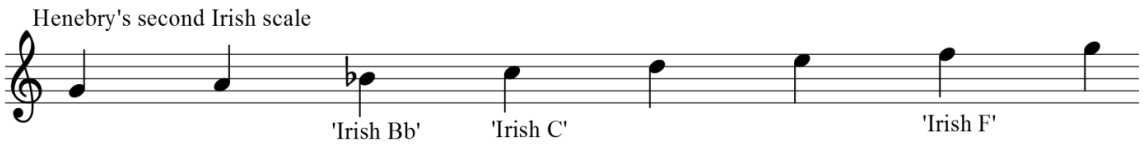


Figure 3.9: Henebry’s second Irish scale

He further states that tunes constructed using this scale have a plaintive quality. According to Henebry this scale was used primarily for slow song airs, but it was also used for dance tunes (Henebry 1903).

> Here the airs are of a piercing clang that is ineffable. They reveal a closeness of suggestion and an almost awful directness of appeal, with a complaining reproachful calling to mind of something we never knew or remembered.
>
> (Henebry 1903, p. 21)

Four melodies are included in *Irish Music* to illustrate the use of this scale in Figure 3.9 (see Appendix A). Henebry's versions, written using the 'second Irish scale', sound noticeably different to modern renditions of the same airs. The slow air, 'Atáim-se im Chodladh is ná dúisigh mé' (see Appendix A), was collected by Henebry from the singing of his mother, Ellen Cashin, and is perhaps a Waterford variation of the familiar air. The jig 'Strop the Razor', however, was taken from an unnamed printed source, and it bears a similarity to both versions of this tune in Francis O'Neill's *The Dance Music of Ireland* (1907). O'Neill's versions however are written in G major with, apart from a C# passing note in his second version, no extra accidentals.

While Henebry attributes his version of 'Strop the Razor' to an unnamed printed source, he also admits to having added accidentals. It is also possible however that Henebry may have taken this tune from P.W. Joyce's *Ancient Irish Music* (1873) and adapted it, as Joyce's version also contains added accidentals similar to those employed by Henebry. In Figures 3.10, 3.11, and 3.12 respectively the Henebry, Joyce, and O'Neill, versions of 'Strop the Razor' are given.

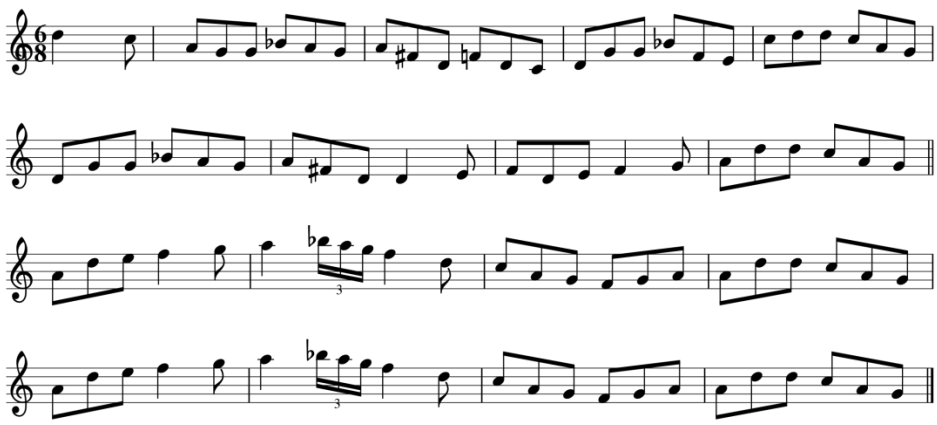


Figure 3.10: ‘Strop the Razor’ from *Irish Music* (1903)

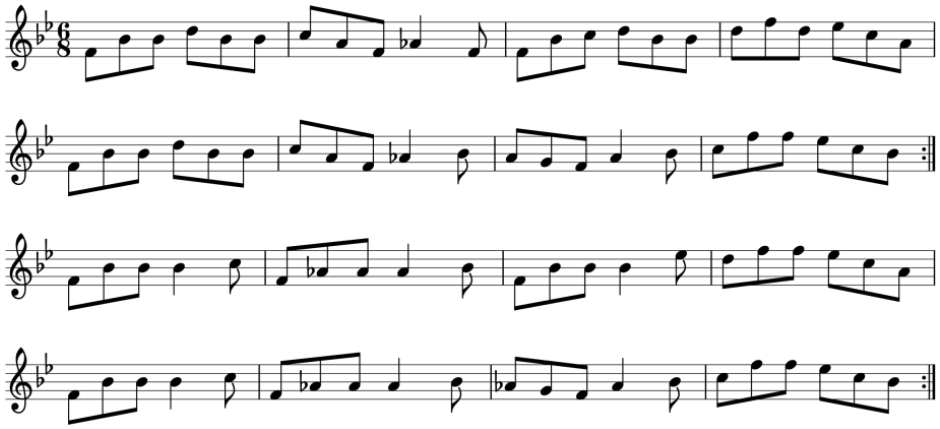


Figure 3.11: ‘Strop the Razor’ from P.W. Joyce’s *Ancient Irish Music* (1873)

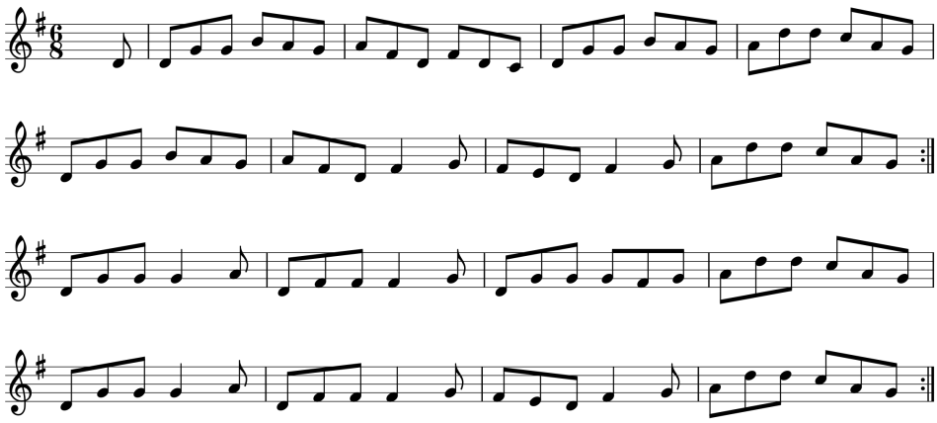


Figure 3.12: Strop the Razor from O’Neill’s *The Dance Music of Ireland* (1907)

Although Joyce occasionally flattens the seventh similar to Henebry there is no indication in Joyce's version of a flattened third. This flattened third is the 'Irish Bb' claimed by Henebry. O'Neill's version is strictly in G major with no indication whatsoever of a peculiar 'Irish scale'. It is possible that while Henebry learned this tune from a printed source he played it in a traditional style native to county Waterford, this might therefore, explain the intervallic differences mentioned.

By adding the 'Irish' **B** on the second string (which has the same finger position as the 'Irish' **F#** on the first string), the 'Irish' **F#,** and the 'Irish' **C#**, Henebry constructs what he refers to as another 'chromatic scale': G A ***Bb B C C#*** D' E' ***F' F'#*** G' (see Figure 3.13).

Western Art Music Diatonic Scale	**Henebry's 'Chromatic Scale' In G**
G	G
F#	
	F#
	F
E	E
D	D
	C#
	C
C	
B	
	B
	Bb
A	A
G	G

Figure 3.13: Henebry's second 'chromatic scale' compared with the diatonic scale

Figure 3.13 compares Henebry's 'chromatic scale' in 'G' with a standard diatonic scale beginning on 'G'. Henebry maintained that because the earlier collectors, particularly Edward Bunting and George Petrie, did not understand this plaintive 'Irish' scale they confused the presence of **Bb** and **F** with flat keys and wrongly wrote Irish music 'in flat signatures' (Henebry 1903, p. 21). He concludes his description of the second 'Irish' scale by lamenting the earlier collectors' inability to recognise its peculiarities:

> I do not blame poor Petrie, who did the best he could at great expense, and toil, and trouble, not only for music, but for other departments of Irish tradition. But is it not time for us to be getting on? Petrie or Bunting inaugurated the slipshod method of collecting and reporting Irish music which seems to paralyse every effort down to our own day.
>
> (Henebry 1903, p. 22)

In his book *Sources of Irish Traditional Music* (1998), Aloys Fleischmann seems to corroborate Henebry's theory regarding the use of Bb. Fleischmann states that accidentals are sometimes added to modal folk tunes. He makes a particular reference to the appearance of Bb and how if added to a G mode it may appear like a flattened key:

> When the note B in a tune in the G mode changes to Bb, this becomes a reference to the D mode in the key of F, with the G still as final.
>
> (Fleischmann 1998, p. xxxvi)

Henebry does not associate any modes with his second scale. He summarises his description of the second scale by comparing both of the 'G' scales (the modal scale of 'G' and the second scale of 'G' which contains the 'Irish' **Bb**) and concludes that the 'Irish' **C#** is seldom used in any of the G scales and the 'Irish' **F** # only occurs in the first G scale and rarely in the second G scale. As already mentioned Henebry has combined the two 'Irish G scales' to get a second 'chromatic scale' based on G (see Figure 3.13). It appears that Henebry's definition of 'chromatic scales' is, a diatonic scale with alternative 'Irish' fourths, and sevenths in the first 'chromatic scale', and

alternative thirds, fourths, and sevenths, in the second ‘chromatic scale’, and must not be confused with a standard chromatic scale.

In his book *Folk Music and Dances of Ireland* (1971) Breandán Breathnach discusses the modes in Irish music. Breathnach, however, catalogues the occurrences of the modes into two categories, modes which use the key signature of one ‘#’ and those which use the key signature of two ‘#’s. By using this method Breathnach avoided Henebry’s theory of the ‘fiddler’s keys’ and recognised that the tunes ending in E and B belong to different modes not ‘fiddler’s keys’, (see Figure 3.14).

Tunes with # ending on	**Mode or scale**	**Tunes with ## ending on**
G	Doh	D
A	Ray	E
D	Soh	A
E	Lah	B

Figure 3.14: List of modes in Irish music from *Folk Music and Dances of Ireland* (1971), p. 12

Like Henebry, Breathnach recognised the variable qualities of the ‘Irish **F**’ and the ‘Irish **C**’. In Figure 3.14 the occurrence of D, A, and E in both groups is largely influenced by the presence of C#; without C#, for example, a mode with an E final is the Lah mode in the ‘G series’ and with the C# is the Ray mode in the ‘D series’. Breathnach does not mention an ‘Irish’ **B** or **Bb** but does describe the use of the ‘Irish **F**’ and states that it occurs as an ornamental note in the ‘G series’ (one #):

> [The Irish F] is one of the highly colourful notes of Irish music, and is made by sliding upwards, with a certain amount of vibrato, from E to F sharp. It is a note, therefore, of no fixed pitch but rather a long glide with a centre somewhat sharper than the F natural of art music.
>
> (Breathnach 1977, p. 13)

According to Tomás Ó Canainn in his book *Traditional Music in Ireland* (1978), inflection, when a note occurs in both a flattened and sharpened state in a tune, is relatively common in Irish music. He calculates that as much as 15% of Irish tunes are inflected. It is often the seventh note in the scale which is inflected and depending on the key or mode this is usually F or C, although the 3rd and 4th notes of a scale may also be inflected. If the note to be inflected ascends by step it is usually sharpened but if it is the highest note in a phrase it is often flattened (Ó Canainn 1978, pp. 33-34). While Henebry did not use the word 'inflection' in his works it is clear from his observations that he was aware of its occurrence in Irish music.

Because of the differences highlighted by Henebry in the 'Irish' scales and modes, he contends that harmony in the western art music sense is impossible. In the preface to the book *Popular Selections from O'Neill's Dance Music of Ireland* (1910), Francis O'Neill also speaks of the difficulty of harmonising Irish music. O'Neill however seems to differ with Henebry regarding the reason for this difficulty, he (O'Neill) states that 'modern' musicians have harmonised 'Irish airs acceptably' but could not harmonise Irish dance music because they did not understand its rhythm:

> The harmonisation of traditional Irish music, easy as it may appear, is not unattended with difficulties; and while most modern musicians render Irish airs acceptably, few of them have a true conception of the peculiar rhythm or swing of Irish dance music, without which it loses its charm and spirit. For those reasons we can understand why their best efforts at arrangement though technically correct according to musical ethics, leaves much to be desired.
>
> (O'Neill,1910, p. I)

Henebry addresses the question of rhythm in his second book, *A Handbook of Irish Music*, where he also regards the rhythm of Irish music as unique, but seems to be more concerned about the free rhythm of song airs rather than the strict rhythm of dance music (Henebry 1928). Having consulted Fr Jung of New York, a trained musician in the western art music tradition, Henebry concluded that the Irish 'harmonised not the note but the musical phrase as a whole' (Henebry 1903, p. 23). It is possible that Henebry is referring here to a 'linear harmony' similar to that used in early medieval organum and not the 'vertical' or chordal harmony of western art music. Henebry quotes from twelfth-century historian Giraldus Cambrensis' account of Irish music and implies here that Cambrensis referred to this 'linear harmony' when he mentioned Irish music:

> The melody is rendered consonant and complete through the use of such sweet rapidity, such uneven evenness and such discordant concord.
>
> (Cambrensis cited in Henebry 1903, p. 14)

Henebry concludes therefore that, because of this question of harmony, choral singing of Irish songs should be avoided. In the preface to his book *Old Irish Folk Music and Songs*, P.W. Joyce also suggests that the Irish played a simple harmony, and mentions old words in Gaelic such as *cómseinm*, which means play together, to support his findings. Joyce supports his ideas regarding harmony in old Irish music by also referring to Giraldus Cambrensis' account of Irish music in the 12th century:

> In some of the above examples…the 'singing or playing together' might mean merely in unison or in octaves, but coupling all the Irish expressions with that of Cambrensis, we must conclude that the Irish harpers and singers used harmony though no doubt it was of a very simple kind.
>
> (Joyce 1909, pp. xviii-xix)

3.3.4 Henebry's Graphic Depiction of Keys and Modes

Henebry continually refers to the diatonic scale used in western art music as the 'vulgar system' (Henebry 1903, p. 26). He maintains that the use of key signatures in the 'vulgar system' is restrictive and does not allow for the various nuances in the 'Irish' scales and modes. He therefore proposes an alternative graphic representation to symbolise the keys and modes in Irish music (see Figure 3.15).

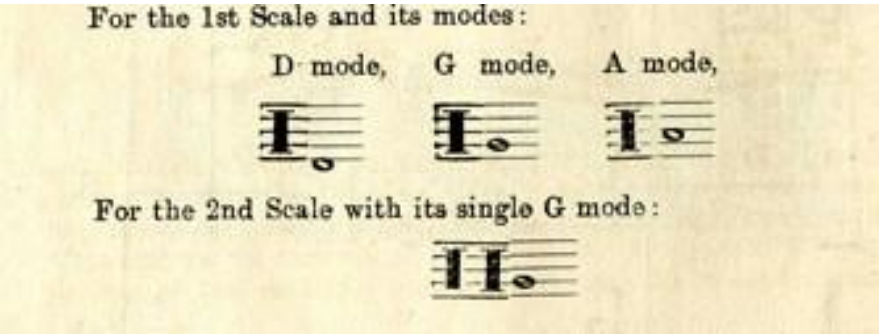


Figure 3.15: Henebry's graphic depiction of modes and scales

The treble clef is abandoned and replaced with the Roman numeral **I**, for the first scale (previously mentioned in section 3.6) and the Roman numeral **II**, is used for the second scale (see Figure 3.15). The 'mode' of the tune is depicted by a circular note-head in the appropriate place on the stave: D, G, or A. The aforementioned 'fiddler's key' is represented by a solid note-head in the required position − D, E, G, A or B − and is then connected to the circular note-head, mode, by a line. This gives a visual indication of the 'mode' having been transposed up to the 'fiddler's key' (see Figure 3.16).

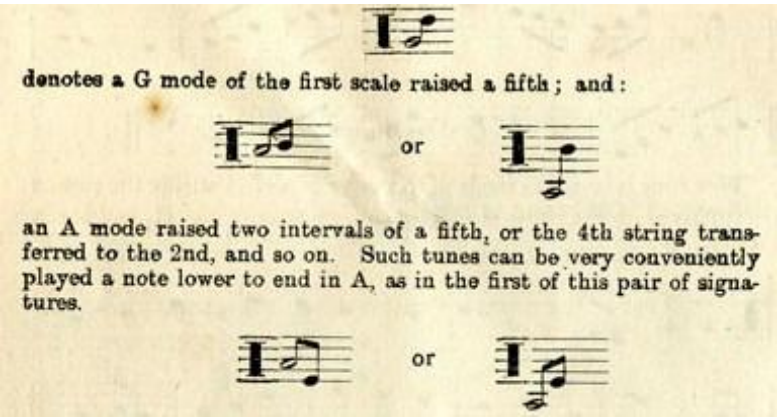


Figure 3.16: Henebry's graphic depiction of the 'Fiddler's keys' from *Irish Music* (1903)

It is possible that Henebry was adapting a system of notation from the plainchant tradition. Modal music was always used by the Catholic Church for its plainchant music and certain conventions were adopted in its notation, as a Catholic Priest, Henebry must have been familiar with plainchant and its use in the Catholic services. A mode in Church music was indicated by the last note in the melody which was referred to as the 'final'. The reciting voice, or tenor, chanted the verse or prayer text a fifth above the final in the authentic modes,[32] and a third above the final in the plagal modes. Therefore in order to distinguish each Church mode, they were referred to by the final note and 'tenor' note (Grout and Palisca 2001, p. 52).[33] In his 'modal signature' (as opposed to key signature) Henebry first depicted the mode which was then connected to a 'key' which was one or two fifths higher. It is possible therefore that Henebry adapted the Church's method of representing the Authentic Mode used for plainchant. It would also

[32] The medieval modal system consisted of 8 modes. Each of these modes was constructed on the diatonic octave using the last note of the chant (final) as the tonic note. The church modes were numbered and grouped in pairs; the odd numbered modes were the authentic modes and the even numbered modes were the Plagal modes. The Plagal mode always had the same final as its corresponding authentic mode. (Grout, Palisca, 2001) The Oxford Dictionary of Music states that 'In the 5th century 4 modes were adopted (authentic modes)…In the authentic modes, the 5th note was much used as a reciting-note in plainsong'. (Kennedy 1996, p. 483)

[33] In the authentic modes the tonic is the first note in the modal scale and the reciting or 'tenor' note is the fifth above the tonic. In the Plagal modes the tonic is the fourth note above the first note of the modal scale and the reciting note, or 'tenor' is the sixth note above the first note (Grout, Palisca, 2001, p. 53)

appear however, that he found his graphic method (see Figures 3.15 and 3.16) unsatisfactory as he abandoned it in his second book, *A Handbook of Irish Music,* and reverted to the standard key signature of G major for most of his transcriptions and analyses.

3.3.5 Henebry's Interest in the Irish Harp and Other Instruments

In *Irish Music,* Henebry dismissed the modern orchestral harp as being merely a 'piano set on end' (Henebry 1903, p. 25), and therefore unsuitable for Irish music. He maintained that a reconstruction of the Irish harp, based on the 'Brian Ború' harp in Trinity College Dublin, should be tuned to 'one or both of the Irish scales' (Henebry 1903, p. 25), this harp should be fitted with metallic strings and plucked with the fingernails:

> The Irish harp must be tuned to one or both of the Irish scales…Any handy-man should be able to make a copy…And the harp strings must be of brass and struck or pinched with the finger nails. It should be easy to make up a set of harp strings from the metallic harp, banjo and fiddle strings now available.
>
> (Henebry 1903, p. 25)

It is suggested by Henebry that the 'disturbed notes' of his 'Irish scales' (Irish F, Irish C, and Irish Bb) could be re-tuned on the harp when necessary, in this way both of his proposed scales, and associated modes and 'fiddlers keys', could be played. He supports his theory of re-tuning the harp by mentioning that Bunting also refers to re-tuning the harp:

> Bunting mentions somewhere that the harpers did actually re-tune their harps for certain tunes though I do not remember the particulars. Unfortunately I have not his book, nor any other for that matter, by me except the O'Neill collection.
>
> (Henebry 1903, p. 25)

Bunting does indeed mention the need of the early harpers to re-tune their instruments in order to play F# in the bass register, he also states that the harpers played in two diatonic keys of C and G, and in 'ancient diatonic minor keys':

> The Irish harp had no string for F sharp, between E and G in the bass, probably because it had no concord in their scale for that tone, either major or minor; but this E in the bass, called *Teadlecthae*, or *fallen* string, in the natural key termed *Leath Glass*, being played to F natural, a semitone higher when the melody required, and the sharp F's, through the instrument being previously lowered a semitone, the key was then called *Teadleaguidhe*, the *falling* string, or high bass key…It will be observed by the musical critic, that only two major keys, viz., G one sharp, and C natural, were perfect in their diatonic intervals on the Irish harp; but the harpers also made use of two ancient diatonic minor keys (neither of them perfect according to the modern scale) viz., E one sharp, and A natural. They sometimes made use of D natural minor, which was still more imperfect, though some of their airs were performed in that key, and were thought extremely agreeable by many persons. The harpers said that this single note C sharp, was sometimes made use of, but the Editor [Bunting] seldom met with an instance of it.
>
> (Bunting 1840, p. 23)

Although Henebry is correct in stating that Irish harpers used unusual tunings and scales, he conveniently ignores Bunting's assertion that they, the harpers, also played two diatonic keys, G and C which were 'perfect in their diatonic intervals'. It may be that this oversight was unintentional; it might also however have been intentional as Bunting's observation did not 'fit' Henebry's theory of tonality in Irish music. It is also worth noting that if the harpers had a C# then they must also have been able to play in a 'D' diatonic scale.

Henebry states that the flute cannot play the above mentioned 'Irish' scales and therefore is not suitable for Irish music. He suggests that a four keyed flute could be adjusted so that the previously mentioned 'disturbed' notes could be played effectively:

> None of the flute tribe, as at present holed, can return Irish music. But it should be very easy to hole a flute correctly for the purpose. A four-keyed flute could be holed to give the scale D, E, **F#** [Irish F#] G, A, B, **C** [Irish C], d, which is that used for the great body of Irish music; and three keys could be made to sound **F** [Irish F], **Bb** [Irish Bb], and **C#** [Irish C#] respectively. The fourth key could be used as in the one-keyed fife.
>
> (Henebry 1903, p. 29)

This specific reference to a four-keyed flute is rather interesting as very little is known of the structure of the flute in Irish music prior to Captain Francis O'Neill's reference to it in his book *Irish Minstrels and Musicians* (1913). According to S.C. Hamilton in his

book *The Irish Flute Player's Handbook* (1990), four keys were added to the flute in approximately 1770:

> At first only the G#, and the Bb and the short F were used, and these in conjunction with the already existing Eb, gave a four keyed flute.
>
> (Hamilton 1990, p. 8)

It would appear that Henebry was familiar with a flute similar to that described by Hamilton. Apart from the G# key mentioned by Hamilton, Henebry suggests that the 'F' and the 'Bb' keys could be re-tuned to his 'Irish' notes and an extra 'Irish C#' could be added. On a 'one-keyed fife' the single key at the end of the flute sounds D# (or its enharmonic equivalent Eb) but is primarily opened to achieve the second and third octave notes (Boyd 2011). This is the same as the Eb key, mentioned by Hamilton, and again it is presumed that Henebry wished the Eb key to be retained to reach upper octave notes as is the function of the single key on the 'one- keyed fife'. It would appear, however, that despite his apparent familiarity with the four-keyed flute, Henebry was not overly familiar with the flute-players technique of cross fingering or half-covering of holes to get extra sharp or flat accidentals. Henebry does suggest, however, that alternative fingering is necessary on the fife and tin whistle to achieve the correct intonation for Irish music (Henebry 1903). Henebry's term, 'one-keyed fife', is incorrect, the instrument to which he refers is what is now called the Bb marching flute and while it may share its ancestry with the straight bored fife, is in fact a small conically bored flute (Boyd 2011). Hamilton suggests that the lack of documentation regarding the use of the flute in Irish music may suggest that it was not regarded highly by Irish musicians (Hamilton 1990) and this seems to be corroborated by Henebry's dismissal of the instrument.

The piano is dismissed outright by Henebry, although he does suggest that it might be possible to re-tune it to the 'Irish' scales. He also mentions the uilleann pipes in his book, *Irish Music*, and comments on their suitability, for the 'correct' performance of Irish music. As already shown, Henebry levels great praise on the fiddle, he also praises the uilleann pipe and states that it is eminently suitable for Irish music. In Chapter 2 (see p. 112) it was concluded that Henebry wrongly ascribed a lineage to the uilleann pipe which stretches back to antiquity. He also asserts that every note of his 'Irish' scales can be played on the pipe chanter by 'a competent performer' (Henebry 1903, p. 28). Despite this caveat, however, Henebry acknowledges that due to the chanter's limited range it cannot play all the aforementioned 'fiddler's keys'. He states that the addition of 'key stops', or keys, on the chanter does allow the performer to play in the necessary modes and some of the 'fiddler's keys' (Henebry 1903, p. 28).

In an attempt to prove his theory that the chanter of the 'Irish bagpipes (uilleann pipes) must sound the Irish scale' (Henebry 1903, p. 11), Henebry recounts a story in *Irish Music,* of how in 1899, while in Washington DC, he tried to connect an uilleann pipe chanter to a siren machine to achieve a constant sound from the chanter by which he could measure the intervals of its scale and prove his theory. Although he does not state what exactly a siren was, it is presumed that he was referring to a machine which, when hand cranked, or turned, produced a flow of air through a device which resulted in a loud sound designed to warn people of impending emergencies. It was his intention to disable the loud sound creating device and connect the chanter by tube to the constant flow of air. He could not find a tube of suitable diameter however and therefore had to

abandon the experiment. His increasing health problems were also a contributing factor in his abandonment of the experiment:

> Failing health then forced me to abandon the study of Irish music, and for a whole year I neglected to consider the matter at all.
>
> (Henebry 1903, p. 11)

In a lecture titled 'A Gamut for Irish Melody', given in 1946 at the Royal Irish Academy, Waterford-man, fiddler and scientist, Francis O'Carroll outlines how he and his brother Richard, conducted an experiment, in the early twentieth century, to prove or disprove Henebry's theory regarding the scale of the uilleann pipe chanter. The O'Carrolls succeeded where Henebry failed and connected a chanter to a device which provided a constant flow of air, thus allowing ease of measurement of the chanter's intervals. O'Carroll states that no chanter had a standard scale and it was necessary to retune a chanter 'with a file and sealing wax' (O'Carroll and Hackett, 1948, p. 28) so that it could return the scale used by Irish singers. Their conclusion was that when retuned, the chanter gave a natural scale but based on the intervallic pattern of just intonation. This conforms to the previously mentioned observations made by Bewerunge regarding Henebry's scale and just intonation. Although O'Carroll established that Irish singers sang using a natural scale but with the intervals of just intonation, he disproved Henebry's contention that a unique 'Irish' scale could be reproduced on the uilleann pipe chanter.

It would appear that Henebry's principle objective in his *Irish Music* was to establish a definite identifiable Irish scale, however in the aforementioned lecture 'A Gamut for Irish Melody', Francis O'Carroll states that Henebry later abandoned this concept of a

definite scale, and in his next book, *A Handbook of Irish Music,* Henebry examines Irish music in minute detail to ascertain exactly the structure and form of the music.

3.4 A Handbook of Irish Music

This is Henebry's final and most comprehensive analysis of Irish music which was published posthumously in 1928. The book consists of five chapters and investigates in analytical detail the structure of Irish music. In Chapter 1 Henebry proposes an alternative origin for music, and suggests that 'natural' music such as the lowing of cattle or the singing of birds may have been the inspiration for early attempts at music making. In the second chapter Henebry compares the tonality of what he terms 'modern' music and the 'tonal scheme of Irish and Human music' (Henebry 1928, p. 64). Henebry also outlines his unique methods of notating Irish music in Chapter 2, and explains his reluctance in using the conventional notation of western art music. Chapter 3 of *A Handbook of Irish Music* is titled 'Of the Coarser Analysis of Irish Music', and in this Chapter Henebry investigates the occurrence of modes in Irish music. He also noted that the occurrence of gaps indicated an 'ancient' origin in Irish music (Henebry 1928, p. 72), and also contributes to the accented or 'stress' pattern of the music. In order to examine this further he introduces a linear analytical scheme in Chapter 3 in which he counts the accented notes in a tune together with the occurrences of gaps. Chapter 4 of *A Handbook of Irish Music* is titled 'Structural Analysis'. In this Chapter Henebry introduces his second analytical scheme, a 'surface record'. In this second analytical scheme Henebry plotted the occurrence of stressed phrases in the music using both a horizontal and perpendicular graphic representation of the accented, unaccented, and absent notes in each bar of a tune. Henebry also introduces another analytical scheme,

‘blending of registers’, in which he categorises groupings of notes into ‘stress registers’ and plots the occurrences of these ‘stress registers’ in chart form. In Chapter 5, ‘Of the Finer Analysis of Irish Music or Tonometric Examination’, Henebry introduces his fourth and final analytical scheme, which involves a scientific measurement of the vibration rates of each note of a tune on certain phonograph recordings. Henebry used this method to prove that Irish music followed neither a standard intervallic or standard tonal pattern.

3.4.1 Early Musical Origins

A considerable amount of Henebry’s ‘introductory’ chapter is given to the comparison between human music and music from the animal kingdom. Henebry, indeed, looked to the animal world to find the origin of music. His reason for this unusual concept of the origin of music seems to stem from his disagreement with Dr Von Stumpf of the Berlin University. In a lecture delivered at the Berlin University on 24 November 1909, Von Stumpf stated that western art music, and its scales specifically, evolved from the early singing and instrumental playing of our ancestors (Henebry 1928). Dr Von Stumpf maintained that with differing natural horns early man discovered the interval of the fifth and the fourth, and eventually with rudimentary choral singing developed the diatonic scale. It was the contention of Von Stumpf that the modern diatonic scale was the correct scale and everything previous to it was merely an evolutionary step towards this correct scale.

In his description of music Henebry refutes Von Stumpf’s contention that the intervals of a scale were obtained from the static notes and intervals produced on primitive

instruments. Henebry notes the necessity of ‘subjectives’, or the expression of feelings and emotions in music, this expressive quality of music allows the singer to vary interval and pitch, creating a diverse pattern of scales and intervals.[34] This early music is referred to by Henebry as ‘human’ music. Henebry noted these ‘subjectives’ in the wailing of dogs, the braying of donkeys, the neighing of horses, and bird song. He states that all of these animals begin their ‘song’ in the upper register and descend then to the lower register, producing a melancholy sound. Henebry has suggested that this same downward pattern exists in Irish music and he gives the reel ‘Winter Apples’ as an example (see Figure 3.17).

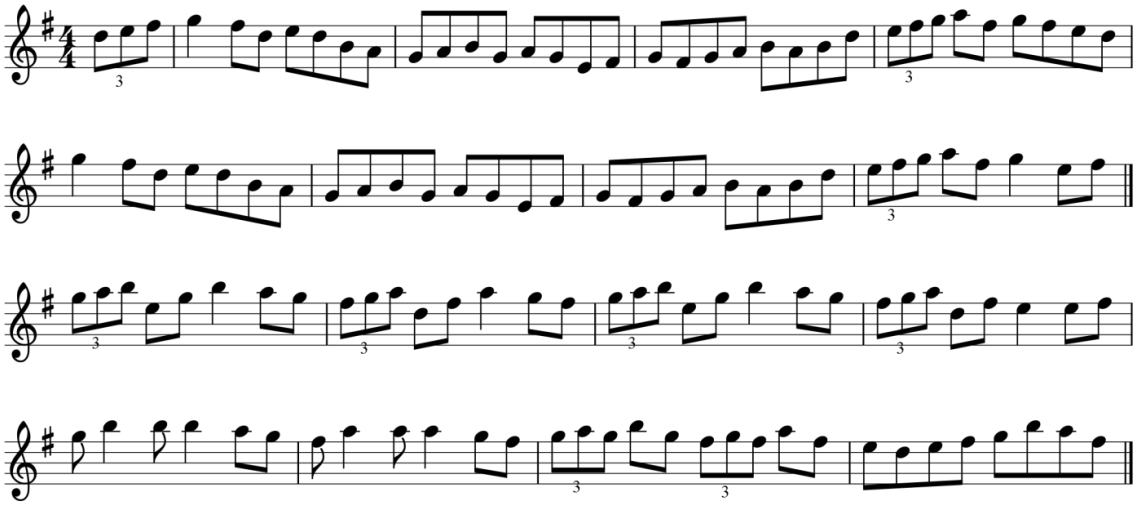


Figure 3.17: ‘Winter Apples’ from O’Neill’s *The Dance Music of Ireland* (1907)

He also states that this melancholy pattern can be heard in many slow airs, and especially in laments:

> This pleasing pain of sadness is also a characteristic of human music, as is markedly exemplified in the singers of wailing and lamentable themes.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 6)

[34] This characteristic of Irish music was also noted by music collector Lucy Broadwood who in 1907, visited Co. Waterford and collected songs from a Michael Geary and his daughter Bridget. Broadwood said of Michael Geary that ‘nothing but a series of phonographic-records could satisfactorily reproduce any song as given by Michael Geary, for he varies his intervals, graces, and rhythm endlessly’. (Broadwood 1907, p. 4)

An example of the descending melancholy structure in Irish laments can be seen in the lament ‘A Mhná na Súile Bog’ (see Figure 3.18) collected by Liam De Noraidh in 1940, from county Waterford singer, Labhrás Ó Cadhla.

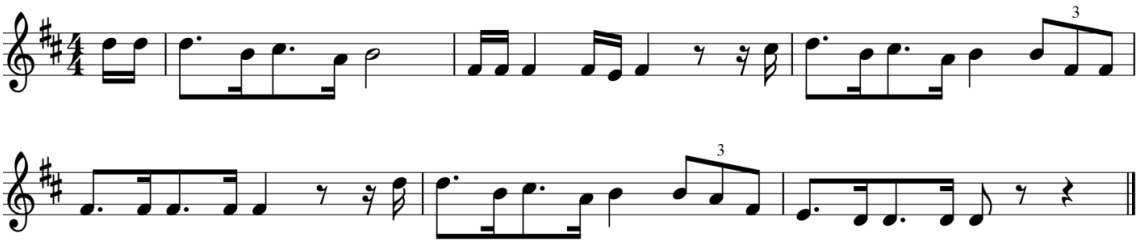


Figure 3.18: ‘Mná na Súile Bog’ from *Ceol ón Mumhain* (1965)

Bird song further intrigued Henebry, and after having listened closely to the crowing of a cockerel he realised that not only was the bird repeating a recognisable phrase but it also stressed alternate notes in the phrase. Having already admitted that he was not trained in music theory it would appear that Henebry, a linguist, often ascribed linguistic expressions to describe events in music. Two such examples used by Henebry are the words proclitic and enclitic, which describe the positioning of weak notes in a musical phrase. The term proclitic is used to highlight the weak note before the strong accented beat, and the word enclitic describes the weak note which comes after the strong note:

> Music proceeds by beat and repercussion, that is to say, such is regularly the order of strong and weak notes. Occasionally the weak note precedes the strong, and is proclitically referred to it. But the weak note is usually in the enclitic place.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 9)

In ‘human’ music the alternating strong-weak beat is regular in simple-time tunes, but in compound-time tunes the strong beat is followed by two weak repercussions (Henebry 1928). Despite having recognised the phrase repetition of the cockerel, Henebry states that the overall use of rhythm in the animal kingdom was erratic. He further suggests

that the use of an organised regular rhythm in human music is what differentiates it from the 'music' of animals. Henebry states that because birds also accent certain notes, it proves a connection between human and bird music, and therefore stress or accent is a 'primeval constituent and constituting principle of music, [and] is possessed by man and birds in common' (Henebry 1928, p. 10).

Henebry next describes two different stages of musical development, the 'human' music of the 'savage' or 'nature' people, the music of the civilised people, or modern music. The music of the 'savage' people is described as being freer in rhythm and structure than the music of the civilised people. The music of the civilised people is an ordered music which contains regular phrasing, and form, and is a development of 'savage' music. Henebry attaches a great significance to 'savage' music and states that it is an evolutionary link in the history of music:

> The music of nature folk, then, having been retarded in development, is of great value as an intermediate link in the chain of argument.
>
> Henebry 1928, p. 11)

It is suggested by Henebry that elements of 'savage' music in Ireland belong to a remote antiquity. He contends that the presence of 'savage' music in Ireland was due to the 'mental constitution of a people in the undisturbed possession of human tradition' (Henebry 1928, p. 11).

In an article titled 'Speech-Melody and Primitive Music' published in *The Musical Quarterly* (October, 1934), George Herzog analyses the music of African and Native American peoples and he seems to concur with Henebry's contention that the music of

primitive, or savage, people was far more diverse than previously thought, especially with regard to form and sources of musical material:

> Acquaintance with the music developed by primitive or exotic peoples may bring home to us both the limitations of our notions about music in general and the limitations of our insight into our own music. The pursuit of such acquaintance is rewarding not only for the variety of musical forms it reveals, but also because it leads us to realize the many possibilities in processes of musical growth, the many possible sources of musical material, the different kinds of possible integration of music with other elements in the aesthetic experience.
>
> (Herzog 1934, p. 466)

Henebry attributes free rhythm to 'savage' music and considers it superior to fixed rhythm, and despite his overall disagreement with him, Henebry agrees with Dr Von Stumpf in this, as Von Stumpf maintained that 'the savages are far our superiors in the art of rhythm' (Henebry 1928, p. 11). Henebry then highlights this superiority of rhythm in the irregular rhythm of many Irish song airs and death laments:

> Irregular rhythm, such as that in a death lament, is always a sure sign of excellence in the melody. I have myself been often enchanted beyond the power of words at the unexpected treasures of tone revealed by free rhythm tunes and at places entirely unknown to the modern scale system.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 12)

Henebry states that by imposing a standard time signature on music the rules of western art music has 'petrified' musical rhythm by abandoning the free rhythm of the 'savage' music (Henebry 1928, p. 12). He then concludes that the petrification of musical rhythm became the foundation of modern music. Henebry also states that the early collectors of Irish music were not aware of the rhythmical differences between 'savage' and western art music:

> Collectors of savage music, and with some exceptions of Irish music also, are persons who have been bred to the piano, whose ears are poisoned by the vulgar style, who are not at home in a system having a highly complex model ground-work, who have been estranged from the natural cadences of human tone-phrasing, who fail utterly to comprehend the intricate diversity and truly astonishing accuracy of the tonal laws of human music, and who completely misunderstand the subjective condition of singers. For actually they do not hear the music, and so cannot be expected to comprehend it.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 12)

The purpose of *A Handbook of Irish Music* therefore was to establish an alternative theory for the origin of music in general and the origin and structure of Irish music in particular. Henebry investigated the significance of language and phrase structure in music and also proffered his own radical theory regarding the 'correct' construction and intervallic patterns in Irish music.

3.4.2 Music and Language

As a language scholar Henebry was able to compare the conventions of language with those of music. As already mentioned he used linguistic terms such as 'enclitic' and 'proclitic' to describe the significance of weak beats in music. He argues that not recognising melody in human speech patterns is a mistake. Henebry maintains this mistake is arrived at when speech is measured against 'artificial' music, presumably he is referring to western art music here, and not the freer form of 'savage' music previously mentioned. He further expands on his theory of the similarity of music and speech by stating that speech from its quietest whisper to its highest cry of excitement, shares the same register with music (Henebry 1928). In his book *The Oxford Companion to Music,* Percy Scholes also highlights the connection between speech and music:

> Probably melody originated in the natural inflections of speech. All speech possesses the two constituents of melody, pitch variation and rhythm.
>
> (Scholes 1984, p. 619)

Henebry also mentions the 'so-called quarter-tones of speech' and suggests that they will become more relevant when the 'catalogue of intervals really used in human melody' are explored further (Henebry 1928, p. 16). This use of the term 'quarter-tone' was also used by Henebry in his 1903 publication, *Irish Music,* to describe an

indeterminate musical interval, smaller than a semi-tone, and it is likely that its use then was also a 'borrowing' from his linguistic background. Henebry also attaches importance to the slide in Irish music, a slide is an ornament used by musicians and singers when they want to move, or slide, from a lower note to the required note. He states that the slide is linked to the 'human melodic system' and its inclusion in musical performance is therefore another proof of the link between speech and music (Henebry 1928, p. 16).

> With regard to slides, although such have no place in the diatonic scale, and are therefore, classed as impurities or imperfections, having no present value, but to bolster up the triumphant theory of development,… still those slided notes, better understood, are fundamentally and ineradicably connected with the human melodic system in its totality, and are undoubtedly its highest ornament. And, therefore, the tone accent of speech must be included with music, even if we have to define that term anew.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 16)

According to Henebry language is inextricably linked with human music. Music in the animal world is not however tied to a complex language, and because of this, Henebry maintains that a comparison of human and animal music shows how human language is 'indebted' to music for tone and stress. Henebry gives an example of how a child of two understood the 'jussive, prohibitive, interrogative' intonations of phrases in Gaelic despite not understanding the language (Henebry 1928). This is given as proof that speech and melody are intertwined. He strengthens his argument further by using the same intonations when addressing a young dog, achieving the same results. Although Henebry states that the connection between melody and speech belong to 'the science of language' (Henebry 1928, p. 17) he concludes that while language 'predicates for the intellect' music is its expressive 'correlative' (Henebry 1928, p. 18). This means that while language expresses an idea, music can be seen as a means of emphasising that

idea hence, language and music are co-related, that is, both share a reciprocal relationship (Marckwardt 1976).

3.4.3 Henebry's reluctant use of modern music notation

Although Henebry did use conventional musical notation to illustrate his analysis of Irish music, he used it reluctantly. In chapter two of his *A Handbook of Irish Music* he outlines and justifies some of the various unconventional notation and analytical methods used by him in the book. He begins the chapter by stating that western art music uses the scale as a 'rigid yard-stick' that divides music at pre-ordained fixed intervals. These fixed intervals are dictated by harmonic rules and western art music is only 'unfettered within the limits of the chords composing each phrase' (Henebry 1928, p. 64). It was this harmonic constriction to which Henebry objected and which he claimed could not be applied to Irish music:

> For a melodic phrase is but the extension of a chord, or the chord is melody folded up in the likeness of a carpenter's rule.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 64)

Henebry used a different analogy, however, when describing the structure of Irish music. He compared the configuration of Irish music, particularly Irish song, to a 'bundle of rods' of differing lengths. To Henebry, each rod represented a phrase or a motif and the irregular lengths of each rod represented the irregular phrasing and motifs in Irish music. These rods, in turn, comprised of different irregular intervals, each interval contained between what he calls knots, and each knot representing a different accented or unaccented note. The melody, according to Henebry, ascended or descended these rods creating the aforementioned irregular phrasing in Irish music. Henebry used

the term rods in an attempt to describe what he later calls 'stress registers'. These 'stress registers' are short, often irregular phrases or motifs, which use an intervallic pattern (spaces between the knots) alien to the rules of western art music. As the rods themselves (phrases or motifs) are not equal in length, Henebry visualised the melody as it jumped from one rod to another in an uneven manner due to their differing lengths:

> Furthermore a melody never runs exclusively on a single rod, but jumps from one to another according to the tone colour needed, going upon some and down on others. On certain rods it can run both ways, but on reaching the upper end of a broken rod it must always return.
>
> (Henebry 1928, pp. 64-65)

He states that the guiding principle in Irish music is a structure based on 'stress and repercussion' therefore harmonic principles cannot be applied to Irish music. He refers to this as a 'dual system of responding contrasts motived by the rule of alternating stress and repercussion'[35] (Henebry 1928, p. 65). Music produced in this way was, according to Henebry, of a complex and heterogeneous tonal origin. He states that 'simple people … with a profound artistic sympathy' (Henebry 1928, p. 65) understood this musical form, but people trained in western art music could not appreciate it:

> This understanding is not of the intellect, but belongs to the unknown mental substratum in men and animals that is naturally both the generative and appreciative or receptive ground and faculty of music.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 65)

For the purposes of analysis in *A Handbook of Irish Music*, Henebry has compared his analogy of the 'bundle of rods' of Irish music to what he refers to as the 'single rigid yard-stick' of western art music (Henebry 1928, p. 64). Henebry uses this term, 'yard-stick', to describe the rigid rules, and measurements, regarding the scale and tonality of western art music, and states that Irish music cannot be confined to such rigid rules.

[35] This 'stress and repercussion' is represented throughout *A Handbook of Irish Music* with capital letters for the stressed notes and lower-case letters for the weak repercussions.

The linear method of displaying western art music on a stave of five lines and four spaces, although deemed inadequate by Henebry for his 'bundle of rods' concept was, nevertheless, adopted by him to illustrate his theories regarding the differing intervals in Irish music. Although Henebry uses the standard notation of western art music to illustrate his theories, he emphasises that the size of the intervals between notes, in Irish music, will not always conform to their equivalent intervals in the western art music diatonic scale. Henebry asserts that the results from his 'bundle of rods' theory give a scale with five long intervals and two short intervals, this is similar to the 'Irish' scale described in his 1899 lecture:

> The projected knots will mark the whole yard-stick, but with decidedly darker shading in the neighbourhood of the modern notes…from such shadings we can abstract a sort of scale with five long and two short intervals.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 65)

Henebry states that the best way to learn Irish music is by listening to performers from within the tradition, or even from an Edison phonograph recording, therefore his adaptation of the conventional music stave and music notation is merely for analytical and comparative purposes:

> As far as the coarser analysis of places (intervals) is concerned, the written score is adequate. For the finer processes of tonometric analysis, however, or for the correct learning of a tune, it is of course useless.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 66)

In *A Handbook of Irish Music*, Henebry adopts the key signature of G major for all his musical examples and analyses in order to illustrate clearly what he identified as the four modes in Irish music: D, E, G, and A. These modes are easily displayed using the G major key signature without too many additions of accidentals, or confusing intervallic patterns. It is worth noting here that Henebry has included E as a mode in Irish music whereas in his 1903 pamphlet, *Irish Music*, he referred to it as one of the

‘fiddler’s keys’. This is an interesting example of Henebry’s evolving understanding of the structure of Irish music. Henebry justifies his choice of G major by stating that it is the most common key signature in Irish music and also that Bunting claimed that it was one of the tunings used by the old harpers. Henebry subsequently transposed the five hundred tunes in volume one of Stanford’s edition of the manuscript collection of George Petrie’s *The Complete Collection of Irish Music* (1903) to G major. In doing so he also avoided using what he termed ‘the most fantastic piano keys’ (Henebry 1928, p. 67) in Petrie’s collection. Henebry’s term ‘fantastic piano keys’ is probably a reference to keys with several flats or sharps which would not have been familiar to traditional Irish musicians.

As regards the phrasing of music, Henebry also criticises the conventions of standard music notation. He notes that standard music notation separates ‘independent conjunctions’ (upbeat or anacrusis) from their respective phrases with bar lines, thus the conjunctions become linked incorrectly with the preceding phrase. Henebry states that this is designed to facilitate a regular metre which is not, according to Henebry, a feature of Irish music. He proposed that as the ‘independent conjunctions’ were not accented notes they should be separated from both phrases, preceding and following, and written between bar lines,[36] the chosen time signature should then only be applied to the phrases. Despite his use of time signatures in many of his transcriptions however, Henebry generally regards the time signature in Irish music as irrelevant:

[36] For an example of Henebry’s notation of ‘conjunctions’ in Irish music see Appendix B tune No. 8 ‘Pilib Séimh’.

> Slow singing airs of irregular rhythm should be barred into phrases and some means devised to indicate accent. The latest system of writing a fresh time signature for every accent change in such-like tunes arises from the notion that all music must have a time bond, and as far as I have come into contact with it, is cumbrous, untrustworthy, and over musical.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 68)

In his 1990 article 'The Creative Process in Irish Traditional Music' Ó Súilleabháin also questions the use of time signatures in Irish Music. Ó Súilleabháin states that Irish music is governed by 'an underlying motor rhythm' (Ó Súilleabháin 1990, p. 121). He suggests that it is this 'motor rhythm' that defines the time of Irish music and not the application of time signatures.

3.4.4 Gapped Scales and Stress Registers

Henebry observes that three points must be examined when analysing Irish music. The first is form while, the second is the effect a 'subjective state'[37] may have in the production of intervals and pitch in free rhythm tunes. As previously mentioned, Henebry's term 'subjective state' refers to the emotive or emotional state of the performer and the effect this emotional state has on the delivery of the song or music. The third and final point posed by Henebry is what determines the accent in a tune and the 'external mould of phrases' (Henebry 1928, p. 18). Henebry addresses these three points in his account of the occurrences of gapped scales and stress registers in Irish music.

[37] Henebry uses the term 'subjective state' to refer to the emotive or emotional state of the performer and its subsequent effect on the music/song: 'The subjective conditions brought to expression are of the obscure class called feelings or emotions…Those subjective conditions may be simple, as, for instance our feeling of pain when we are suddenly hurt, or complex, if to that feeling there be superadded one or more qualities, as surprise, horror, and the like…as in the wailing at a death, or induced, as when somebody else desires tossing the same death lament afterwards. But whether actual or affected, the feeling must be realised to produce music, and hence the present subjectivity of a singer is of the highest importance.' (Henebry 1928, pp. 2-3)

The frequent occurrences of gapped scales are examined by Henebry in *A Handbook of Irish Music*. He states that by comparing the scales of 'human' melody with western art music a 'number of discrepancies' are evident. As it became apparent that notes in the western art music scale were missing from the scales of 'human' music these scales were called 'gapped' scales (Henebry 1928). This is reminiscent of the quinquegrade scales mentioned in his 1899 lecture:

> The persistent rejection of a note or notes, say the fourth and seventh of the octave, by a body of melodies was too significant to be ignored, and so it came to be recognised that there were gapped scales, so called because, as the perfect octave has eight notes, obviously the omission of any one denoted a gap.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 20)

Henebry disagrees with music historians who claimed that the 'gapped' scales were merely early evolutionary scales in the history of the diatonic scale. He argues that the principle of harmony in western art music, which does not apply to the gapped scales, influenced western art music scholars to impose the diatonic scale on Irish music. Henebry therefore states that the phrase is paramount in Irish music and harmony is not as important. The gapped scales were not, in his opinion, just a transitional stage in the development of the modern scale. Henebry states that in Irish music 'the phrase was antecedent to the form' (Henebry 1928, p. 19). In his analysis of the gapped scale Henebry observed that gaps in individual phrases in many Irish melodies are dictated by the 'stress register':

> Great and minor variations in tonality may be reconciled by establishing a relation between certain intervals and their order of accent, whether in ascent or in descent, and with particular regard to the points at which such order is departed from one stress register exchanged for another.
>
> (Henebry 1928, pp. 18-19)

The phrase 'stress registers' is also a linguistic term and was probably adapted from the linguistic analytical system known as prosody in which phrases can be measured

according to stressed and unstressed syllables in verse or prose (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2012). Henebry recognises two instances of 'gapped scales' in Irish music. The first instance occurs in tunes which do not contain certain notes of the western art music scale at all. The second instance of 'gapped scales' can be seen in tunes which may not contain a note in one phrase but the answering phrase may then contain the absent note. The presence of gaps in the melody therefore changed the accented/unaccented pattern in phrases, therefore the occurrences of gaps in the music helped constitute what he termed 'stresses'. Henebry's use of the term 'stress', therefore, not only referred to an accented note in the standard sense but was also used by him to describe alternating phrases in a tune, 'stress registers', which were often dictated by the occurrence of gaps in the melody. It was these differing phrases that he saw as the rods in his aforementioned 'bundle of rods' theory. Henebry therefore, analysed Irish music by observing these 'stress' changes in the melody.

In order to explore further his meaning of the term 'stress register' and its influence on 'gapped scales', Henebry attempts to compare the rules of prosody in language, with 'stress registers' in music. He refers to *Handbuch des Altirischen*, by Professor Thurneysen, to show how, in Gaelic, strong syllables are followed by weak syllables. According to Henebry, Thurneysen showed that it is often the case that in some words in Gaelic, the syllable after the strong accent weakened and in other cases was abandoned completely. Henebry states that although it was tempting to apply this theory of a strong 'beat accent' to music it was not a conclusive explanation for the gaps in Irish music. As Henebry previously stated that music consists of an alternating pattern of 'beat and repercussion' (Henebry 1928, p. 22), the linguistic approach (prosody) of

weakening and often abandoning weak syllables would not, if applied to music, reproduce this alternating pattern:

> If the same rule applied to music then detoned repercussions between accented elements in phrases would presumably be treated as vowels are in a high-stressed word, and disappear after the first and third accents. Against that music shows no parallel loss of weak notes but proceeds by alternating beat and repercussion. And we are by no means justified in equiparating the weak notes of music with the unaccented vowels of language.
> (Henebry 1928, p. 22)

Henebry's analysis of Irish music relies on his interpretation of 'stress registers' and 'gapped scales', and despite the lack of a convenient comparison with the rules of language he persists in investigating their occurrence and purpose in Irish music. The occurrence of gapped scales and stress registers in Irish music is seen by Henebry as a significant divergence from western art music. It is observed by him that Irish music usually moves by thirds and occasionally it uses the interval of a fourth, and rarely the interval of a fifth. Henebry states that alternate notes in an Irish scale are accented. In order to explain why the interval of a fourth occurs in Irish music Henebry states that, a scale beginning on G would have an even pattern of accented and unaccented notes, G a B c D' e' F' g'[38] (the accented notes are represented by capital letters and the weak notes by lower - case letters). Henebry noticed that in this scale using a progression in which every third note is accented the upper g' is not accented. This note is often accented in Irish music however and Henebry maintained that by omitting the E' an interval of a fourth from D' to the upper G' is created in which the accented/unaccented pattern is continued. Henebry also states that the interval of the fourth was introduced here to create an accented tonic above and below the dominant. He concluded that because human music consists of alternating strong and weak beats the proper scale

[38] Despite Henebry's use of the G Major key signature for all his transcriptions and musical analyses he consistently refers to F# as F. This is the 'Irish' F previously mentioned, flatter than a standard F# and sharper than a standard F natural.

should therefore be G a B c D’ f’ G’. It is immediately seen that a gap occurs between D’ and f’. Although Henebry does not explain why the ‘f’ is retained and the ‘e’ is not, it may be presumed it is because f’ acts as a leading note for G’. He also mentions however that the G’ is also accented in an ‘Irish’ scale beginning with A − A b C d’ E’ f’ G’.

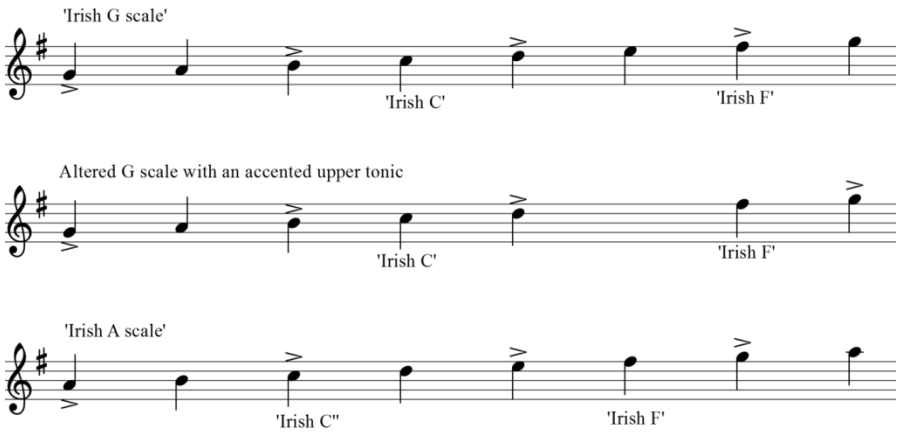


Figure 3.19: Three accented scales

In the ‘altered G scale’ in Figure 3.19 the first 5 notes, G a B c D’, provide an equally accented, or stressed, pattern, the 3 notes D’ f’ G’ also provide an equally accented pattern by omitting the E’. The second scale in Figure 3.19 − G a B c D’ f’ G’ − therefore consists of two separately stressed sections: G a B c D’, and D’ f’ G’. The D’ acts as a fulcrum or pivot between both stressed sections or registers. Henebry maintained that if his previously mentioned theory of ‘subjectives’ (see page 150) was applied to the ‘stress registers’, it would influence the intervals and pitch of each ‘stress register’. He explains therefore, that with the addition of ‘subjectives’ to the stressed sections, or registers, ‘human’ music, like bird music, has no ‘fixed note positions’ consequently the pitch of both Gs may not necessarily be an exact octave apart, but rather are dependent on the ‘subjective’ pitch of each ‘stress register’ (Henebry 1928,

p.23). Henebry based his analysis of the music and its tonality on the occurrence of these ‘stress registers’, and concluded that the phrase preceded form in music and that rhythm was dictated by the phrase. He states that as stress registers are a feature of early ‘human’ music, much of Irish music therefore is in a free rhythm form, and predates the adoption of regular form. He also claims, however, that dance music, in regular rhythm, may be older ‘human’ music superimposed on regularly accented dance music structures.

Henebry states that in tunes in G major the stress register F g A b C (accented thirds) is always used in the ascending direction of a tune, while the stress registers of fourths, appear in the descending direction. An example of this can be seen in Figure 3.20, Untitled Tune No. 98 from Volume 1 of Stanford’s edition of the Petrie collection. In Figure 3.20 the ascending stress register F g A b C can be seen in bar 2, and the fourth, A c D’, appears in descent in bar 3.

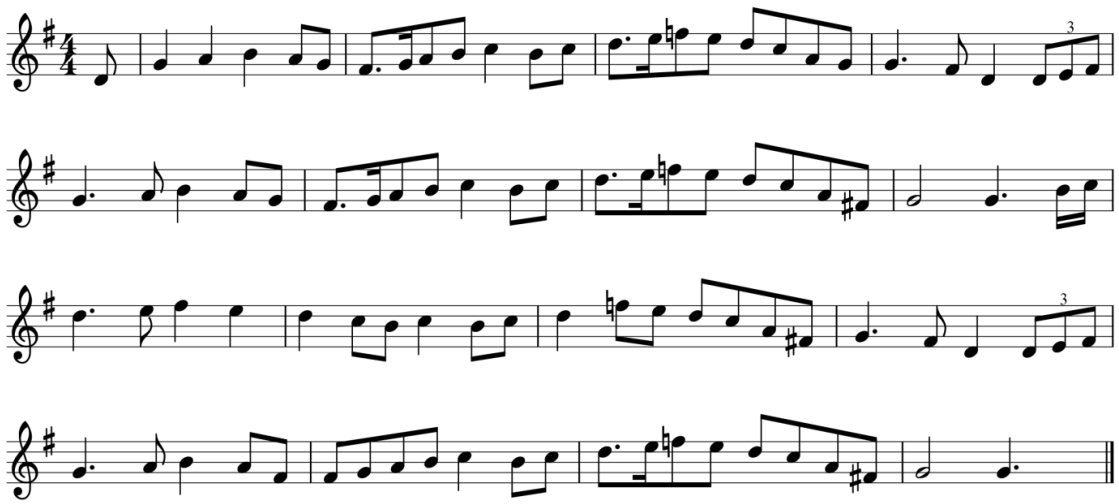


Figure 3.20: No. 98, from Petrie-Stanford’s *The Complete Collection of Irish Music* (1903)

The melodic direction of a melody, according to Henebry, also influenced tonality because notes which lead to a strong accented note are always sharper than the same notes in a descending direction. Henebry also maintains that the aforementioned 'subjective state' of the singer influences the pitch of individual notes. In a bid to explain this further, Henebry expands upon the variable qualities of the aforementioned 'Irish' F and the 'Irish' C, and states that despite being adjacent notes on the violin fingerboard, they differ slightly from each other in intonation. The finger position for 'Irish' C#, for example, is played slightly flatter than the adjacent finger position for 'Irish' F#. This is an apparent departure from his earlier claims in *Irish Music*, where both notes shared equivalent adjacent finger positions on the violin. The tonality of a tune therefore varied according to a combination of melodic direction and various 'stress registers' within the melody. This seems to concur with Francis O'Carroll's claim that Henebry no longer believed that Irish music was confined to a specific, identifiable, 'Irish scale' (see pp. 147-148).

A change in note pitch is also evident in the use of the 'slide' ornament in Irish music (glissando). It is achieved by sliding to the required note from a flatter position, Henebry states that all the notes could be slided but it was usual in Irish music to slide the C and F (either natural or sharp). Henebry introduces another ambiguous musical term to help describe the slide on the Irish F.[39] As previously mentioned the slide begins on a lower note and as the 'Irish' F is sharper than the standard F natural Henebry refers to standard F natural as Fb. This he says corresponds with the equivalent adjacent fingering of a standard western art music Bb on the second string on the violin. This

[39] Although Henebry transposed Irish music to the key of G major in *A Handbook of Irish Music*, he refers continuously to the F# as F and F natural as Fb. This convention will be continued for this thesis.

must not be confused with Henebry's earlier description of an 'Irish' **Bb** which is a perfect fifth below the 'Irish' **F** natural (see pp. 133-138). Henebry's Fb therefore is the standard F natural of western art music. Henebry concludes that slides due to their ability to change the pitch of a note, may have acted as a bridge between 'stress registers' of a tune:

> Slides seem to extend from one recognised fingering position to another, and probably denote a passing over from one stress register to another; and hence their wonderful power.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 26)

Due to these varying factors in Irish music; 'gapped scales', 'stress registers' and variable pitch, Henebry was adamant that Irish music could not be properly reproduced using western art music's standard diatonic scale:

> Irish or any human music, rendered in terms of the diatonic scale, is a monstrosity that on the one hand has been so deprived of its constituting motives as to be void of all meaning, and on the other is entirely foreign to the progression methods of modern music.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 27)

3.4.5 Henebry's First Analytical Scheme

As already mentioned, in order to prove his theories regarding the structure of Irish music, Henebry analysed the 500 tunes collected by George Petrie in Stanford's first volume of *The Complete Collection of Ancient Irish Music* (1903). Henebry refers to his first analytical method as 'a minute process of counting' in order to determine the 'number of times each note occurred in the accented position' (Henebry 1928, p. 72), using this 'counting' method Henebry was able to determine the mode of each tune analysed. In order to proceed with this counting process Richard Henebry developed a linear analytical scheme in which 'the record of each tune is set out in a line' (Henebry 1928, p. 73). Each linear analysis begins with the lowest note in the tune's range, and its occurrence or absence in the tune is recorded, in this way the analysis proceeds through each successive note in the tune's range from the lowest note to the highest. He also

recorded the amount and the occurrence of gaps in the music. When referring to gaps Henebry uses the note name which is missing, for example, as a gap occurs three times between low E and G in ‘The Maid of Sweet Gurteen’ (see Figures 3.21 and 3.22) F is the missing note therefore a gap occurs three times at F (Irish F).

In the linear analysis in Figure 3.21 Arabic numbers indicate the frequency of accented notes, and Roman numerals written beneath the numbers show the gaps. The tonic is represented by an Arabic number within brackets. The letter ‘t’ denotes an unaccented note and the letters ‘tt’ indicate where an unaccented note is used to fill a gap. Two dots above a note illustrate ‘one or more double occurrences of the note’ (Henebry 1928, p. 73) Henebry’s use of the term ‘doubled’ refers to repeated occurrences of the note in question. The letter ‘o’ beneath a number signals that that note is either accented or lengthened. The number indicating the Irish Fb is written to the left of a ‘forward slanting line’ and the Irish F sharp to the right of the slanting line (Henebry 1928, p. 73). At the end of this linear analysis Henebry names the weak notes in the tune and these also proceed from the lowest to the highest. If the number 2 is placed below one of the weak notes at the end of the analysis, this indicates that it has at least one strong accent in the tune. A dot below the letter means that it only occurs as a weak note. Figure 3.20 gives Henebry’s linear analysis of ‘The Maid of Sweet Gurteen’, tune number 329 in Stanford-Petrie’s *The Complete Collection of Irish Music*:

			..				..										
tt	tt	0	(8)	t	4t	2	8t	2t	4/t	4	E	F	A	C	D’	E’	F’
		III		IV	o	VII	IV	VIII			·		·	2	2	2	

Figure 3.21: Henebry’s linear analysis of ‘The Maid of Sweet Gurteen’

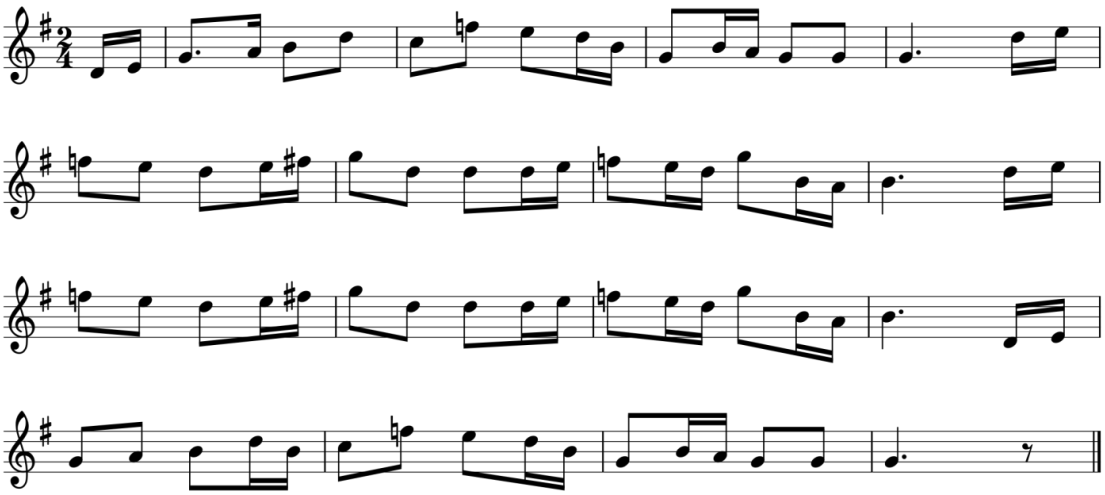


Figure 3.22: 'The Maid of Sweet Gurteen', tune number 329 in *Stanford-Petrie's Complete Collection of Irish Music.*

In the above linear analysis (Figure 3.21), the first and lowest note is D below the tonic G and it appears only in unaccented positions, and is therefore indicated by 'tt'. The next lowest note in the tune's range is E which is also represented by 'tt' as it only appears in non-accented positions. There are no occurrences of F and this is indicated on the linear analysis by the number 0. As a gap occurs three times between E and G in the tune and since F is the missing note, a gap occurs three times at F, hence the roman numerals, III, below the '0'. The tonic G occurs in 8 accented positions and is represented by the number 8 enclosed in brackets. It also has some repeated notes which are represented by the number (8) surmounted by two dots. The note A only occurs in unaccented positions represented here by t. A gap appears at A four times in the tune which is indicated by the Roman numeral IV placed underneath t. The note B occurs as an accented note four times and also in unaccented positions represented by 4t. In addition it is also lengthened in places, illustrated by the letter o placed beneath the 4t. The note C is accented twice and gaps occur seven times at C between B and D', illustrated with the number 2 under which is the Roman numeral VII. D' is accented

eight times and is also repeated in places. Four gaps at D' occur in this tune between C and E'. The accented occurrences of D' are indicated by the number 8 surmounted by two dots, and the gaps are illustrated with the Roman numeral IV written beneath the number 8. E' is accented twice but also has some weak occurrences and is therefore represented by 2t. There are 8 gaps, between D' and F' in the tune and are represented in the linear analysis with the Roman numeral VIII placed beneath the 2t. The Irish 'Fb'' appears four times in a strong position and is represented by the number 4 placed to the left of a forward slanting line. The Irish F' occurs only as weak notes and is indicated by the letter 't' which is on the right hand side of the forward slanting line. The upper tonic G' appears in 4 accented positions represented by the number '4'. The capital letters at the end of the analysis indicate the weakest notes in the tune, and begin with the lowest notes first and ending with the highest, E, F, A, C, D', E' and F' (Irish F). The notes E and A only occur as weak notes. C, D', and E' have both strong and weak appearances, as indicated by the number 2 written beneath. F' only occurs in the weak position. When compared with the written tune in Figure 3.22, these characteristics can be clearly identified. It must be remembered however that although Petrie used formal notation and accidentals in his transcription, Henebry maintained that what Petrie recorded was the occurrence of the 'Irish' Fb (F) and the 'Irish' F (F#).

By identifying the principle accented notes in the five hundred tunes in question, Henebry determined from his linear analysis that the five hundred tunes should be separated into four modes - G, A, D, and E. There are 313 tunes in the G mode; 60 in the A mode; 92 in the D mode; and 35 in the E mode. It would appear that Henebry

abandoned the idea of the ‘fiddler’s keys’ as outlined in *Irish Music* as there is no mention of them in his *A Handbook of Irish music.*

Although Henebry’s linear analytical method showed that some notes in a tune were accented at times and weak at other times, he was not entirely content with this linear method of examining music. He states that while it was adequate to catalogue the ‘occurrences of values’ it did not record their ‘order or connection’ (Henebry 1928, p. 209). Even though he identified differing accented and unaccented note patterns, and the regular occurrences of ‘gaps’, Henebry realised that his linear system could not show the interaction between what he called ‘stress registers’ and devised another cipher called a ‘surface record’ to more clearly display these ‘stress registers’ and their manifestations

3.4.6 Henebry’s Second Analytical Scheme

This second analytical system is best described by examining the musical examples used by Henebry. The first is an unnamed tune learned by Henebry in his childhood from John Gamble, ‘a ploughman at my father’s house’ (Henebry1928, p. 121) (see Figure 3.23).

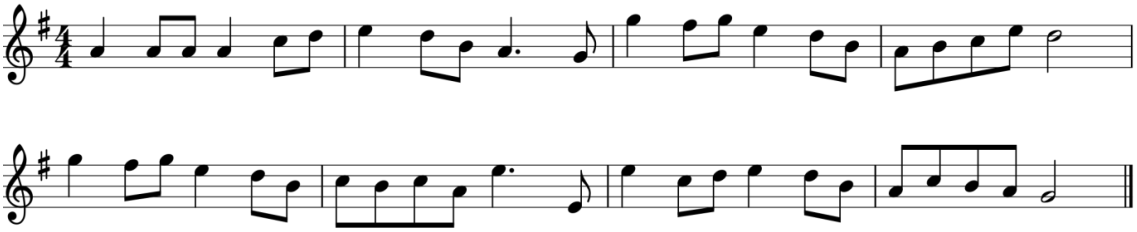


Figure 3.23: Untitled tune recorded from Ploughman John Gamble

Henebry wrote out the strong notes in each bar (see Figure 3.24) and concluded that each phrase consisted of two bars which was then subdivided by a 'copulative group' into two half phrases. This use of the term copula or copulative is a linguistic one and is defined as a 'verb that merely connects the subject and the predicate of a sentence without asserting action' (Markwardt 1976, p. 287). Henebry is clearly using the term here to describe a linking element between half phrases.

1. A A A (C) E D A
2. G F E (D) A C D
3. G F E (D) C C E
4. E C E (D) A B G

Figure 3.24: The accented notes in each two bar phrase of untitled tune in Figure 3.23

These copulative groups highlight an 'opposition' between the half phrases. The accented notes of the copulative groups are enclosed in brackets, and the chart shows the four phrases, each divided into 'half phrases' by the copulative groups. Henebry's use of the term 'opposition' is somewhat confusing and can have multiple meanings and its usage may attest to his aforementioned lack of understanding of the theory of music. His first use of the term 'opposition' simply describes an answering phrase in music which 'opposes' the previous phrase, the second describes a sense of 'opposition' created when a note missing in one phrase, is included in the answering phrase, or it may be accented in the first phrase and unaccented in the answering phrase:

> For a gap will occur in composition according to the needs of the stress register that happens to be in energy at the point, even though the omission be filled by the next following register that passes over the place, usually of a constitution diametrically opposed or in response to the first.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 21)

Henebry notes that opposition occurs in particular in the above tune at the appearance of F and the accented B in the last bar. These notes are only accented or introduced when associated with the tonic. This is illustrated in bars 3 and 4, where the F is accented when approaching G. The note B, although a weak note throughout the tune, is accented in the final bar to strengthen the approach to the tonic G. He concludes that these 'oppositions' of weak and strong notes are central to Irish music and warrant further investigation:

> It is plain that a knowledge of the tones by which those oppositions were constructed and balanced would go far towards revealing the mystery of human melody.
> (Henebry 1928, p. 122)

In *A Handbook of Irish Music*, Henebry states that the phrases of a tune are usually confined to four bars and are then sub-divided into two bar phrases and then into one bar phrases. Within these one-bar phrases further 'opposition' between accents may also occur:

> Both tune and turn then break easily into strains of four bars each, which are related to each other as the parts of a four line stanza in poetry. Those may be divisible into lengths of two bars; those again into bar lengths; and finally, the notes of single bars may form groups around their two main accents, which are often in violent opposition to each other.
> (Henebry 1928, p. 27)

These 'oppositions' are the stress registers upon which Henebry based much of his analysis of Irish music. In another untitled tune, which he learned in his youth from a local boy, Patrick O'Morrissy [*sic*] (see Figure 3.25), Henebry further investigates the interaction of phrases and stress registers.

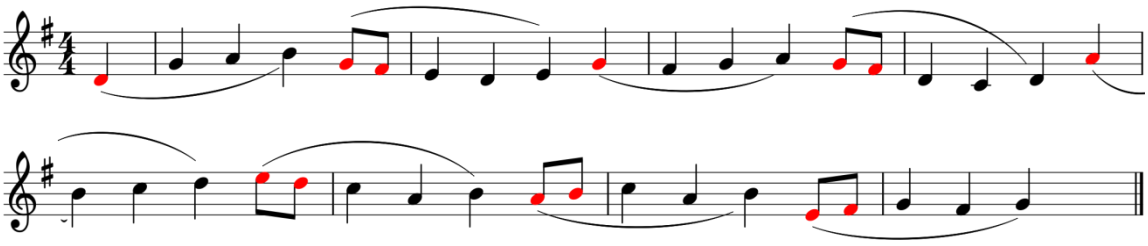


Figure 3.25: An untitled tune from Patrick O'Morrissy with 'proclitic conjunctions' in red and Henebry's bars indicated with slur marks

The chart in Figure 3.26 illustrates the strong, weak, and absent notes in each bar. Henebry begins the record with the lowest note in the tune's range as he did for his linear scheme.

	Bar 1	Bar 2	Bar 3	Bar 4	Bar 5	Bar 6	Bar 7	Bar 8
C				W				
D	W	W		S				
E	O	S		W				S
F	O	W/O	S					W
G	S	S	W	S				S
A	W		S		W	W	S/W	
B	S				S	S/O	S/W/O	
C					W	S	S	
D'					S	W		
E'						S		

S = strong or accented note. W= weak or unaccented note. O = absent note (gap). W/O = weak and absent note (gap) in the same bar. S/O = strong and absent note (gap) in the same bar. S/W/0 = strong, weak and absent note (gap) in the same bar. S/W = strong and weak note in the same bar.

Figure 3.26: Henebry's surface record chart showing the strong, weak and absent notes

Henebry next gathered the information from the above chart and arranged the notes in each bar according to whether they were weak, strong, or absent (see Figure 3.27). The highest note in each bar is written on the right hand side and lower notes graduate towards the left hand side, absent notes are represented by o. The accented notes are in capitals and lower case letters represent the weak notes. In Figure 3.27 Henebry includes the aforementioned copulative groups or 'proclitic conjunctions' (indicated in Figure 3.25 in red), in each bar.[40] In bar one 'B' is an accented note, 'a' is weak, 'G' is accented, and there are no appearances of 'F' or 'E' which are each represented by o, and finally, 'd' is a weak note. By developing the information from the chart in this way

[40] Henebry's bars are highlighted in Figure 3.25 with a slur mark to show how he changed the bars to include the 'proclitic conjunctions'.

and by recording this information vertically he was able to show each bar and the occurrence of ‘opposing’ phrases therein (see Figure 3.27).

Bars

```
1.   d o o G a B
2.   d E f G
         o
3.       F g A
4.  c D e o G
5.             a B c D
6.             a B C d E
                 o
7.             A B C
             a  b
                 o
8.  E f G
```

Figure 3.27: Information extrapolated from the surface chart in Figure 3.26

From the information outlined in Figure 3.27 Henebry observed that bars 1 and 2 belonged to the same stress register, the only difference between both bars being the accented or ‘strong’ E in bar 2. The third bar however contains what Henebry terms an opposition, where the previously unaccented or ‘weak’ F and A are now accented notes. Another opposition occurs in bar 4 where the previous ‘weak’ D is now ‘strong’, and ‘strong’ G in bar 4 opposes the ‘weak’ G in bar 3. By displaying the ‘strong’, ‘weak’ and absent notes as in Figure 3.27 Henebry’s theory of a pattern of oppositions becomes clearer.

The next tune to be analysed by Henebry is ‘The Eagle’s Whistle’ (see Figure 3.28). This is an example of a permanently ‘gapped’ scale in which the fourth note (C) of the tonic scale is absent. Henebry chose this tune for analysis due to its ‘simple composition scheme and repeated phrases’ (Henebry 1928, p. 211). The tune can be compared with its ‘surface record’ in Figure 3.29.

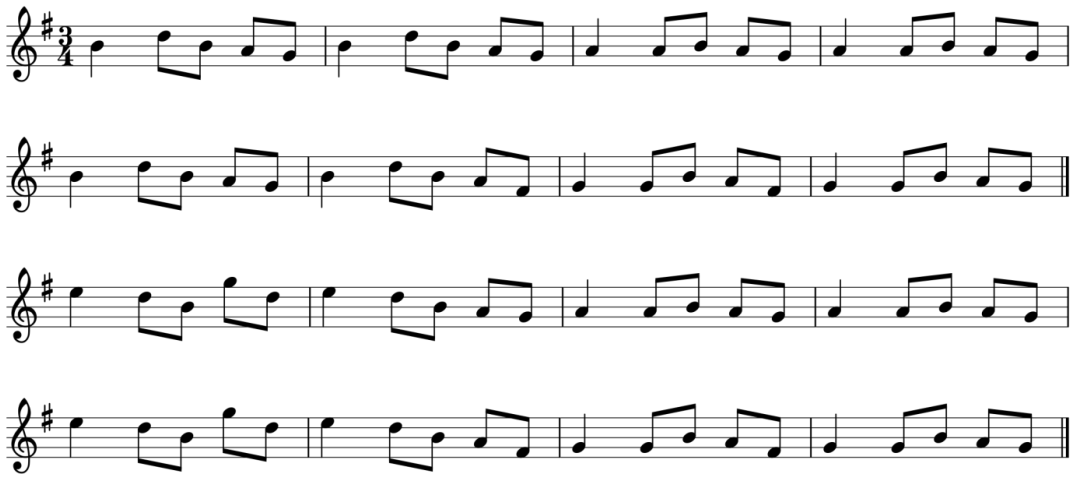


Figure 3.28: ‘The Eagle’s Whistle’ from *A Handbook of Irish Music* (1928)

Each phrase in ‘The Eagle’s Whistle is contained within two bars. The first phrase in bars 1 and 2 is answered or ‘opposed’ by the second phrase in bars 3 and 4, the ‘strong’ B in phrase one becomes a weak note in phrase 2. The third phrase in bars 5 and 6 is essentially the same as phrase 1, except for a gap which occurs at G in bar 6. This gap enables the introduction of the lower F which leads to the tonic in bar 7. A gap at G appears again at the end of bar 7 and also allows the lower leading note F to strengthen the approach to the tonic in bar 8. This use of the occurrence of gaps at G and the introduction of the lower leading note to strengthen the tonic ending is also used in bars 14 and 15. Henebry cites this technique of alternating phrases and ‘strong’ and ‘weak’

notes as another example of his theory of ‘opposition’, and its integral role in the structure of Irish music:

> This abrupt strong use in opposition to the weak functional value everywhere else shows that the ending phrase is different from the rest of the tune, or the melodic scheme has been entirely changed at that point. This represents the strong ending function of the tonic.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 213)

	Bar 1	Bar 2	Bar 3	Bar 4	Bar 5	Bar 6	Bar 7	Bar 8	Bar 9	Bar 10	Bar 11	Bar 12	Bar 13	Bar 14	Bar 15	Bar 16
F						W	W							W	W	
G	W	W	W	W	W	O	O/S	S		W	W	W		O	O/S	W/S
A	S	S	S	S	S	S	O/S	O/S		S	S	S		S	O/S	O/S
B	S/W	S/W	W	W	W/S	W/S	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
C	O	O			O	O			O	O			O	O		
D’	S	S			S	S			S/W	S			S/W	S		
E’									S/O	S			S/O	S		
F’									O				O			
G’									S				S			

S = strong note (accented); W = weak note (unaccented); O = absent note (gap); O/S = A note is both strong and absent (gap) in the same bar; S/W = A note is strong and weak in the same bar. W/S = A note is weak and strong in the same bar.

Figure 3.29: Surface Record Chart for ‘The Eagle’s Whistle’

A gap appears at A in the ending bars of each part of the tune. This is another ‘opposition’ designed to strengthen the tonic ending of the tune. The ‘strong’ Bs in bars 1, 2, 5 and 6, are ‘opposed’ by weak Bs in bars 3, 4, 7 and 8. As already mentioned C is absent from this tune. D’ is generally ‘strong’ throughout but is also weak in bars 9 and 13. E is also ‘strong’ but appears as a gap in bars 9 and 13. F’ is absent and G’ is ‘strong’. Henebry concluded from his analysis of both of the above tunes that the structure of each consists of regular ‘melodic changes’. These changes, or oppositions, are what he later terms ‘stress schemes’ and he states that they are essential in the structure of Irish music:

> The main fact demonstrated in those two tunes is that there are opposing melodic changes in regular recurrence, or that there are at least two different and essentially opposing stress schemes interwoven to make the tune. All tunes examined in the same way will give similar results.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 214)

3.4.7 The Identification of Stress Registers, A Third Analytical Scheme

In *A Handbook of Irish Music* Henebry devised a third analytical scheme which would accurately show the interaction between the 'stress schemes' or 'stress registers' in Irish music. He was not happy that his previous 'surface record' analysis method satisfactorily recorded recurring notes of the same value in each bar. He was also concerned that notes of differing values in the same bar could appear jumbled and cites bars 2, 6, and 7, in the untitled tune collected from Patrick Morrissy as an example (see Figures 3.25 and 3.26). While his 'surface record', like his linear analysis, does show 'strong' and 'weak' notes it does not show more than one occurrence of them in each bar, and neither does it show a connection between successive notes in a bar or phrase. Henebry proposes a third structural analysis method designed to overcome the aforementioned inadequacies of his previous analytical schemes:

> The tune must be displayed intimately, but so that its connections, its accent, and its passage by ascent or descent may be fully and clearly shown.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 214)

Henebry's third analytical scheme, therefore, entailed the development of a graphic representation of the appearance of 'stress registers' in Irish music. It differs from his previous analyses in that he no longer plots the occurrences of notes, accented or otherwise, but rather the 'register fifths' to which they belong. In order to explain his new method of analysis Henebry examines the song tune 'Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg Mé'. This song was recorded from the singing of Patrick O'Neill from Ring, Co. Waterford,

in 1905 and was one of the songs later sent by Henebry to Germany for tonometric analysis (see Figure 3.30).

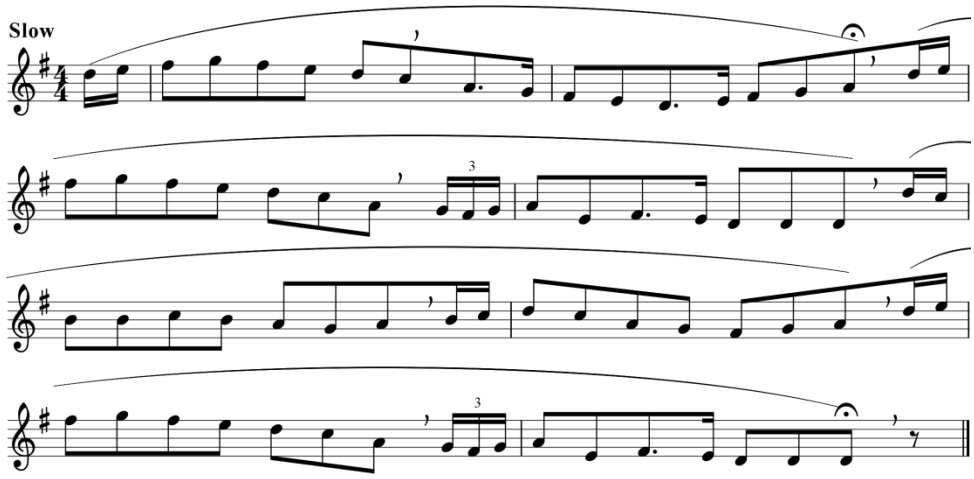


Figure 3.30: ‘Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg Mé’, from *A Handbook of Irish Music* (1928)

Henebry divided the tune ‘Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg Mé’, into 4 phrases, and each phrase is indicated in Figure 3.30 with phrase mark. Each phrase is further subdivided giving 8 half phrases, which are indicated using breath marks in Figure 3.30. The half phrases indicated in Figure 3.30 are based on Henebry’s phrase groupings in Figure 3.31 (‘strong’ notes are in capitals and ‘weak’ notes are in lower case). These half phrases do not conform to bar measures in the melody. The first half phrase begins with an ‘upbeat’ which may be considered the ‘copulative group’ or ‘proclitic conjunction’ mentioned earlier. The successive phrases each begin with a similar ‘copulative group’. Henebry maintained that the rhythm of this tune was irregular and states that the triplet in bars 3 and 7 were sung ‘rather long’ and were accented on the middle note:

> I have not forced conjunctions into strict time, and the triplet at the end is rather long and accented in the middle element.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 214)

By using the same ‘surface record’ method as previously described on pages 171-177 (see Figure 3.27) Henebry records the notes in each half-phrase from ‘Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg Mé’ (see Figure 3.31). The highest notes in each half-phrase are written to the right of each group of notes and the lowest notes in each half-phrase graduate towards the left.

```
Half Phrase 1                          D’ e’ F’ g’
                                     c D’ e’ F’
Half Phrase 2          D e F g A
                         e F g A
Half Phrase 3                          D’ e’ F’ g’
                                     c D’ e’ F’
                             A
Half Phrase 4              g
                         F g A
                       e
                     D e F
                     d
                     D
Half Phrase 5                      B c D’
                                   b
                           g A     b C
                             A
Half Phrase 6                      B c D’
                                     c

                             A
                           g
                         F g  A
Half Phrase 7                          D’ e’ F’ g’
                                     c D’ e’ F’
                             A
Half Phrase 8              g
                         F  g  A
                       e
                     D e F
                     d
                     D
```

Figure 3.31: Accented and weak notes in each half-phrase of ‘Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg Mé’

From the ‘surface record’ information in Figure 3.31 Henebry observed that the first part of the melody (half phrases one, two, three, and four) is constructed using the scale of D e F g A c D’ e’ F’ g’. He notes that the D, F, and A are ‘strong’ while the e, g, and

c are ‘weak’, and B is not used. The tune therefore ‘accents and de-accents every alternate note’ (Henebry 1928 p. 216). Henebry states that this accenting and de-accenting is what differentiates it from the modern scale. It is also the principal element which separates each ‘stress register’.

The second part of the tune (half phrases five, six, seven and eight) can be divided into two sections. Half phrases five and six are constructed using the notes B c D, and g A b C, both of these note groupings are in ‘opposition’ to each other and occur at the beginning of the second part of the melody. Henebry refers to them as the ‘phone and antiphone’ (Henebry 1928, p. 216), which may be a reference to a technique in choral singing, where antiphony occurs as one choir answers another. The second division of the second part of the tune (half phrases seven and eight) utilises the same range as the first part of the melody and is essentially the same as half phrases three and four (see Figures 3.32 and 3.33).

I D e F g A c D e F g

II B c D

III g A b C

Figure 3.32: The three ranges or scales used in ‘Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg Mé’

I D e F g A c D e F g (A)

II (G a) B c D (e G a B c D)

III g A b C (d E g A b C d E)

Figure 3.33: The three complete ranges or scales used in ‘Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg Mé’ with unused notes in brackets

The ‘opposition’ at the beginning of half phrase five represents, according to Henebry, a ‘duality’ in music, a ‘duality’ which results when notes, previously accented, become de-accented, or de-accented notes accented:

> [Music] is essentially dual in structure, and…this duality arises from a reversal of the accent scheme, or, to make response or opposition, accented elements are de-accented and *vice-versa.*
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 217)

In order to describe this ‘opposition’, or ‘duality’, Henebry, rather confusingly, refers to the ‘stress registers’ in this tune as being ‘fifths’ of either D, G, or A. This use of the term, ‘fifths’, should not be confused with the interval of a fifth. Its use here, by Henebry, is meant to depict individual ‘stress registers’. He states that music consists of ‘responding stress registers of a fifth long’ (Henebry 1928, p. 217). His use of the term ‘fifths’ therefore refers to the ‘stress registers’ of D e F g A, and G a B c D, and A b C d E (capital letters represent strong, accented, notes and lower case letters represent weak, unaccented, notes). The ‘fifth’ of D, therefore, means the five notes beginning on D, or D fifth. This grouping of the ‘stress registers’ in ‘fifths’ is confused further when he states that each group of ‘fifths’ can be divided at the middle note into two groups both belonging to the same register, hence D e F g A becomes D e F, and F g A, and G a B c D’ therefore becomes G a B and B c D’. The division of the upper third of a ‘fifth’ may also be extended by a number of notes, hence the upper third of a D ‘fifth’ may appear similar to a ‘fifth’ of F, (F g A b C) however, the presence of an accented D in the tune would imply that it is an extension of the D ‘fifth’. This division of the ‘fifths’ into ‘thirds’ allowed Henebry to analyse small groupings of notes and determine their ‘stress registers’.

The aim of his third analytical scheme was to visually display the number of ‘stress registers’ in each tune, and how they interacted with each other. He illustrated this in another chart (see Figure 3.34). Henebry analysed ‘Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg Mé’ by isolating each successive pair of notes in the tune to determine to which ‘stress register’ they belonged. Using this method he illustrated the pattern, or succession, of ‘stress registers’ in the tune and not the actual notes as in previous analytical attempts.

d.	d.	d.	d.	d-(.)	d.	d-(.)	d.	d-
d.	d.	d.	d.	d-(.d.)	d.	d-(.)	d.	d-
g.	g.	a.	a.	a- (g.)	d.	d-(.)	d.	d-
d.	d.	d.	d.	d-(.d.)	d.	d-(.)	d.	d-

Figure 3.34: The blending of ‘stress registers’ for ‘Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg Mé’

The ‘copulative notes’ for each full phrase are highlighted in grey. The opening notes of the song, D e, for example, belong to the ‘fifth’ of D which is D e F g A. The next two notes F and g also belong to the ‘fifth’ of D, and by proceeding in this fashion Henebry determined that the first half of the tune was in the ‘fifth’ or ‘stress register’ of D. This is represented in Figure 3.34 by the lower case letter d. All ‘stress registers’ or ‘fifths’ are indicated, by Henebry, with lower case letters, and should not be confused with the previous use of lower case letters to indicate the weak notes in the tune. Unaccented notes in the diagram in Figure 3.34 are represented by a dot, semiquaver notes are enclosed in brackets, and long notes are indicated by a dash. The previously mentioned slow triplet is represented as (.d.). Henebry also refers to the semiquaver notes as being ‘articulated’ notes, this term is another borrowing from Henebry’s linguistic studies. The words, articulate, and articulation are defined as meaning (a) segmented or jointed and (b) ‘the movements of the organs of speech in producing an articulate sound’

(Markwardt 1976, p. 83). Henebry uses the linguistic term here to describe the shorter, segmented, semi-quaver notes in the melody and their importance in binding the melody together into ‘an articulate sound’.

The first two notes in the second part of the tune, D c, (beginning of half phrase five) belong to the ‘fifth’ of G (G a B c D’) and are represented by ‘g.’ The next two notes also belong to the ‘fifth’ of G, hence the use of the second ‘g.’, but are immediately followed by C b, which belong to the ‘fifth’ of A, (A b C d’ E’) and are represented by ‘a.’. Although the next two notes A and g, conform to the third ‘scale’ in Figure 3.33, (the ‘fifth’ of A) they could also belong to the ‘fifth’ of D. However, because the preceding, and succeeding ‘fifths’ belong to the A ‘register fifth’, Henebry has chosen to place them in the ‘fifth’ of A.

A change is apparent in the next notes, an A quaver is followed by two semi-quavers B c, which belong to the ‘fifth’ of G, this is indicated in Figure 3.34 by, a-(g.). The rest of the tune then returns to the ‘fifth’ of D. Henebry states that this method of composition which uses the blending of ‘stress register fifths’ was intended to introduce a ‘tonal contrast’ at the ending of phrases or at the beginning of the second part (turn) of a tune:

> They [Irish composers] were able to use the various stress register fifths according to the multifarious needs of a highly completed blending system…They changed the tone colour at the ending phrase or at the beginning of the turn, or they blended in such a manner as to produce symmetrical tune schemes…And hence composition is the blending of tone colours that rest upon an accented scheme.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 218)

Henebry also states that the presence of a gap of a fourth in the melody may also be an indicator of the presence of particular 'stress register fifths'. The interval of a fourth, A c D, for example, occurs twice in this tune at bars one and six. This conforms to Henebry's 'stress register' theory that, in order to have a regular accented/de-accented range, the interval of a fourth must be introduced and in this case it is consistent with the regularly accented, D e F g A c D' e' F' g' A'. The question arises as to why c was used to fill in the gap between A and D and not b. Henebry concludes that the decision to use either b or c is determined by the 'strong note of the accompanying register' (Henebry 1928, p. 219). This means that because a 'stress register' beginning on A, has a strong C and a weak b, therefore a weak c is used to fill the gap between A and D. This indicates that the 'register' of A is present in the tune. Henebry has previously indicated that the notes A and g in bar five, belong to the 'fifth' of A, the weak g appears in the 'fifth' of A as the 'filler' note in the regularly accented A b C d' E' g' A' b' C' d'' E''. As the 'fifth' of G has a strong G a weak g is used to fill the gap of a fourth. This might further suggest that, although attributed to the 'fifth' of D, the A and g, in bars one and six, might also be hinting at an A 'fifth'. Henebry concluded therefore that the filling in of an interval of a fourth was a reliable method of identifying other 'stress registers' included in the composition:

> The rule is that the weak note employed as the filling of each fourth corresponds to the strong note in the accompanying register. Hence this weak filling of a fourth is a valuable index to the registers that are running at the time.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 219)

3.4.8 Meeting Points, Breaks and Pivots

In a further observation regarding the use of 'stress registers' Henebry states that specific notes are used as connecting notes between registers. In 'Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg Me', this connecting note, or meeting point, is D. All the Ds in this tune signal the end

of one register (or ‘fifth’), and herald the introduction of another (not necessarily different registers but rather further appearances of the same). These meeting, or pivot, points are illustrated in Figure 3.35 in red. Henebry suggests that because an accented D is common to both ‘fifths’ of G and D it assumes this connecting and pivotal role in the melody. Once again Henebry uses a musical term loosely. His reference to notes having a pivotal role in a melody is not to be confused with a pivot note or chord used in western art music to achieve a seamless modulation from one key to another. Henebry’s interpretation of the term pivot is simply as a fulcrum point around which a phrase or ‘stress register’ revolves. Other pivotal notes, such as C and G, are also evident in this melody and are illustrated in Figure 3.35 in blue. Henebry also stated that, in some cases, these pivotal points acted as the highest point to which the ‘stress register’ could reach before returning, this is an example of Henebry’s aforementioned ‘bundle of rods’ theory regarding the structure of Irish music (see pp. 156-158):

> The course of the gamut presents certain dead stops or points beyond which the melody cannot ascend but must either stop or stop and return.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 220)

In bar three of Figure 3.35 the first two notes F’ and g’ belong to the ‘stress register’ of D. The g’ (in blue) is the highest note in bar 3 and acts as the highest point of the ‘d’ ‘stress register’ before the introduction of the next register (which is also ‘d’). The D in bar 3 (highlighted in red) is a meeting, or pivot point around which the ‘registers’ are arranged. The highlighted semi-quaver D’ at the end of bar 4, does however act as a pivot between the two different ‘registers’, ‘d’ and ‘g’. It is a note common to both registers and seems to play a similar role to a pivot note in western art music. The C (highlighted in blue) in bar 5 also acts as a ‘pivot’ or ‘meeting point’ before the introduction of the next ‘register’.

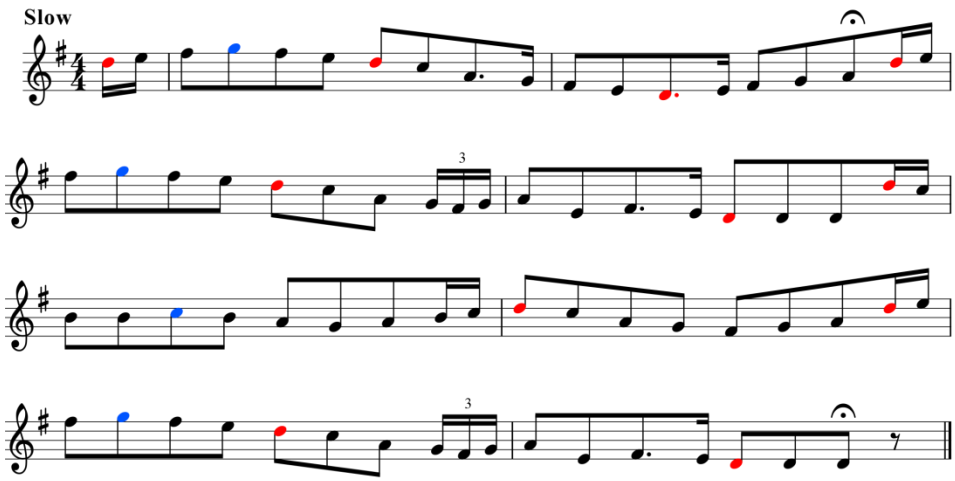


Figure 3.35: Meeting points and Pivot points in ‘Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg Mé’

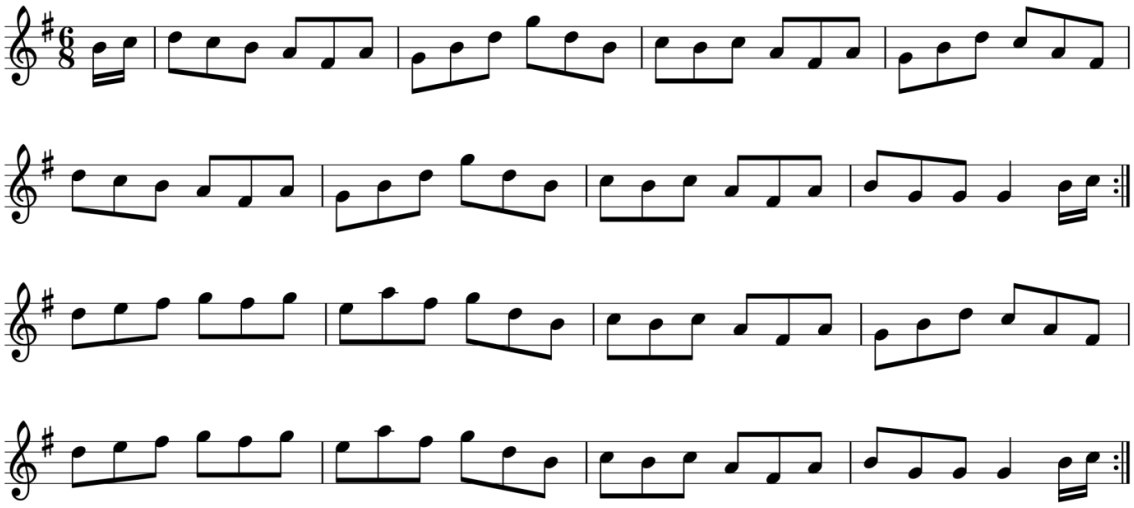
Henebry also states that ‘breaks’ or gaps in the tune may suggest an end of one register and herald the beginning of another. In Figure 3.35 a gap at B appears in bar 6. Although this ‘break’ does not herald a different register it does seem to act as a punctuation point between the two registers of ‘d’.

As the above tune, ‘Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg Mé’, consists of three ‘stress registers’ ‘d’, ‘g’, and ‘a’, it is categorised by Henebry as a DGA register tune. Henebry also analysed many of the melodies from P.W Joyce’s *Old Irish Folk Music and Songs* (1909), Francis O’Neill’s *Music of Ireland* (1903) and tunes collected by himself from friends and relatives in the west-Waterford area. From these analyses he concluded that Irish music could be classified according to the number of ‘stress register’ blends within each melody. The most common register blends, according to Henebry, are DE, GA, EA, DEA, DG and DA. Henebry concluded from his analysis that the four ‘stress registers’ in use in Irish music, ‘d’, ‘e’, ‘a’, and ‘g’, correspond with the four modal endings in

Irish music. Some further examples of Henebry's analysis of the interaction of 'stress registers' in Irish music will be given in the next section.

3.4.9 Register Blends in Irish Music

Henebry gives an untitled double jig from his 'own recollection' (Henebry 1928, p. 234) as an example of a DE register tune (see Figure 3.36).



e.	e..	d..	e..	e..	d..	d..	e..	d..
	e..	d..	e..	e..	d..	d..	e..	e-
e.	e..	e..	e..	e..	d..	d..	e..	d..
	e..	e..	e..	e..	d..	d..	e..	e-

Figure 3.36: A double jig with its 'register blend', No. 59 from *A Handbook of Irish Music* (1928)

Unlike 'Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg Mé', which is best described as an irregular common-time tune, this melody is a compound duple-time jig. Henebry plots the progression of the 'stress registers' in this tune by treating each grouping of three quavers as one unit consisting of an accented note followed by two weak notes, and is represented in the above chart by the register name (lower case letter) followed by two dots. In the 'register blend' diagram in Figure 3.36 each 'stress register' indicated consists of three

notes. The ‘register’ itself is indicated with a lower case letter. This lower case letter, however, not only represents the ‘register’ but it also represents the ‘strong’ or accented note in each grouping of three notes. The following two ‘repercussions’, or ‘weak’ notes are each represented by a dot. The first three notes of bar 1, for example, have been assigned, by Henebry, to the ‘e’ ‘register’ and are illustrated in the ‘register blend’ diagram in Figure 3.35 as ‘ e..’ long notes are represented with a dash (e-).

Henebry’s ‘stress register’ analysis for the jig in Figure 3.36 differs somewhat from the previous tune. His justification for the D register in this tune, for example, is based on the position of the many weak notes that would otherwise be part of the D register if accented:

> The tune shows the presence of the D register by the position of its weak notes in wide composition.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 234)

In bar 2 the notes A f a, fit easily into a D register, however in bar 4 he also assigns the notes C a, and f to the D register (lower case letters indicate weak notes). Because of the presence of an accented C in the second group, this grouping would not appear to belong to a D register. Henebry justifies his choice of register by suggesting that if the F was accented the resulting notes F a C would suggest that the upper third of the ‘fifth’ of D (F g A b C) is implied. It is likely that he came to this conclusion because the stress system in a jig does not match his earlier contention that ‘human’ music alternates regularly between ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ beats. Compound time, or triple time as Henebry calls it, often consists of one strong beat followed by two weak notes, it would appear that he altered his analysis of equally stressed notes to suit compound time.

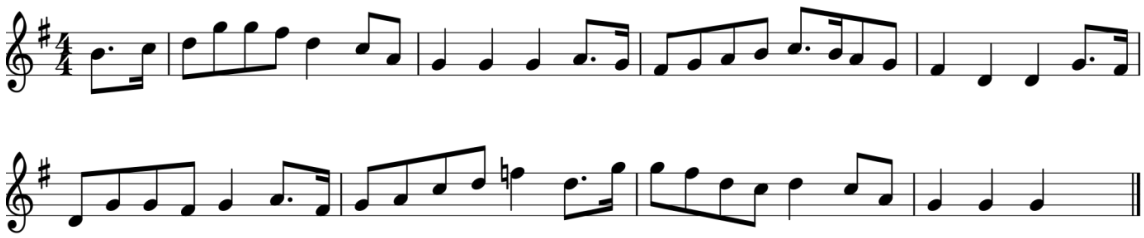
Henebry also states that there is a 'difficulty' when assigning the E register to this tune. In bar 2 he has assigned the E register to the quaver groupings of G b d, and G d b. At first glance it would appear that these notes should belong to a G register, Henebry however justifies his choice of the E register because the tune has an accented E at bars 10 and 14:

> Here it may be said that there is a difficulty in distinguishing the G from the E register…For the present the practice has been to assign to E that run which has E strong.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 234)

Another example of Henebry's analysis based on the interaction of 'stress registers' may be seen in his examination of the tune 'The Shan Van Vocht' which was taken from P.W. Joyce's 1909 collection of Irish music, *Old Irish Folk Music and Songs* (see Figure 3.37). This is classified by Henebry as a DG register tune, however he records the presence of an F natural in the tune by placing a flat accidental (*b)* after its register, which is 'd', hence d*b* in the register blend chart. This again is a confusing use of musical symbols. The d*b* in this case does not refer to the note Db or the key of Db. It is used here by Henebry to indicate a 'd' register with the previously mentioned 'Irish' Fb.[41] As this is a common-time tune Henebry has analysed it by grouping the notes into pairs regardless of their duration. In this way the first note of the group is accented and is represented by the register name (lower case letter) the second is weak and is represented by a dot. Henebry extrapolated two 'registers' for this tune based on his aforementioned surface record method. These clearly indicate the upper 'third' of the D 'register fifth' (F g A) and the G register (G a B c D) and because there is no accented E in this tune Henebry has no problem assigning the G register to it. As discussed earlier, the 'd' which 'fills in' the gap of the fourth in bar 6 (C d F) is dictated by the presence

[41] The 'Irish' F was, according to Henebry, sharper than F natural but flatter than F#, therefore when F natural is specifically indicated in a tune Henebry refers to it as Fb.

of the G register, likewise the ‘filler note’ in the gap of a fourth (D f G) in bar 1 is dictated by the presence of the D register in the tune.



g.	g.	g.	g-	(d.)	g.		g-	(d.)-	d.	d.	d.	d.	d-	d.
g.	g.	g.	g-	(d.)	g.	d.	d*b*-	(g.)-	g.	g.	g.	(d.)	g.	g

Figure 3.37: ‘The Shan Van Vocht’, No. 119, from *Old Irish Folk Music and Song* (1909).

Henebry began his series of analyses by initially counting accented notes, unaccented notes, and gaps in Irish music, and although this resulted in the modal classification of the five hundred tunes, it did not explain the importance of the accented, unaccented, or ‘gapped’ notes in Irish music. He was adamant that Irish music consisted of accented - unaccented phrase patterns each with its own tonality. The surface record method used by Henebry isolated phrases and visually recorded accented, unaccented, and absent notes in both a horizontal and vertical manner. This allowed Henebry to observe what he referred to as ‘opposition’ or ‘duality’ in Irish music. This ‘opposition’ however was only between phrases and Henebry wished to illustrate the relationship between note groupings within each phrase. He established this by introducing the ‘stress register fifth’. Henebry’s next task was to visually display this relationship between ‘stress registers’ in his ‘register blend’ method of analysis. He isolated notes into groups of two or three, if in compound time, and by applying his theory of ‘fifths’ determined their respective ‘stress registers’, these ‘registers’ were then illustrated on a chart. It would

appear, therefore, that Henebry's 'register blend' method of analysis was not an isolated analytical scheme but rather an extension of his 'surface record' method of analysis, which was in turn an extension of his linear analysis. The 'register blend' is essentially a graphic representation of the 'stress registers' discovered using the surface record analysis. Despite Henebry's extensive analytical methods, however, he did not prove that each 'stress register' also had its own tonality. This is obviously something which could not be reproduced on paper but would rely rather on an analysis of an aural example of Irish music.

3.4.10 Tonometric Analysis

In chapter five of *A Handbook of Irish Music*, Henebry states that he sent fourteen wax cylinder recordings of singers from both Ring and Kilnafrehan county. Waterford, to Dr Von Hornbostel at Berlin University for tonometric examination. This was the fourth and final analytical method used by Henebry. This method involved measuring the actual vibration rate of every note in a song or melody using a device called an Appun Tonometer. The Appun Tonometer was a sound measuring instrument which consisted of a large bank of single reeds, similar to those of an accordion, and like an accordion, it was operated by a bellows. Henebry says that the range of the Appun Tonometer was two octaves and that each reed was separated from the previous reed by one vibration (Henebry 1928). It was used to measure the exact vibration of every note and thereby achieve a precise pitch reading for each note measured. Every reed on the tonometer was marked with its respective vibration number. Sound was then measured by fixing the Edison Phonograph so that it played the required note continuously, in a 'loop', until the tonometer operative found the corresponding note amongst the reeds on the

tonometer (Henebry 1928). Henebry used these vibration measurements to prove his theories of non-standard tonality and pitch in Irish music.

It is possible, however, that while the vibration measurements are accurate representations of the music on the wax cylinders, the recordings themselves may not be entirely accurate reproductions of the music recorded. In 1940 music collector Liam de Noraidh began collecting music and songs in the west Waterford area. He petitioned the Folklore Commission in Dublin for an Edison Phonograph to record the singers and musicians. The Folklore Commission refused to supply him with a wax cylinder recorder and stated that the Edison recorder did not give an accurate reproduction of the song. It was claimed by the Folklore Commission that the needle, on the Edison phonograph, was unsuitable for recording the high notes and 'in such cases the singers sounded as if they were screeching' (Ó hÓgáin 1994, p. 9). This apparent technical limitation of the Edison phonograph might suggest that Henebry's conclusions regarding the intervallic anomalies in Irish music are not reliable.

Henebry applied a mathematical formula to Von Hornbostel's tonometric measurements to illustrate the 'width' of intervals. Having established the intervallic ratios for the 'modern' scale Henebry then calculated these intervals in cents[42] (see Figure 3.38).

[42] It should be noted here that Henebry's term 'modern' scale is not a reference to the equal-tempered scale of the piano but one which seems to be closer to a 'just intonation' scale, as previously mentioned.

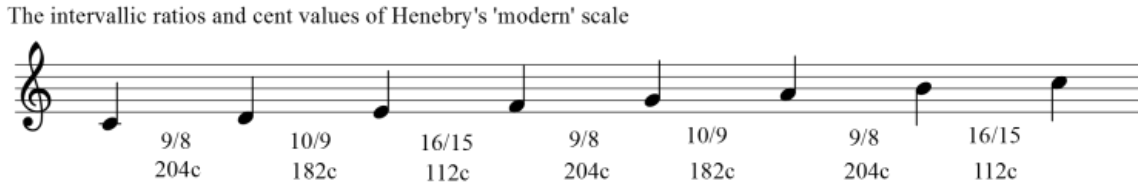


Figure 3.38: Intervallic ratios and cent values of Henebry's modern scale

In order to do this he states that as an octave is represented by the ratio 2/1 which is 2, a semi-tone (twelve per octave) is represented by the twelfth root of two which is .02509. The next step in his calculations involves a logarithmical formula, explained to Henebry by Dr Von Hornbostel. The ratio for the octave is 2/1, in order to calculate a logarithm value for this he subtracts the logarithm of the lowest number, 1, from the logarithm of the highest number, 2. The logarithm of 1 is 0, and the logarithm of 2 is 0.30103, therefore the logarithm for an octave is 0.30103. In order to create twelve equal semi-tones 0.30103 must be divided by 0.02509 (twelfth root of 2) Henebry refers to this as dividing the octave into twelve 'equal or piano semi-tones':

> The octave interval, which is measured by .30103, is divided by .02509 into the number of equal or piano semitones which it contains.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 285)

Henebry states that all intervals can be calculated using the above formula, however if the logarithm of any interval is divided by 0.02509 it will only give an answer relating to the twelve semi-tones of the piano's tempered scale. He maintains that this semi-tone interval is too big for accurate measurements. This problem is overcome by dividing the twelfth root of 2 (octave) by 100 which is 0.0002509, this number is then divided into the logarithm of the octave, 0.30103, with the resulting answer 1200. Using this method a semi-tone interval can therefore be subdivided into one hundred smaller parts called cents.

To explain this method further Henebry calculated the cents value of the interval of a fifth (3/2). The logarithm of 2 (30103) (decimal point removed) is subtracted from the logarithm of 3 (47712) the answer is then divided by 251 giving the interval value in cents 702. The logarithm of the low number in the ratio is subtracted from the logarithm of the higher ratio number and divided by 251, which is .02509 with the decimal point removed because the octave now measures 1200 not 12:

> …the essentials being to subtract the log. of the less vibration number from that of the greater and divide the remainder by 251, which is ordinarily sufficiently correct and much easier to use than 0.02509.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 285)

Henebry also states that the above logarithm formula for calculating intervals from ratios could also be applied to the logarithm of 'vibration' numbers obtained from tonometrical readings. He includes an example of the interval between the vibration numbers 751 and 553, the logarithm of 553 (74273) is subtracted from the logarithm of 751 (87564) the answer is divided by 251 giving the cent value of the interval, 529c. In this fourth and final analytical process Henebry calculates the intervals in the fourteen songs submitted, by taking logarithm measurements as previously described and comparing the results with the interval values for the 'modern' scale in Figure 3.38. In order to explain this method of analysis further, the tonometric measurements for the song 'Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg Mé' are given in Figure 3.39.

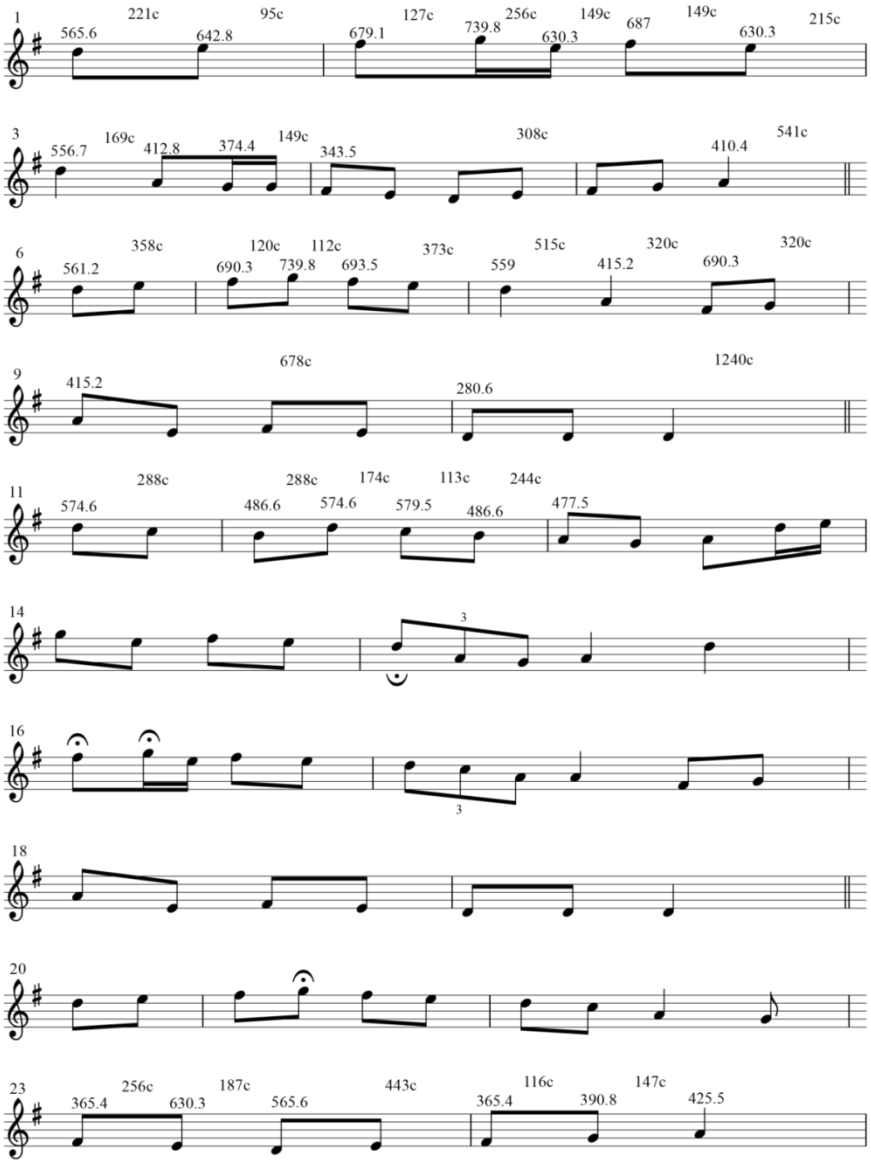


Figure 3.39: Tonometric Analysis of ‘Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg Mé’

Henebry approached this transcription of ‘Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg Mé’ differently to his previous transcription of the same tune (see Figure 3.29). In this, his second attempt at transcribing this song air, he has abandoned the time signature completely. He uses bar lines to indicate where the strongest beat should occur and because he maintained that this tune was irregular in rhythm the barring is also irregular. The melody in Figure 3.29 was given the time signature of 4/4, but, the transcription in Figure 3.38 seems to be a

combination of the differing metres − 1/4, 2/4, 3/4, and 5/8. Henebry uses double bar lines to show the end of phrases, and includes the ‘proclitic conjunctions’, in the short 1/4 bars.

It is immediately apparent that not every note of the song air was tonometrically tested. Dr Von Hornbostel of the Berlin University did however measure the vibration rate of enough notes for Henebry to apply his aforementioned logarithm formula. In Figure 3.39 the vibration rates obtained by Von Hornbostel are placed directly above their respective notes. The cent value of intervals between each vibration number is written above and between the vibration rates. The cent values were obtained by subtracting the logarithm of the lowest vibration number from the logarithm of the highest vibration number and then dividing the answer by 251. In bar 1, for example, the first note has a vibration rate of 565.6 and the second note has a vibration rate of 642.8, using his formula Henebry calculated that the intervening interval has a cent value of 221c. By plotting the song tune in this manner Henebry was able to substantiate some of his earlier theories regarding variable pitch and tonality.

Henebry transcribed the fourteen song airs for tonometric analysis into the key of ‘G’ regardless of their original pitch. This means therefore that the vibration rates do not necessarily conform to the notes indicated but rather to the notes of the original performance. While somewhat confusing this should not detract from Henebry’s conclusions as the intervals calculated by him would be the same in the original performance as they are in his transcriptions using the key signature of G major. The

cent value, for example, of the interval between the fifth and the sixth notes in the opening bar of this song air is 221c. When compared with the interval between the fifth and sixth of the 'modern' scale in Figure 3.38, however, a considerable difference is apparent as the same measurement for the 'modern' scale is 182c.

As regards variable pitch Henebry uses Von Hornbostel's vibration rate measurements to prove that the seventh note of the scale is not a standard sharpened seventh but has a variable quality which seems to change according to the direction of melody. In bar seven, for example, the first F' in the bar has a vibration rate of 690.3 while it is in an ascending direction. The second F' in bar seven has a vibration rate of 693.5 in a descending direction. Although the difference between both 'Fs' is small it seems to prove Henebry's contention that there is subtle differences between the scale used in Irish music and the major scale of western art music. This subtle difference is not confined to the seventh however, as different vibration rates are evident in multiple occurrences of what would otherwise appear (on paper) to be the same note. The D' in bar 8 has a vibration rate of 559 but in bar 11 it is given a vibration rate of 574.6. In bar 4 the F has a vibration rate of 343.5 while the seemingly same note in bar 8 has a vibration rate of 690.3. The A in bar 5 is 410.4 but in bar 8 it is measured at 415.2 and then in bar 13 the A has a vibration rate of 477.5. By calculating the length or width of the intervals in cents Henebry was able to compare these 'Irish' intervals with the equivalent standard intervals in his interpretation of the 'modern' scale, already illustrated in Figure 3.38. Hence the tonometric examination seems to have proven Henebry's earlier 'bundle of rods' theory that while the 'Irish' scale may be that of eight notes it has a distinctively different intervallic pattern from the standard western art

music diatonic octave. It does not however prove his assertion that an ‘Irish’ scale is necessarily constructed around five long intervals and two short intervals. Many different notes, apparently of the same pitch, in the above tonometric examination are represented with different vibration rates, thus creating many differing intervals within the one octave.

The different vibration values for notes with the same pitch name, also suggest a variable tonality that is radically different from music performed using the western art music major scale. If the tonometric values illustrated in Figure 3.39 are compared to the register blend chart for ‘Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg Mé’ in Figure 3.34 Henebry’s assertion of a variable tonality in Irish music becomes clearer. In Figure 3.34 Henebry calculated that the first section of the song is in the ‘register blend’ of ‘d’. The tonometric measurements in Figure 3.39 however suggest that each sample of ‘d’ differs slightly from each other. This results in a tonality alien to that of western art music. In western art music tonality is defined as being the ‘observance of a single tonic key as the basis of composition’ (Kennedy 1996, p. 741). Henebry applied his theory of variable ‘stress registers’ to Irish music, and showed how the practioners of Irish music were not confined to western art music’s strict adherence to a single standard key. In bar 10 the lower D has a vibration rate of 280.6. The vibration rate of the upper D’ however, in bar 11 is given as 574.6. Having calculated the width of the intervening interval, using the aforementioned logarithm formula, Henebry found it to be 1240c, which is considerably greater than the previously mentioned 1200c octave interval of the western art music scale. This seems to corroborate his earlier statement, with regard to ‘stress registers’ that notes an octave apart may not necessarily be the same. This unusually

large interval appears in the melody where according to Henebry a significant change in 'stress registers' occurs. In bar 10 the D is within the 'd' register whereas in bar 11 the D' is in the 'g' register (see Figure 3.34).

Differing tonalities were not clear in the 'register blend' in Figure 3.34, but the differing vibration rates and interval measurements in Figure 3.39, when compared with Figure 3.34, clearly illustrate a non-standard pitch within the 'stress registers' previously mentioned by Henebry. Perhaps the best evidence of this is the previously mentioned varying tonometric measurements of D'. The D' in bar 1 has the vibration rate of 565.6. The vibration rate of D' in bar three is 556.7 and in bar 6, D' has the vibration rate of 561.2. Despite these differences each example of D' is considered, by Henebry, to be broadly within the 'd' 'stress register' (see Figure 3.34). Henebry therefore used tonometric and mathematical analyses to uphold his own earlier theories regarding the unique structure and tonality of Irish music. The remaining thirteen songs submitted by Henebry to Dr Von Hornbostel were analysed in the same way achieving similar results (see Appendix B).

3.5 Conclusion

The contents of Henebry's first published analysis of Irish music in 1899 indicate that he was tentatively approaching what was to eventually become a complex analysis of Irish music. This lecture is indicative more of Henebry's enthusiasm for the subject rather than a strong academic proof of an Irish scale or unique structure. His conclusions are somewhat confusing and appear to be, for the most part, a re-stating of

the conclusions drawn by W.K. Sullivan. The contents of his lecture notes, however, may be considered the starting point in Henebry's evolving understanding of the structure of Irish music. His rather dogmatic statements and assertions regarding the unique structure of Irish music 'set the stage' for his later analyses and tend to dominate his subsequent arguments.

While his second published analysis of Irish music in 1903 was a more detailed investigation of the scales and modes of Irish music, he begins to differ slightly from his earlier descriptions of an Irish scale. This suggests that Henebry's ideas regarding the nature and construction of Irish music were developing. He still maintained however that Irish music could be represented with its own unique 'Gaelic' scale. This quest for an Irish or Gaelic structure to the music seems to have been the 'driving force' behind his second analysis and it may have 'blinkered' his resulting conclusions. This is somewhat evident in the comments made by his contemporaries such as Bewerunge and O'Carroll, both suggesting that what Henebry discovered was the use of a pre-tempered just intonation scale in the performance of Irish music. It is possible that Henebry's admitted lack of knowledge of the theory of music might explain his oversight, but it is also possible however, that his dogmatic desire to ascribe a unique Irish origin to the music drove him to dismiss any other explanations. The measurements quoted by Henebry, for example, for the modern diatonic scale were not entirely accurate, and his conclusions therefore regarding an 'Irish' scale are not entirely reliable. Likewise his depiction of modes and 'fiddler's keys' are unreliable, as today Henebry's 'fiddler's keys' are accepted as modes themselves, and not transpositions of other modes. However, despite these apparent mistakes and oversights in Henebry's analysis in *Irish*

Music (1903), it was one of the first published attempts to investigate the structure of the music and as such it should be regarded as an important step in understanding the complexities of Irish music.

Richard O'Carroll states that Henebry abandoned his pursuit of a unique Irish scale sometime after the publication of *Irish Music*. Henebry's approach to the analysis of Irish music in his third and final publication, *A Handbook of Irish Music*, seems to corroborate O'Carroll's statement. This book contains Henebry's last and most important analytical work. He has indeed rejected the concept of one, or two, specific scales in Irish music and now investigates the music using what might be considered a 'holistic' approach to its construction and performance. Henebry speculates on the origin of 'human music' and suggests that an external 'subjective' emotive element may be linked with Irish music and is essential in its performance. He has discarded the concept of a static scale, 'Irish' or otherwise, for a 'fluid' system of interacting 'stress registers' which produces a subtle shifting tonality in Irish music. It was his analysis of these 'stress registers' that made Henebry's work one of the most innovative analyses of Irish music of the time.

He isolated the occurrences of 'stress registers' in Irish music and claimed that because they were not confined to the 'strict adherence' of a standard key the subsequent tonality differed greatly from western art music. This may also explain the apparent anomalies in his earlier measurements of 'Irish scales'. He developed a number of different analytical schemes to describe the music. The first, his linear method,

determined the mode of a tune by counting the amount and frequency of accented notes in a tune. The second, the surface record method, showed how phrases opposed each other in Irish music, this ‘opposition’ is based on opposing or contrasting stresses in each phrase. His third method, the ‘stress register’ blend, showed how Irish music consisted of various interacting ‘stress registers’ within each phrase. While *A Handbook of Irish Music* was a significant development of his earlier works, it also displayed a certain internal evolutionary analytic progress through the successive use of these analytical schemes. It was not however until Henebry introduced the tonometric analysis that his theories were strengthened significantly.

A Handbook of Irish Music was unique for its time in that Henebry’s arguments were supported by recordings of specific musical samples of the tunes analysed. Although the recordings did not accompany the sale of the book their existence, nevertheless, added an authenticity and proof to Henebry’s assertions. This authenticity is strengthened by the fact that the recordings were independently analysed by Dr Von Hornbostel, and appeared to agree with Henebry’s assertion that Irish music was based on a different tonality to western art music. Richard Henebry’s three analytical works, and tonometric analysis, therefore display his various attempts to analyse Irish music. His analytical methods evolved and changed over time. These successive analytical methods should not, however, be considered as parts of an on-going single body of work but should be looked upon as Richard Henebry’s progressive development, over time, of an in-depth and complex analysis and understanding of the structure of Irish music.

Chapter Four

The Henebry Collection

4.1 Richard Henebry's Wax Cylinder Collection

Richard Henebry's collection of wax cylinder recordings is extensive and is currently housed in three different locations. The largest single collection is in University College Cork (UCC) and consists of one hundred and fourteen individual wax cylinders, with many cylinders containing two tunes each. The Henebry collection in the Berliner Phonagramm-Archiv (BPA) consists of copies of the fourteen recordings sent by Henebry to Dr Von Hornbostel for tonometric analysis. Digital copies of these recordings were presented to the Irish Traditional Music Archive (ITMA) 73 Merrion Square, Dublin, in 2009 by the Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv. There is also a collection of Henebry recordings in the National Folklore Collection at University College Dublin (UCD). This collection consists of twenty four wax cylinder recordings which were donated to the National Folklore Collection by Richard Henebry's nephew, Piaras De Hindeberg. These wax cylinder recordings were made by Richard Henebry. In addition, the National Folklore Collection has five 'dubbed' copies which were copied from phonograph cylinders lent to the National Folklore Collection by Piaras De Hindeberg. The latter phonograph recordings were made by Richard Henebry or Francis O'Neill.

4.1.1 The UCC Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection

On 12 May 1911 the *Waterford News* published a letter from Richard Henebry announcing the establishment of an Irish music phonogram archive in UCC. Henebry states that this project was inaugurated by Dr Windle President of UCC:

> Dr Windle, President of Cork University College, has secured a sum of £50 from the Governing Body for the purpose of inaugurating a Phonogram Archive for the collection and preservation of Irish music.
>
> (Waterford News 12 May 1911, p. 2.)

It is highly likely, however, that the true drive behind this phonogram archive was Henebry himself, as he was given responsibility for the proposed archive:

> This is the first initiation of the kind established in Ireland, and I have been honoured with the charge and care of it.
>
> (Waterford News 12 May 1911, p. 2)

In the aforementioned letter to the *Waterford News* Henebry remarks on the efforts of foreign institutions, such as universities in Berlin and Vienna, to collect Irish music and specifically Irish music from county Waterford, and highlights the shame that such an archive does not exist in Ireland:

> Both the Universities of Berlin and Vienna have collections made in Ring, Dungarvan, Coolnasmeer, and Kilgobinet, and if people living at such a distance can afford time and money to make such collections is it not a shame for us, who trample it under our feet every day, that we not make some effort to grasp some little samples and specimens from it is [*sic*] it passes?
>
> (Waterford News 12 May 1911, p. 2)

The Berlin collection mentioned by Henebry may have been a reference to the previously mentioned set of fourteen wax cylinder recordings sent by Henebry himself to Dr Von Hornbostel for tonometric analysis. His mention of Vienna is undoubtedly a reference to the Irish field recordings made by Dr Rudolf Trebitsch (1876-1918) in 1907. Trebitsch worked for the University of Vienna and made field recordings of folklore and folk music in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Isle of Mann, and Brittany from 1907 to 1909. Dr Trebitsch's recordings are currently housed in the

Phonogrammarchive of the Austrian Academy of Sciences.[43] Digital copies of Trebitsch's Celtic recordings, including Irish recordings, were subsequently released commercially in 2003 by the Austrian Academy of Sciences. Trebitsch met Henebry in the Ring Gaeltacht in 1907 and it is probable that Henebry introduced him to local singers Patrick O'Neill and Séamus Ó Ceallaigh, at this time (Remmer 2003). In total Trebitsch made four wax cylinder recordings in county Waterford. One recording was of an old Gaelic tale narrated by a fifteen year old schoolboy, Thomas O'Haoda, from An Rinn, Co. Waterford. The remaining three recordings are of singers Patrig[*sic*] O'Neill and Seamus O'Ceallaig[*sic*], both from An Rinn, Co. Waterford (Remmer 2003).

The Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection in UCC comprises of field recordings made by Richard Henebry in Ireland, and of field recordings of Irish music either made or organised by Captain Francis O'Neill in Chicago and gifted to Henebry. Of the one hundred and fourteen cylinders, approximately forty five were recorded by Henebry, and approximately thirty nine were possibly recorded by O'Neill. The remaining thirty cylinders are blank, broken, or inaudible and have not been suitably labelled making it impossible to determine their provenance. In the aforementioned letter to the *Waterford News* Henebry outlines how an archive should be sorted and catalogued:

> For in an archive the records are numbered and each hung on a peg in a locked case. Every case has a paginated book, where all particulars of each record is written on the page corresponding to its number.
>
> (Henebry cited in the Waterford News 12 May 1911, p. 2)

[43] Phonogrammarchive der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

Despite Henebry's apparent intention in the above quote the wax cylinders in UCC do not appear to have been properly catalogued. The contents of many cylinders can be identified only by a written title on the lid or side of the individual cylinder's box. Many cylinders are not in boxes but are wrapped in newspaper, corrugated paper, or cotton wool with a loose note included mentioning the tune name or performer. It is possible that these loose notes are the remnants of Henebry's proposed 'paginated book'. The cylinders themselves are in a poor state of repair. Some are badly cracked others are scratched and some are completely broken. It would appear that in 1921 the then Professor of Irish Music at UCC, Carl Hardebeck, made an attempt to catalogue the collection. He identified the performer and tune title on many of the cylinders and wrote this information on the cylinder box or on an attached note. Hardebeck's index notes are accompanied by the date of indexing and either his name or initials:

> The Irish Washerwoman, P. Tuohey, C.G. Hardebec[*sic*]. 9.4.21.
> (Wax cylinder No. 1. UCC Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection)

It is likely that Hardebeck obtained this information from the vocal introduction on the recordings. If this is so then the present sparse index of the collection can be attributed to both Hardebeck and Henebry.

As Hardebeck was blind it is assumed that his assistant wrote the actual index notes, which would account for the misspelling of his name (Hardebec) on some entries. Most entries however only contain Hardebeck's initials, C.G.H., and the date. This index seems to have been completed between February and November 1921. There is however, one cylinder dated before this, 'The Shaskeen Reel', P. Tuohey [*sic*] 19.2.'20,

and, although it does not have Hardebeck's initials it was possibly indexed by him. Hardebeck catalogued thirty two wax cylinders in this manner, the rest presumably were indexed by Henebry. Henebry's index notes do not contain a date and in many cases, such as cylinder No. 10, only have the performer's name, and the cylinder number in Irish: 'Deich, Tomas O Huigin'.

In his book *Irish Folk Music* Francis O'Neill states that in 1907 he sent a number of wax cylinder recordings of Irish-American musicians from Chicago to Richard Henebry as a Christmas gift:

> As Christmas present which was sure to be appreciated, I forwarded in 1907 to Rev. Dr Henebry, at Waterford, Ireland, a box of Edison phonograph records which Sergeant Early generously permitted me to select from his treasures. Among them was 'The Shaskeen Reel', played by Patrick Touhey.
>
> (O'Neill 1910, p. 113)

It was this Christmas gift that was later to become part of what today is called the UCC Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection. These cylinders seem to be, for the most part, solo and duet recordings of Sergeant James Early (pipes) and John Mc Fadden (fiddle), and solo recordings of Patrick 'Patsy' Touhey (pipes). In his book *A Harvest Saved*, Nicholas Carolan states that after the death of his son, Rogers, in 1904, Francis O'Neill no longer played music in his home. O'Neill moved his cylinder recorder/player and his collection of wax cylinders to the home of a friend (Carolan 1997). In 2002 a box of O'Neill's wax cylinders was discovered in Milwaukee in the Dunn family home. It is thought that these recordings belonged to piper James Early as they were bequeathed to piper, Michael J. Dunn, in 1914 along with other of Early's artefacts on the death of James Early (Ksiazek 2010). It is possible therefore that James Early was the friend to whom O'Neill entrusted his recordings. This then might explain why O'Neill was able

to send recordings from Early's collection to Henebry. In the above quote O'Neill specifically mentions a recording of the popular reel 'The Shaskeen Reel' played by the piper Patsy Touhey. This recording can still be heard in the UCC collection today. Henebry was very impressed with the American cylinders and expressed his delight with the gift, especially the cylinders of Patsy Touhey, and 'The Shaskeen Reel' in particular:

> The five by Touhey are the superior limit of Irish pipering. One of his, especially 'The Shaskeen Reel', is so supreme that I am utterly without words to express my opinion of it.
> (Henebry cited in O'Neill 1910, p. 113)

It is interesting to note that Henebry mentions five recordings of Patsy Touhey in O'Neill's gift, today however there are twelve cylinder recordings of Patsy Touhey in the UCC collection. In addition, there are two duplicates of the recording 'The Morning Star' by Patsy Touhey and one duplicate of 'The Gold Ring' by Patsy Touhey, giving a final total of fifteen wax cylinders of Patsy Touhey's playing. This suggests that Henebry may have acquired additional American recordings after 1907. In his letter to the *Waterford News,* published 12 May 1911, Henebry appeals to the general public for Edison wax cylinder recordings of Irish music. It is also possible that Henebry made similar appeals to Francis O'Neill and other musicians in America. If O'Neill or other Irish-American musicians answered his appeal, it could therefore suggest that the extra American recordings in the UCC collection were acquired at this time:

> I need not point out that the action of Cork University College in establishing a phonogram Archive for Irish music has inaugurated a work of national importance. The real music, such as it now exists, will be stored there and available for consultation in future ages. I would be thankful therefore, for help of all kinds, and from all sources. People having Edison records of Irish music that they do not want could donate them to the University.
> (Henebry cited in Waterford News 12 May 1911, p. 2)

It is possible that the new recordings received from America after 1907 were made by Francis O'Neill, although the Touhey recordings may have been recorded by Touhey

himself.[44] Amongst the aforementioned collection of cylinder recordings re-discovered in 2002 in Milwaukee (see p. 208), is another recording of Patsy Touhey playing 'The Shaskeen Reel'. This is not a copy of the recording currently in UCC as the recording in Milwaukee is introduced by Patsy Touhey with the words, 'The Shaskeen Reel played by Patsy Touhey for Dr Henebry'. The recording in UCC does not have such a specific introduction addressed to Dr Henebry, and therefore both recordings are not copies of each other, but rather different recordings of the same tune by the same performer. It would seem likely that the Milwaukee recording was made for Henebry but for some unknown reason was not sent to him. Although it is not known when it was recorded, it could have been *c.*1911 if Henebry had indeed addressed his appeal, for recordings, to America. Many of the American cylinders in the UCC collection have a spoken introduction announcing the performer, the tune, and on thirteen cylinders, including some recordings of Patsy Touhey, the speaker finishes with the words 'for Dr Henebry':

> [Milliner's] daughter, a reel played on the violin by John Mc Fadden for Dr Henebry.
> (Wax cylinder No. 3. UCC Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection)

In the above mentioned quote from Francis O'Neill he states that the cylinders that were sent to Henebry as a Christmas present were chosen from sergeant Early's 'treasures', as previously mentioned, this may suggest that they were part of O'Neill's collection of cylinders, in James Early's care, and were not recorded specifically for Henebry. The cylinders with the added portion of the introduction (for Dr Henebry) however, seem to have been recorded especially for Henebry. This suggests, therefore, that they may have been part of a different consignment of American recordings, perhaps later, than that of O'Neill's initial Christmas present in 1907.

[44] Patsy Touhy recorded his own piping and sold his recordings commercially. In their book *The Piping of Patsy Touhey* (1986) Pat Mitchell and Jackie Small mention that Touhey first advertised his recordings for sale in *The Irish World* on 1 June 1901.

As many of Patsy Touhey's recordings were self-recorded the introductory voice on the Touhey cylinders is almost certainly his own. It is not clear, however, to whom the other introductory voice(s), on the non-Touhey recordings belong. Due to the poor quality of the recordings it can only be said with certainty that it is a man's voice. The introductions, however, are usually formulaic in that, the tune is announced first and then the performer is named. This formulaic approach may indicate that it is the same voice for many of the recordings. If O'Neill organised this extra collection for Henebry, it may indeed, be Francis O Neill's voice in the introduction. It is probable that if the individual performers announced their recordings their introductions might not always have been in the same format. A list of the American recordings in the UCC Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection is given in Table 4.1.

Table 4:1: Wax Cylinder Recordings of Irish-American Musicians in the UCC Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection

Cylinder No.	Performer	Tune Title/Type	Comments Enclosed With Cylinder	Present author's Comments and Observations
1	Patsy Touhy (Uilleann pipes)	'The Irish Washerwoman' (Jig)	The Irish Washerwoman, P. Touhey, C.G. Hardebec 9.4.21.	Unidentified voice announces 'The Irish Washerwoman played by Patsy Touhey'. Reasonable audio quality.
3	John Mc Fadden (Fiddle)	'Miliner's Daughter' (Reel)	The tune title 'Miliner's Daughter' is written on the lid of the Cylinder's box.	Very poor audio quality. Unknown voice announces '-[Miliner's] daughter played on the violin by John Mc Fadden for Dr Henebry'

Table 4.1 Wax Cylinder Recordings of Irish-American Musicians in the UCC Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection (continued)

Cylinder No.	Performer	Tune Title/Type	Comments Enclosed With Cylinder	Present author's Comments and Observations
4	Patsy Touhy (Uilleann pipes)	'The Humours of Whiskey' (Slip jig)	'Touhy 6/4/21, C.G.H, Humours of Whiskey' is written on the top lid of the cylinder's box.	Very poor audio quality. Unknown voice announces '-[?] Patsy Touhy for Dr Henebry'
5	John Mc Fadden (Fiddle)	'Paddy in London and the Flogging Reel.' (Reels)	19/3/21. London. C.G. H. is written on the top lid of the cylinder's box. The tune title 'Flogging Reel' is written on the side of the box.	Very poor audio quality. Unidentified voice announces '-[?] played on violin by John Mc Fadden for Dr Henebry'
8	Unknown (Fiddle)	'Top of Cork Road' (Jig)	Written on bottom lid of cylinder's box, 'Touhy. Colonel Frazier's reel'	An unidentified male voice introduces this recording in English with, '-[?] jig –[?] Top of the Cork road'. Possible recording of John Mc Fadden put into wrong box.
9	Patsy Touhey (Pipes)	'Colonel Piper's Reel' (Reel)	Written on a piece of paper in the cylinder's box, 'Colonel Piper's Reel by Patsy Tuohy [*sic*]'.	Very poor audio quality. Uilleann pipes barely recognisable.
11	John Mc Fadden (Fiddle)	Unidentified reel	There is no note or title with this wax cylinder.	Very poor audio quality. Unknown voice announces 'The –[?] reel played on violin by Mc Fadden'
13	John Mc Fadden (Fiddle)	'Primrose Flat' (Reel)	'Primrose Flat, played on violin by McFadden 16.4.21 C.G.H.' is written on a note with the cylinder.	Reasonable audio quality. Unidentified voice announces 'Reel Primrose Flat played on the violin by Mc Fadden'
20	Patsy Touhy (Uilleann pipes)	'Torachar Mumhan'	'Torachar Mumhan ó Tuathaig' is written on the bottom lid of the cylinder's box.	Bad audio quality
22	John Mc Fadden (Fiddle)	'The Swaggering Jig'	'Swaggering Jig sample' is written on the top lid of the cylinder's box.	Bad audio quality. Unknown voice announces '-[?] played on the violin by John Mc Fadden for Dr Henebry'

Table 4.1 Wax Cylinder Recordings of Irish-American Musicians in the UCC Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection (continued)

Cylinder No.	Performer	Tune Title/Type	Comments Enclosed With Cylinder	Present author's Comments and Observations
31	Patsy Touhey (Uilleann pipes)	'The Gold Ring' (Jig)	'Touhy,19/12/'21 C.G.H. Gold Ring?'(inscribed on lid of box) and 'Tomás Ó Huigín' (written on the side of the box)	Bad audio quality. This wax cylinder of Patsy Touhey was probably stored in the wrong box. Hardebeck wrote the Gold Ring on the lid of the box despite Tomas O Huigín's name being on the side of the box.
32	Patsy Touhey (Uilleann pipes)	'The Garden of Daisies' (Set Dance)	There is no note or title with this wax cylinder.	Inaudible
41	Patsy Touhey (Uilleann pipes)	'The Munster Gimlet' (Slip Jig)	'The Munster Gimlet by Patsy Touhy 30/4/'21 C.G.H.' Written on note with cylinder.	Reasonable audio quality. Unknown voice introduces '-[?] by Patsy Touhey'
57	Patsy Touhey (Uilleann pipes)	'The Flogging Reel' (Reel)	'Flog, Reel; Touhey; 19/2/'21 C.G.H.' written on top lid of cylinder box.	Reasonable audio quality apart from an inaudible vocal introduction
58	Patsy Touhey (Uilleann pipes)	Unidentified Reel (possibly the 'Morning Star')	There is no note or title with this wax cylinder.	Reasonable audio quality. Unidentified voice announces '-[?] by Patsy Touhey'
60	John Mc Fadden (Fiddle)	Unrecognisable	There is no note or title with this wax cylinder.	Unknown voice announces '-[?] played on the violin by John Mc Fadden' (for Dr Henebry). Very poor audio quality.
62	John Mc Fadden (Fiddle) and James Early (Uilleann pipes)	'Lord Mayo' (Slow Air)	Note contained with Wax Cylinder reads, 'Lord Mayo. James Early and John Mc Fadden. 9.4.'21. C.G. Hardebec.'	Unidentified voice states 'Slow Air Lord Mayo by Early and Mc Fadden'. Reasonable audio quality.
63	Patsy Touhey (Uilleann pipes)	'The Ladies' Pantelettes' (Reel)	'Touhey, Washerwoman' is written on the bottom lid of wax cylinder box	Unidentified voice announces 'The Ladies Pantelettes by Patsy Touhey'. Very poor audio quality.
66	John Mc Fadden (Fiddle)	Unidentified Hornpipe	9.3.'21 C.G.H. is written on the top lid of the wax cylinder box.	Unidentified voice announces 'The –[?] hornpipe played on violin by John Mc Fadden for Dr Henebry. Very poor audio quality.

Table 4.1 Wax Cylinder Recordings of Irish-American Musicians in the UCC Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection (continued)

Cylinder No.	Performer	Tune Title/Type	Comments Enclosed With Cylinder	Present author's Comments and Observations
72	Patsy Touhey (Uilleann pipes)	'The Shaskeen Reel' (Reel)	Note with wax cylinder reads, Shaskeen Reel, P. Touhey 19.2.'20.	Unidentified voice announces 'The Shaskeen Reel by Patsy Touhey'. Reasonable audio quality.
73	John Mc Fadden (Fiddle)	'The Wicklow Hornpipe' (Hornpipe)	The note on the top lid of cylinder box reads, 'Wicklow Hornpipe, Mc Fadden 19.3.'21.	Unidentified voice announces '-[?] for Dr Henebry'. Very poor audio quality.
74	Patsy Touhey (Uilleann pipes)	Unidentified Reels	The note on the top lid of the box reads, 'Touhey, Scotch Leonita? 9.3.'21. C.G.H. The Morning Star Reel is written on the side of the Cylinder's box.	This recording is also introduced by an unidentified male voice which states '-[?] for Dr Henebry'. Bad audio quality.
75	Patsy Touhey (Uilleann pipes)	'The Gold Ring' (Jig)	The tune title 'The Gold Ring' is written on the side of the cylinder's box.	This may be a copy of No. 31 above. It is introduced by an unidentified male voice as, 'The Gold Ring Jig played by Patsy Touhey for Dr Henebry'. Poor audio quality.
76	John Mc Fadden (Fiddle)	'Mc Fadden's Reel' (Reel)	Mc Fadden's Reel 5.3.'21 C.G.H. is written on the top lid of the cylinder's box.	Very poor audio quality, barely audible.
77	Patsy Touhey (Uilleann pipes)	'World Famous March' (March)	Note included with cylinder reads, 'World Famous March played by P. Touhey 13.4.'21' C.G.H.'	Overall reasonable audio quality but beginning of recording very poor quality.
78	Patsy Touhey (Uilleann pipes)	'Ride A Mile' (Slip jig)	'Ride a Mile, Touhy, Slip Jig. 9.2.'21 C.G.H.' is written on the top lid of the cylinder's box.	An unidentified male voice introduces this recording with 'Ride a mile played by Patsy Touhey for Dr Henebry'. Poor audio quality.
79	Patsy Touhey (Uilleann pipes)	Unidentified Reel (possibly 'The Morning Star Reel')	There is no note or title with this wax cylinder.	Unidentified male voice introduces recording with, '-[?] by Patsy Touhey for Dr Henebry'. Poor audio quality.

Table 4.1 Wax Cylinder Recordings of Irish-American Musicians in the UCC Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection (continued)

Cylinder No.	Performer	Tune Title/Type	Comments Enclosed With Cylinder	Present author's Comments and Observations
80	John Mc Fadden (Fiddle)	Unidentified Jig	'Touhy, M. Star C.G.H.' is written on the top lid of this cylinder's box.	This recording is introduced as '-[?] by John Mc Fadden for Dr Henebry'. It is possible that this cylinder was placed in the wrong box. This box may be the original box for No. 79 above. Bad audio quality.
81	John Mc Fadden (Fiddle)	'Happy to Meet and Sorry to Part' (Jig)	There are no notes or titles with this cylinder.	This recording is introduced by an unidentified male voice with 'Happy to Meet and Sorry to Part played on violin by John Mc Fadden'
88	John Mc Fadden (Fiddle)	Two Unidentified Reels	There are no notes or titles with this cylinder	This recording is introduced by an unidentified male voice with '-[?] reels played by John Mc Fadden for Fr Henebry'.
90	Patsy Touhey (Uilleann piper)	'Duke of Leinster Reel'	The note 'Touhy. 19.9.'21. C.G.H.' is written on the top lid of the cylinder's box, and the tune title 'Duke of Leinster Reel' is written on the side of the box.	This recording is inaudible.
93	James Early (Uilleann pipes)	'The Blackbird' (Set Dance)	This cylinder contains the note 'The Blackbird by Early on the Piper [sic]. 30.4.'21. C.G.H.	Broken
94	John Mc Fadden (Fiddle) and James Early (Uilleann pipes)	'Green's Hornpipe' (Hornpipe)	This cylinder contains the note 'Green's Hornpipe played by Early and Mc Fadden. Pipes and Violin. 16.4.'21. C.G.H.'	This is a good recording and is introduced by an unidentified male voice with 'Green's hornpipe played by Early and Mc Fadden (the rest of the introduction is inaudible but may say 'for Dr Henebry')

Table 4.1 Wax Cylinder Recordings of Irish-American Musicians in the UCC Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection (continued)

Cylinder No.	Performer	Tune Title/Type	Comments Enclosed With Cylinder	Present author's Comments and Observations
95	John Mc Fadden (Fiddle)	'Irish-American Reel' (Reel)	This cylinder contains the note 'Irish-American Reel by Mc Fadden. 30.4.'21. C.G.H.	Poor audio quality.
96	Patsy Touhey (Uilleann pipes)	Unidentified Reel	There are no notes or titles with this cylinder.	Very poor audio quality but some of the introduction can be heard clearly, '-[?] played by Patsy Touhey for Fr Henebry'.
97	Patsy Touhey (Uilleann pipes)	'The Morning Star' (Reel)	The note on the bottom lid of the cylinder's box reads, 'Morning Star, Touhy'	Noisy recording poor audio quality. This is the third recording of 'The Morning Star' by Patsy Touhy in the UCC collection.
100	Patsy Touhey (Uilleann pipes)	'Dean Hackett's Reel' (Reel)	The note on the bottom lid of the cylinder's box reads, 'Dean Hackett's Reel. P Tuohy'.	This has very poor audio quality.
103	John Mc Fadden (Fiddle)	'The Old Grey Goose' (Jig)	The name 'Touhy' is written on the top lid of the cylinder's box and on the bottom lid is written 'Touhy crossed off for Mc Fadden'.	An unidentified male voice introduces this recording with 'The Old Grey Goose played on violin by Mc Fadden'.
111	Patsy Touhey (Uilleann pipes)	Unidentified Reel	The top lid has 'Hawk's H.' written on it, and the side of the box has 'L. Leonard' written on it and 'Loch Lomond crossed out for Piper Serkin.' Is written on the bottom lid.	The quality of this recording is very poor. An unidentified male voice introduces the tune(s) with '-[?] by Patsy Touhey'.

There are forty five wax cylinder recordings in the UCC Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection that were more than likely recorded by Richard Henebry (see Table 4.2). In the previously mentioned letter from Henebry to the *Waterford News*, published 12 May

1911, Henebry states that he made recent recordings of a travelling fiddle player, Tom Higgins (Tomás Ó Huigín). Henebry refers to the Higgins recordings as his 'first collection in Waterford' (Waterford News 1911, p. 2) suggesting that, he had made, or, intended to make further recordings in the area. In this letter Henebry states that he made twenty two wax cylinder recordings of Higgins with each of these cylinders containing two reels. There are however, twenty three wax cylinder recordings of Tom Higgins in the UCC Collection today which form the 'backbone' of the actual Henebry recordings in the UCC Collection. Henebry also states that he was about to make more recordings of singers, jiggers, and whistlers for a scientific study of Irish music:

> I shall make a collection from singers, jiggers and whistlers. This is the real stuff for psychological and physiological research into the constitution and science of Irish music.
> (Henebry cited in Waterford News 12 May 1911, p. 2)

Of the recordings ascribed to Henebry in the UCC Collection four of them are of lilter, or jigger, Caitlín Ní Mhuiriosa, An Rinn, Co. Waterford; and one song each was recorded from the singers, Seamus Ó Ceallaig, William Breathnach, Margaret Costelloe, Maurin de Barra, and Brid Ni Nunain, all from An Rinn, Co. Waterford. Henebry also included two wax cylinder recordings of himself playing the fiddle. It is possible therefore that all of these recordings were made in 1911, or later.

The recordings of a lilter and various singers suggest that he did indeed make the intended collection mentioned in the above quote. He does not however, appear to have recorded 'whistlers', or at least no recordings of whistlers are extant. Many of these recordings are introduced by an unidentified male voice in Irish. As some of the sources for these recordings are women it perhaps suggests that the male voice belongs to Richard Henebry himself and is not the voice of the performer. As already mentioned

these recordings are inadequately indexed and many of the cylinders are in very poor condition. Some of the cylinders are only wrapped in newspaper or cardboard and are not in proper storage boxes. Due to the inadequate storage many cylinders are broken beyond repair, or badly scratched or chipped. The audio quality on most of the recordings is very poor and completely inaudible on others.

Table 4:2: The Wax Cylinder Recordings made by Richard Henebry in the UCC Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection

Cylinder No.	Performer	Tune Title/Type	Comments Enclosed With Cylinder	Present Author's Comments and Observations
6	Tomás Ó Huigín (Fiddle)	Unknown	'19/11/21. C.G. H.' is written on the cylinder box's top lid, and 'Tomas O Huigin' is written on the side of the box	This cylinder is broken and therefore inaudible.
10	Tomás Ó Huigín (Fiddle)	Unnamed Reel (possibly 'Come West Along the Road')	'Deich, Tomás Ó Huigín, is written on the side of the cylinder's wrapping.	The recording is introduced by an unidentified male voice in Irish '-[?] ar an veidhlín.' The audio quality is bad at the beginning. It improves in the middle of the recording but is bad again towards the end.
12	Unidentified female lilter (Voice)	Two unnamed Reels	A note contained inside the cylinder reads, 'Realt na Mumhan, lilt'.	Introduced by an unidentified male voice in Irish, '-[?] Realt na Mumhan'. Good audio quality.
15	Unidentified performer	It is not indicated whether this piece was sung or played as an instrumental piece.	A note contained inside the cylinder reads, 'An Maidrín Rua'	This cylinder is broken and cannot be heard. Henebry recorded a version of this song from Patrick O Neill in 1905, this may be another copy of it.
16	Unidentified performer (Voice)	Unknown Song	The words 'Dr De Hindeberg' together with an X are scratched on to the cylinder.	Poor audio quality. The introduction is difficult to hear and may be in Irish.

Table 4.2 The Wax Cylinder Recordings made by Richard Henebry in the UCC Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection (continued)

Cylinder No.	Performer	Tune Title/Type	Comments Enclosed With Cylinder	Present Author's Comments and Observations
21	Tomás Ó Huigín (Fiddle)	Unknown	'Tomás Ó Huigín' is written on the side of the cylinder's box.	Almost completely inaudible. A fiddle can barely be recognised.
23	Tomás Ó Huigín (Fiddle)	Two unnamed reels	'T. O Huigin' is written on the side of the cylinder's box.	Introduced in Irish by an unidentified male voice with, 'Tomás Ó Huigín violadóir'.
26	Tomás Ó Huigín (Fiddle)	Three unnamed reels	'T. Ó Huigín' is written on the side of the cylinder box.	Overall a good clear recording with a spoken introduction in Irish by unidentified male voice, '-[?] Tomás Ó Huigín violadóir'. Very fast fiddle playing.
27	Seamus Ó Ceallaig (voice)	Unknown song	'Amhrán' is written on the side of the cylinder box, and ' 'Aon Airt' 26/11/21 C.G.H. Seamus Ó Ceallaig' is written on the top lid of the cylinder box.	Very poor audio quality. A male singing voice can barely be heard. The introduction is inaudible.
28	Tomás Ó Huigín (Fiddle)	Two unnamed reels	'T. Ó Huigín' is written on the side of the cylinder's box.	Good clear recording of fiddle playing. Introduced by unidentified male voice in Irish, '-[?] Tomás Ó Huigín violadóir'.
29	Caitlín Uí Mhuirghiosa (Voice) (Lilt)	'High Caul Cap'	Written on side of box, 'Caitlín Uí Mhuirghiosa, High Caul Cap'.	Very poor audio quality a female voice can barely be heard lilting. It is possible that this lilter is the same as the unnamed lilter on No. 12 above.
30	Brid Ni Nunain (Voice) (Song)	Unknown song	Written on side of cylinder box, 'Brid Ni Nunain'	Inaudible

Table 4.2 The Wax Cylinder Recordings made by Richard Henebry in the UCC Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection (continued)

Cylinder No.	Performer	Tune Title/Type	Comments Enclosed With Cylinder	Present Author's Comments and Observations
33	Tomás Ó Huigín (Fiddle)	Three unnamed reels	'Tomás Ó Huigín' is written on the side of the cylinder's box.	This is a good clear recording and is introduced by an unidentified male voice in Irish, '-[?] Tomás Ó Huigín violadóir'.
34	Tomás Ó Huigín (fiddle)	'Roving Party'	Written on side of cylinder's box, 'T. Ó Huigín. Roving Party?'.	This recording is inaudible.
35	Sean O'Donabhain (unknown)	Unnamed	Written on the side of the cylinder's box, 'Sean O Donabhain, Trip in…?'.	Inaudible
36	William Breathnach	Unknown	Written on side of cylinder's box, 'William Breathnach, on [sic] Rinn'.	Inaudible recording.
39	Caitlín Ní Mhuiriosa (Voice) (lilt)	Unnamed Jig	Written on side of cylinder's box, 'Caitlín Ní Mhuiriosa'.	Barely audible very poor audio quality.
40	Caitlín Ní Mhuiriosa (Voice) (lilt)	Unnamed Jig	Written on side of cylinder's box, 'Caitlin Ní Mhuiriosa Triann? Double'.	Barely audible very poor audio quality. A male voice can be heard faintly at the beginning with an introduction.
42	Tomás Ó Huigín (fiddle)	Unknown	Written on side of cylinder's box, 'T. Ó Huigín, 11/5/'21 C.G. H. Aon Orug'	Inaudible
45	Tomás Ó Huigín (fiddle)	Unknown	Written on the side of the cylinder's box, 'Tomas O Huigin'.	Inaudible
46	Tomás Ó Huigín (fiddle)	Two unnamed reels	Written on the top lid of cylinder box, '5/11/'21 C.G.H. Written on side of cylinder's box, 'T. Ó Huigín'.	Introduced in Irish by an unidentified male voice, '-[?] Tomás Ó Huigín violadóir'.
47	Unknown	Unknown	'Dr de Hindeberg XVII' is inscribed on this cylinder.	Inaudible
54	Unknown	Unknown	Dr De Hindeberg is inscribed on the cylinder	Broken
56	Margaret Costelloe (Voice)	'Baile An Tochar' (Song)	There are no notes or comments with this cylinder.	This is a copy of one of the songs sent to Germany for analysis. The quality of this recording is not as good as the copy in the BPA collection.

Table 4.2 The Wax Cylinder Recordings made by Richard Henebry in the UCC Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection (continued)

Cylinder No.	Performer	Tune Title/Type	Comments Enclosed With Cylinder	Present Author's Comments and Observations
64	Bríd Ní Nuanain (Voice)	Unknown	Written on the side of the cylinder's box, 'Brid Ni Nuanain'.	Very poor audio quality. Female singing voice is barely audible.
65	Tomás Ó Huigín (fiddle)	Two unnamed reels	Written on the side of the cylinder's box, 'T. Ó Huigín'	Reasonable audio quality. Announced in Irish by unidentified male voice, '-[?]Tomás Ó Huigín violadóir'.
67	Unnamed singer	'Mairín de Barra' (Song)	Note contained with cylinder reads, 'Maurín De Barra 9.4.'21 C.G.H.'	This recording is introduced in Irish with the words, '-[?] ón Rinn do guth an t-amhráin seo'. Very poor audio quality.
70	Tomás Ó Huigín (fiddle)	Unnamed reels	Written on the side of the cylinder's box, 'T. Ó Huigín'	Inaudible
71	Unknown singer	'Spailpín a Rún' (Song)	None	Barely audible male singer. Irish language song. This is possibly a copy of the same recording made by Henebry in 1905 from the singing of P. O' Neill, An Rinn, Waterford.
84	Tomás Ó Huigín (fiddle)	Two unnamed reels	Written on the side of the cylinder's box, 'T. Ó Huigín'	Reasonable audio quality but the introduction at the beginning is inaudible.
85	Tomás Ó Huigín (fiddle)	Unknown	Written on the side of the cylinder's box, 'T. Ó Huigín'	Inaudible
86	Caitlín Ní Mhuiriosa (Voice) (lilt)	Three unnamed reels	Written on the side of the cylinder's box, '3 Reels, Caitlin Ni Mhuiriosa.'	Very poor audio quality. Female lilting, barely audible.
87	Tomás Ó Huigín (fiddle)	Unknown	Written on the top lid of cylinder box, 'Tomas Ó Huigin', and on the side of the cylinder's box, 'Tomas Ó Huigin.'	Inaudible

Table 4.2 The Wax Cylinder Recordings made by Richard Henebry in the UCC Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection (continued)

Cylinder No.	Performer	Tune Title/Type	Comments Enclosed With Cylinder	Present Author's Comments and Observations
89	Caitlín Ní Mhuiriosa (Voice) (lilt)	Unnamed jigs	Written on the side of the cylinder's box, 'Caitlin Ni Mhuiriosa 3 Doubles'.	Inaudible
91	Tomás Ó Huigín (fiddle)	Two unnamed reels	Written on the top lid of cylinder box, 'Reels, R. De Hendeberg', and on the side of the cylinder box, 'Tomas Ó Huigin'.	This recording is introduced in Irish, '-[?] Tomás Ó Huigín violadóir'. Poor audio quality.
99	Tomás Ó Huigín (fiddle)	Unknown	Written on the side of the cylinder's box, 'Tomas Ó Huigin'.	Inaudible
101	Tomás Ó Huigín (fiddle)	Unknown	Written on the side of the cylinder's box, '4.6.'21 C.G.H. Tomas Ó Huigin'	Broken
102	Richard Henebry (Fiddle)	Two unnamed reels	There are no notes or comments with this cylinder.	This appears to be a recording of Richard Henebry himself. The recording begins with an introduction for Tomas Ó Huigín but this introduction stops suddenly and a second introduction says, 'Risteárd de Hindeberg do[*sic*] sheinn ríl ar an veidhlín'.
105	Tomás Ó Huigín (Fiddle)	Unknown	Written on the side of the cylinder's box, 'Tomas O Huigin, Do Orug'.	Inaudible
106	S. O Donabhain	Unknown	Written on the side of the cylinder's box, 'S. O Donabhain'. There is also some illegible text in Irish on the side of the box.	Inaudible

Table 4.2 The Wax Cylinder Recordings made by Richard Henebry in the UCC Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection (continued)

Cylinder No.	Performer	Tune Title/Type	Comments Enclosed With Cylinder	Present Author's Comments and Observations
108	Richard Henebry (Fiddle)	Three unnamed reels	'Failure' is written on the top lid of the cylinder's box, and 'Failure, T. Higgins' on the side.	This is introduced in Irish with, 'Risteárd de Hindeberg ag shein(m) ceol ar an veidhlín'.
109	Tomás Ó Huigín (Fiddle)	Unknown	Written on the side of the cylinder's box, 'Tomas O Huigin'.	Inaudible
110	Tomás Ó Huigín (Fiddle)	Two unnamed reels	'Tomas O Huigin' is written on the side of the cylinder's box.	An unidentified male voice introduces the recording in Irish with, '-[?] violadóir'.
112	Tomás Ó Huigín (Fiddle)	Two unnamed reels	Written on the side of the cylinder's box, 'Tomas O Huigin'.	This recording is introduced in Irish by an unidentified male voice, '-[?] Tomás Ó Huigín violadóir'.
114	Padraig O Niall (Voice)	Unknown	Written on the side of the cylinder's box, '14.5.'21 C.G.H. Padraig O Niall, Youghal, Co. Cork.	This recording is barely audible. It is not clear whether the title of the song is the well known 'Yochaill', or if Youghal, Co. Cork, is O'Niall's address. This might be the Padraig O Neill that Henebry previously recorded in 1905.

The final group of cylinders, in the UCC Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection, consist of cylinders which are blank, broken, inaudible or inadequately labelled or indexed. There are thirty wax cylinders in this group (see Table 4.3). Five are completely inaudible, perhaps due to overuse, and only surface noise and static can now be heard. Ten are broken, nine are blank and the remaining six are barely audible. The nine blank cylinders in the Collection may suggest that the recording work was an on-going project up to Henebry's death in 1916. Henebry's ill-health between 1911 and 1916 might also explain the inadequate and careless indexing of the Collection. Although Hardebeck initiated a partial index of the Collection in 1921 there is no indication from the contents

of the Collection itself that he, Hardebeck, made any recordings himself. This would suggest, therefore, that Richard Henebry was indeed the main 'driving force' in the UCC Wax Cylinder Archive.

Table 4:3: Blank, Broken, and Inaudible Wax Cylinders in the UCC Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection

Cylinder No.	Performer	Tune Title/Type	Comments Enclosed with Cylinder	Present Author's Comments and Observations
2	Unknown	Unknown	The name 'Siobháin' is written on the top lid and the side of the cylinder's box.	Singing, possibly a male voice. Barely audible.
7	None	none	There is no note with this cylinder	Blank
14	None	None	None	Blank
17	Unknown	Unknown	None	Broken
18	Unknown	Unknown	None	Broken
19	Unknown	Unknown	None	Broken
24	Unknown (Pipes)	Unknown	Written on top lid of cylinder's box, '12/3/'21 C.G.H. 'Coilleach Ruadh'.	Barely audible uilleann pipe recording. It is impossible to tell tune type.

Table 4.3 Blank, Broken, and Inaudible Wax Cylinders in the UCC Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection (continued)

Cylinder No.	Performer	Tune Title/Type	Comments Enclosed with Cylinder	Present Author's Comments and Observations
25	Unknown (Pipes)	'Drowsy Maggie' (Reel)	Written on the top lid of cylinder's box, 'Drowsy Maggie. Reel, 6/4/'21 C.G.H.' 'Drowsy Maggie' is also written on the side of the cylinder's box.	Very poor audio quality. The spoken intro is inaudible. As 'Drowsy Maggie' was played by Patsy Touhey this may be one of his recordings.
37	Unknown	Unknown	None	Inaudible
38	Unknown	Unknown	None	Broken
43	None	None	None	Blank
44	None	None	None	Blank
48	Unknown	Unknown	None	Inaudible
49	Unknown	Unknown	None	Inaudible
50	Unknown	Unknown	The name 'Siobhain' is written on the side of the cylinder box.	Inaudible
51	None	None	None	Blank
52	None	None	None	Blank
53	None	None	None	Blank
55	Unknown	Unknown	None	Broken
59	Unknown	Unknown	None	Broken
61	Unknown (Pipes)	Unknown	None	A faint almost inaudible unidentified male voice can be barely heard in the introduction, but it is not possible to decipher what is being said.

Table 4.3 Blank, Broken, and Inaudible Wax Cylinders in the UCC Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection (continued)

Cylinder No.	Performer	Tune Title/Type	Comments Enclosed with Cylinder	Present Author's Comments and Observations
68	Unknown	Unknown	None	Broken
69	Unknown	Unknown	Written on the top lid of cylinder's box, 'Grey Mountain Reel. 19.3.'21 C.G.H.'	Inaudible
82	Unknown	Unknown	None	Broken
83	None	None	None	Blank
92	Unknown	Unknown	None	Broken
98	Unknown	Unknown	Written on top lid of cylinder's box, 'Touhey Leweer 1?', and Sean O Donabhain is written on the side of the cylinder's box.	Inaudible, and some confusion as to whether it is a recording of P. Touhey or S. O Donabhain.
104	Unknown	Unknown	None	Broken
107	N. Condun (unknown)	'Rí na Stuaice' (Unknown)	Written on the side of the cylinder box, 'Ri na Stuaice, N. Condun'.	This is a blank cylinder but because it is labelled with a tune title and performer it suggests that perhaps it was destined for that proposed recording.
113	Sprais O Corllaig [*sic*] (Voice)	Unnamed song	Written on the side of the cylinder's box, 'Amhran 26.11.'21 C.G.H. Sprais O Corllaig'.	Barely audible female singer in Irish. Very poor audio quality.

4.1.2 The Henebry Wax Cylinder Recordings at UCD

The Folklore Commission in UCD has a collection of wax cylinder recordings that were made by Richard Henebry. As previously stated this collection of twenty-four cylinders (see Table 4.4), were donated to the Folklore Collection by Richard Henebry's nephew Piaras de Hindeberg (Henebry) (1912-1982). In The Folklore Collection's notes to these recordings, Piaras de Hindeberg is credited as the collector, but it appears, however, that they were in fact collected by Piaras' uncle Richard Henebry. There are also five 'dubbed' copies of wax cylinders which were copied from wax cylinders which were

lent to the Commission by Piaras de Hindeberg (see Table 4.5). As these five copies were copied onto a tape recorder directly from the wax cylinders they consequently have very poor sound quality. The 24 cylinders are also of poor audio quality and an excess of surface noise and static make them inaudible. Despite the bad audio quality however, an investigation of the UCD collection sheds further light on Richard Henebry's work as a collector of Irish music.

The UCD wax cylinder collection contains four songs that Richard Henebry recorded from his mother, Eibhlín Ní Chaisín (cylinders No. 3, 4, 5, 13). Although the fourth recording of his mother, cylinder No. 13, is not indexed correctly and is labelled by the Folklore Collection as an 'unidentified singer', the singer's name can be determined by cross referencing the song 'Cití na gCumann' with the written transcription of the same tune in Henebry's 1903 publication, *Irish Music*. In *Irish Music* Henebry states that the song 'A Cattí na gCumann ná Tréig Mé' was transcribed from the singing of his mother and that apart from his mother he had not heard it elsewhere. It is possible therefore that wax cylinder No. 13 is another recording of Eibhlín Ní Chaisín. Recordings of Henebry's mother do not exist in the other collections in UCC or BPA/ITMA, and because Henebry's mother died in 1905, and was increasingly ill prior to her death, it is probable that she was recorded in either late 1903, when Henebry returned from America, or in 1904. As previously stated in Chapter One (see p. 27), Richard Henebry first became acquainted with Francis O'Neill in 1901, and this may have aroused Henebry's first interest in the Edison Phonograph. Henebry spent most of 1902 in Denver and Colorado Springs and only returned to Ireland from America in 1903,

which may indicate that Eibhlín Ní Chaisín's recordings are amongst the earliest known wax cylinder recordings made by Richard Henebry.

The first wax cylinder in the UCD collection is of singer Labhrás Ó Cadhla (1889-1961), Ceapaigh, Co. Waterford. This singer is not mentioned elsewhere by Richard Henebry and no other Henebry recordings of him are extant. Although there is no date affixed to the recording, Ó Cadhla would have been approximately sixteen years of age in 1905 and approximately twenty two in 1911, and could therefore have been recorded by Richard Henebry during his, Henebry's, known recording period, 1905-1911. Labhrás Ó Cadhla was a well-known and respected singer in the west Waterford area. He was recorded on many occasions by different collectors, such as German collector Wilhelm Doegen in 1928. This recording in the UCD collection however must have been before Henebry's death in 1916, and, if so, predates the aforementioned Doegen recording. Unfortunately the wax cylinder is in poor condition and due to surface noise and static the song cannot be heard.

There are four recordings of unidentified musicians in this collection, one of which (cylinder No. 2) is broken. Of the other recordings four may be copies of the recordings sent to Germany for analysis: these are 'Bean an Fhir Ruadh' sung by Maighréad Ní Néill; 'Éamonn a' Chnoic' sung by Walter Power; 'An Maidirín Ruadh', sung by Pádraig Ó Néill; and 'Baile Lín' sung by Martin Draper. There is a piece of paper included with this cylinder which reads 'Bairle Lín an Draper', it is likely that this garbled note should read 'Baile Lín', Martin Draper'. Martin Draper was a pub owner in Ring and therefore a respected member of the community and possibly referred to as

‘An (the) Draper’. In a letter to Lord Castletown, dated 1 April 1907, Henebry states that wax cylinders could be copied using a process known as ‘gold moulding’, and he further comments that he was getting moulds made in Germany of the fifteen cylinders which he sent there for tonometric analysis:

> By the ‘gold moulding’ process the same record may now be indefinitely multiplied. I am getting moulds made in Berlin of those I sent. It costs 8/- a record there.
> (Henebry to Lord Castletown 1 April 1907, p. 4)

This could explain why there are copies of the same songs by the same singers in each of the wax cylinder collections in UCC, UCD, and BPA-ITMA.

There are two other recordings of Padraig Ó Néill in the UCD collection: ‘Jimí Mo Mhíle Stór’ (cylinder No. 8) and ‘Is Cuma Cé Bhaineann an Órna’ (cylinder No. 10). Cylinder number ten is duplicated on cylinder No. 11. A transcription of the score of the second song, ‘Is Cuma Cé Bhaineann an Órna’, can be found on page ninety-three of *A Handbook of Irish Music*, where Henebry calls it ‘Is Cumma’ and states that it ‘was sung by a boy, Pátraic[*sic*] Ó Néill, of Rinn Ó gCuanach, Dungarvan’. It appears to be a version of the well-known song ‘Spailpín a Rún’ and this cylinder may be a copy of the original which was sent to Berlin in 1905 for tonometric analysis. There are two wax cylinders of travelling piper James (Jem) Byrne (1868-1931). On cylinder No. 9 Byrne plays two unnamed tunes, and on cylinder No. 21 he plays a reel called ‘Heather Braes’. It is possible that the first recording of Byrne is a ‘gold moulded’ copy of the recording of him which was also sent to Berlin.

The remaining recordings in the UCD collection are of four singers: Brighid Ní Chaisín, John Bowe, Curraghbatha, Co. Waterford, M. Foley, and Patrick Whelan, and one singing group, Clann de Hindeberg. Brighid Ní Chaisín was, presumably, related to Eibhlín Ní Chaisín, perhaps a sister and therefore Richard Henebry's aunt. The singing group 'Clann de Hindeberg' is perhaps a reference to Henebry and his siblings, and it is also possible that Henebry's mother was part of the group. The recording 'Sliabh na mBan' by Patrick Whelan on cylinder No. 22 is duplicated on cylinder No. 23.

Table 4:4: Henebry Wax Cylinder Recordings in the Folklore Collection at UCD

Cylinder No.	Performer	Tune Title/Type	Notes Included With Cylinder	Present author's Comments and Observations
1	Labhrás Ó Cadhla, Ceapaigh. (Voice)	'Caoineadh'	'Amhrán le L. Ó Cadhla?'	Labhrás Ó Cadhla.
2	Unknown	Unknown	None	Cylinder broken
3	Eibhlín Ní Chaisín (Voice)	Unnamed song	These lines in Irish were included with the cylinder, 'An té a mbeidís cheanna aige bh'fhéidir go naithneodh sé iad.' 'Is trua gan mise in Éirinn ag léimraig ó chrann go crann'	This is Richard Henebry's mother.
4	Eibhlín Ní Chaisín (Voice)	'Cuma Gil Samhnsa'	'Amhrán: 'Cuma Gil Samhnsa' 'Eibhlín Ní Chaisín mo mháthair.'	A transcription of this song is included in Henebry's 1903 publication *Irish Music.* It is transcribed from the singing of his mother.
5	Eibhlín Ní Chaisín (Voice)	Unnamed	'Caoine le mo mháthair,	

Table 4.4 Henebry Wax Cylinder Recordings in the Folklore Collection at UCD (continued)

Cylinder No.	Performer	Tune Title/Type	Notes Included With Cylinder	Present author's Comments and Observations
6	Maighréad Ní Néill, An Rinn. (Voice)	'Bean an Fhir Ruadh' (Song)	Amhrán: 'Bean an Fhir Ruadh'	This is one of the recordings made by Henebry in 1905 and sent to Germany for tonometric analysis.
7	Brighid Ní Chaisín	'Amhrán Ghallda' (Song)	'Amhrán Ghallda'	
8	Pádraig Ua Néill, An Rinn. (Voice)	'Jimí mo Mhíle Stór' (Song)	Amhrán: 'Jimí mo Mhíle Stór'	This is the same Padraig Ó Néill recorded by Richard Henebry in 1905.
9	J. Byrne (Pipes)	Two unnamed tunes	None	This is a recording of the travelling piper Séamus Ó Broinn (Jem Byrne).
10	Pádraig Ua Néill, An Rinn. (Voice)	'Is Cuma cé bhaineann an Órna' (Song)	Amhrán: 'Is Cuma cé bhaineann an Órna'.	Another of Richard Henebry's recordings of Padraig Ó Néill. This song is widely known as 'Spailpín a Rún', the title given here is the last line in the second verse.
11	Pádraig Ua Néill, An Rinn. (Voice)	'Is Cuma cé bhaineann an Órna' (Song)	Amhrán: 'Is Cuma cé bhaineann an Órna'.	This appears to be a copy of the above.
12	Unidentified singer	Unnamed song	Written on piece of paper with cylinder, 'Bairle Lín an Draper'	The note with this cylinder may be a garbled misinterpreted reference to the song 'Baile Lín' which was recorded in 1905 from Martin Draper from An Rinn, Co. Waterford.
13	Unidentified singer (Eibhlín Ní Chaisín)	'Cití na gCumann' (Song)	Amhran: 'Cití na gCumann'	In his 1903 publication a transcription of this song is included. It is transcribed from the singing of his mother and he states that he does not know of any other source for it.
14	John Bowe (Voice)	Unnamed song	Curraghbatha	Curraghbatha is the address of the singer.
15	Unknown	Unknown	None	
16	Unknown	Unknown	None	

Table 4.4 Henebry Wax Cylinder Recordings in the Folklore Collection at UCD (continued)

Cylinder No.	Performer	Tune Title/Type	Notes Included With Cylinder	Present author's Comments and Observations
17	Walter Power (Voice)	'Éamonn a' chnoic' (Song)	Amhran: 'Éamonn a' chnoic'	This is another copy of one of the recordings made by Richard Henebry and sent to Germany for tonometric analysis.
18	M. Foley (Voice)	'Maighréd na hAgailse' (Song)	Amhrán: 'Maighréd na hAgailse'	
19	Clann de Hindeberg (Voice)	'Tá Mé Bróite go Leor' (Song)	Amhrán: 'Tá Mé Bróite go Leor'	Presumably members of Henebry's family singing together.
20	Unknown	Unknown	None	
21	James (Jem) Byrne (Pipes)	'The Heather Braes' (Reel)	A reel: 'The Heather Braes'	This is another recording of Richard Henebry's friend, travelling piper Jem Byrne.
22	Patrick Whelan (Voice)	'Sliabh na mBan' (Song)	Amhrán: 'Sliabh na mBan'	
23	Patrick Whelan (Voice)	'Sliabh na mBan' (Song)	Amhrán: 'Sliabh na mBan'	This appears to be a copy of the above.
24	Pádraig Ua Néill (Voice)	'An Maidirín Ruadh'	Amhrán: 'An Maidirín Ruadh'	This is another copy one of the recordings made by Richard Henebry in 1905.

4.1.3 Five 'Dubbed' Copies in The Folklore Collection at UCD

This small collection was 'dubbed', or copied, from five original wax cylinders (see Table 4.5) and is in addition to the above mentioned 24 wax cylinders. The first cylinder is of Eoin de Hindeberg (John Henebry) playing an unnamed jig on the fiddle. Cylinders 2 and 4 each contain recordings of two tunes. James Byrne plays a solo tune first on each cylinder followed by John Henebry who also plays a solo tune on each cylinder.

There are no other known recordings of John Henebry, other than these three recordings in UCD.

Recording 3 may be a duplicate of recording No. 5. Each of these recordings (3 and 5) is accompanied by the word 'Chicago' suggesting that they were made in America. The performers listed on recording 3 are James Byrne, O'Neill, Cronin, and Keilly (sic), and the instruments, pipes, fiddle, tin whistle and mandolin. The only tune listed for this recording is 'The Fermoy Lasses'. The inclusion of James Byrne on this list may be a mistake as he did not travel to America, as far as we know, and therefore could not have made a recording in Chicago. In his book *Irish Minstrels and Musicians*, Francis O Neill does not mention another musician called James Byrne in Chicago, it would seem likely therefore that the addition of James Byrne's name was indeed a mistake. It is possible that the other players listed are Francis O'Neill (the collector) on whistle and Edward Cronin on fiddle with an unknown Keilly playing the mandolin, and, if not James Byrne, possibly an unidentified piper[45]. Recording No. 5 may be a duplicate of number three as the same group of performers, minus James Byrne, are listed and also play the 'Fermoy Lasses' on this track. The O'Neill of recording number 3 is now listed as Francis O'Neill, perhaps Captain Francis O'Neill from Chicago, if so further suggesting that this is indeed a recording made in America. The absence of James Byrne's name on recording number 5, therefore, also suggests that the inclusion of his name with recording number 3 may have been a mistake. While it is not certain who made these recordings originally it is possible that the recordings of Eoin de Hindeberg and James

[45] As it was not possible to hear these recordings it is not clear whether a piper is included on the recording or if the inclusion of James Byrne's name is an indexing mistake.

Byrne were made by Richard Henebry and the two 'Chicago' recordings were made by Francis O'Neill.

The Folklore Collection credited Piaras de Hindeberg as the collector of the UCD wax cylinders. Piaras de Hindeberg collected recordings of Irish folklore and some songs from the people of the Ring Gaeltacht in county Waterford. He did not start his collecting, however, until the 1960s and he used a reel-to-reel tape recorder (Ó Drisleáin 2008). While it is likely that Piaras de Hindeberg was acquainted with Labhrás Ó Cadhla (both taught Irish in Ring College in the 1950s) the use of a wax cylinder to record Ó Cadhla suggests that it was made by Richard Henebry. Piaras de Hindeberg, born 1912, could not have recorded his grandmother, Eibhlín Ní Chaisín, as she died in 1905. Walter Power was in his late sixties in 1911 and, given Piaras de Hindeberg's age, it is unlikely that Power was recorded by Piaras. Maighréad Ní Néill moved to Boston shortly after 1905 and also could not have been recorded by Piaras. Padraig O'Neill may have been known to Piaras, but as two of the recordings of O'Neill are previously mentioned by Richard Henebry, it is likely that they, along with the third, were recorded by Richard also. Although the piper James Byrne died in county Wicklow in 1931 it is possible that Piaras de Hindeberg was acquainted with him, as Byrne regularly visited his father Eoin de Hindeberg during Piaras' childhood (O Brien Moran 2001). As Eoin de Hindeberg (Piaras' father) died in 1937, he (Eoin de Hindeberg) and James Byrne could possibly have been recorded by Piaras de Hindeberg on an Edison phonograph sometime prior to 1931 (Byrne's death). Due to the erratic travelling lifestyle of James Byrne, however, and Piaras' youth (Piaras was

approximately 19 in 1931), along with Richard Henebry's close friendship with James Byrne, it is probable that the above recordings of James Byrne and Eoin de Hindeberg were made by Richard Henebry and not Piaras. It is likely therefore that the UCD collection was recorded almost entirely by Richard Henebry, with two recordings made by Captain Francis O'Neill, and not by Piaras de Hindeberg.

Table 4:5: Five 'Dubbed' Recordings in the Folklore Collection at UCD

Recording No.	Performer	Tune Title/Type	Comments included with Recording	Present author's Comments and Observations
1	Eoin de Hindeberg (Fiddle)	Unnamed double jig	'Dub/phonograph'	Eoin de Hindeberg was also a piper.
2	James Byrne (Pipes), Eoin de Hindeberg (Fiddle)	'Glen of the Downs' (Reel played by James Byrne). 'Green Groves of Erin' (Reel played by Eoin de Hindeberg)	'Dub from phonograph cylinder lent by Rev P. de Hindeberg SJ. Dub/cylinder: v poor.'	
3	James Byrne, O'Neill, Cronin, Keilly.	'Fermoy Lasses' (Reel)	'Pipes, fiddle, tin whistle and mandolin: music by James Byrne: & Fermoy Lasses.'	This is a recording of a group of musicians but James Byrne is given prominence in the list. It also has 'Chicago' on the original cylinder suggesting that perhaps it came from Francis O'Neill in Chicago.
4	James Byrne (Pipes). Eoin de Hindeberg (Fiddle).	Unnamed Hornpipe (Byrne). 'The Maid behind the Bar' (Reel played by Eoin de Hindeberg).	'Dub/cylinder: v poor'	

Table 4.5 Five 'Dubbed' Recordings in the Folklore Collection at UCD (continued)

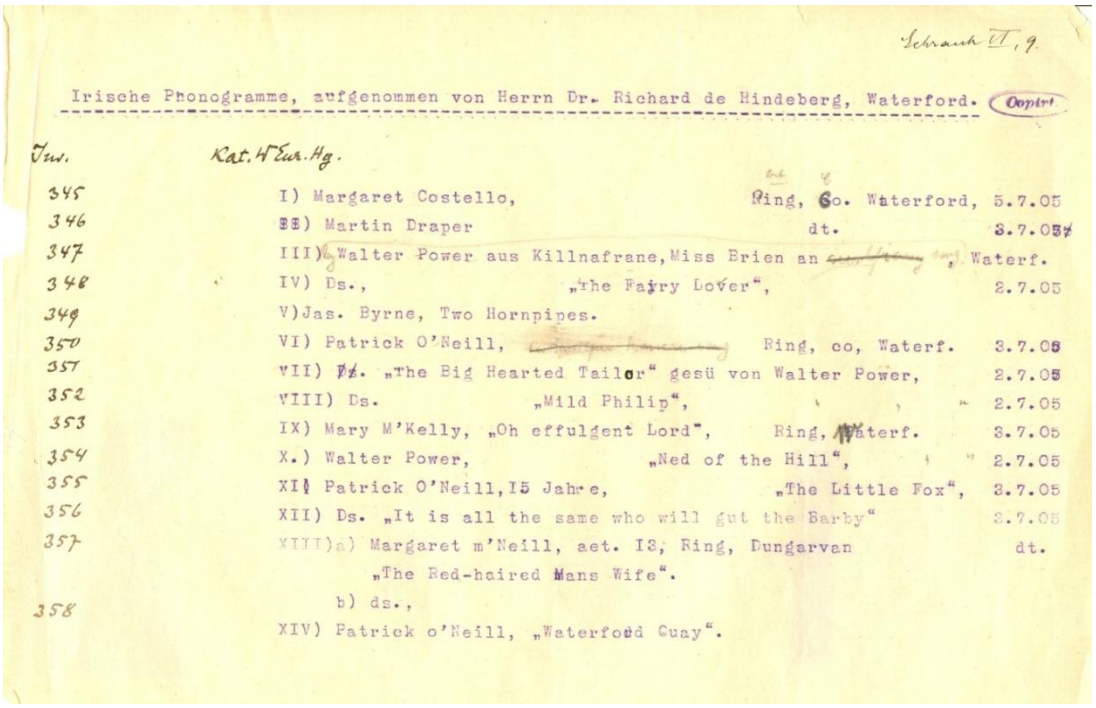
Recording No.	Performer	Tune Title/Type	Comments included with Recording	Present author's Comments and Observations
5	Francis O' Neill, Cronin, Keilly.	'The Fermoy Lasses' (Reel) and 'The Boys of Bluehill' (Hornpipe).	'Dub/phonograph, (very poor quality).'	This appears to be a copy of No. 3 above. James Byrne is not included here however.

4.1.4 The Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv/ITMA Henebry Collection

This small collection of fourteen recordings consists of the wax cylinder recordings which were sent to Dr Von Hornbostel in Berlin in 1905 for tonometric analysis. These recordings were transferred to East Berlin after the Second World War and were restored to the Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv (BPA) in 1991. Digital copies of Henebry's fifteen recordings were presented to the Irish Traditional Music Archive (ITMA) by the BPA in 2009, and can now be heard again, in Ireland, for the first time in over a hundred years. The recordings have been transferred to a CD and each recording in this collection will be referred to by their respective 'track numbers'. The quality of the recordings is very good, and far better than the copies which are still extant in UCC and UCD.

In a type written copy of an index, held by the BPA (see Figure 4.1), the fourteen wax cylinders are indexed, I-XIV, as they are in Henebry's *A Handbook of Irish Music*. It is possible that the list was typed by Richard Henebry as the type face resembles the typeface used in Henebry's original manuscript for *A Handbook of Irish Music*. It is more likely, however, that the list was dictated to a typist as there is an apparent

misunderstanding of the tune title on cylinder No. XII on the list. The title reads ‘It is all the same who will gut the Barby’. The last line of the song ‘Spailpín a Rún’, is ‘is cuma cé bhaineann an eorna’,[46] which translates as ‘what does it matter who cuts the barley’. It would appear therefore that if it was dictated to a typist it may have been misheard, being a Professor of Gaelic it is highly unlikely that Henebry himself would have made such a poor translation.



Irische Phonogramme, aufgenommen von Herrn Dr. Richard de Hindeberg, Waterford.

Inv.	Kat. H Eur. Hg.		
345	I) Margaret Costello,	Ring, Co. Waterford,	5.7.05
346	II) Martin Draper	dt.	3.7.05
347	III) Walter Power aus Killnafrane, Miss Brien an	, Waterf.	
348	IV) Ds., „the Fairy Lover“,		2.7.05
349	V) Jas. Byrne, Two Hornpipes.		
350	VI) Patrick O’Neill,	Ring, co, Waterf.	3.7.05
351	VII) Ds. „The Big Hearted Tailor“ gesü von Walter Power,		2.7.05
352	VIII) Ds. „Mild Philip“,		2.7.05
353	IX) Mary M’Kelly, „Oh effulgent Lord“,	Ring, Waterf.	3.7.05
354	X.) Walter Power, „Ned of the Hill“,		2.7.05
355	XI) Patrick O’Neill, 15 Jahre,	„The Little Fox“,	3.7.05
356	XII) Ds. „It is all the same who will gut the Barby“		3.7.05
357	XIII) a) Margaret m’Neill, aet. 13, Ring, Dungarvan „The Red-haired Mans Wife“.		dt.
358	b) ds.,		
	XIV) Patrick o’Neill, „Waterford Quay“.		

Figure 4.1: A type-written list of the fifteen wax cylinders sent to Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv

Despite the fact that every song recorded is in Irish, each song is listed under its English translation. It is likely that the English names were included for the convenience of Dr Von Hornbostel in Berlin, who may not have understood Irish. Each recording is also introduced by an unidentified male voice in English which may also have been to facilitate Dr Von Hornbostel. In a letter to Dr Von Hornbostel dated April 1 1907, Henebry states however, that the recordings were collected for a Miss Madeleine

[46] Seán Óg & Mánus Ó Baoill. (1975) *Ceolta Gael*, Cork. p. 93.

O'Connor, an Irish musician who wished to lecture on Irish music in America (Ziegler 2012). They were only sent to Germany as he had no other recordings suitable at the time:

> …they had been collected for a different purpose, and were subjected to examination only from the accident that I had no simpler material to hand at the time.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 287)

Although the introductory voice is unidentified it is most likely the voice of Richard Henebry, as it appears to be the same voice on each recording. There is only one recording with an Irish introduction and that is the recording of the piper James Byrne. Henebry states in *A Handbook of Irish Music*, that he unintentionally included the recording of James Byrne when sending the items to Berlin:

> The phonogram was transmitted for examination by an oversight, but as the tunes in question are not specially Irish, and give no adequate idea of the power of the instrument or the performer they are omitted here.
>
> (Henebry 1928, p. 301)

Although, digital copies of the fourteen cylinders were presented to ITMA in 2009, the contents list has not yet been finalised by ITMA. The contents list of the digital collection in ITMA differs from the original wax cylinder list in that the 'tracks' are not in the same order. The third track on the digital collection for example is Martin Draper's rendition of 'Baile Lín', but was originally No. 2 on the wax cylinder list. Both the 1905 type-written content list and the present content list of the digital copies in ITMA are compared in Table 4.6. It is possible that the wax cylinders at the BPA were mixed up and the technicians, not being able to understand Irish, were not aware of the apparent mistake. It may also suggest that the cylinders themselves were not correctly labelled or indexed. These differences are corrected by comparing the digital

recordings with the list of recordings sent for tonometrical analysis in *A Handbook of Irish Music*, and the aforementioned type-written cylinder index in Figure 4.1.

Table 4.6 The *Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv*/ITMA Henebry Collection

Digital Copy No.	Original Index List	Performer	Tune Title/Type	Date of Recording	Present Author's Comments
1	1	Margaret Costello (Voice)	'Baile in Tóchair' (Song)	5 July 1905	Introduced by an unidentified male voice in English: 'Baile in Tóchair' sung by Margaret Costelloe of Ring, Co. Waterford'. The audio quality is good.
2	3	Walter Power (Voice)	'Miss Brien of Chúlfhionn' (Song)	2 July 1905	A good quality recording. It is introduced by a male voice in English: 'Miss Brien an Chúlfhionn sung by Walter Power of Killnafrane, Co. Waterford'.
3	2	Martin Draper (Voice)	'Baile Lín' (Song)	3 July 1905	A good quality recording with a vocal introduction by an unidentified male voice in English: 'Baile Lín sung by Martin Draper of Ring, Co. Waterford.
4	4	Walter Power (Voice)	'An Leanán Sidhe' (Song)	2 July 1905	Good audio quality. A vocal introduction by an unidentified male voice in English: 'An Leanán Sidhe, The Fairy Lover, sung by Walter Power of Kilnafrehan, Co. Waterford. This is also No. 4 on the wax cylinder list.
5	14	Patrick O'Neill (Voice)	'Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg mé' (Song) Also called 'Waterford Quay'.	3 July 1905	A good quality recording with a vocal introduction by an unidentified male voice in English, 'Waterford Quay sung by Patrick O Neill of Ring Co. Waterford.' Henebry calls this by its Irish name: 'Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg Mé' in *A Handbook of Irish Music.*
6	9	Mary M'Kelly (Voice)	'Oh Effulgent Lord' (Song)	3 July 1905	This recording is not as good as the previous recordings. The song begins abruptly in the middle of the first verse and there is no vocal introduction.

Table 4.6 The *Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv*/ITMA Henebry Collection (continued)

Digital Copy No.	Original Index List	Performer	Tune Title/Type	Date of Recording	Present Author's Comments
7	5	James Byrne (Séamus Ó'Broinn) (Pipes)	Two Hornpipes, the second hornpipe is called the 'Wexford Hornpipe.'	No date given by Henebry	This is introduced in Irish by an unidentified male voice, 'Séamus Ó Broinn ag sheinm ceol ar na bpíopaí'. It is a good recording and the best of the digitised collection.
8	6	Patrick O'Neill (Voice)	'An Spailpín Fánach' (Song)	3 July 1905	This is introduced in English by an unidentified male voice: 'An Spailpín Fánach sung by Patrick O'Neill of Ring, Co. Waterford. It appears to be a slow version of the popular song of the same name.
9	7	Walter Power (Voice)	'Táiliúr an Chroidhe Mhóir' (The Big Hearted Tailor) (Song)	2 July 1905	This song is introduced in English by an unidentified male voice: 'The Big Hearted Tailor sung by Walter Power of Kilnafrehan, Co. Waterford.
10	8	Walter Power (Voice)	'Pilib Séimh' (Song)	2 July 1905	This song is introduced in English by an unidentified male voice: 'Pilib Séimh sung by Walter Power of Killnafrane, Co. Waterford.' The full name is given in *A Handbook of Irish Music* as 'Pilib Séimh Mac Ghearailt'. It is also known as 'Pilib Séimhcheart Ó Fathaigh'(Henebry 1928).
11		Walter Power (Voice)	'Pilib Séimh' (Song)	2 July 1905	This is a copy of No. 10 above.
12	10	Walter Power (Voice)	'Ned of the Hill' (Song)	2 July 1905	This song is introduced in English by an unidentified male voice: 'Ned of the Hill sung by Walter Power of Kilnafrehan, Co. Waterford'. Henebry calls it by its Irish name 'Éamonn an Chnoic' in *A Handbook of Irish Music*.

Table 4.6 The *Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv*/ITMA Henebry Collection (continued)

Digital Copy No.	Original Index List	Performer	Tune Title/Type	Date of Recording	Present Author's Comments
13	11	Patrick O'Neill (Voice)	'An Maidirín Ruadh' (Song)	3 July 1905	This song is introduced in English by an unidentified male voice: 'An Maidirín Ruadh sung by Patrick O'Neill of Ring, Co. Waterford.
14	12	Patrick O'Neill (Voice)	'Spailpín a Rún' (Song)	3 July 1905	This is a poor recording. The opening phrase of the song is missing and there is no spoken introduction. It is listed by ITMA as an unidentified song sung by an unidentified singer. The song however is the well known song 'Spailpín a Rún'. In *A Handbook of Irish Music*, Henebry lists this song amongst his recordings sent to Germany and names Patrick O'Neill as the singer.
15	13	Margaret Ní Néill (Voice)	'Bean an Fhir Ruadh' (Song) and a second unnamed song.	3 July 1905	This song is introduced in English by an unidentified male voice: 'The Red Haired Man's Wife sung by Margaret Ní Néill of Ring, Co. Waterford. The second song is not introduced.

The audio quality on the first recording, 'Baile in Tochar' sung by Margaret Costelloe, in the digital collection in BPA-ITMA is superior to a recording in UCC of the same title and singer. Henebry recorded five songs from Walter Power on 2 July 1905: track No. 2, 'Miss Brien of Chúlfhionn'; and track 4, 'An Leanán Sidhe'; track 9 'Táiliúir an Chroidhe Mhóir', 'Pilib Séimh', track No. 11 is a duplicate of track No. 10, ('Pilib Séimh'); and track No. 12, 'Ned of the Hill' may be the original recording of 'Éamonn a' Chnoic' sung by Walter Power in the UCD collection. A copy of track No. 3, 'Baile Lín', sung by Martin Draper can also be found in the UCD wax cylinder collection. The previously mentioned 'Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg mé' can be heard on Track No. 5, sung by

Patrick O Neill. Track No. 6 is the worst quality track in the digital collection. It is listed on ITMA's contents list as, sung by an 'unidentified female singer'. Unusually, the singer's name or the song title is not mentioned by Henebry in *A Handbook of Irish Music*. The name is only given on the 1905 wax cylinder list as singer, 'Mary M'Kelly' and the song title 'Oh Effulgent Lord'.

The recording of James Byrne, on Track No. 7, is the only instrumental recording in the BPA-ITMA digital collection. The audio quality of this track is good and the pipes can be clearly heard, though the drones are a little muffled. Track No 8, is another recording of Patrick O'Neill, 'An Spailpín Fánach'. It is of reasonable audio quality but some of the words are hard to decipher due to surface noise. Track No. 13 is 'An Maidirín Ruadh' sung by Patrick O'Neill and may be the original recording of 'An Maidirín Ruadh,' found in both the UCD and UCC collections. Track No. 14 is of the aforementioned song 'Spailpín a Rún', this also appears in the UCD collection as 'Is Cuma Cé Bhaineann an Órna,' also sung by Patrick O'Neill. The final track in the ITMA digital collection, track No. 15, contains two songs sung by Margaret Ní Néill. The first is 'Bean an Fhir Ruadh' a copy of which can also be found in the UCD wax cylinder collection, and the second song is untitled. A title is not given for this song in *A Handbook of Irish Music*, or the 1905 wax cylinder list.

4.1.5 The Complete Wax Cylinder Collection and its Current Location

Table 4.7 lists the various wax cylinder recordings and their location at BPA-ITMA, UCC, or UCD. The combined collection was obtained from twenty-seven different

sources, six from America, and twenty-one from Ireland. There are also two recordings of Richard Henebry himself, giving an overall total of twenty-eight sources for the complete Henebry wax cylinder collection.

Table 4.7 The Complete Wax Cylinder Collection

Name of Performer	Song/Tune Title	Wax Cylinder No. /Digital Track No. and Location
Margaret Costelloe, Ring, Co. Waterford.	'Baile in Tochar'	UCC/56; BPA-ITMA/1
Martin Draper, Ring, Co. Waterford.	'Baile Lín'	UCD/12; BPA-ITMA/3
Walter Power, Kilnafrehan, Co. Waterford.	'Miss Brien of Chúlfhionn' 'An Leanán Sidhe' 'Táiliúr an Chroidhe Mhóir' 'Pilib Séimh' 'Ned of the Hill' 'Éamonn a' Chnoic'	BPA-ITMA/2 BPA-ITMA/4 BPA-ITMA/9 BPA-ITMA/10/11 BPA-ITMA/12 UCD/17
Patrick O'Neill, Ring, Co. Waterford.	'Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg Mé' 'An Spailpín Fánach' 'An Maidirín Ruadh' 'Spailpín a Rún' 'Jimí Mo Mhíle Stór' 'Is Cuma Cé Bhaineann an Órna' 'Unknown'	BPA-ITMA/5 BPA-ITMA/8 UCD/24; BPA-ITMA/13 BPA-ITMA/14 UCD/8 UCD/10/11 UCC/114
Margaret O'Neill, Ring, Co. Waterford.	'Bean an Fhir Ruadh' 'Unknown'	UCD/6; BPA-ITMA/15 BPA-ITMA/15
Mary Kelly, Ring, Co. Waterford.	'Oh Effulgent Lord'	BPA-ITMA/6

Table 4.7 The Complete Wax Cylinder Collection (continued)

Name of Performer	Song/Tune Title	Wax Cylinder No. /Digital Track No. and Location
James Byrne, Mooncoin, Co. Kilkenny.	'Two unidentified hornpipes' 'Two unidentified dance tunes' 'The Heather Braes Reel' 'Glen of the Downs Reel' 'Unidentified hornpipe'	BPA-ITMA/7 UCD/9 UCD /21 UCD'dubbed'/2 UCD'dubbed'/4
Eibhlín Ní Chaisín, Portlaw, Co. Waterford.	'Unidentified song' 'Cuma Gil Samhnsa' 'Unidentified song' 'Cití na gCumann'	UCD/3 UCD/4 UCD/5 UCD/13
Labhrás Ó Cadhla, Scartnadriny, Co. Waterford.	'Caoineadh'	UCD/1
Tomás Ó Huigín, Travelling fiddler, Waterford City	Unknown Unidentified reel Unknown Two unidentified reels Three unidentified reels Two unidentified reels Three unidentified reels 'Roving Party reel' Unknown Unknown Two unidentified reels Two unidentified reels Two unidentified reels Two unidentified reels Unknown Unknown Two unidentified reels Unknown Unknown Unknown Unknown Two unidentified reels Two unidentified reel	UCC/6 UCC/10 UCC/21 UCC/23 UCC/26 UCC/28 UCC/33 UCC/34 UCC/42 UCC/45 UCC/46 UCC/65 UCC/70 UCC/84 UCC/85 UCC/87 UCC/91 UCC/99 UCC/101 UCC/105 UCC/109 UCC/110 UCC/112
John Henebry (Eoin de Hindeberg) Portlaw, Co. Waterford.	Unidentified double jig 'Green Groves of Erin reel' 'The Maid Behind the Bar'	UCD'dubbed'/1 UCD'dubbed'/2 UCD'dubbed'/4
Richard Henebry, Portlaw, Co. Waterford.	Two unidentified reels Three unidentified reels	UCC/102 UCC/108
Francis O'Neill, Cronin, Keilly. Chicago, USA.	'The Fermoy Lasses' 'The Fermoy Lasses' reel and 'The Boys of Bluehill' hornpipe	UCD'dubbed'/3/5 UCD'dubbed'/5
James Early, Chicago, USA.	'The Blackbird' (set dance)	UCC/93

Table 4.7 The Complete Wax Cylinder Collection (continued)

Name of Performer	Song/Tune Title	Wax Cylinder No. /Digital Track No. and Location
John Mc Fadden, Chicago, USA.	'The Miliner's Daughter' (reel)	UCC/3
	'Paddy in London' and 'The Flogging Reel' (reels)	UCC/5
	Unidentified reel	UCC/11
	'Primrose Flat' (reel)	UCC/13
	'The Swaggering Jig'	UCC/22
	Unknown	UCC/60
	Unidentified hornpipe	UCC/66
	'The Wicklow Hornpipe'	UCC/73
	'Mc Fadden's Reel'	UCC/76
	Unidentified jig	UCC/80
	'Happy to Meet and Sorry to Part' (jig)	UCC/81
	Two unidentified reels	UCC/88
	'Irish-American Reel'	UCC/95
	'The Old Grey Goose'	UCC/103
James Early and John Mc Fadden (Duet recordings)	'Lord Mayo' (slow air)	UCC/62
	'Green's Hornpipe'	UCC/94
Patrick (Patsy) Touhey, Chicago, USA.	'The Irish Washerwoman' (jig)	UCC/1
	'The Humours of Whiskey' (slip jig)	UCC/4
	'Colonel Piper's Reel'	UCC/9
	'Torachar Mumhan'	UCC/20
	'The Gold Ring' (jig)	UCC/31
	'The Garden of Daisies' (set dance)	UCC/32
	'The Munster Gimlet' (slip jig)	UCC/41
	'The Flogging Reel'	UCC/57
	Unidentified reel	UCC/58
	'The Ladies Pantalettes' (reel)	UCC/63
	'The Shaskeen Reel'	UCC/72
	Two unidentified reels	UCC/74
	'The Gold Ring' (jig)	UCC/75
	'World Famous March'	UCC/77
	'Ride a Mile' (slip jig)	UCC/78
	Unidentified reel	UCC/79
	'Duke of Leinster Reel'	UCC/90
	Unidentified reel	UCC/96
	'The Morning Star' (reel)	UCC/97
	'Dean Hackett's Reel'	UCC/100
	Unidentified reel	UCC/111
Séamus Ó Ceallaigh, Ring, Co. Waterford.	Unknown song	UCC/27
Caitlín Ní Mhuirghiosa, Ring, Co. Waterford.	'High Caul Cap'	UCC/29
	Unidentified jig	UCC/39
	Unidentified jig	UCC/40
	Three unidentified reels	UCC/86
	Three unidentified jigs	UCC/89

Table 4.7 The Complete Wax Cylinder Collection (continued)

Name of Performer	Song/Tune Title	Wax Cylinder No. /Digital Track No. and Location
Patrick Whelan, Cul na Finneinn [*sic*], Co. Waterford.	'Sliabh na mBan' (song)	UCD/22/23
John Bowe, Curraghbatha, Colligan, Co. Waterford.	Unidentified song	UCD/14
Bríd Ní Nuanain, Ring, Co. Waterford	Unidentified song	UCC/64
Seán Ó Donabhain, Ring, Co. Waterford	Unknown Unknown	UCC/35 UCC/106
Nicholas Condon, Ring, Co. Waterford	Unknown	UCC/107
M. Foley, Ring, Co. Waterford	'Maighréd na hAgailse' (song)	UCD/18
Unidentified singer	'Maurin de Barra' (song)	UCD/62
William Breathnach, Ring, Co. Waterford.	Unidentified song	UCC/36

4.2 Henebry's Transcriptions

Richard Henebry also transcribed a number of tunes and song airs for his publications, *Irish Music* (1903) and *A Handbook of Irish Music* (1928). For *Irish Music*, he transcribed six tunes from members of his family, one tune from a John Grandon, two from his own recollection and one from an unnamed printed source (see Table 4.8).

Table 4.8 10 Tunes Transcribed by Henebry in his Book *Irish Music* (1903)

Tune Title	Page Number	Source	Henebry's Comments
'Sean Mháire Ní Eachtighearn' (reel)	33	'Played Universally'	'This tune is known to every Irish musician. As a version it has only my authority, being the way I play it for dancers'
'A Chattí na gcumann ná tréig mé' (song air)	33	Eibhlín Ní Chaisín (mother)	'Outside the source indicated it is unknown to me'
'Nuair do chuadh-sa dtí an Róimh' (song air)	34	Eibhlín Ní Chaisín (mother)	'Otherwise unknown to me'
'No leun ort-sa, a Mhary' (song air)	34	Eibhlín Ní Chaisín (mother)	'It must be sung slowly. The ending is remarkable'
An unnamed reel	35	John Grandon	'This is a type of a number of tunes ending in E on the 3rd string. That is simply A on the 4th, and so the fingering must be transferred up a fifth'.
An unnamed double jig	35	Source unknown	'It is really a fine double. Where I acquired it I do not now remember'
'A Chumainn gil Sansa' (song air)	36	Eibhlín Ní Chaisín (mother)	'This tune is known to me only from this source'
'Atáim-sé im Chodladh is ná Dúisig Mé' (song air)	36	Eibhlín Ní Chaisín (mother)	'This air has doubtless been published before, but I do not recall where. I am sorry that I have not been able to do justice to this, the Queen of Irish music. I am doubtful if this air can be strictly confined by bars'.
An unnamed reel	37	Cáit De Henebre (sister)	'This reel I append as an instance of that class of music in the second scale'.
'Strop the Razor' (Jig)	37	'From a printed score'	'This double I give for the same reason. It is a really fine piece of music. The bowing and accidentals indicated are my own'.

Although Henebry analysed many tunes from the collections of George Petrie and P.W. Joyce for his second book *A Handbook of Irish Music*, he also transcribed sixty-six tunes from various sources in West Waterford and South Tipperary (see Table 4.9). This collection of tunes was used to highlight various aspects in Irish music such as phrasing, variation, ornamentation and other stylistic differences that distinguished, in Henebry's opinion, Irish music from western art music. The majority of the tunes in this written collection were collected from county Waterford, and provide an insight into the musical repertoire of the area before the disappearance of the Irish language. Many of the song airs included are familiar and still popular today. There are also some duplicates of song airs which Henebry used to highlight the aforementioned stylistic differences. Copies of these tunes, and the ten tunes from *Irish Music*, can be seen in Appendices A and C respectively.

Table 4.9 Henebry's Music Transcriptions from his Book *A Handbook of Irish Music* (1928)

Tune Title and Tune Type	Page Number	Source and Henebry's Comments
Untitled song air	90	Aibhlín Ní Chassin (Mother)
'Táiliúr an chridi mhór'. (song air)	93	Walter Power, Cúl na Smeur, Cill Gobbinet. Co. Waterford.
'Is Cumma'.(song air)	93	Pádraic Ó Néill, Rinn ó gCuanach. Co. Waterford.
Untitled song air	100	Ellen Cassin, (Mother)
'The Little Stack of Barley' (hornpipe)	103	'I acquired at home as a boy' (Henebry)
'Siúd ort a Sheáin' (song air and set dance)	111	Ellen Cassin, (Mother)
'Siúd ort a Sheáin' (song air and set dance)	112	'a version heard from a man from Imokilly' (Henebry)
'Siúd ort a Sheáin' (song air and set dance)	113	Magreud Ní Néill of Rinn, Co. Waterford

Table 4.9 Henebry's Music Transcriptions from his Book *A Handbook of Irish Music* (1928) (continued)

Tune Title and Tune Type	Page Number	Source and Henebry's Comments
'Siúd ort a Sheáin' (song air and set dance)	113	James Byrne, piper
'Siúd ort a Sheáin' (song air and set dance)	114	Un-named source
'Fáinne gel an lae' (song air)	120	Henebry's own version
Untitled reel	121	'John Gamble, a ploughman at my father's house' (Henebry)
'The Inniskilling Dragoon' (song air)	123	Ellen Cassin (Mother)
'Bells of Shandon' (song air)	126	Henebry's own version
Untitled song air	129	Henebry's own version
'Going to the fair of Glyn' (jig)	139	'I learned as a child' (Henebry)
'Oró 'sé do bheatha abhaile' (march)	148	Columbus Ó Ryan
'Oró 'se do bheatha abhaile' (march)	148	Learned by John Henebry from an unnamed fife and drum band
'The But of the Big Brown Know' (song air)	167	'version of a tune I heard as a child sung to an English ballad' (Henebry)
Untitled jig	168	Henebry's own version
Untitled jig	170	Ellen Cassin (Mother) and Jim Byrne (piper)
'The Foxhunter's Jig'	177	'As I know it myself' (Henebry)
Untitled song air	181	Ellen Cassin (Mother)
'The Galbally Farmer' (jig)	187	Patrick Launders, 'a fiddler of Cahir, Co. Tipperary' (Henebry)
'Lá Bealtaine' (hornpipe)	188	Henebry's own version
Untitled jig	188	Henebry's own version
Untitled song air	189	'I heard sung in Dublin from a little girl from Galway' (Henebry)
'My Love Nell' (song air)	200	Henebry's own version
'An catt d'imthig ar fán' (song air)	206	'I heard it sung to an Irish ballad of a cat which strayed' (Henebry)
Untitled song air	207	Ellen Cassin (mother)
Untitled song air	209	'As a child I learned from a boy named Patrick O'Morrissy' (Henebry)
'The Eagle's Whistle' (march)	212	'I learned it from various persons as a boy' (Henebry)
'Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg Mé' (song air)	214	Patrick O'Neill of Ring Co. Waterford
'The Star of Munster' (reel)	221	'My own version' (Henebry)
'The Peeler and the Goat' (song air)	224	Ellen Cassin (Mother)
'The Peeler and the goat' (song air)	224	Ellen Cassin (Mother) (second version)
Untitled song air	227	Ellen Cassin (mother)
Untitled jig	234	'from my own recollection' (Henebry)
'Páidín O Rafferty' (song air and jig)	235	'used to be sung and danced at home when I was a boy by a workingman named Martin Curran' (Henebry)
Untitled jig	236,	'from my own recollection' (Henebry)

Table 4.9 Henebry's Music Transcriptions from his Book *A Handbook of Irish Music* (1928) (continued)

Tune Title and Tune Type	Page Number	Source and Henebry's Comments
'Molly bán a stóir' (song air)	237	'I heard sung by the people' (Henebry)
'Castle Hyde' (song air)	239	'My mother's version' (Henebry)
'Cnoc Raffon' (song air)	240	Ellen Cassin (Mother)
'Cad dogeunaimid feasta gan admad' (song air)	241	Ellen Cassin (Mother)
Untitled song air	242	John Henebry 'He had heard it from an itinerant ballad-singing woman' (Henebry)
Untitled reel	243	Henebry's own version
'Did you see Moll Roe' (song air)	244	'from my own recollection' (Henebry)
Untitled song air	244	'I heard sung by a young man from Ballimacoda, Co. Cork' (Henebry)
Untitled reel	246	'a skeleton of my present playing version' (Henebry)
Untitled song air	248	'a simple ballad from my own recollection' (Henebry)
Untitled jig	249	Ellen Cassin (mother)
'An cherc ar fad's an anbruithe' (jig)	250	Henebry's own version
Untitled reel	254	James Byrne (piper)
'Sigle beg ni Choindealbán' (song air)	256	Henebry's own version
Untitled song air	259	Henebry's own version
'Such a going upstairs' (song air)	261	Ellen Cassin (mother)
Untitled song air	265	'I heard sung by a young girl named Dogherty from Donegal' (Henebry)
'The Walls of Liscarroll' (jig)	266	'from my own playing' (Henebry)
Untitled song air	268	'ballad air from my own recollection' (Henebry)
Untitled song air	270	'a quick air of my mother's' (Henebry)
Untitled song air	271	a fairly slow singing air of my mother's' (Henebry)
Untitled song air	272	'rather quick singing air of my mother's' (Henebry)
Untitled song air	272	'quick singing tune, rather well known' (Henebry)
Untitled song air	274	From the singing of Ellen Cassin. 'distant version of the celebrated Spailpín Fánach' (Henebry)
'Rakish Paddy' (reel)	277	'my own present playing version' (Henebry)
Untitled song air	278	'a quick singing air of my mother's' (Henebry)
Untitled song air	304	'I heard sung by a boy named Patrick O'Shea from Portlaw when I was a child' (Henebry)

4.3 The Principal Sources for the Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection

With the exception of piper Patsy Touhey who made a living as a professional piper on the Vaudeville stage in America, the sources for the overall Henebry wax cylinder collection were for the most part non-professional musicians or singers.. All, however, including Touhey learned their music in a traditional oral manner. A brief biography is included of each source, where possible, and a map in Figure 4.2 shows the main areas where Henebry recorded in county Waterford, in the period 1905-1911.

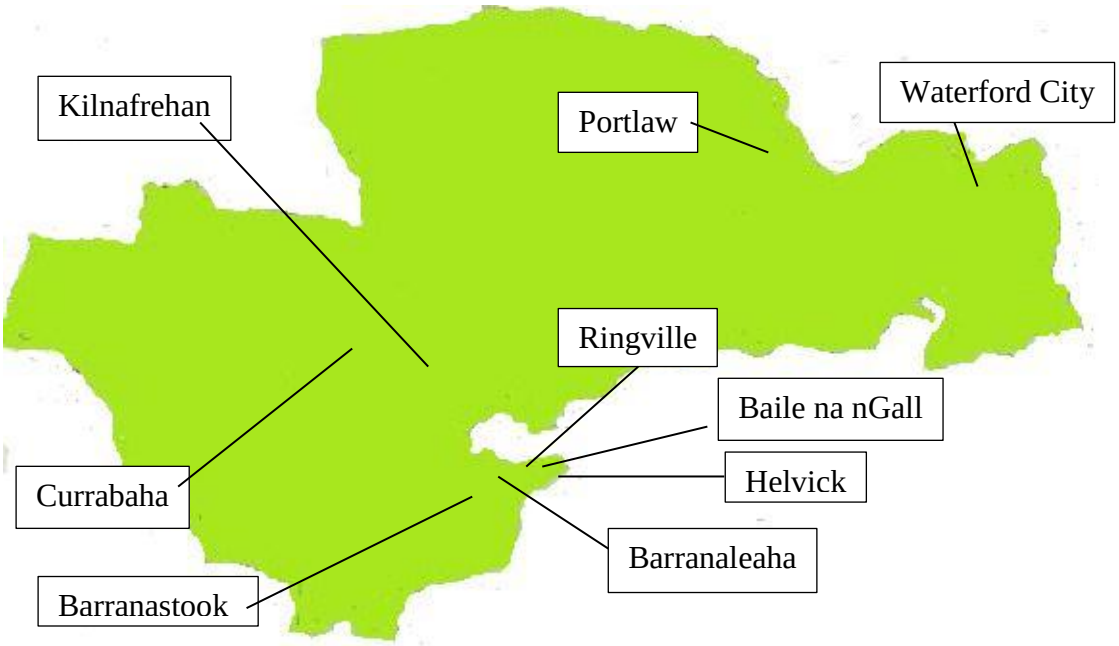


Figure 4.2: Map of county Waterford indicating where Richard Henebry recorded Irish music

4.3.1 Margaret Costello

On the aforementioned typewritten note which accompanied the 14 wax cylinders sent to Germany, Henebry indicates that he recorded Mrs Costelloe of Baile na nGall, Ring, Co. Waterford' on 5 July 1905. He recorded one tune from Margaret Costelloe, 'Baile in Tóchair', copies of which can be heard in UCC/56 and BPA-ITMA/1 (see Table 4.7). Henebry said of this tune that 'it is highly ornamented by slides, and shows the

peculiarity of contrasting the unslided long notes of the ending with the main body of the tune' (Henebry 1928, p. 300). Henebry refers to Margaret Costelloe as Mrs Costelloe in his *A Handbook of Irish Music* and it therefore could be assumed that she was middle aged when recorded in 1905: Henebry's use of the term 'Mrs' could be interpreted as respect for an older woman. In the 1901 Census of Ireland Margaret Costelloe is listed as living at No. 3. Bally na Gaul, Ringville, Co. Waterford, and is married to James age 53. She has two sons, Thomas aged 26, and James aged 19. Her age is given as 53 on the 1901 Census of Ireland which would indicate that she was approximately 57 when recorded by Henebry in 1905. By 1911 Margaret Costelloe had moved to No. 2. Ballynagaul, Ring (Census of Ireland 1911). It is also noteworthy that her name is recorded on the 1911 census form in its Irish translation, Mairéad Ní Coistealbha. Her age however on the 1911 census is 79 and her husband is aged 70, her son Thomas, aged 30, and her son James, 26, and a third son Seán, who is also listed, aged 28. It would appear therefore that although the ages given on at least one of the census forms are inaccurate her age must have been between 57 and 79 when Henebry recorded her.

4.3.2 Martin Draper

Richard Henebry collected one song 'Baile Lín'[47] (see Table 4.6) from Martin Draper, Baile na Gall, Ring, Co. Waterford, in 1905. The exact date of recording, 3 July 1905, is included on the typewritten note which accompanied the 14 cylinders sent to Berlin for analysis (see Figure 4.1). Henebry says of Draper that he was a boy of roughly eleven

[47] Another version of this tune was recorded and transcribed by the collector Liam de Noraidh from the singing of Tomás Haicéid, Cappagh, Co. Waterford, 5 March 1941. De Noraidh states that the air was common and seems to be a 'Munster version of the song 'Máire Ní Eidhin', which was composed in Co. Galway by Antoine Raifteirí around 1830' (Ó Hógán 1994, p. 242). De Noraidh speculates that it may have arrived in Munster by migrant workers.

years of age, and, curiously, that 'he was a practised phonograph singer' (Henebry 1928, p. 300). This last remark by Henebry might suggest that music was collected earlier than 1905 in the Ring area, or that Henebry recorded him on numerous occasions. The 1901 Census of Ireland lists Martin Draper at his uncle, Maurice Ryan's house, No. 2. Killinoorin, Ringville, Co. Waterford. Draper is listed as a scholar and his age on the census is twelve. This would indicate that Draper was sixteen years old, rather than eleven, when Henebry recorded him. Draper's Baptismal Certificate indicates that he was baptised in 1888 and this concurs that Draper was indeed between 16 and 17 years old in 1905. It appears therefore that Henebry's estimate of his age in 1905 was incorrect. It is possible that Henebry did not ask the age of the singer in 1905 and when he was writing his book *A Handbook of Irish Music*, some years later, merely guessed Martin Draper's age.

Martin's older brother Augustine is also listed at No. 2, Killinoorin, Ringville, Co. Waterford. Augustine was a publican by occupation and aged 21 in 1901. In the 1911 Census of Ireland Martin Draper's address is given as No. 40. Bally na Gaul or Ringville, Co. Waterford. He is the only person at that address and is listed as head of the family. His age is 21 and his occupation is given as publican. As Augustine is absent from the 1911 Census it is probable that Martin Draper continued the family occupation as publican. Martin Draper had a reputation locally as a good singer and is reputed to have won a singing competition at an Oireachtas competition in Dublin.[48] Draper's son Labhrás was also a renowned singer and in 1969 he released an EP of four songs on the Gael Linn label, titled '*Róisín Dubh'* (Gael-Linn GL17).

[48] The year of this competition is unknown and a reference to Draper could not be found in Oireachtas records .

4.3.3 Walter Power

Richard Henebry collected five songs from Walter Power: 'Miss Brien an Chuilfhionn' (BPA-ITMA/2), 'Leanán Sidhe' ('The Fairy Lover') (BPA-ITMA/4), 'Táiliúir an Chroidhe Mhóir' ('The Big Hearted Tailor') (BPA-ITMA/9), 'Pilib Séimh Mac Ghearailt' ('Mild Philip') (BPA-ITMA/10/11), and 'Édmond an Chnuic' ('Ned of the Hill') (BPA-ITMA/12 and UCD/17). Henebry states that Walter Power was a middle-aged man when he was recorded on the 2 and 3 July 1905 and 'had never sung into a phonograph before' (Henebry 1928, p. 301). Power lived in Kilnafrehan, in the parish of Cill Gobbinet, Co. Waterford. On the 1901 Census of Ireland, Walter Power's address is No. 1, Kilnafrehan West, Bohadoon, Co. Waterford.[49]

Walter power was unmarried and aged 50 in 1901 and was listed as head of the family in the 1901 Census of Ireland. He lived with his brother Thomas and his two sisters Mary and Ellen. The 1911 Census of Ireland records him at a different address, No. 8. Kilnafrehan west, Bohadoon, Co. Waterford. His sister Mary is listed as head of the family in the 1911 Census, and Walter's age is 66. Despite the apparent inaccuracy on the 1911 census form with regard to his age, it can be assumed that his actual age in 1905 was somewhere between 50 and 66.

4.3.4 Patrick O'Neill

Richard Henebry recorded four songs from Patrick O'Neill on 3 July 1905: 'Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg Mé' (BPA-ITMA/5), 'An Spailpín Fánach' (BPA-ITMA/8), 'An Maidirín Ruadh' (UCD/24; BPA-ITMA/13), and 'Spailpín a Run' (BPA-ITMA/14).

[49] On the recordings of Walter Power he is introduced by an unknown voice (perhaps Henebry's) as Walter Power from Kilnafrehan, Co. Waterford.

There are also four other recordings of O'Neill in the Folklore Collection at UCD − 'Jimí Mo Mhíle Stór' (UCD/8), 'Is Cuma Cé Bhaineann an Órna' (UCD/10/11) − and an untitled recording in UCC (UCC/114). Henebry says of Patrick O'Neill that he was about twelve years of age, when recorded, and that he lived in Droiched na gCorran, Helvick, Ring, Co. Waterford. Henebry also comments that O'Neill 'was quite accustomed to sing into the phonograph' (Henebry 1928, p. 301). It is not clear what Henebry meant by this; was O'Neill recorded before 1905, or was it simply that Patrick O'Neill was not reticent about singing into the Edison phonograph? In addition to the written transcriptions to the above mentioned tunes Henebry also includes a transcription of another song attributed to O'Neill, 'Is Cumma' (also known as 'Spailpín a Rún'), in his book *A Handbook of Irish Music*. O'Neill also recorded the songs 'Spailpín a Rún', and 'Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg Mé' on 27 July 1907 for the Austrian collector Rudolf Trebitsch. In the notes which accompanied Trebitsch's recordings of O'Neill, his age is given as seventeen and his occupation as 'postman'. These recordings were commercially released on CD in 2003 by the *Osterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, as part of Trebitsch's *Celtic Recordings of Ireland, Wales, Brittany, Isle of Man, and Scotland* (1907-1909).

In the 1901 National Census of Ireland Patrick O'Neill's address is given as No. 2, Ballyreilly, Ringville, Co. Waterford. His age in 1901 is eleven (he would therefore have been approximately fifteen in 1905 and this agrees with Trebitsch). He is one of six children of parents, Michael and Mary. Patrick's father was an agricultural labourer, and Patrick's older brother James was a fisherman, and his other brothers, Michael, and Denis were agricultural labourers. Margaret O'Neill, Patrick's sister was aged eight and

his youngest brother was four. The 1911 Census of Ireland records Patrick O'Neill as aged twenty two and his occupation is that of postman. On 14 July 1908 Patrick participated in the Waterford *Feis* at the Court House in Waterford City. This *Feis* was organised by the Waterford branch of the Gaelic League and consisted of a number of different competitions such as Gaelic literature, recitation, Irish music and Irish dancing. Patrick O'Neill won first prize for 'Irish Solo Singing' in the males over sixteen section (Waterford News 19 June 1908, p. 6).

4.3.5 Margaret O'Neill

Two songs 'Bean an Fhir Ruadh' (BPA-ITMA/15 and UCD/6), and another unnamed song (BPA-ITMA/15) (see Table 4.7) were recorded from Patrick O'Neill's sister Margaret. Henebry also transcribed the music for the song 'Siúd ort a Sheáin' from the singing of Margaret O'Neill and included it in his book *A Handbook of Irish Music* (see Appendix C). Margaret was, as previously mentioned, eight years of age in 1901, therefore she was approximately twelve years old in 1905 when Henebry recorded her. Henebry, it would appear, is mistaken as he states that she was between nine and ten when she was recorded. According to Henebry, Margaret left Ireland for Boston, USA, shortly after she was recorded in 1905 and this could be corroborated by the 1911 Census of Ireland, as she is not recorded at her home address for that year. It is also possible, of course, that she may just have been temporarily absent from home, or living elsewhere in Ireland, when the Census was taken in 1911.

4.3.6 Mary Kelly

Henebry recorded one song from Mary Kelly, 'Oh Effulgent Lord' (BPA-ITMA/6). Very little is known about Mary Kelly. The spelling of her surname, M' Kelly, on the 1905 wax cylinder list is unusual. The surname, Kelly, is sometimes prefixed by Mac, however this rarely occurs outside of Connacht[50] (MacLysaght 1978, p. 175). The use of M' in her name therefore, may be a mistake, as no prefix was attached to her name in either the 1901 or the 1911 Censuses of Ireland. In the 1901 census her age is given as fifty four and her address as No. 7, Ballynagaul, Ringville, Co. Waterford. She is listed as living with her two sons, Nicholas aged twenty four, and James aged twenty, and her daughter Mary aged twelve. As there are two Marys at this address it is possible that either of them could have been recorded in 1905, however, the voice on the recording is clearly that of an older woman suggesting that it is indeed a recording of Mary senior. In 1911 Mary Kelly senior is listed at a different address, No. 42 Ballynagaul, Ringville, Co. Waterford, and is living with her youngest son, a fisherman, James. Mary's age in 1911 is given as sixty nine and despite the inaccuracy of her age on the census form it can be safely assumed that she was in her sixties in 1911 and her late fifties in 1905 at the time of Henebry's recordings.

4.3.6 James Byrne

James Byrne (1887-1931) was born in Ballybogan Co. Meath. Originally a flute player, it was not until he met Samuel Rowsome of Ballintore, Ferns, Co. Wexford, in 1887 that he began playing the uilleann pipes (O'Neill 1913). The recording of James Byrne in the BPA-ITMA digital collection is a valuable resource in that it may indicate that

[50] MacLysaght. E. (1978) *The Surnames of Ireland*, Irish Academic Press. Dublin.

Byrne played a piping style similar to the piping style of Samuel Rowsome. James Byrne's playing style is also very similar to the piping of Samuel Rowsome's grandson Leo Rowsome. James Byrne employed a considerable amount of regulator playing which is particularly evident on the second hornpipe played by Byrne, 'The Wexford Hornpipe'. Indeed Byrne's piping style is reminiscent of Francis O'Neill's description of William Rowsome's piping style:

> His tipping and tripling are admirable, and his manipulation of the regulators may well, in these degenerate days of piping, be regarded as an innovation in the art.
>
> (O'Neill 1913, p. 162)

In his book *Irish Minstrels and Musicians*, Francis O'Neill states that Byrne won first prize for his piping at the Dublin *Feis Ceoil* in 1905, first prize at the *Feis Loch Carmen* in New Ross, Co. Wexford in 1908, and first prize at the *Oireachtas* in Dublin in 1912 (O'Neill 1913). O'Neill also notes that Richard Henebry met James Byrne in Mooncoin, Co. Kilkenny in 1904 and, impressed with his playing, made arrangements to record Byrne on an Edison Phonograph (O'Neill 1913). If Henebry recorded James Byrne soon after meeting him in 1904 this would suggest that some of Byrne's recordings could predate 1905. There is also a reference to James Byrne in *The Waterford News* of 8 January 1904 where in an article titled 'Waterford Branch Gaelic League' proceedings of the Gaelic League meeting of 4 January 1904 are reported. The meeting finished with a selection of Irish music played by James Byrne:

> After the president's speech Mr Byrne, píobaire, gave a selection of Irish airs and dance music, and there were also some Irish songs.
>
> (Waterford News 8 January 1904, p. 3)

The aforementioned article in the *Waterford News*, dated 8 January 1904, ends with an announcement of an upcoming demonstration of the scales in Irish music by Rev. Dr Henebry. This demonstration was to take place on 12 January 1904. The program for

this event was to include Richard Henebry (fiddle), Fr J. K. Fielding, (flute), and James Byrne (pipes):

> Rev. Dr Henebry, Ph.D., the world famed Irish scholar, who has recently come before his countrymen as the champion of our national music, will illustrate the Irish scales and notes on the fiddle. Rev. J.K. Fielding, Chicago, will also be there to delight us with his flute. Mr Byrne, the great Irish piper, will also perform.
>
> (Waterford News 8 January1904, p. 3)

Although the above article does not indicate if all three musicians were going to play together it might suggest that Henebry met James Byrne on the 12 January 1904, and not in Mooncoin, as stated by O'Neill, but in Waterford City. It is also possible that both men met in late 1903 in Mooncoin, and O'Neill made an error in the date, because Henebry makes a direct reference to James Byrne in his 1903 publication, *Irish Music*:

> And if anybody is doubtful of what may still be done on the pipes let him hear Patsy Touhy or Barney Delaney of Chicago, or Mr Burns of Trim, who is now, to our disgrace be it said, wasting his sweetness in the desert air of East Munster.
>
> (Henebry 1903, p. 8)

Byrne played a full set of uilleann pipes, chanter, drones, and regulators, on the recording which was sent to Berlin. O'Neill however gives a short account of how he, Byrne, tied for first place with Galway piper John O Reilly, at the *Oireachtas* in Dublin in 1912, playing 'little more than the bag, bellows, and chanter made by the Rev. Dr Henebry's brother' (O'Neill 1913, p. 322). In an article titled 'John Henebry, The Waterford piper', Jimmy O'Brien Moran recalls Bríd de Hindeberg's (John Henebry's daughter) memories of James (Jem) Byrne's visits to Portlaw, Co. Waterford:

> Jem Byrne was a regular visitor to Portlaw and John Henebry would fix any bits of the pipes for him. Byrne would set up outside the shop, resting his leg on the special crutch, and would play, collecting money in his cap on the ground.
>
> (O'Brien Moran, July 2001, pp. 13-16)

It would appear that Richard Henebry struck up a friendship with James Byrne as both played regularly together during, at least, two summer terms at Coláiste na Rinne, Co.

Waterford. An article titled 'Ring Irish College', in the *Waterford News*, 8 September 1911, states that Henebry and Byrne played every night of the 1911 summer term:

> During the session the Rev. Dr Henebry attended every night at the old College building and provided a splendid entertainment of Irish music on the violin for the students and residents of the district. He was accompanied by Seamus Byrne the well known piper.
> (Waterford News 8 September 1911)

A similar article was printed in the *Waterford News* of 6 September 1912:

> A ceilidh was held every night at the old college building. Here Dr. Henebry played the fiddle and Seamus Byrne the pipes, and the students and natives danced Irish dances for nearly two hours.
> (Waterford News, 6 September 1912, p. 6)

4.3.7 Eibhlín Ní Chaisín

Richard Henebry's mother, Eibhlín Ní Chaisín (d. 1905), was born in Cloichín an Mhargadh in Co. Tipperary (Henebry 1898). It would appear that Eibhlín was a strong influence on her son and was the source of much recorded and transcribed music in Henebry's collection. In both of Richard Henebry's publications on Irish music, he compares his mother's versions of songs with different versions which had been collected or published by other collectors (see Tables 4.8 and 4.9). Henebry always considered his mother's versions to be superior.

It has already been mentioned that she, along with her husband Pierce, were evicted from their home in Mount Bolton in 1886 (see p. 9). They then moved initially to William Street, Portlaw and then to Brown's Street, Portlaw, Co. Waterford. Eibhlín Ní Chaisín died on 28 June 1905. Her death certificate gives her age as 79 at time of death and her occupation as 'shopkeeper'. Henebry also recorded a 'Brighid Ní Chaisín' and it is possible that she was a sister to Eibhlín. Richard Henebry also included a

transcription of a reel from his sister Cáit de Henebre in *Irish Music* (see Table 4.8 and Appendix A).

4.3.8 Labhrás Ó Cadhla

Labhrás Ó Cadhla (1889-1961) was born in Scairt na Draighní (Scartnadriny), Co. Waterford. His family were native Irish speakers and he learned the majority of his songs from his mother, Johanna, and an aunt, Biddy Kiely (Ó Cearbhaill 2000). Having taught the Irish language with the Gaelic League in counties Waterford and Kilkenny, he was later given the post of Irish language teacher by the Co. Waterford Vocational Education Committee in 1924. He taught singing and Irish at Coláiste na Rinne until 1960 (Ó Cearbhaill 2000).

Although there is only one recording of Ó Cadhla in the Henebry collection (UCD/1) Labhrás was recorded on a number of occasions by different collectors. As already mentioned he was recorded by the German folklore collector Wilhelm Doegen in 1928. In 1940 the East Cork collector, Liam de Noraidh, transcribed seventeen songs, and their music, from the singing of Labhrás Ó Cadhla (Ó hÓgáin 1994). He was recorded again in 1948 by Séamus Ennis for Radio Éireann. Ennis also recorded Ó Cadhla for the BBC in the 1950s. Ciarán Mac Mathúna recorded him in 1957 and Brendán Ó Cnáimhsí and Seán Mac Réamonn recorded Ó Cadhla, on separate occasions, for Radio Éireann in 1958 (Ó Cearbhaill 2000). Labhrás Ó Cadhla's recordings were re-released on CD, *Labhrás Ó Cadhla, Amhráin Ó Shliabh gCua*, by Radio Telefís Éireann (RTÉ) in 2000.

4.3.9 Tomás Ó Huigín (Tom Higgins)

Richard Henebry first met travelling fiddle player Tom Higgins in 1911. In the previously mentioned letter to the *Waterford News*, dated 12 May 1911, Henebry states that his first collection made after his appointment to the UCC Irish music archive was of fiddler Tom Higgins (see p. 216). Henebry made 23 wax cylinder recordings of Tom Higgins which are currently in the UCC Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection. When Henebry became acquainted with Higgins in 1911, he, Higgins, was living in the 'Inebriate Home', St Patrick's House, 28 Hennessy's Road, Waterford City. Higgins, age fifty five, is listed in the 1911 Census of Ireland at this address and his occupation is given as 'old tramp fiddler'. Henebry praises Higgins in the aforementioned letter and gives a brief biography of Higgins emphasising his musical pedigree:

> He is a fiddler and a descendent of fiddlers and musicians. He represents then what may be called the last of Irish professionalism in music. He is a native of Kilkenny and was taught when very young by his father. He was afterwards influenced by various players, both fiddlers and pipers. He played with young Cash, the Wicklow piper, on the road for several years… Tom is a reel player of the first order, having the old-time jolt of the bow with the marvellous address of wrist and forearm of the real tradesman. I never saw anything at all to equal his pliancy of wrist and consequent bow command. The richness of his bow mixing, in playing his reels, is a revelation.
>
> (Waterford News, 12 May 1911, p. 2)

4.3.10 John Henebry (Eoin de Hindeberg)

John Henebry (d. 1937) was the younger brother of Richard Henebry. He both played and made fiddles and uilleann pipes. John Henebry was also, like his brother, a collector of music and the biggest of his manuscript collections has one hundred and sixty four tunes (O'Brien Moran 2001, p. 12). In 1948 Séamus Ennis made a handwritten copy of another of John Henebry's manuscripts, originally written by John Henebry in 1934. Ennis' copy is now part of the Ennis Collection at the National Folklore Collection in UCD. This manuscript contains thirty-five tunes, each tune with an accompanying

commentary. John did not use key signatures in his transcriptions of Irish music but added accidentals when necessary. Richard Henebry includes 2 transcriptions of song airs from John Henebry in *A Handbook of Irish Music*, 'Óró 'sé do bheatha abhaile' and an unnamed song-air (see Table 4.9).

John Henebry made uilleann pipes and fiddles and also helped his brother Richard make a harp based on the 'Brian Ború' harp in Trinity College, Dublin. He made the first practice set of uilleann pipes for the well-known Waterford piper Tommy Kearney, and was Kearney's first tutor on the pipes (Van Djik, 1993). John Henebry was also active in the revival of the Irish language and was a member of the Board of Coláiste na Rinne up to his death in 1937 (Ó Domhnaill 1987).

4.3.11 Francis O'Neill, Edward Cronin, and Thomas F. Kiley

It is possible that the two recordings, Nos. 3 and 5, in the 'dubbed' collection in UCD are recordings of music collector Captain Francis O'Neill (1848-1936) and Chicago fiddler Edward Cronin (*c*.1838-*c*.1918) along with an unidentified Keilly playing together in a group. Francis O'Neill (1848-1936) was born in Tralibane, Bantry Co. Cork. He moved to Chicago and joined the Chicago Police Force in 1873, and was promoted to Chief of Police for the period 1901-1905. O'Neill played the flute and was passionate about the preservation of Irish music and in 1901 became President of the Chicago Irish Music Club. He published a number of books on Irish music, the most popular of which *O'Neill's Music of Ireland* (1903), and *The Dance Music of Ireland 1001 Gems* (1907) are still used today as source books by Irish musicians. O'Neill also published two books recalling various Irish musicians in Chicago at the end of the 19th

century and the beginning of the 20th century, *Irish Folk Music* (1910), and *Irish Minstrels and Musicians* (1913) (Carolan 1997).

Edward Cronin was considered by O'Neill to have been an expert Irish fiddle player. He was born in county Tipperary and was a weaver by trade. When he moved to Chicago he worked as a factory worker at Deering Harvester Works (O'Neill 1913). O'Neill described Cronin's playing style as:

> Long sweeping bowing, with its attendant slurs, gave marked individuality to his style which was both airy and graceful.
>
> (O'Neill 1910, p. 45)

Cronin played many old tunes unknown to other Chicago musicians of the time and Francis O'Neill remarked that 'the majority of them entirely escaped the painstaking efforts of Dr Petrie and Dr Joyce' (O'Neill 1910, p. 45). In his book *Irish Minstrels and Musicians*, Francis O'Neill recalls a visit to Edward Cronin's house where Cronin 'played in concert' with two of his friends from New York, Patrick Clancy (flute) and Thomas F. Kiley (mandolin). It is possible that this Thomas F. Kiley is the same Keilly named on the dubbed recordings 3 and 5 in the UCD collection. Thomas F. Kiley also played the fiddle but O'Neill states that he excelled on the mandolin:

> …the mandolin, was his favourite instrument, however. In playing Irish dance music he displayed a facility of execution almost inconceivable. To him 'The Flogging Reel,' a lively three-part dance tune, with its turns and graces, presented no more difficulties than 'Home Sweet Home'.
>
> (O'Neill 1913, p. 394)

As the names Keilly and Thomas F. Kiley are associated with Cronin on both the recordings in UCD and in O'Neill's account, and since both men played the mandolin it is likely therefore that both names refer to the same man. It is probable therefore that,

recordings 3 and 5 of the dubbed collection in UCD were copied from a wax cylinder recording made in Chicago by Francis O'Neill.

4.3.12 James Early and John McFadden

James Early was born in county Leitrim in the 1840s, and according to Francis O Neill in *Irish Minstrels and Musicians*, learned to play the flute and fiddle as a young boy. He did not play the pipes until he went to America, and received lessons from a relative, James Quinn (O Neill 1913). James Early notated many tunes from his piping teacher James Quinn, which were later published in Francis O Neill's *Music of Ireland* (O Neill 1913). By the time Early retired from the Chicago police force he had reached the rank of sergeant. Francis O'Neill thought very highly of James Early, and in *Irish Minstrels and Musicians*, praised Early as a lover of 'piper' music:

> A piper and a lover of piper music, kindly, unassuming, patient, tolerant, helpful, and hospitable – such is James Early as a man among musicians.
>
> (O'Neill 1913, p. 308)

James Early played regularly in Chicago with fiddler John McFadden. McFadden was born in county Mayo possibly in the late 1840s. O'Neill states in his *Irish Minstrels and Musicians* that in 1913 McFadden was in his sixties. Both McFadden's brother and father were fiddlers and John McFadden learned from them (O'Neill 1913). John McFadden also composed music particularly dance tunes:

> Possessing the gift of composition as well as execution, McFadden is the author of many fine dance tunes, composed without the aid of notes or memoranda, depending altogether on his memory for their retention.
>
> (O Neill 1913, p. 396)

There are fifteen recordings of John McFadden in the UCC Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection along with one solo recording of James Early and two duet recordings of Early and McFadden (see Table 4.1). In his book *Irish Folk Music*, Francis O'Neill

recounts a story of how, at a gathering of Irish-American musicians at the house of a Sergeant Kerwin in Chicago, Richard Henebry met and played music with James Early and John McFadden:

> A slashing reel – 'The Bank of Ireland', I believe – which Bernard Delaney was playing with great abandon on the union pipes, caught his Reverence's [Henebry's] fancy. Seizing a violin, he accompanied the piper with spirit. Not to be merely an onlooker, Father Fielding sailed in with his ever-willing flute. The humour of the situation seemed contagious, for Adam Tobin got into action with his pipes. To restore the balance, John McFadden with his fiddle reinforced Dr Henebry. Of course, Sergeant Early could no longer remain inactive with his pipes on his lap, so he also helped to swell the concert. There being no apparent prejudice against odd numbers, 'yours truly' lost no time in rallying to Father Fielding's aid with a second flute.
>
> (O Neill 1910, p. 49)

4.3.13 Patrick (Patsy) Touhey

Patsy Touhey (1865-1923) was born in Loughrea, Co. Galway, on 26 February 1865 (O'Neill 1913). Touhey's grandfather, Michael, father, James, and two uncles, John and Pat, were pipers. O Neill states in *Irish Folk Music*, that Patsy was four years old when he arrived in America with his parents. When Patsy was only ten his father, James Touhey, died. Patsy Touhey was then taught to play the pipes by a former pupil of his father's, Bartley Murphy (O'Neill 1913).

At the age of twenty one Patsy became a professional piper and comedian. In 1886 he toured with *Jerry Cohan's Irish Hibernia* Show. He also performed comic sketches with Charles Henry Burke, and played pipes for his own wife, Mary, as she danced on stage at many vaudeville venues in America. He also played in taverns in New York (Mitchell and Small 1986). As a professional piper he performed at the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893 and at the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition of 1903 (Vallely 2011). Touhey saw the commercial potential in the Edison Phonograph and advertised his own recordings for

sale in 1901 (Mitchell and Small 1986). Patrick Touhey also made commercial disc recordings with Victor Records, although he only recorded three 'sides' however and only the first 'side' was released in February 1920 (Mitchell and Small 1986). There are 21 wax cylinder recordings of Patsy Touhey extant in the UCC Henebry Wax Cylinder Collection, many of which contain two or more tunes (see Table 4.1). In an appreciation of Touhey's musical abilities, Richard Henebry said of Touhey that he should be given the post of Professor of Music in an Irish college:

> Why there is no Irish musician alive now at all in his class! If things were as they ought to be, he should be installed as professor of music in a national university in Dublin. And that is what I think of Patsy Touhey and his pipering.
>
> (Henebry cited in O'Neill, 1910, p. 114)

4.3.14 Other Sources

The previous sources have been well documented by Richard Henebry, Francis O'Neill or others, the next group of sources however, were not documented or indexed properly and are a little harder to trace. As Henebry himself indicated that he intended to make further recordings in county Waterford, it is assumed that these lesser known sources were from county Waterford. Since Henebry included the addresses of some of his sources in *A Handbook of Irish Music* it is apparent that he confined his music collecting in 1905 to the Gaelic-speaking area of west Waterford and especially Ring, Co. Waterford. When the names of his 'lesser' sources on the wax cylinders were compared to the 1901 and 1911 Census of Ireland, all were located in the same general Gaelic-speaking region of West Waterford.

Séamus Ó Ceallaigh was recorded by the Austrian collector Rudolf Trebitsch in 1907. Trebitsch states in his notes that Ó Ceallaig was a sixteen year old schoolboy from

Ring, Co. Waterford. A Séamus Ó Ceallaig was also recorded by Richard Henebry possibly in 1911 (UCC/27). It is not certain who this singer was, but there is a Séamus Ó Ceallaig listed on the 1911 Census of Ireland aged sixty, his place of birth was Clonmel, Co. Tipperary, and he only spoke English. There are three other James Kellys, however, listed on the 1911 Census of Ireland one of which may be the singer Séamus. The first is James Kelly of No. 33 Helvick, Ring, Co. Waterford. In 1911 his age was seventy two so therefore could not have been the same person recorded by Trebitsch in 1907. The next James Kelly on the 1911 Census of Ireland lived at No. 5 Helvick, Ring, Co. Waterford, his age is 19 and he could be the singer recorded by Trebitsch and perhaps by Henebry also. Another possibility is that the Séamus Ó Ceallaigh recorded by Henebry was the son of the aforementioned Mary M'Kelly who lived with his mother at No. 42 Ballynagaul, Ring, Co. Waterford. It would seem possible that having recorded the mother Henebry then recorded the son. This James Kelly however was in his late twenties in 1911 and could not have been the same person recorded by Trebitsch. It is possible therefore that the recordings, Trebitsch's and Henebry's, are of two different people, or that the second James Kelly, aged 19 is the one recorded by both Henebry and Trebitsch, or another person entirely.

The lilter Caitlín Ní Mhuirghiosa recorded by Henebry (UCC/29/39/40/86/89) may be the same Cáit Ní Muirgheasa of No.6 Ballynagaul, Ring, Co. Waterford, listed on the 1911 Census of Ireland. She was aged forty, and was married to fisherman, Deuglán. She had three children, Deuglán age twelve, Máirgréid age ten, and Padraig age nine.

There are two recordings of Patrick Whelan in the UCD collection (UCD/22/23) together with an address, Cul na Finneinn, it is possible that this is an approximate phonetic rendering of Kilnafrehan. There are three Whelan families listed in Kilnafrehan, near Bohadoon, in the 1901 Census of Ireland, all of them farming families. There are two Patrick Whelans at No. 10 Kilnafrehan East, an uncle aged sixty, and a nephew aged four. Patrick Whelan aged fourteen is listed at No. 4 Kilnafrehan west and another Patrick Whelan is listed at No. 7 Kilnafrehan West, aged eleven. Depending on the date of recording any one of the above could have been recorded by Henebry.

John Bowe of 'Curraghbatha' (UCD/14) is almost certainly the same John Bowe, farmer, of No. 2 Currabha, Colligan, Co. Waterford, listed on the 1901 Census of Ireland. On the 1911 Census of Ireland form John Bowe used the Irish translation of his name, 'Seán Ó Buaidh'. The Bríd Ní Nuanain recorded by Henebry, (UCC/64), may be the same Bridget Noonan listed on the 1901 Census of Ireland at No. 54 Ballynagaul, Ring, Co. Waterford. She was nine years of age in 1901 so would have been thirteen in 1905 and nineteen in 1911, the two years in which Henebry is known to have made recordings. As Bridget's name does not occur at the same address in the 1911 census it is possible that she either married or left the Ring area. This would suggest that Henebry may have recorded her before 1911.

Richard Henebry collected two songs from an S. O Donabhain (UCC/35/106). This may be Seán Ó Donabháin, fisherman, aged fifty five, and listed in the 1911 Census of Ireland as living at No. 20 Ballynagaul, Ring, Co. Waterford. There is no extant

recording of N. Condun in the Henebry collection. As his name is written on the cylinder box for blank cylinder No. 107 in the UCC collection, it is possible that he was, or was about to be, recorded. He might be the same Nicholas Condon of No. 16 Barranastook, Ring, Co. Waterford, as listed in the 1901 Census of Ireland. It is possible therefore, that the note accompanying this blank cylinder, 'Rí na Stuaice', is not in fact a song title but a misspelling, of Condon's address Barranastook, the Irish original of which is 'Barr na Stuaice'.

The M. Foley recorded on cylinder No. 18 in the UCD collection may be Margaret Foley of No. 1 Barranaleaha, Ring, Co. Waterford (1901 Census of Ireland). She was the oldest daughter of farmer, John Foley, and was twenty years old in 1901. She had four siblings, Thomas, aged eighteen; James, aged fifteen; Annie, aged thirteen; and Peter, aged five. The female singer of 'Maurin de Barra' on cylinder No. 67 in the UCC collection cannot be traced. The song is announced however as '[?] ón Rinn, do guth an t-amhrán seo'/ [[?] from Ring, sang this song]. This would therefore indicate that the singer was from Ring.

There are two possible census records for William Breathnach (UCC/36). The first is from the 1901 Census of Ireland where William Walsh age three is listed at No. 49, Ballynagaul, Ring, with his parents Thomas and Mary, and his siblings, Mary, twelve, and Nicholas, nine. Another, or perhaps the same, William Walsh is recorded at No. 36, Ballynagaul, Ring, on the 1911 Census of Ireland. The parents on this second record are Thomas and Margaret and could be the Thomas and Mary of the earlier record, although both mothers have different forenames it is possible that the names Mary and Margaret

were interchangeable, and both of the fathers were fishermen. The sibling list is different on the 1911 list suggesting a different family or some of the family were absent from the home in 1901. The William Walsh (Breathnach) in the 1901 census would have been fourteen in 1911 however the William in the 1911 Census of Ireland is listed as eleven. It has already been shown that there are discrepancies in the ages of some of the other census records quoted, it is possible therefore that the age given for William on at least one census record is also inaccurate, and both Williams may be the same person. If so he may therefore be the same William Breathnach recorded by Henebry.

Henebry also mentions the names of seven other sources for some of the transcribed music in his books *Irish Music* and *A Handbook of Irish Music*, other than the brief references made by Henebry, further biographical information on these seven sources cannot be found. These are singers: John Gamble, Portlaw, Co. Waterford; Columbus O'Ryan, address unknown; Patrick O'Morrissy, Portlaw, Co. Waterford; Martin Curran, Portlaw, Co. Waterford; and Patrick O'Shea, Portlaw, Co. Waterford; and fiddlers: John Grandon, address unknown; and Patrick Launders, Cahir, Co. Tipperary.

John Gamble is referred to as 'a ploughman at my father's house' (Henebry 1928, p. 121). A version of 'Óró 'sé do bheatha abhaile' (see Table 4.9), was collected from Columbus O'Ryan but Henebry neglected to mention O'Ryan's address. Henebry learned the untitled song air on page 209 in *A Handbook of Irish Music* from Patrick O'Morrissy: 'as a child I learned from a boy named Patrick O'Morrissy' (Henebry 1928, p. 209). Presumably O'Morrissy was from the Portlaw area but Henebry does not

mention his address. The song Páidín Ó Rafferty (see Table 4.9) was learned from labourer Martin Curran. Although Henebry implies that Curran worked on his father's farm there is no other record of this man. Henebry states that he learned the untitled song air on page 278 in *A Handbook of Irish Music* from Patrick O'Shea (see Table 4.9) but he neglected to include O'Shea's address. The unnamed reel on page 35 of *Irish Music* (see Table 4.8) was transcribed from a John Grandon, but other than his name Henebry makes no further reference to this man. The jig 'The Galbally Farmer' was collected from the playing of 'Patrick Launders a fiddler of Cahir, Co. Tipperary' (Henebry 1928, p. 187). All of Henebry's transcriptions can be seen in Appendices A and C.

4.4 Richard Henebry: A Life's Work Forgotten

In conclusion, it is apparent that Richard Henebry was a very determined and 'driven' character. He studied for the priesthood initially at St John's College in Waterford, but railed against that establishment partly because they would not teach the Irish language as part of its curriculum, despite a large Gaelic speaking population in the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore. He then transferred to St Patrick's College, Maynooth, where he excelled at his studies which also included Gaelic. It would appear that he had a passion for the Gaelic language from an early period in his life. It is possible that Henebry decided to pursue his passion for Gaelic further while at Maynooth and this growing interest in Gaelic may explain why he volunteered for the Diocese of Salford in England where, coincidently, the foremost scholar on Gaelic Languages for the time, Dr John Strachan, lived and taught.

It was while he was in the Diocese of Salford that Henebry was offered the post of Assistant Professor of Celtic Studies at the CUA which he accepted. Before he took up his position in America however, he studied Gaelic Philology in Germany where after two years he was awarded a Doctorate of Philosophy in Gaelic Philology, he then assumed his position at the CUA, and taught there for two years. This strongly suggests that Henebry pursued a career in Gaelic linguistics and indeed he may have initially entered the seminary for this purpose. His career in America was beset with problems as he regularly upset and angered many Irish-Americans with his forthright and authoritarian declarations regarding the promotion and preservation of the Gaelic language. Henebry was dismissed from the CUA seemingly for his failing health but he disputed his dismissal and attacked the University with a characteristic stubborn zeal, but to no avail. On his return to Ireland Henebry continued to promote the Irish language and was appointed Professor of Irish at UCC in 1909.

Being both a native Gaelic speaker and Irish traditional musician himself Henebry saw an inseparable link between the Gaelic language and the folk music of the Irish people. He was determined to preserve what he perceived to be the remnants of Gaelic Ireland and his analysis of Irish traditional music focused mainly on assigning it a unique Gaelic structure and origin. Henebry's interest in a Gaelic origin for the music was inspired by previous antiquarian collectors of the music. In his desire to ascribe a Gaelic origin to the music he, like the earlier antiquarians, sought refuge in 'ancient Irish history', especially that of Geoffrey Keating, but unlike the 18th-century antiquarians Henebry rejected fantastic or foreign origin stories linked with Irish music. He adopted

instead the nationalist or 'Irishness' viewpoint of music collectors in the mid-19th century, onto which he 'embroidered' his own form of 'Gaelic antiquarianism'.

It was perhaps both ironic and fortuitous that Henebry did not have a formal education in western art music. Indeed it may have been his lack of an advanced musical literacy that spurred him to adapt a more familiar linguistic analysis to the study of the structure of Irish music. This adaptation of linguistics, or prosody, to examine music was a radical step forward in musicology for his time. By applying the rules of prosody to patterns and phrases in music Henebry showed how a different analytical approach could be applied to the music, an approach which demonstrated that the performance of Irish music was not dependent on the standard tonality of western art music. In his three publications, examining the structure of Irish music, Henebry's process of analysis is revealed. His first publication examines the use of scales in Irish music and their intervallic structure, and while Henebry's conclusions are not conclusive they do outline a difference between the structure of Irish music and that of western art music. His second publication is a more detailed look at the construction of Irish music especially scales and modes. In this book he gives precise measurements for the 'correct' intonation of Irish music on the violin, and a precise description of the modes that he identified in Irish music. His third book can be described as the culmination or climax of his understanding of the unique makeup of Irish music.

Part of Henebry's analytical process, and a large part of *A Handbook of Irish Music*, involved the compiling of lists which according to Hugh Shields in *Ceol Tíre* (1983) were 'the accumulation of matter [which] does not add up to anything of importance'

(Shields 1983, p. 10). It is possible that this ‘accumulation of matter’ dissuaded many from further study of his theories. Henebry’s findings were further complicated by his sometimes confusing use of standard musical terminology. His ‘Irish’ Fb for example describes an F natural in the western art music scale because, according to Henebry, it is flatter than an ‘Irish’ F natural. His use of the term ‘fifths’ to name ‘stress registers’ is also confusing and differs considerably from the standard use of the term. Henebry’s entire work is centred on finding a difference between Irish and western art music scales and intonation. He achieves this by comparing the intervals in an ‘Irish’ scale with those of the western art music diatonic scale, and once again his use of the terms *major* and *minor*, when describing the length of each interval, is also non-standard. Henebry showed that the music with which he was familiar, and which he recorded, was not dictated by a single standard tonality and he supported his theories with tonometric measurements of Edison Phonograph recordings, and these measurements add a scientific confirmation to his findings.

Richard Henebry was among the first music collectors in Ireland to appreciate the music collecting potential for the Edison Phonograph. It is possible that he began his recording work as early as 1903, on his return to Ireland from America, and may have recorded his mother, Eibhlín, and piper James Byrne at this time. If this is so then these recordings are amongst the earliest extant field recordings of Irish musicians and singers made in Ireland.

The first definite, known, recordings made by Henebry, however, were those recorded in 1905 and subsequently sent to Germany for tonometric analysis. These recordings

were analysed using the latest scientific methods for the time, and supported Henebry's theories regarding the unique structure of Irish music. He next recorded the travelling fiddler Tom Higgins in 1911 and possibly a second collection of singers and musicians from West Waterford in the same year. It is possible that he recorded musicians and singers at other times but this cannot be established with certainty due to the inadequate indexing of the collection, especially of the wax cylinder collection in UCC. When Carl Hardebeck made his limited index in 1921 ten years had elapsed since Henebry recorded Tom Higgins. It may be that the collection was forgotten after Henebry's death in 1916, and this may explain the poor condition of many of the cylinders. As Hardebeck's notes seem to have been gleaned largely from the spoken introduction on some cylinders it suggests that an original index was either lost or did not exist.

The inclusion of seventy six transcriptions of song airs and dance music, in both, *A Handbook of Irish Music*, and *Irish Music*, is also an invaluable record of music in the region at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. A number of these are transcriptions of the cylinder recordings previously mentioned, resulting in both a visual and aural record of the music of the region. Henebry's analysis of the music can be verified by comparing written and aural examples, and it is primarily for this reason that Henebry's overall collection can be considered a valuable tool in the study of Irish music.

Since Henebry's death in 1916 his theories and analyses of Irish music have been largely forgotten. One reason for this may have been Henebry's use of the standard music terminology of western art music for non-standard examples in Irish music. The

addition of a complicated logarithm formula to calculate intervals may also have deterred investigation of his findings. Henebry's adaptation of prosody to the analysis of Irish music was also new for the time and may also have inhibited subsequent collectors or analysts from developing Henebry's theories further. The unavailability of Henebry's phonograph recordings which verified his analysis may have also deterred any further investigation by later collectors and academics. This combination of a somewhat confusing use of standard music terminology, linguistic analysis, and the unavailability of his recordings seems to have decided the fate of Henebry's work and consigned it to the library shelf to be largely forgotten.

Today however with the advent of digital technology Henebry's analysis can be compared to the original recordings and his findings can be evaluated. The recordings in UCC are being restored, where possible, and are due to be digitised, and the wax cylinders in the Berliner Phonogram-Archiv have already been digitised. Richard Henebry preserved a tremendous musical legacy from county Waterford, a legacy which enables musicians and academics today to look back at a pivotal period in the history of Irish music. A period when the truly aural and oral traditions of music from the 19th century were being slowly displaced by the standard music rules of western art music. Richard Henebry had the foresight to record Irish music at this pivotal moment and although his analysis at times seems cumbersome it was an admirable attempt to preserve a unique regional musical style.

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Appendix A: Ten Tune Transcriptions from Henebry's *Irish Music* (1903)

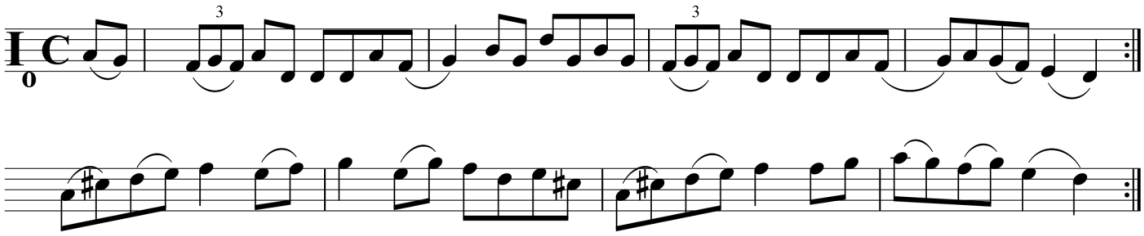
Introduction

The following 10 tunes in this Appendix were transcribed by Henebry from family members, friends and printed sources and are included in *Irish Music* (1903). Henebry used these tunes to demonstrate his unique method of notating the key signature and mode for Irish music. Tunes in Henebry's first 'Irish' scale of D are indicated with the Roman numeral **I** and its mode is indicated with a circular note-head in the appropriate position on the stave − D, A, or G. Tunes that have been transcribed up to a 'fiddler's key' are indicated by a circular note-head written in the applicable modal position − D, A, or G, and then connected to a solid note-head in the appropriate position to represent the transposition to the 'fiddler's key' − E, or B (see tune number 5 below).

Tunes in Henebry's second Irish scale are indicated by the Roman numeral **II** and its mode is indicated by a circular note-head written on the stave at G above middle C (see tunes 7, 8, 9, and 10 below). There are no modes associated with Henebry's second 'Irish' scale. The Fs and Cs, F#s and C#s indicated in tunes composed using both of Henebry's 'Irish' scales should be given their 'Irish' values as indicated in Chapter 2, and the Bs in tunes composed using the second 'Irish' scale should be treated as 'Irish' Bbs as also indicated in Chapter 2. The source of each tune and tune type is indicated beneath the tune title.

No. 1 Seán Mháire Ní Eachthighearn

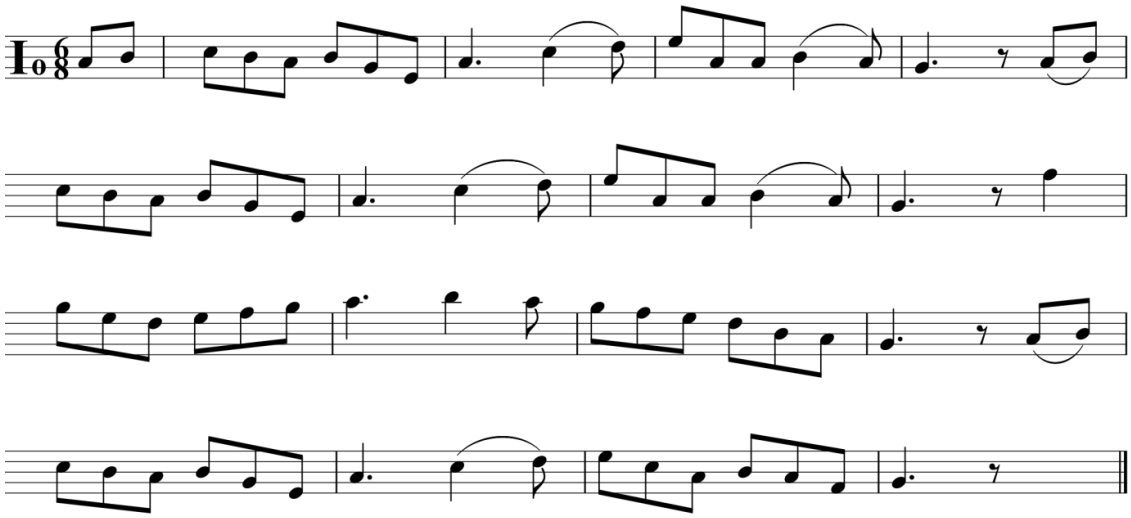
Reel



The above tune ‘Sean Mháire Ní Eachtighearn’ was composed using Henebry’s first ‘Irish’ scale (D), as indicated by the Roman numeral **I**. Its mode (D) is indicated with a circle on the stave in the D position. All the Fs and Cs in this tune should be played as ‘Irish’ **F**s and **C**s and the C#s indicated should also be played as ‘Irish’ **C**#s.

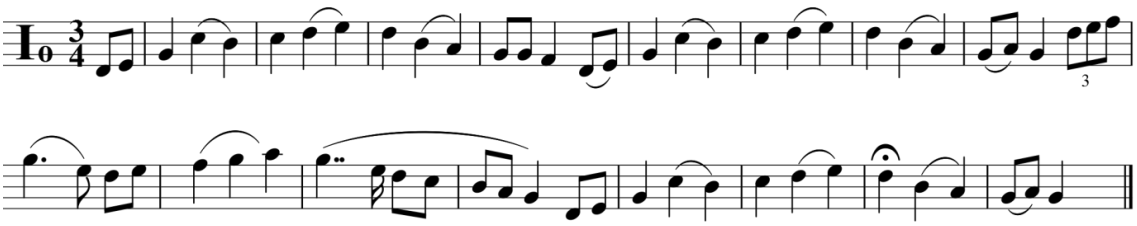
No. 2 A Chattí na gCumann Ná Tréig Mé

Song air Eibhlín Ní Chaisín



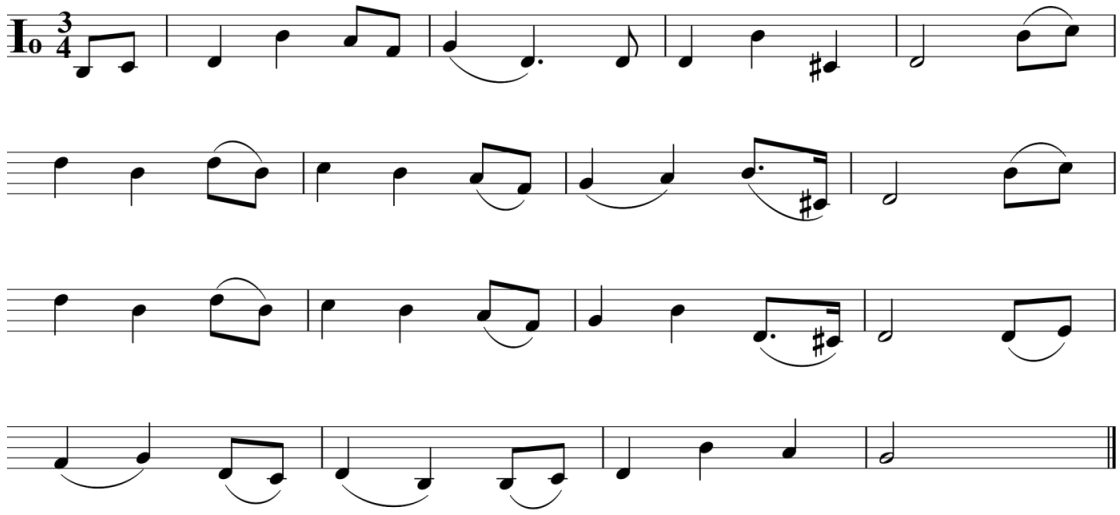
No. 3 Nuair do Chuadh-sa Dtí an Róimh

Song air Eibhlín Ní Chaisín



No. 4 No Leun Ort-sa a Mhary

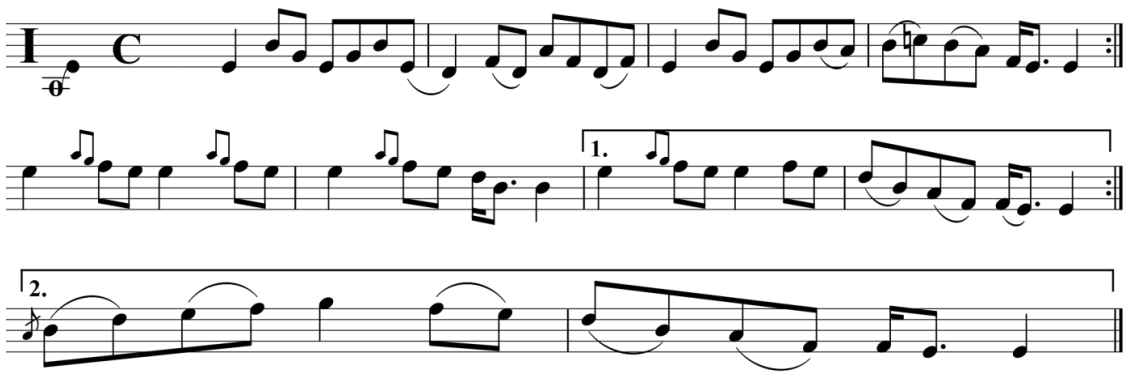
Song air — Eibhlín Ní Chaisín



The above tunes, numbers 2, 3, and 4, are ‘G’ mode tunes derived from Henebry’s first ‘Irish’ scale indicated by the Roman numeral **I**. The mode ‘G’ is represented by the circle on the stave in the G position. All Fs, Cs, and C#s should be given ‘Irish’ values.

No. 5 A Reel

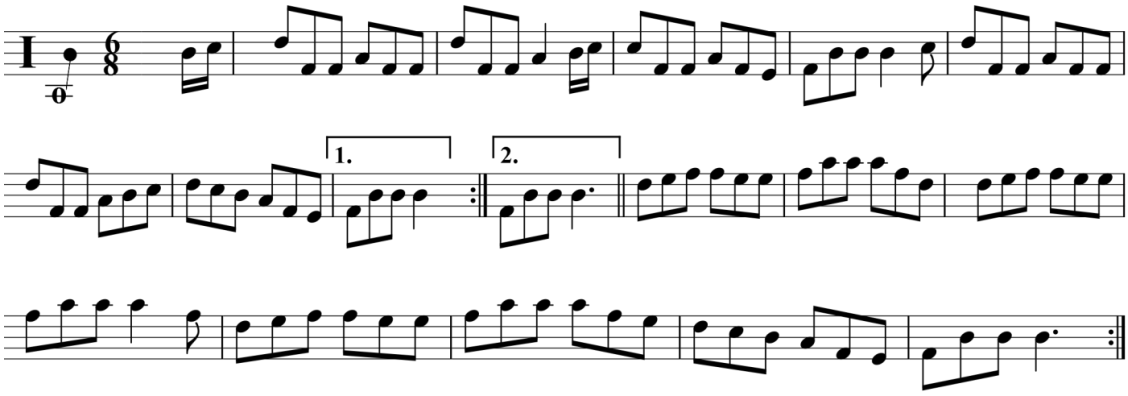
Reel — John Grandon



Tune number 5, ‘A Reel’, is a modal tune associated with Henebry’s first ‘Irish’ scale as indicated by the Roman numeral **I**. The circle on the A ledger line below middle C indicates that the tune is in the mode of A, however, the note head E, above middle C, connected to the A below middle C with a line indicates that this tune has been transposed to E, therefore this tune is in the mode of A but has been transposed to the ‘fiddler’s key’ of E. All the Fs and Cs should be given ‘Irish’ values.

No. 6 A Double

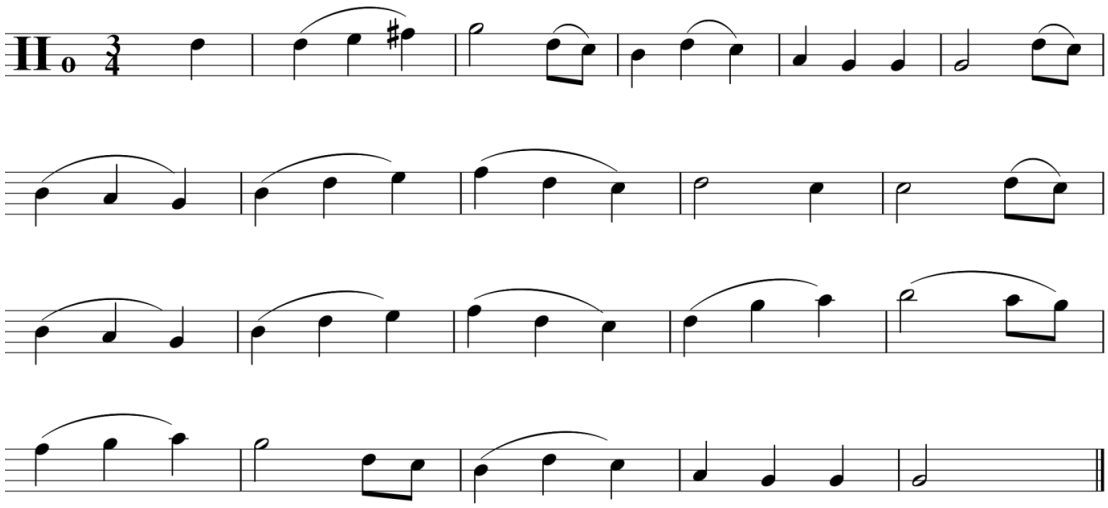
Double Jig



Tune number 6, ‘A Double’, is also a modal tune associated with Henebry’s first ‘Irish’ scale as indicated by the Roman numeral **I**. The circle on the A ledger line below middle C indicates that the tune is in the mode of A, however the note head on the B connected to the A below middle C with a line indicates that this tune has been transposed to B, therefore this tune is in the mode of A but has been transposed to the ‘fiddler’s key’ of B. All the Fs and Cs should be given ‘Irish’ values.

No. 7 A Chumainn Gil Sansa

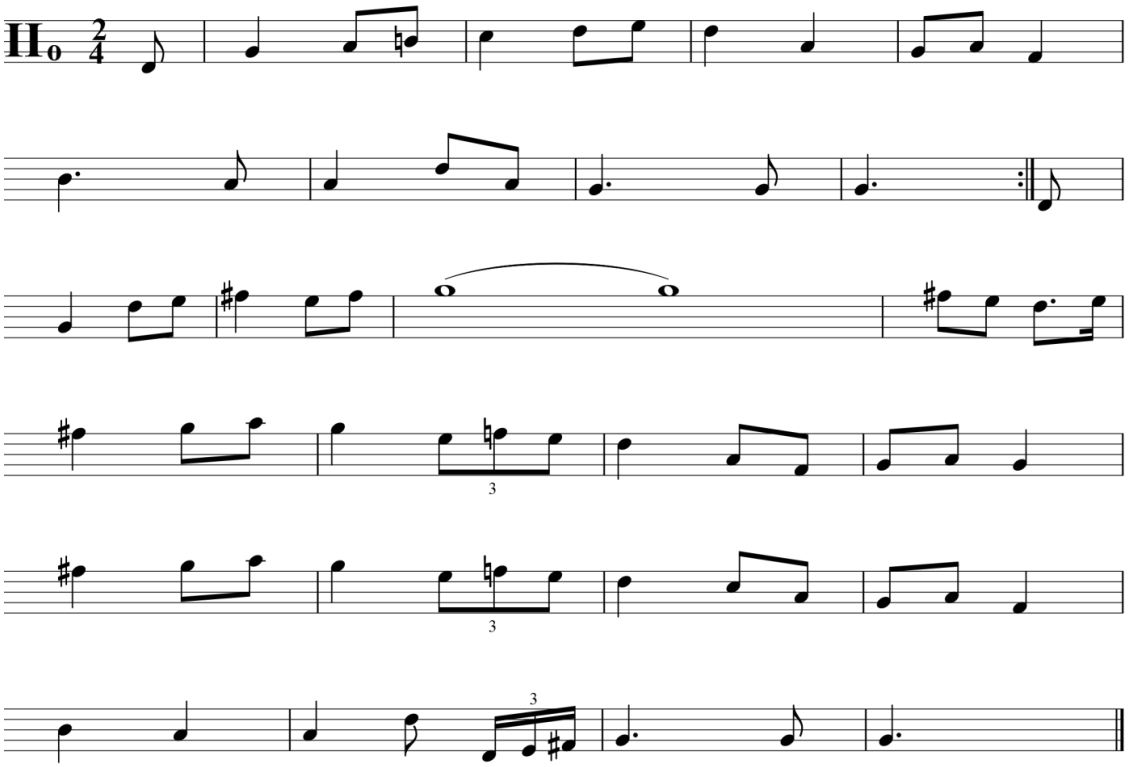
Song air Eibhlín Ní Chaisín



No. 8 Atáim-sé im Chodladh is Ná Dúisig Mé

Song air

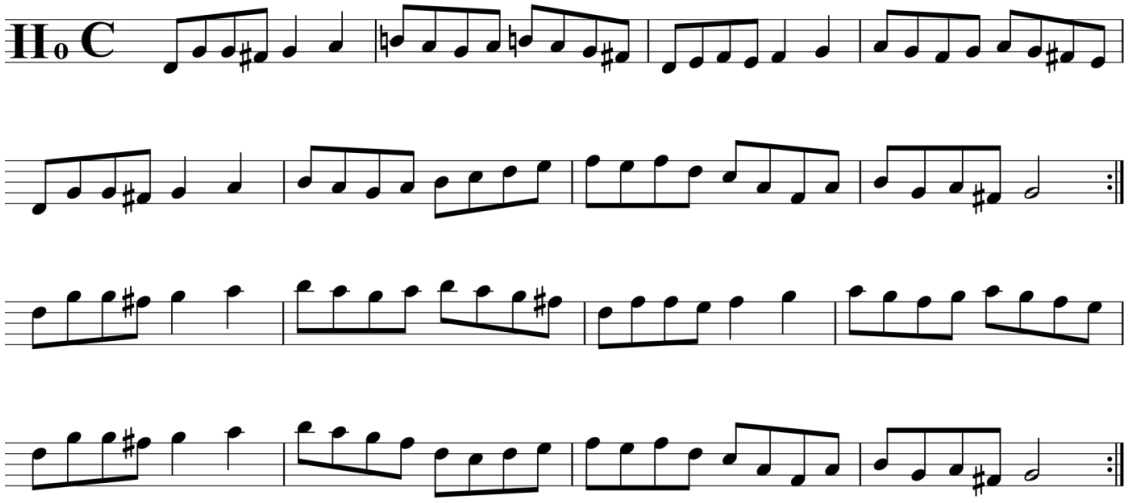
Eibhlín Ní Chaisín



No. 9 A Reel

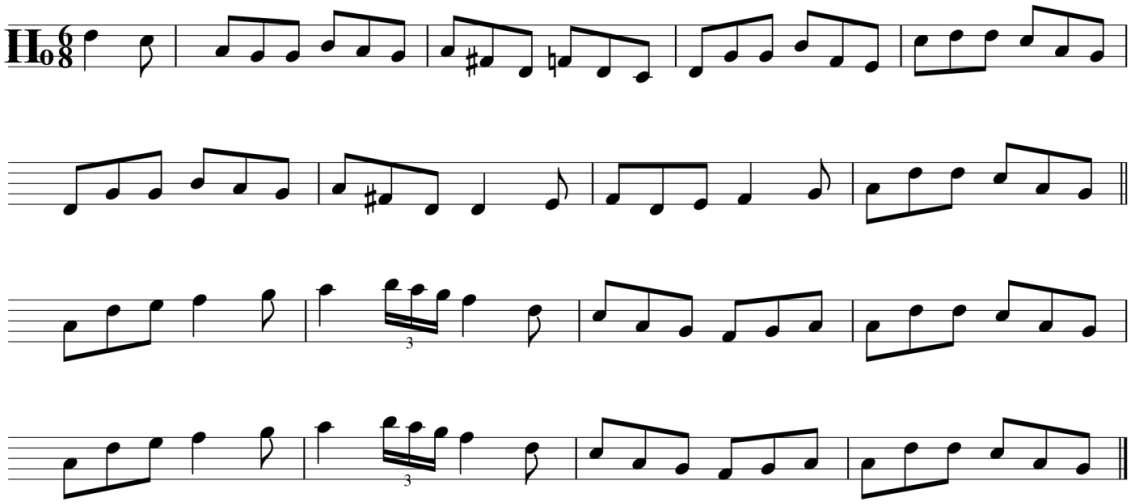
Reel

Cáit De Henebre



No. 10 Strop the Razor

Reel



The above tunes, 7, 8, 9, and 10 are all examples of Irish music composed using what Henebry terms the second 'Irish' scale (G, A, **Bb**, **C**, D', E', **F**, G), This is indicated by the Roman numeral **II** in place of a clef. The circle on the G above middle C indicates that this tune was composed using a scale with G as its first note with an 'Irish' **C**, **F**, and **Bb**. All F#s should be treated as 'Irish' **F#**s. In tune number 8 Henebry has indicated an irregular rhythm by inserting two semibreves in bar 11.

Appendix B: Henebry's Transcriptions and Tonometric Measurements of the Music sent to Berlin for Tonometric Analysis

Introduction

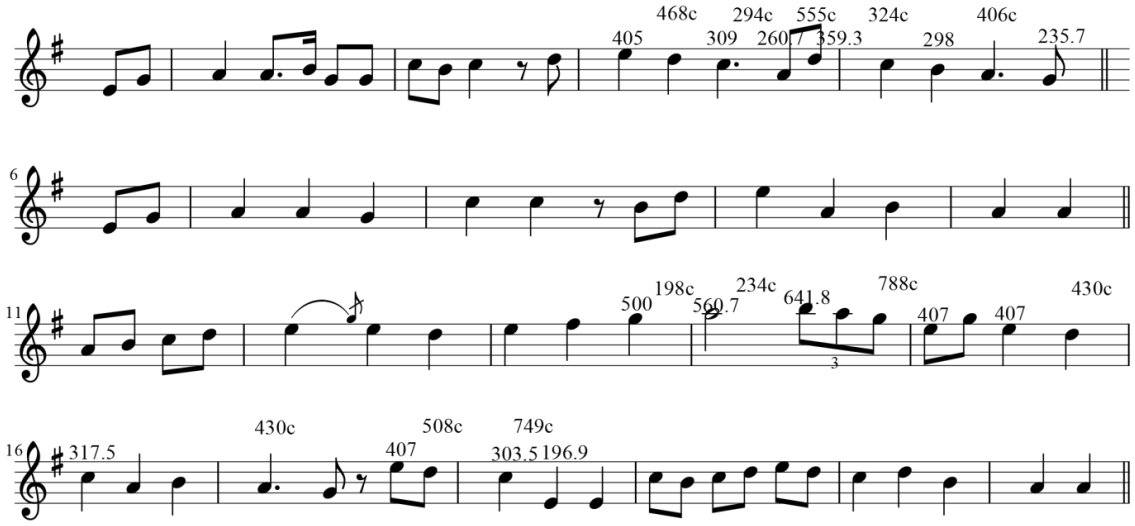
In 1905 Richard Henebry made fourteen wax cylinder recordings of six singers and one piper. Five of the singers – Mrs Costelloe; Martin Draper; Patrick O'Neill; Margaret O'Neill; and Mary Kelly – were all from the Ring area in county Waterford, and the sixth, Walter Power, was from Kilnafrehan, Bohadoon, Co. Waterford. The piper, James Byrne, was from Mooncoin, Co. Kilkenny. Fourteen songs were recorded on thirteen cylinders (two songs from Margaret O'Neill were recorded on cylinder number 13 and are listed below as Nos. 13 and 13a). Richard Henebry sent these recordings to Dr Von Hornbostel at the University of Berlin for Tonometric analysis. Tonometric analysis entails the accurate measuring of the vibration rate of every note of a song or melody using an instrument called an Appun Tonometer (see Chapter 3 pp. 192).

Using a logarithm formula to calculate the length of the intervals between the vibration rates of individual notes, Henebry was able to substantiate his theories of a non-standard structure to Irish music. He included transcriptions of the fourteen songs in *A Handbook of Irish Music*, together with Von Hornbostel's tonometric measurements and his own intervallic calculations. The piper James Byrne was recorded on cylinder number 5 but neither the tune transcription, or the tonometric measurements for this recording were published. All fourteen transcriptions of the song airs are included in this appendix together with their tonometric measurements and Henebry's intervallic calculations. The vibration rates are placed above the relevant notes and Henebry's calculations, in cents, are placed above and between Dr Von Hornbostel's measurements. The source for each song air is also indicated.

No. 1 Baile in Tóchair

Song air

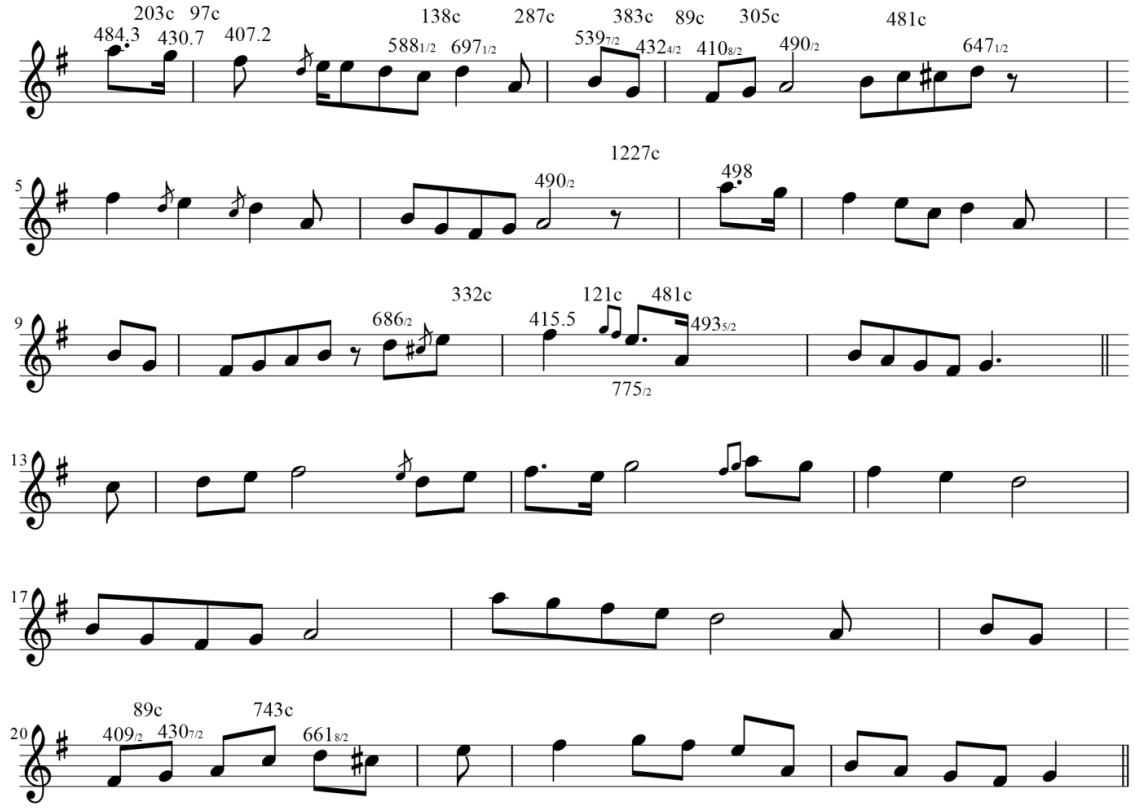
Mrs Costelloe



No. 2 Baile Lín

Song air

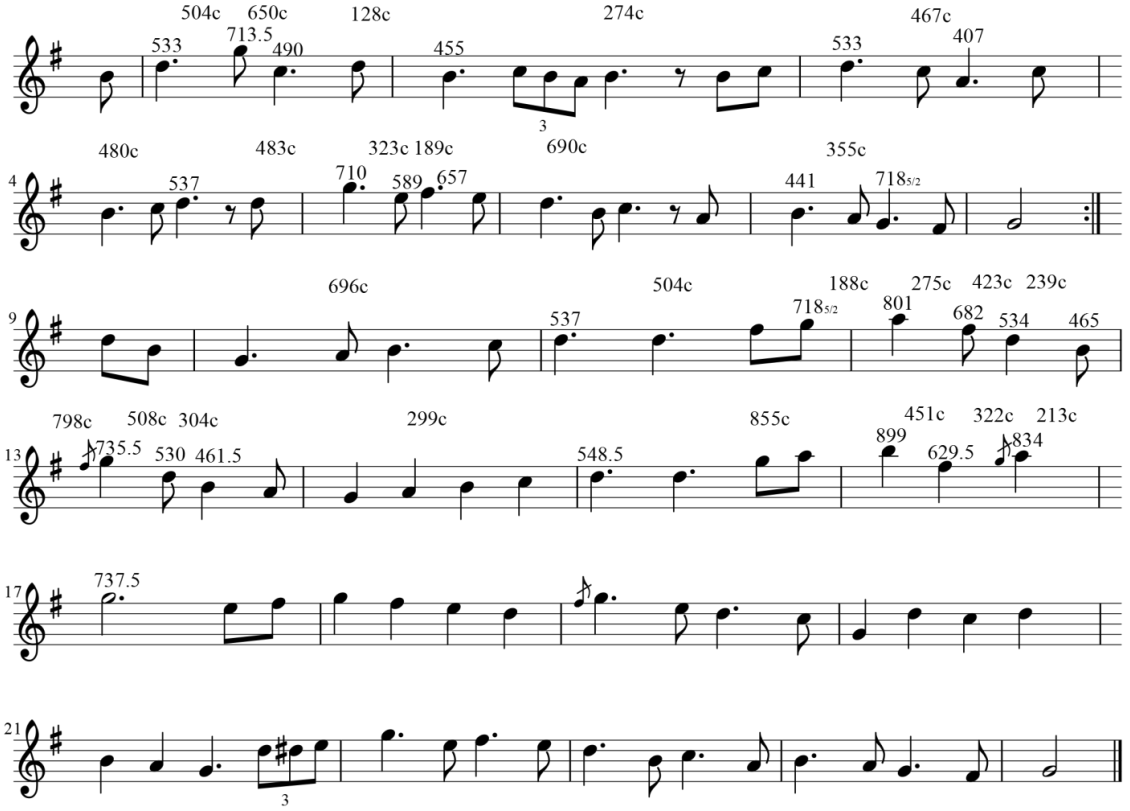
Martin Draper



No. 3 Miss Brien an Chúlfhionn

Song air

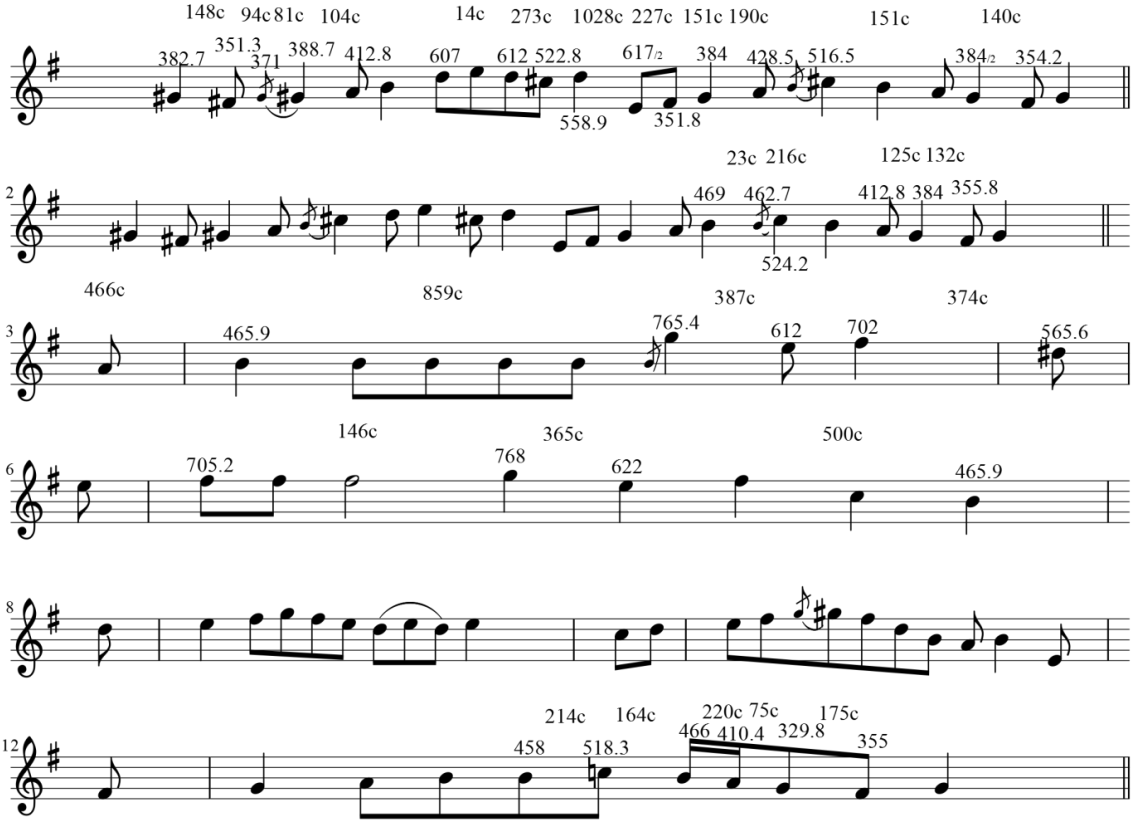
Walter Power



No. 4 Leanán Sidhe

Song air

Walter Power

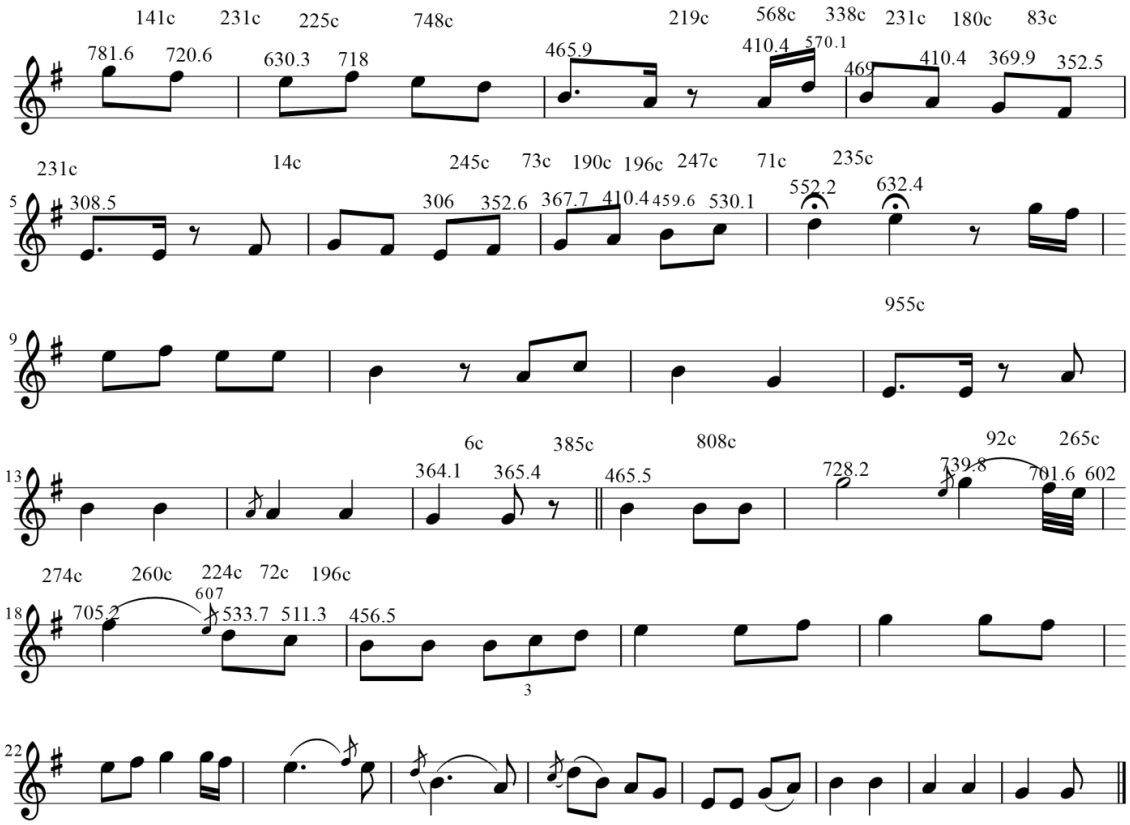


No. 5 Two Unnamed Hornpipes played by Piper James Byrne.[51]

No. 6 An Spailpín Fánach

Song air

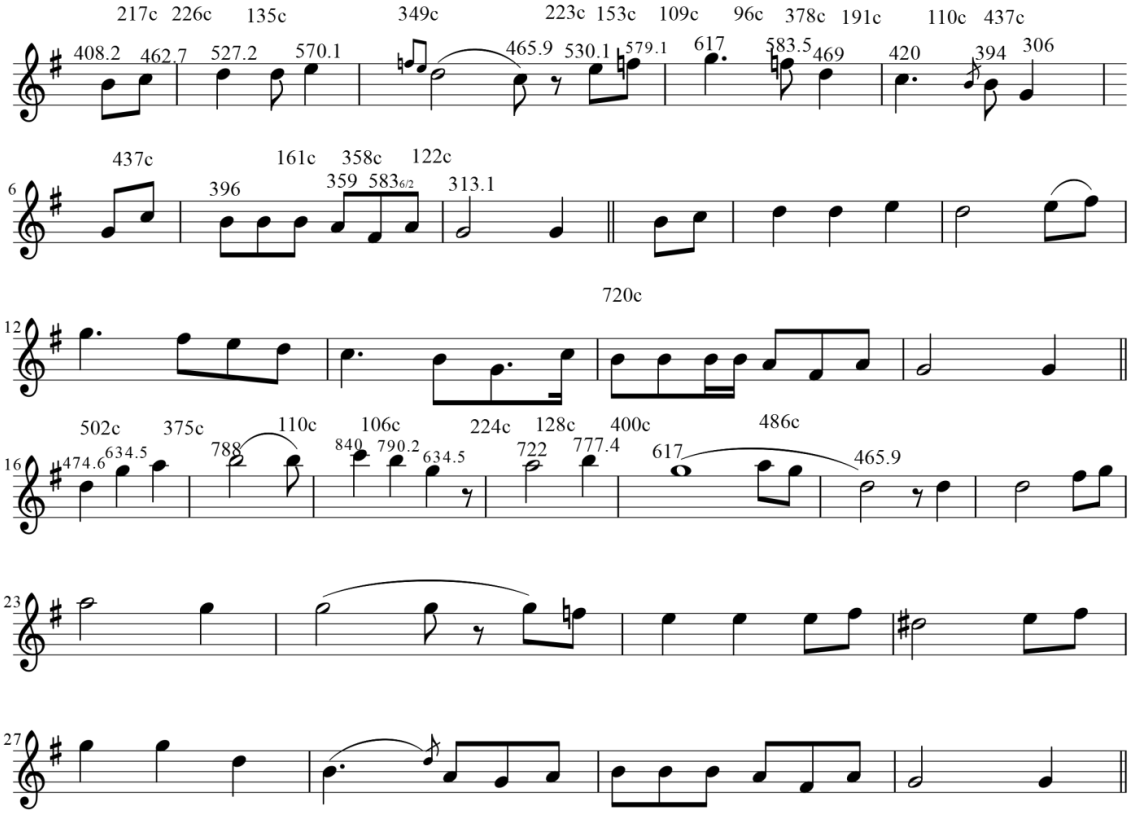
Patrick O'Neill



[51] Neither the musical notation, nor the tonometric calculations for cylinder No. 5 were included in *A Handbook of Irish Music.*

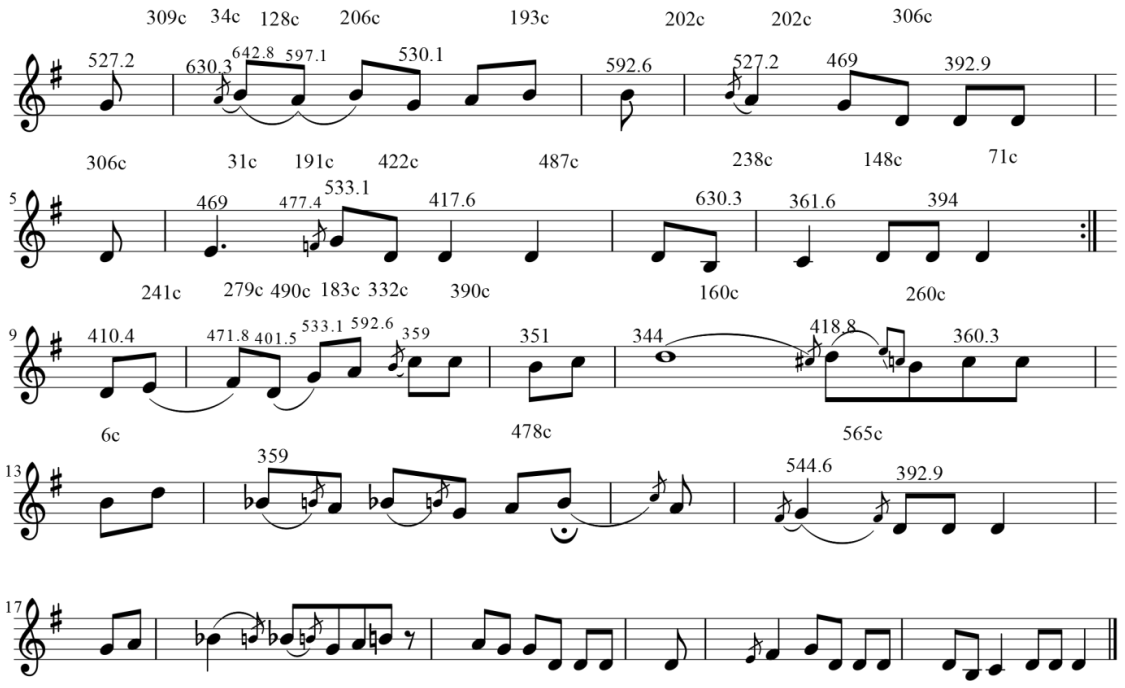
No. 7 Táiliúir an Chroidhe Mhóir

Song air — Walter Power



No. 8 Pilib Séimh Mac Ghearailt

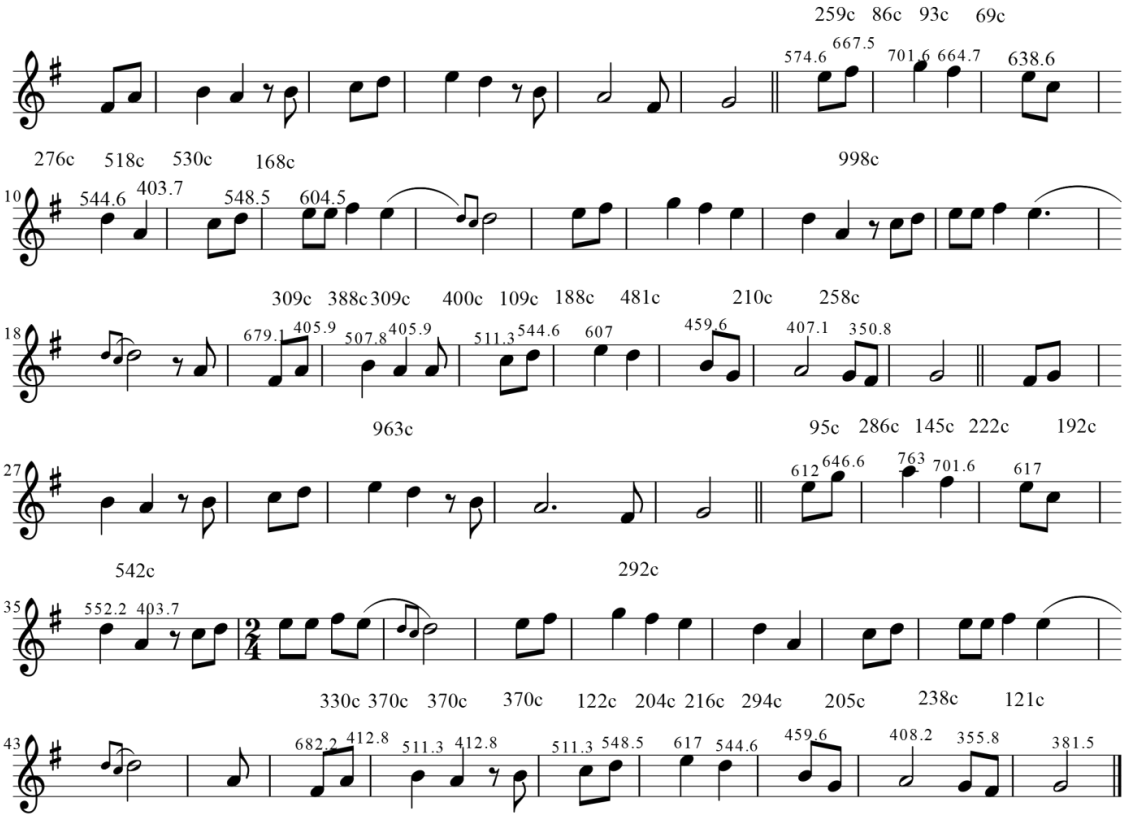
Song air — Walter Power



No. 9 Oh Effulgent Lord

Song air

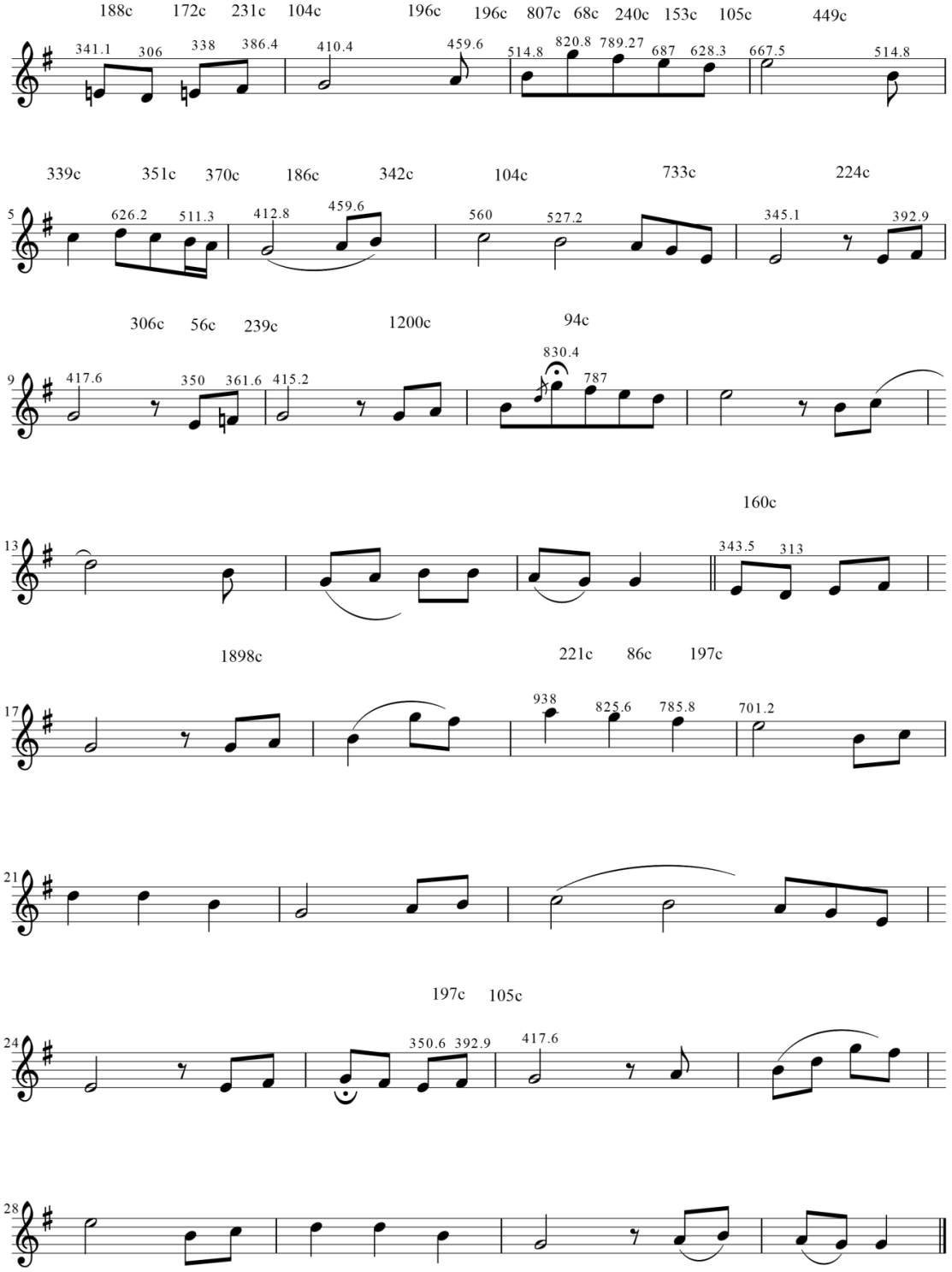
Mary Kelly



No. 10 Édmond an Chnuic

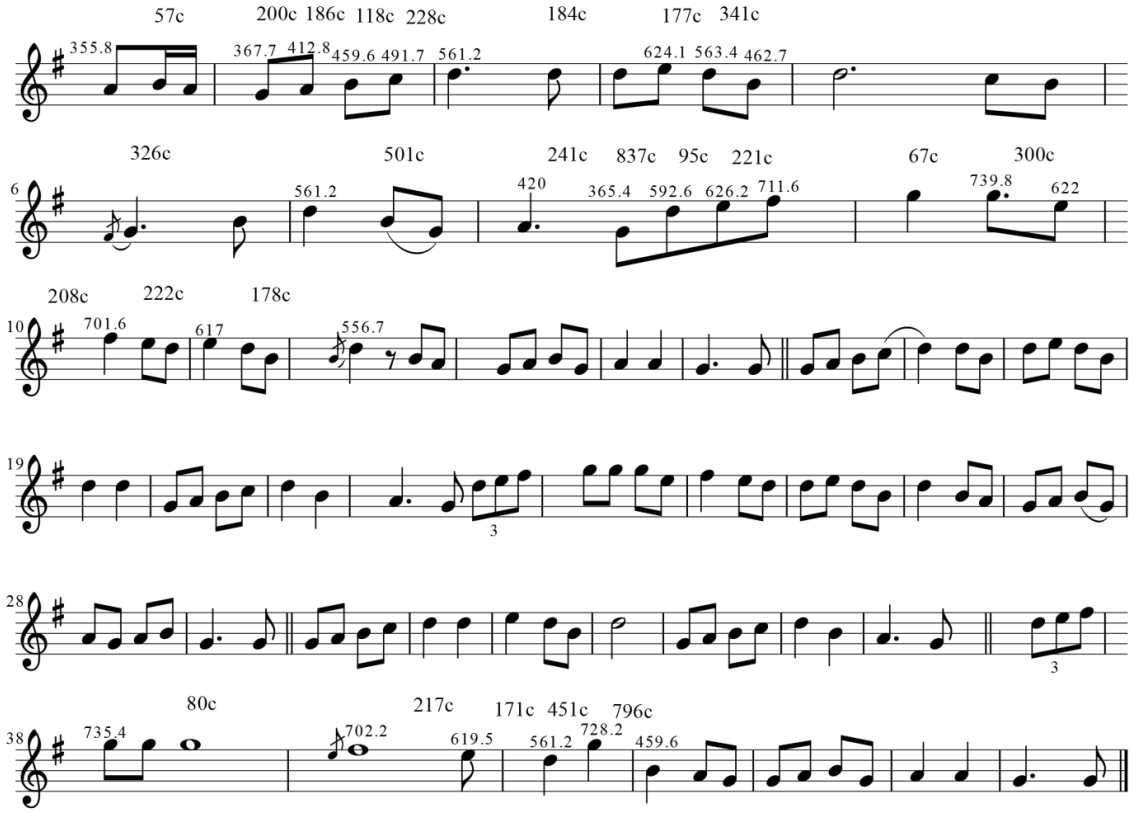
Song air

Walter Power



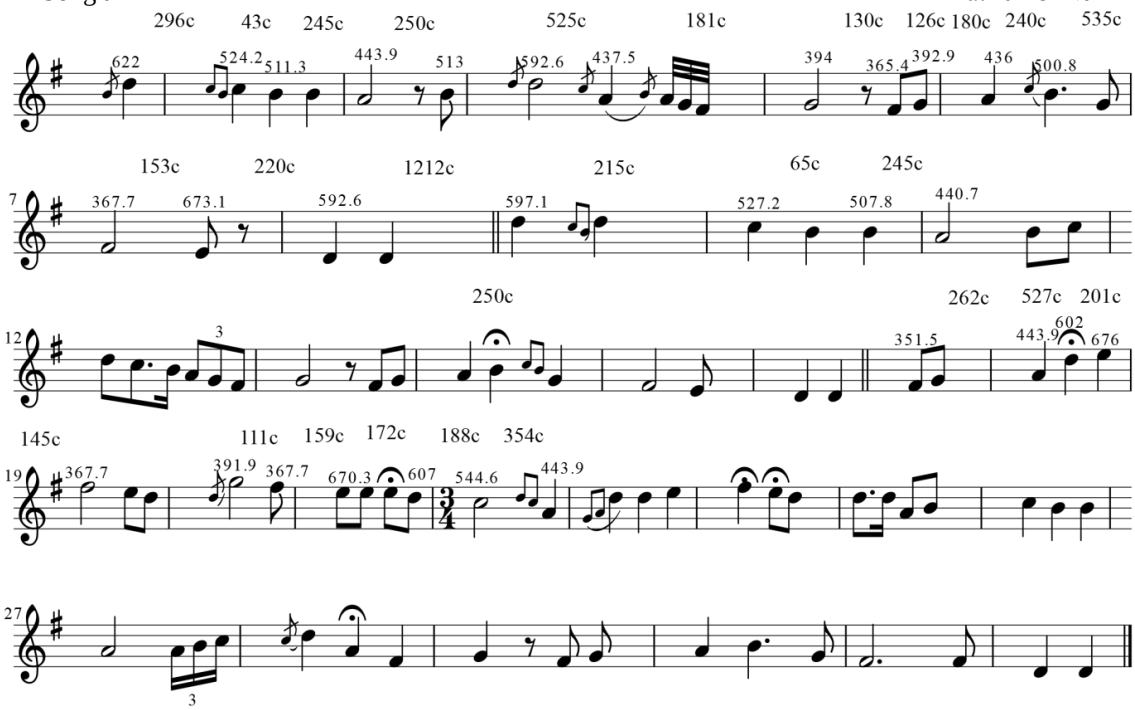
No. 11 An Maidrín Ruadh

Song air — Patrick O'Neill



No. 12 Spailpín a Rún

Song air — Patrick O'Neill



No. 13 Bean an Fhir Ruaidh

Song air — Margaret O'Neill

294c 97c 244c 208c 76c 201c 181c

360.3 427 403.7 350 622 595.3 530.1

387c 337c 190c 196c

477.4 597.1 362.8 404.8

585c 124c 317c

453.4 646.6 602

361.6

No. 13a Untitled Song Air

Song air — Margaret O'Neill

188c 238c 782c 336c 542c 165c 310c 216c 210c 293c 289c 97c

405.9 364.1 634.5 403.7 490.1 670.3 609.5 364.4 412.8 365.5 617 522.2 493.7

194c 206c 108c 827c 307c 195c

552.2 622 661.9 410.4 490.1 548.5

325c 153c 200c 521c 207c

661.9 361.6 405.9 548.5 486.6

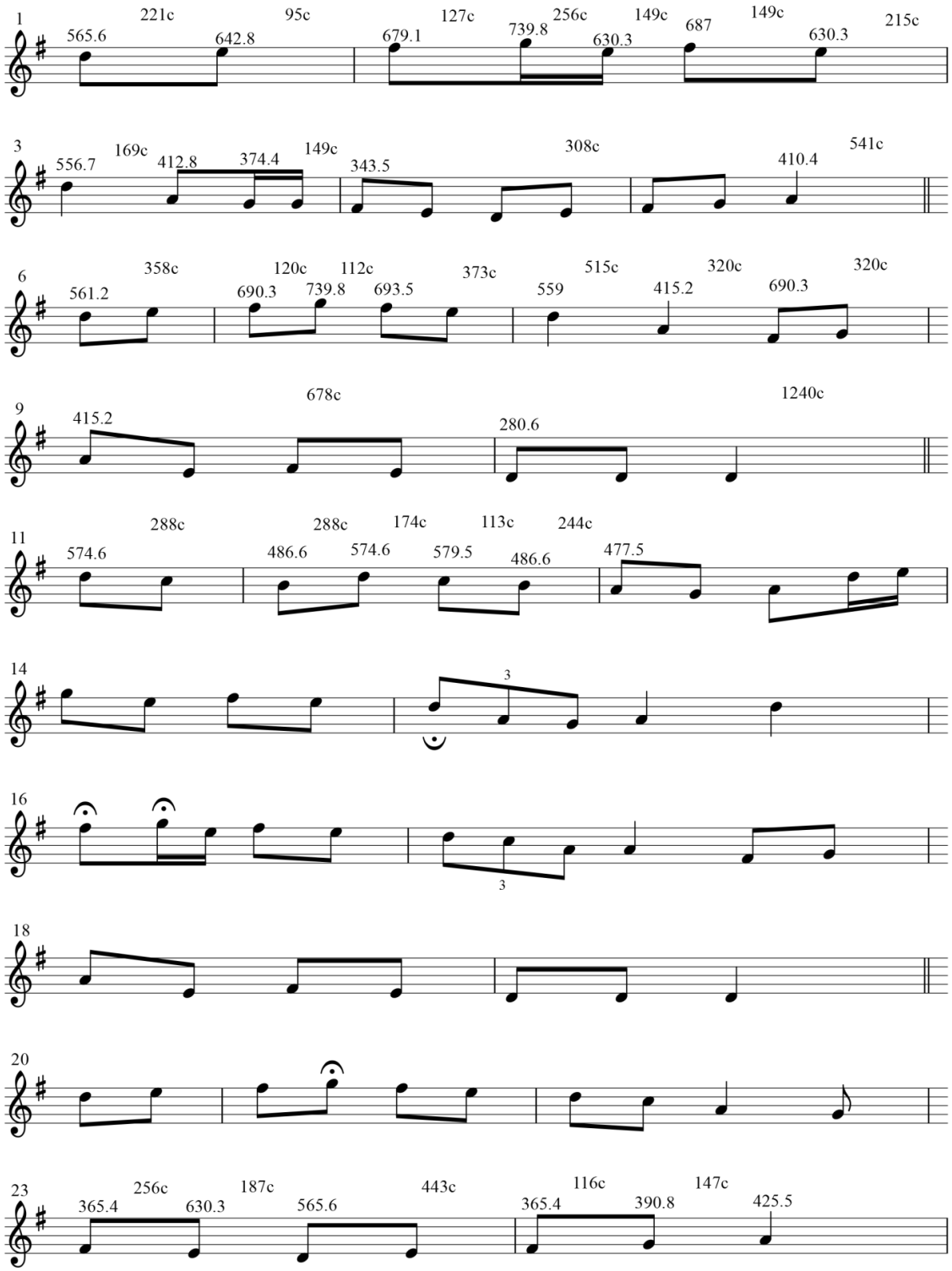
314c 182c 293c 198c 213c

405.9 365.4 617 550.3 486.6

No. 14 Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg Mé

Song air

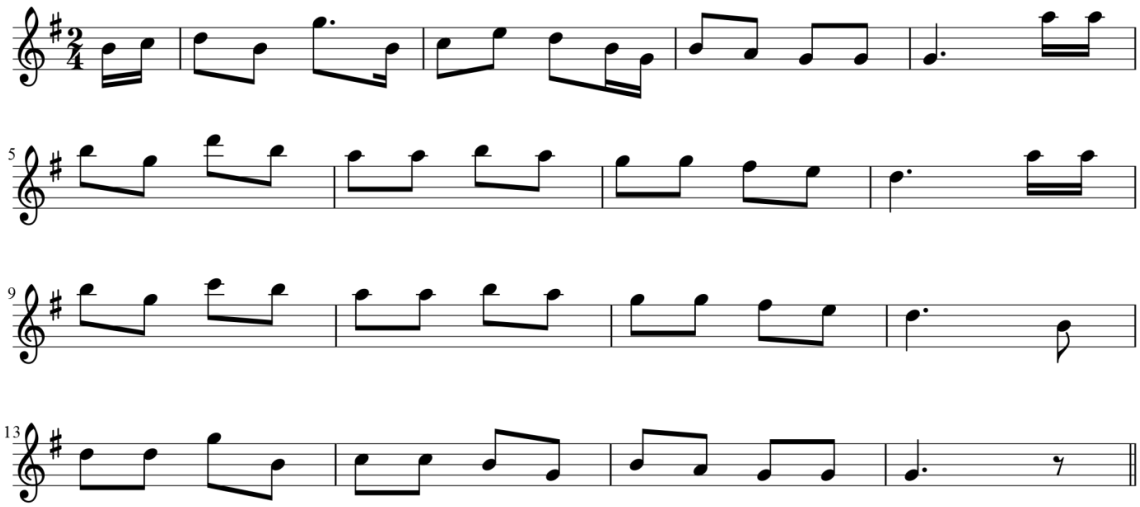
Patrick O'Neill



Appendix C: Richard Henebry's Transcriptions from *A Handbook of Irish Music* (1928)

No. 1 Untitled Song Air

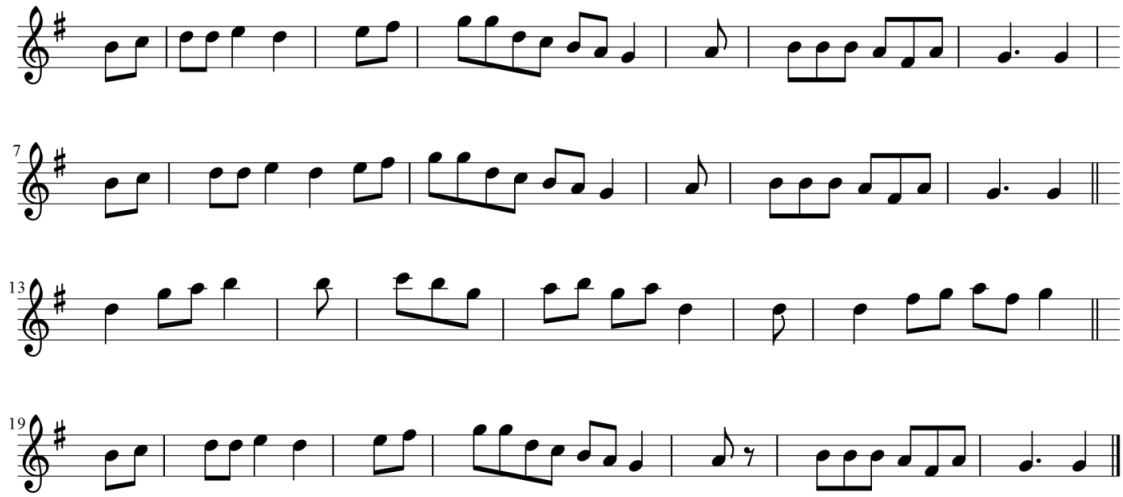
Song air Eibhlín Ní Chaisín



This tune was collected from Eibhlín Ní Chaisín, Henebry's Mother. Henebry refers to her by her Maiden name in both of his publications. Although untitled, it is a song air of Eibhlín Ní Chaisín's which is similar to 'Red Reagan and the Nun', tune numbers 418, 419,and 420 in Stanford-Petrie's *The Complete Collection of Irish Music*.

No. 2 Táiliúr an Chridi Mhór

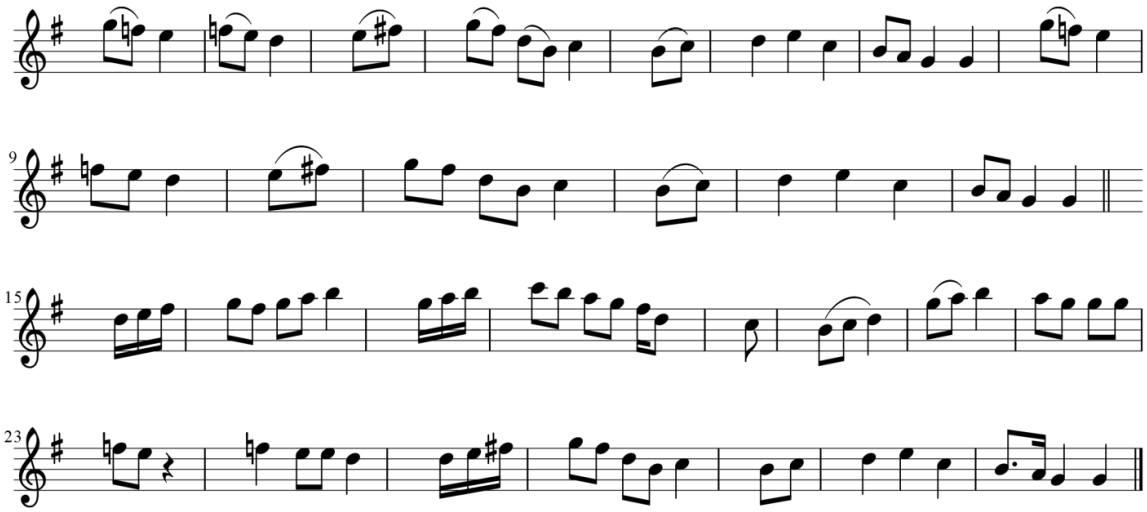
Song air Walter Power



This song air was transcribed from the singing of Walter Power from Kilnafrehan, Co. Waterford. Henebry notated this tune by separating the 'proclitic conjunctions' from the phrases (see bars 2 and 4). Henebry uses the bar lines to 'divide phrases and to isolate purely copulative particles' (Henebry 1928, p. 92). Due to the irregular rhythm of this tune Henebry has opted not to include a time signature.

No. 3 Is Cumma

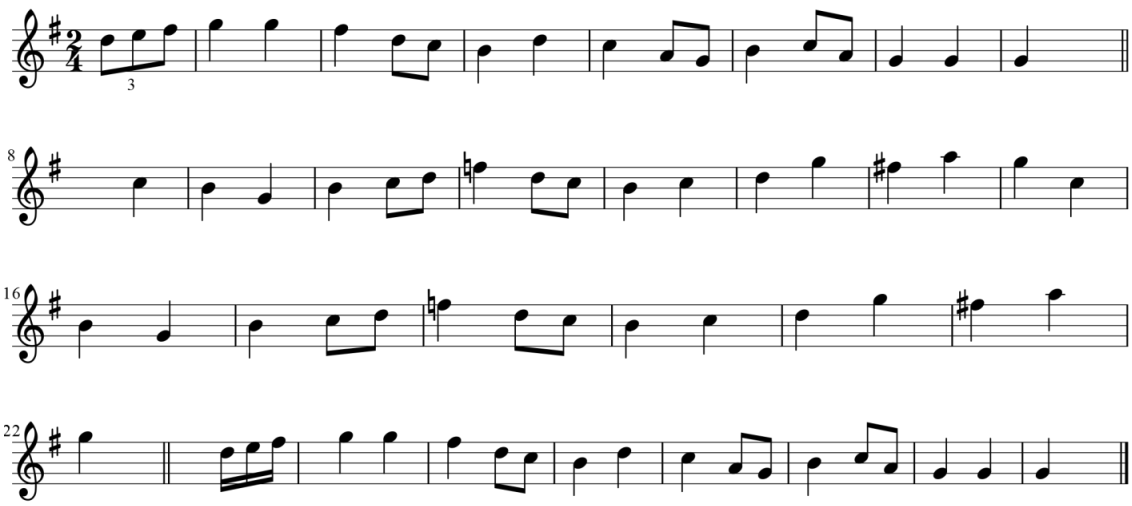
Song air Patrick O'Neill



This song air was transcribed from the singing of Patrick O'Neill from Ring Co.Waterford. This is also irregular in rhythm and Henebry has also separated the 'copulative particles' from the phrases as in the previous tune 'Táiliúir an Chridi Mhóir'. The irregular rhythm of this transcription prevented Henebry from appointing a time signature.

No. 4 Untitled Song Air

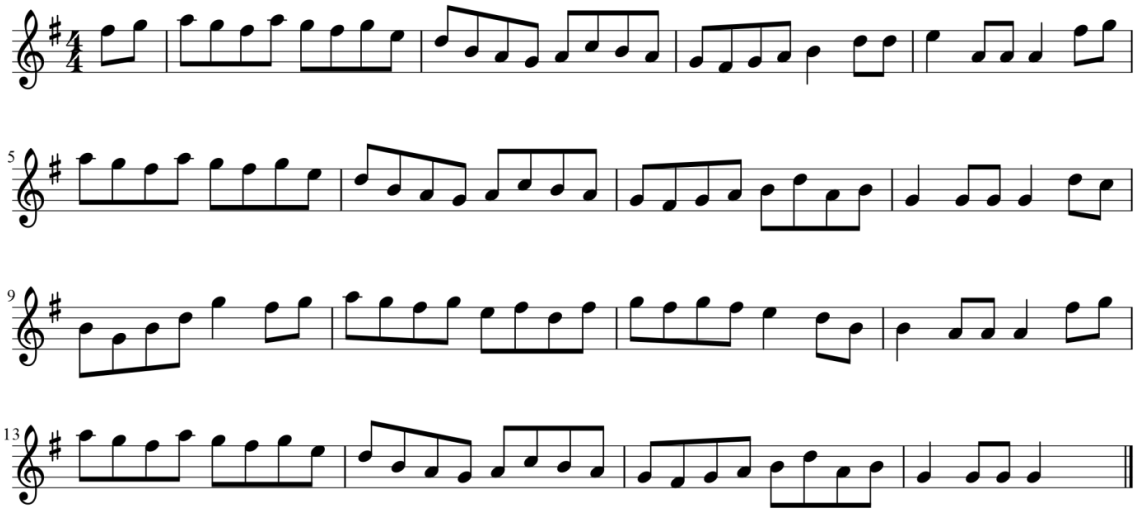
Song air Eibhlín Ní Chaisín



This is another song air transcribed from the singing of Eibhlín Ní Chaisín. It is Henebry's mother's version of 'John O'Reilly', tune number 351 in Stanford-Petrie's *The Complete Collection of Irish Music*.

No. 5 Little Stack of Barley

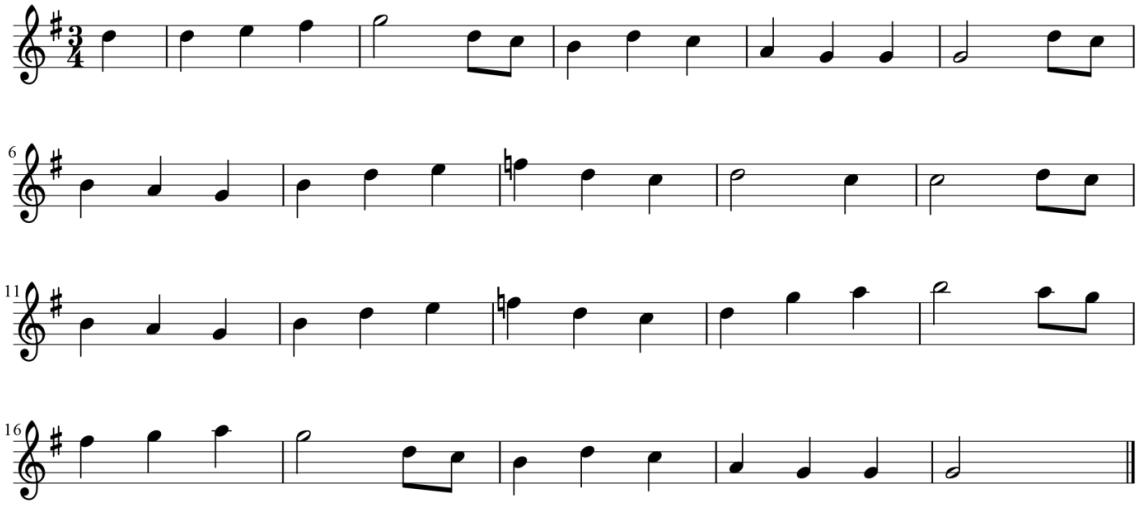
Song air and Hornpipe



This is Henebry's own version of a popular hornpipe 'which I still use to fiddle and pipe for dancers' (Henebry 1928, p. 103)

No. 6 Siúd Ort a Sheáin

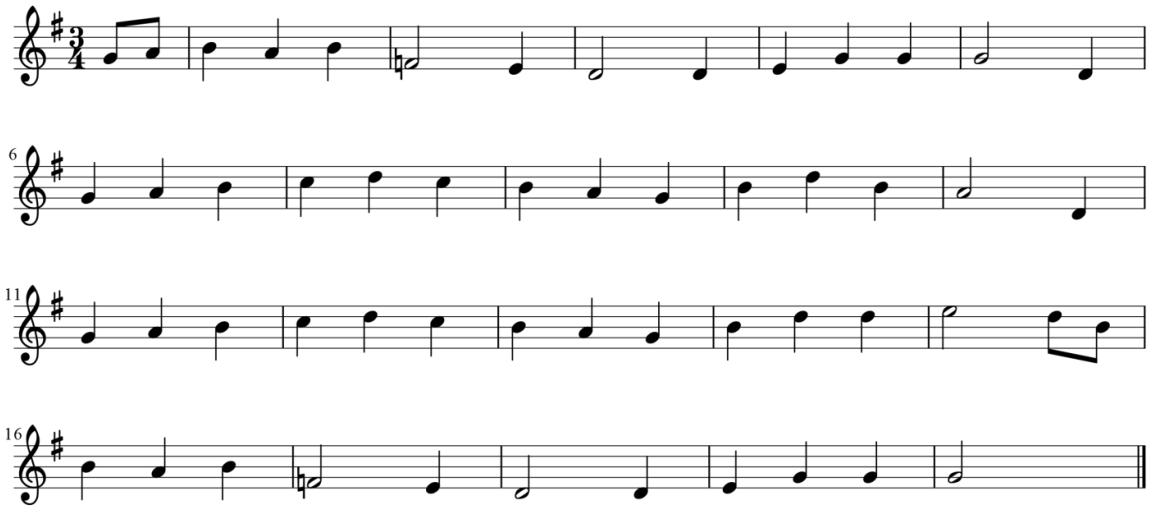
Song air and Set Dance Eibhlín Ní Chaisín



This song air was transcribed from the singing of Eibhlín Ní Chaisín. Henebry states that it is a version of a comic song and set dance titled 'The Blackthorn Stick'. Henebry compared this version with Petrie's versions (numbers 208 and 209) in Stanford-Petrie's *The Complete Collection of Irish Music.* Henebry states that Petrie's time signature of 9/8 was 'very peculiar' (Henebry 1928, p. 111) and should be 3/4.

No. 7 Siúd Ort a Sheáin

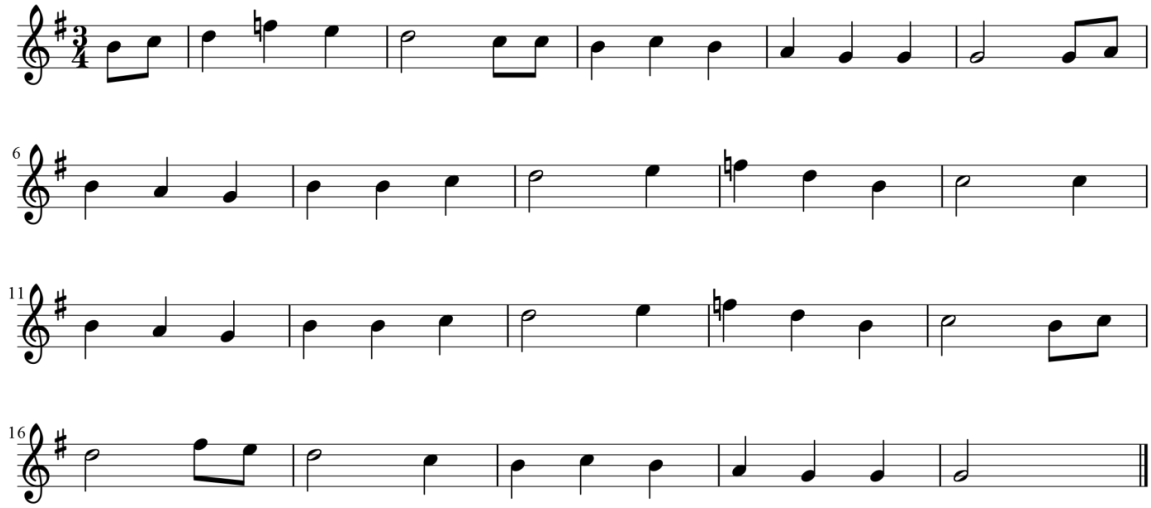
Song air and Set Dance



This is another song air version of ‘The Blackthorn Stick’ transcribed from ‘a man from Imokilly’.

No. 8 Siúd Ort a Sheáin

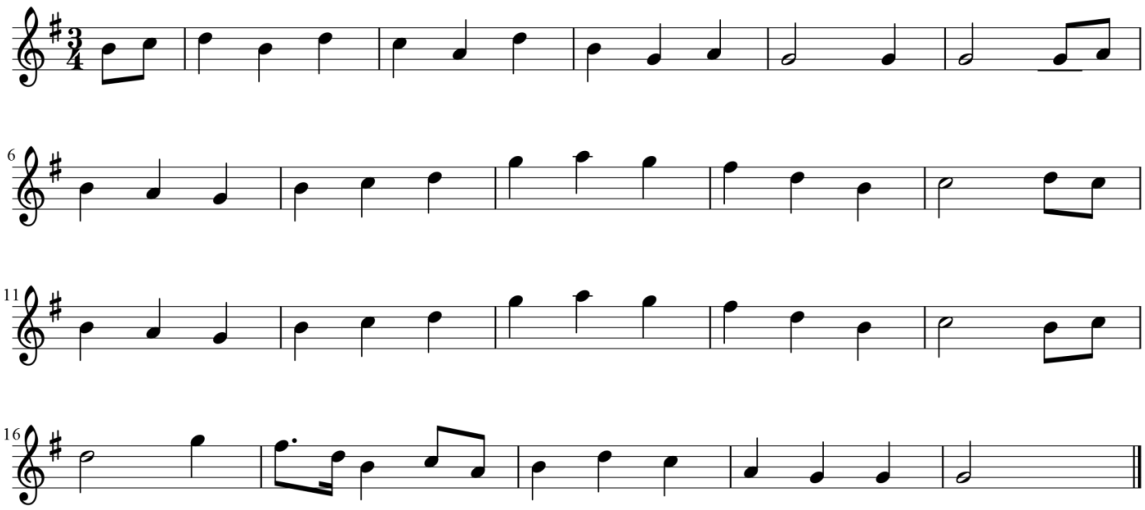
Song air and Set Dance — Margaret O’Neill



This song air version of ‘The Blackthorn Stick’ was transcribed from the singing of Margaret O’Neill from Ring Co. Waterford. Henebry states that bars 3, 4, 18 and 19 were sung quickly, but bars 6, 7, and 8 were sung slower. The F naturals were slided towards F# (Henebry 1928).

No. 9 Siúd Ort a Sheáin

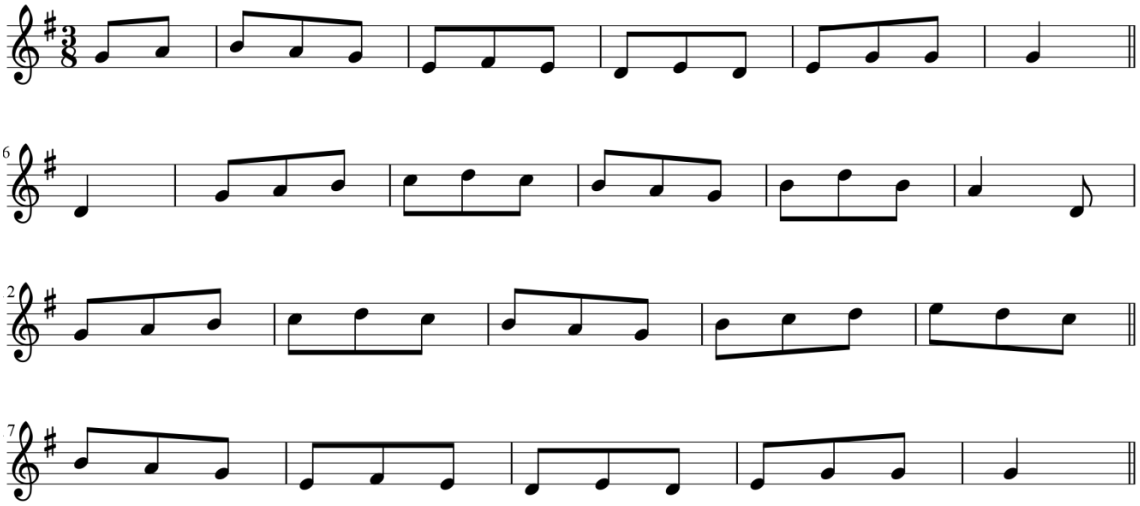
Song air and Set Dance James Byrne



This song air version of ‘The Blackthorn Stick’ was transcribed from the playing of uilleann piper James Byrne.

No. 10 Siúd Ort a Sheáin

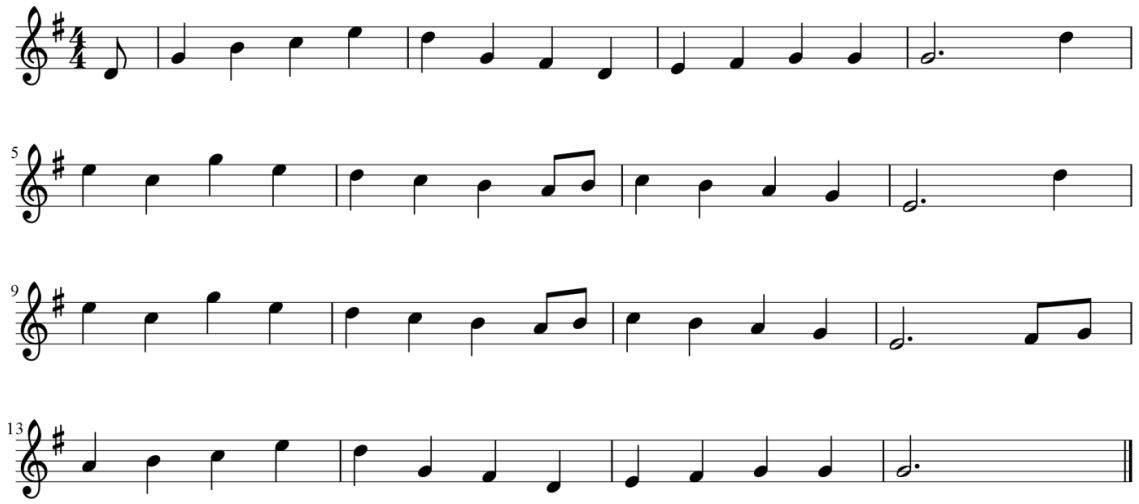
Song air and Set Dance



This is a transcription of Henebry’s own set dance setting of ‘The Blackthorn Stick’, although he continues to name it ‘Siúd Ort a Sheáin’. ‘I give, for purposes of further comparison, a dancing version which I picked up somewhere from the musicians’ (Henebry 1928, pp. 113-114). In order to facilitate a quicker dance rhythm Henebry has changed the time signature from 3/4 to 3/8.

No. 11 Fáinne Geal an Lae

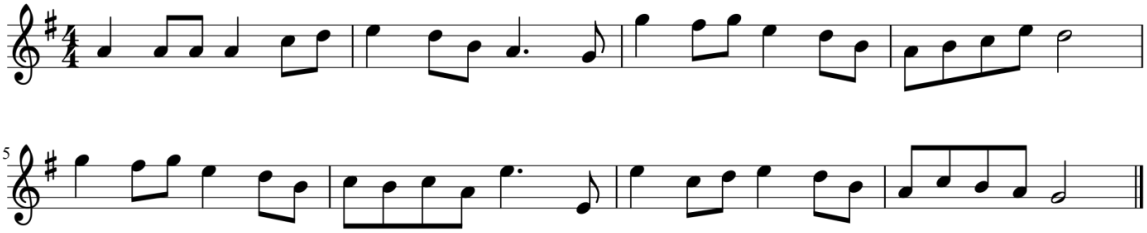
Song air



This is Henebry's setting of untitled tune number 45 in Petrie-Stanford's *The Complete Collection of Irish Music*. Henebry notes that this tune is the original air for the popular song 'The Boys of Wexford'.

No. 12 Once I Was at a Nobleman's Wedding

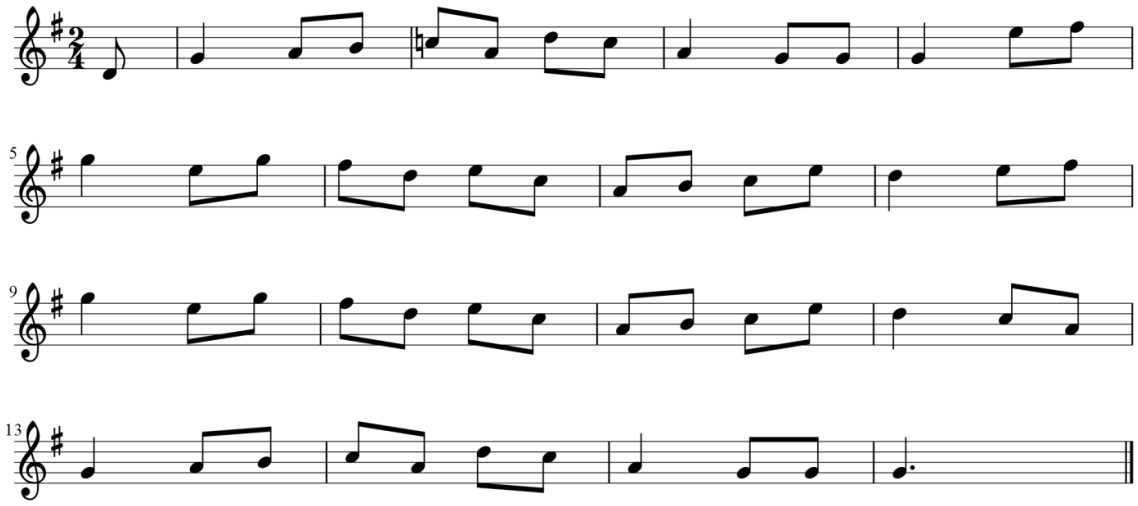
Song air John Gamble



This song air was transcribed from the singing of ploughman John Gamble. It is a version of tunes 491-495 in Petrie-Stanford's *The Complete Collection of Irish Music*.

No. 12 The Inniskilling Dragoon

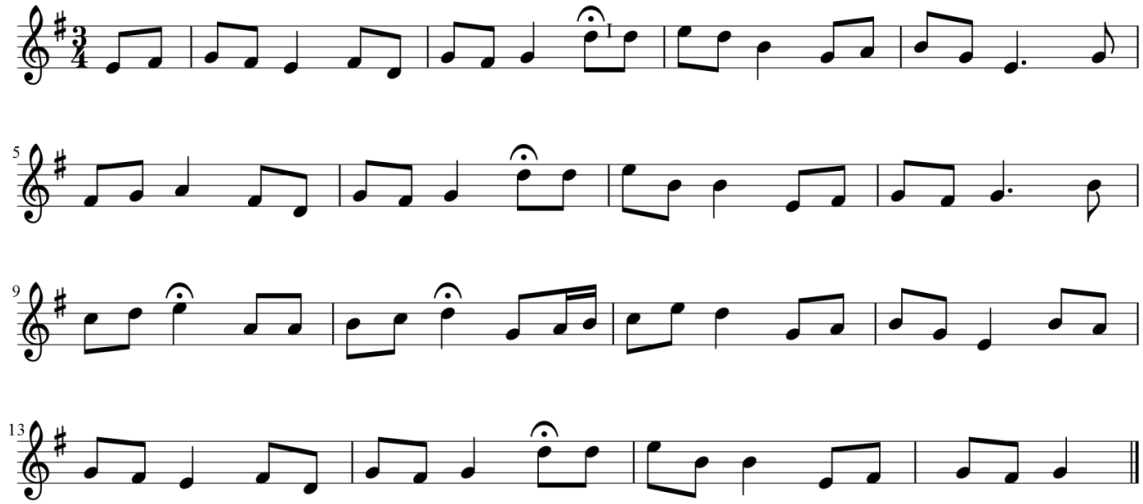
Song air Eibhlín Ní Chaisín



This song air was transcribed from the singing of Eibhlín Ní Chaisín. It is number 26 in Petrie-Stanford's *The Complete Collection of Irish Music*. Henebry changed the time signature from 6/8 to 2/4.

No. 13 The Bells of Shandon

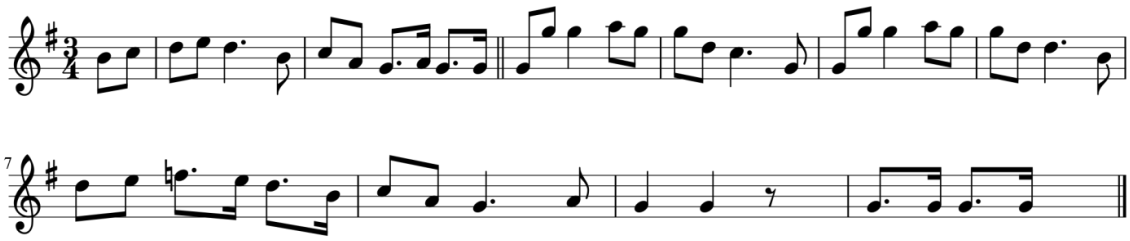
Song air



Henebry's own version of untitled tune, number 168 in Petrie-Stanford's *The Complete Collection of Irish Music*.

No. 14 Untitled Song Air

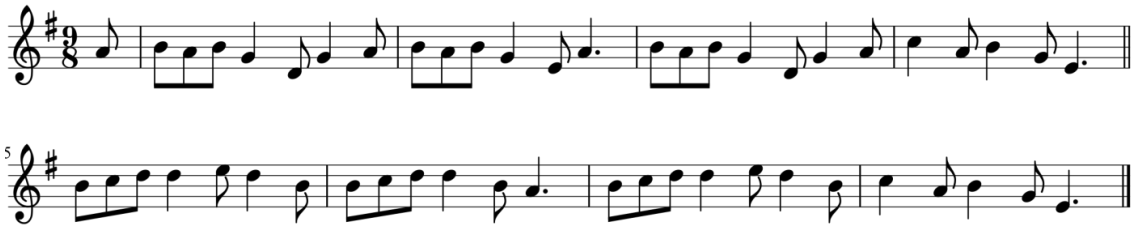
Song air



Henebry states that this tune was the air for ‘a comic death lament’ (Henebry 1928, p. 128). He does not however name the death lament.

No. 15 Going to the Fair of Glyn

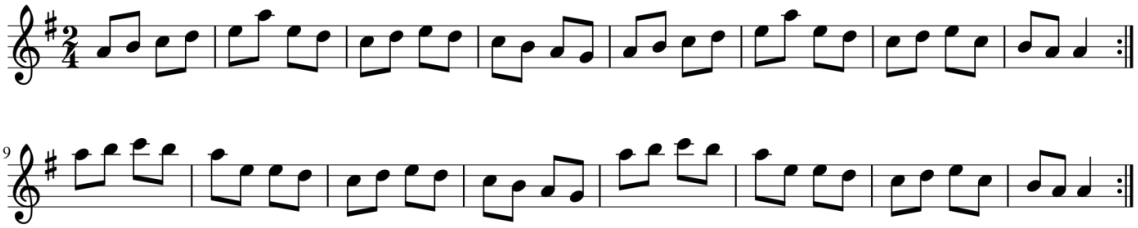
Jig



This jig was learned by Henebry when a child (Henebry 1928).

No. 16 Óró ‘sé do Bheatha Abhaile

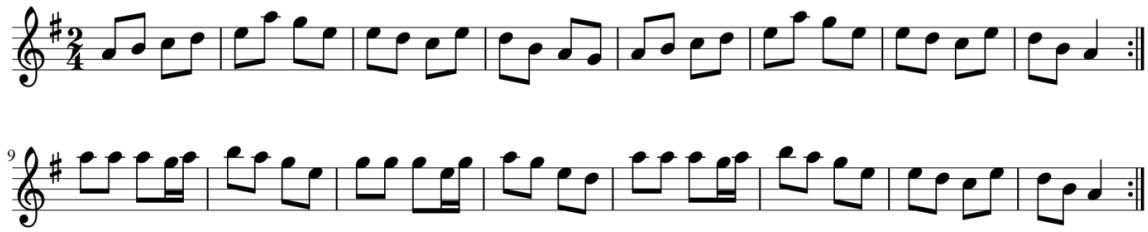
March Columbus O’Ryan



This march tune was transcribed from the playing of ‘a boy named Columbus O’Ryan… It is of wonderful simplicity and appears to be very pure’ (Henebry 1928, p. 147)

No. 17 Óró ‘sé do Bheatha Abhaile

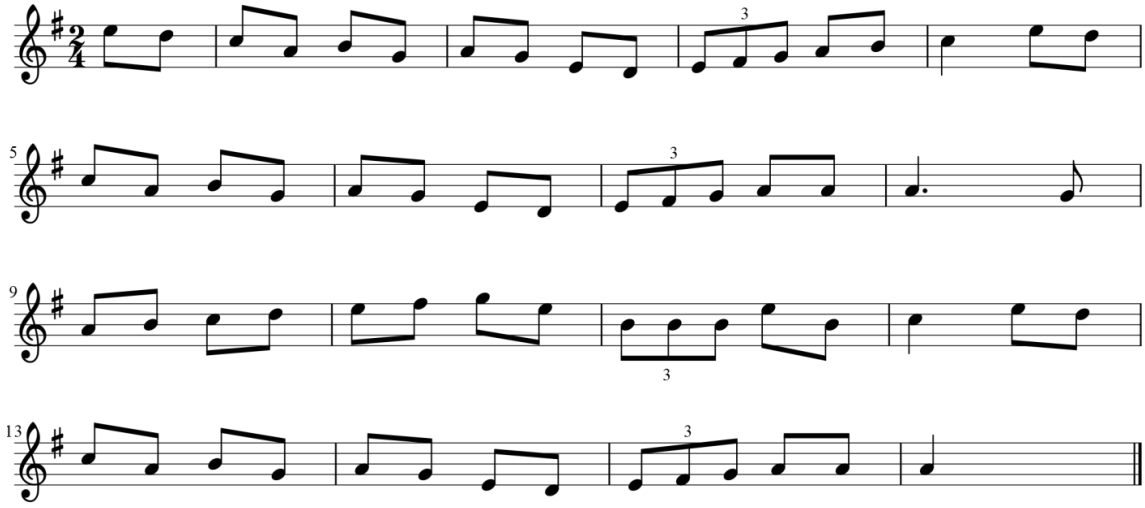
March John Henebry



This tune was transcribed from the playing of John Henebry who heard it from ‘a fife and drum band from the Slievenamon side in Carrick’ (Henebry 1928, p. 147)

No. 18 The But of the Big Brown Know

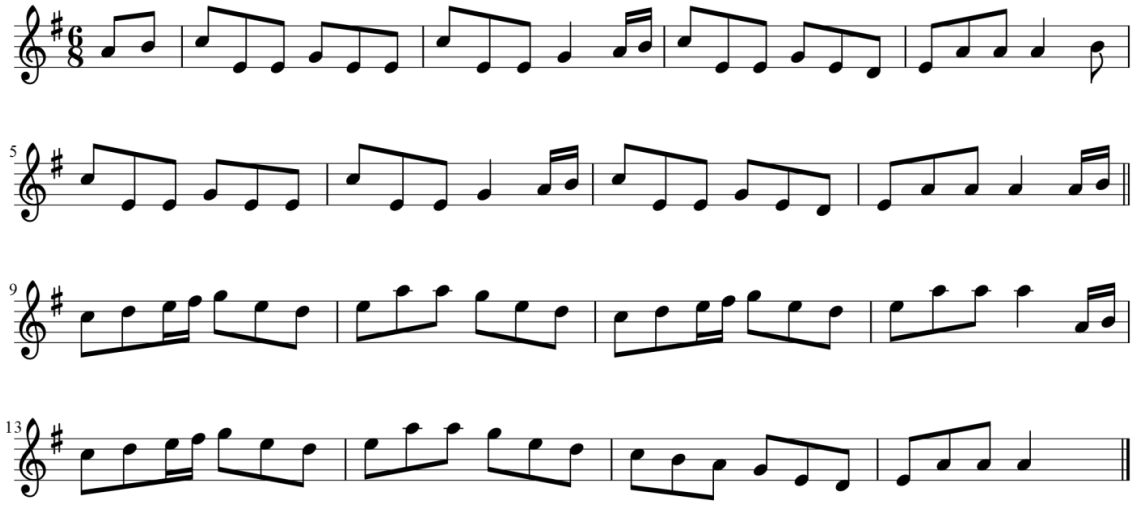
Song air



Henebry states that he heard this tune when a child ‘sung to an English ballad called ‘The But of the Big Brown Know’ (Henebry 1928, p. 167).

No. 19 Untitled Jig

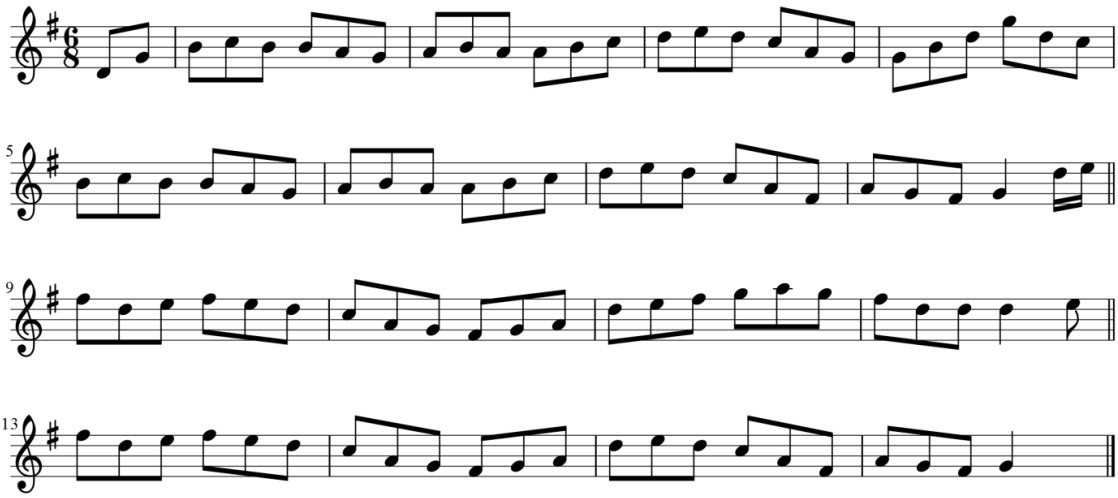
Jig



This is Henebry's version of the jig called 'Horace the Rake', tune number 348, in Petrie-Stanford's *The Complete Collection of Irish Music*.

No. 20 Untitled Jig

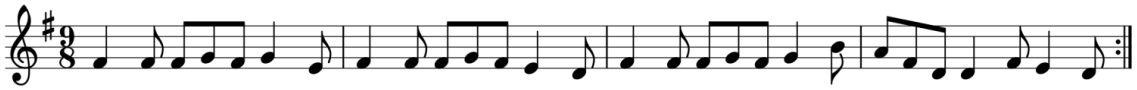
Jig Eibhlín Ní Chaisín, and James Byrne



This jig was transcribed from the singing and playing of Eibhlín Ní Chaisín and James Byrne: 'I print here a tune I learned from my mother, a magnificent double, to which I add a turn acquired from Jim Byrne, the piper' (Henebry 1928, p. 170).

No. 21 The Foxhunter's Jig

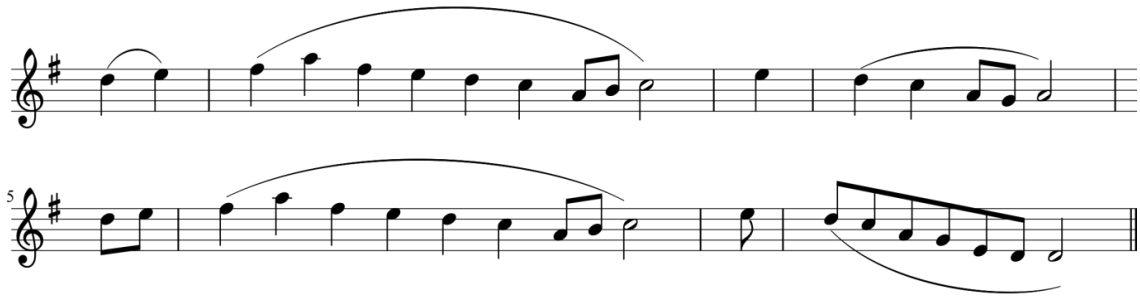
Jig



This is Henebry's own setting of 'The Foxhunter's Jig'.

No. 22 Untitled Song Air

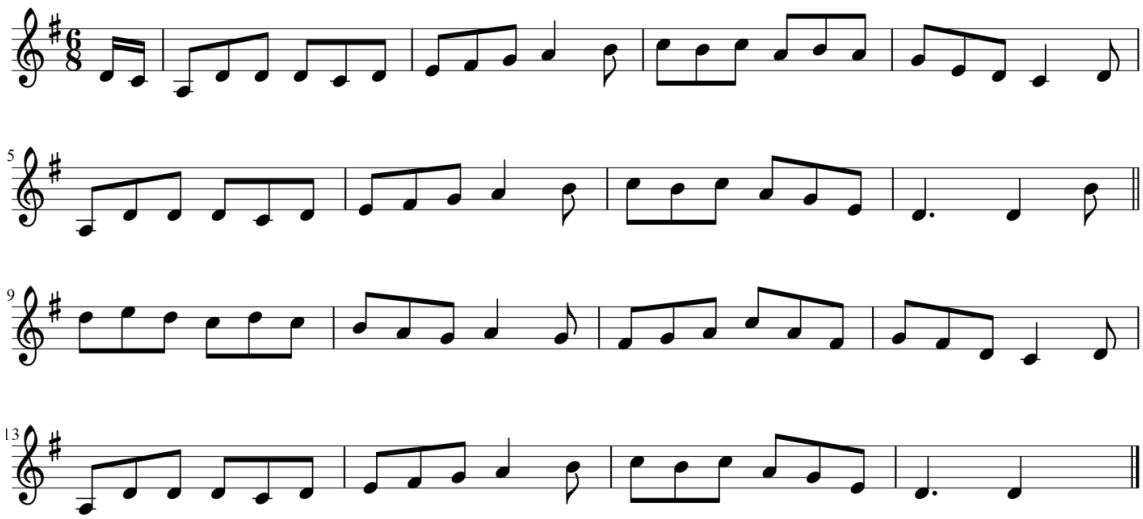
Song air Eibhlín Ní Chaisín



This tune was transcribed from the singing of Eibhlín Ní Chaisín. It is only a segment of the unnamed song and is used by Henebry to further explain his theory of the correct way to notate Irish music: 'I give now the portion of my mother's tune that I remember, without making any attempt to mark the time, but rather striving to show the context by barring off conjunctions and marking the phrase lengths by slurs' (Henebry 1928, p. 181).

No. 23 The Galbally Farmer

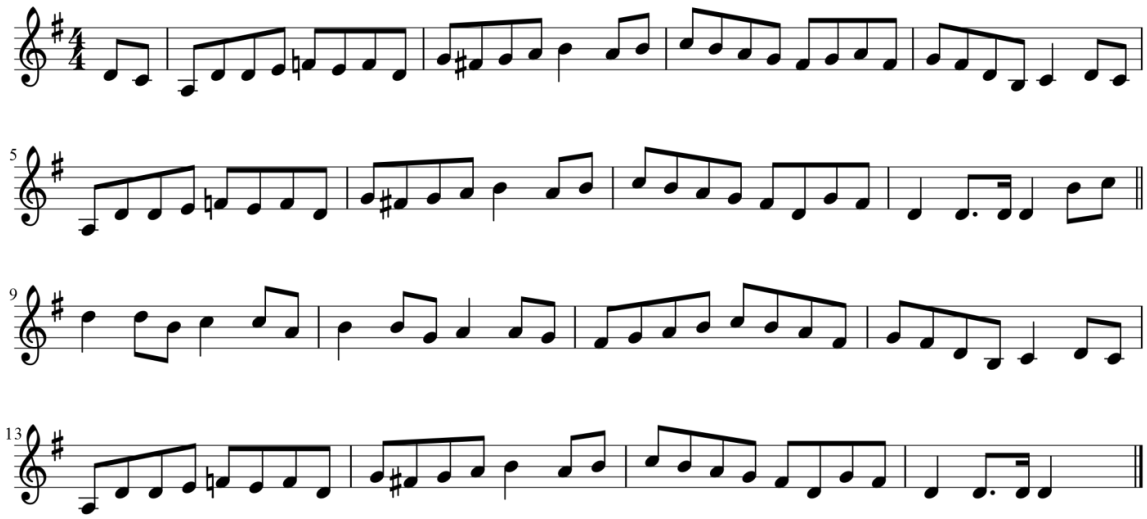
Jig Patrick Launders



This jig was transcribed from the playing of fiddler Patrick Launders from Cahir, Co. Tipperary.

No. 24 Lá Bealtaine

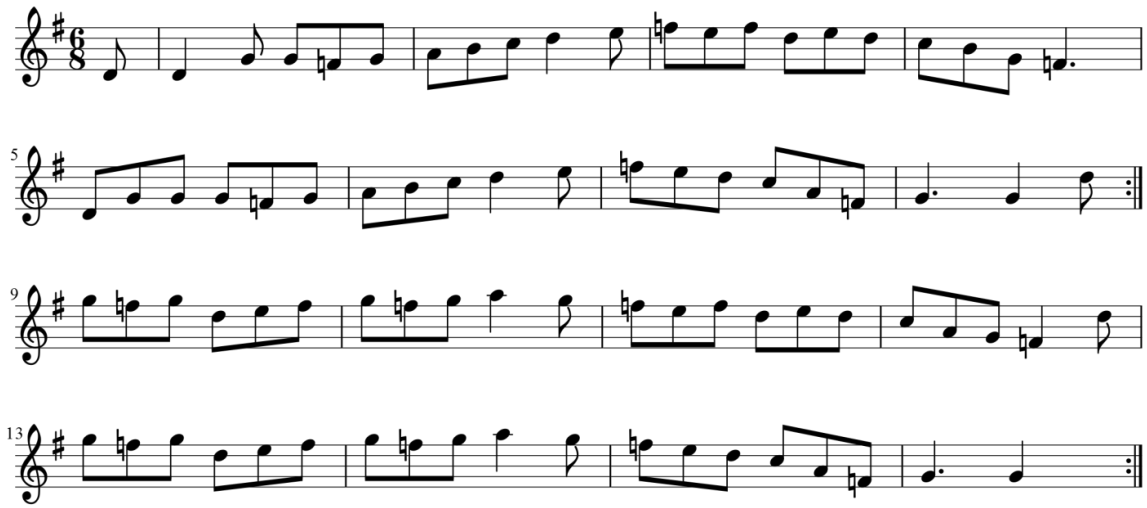
Hornpipe



This is Henebry's setting of a hornpipe which he claims to be 'derived' from the previous jig 'The Galbally Farmer (Henebry 1928).

No. 25 The Galbally Farmer

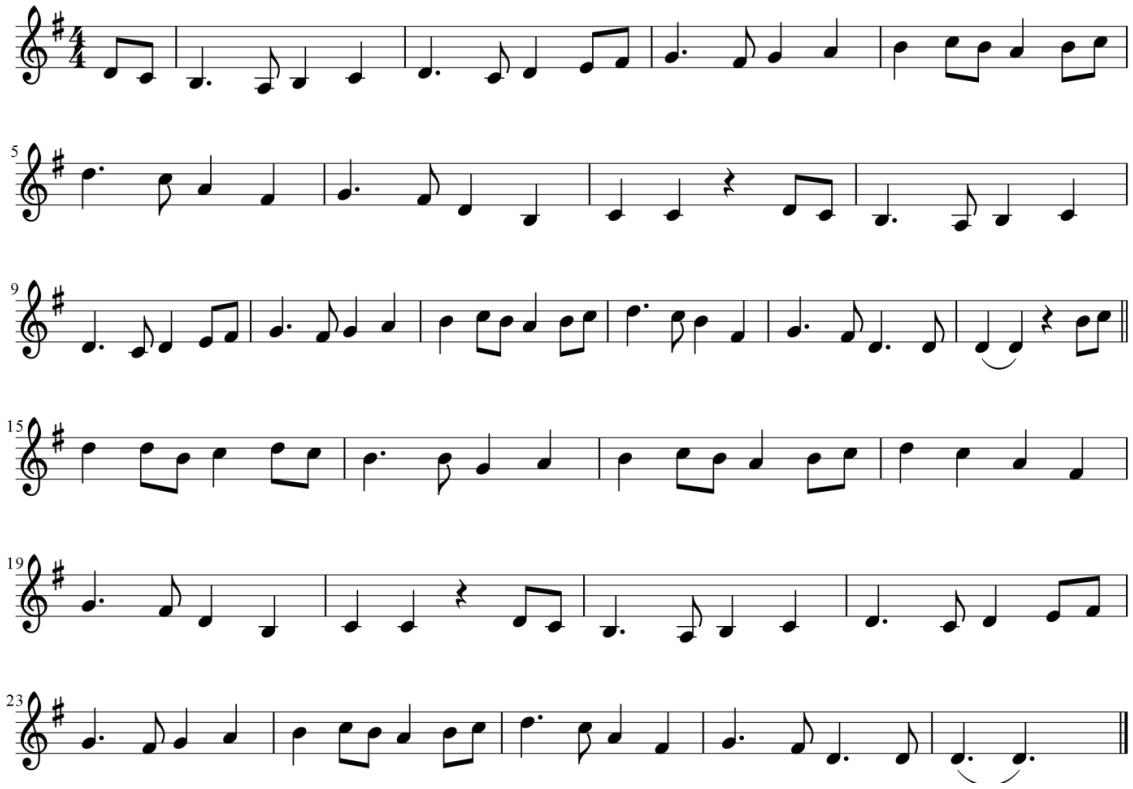
Jig



This is another setting of the jig 'The Galbally Farmer'.

No. 26 Untitled Song Air

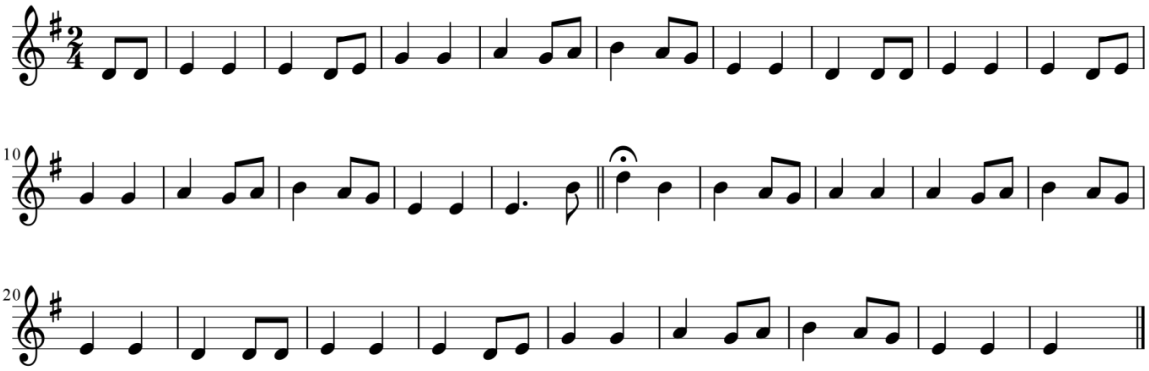
Song air



This song air is, according to Henebry, also derived from 'The Galbally Farmer': 'a singing version, much slower than the tune itself, which I heard sung in Dublin by a little girl from Galway' (Henebry 1928, p. 187).

No. 27 My Love Nell

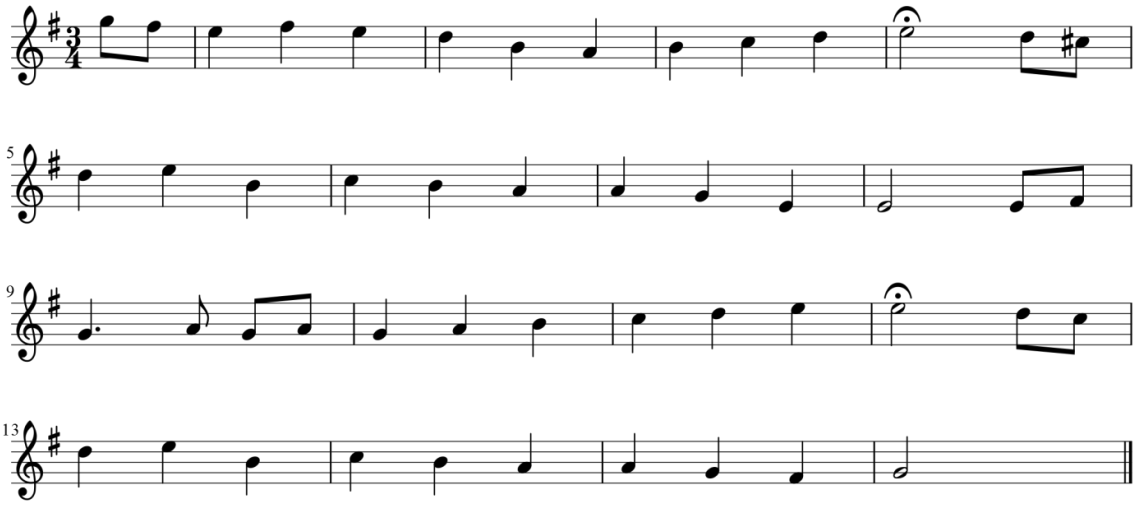
Song air



This is Henebry's version of untitled tune number 37 in Petrie-Stanford's *The Complete Collection of Irish Music*. It is the air to the popular song 'The Star of the County Down'.

No. 28 An Catt d'Imthig Ar Fán

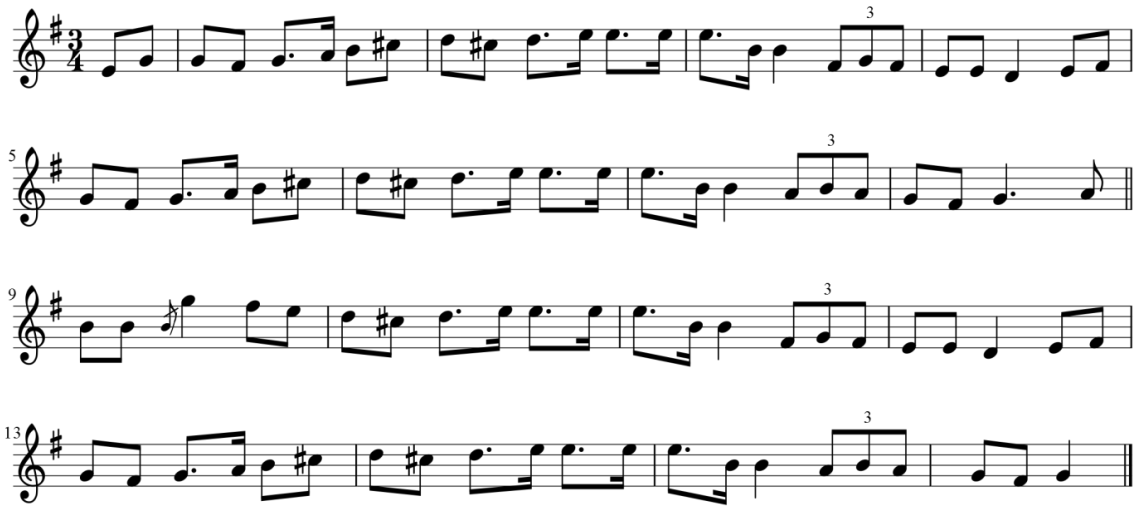
Song air



Henebry states that this tune is 'beyond all question a remarkable tune [and] current everywhere in the Irish portions of Waterford… I heard it sung to an Irish ballad of a cat which strayed and caused trouble between neighbours, and so I call it 'An catt d'imthig ar fán'' (Henebry 1928, p. 205).

No. 29 Untitled Song Air

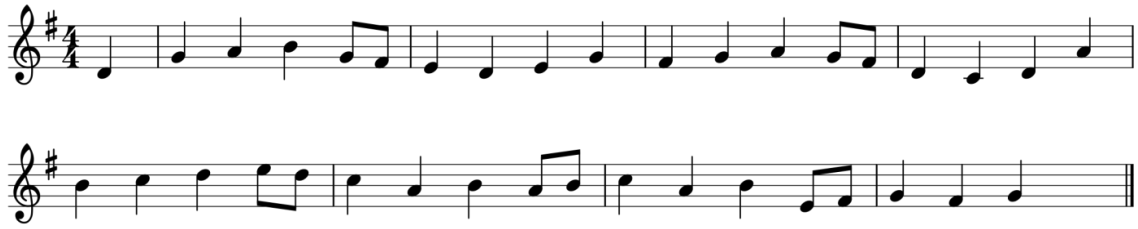
Song air Eibhlín Ní Chaisín



This song air was transcribed from the singing of Eibhlín Ní Chaisín. Henebry states that she sang it to an English ballad the first line of which was 'The way is far and I can't swim over' (Henebry 1928, p. 207).

No. 30 Untitled Song Air

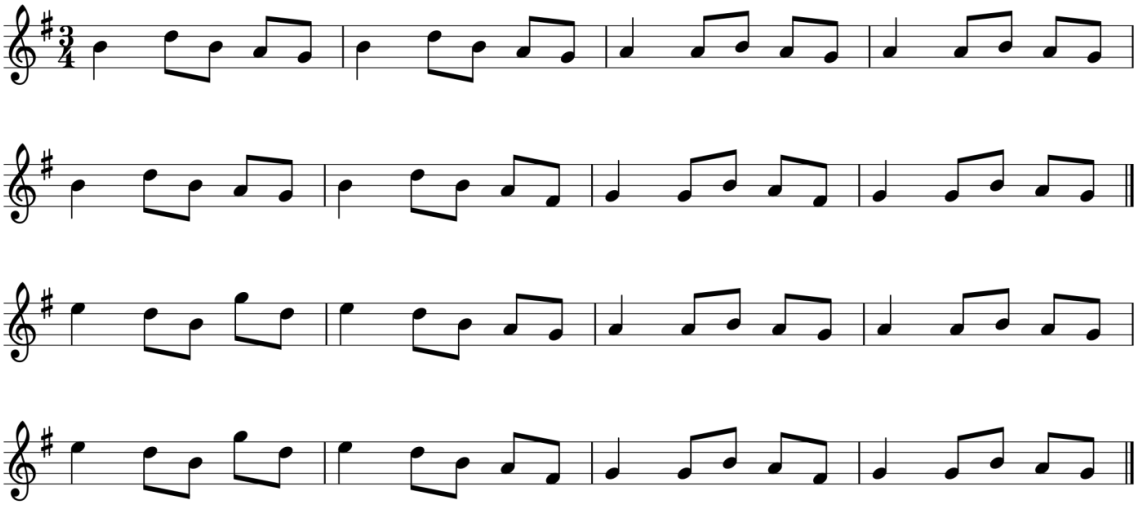
Song air Patrick O'Morrissy



Henebry learned this song air in his youth from a boy named Patrick O'Morrissy. It is one of the tunes used by Henebry to describe his 'surface record' analysis of Irish music.

No. 31 The Eagle's Whistle

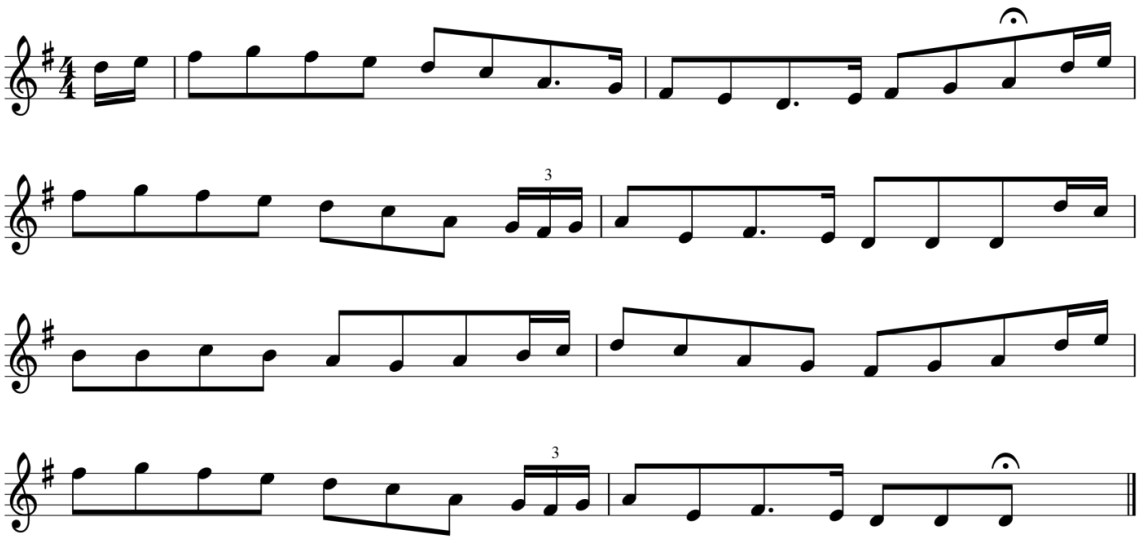
March



This is Henebry's setting of the popular march 'The Eagle's Whistle'. He asserts an antiquity for this tune because it is 'devoid of all starting notes, conjunctions, and ornament' (Henebry 1928, p. 211). It was also used by Henebry to explain his 'surface record' method of analysis.

No. 32 Is Buachaillín Fíor Óg Mé

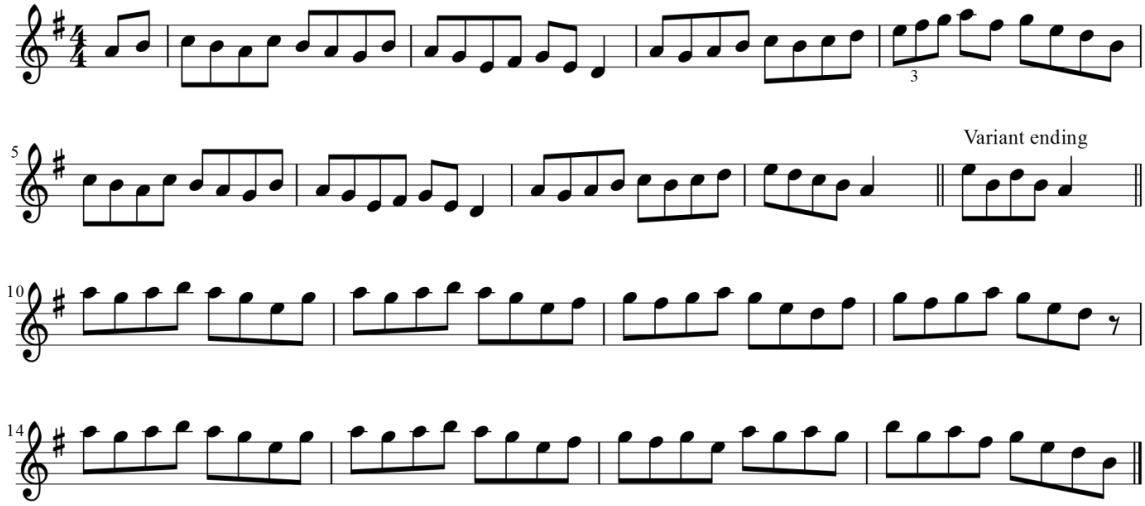
Song air — Patrick O'Neill



Henebry transcribed this song air from the singing of Patrick O'Neill from Ring, county Waterford: 'It is a very beautiful air which I used to hear sung by Patrick O'Neill, of Ring, Co. Waterford, to an Irish song beginning 'O is Buachaillín fíor-óg mé, is go bfóire orm Rí na ngrás'. '

No. 33 The Star of Munster

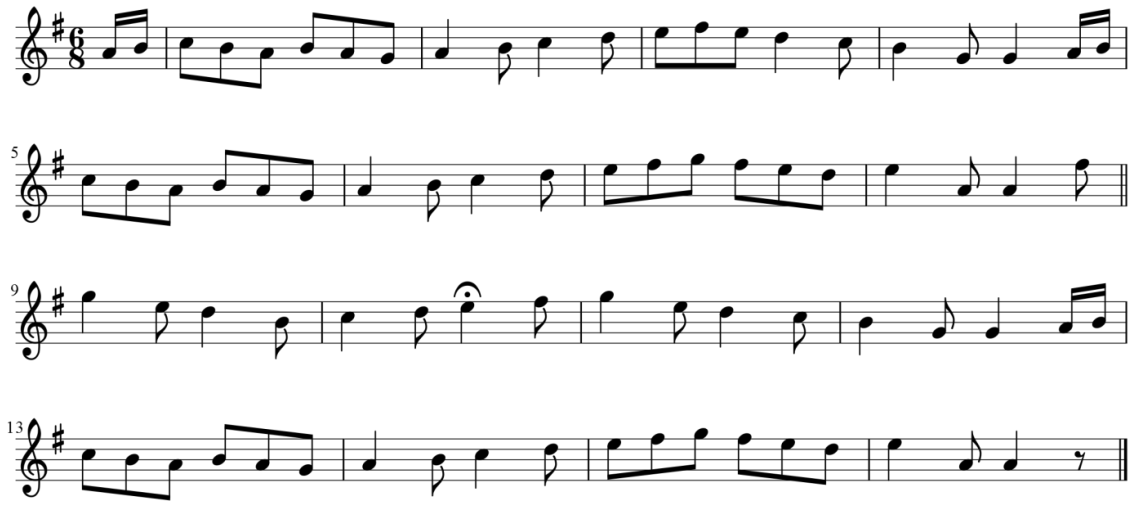
Reel



This is Henebry's setting of 'The Star of Munster'. 'I print here a skeleton of my own present playing version of the celebrated reel called 'The Star of Munster', which is known and played all over Ireland, and I believe, Scotland.' (Henebry 1928, p. 220).

No. 34 The Peeler and the Goat

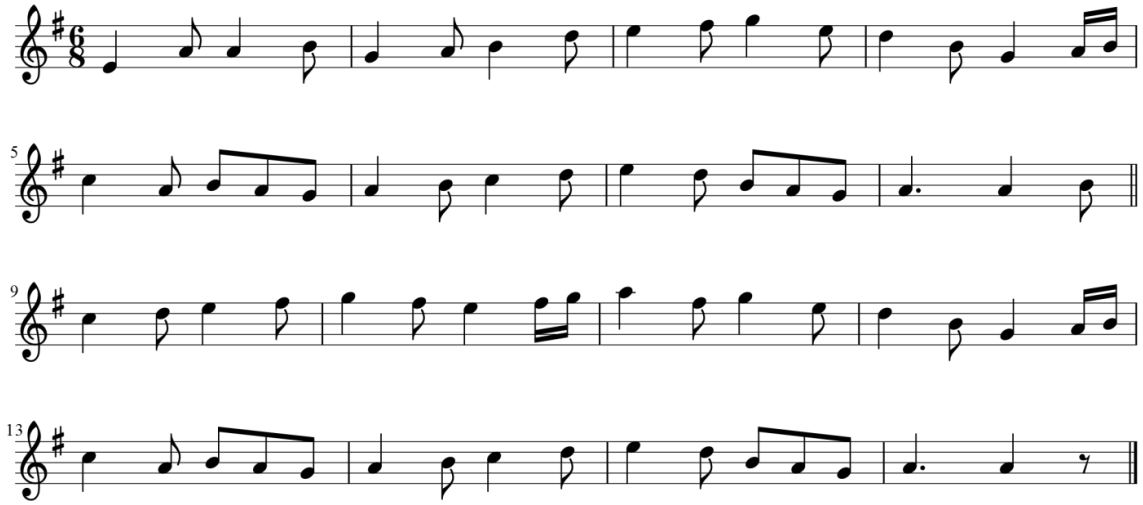
Song air Eibhlín Ní Chaisín



This song air was transcribed from the singing of Eibhlín Ní Chaisín. Henebry states that it was used ‘as the vehicle for an English song called ‘The Peeler and the Goat’, which became popular. It probably owes its preservation to that accident’ (Henebry 1928, p. 224).

No. 35 The Peeler and the Goat

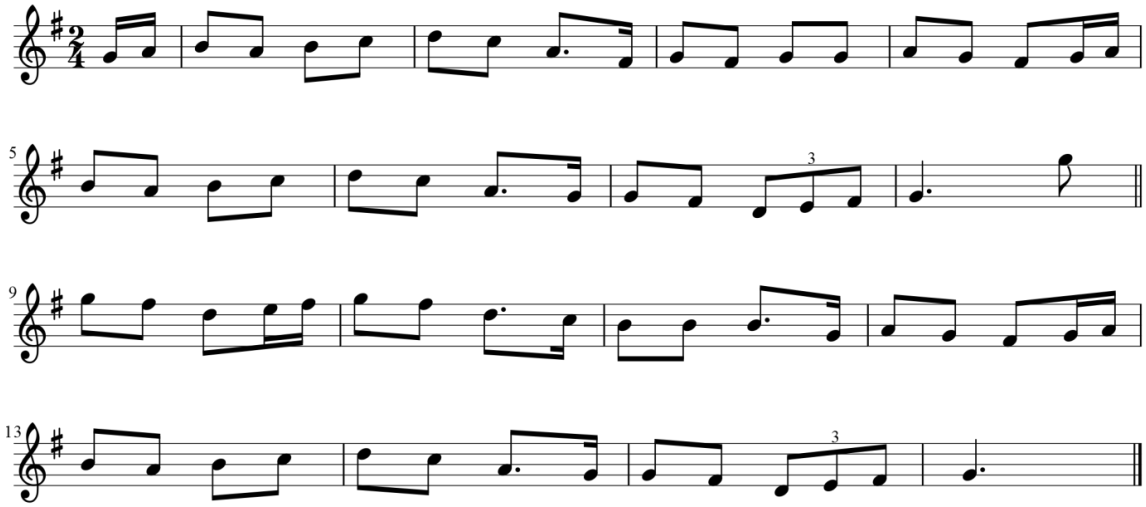
Song air Eibhlín Ní Chaisín



This is another of Eibhlín Ní Chaisín’s versions of the song air ‘The Peeler and the Goat’.

No. 36 Untitled Song Air

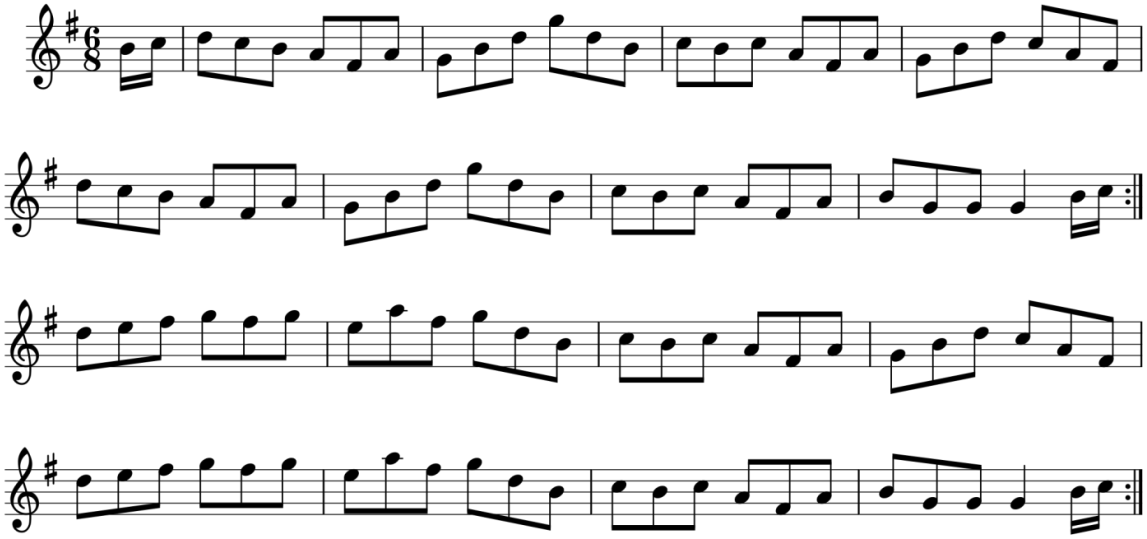
Song air Eibhlín Ní Chaisín



This song air was transcribed from the singing of Eibhlín Ní Chaisín. Henebry states that ‘it is a fairly quick singing air of my mother’s… concerned with the story of ‘Willie Reilly and his dear Colleen Bawn’ (Henebry 1928, p. 227).

No.37 Untitled Jig

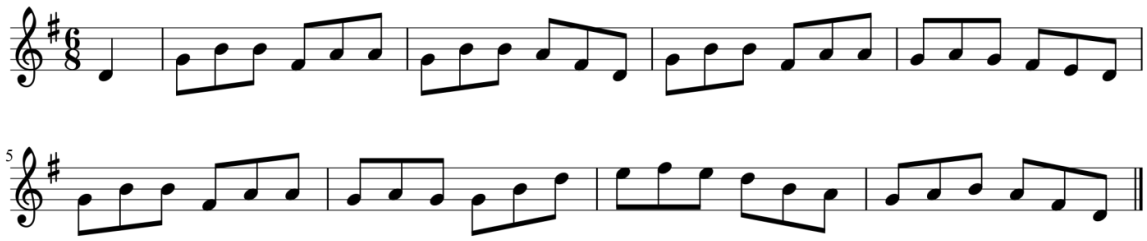
Jig



This is Henebry’s own setting of a double jig. He does not name the jig but uses it to explain his ‘blending of stress registers’ method of analysis.

No. 38 Páidín O'Rafferty

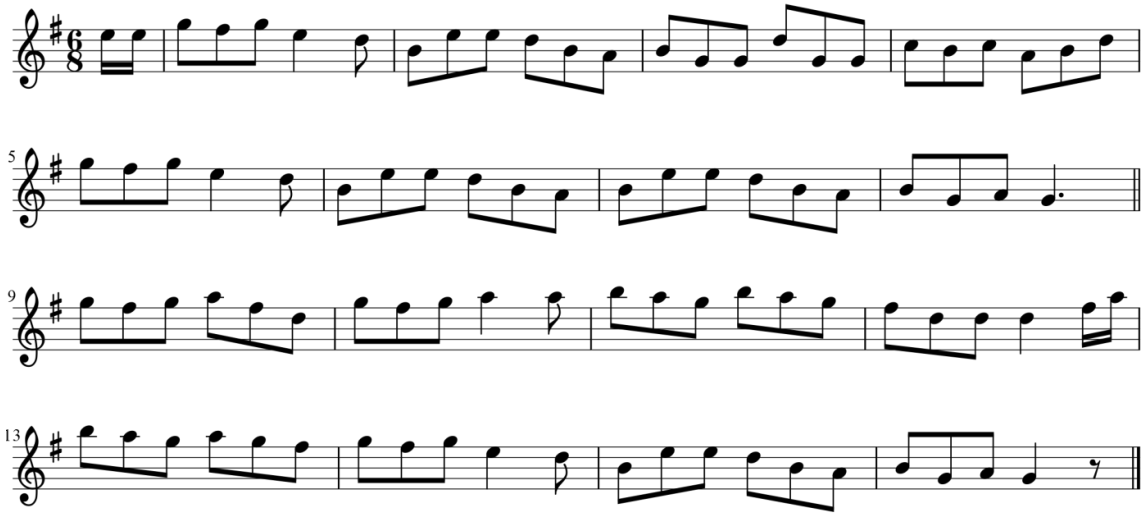
Song air and Jig — Martin Curran



This song air and jig was learned from 'workingman' Martin Curran when Henebry was a child.

No. 39 Untitled Jig

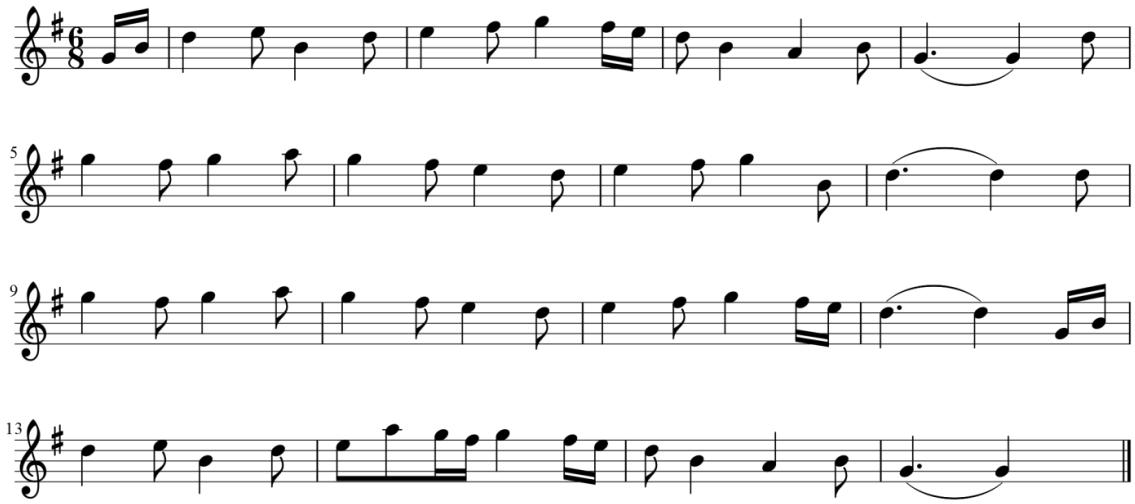
Jig



This is Henebry's own setting of an unnamed double jig.

No. 40 Molly Bán a Stóir

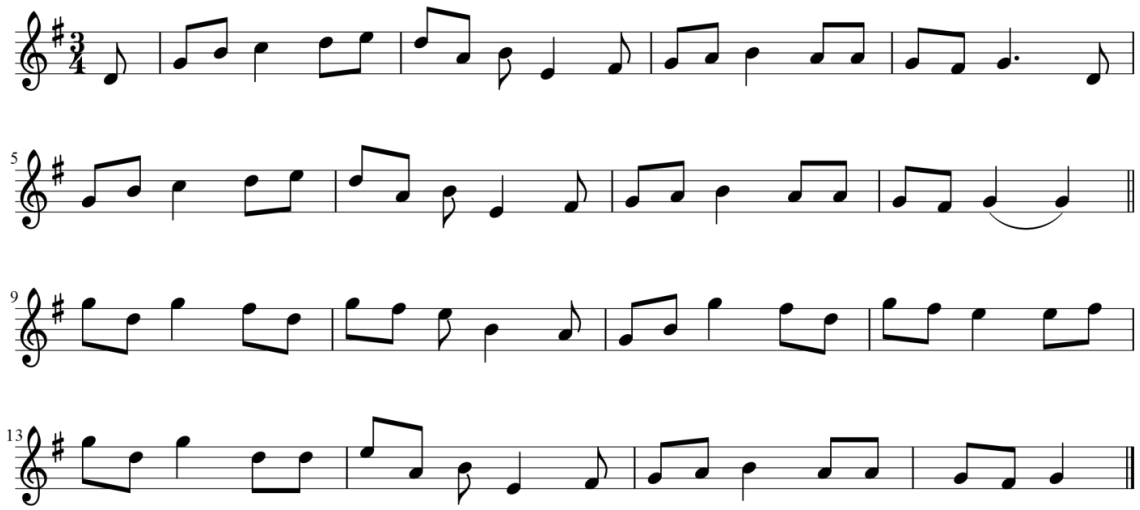
Song air



This is the original air used for Thomas Moore's 'The Harp that once through Tara's Halls'. Henebry felt compelled to include this setting because he felt that Moore's version 'doctored' the original tune (Henebry 1928, p. 237).

No. 41 Castle Hyde

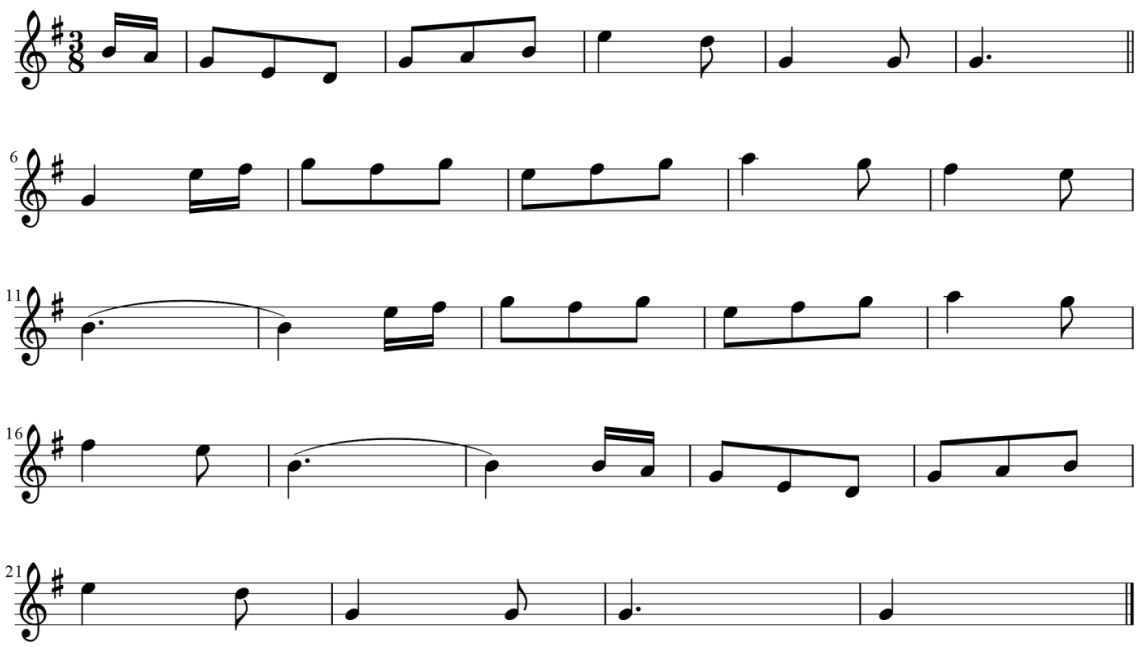
Song air Eibhlín Ní Chaisín



This song air was transcribed from the singing of Eibhlín Ní Chaisín.

No. 42 Cnoc Raffon

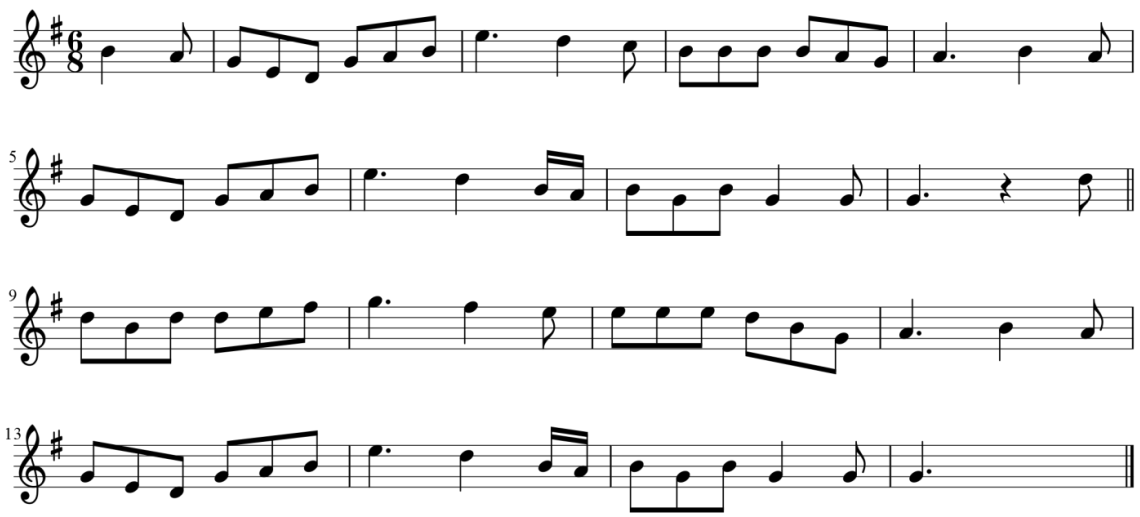
Song air — Eibhlín Ní Chaisín



This song air was transcribed from the singing of Eibhlín Ní Chaisín.

No. 43 Cad Dogeunaimid Feasta Gan Admad

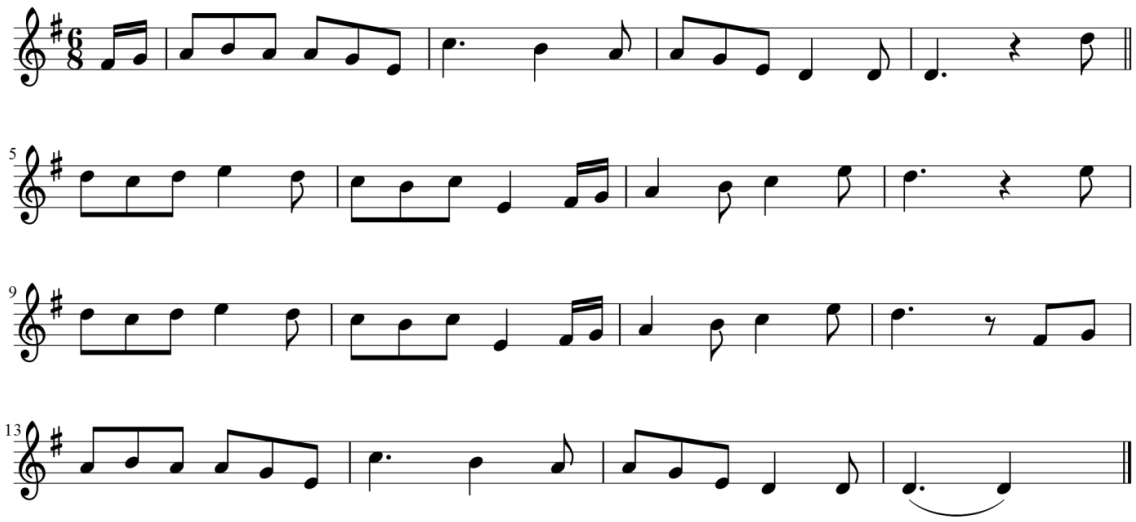
Song air — Eibhlín Ní Chaisín



This song air was transcribed from the singing of Eibhlín Ní Chaisín, ‘Another quick singing air of my mother’s’ (Henebry 1928, p. 241).

No. 44 Untitled Song Air

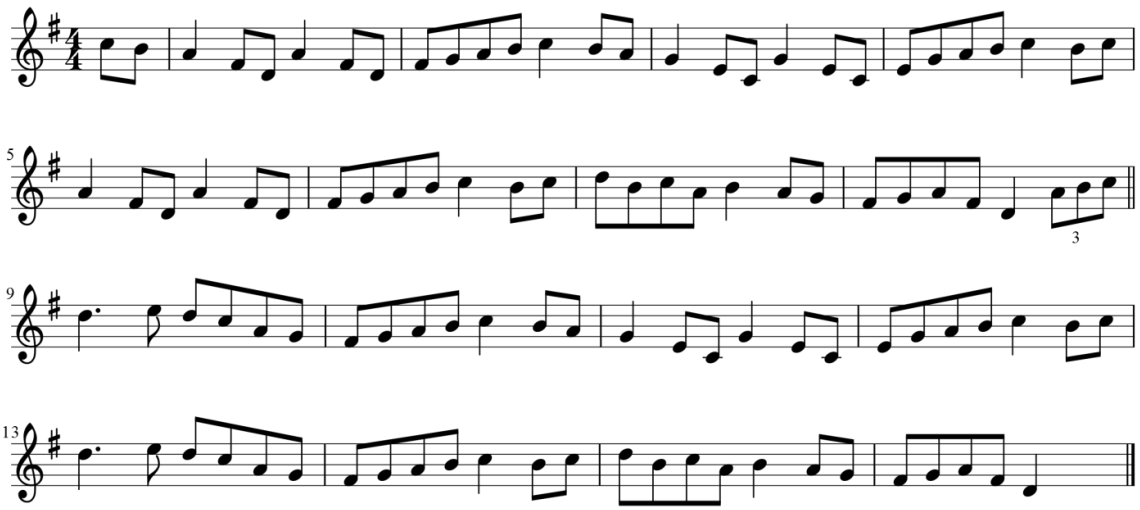
Song air John Henebry



Henebry received this song air from his brother John. ‘I got the following curious ballad from my brother, John Henebry, of Portlaw, Co. Waterford. He had it from an itinerant ballad-singing woman’ (Henebry 1928, p. 242).

No. 45 Untitled Reel

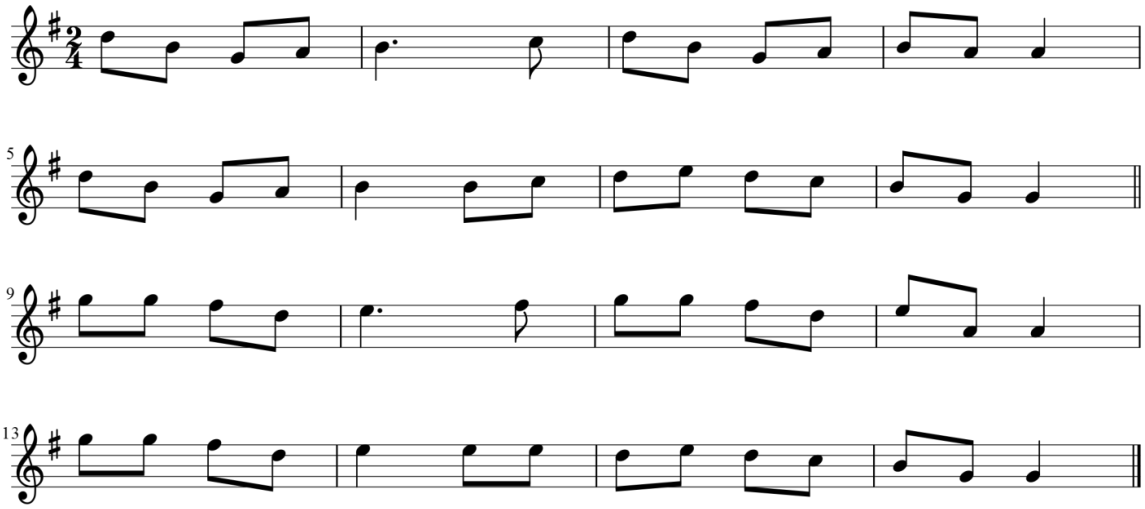
Reel



This is Henebry’s setting of an unnamed reel, it was used by him to illustrate an example of a DE register tune.

No. 46 Did You See Moll Roe

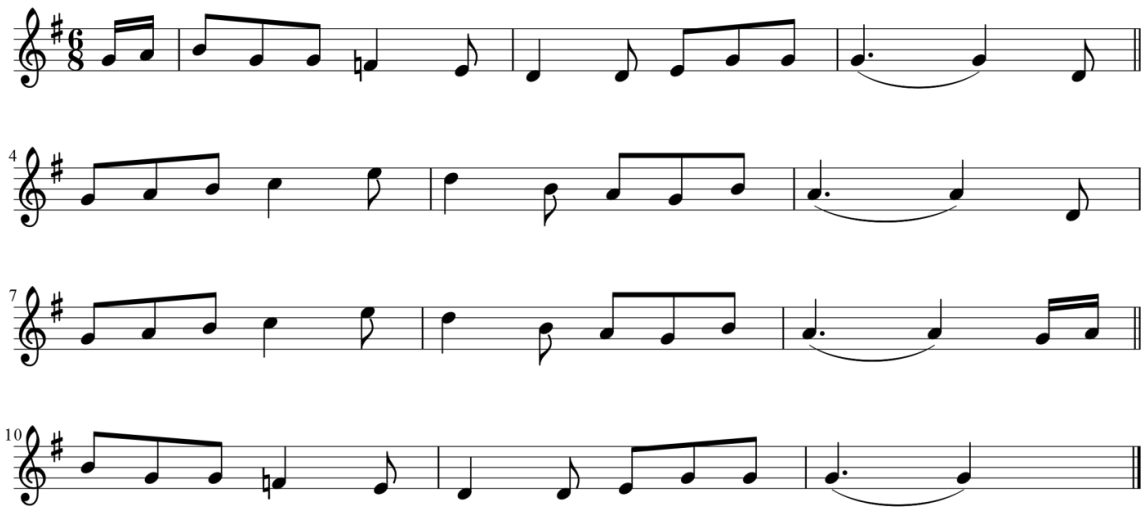
Song air



Henebry refers to this song air as ‘a quick singing air…from my own recollection’ (Henebry 1928, p. 244).

No. 47 Untitled Song Air

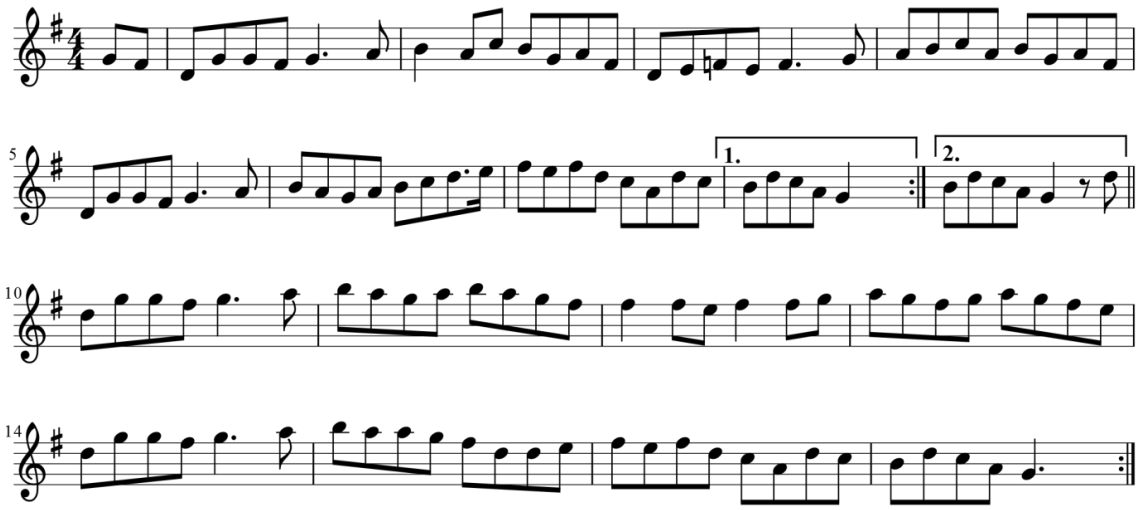
Song air



This unnamed song air is another setting of the previously mentioned ‘The Blackthorn Stick’, or ‘Siúd Ort a Sheáin’. It was included by Henebry to highlight the use of F naturals in this setting which are not used in the aforementioned versions. This setting was transcribed from the singing of ‘a young man from Ballimacoda, Co. Cork’ (Henebry 1928, p. 244).

No. 48 Untitled Reel

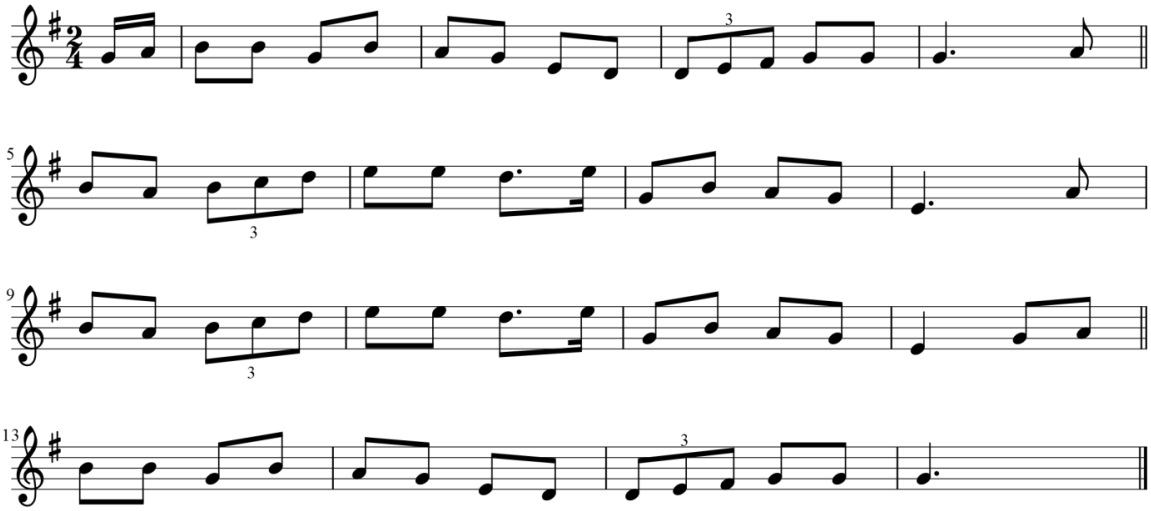
Reel



This is a transcription from Henebry's own 'playing version' (Henebry 1928, p. 246).

No. 49 Untitled Song Air

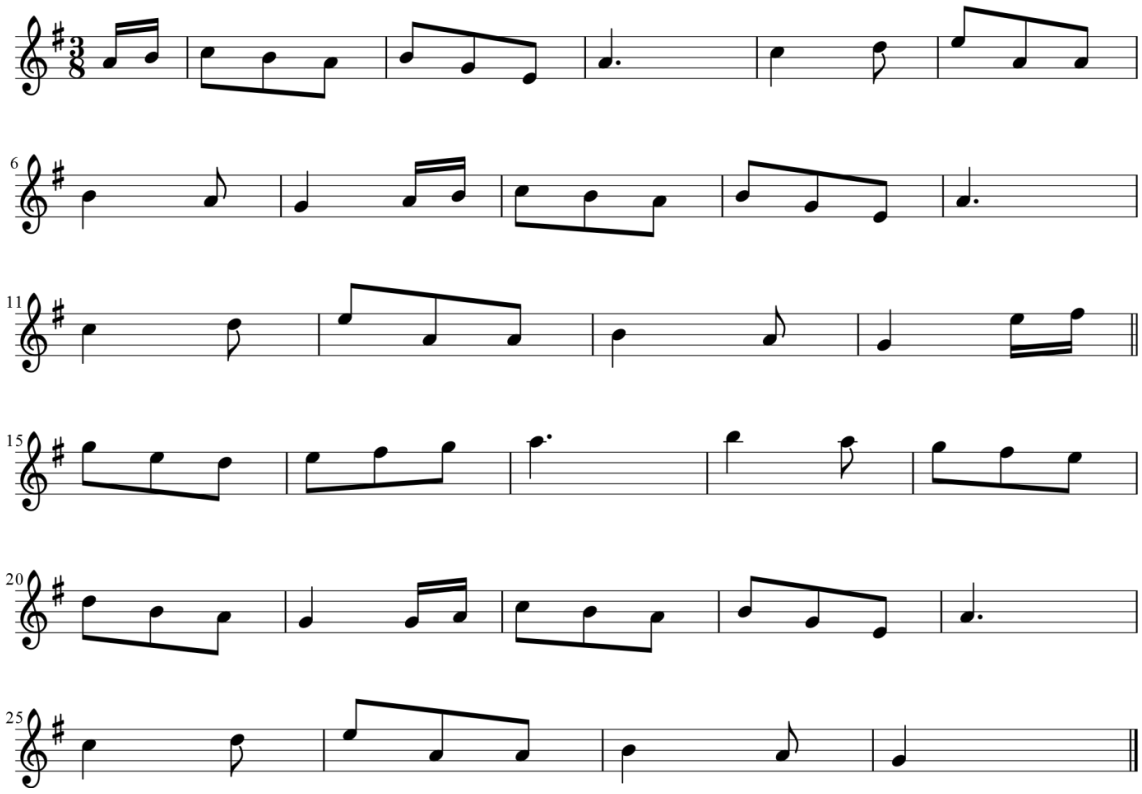
Song air



This is a transcription of 'a simple ballad from my own recollection' (Henebry 1928, p. 248). It was used by Henebry as an example of a GA register tune.

No. 50 Untitled Jig

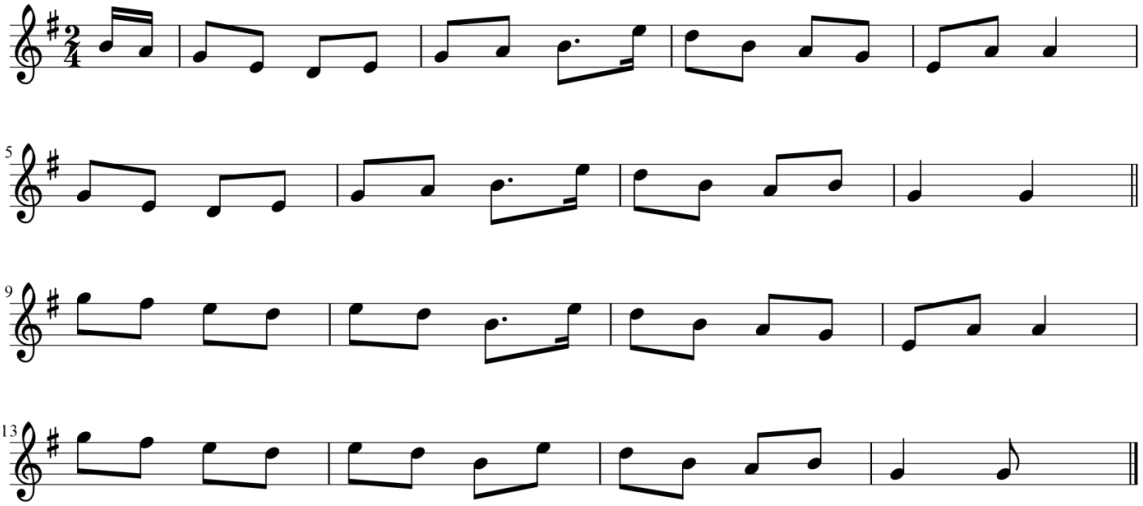
Jig Eibhlín Ní Chaisín



This jig was transcribed from the singing of Eibhlín Ní Chaisín. It is an unusual tune in that it has 14 bars in each part. It was also used by Henebry as an example of a GA register tune.

No. 51 An Cherc ar fad's an Anbruithe

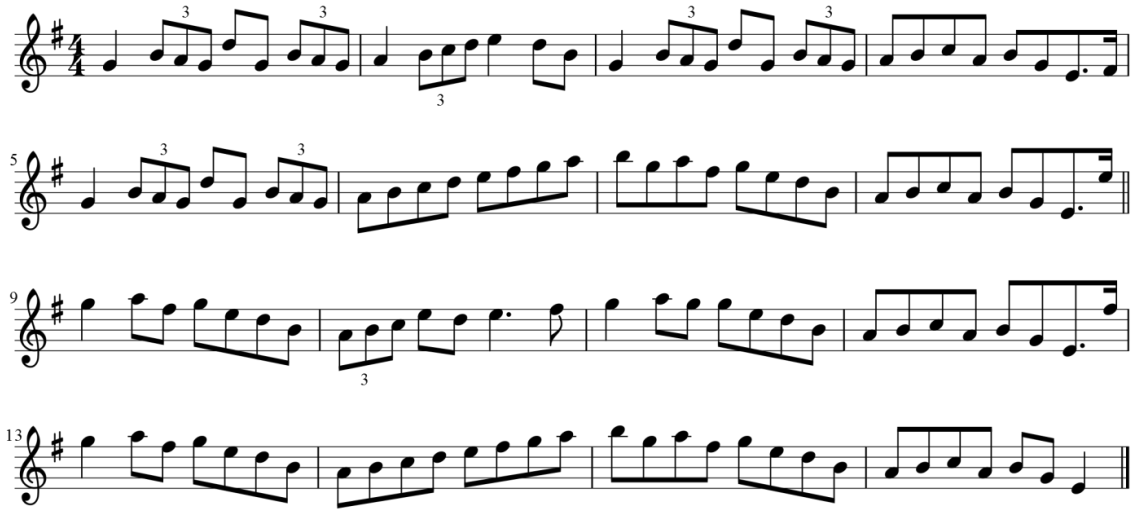
Single Jig



This is described as a single jig by Henebry however it appears to be a version of the familiar polka tune, 'If I had Maggie in the Wood'. Henebry states that 'it is a strong old tune of symmetrical construction' (Henebry 1928, p. 250).

No. 52 Untitled Reel

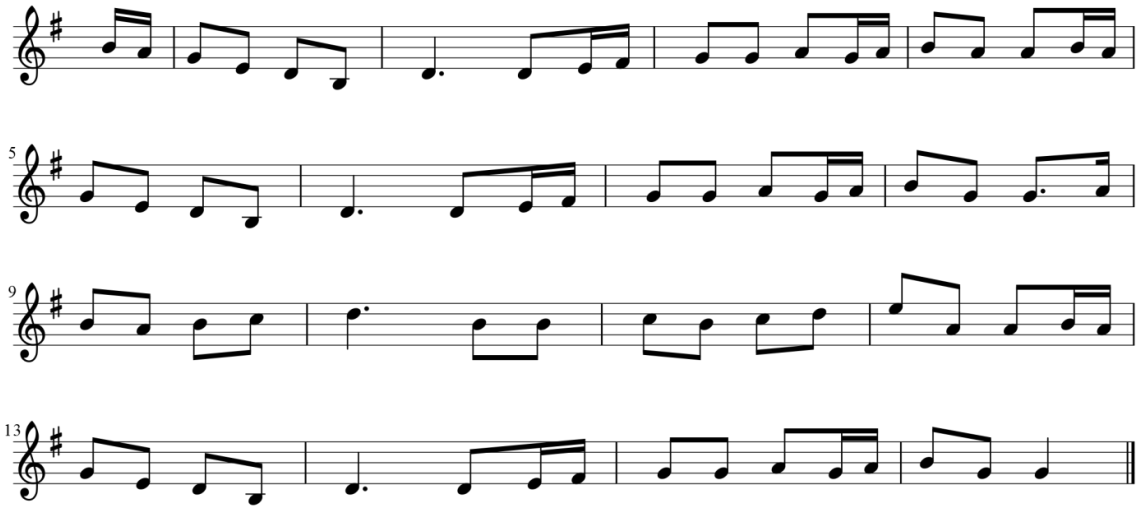
Reel James Byrne



This reel was transcribed from the playing of uilleann piper James Byrne.

No. 53 Sigle Beg Ní Choindealbán

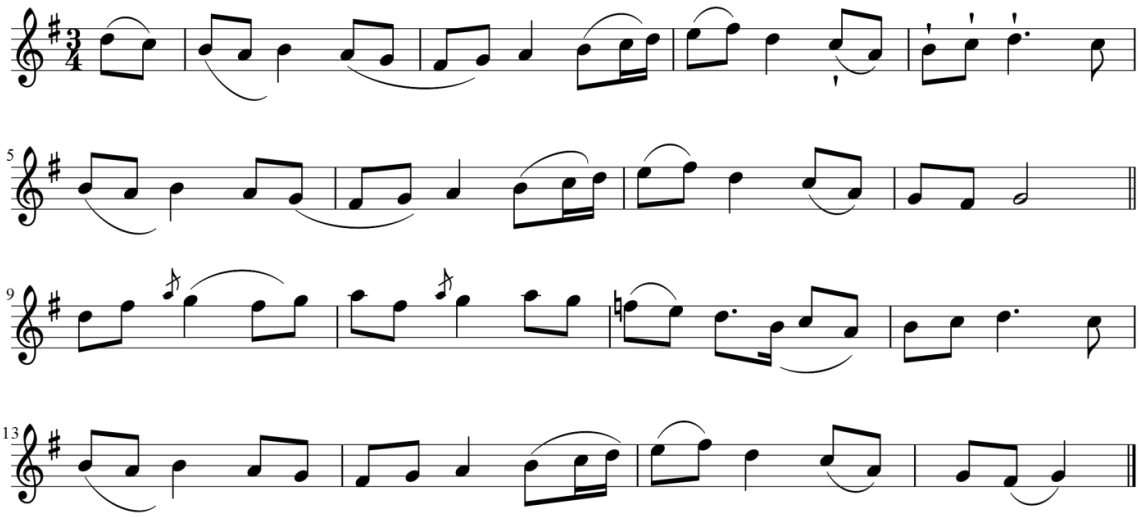
Song air



Henebry does not give a source for this song air. It does not have a time signature as it is irregular in rhythm (see bars 2, 6, 10, and 14). This is a version of the well known song air ‘O do bhíos’a lá Pórtláirge’, which is in turn a version of the air for the song ‘The Rose Tree’.

No. 54 Untitled Song Air

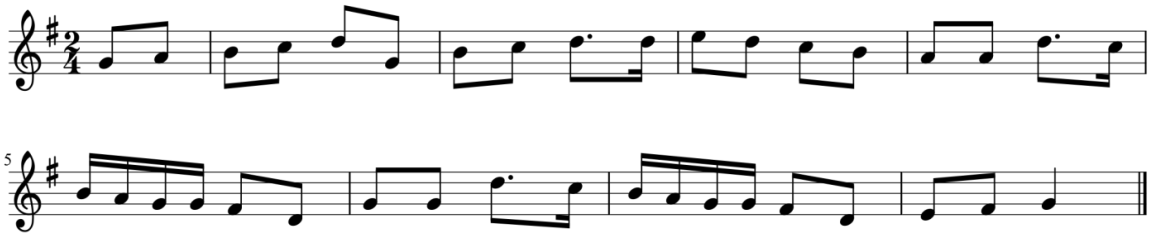
Song air



Henebry does not give a source for this song.

No. 55 Such a Going Upstairs

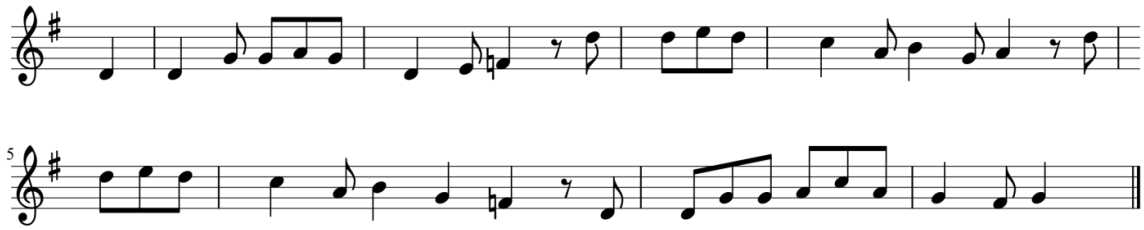
Song air Eibhlín Ní Chaisín



This song air was transcribed from the singing of Eibhlín Ní Chaisín. It was used by Henebry as an example of a DEA register tune.

No. 56 Priosún Cluain Meala

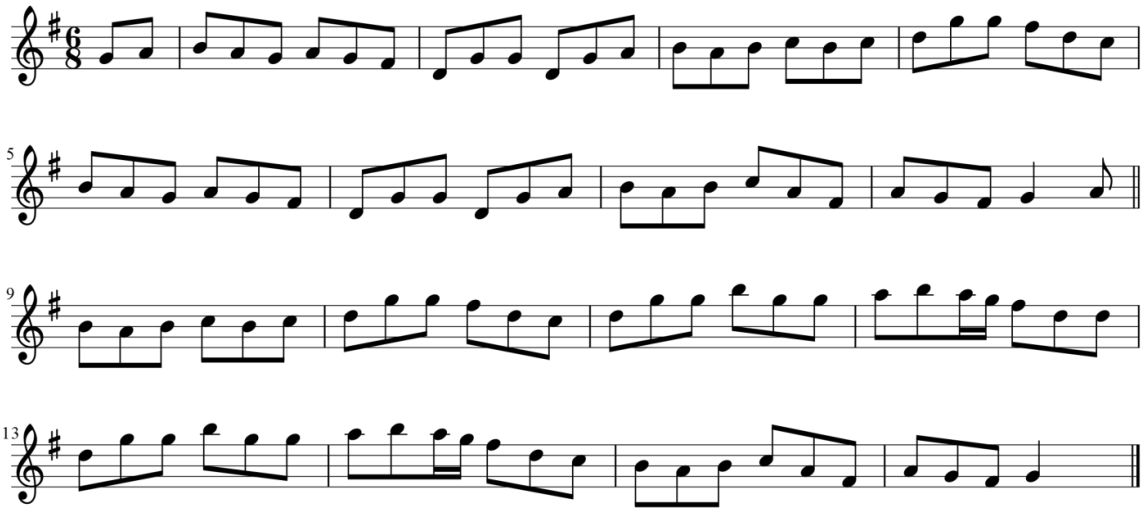
Song air



This song air is one of the few transcriptions that is dated, Henebry states that it was collected from ‘a young girl named Dogherty from Donegal in the Rotunda at Dublin about the summer of 1904’ (Henebry 1928, p. 265).

No. 57 The Walls of Liscarroll

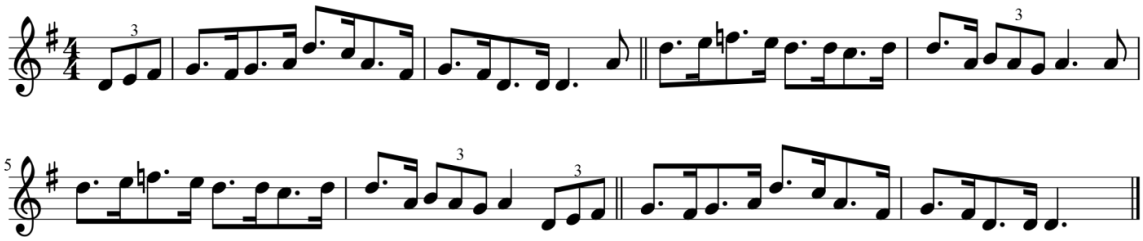
Jig



This is a transcription of Henebry's own version of this double jig.

No. 58 Untitled Song Air

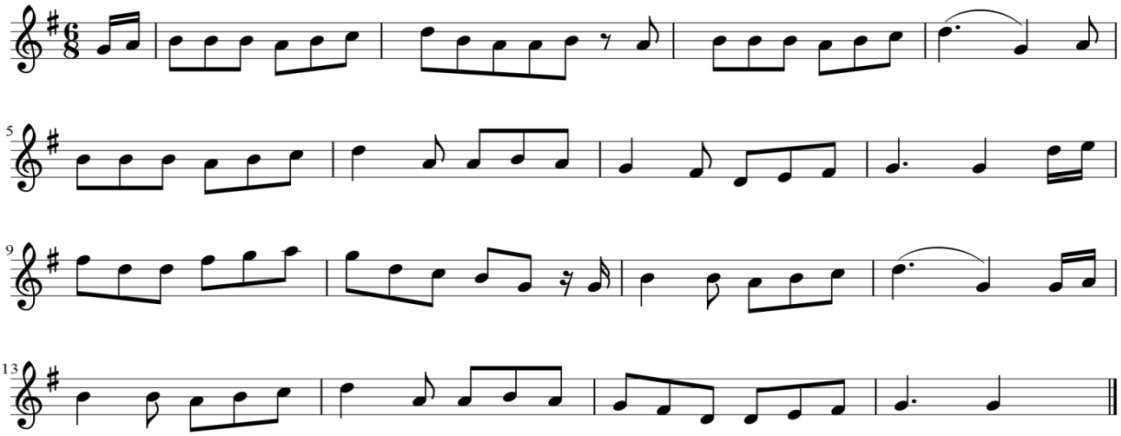
Song air



This is a transcription of an unnamed song air from Henebry's 'own recollection'.

No. 59 Untitled Song Air

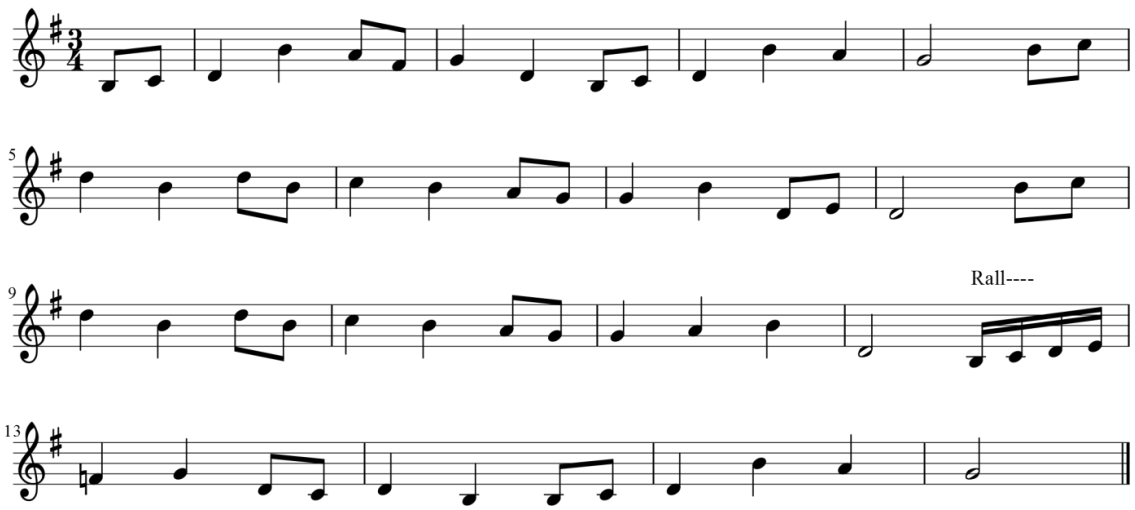
Song air Eibhlín Ní Chaisín



This transcription is from the singing of Eibhlín Ní Chaisín.

No. 60 Untitled Song Air

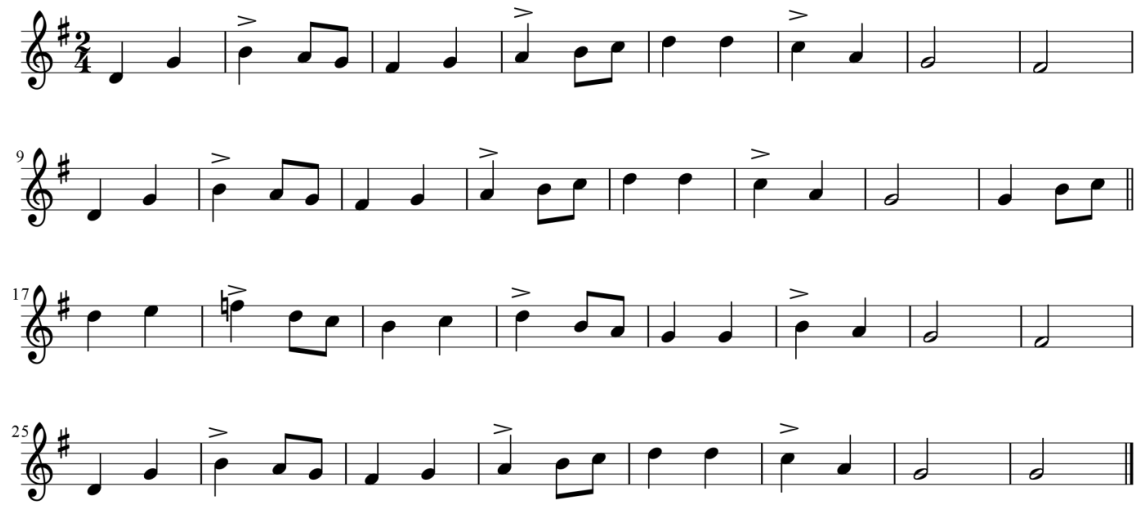
Song air Eibhlín Ní Chaisín



Another transcription from the singing of Eibhlín Ní Chaisín. ‘The following was a fairly slow singing air of my mother’s’ (Henebry 1928, p. 271).

No. 61 Untitled Song Air

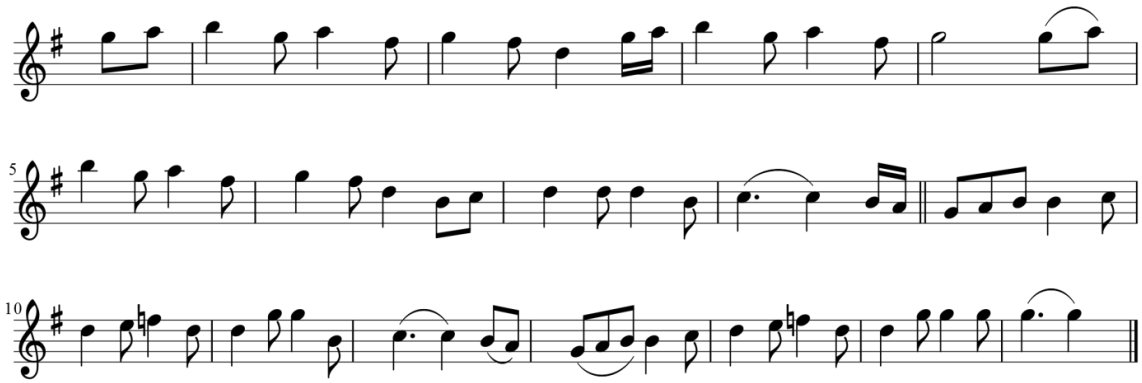
Song air Eibhlín Ní Chaisín



‘The following rather quick singing air of my mother’s is of peculiar construction. Notes bearing an over-heavy accent have been marked’ (Henebry 1928, p. 271).

No. 62 Untitled Song Air

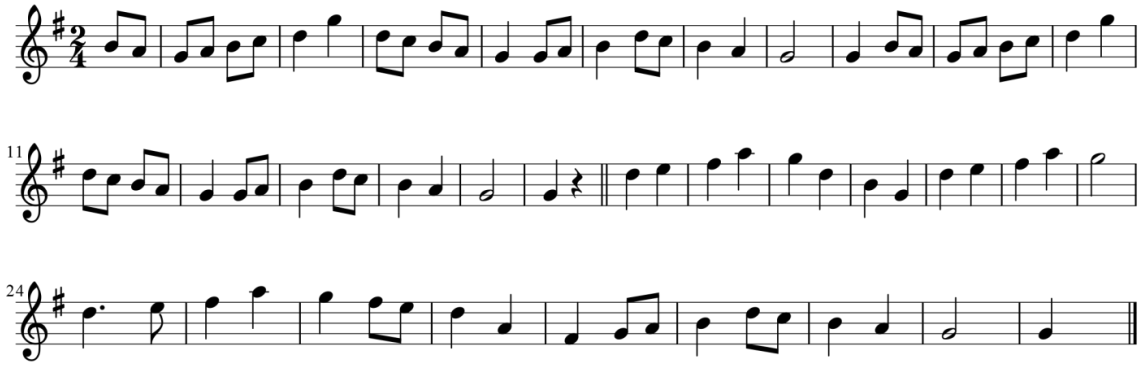
Song air



Henebry does not give a source for this song air.

No. 63 Untitled Song Air

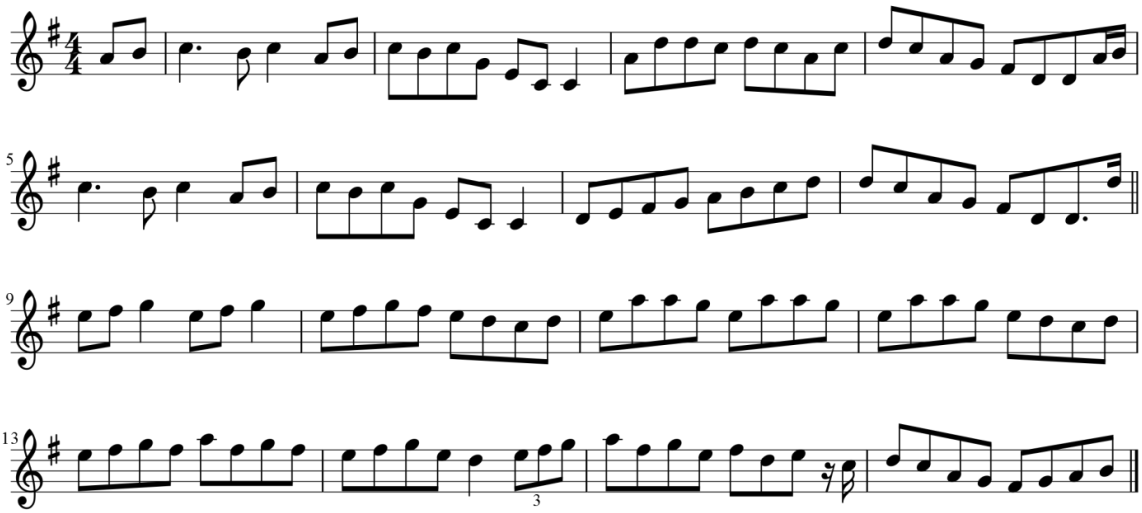
Song air Eibhlín Ní Chaisín



This song air was transcribed from the singing of Eibhlín Ní Chaisín. ‘The following quick singing air of my mother’s is remarkable as being a rather distant version of the celebrated ‘Spailpín Fánach’.’ (Henebry 1928, p. 274)

No. 64 Rakish Paddy

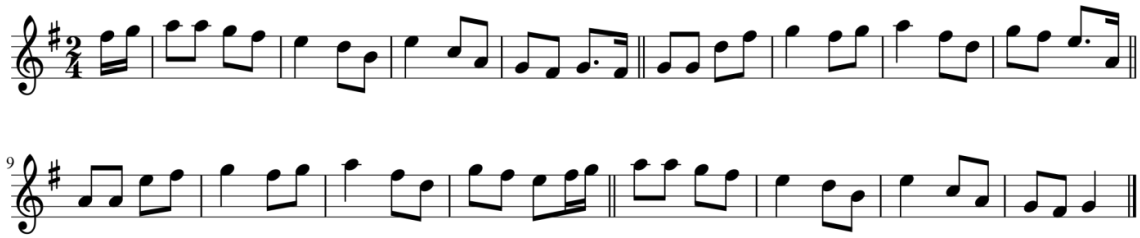
Reel



Henebry's setting of the reel 'Rakish Paddy.

No. 65 Untitled Song Air

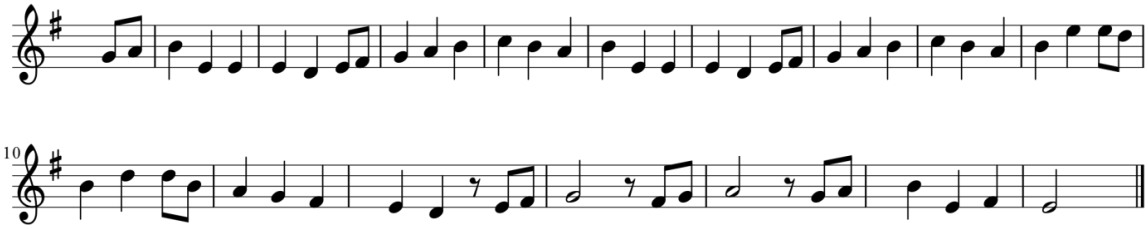
Song air Eibhlín Ní Chaisín



This is a transcription of 'a quick singing air' from the singing of Eibhlín Ní Chaisín (Henebry 1928, p. 278).

No. 66 If all those Fair Maidens were Blackbirds and Thrushes

Song air Patrick O'Shea



Learned by Henebry from the singing of 'a boy named Patrick O'Shea from Portlaw' when he, Henebry, was a child (Henebry 1928, p. 303).