

“As is the manner and the custom”

Folk Tradition and identity in Cornwall

Submitted by Mervyn Rex Davey to the University of Exeter

as a thesis for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in September 2011

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Volume 1 of 2

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A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'Mervyn Rex Davey', written over a dotted line. The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial 'M' and a long horizontal stroke at the end.

Abstract

The distinctiveness of folk music and dance traditions in Cornwall is at best ignored and at worst denied by the wider British folk movement. Within Cornwall itself, traditional music and dance is not widely recognised as a serious art form. This study challenges this position by arguing that failure to recognise Cornwall's folk tradition as a distinctive and creative art form is due to hegemonic power relations not the intrinsic nature of Cornish material. It contributes to the debate about the distinctiveness of Cornwall's historical and cultural identity and shows that folk tradition has an important place in contemporary Cornish studies.

This study examines the evolution of folk tradition in Cornwall from the early nineteenth century through to the present day, the meanings ascribed to it and the relationship with Cornish identity. The subject matter is at once arcane and commonplace, for some it is full of mystery and symbolism for others it is just "party time". It is about what people do and what they think about what they do in relation to the wide spectrum of activities associated with traditional music and dance. These activities range from informal singing sessions and barn dances to ritual customs that mark the turning of the year.

In order to establish a research methodology this study draws upon the paradigms of memory, oral history and discursivity. These paradigms provide a range of insights into, and alternative views of, both folk tradition and identity. Action research provides a useful enquiry tool as it binds these elements together and offers a working ethos for this study. Using this model a complex and dynamic process is unveiled within folk tradition that offers a quite different perspective on its relationship with identity and brings into question popular stereotypes.

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Introduction

This thesis examines the evolution of oral folk tradition in Cornwall and its relationship with Cornish identity. It seeks to show that oral folk tradition is a dynamic process, driven in the first place by a sense of continuity and identity but also fuelled by contemporary experience and the prevailing social climate. Although there is a long history of descriptive recording and collection of music, dance and associated customs from oral tradition, there was little critical debate about its origins and meaning as a social phenomenon until the latter half of the twentieth century. There is certainly a limited historiography of critical study relating to oral folk tradition in Cornwall although there is a wealth of antiquarian commentary.

Identity can also be understood as a dynamic process and it is argued in this thesis that it has a reciprocal relationship with oral folk tradition. Not only does identity use oral folk tradition as a vehicle for expression it also contributes to the creative process of change. This approach to oral folk tradition and identity as dynamic and contemporary processes locates this thesis firmly within *New Cornish Studies*, which focuses attention on the humanities and is concerned with issues around difference and diversity in modern Cornwall.

Apart from providing the opportunity to explore uncharted territory, the attraction of folk tradition as a topic within Cornish studies is that it forms a significant part of the cultural backdrop for Cornwall. The heritage and tourism industries promote it through use of icons such as Helston's Furry Dance and Padstow's Obby Oss. The Brass Band movement may have a distinct and sophisticated musical culture of its own but when leading a carnival or Furry dance the bands returns to their roots in the tradition of Tea Treats (a Tea Treat is a village party, see glossary). Male voice choirs are an integral part of Cornwall's more formal musical community, but have a symbiotic relationship with informal, community singing sessions from which they draw members and into which they feed material. Weddings are a bastion of traditional customs in most cultures and families wishing to express their Cornishness provide steady employment for musicians and dance bands with a repertoire of Cornish material. Communities seeking to stage a local event or festival are as likely to quarry Cornish folk tradition for inspiration, as they are to draw down from popular global culture. Festivals like Golowan in Penzance and the Polperro Festival, for example, incorporate revived local traditions with entertainment from the world stage. Most people living in Cornwall will

have some contact with, or exposure to, folk tradition in one form or another even if it is not something with which they have a particular interest.

The charm and universality of folk tradition does bring challenges to research methodology, however. Simply to observe an event or custom is to participate as audience and any record made will be subject to the observer's experiences, interests and mindset. A problem compounded still further if the observer actively participates in the event. This has been a particular challenge for the author who has a family background immersed in folk tradition and has continued in an active role as performer, practitioner and protagonist throughout the course of this research. This study shows that the methodology of participatory action research addresses these issues and turns the very act of participation into an effective research tool and a means of critical reflection. Action research goes further than this, however, and supports the role of researcher as a protagonist actively involved with the subject and seeking outcomes that will be positive and empowering.

The phrase "As is the manner and the custom" is apt and self sufficient as a title for a study that considers the customs that people engage in and what they understand by these customs. The origin and context of this phrase is symbolic, however, and introduces the themes that underpin this study. It is the last line of the last recorded mystery play in the Cornish language, *Gwreans An Bys – The Creation Of The World*. William Jordan transcribed it in 1611 and the complete verse inspires an image reminiscent of Brueghel's paintings of medieval peasantry:

Minstrels growgh theny peba	Minstrels, pipe for us
May hallan warbarthe downssya	That we may together dance
Del ew an vaner han geys	<i>As is the manner and the custom</i>

(Whitley Stokes, *The Creation of the World*, London, Williams and Norgate, 1864, line 2548)

This play and these words draw a final line under the Celtic speaking world of medieval Cornwall at the same time they are a portent of the Cornwalls to come and the themes for this thesis. For the Cornwall of the nineteenth century romantic folklorists such as Bottrell, these plays represented the rural idyll lost in the tide of industrialisation. A lost Cornwall re-introduced to a wider audience through the folk tales and customs he and his contemporaries recorded. The mystery plays also

provided the classical texts that drove the language revival of the early twentieth century that in turn underpins the identity of a Cornwall other than English.

It is the very last word, however, that provides a thread of continuity through to the present day. “Geys”, conventionally translated as “custom” also means a jest, a “geysor” being a jester, joker or fool (see glossary). It is not difficult to see a connection between the Guize dance character of the “gaukum” who plays the part of a fool and the medieval jester. This study makes the case that Guizing and the customs associated were, and continue to be, an important vehicle for transmitting music and dance traditions across the generations. It will be shown that customs such as Helston’s Hal An Tow, the Polperro Mock Mayor, the Bodmin Wassailers, and the Padstow Mummings to name but a few, can all be seen as part of a continuing Guizing tradition in Cornwall.

This study is divided into three sections. The first considers the origins of the term “folk” and the meanings that have been and are associated with it. It considers the development of Cornish identity and the multiple identities of modern Cornwall. A model of enquiry is then established which takes advantage of some of the tools offered by the paradigms of memory, discursivity and oral history. Here, it is argued that participatory action research is a method that can incorporate these tools and also address some of the challenges for this study such as the potentially subjective nature of participant observation. The methodology described in this section defines the structure of the appendices, which provide an overview of the material collected, the research methods and a selection of case examples. A glossary is also included which serves to provide an explanation of some of the dialect and folk terms used in this thesis. It also serves to contrast the language of folk tradition in Cornwall to that elsewhere.

The next section focuses on the collectors and recorders of folk tradition in Cornwall from the early nineteenth century through to the present. It shows that these can be understood as three groups of stakeholders. The nineteenth century antiquarians and folklorist who explored folk traditions with a mixture of nostalgia and romanticism represent the first group. The second group of stakeholders were the classic folk song collectors ranging from Baring Gould to Peter Kennedy. This group of people may have been equally romantic but unlike their predecessors, they were driven by the desire to preserve or revive the material they found as a living tradition. The last

group were on a mission parallel to but perhaps at ideological odds with the folk song collectors such as Sharp and his rural English idyll. They were the Celto-Cornish revivalists who saw in folk tradition an opportunity to express their Cornishness, often in opposition to Englishness. This section argues that the tension that arose out of this might be understood in terms of “speech communities” who interpret the same material in quite different ways depending upon their discursivity.

The last section examines folk tradition in contemporary locations and in doing so reinforces the model of folk tradition as a dynamic process adopted in this study. It will show that not only does oral folk tradition thrive in a modern environment but that the increased interest in and recognition of Cornish identity is also reflected in the way traditions are interpreted and presented. This section recognises and provides examples of folk tradition in two “existences”. The first in an original location that has continuity in time, place and community and a second in a setting that is more self conscious and reflective but nevertheless subject to the processes of oral folk tradition. The effect of new technologies and the network society are also explored here and shown to have been assimilated into the folk process rather than representing a threat to it. This opens the opportunity for engagement with Cornish folk traditions to a much wider group of people and in turn leads to a positive vision of the future.

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Section 1: Setting the Scene

Chapter 1: Who are the folk? Constructions, de-constructions, folk tradition and Cornish identity

The terms “folk” and “folk music” are problematic, not only are they seemingly interchangeable with expressions such as “oral tradition”, “custom”, “roots” and “ethnic” but interpretations change, especially when these terms are used as labels for the ever changing fashions of the music industry. The mercurial nature of folk tradition is part of its attraction for a study such as this but in order to engage in critical discussion it is necessary to adopt some clear definitions. This chapter examines how current thinking has developed and draws upon this thinking to establish a working model for this thesis. It is argued that oral folk tradition can be understood as a complex and dynamic process rather than a static artefact.

Identity is also a concept that challenges simple definition. It is an important and contested issue in modern Cornwall and linked to contemporary discussions around diversity and difference. It is a core issue for New Cornish Studies ¹ and the discussions within this discipline provide insight into the relationship between identity and folk tradition in Cornwall. Like folk tradition, identity can be understood as a dynamic process rather than a static state of being which provides for an interesting relationship between the two.

Origins of the folk

The history of the recording and study of folk tradition is the history of “imaginaries” ² and tells us as much about the life, times and mind set of the individuals concerned as about the subject matter. The introduction of the term “folk” (“Volkslied” – “folk song”) is conventionally attributed to Johann Gottfried Herder (1744 -1803)³, a German speaking Lutheran pastor working in Latvia. Despite Russian and German political and cultural domination, Herder found that the Latvians had retained their language and an identity as a distinct ethnic group. According to Francmanis, Herder “equated this ethnic community’s popular tradition with its suppressed national consciousness and came to believe that the oral tradition contained the essence, or soul, of the Latvian nation.”⁴ In this Herder reflects the Romantic Movement and a counter-reaction to the urban, mechanised world of the industrial revolution, In folkloric

terms this movement also includes the collections of the Brothers Grimm and, as Ó'Giolláin points out, the Celticism of Macpherson, Renan and Arnold.⁵

Davis⁶ suggests that Edward Bunting's assertions about the Irishness and authenticity of the traditional music he collected from the Belfast Harp festival in 1792 are based on just such a philosophy. In his analysis of the music, Bunting describes distinctive grace notes, chords, time signature, speed, mood and key / modes and provides a list of terms for these not only in Gaelic and in English in "English Characters" but in "Irish Characters" as well.⁷ "The extent to which he actually collected these terms in Gaelic from performers as opposed to constructing them himself is not clear but Gailey⁸ points out that the Harp society with which Bunting was involved was also responsible for sponsoring Gaelic language classes. Whatever the origin of the Gaelic terms what is clear is that a statement is being made about Irish nationality and cultural competence. The meaning ascribed to the tradition is as significant as its material nature and McCann suggests that: "To the eighteenth and nineteenth century antiquarian mindset the native Irish culture - language as well as music - was perceived as a relic of an increasingly respected ancient Celtic civilisation".⁹

Ó'Giolláin's description of the approach to Irish folk tradition during the early part of the nineteenth century might well be applied universally:

Understood as purely oral, traditional and rural, folklore was easily isolated from modern social processes. To consider it ancient made it a historical source of scholarly interest in the same way that historical documents or archaeological artefacts were, all unified in the notion of antiquities.¹⁰

Rieuwerts¹¹ notes that Francis Child, an American literary academic who published five volumes of English language folk ballads between 1857 and 1893, followed this rural idyll and this it is also evident in the way that both Baring Gould and Sharp interpreted and explained the material that they collected in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For Baring Gould these songs were "..... an heirloom of the past, from a class of musicians far higher in station and culture than those who now possess the treasure".¹² Sharp, on paper at least, subscribed to a less class conscious version, suggesting that the folk music was "found only in those country districts, which,

by reason of their remoteness, have escaped the infection of modern ideas.....the product of the spontaneous and intuitive exercise of untrained faculties".¹³

Whilst Sharps assertions of the Englishness of the traditions he collected echo Bunting's romanticism in his approach to Irish music a century earlier, he did strive for a clearer definition of "folk music". He championed a definition of folk tradition that involved continuity and change although Boyse¹⁴ points out that neither this, nor isolated rural origins were evident in the selection of material he choose to publish. This definition did, however, provide a standard for folk tradition until the 50s when, at the instigation of Maude Karpeles, Sharps colleague and in many respects successor,¹⁵ it was modified and adopted by the International Folk Music Council Conference at Sao Paulo 1954:

Folk music is the product of a musical tradition that has been evolved through the process of oral transmission. The factors that shape the tradition are: (i) continuity which links the present with the past; (ii) variation which springs from the creative impulse of the individual or the group; and (iii) selection by the community, which determines the form or forms in which the music survives.¹⁶

Karpeles was careful to distance folk tradition from art music and popular music the essence of the argument being that these were both the conscious creations of an individual and not subject to natural selection within a community.¹⁷ Folk tradition, on the other hand, was rooted in the natural culture of the people and subject to a natural selection process, which ensured the retention of quality material. There is also a hint here of Jungian theories of a collective unconscious which attracted some folklorists.¹⁸

At the same time as the International Folk Music Council was debating a definition for folk music that distinguished it as an art form from popular vernacular music there was a move towards a more Marxist imaginary represented in America by the work of Alan Lomax and in Britain by A L (Bert) Lloyd and Ewan MacColl. O'Reilly¹⁹ shows how the work of Harry Smith and Moses Asch in collecting recordings of rural American from the 1920s and 1930s influenced folklorist and anthropologist Alan Lomax in his view of the value of working class music traditions. In 1946 Lloyd challenged what he described as "parsonage" and "anthropological hoo-ha" in folk song collecting in a critical review of Botkin's *A treasury of American folklore*.²⁰ He also

described as “Comrade Cleverdick” people who felt that you could not have folk song in an industrial capitalist society. Ewan MacColl’s early experience with left wing political theatre in the 1930s and immediate post war period influenced his selection and composition of material as a folk performer and was arguably the inspiration for the “folk club” which became a core institution for the 1960s folk movement.²¹

In many ways, Lloyd and MacColl were the antitheses of the earlier antiquarian collectors and revivalists. Both were active members of the Communist Party and the Workers Music Association funded some of Lloyds work. Together they introduced industrial songs as being as much part of folk song tradition as those celebrating rural life and endorsed the culture of working class people in a way that challenged the prejudices of their predecessors. What is remarkable here is that this challenge to the imaginary of folk as “a survival from an earlier and implicitly more pure stage in cultural evolution”²² was not sustained. Gammon admires Lloyd’s seminal “Folk Song In England”²³ as an intellectual achievement but suggests that rather than challenging the folk establishment “Lloyds book attempts a merger of a Marxist approach to history with the tradition of folk song scholarship derived from Cecil Sharp..... The Traditions he tries to synthesis are fundamentally incompatible....”.²⁴ Indeed Atkinson argues that the adoption of the Child ballads into the core repertoire of the folk revival was a conscious device to demonstrate authenticity.²⁵

A common pool of cultural material

Child was concerned with literary texts and followed the custom of contemporary folklorists by organising the material he collected into taxonomic groups of themes and motifs. This remains a valid analytical approach to narrative ballads as King shows in his study of *The Bitter Withy*.²⁶ King identifies a number of themes from various versions of *The Bitter Withy*, which occur within an infancy narrative of the Child Jesus: injury at play; a sunbeam; refusal to play with Jesus; striking Jesus; and a curse. He traces possible origins for these themes in texts dating back as far as the Syrian, Arabic and Eastern Church influences within the gospel of St Thomas. Importantly, he shows how prevailing circumstances affect the presentation of the narrative, such as anti-Semitism. The preservation and availability of early Christian texts provides good evidence in support of this particular example but it can be seen that the same principle would apply to narratives of unrequited love, and supernatural experiences etc. What is interesting here is that this provides for a dynamic model of folk song origin quite at odds to the Romantic localised nationalism that inspired the early collectors. The *Bitter*

Withy is clearly a Judeo-Christian narrative and part of the broad cultural heritage of Europe and the Near East if not a global one. What we have here is a theme drawn from a large melting pot of traditions, which is adapted locally.²⁷

Themes and motifs are not limited to narrative, music, dance and costume can also be seen as forms of text. Music is interesting because western art music orthodoxy does provide some specific analytical tools in terms rhythm, harmony and structure. The early collectors from Bunting²⁸ through to Cecil sharp²⁹, a century later, interpreted the material they collected in terms of modality and musical form and even Lloyd had no problem with endorsing this approach.³⁰ Although both he and Lomax pointed out that musical conventions were sometimes challenged by music collected from oral tradition.³¹ Bronson provided the most prolific analysis of the music to the ballads collected by Child and, like Child's texts; these remain a reference point for families of musical motifs to be found in folk tradition.³² Bronson also showed that these musical motifs can be treated as separate entities:

..... the melodic tradition and the textual tradition of the ballads may be pursued independently they are neither coincident nor commensurate with each other. It is always unsafe to ignore the tunes in investigating the textual tradition, and the opposite course is equally mistaken. But in studying the interrelations between ballad texts and tunes, we cannot ignore the fact that close variants of the same tune may be found with a number of other texts of quite diverse sense and spirit. ³³

What Bronson also shows is that there exists a kind of folkloric pool of musical texts with phrases or motifs that can move around be used in different folkloric contexts or inform new composition.³⁴

Ling³⁵ examines traditional folk music in Europe using context, costume, song forms, instruments and ensembles to show both a commonality and diversity. He describes a European "melting pot" of folk tradition from out of which individual communities draw ideas and inspiration. He uses the European bagpipe as an example of the same basic musical instrument being adapted to a variety of local forms.³⁶ Ling suggests that the electric Greek Bouzouki provides a more recent representation of the same process and cites Ireland as an example of where universal musical ideas are

brought together to provide a unique style.³⁷ Ó Súilleabháin expresses a similar view and explains this in terms of interconnected systems of culture:

Traditional music in Ireland, however, can be viewed as part of a larger system of traditional music in Europe and elsewhere. Even to follow a musical line from Ireland to Scotland, through the Shetland Islands and on to Scandinavia is sufficient to show that what we have in Irish traditional music is a reworking of the elements of a more widespread system in the context of our own history. The subdivision of this system into distinct units neither begins nor ends with Ireland.³⁸

Brennan's description of the development of Irish dancing tradition provides a further example of this common cultural pool in action.³⁹ She describes how the Quadrille figures were introduced to Dublin in the early nineteenth century and were carried out into the country areas by the dancing masters. Local, "cross roads", dancing tradition absorbed the figures, exchanging the marching step of the quadrille for solo jig and reel steps. The polka was introduced to Ireland later in the nineteenth century and the polka step subsequently incorporated into the sets derived from the quadrille figures, particularly in the Cork and Kerry areas. The outcome result can be reasonably be described as traditional Irish folk dance but the elements of figure, step and style that that have been drawn from a wider European melting pot are unmistakable. These Kerry (and Cork) sets demonstrate *continuity* with older traditions, *variation* resulting from creative impulse and *selection* by the community but they also show a further dimension to the traditional process where elements and influences are drawn down from a wider pool of cultural material. What is more, this wider pool of material is not necessarily old or even vernacular in nature.

The development of a genre

For all that Karpeles voiced a folklorist position that distanced folk tradition from deliberately composed art or popular music, there remains a common sense position that someone must have composed it.⁴⁰ Lloyd struggled with this when he asked:

What do we understand by 'Folk'?It is permissible in the attenuated sense that we are all bearers of some sort of folklore, if only in the form of a dirty story The trouble is that, such a prospect extends too easily to a boundless panorama going beyond all reasonable definition

so that in the field of song for instance any piece that has passed widely into public circulation is identified as 'folk', especially if it one can pretend it somehow expresses part of the essential character of the nation. Thus, Silcher and Hein's 'Die Lorelei' is exhibited as a folk song, likewise 'The Bonnie banks o' Loch Lomond' (words and music by a Victorian aristocrat Lady John Scott), Stephen Fosters 'Old Folks at Home' and more recently with even slenderer title, Bob Dylan's 'Blowin in the wind'By this time we are not far from the vague contours suggested by Louis Armstrong's dreary axiom: "All music's folk music: leastways I never heard of no horse making it".⁴¹

Lloyds question is addressed by recognising folk music as a genre which encompasses both the strict criteria of the International Folk Music Council, the more contemporary folk style introduced by singers such as Bob Dylan and, importantly, all the shades between. The International Folk Music Council acknowledged this distinction when it renamed itself the International Traditional Music Council and aligned itself more with ethnomusicology than folk.

Gammon shows that the development of folk music as a genre was largely a result of the surge of interest in the 1950s lead by people such as Lloyd, Alan Lomax and Ewan MacColl.⁴² Fabbri defines a musical genre as "a set of musical events (real or possible) whose course is governed by a definite set of socially accepted rules".⁴³ The BBC series *Folk Britannia*⁴⁴ illustrated these "accepted rules" by following the development of folk music alongside other distinct genres of music such as Jazz, Blues and Rock. Following Fabbri's model, the rules governing this genre are that it is: the music of "the people" as opposed to the art music of the elite or commercial music driven by capitalism; and that it draws its material from "the peoples" musical experiences of the deeper past of agrarian society, industrial society and the more recent post industrial environment. Consistent with this "peoples" image is the informal style associated with folk music and the use of instruments that are accessible both in ease of use and cost. Fabbri goes on to describe a genre dividing into subsets and intersecting with other genres and there is a sense in which Folk divides into traditional music, represented by interpretations of 19th Century folk song collections, and contemporary music, represented in the form of the songs of protest and political comment that evolved in the 50s. The intersection of folk with other genres is shown by *Folk Britannia's* depiction of the rise of Folk Rock bands.

As the series progressed, however, a picture developed of folk celebrities and the influence of the music industry machine of album promotion, image creation, festivals, gigs and tours. This development may be an inevitable result of the opportunities offered by evolving music industry technology. It may be a desirable one, in that it also provides for greater access and involvement with a creative cultural activity. It does, however, raise questions about how much this genre is a music of “the people”; how much it is a commodity defined by marketing; and how much it is a minority interest construct based on ideological notions of what comprises “folk”.

In the Sharp era “folk” was a dance and music practice of a small elite group who consciously distanced themselves from the music hall interests of ordinary working people. MacColl and Lloyd’s folk club denizens might have espoused working class ideals but in Marxist terms, they would still be described as the intelligentsia rather than working class. Sweers shows that there are clear parallels between electric (popular) and traditional music.⁴⁵ She points out that modern transmission processes might parallel traditional orality and the criteria of continuity, variation and change devised by the International Folk Music Council. She questions, however, that aurality is the same as orality (i.e. learning a song from a recorded version rather than directly from another singer) and suggests that there is a more complex process taking place here, which is influenced by prevailing circumstances. This is a key issue in that it encourages a view of folk tradition as a complex process driven by a number of different factors which include, but go beyond oral transmission from person to person.

In the quote above, Lloyds refers to Stephen Foster’s *Old Folks at Home* (*Swanee River*) and the problem with describing this as folk. Songs like this from the minstrel and music hall era of popular music illustrate the shades of transition between traditional and contemporary folk and indeed between folk and vernacular music in general. Few people would now identify the original composers of songs like *My Grandfather’s Clock*, *Tipperary* and *Camptown Races*. These would probably be described as “sing- a- long songs” rather than traditional folk and do not regularly feature in the recordings of folk revival performers such as Lloyd, MacColl and their contemporary successors.⁴⁶

Community singing such as this, however, is arguably a traditional folk phenomenon itself as well as being a medium for the folk process. Within the setting of

community singing, continuity with the past is self-evident as is the process of selection. These songs go back through four or five generations of oral transmission and not all compositions from the minstrel / music hall era have remained popular. It is clear that they have become part of the common pool of folkloric material and change is also observed with words and music so that the International Folk Music Council's definition is met. *Tipperary* for example acquired additional words and a different meaning from its music hall origins when it became a First World War marching song.⁴⁷ *My Grandfather Clock* appears as *My Grandfather's Ferret*⁴⁸ and *Camptown Races* is adapted as *Yogi Bear* to provide a bawdy rugby song.⁴⁹

The selection / recognition of certain vernacular songs as legitimate folk songs by the folk revivalists demonstrates the ideology of the movement. A song performed and recorded by artists such as Lloyd and the Clancy Brothers and brought to a wider audience by the Spinners was the *D Day Dodgers*. The melody was that of *Lili Marlene*, composed by Norbert Schultze to the words of a love poem written by a German soldier in the First World War. It was recorded initially by Lale Andersen but was popularised by Marlene Dietrich and Vera Lynn. *Lili Marlene* had good, anti establishment, credentials for the folk movement from the outset in that it was black listed by the Nazis and sung with the German words by allied troops, to the disapproval of their commanders, until an English translation was done.⁵⁰ The element of a "peoples protest", however, came as a result of Lady Astor's parliamentary dismissal of the British 8th Army in Italy as *D Day Dodgers* because they were not involved in the Normandy Landings. Soldiers in Italy responded by coining their own verses to the tune of *Lily Marlene* which were eventually amalgamated as the song *The D Day Dodgers*.⁵¹ The difference between the *D Day Dodgers* and banal versions of *Camptown Races* and the attraction of one rather than the other for folk club intelligentsia is clearly one of ideology.

These two songs may not be the examples that the International Folk Music Council would have sought in 1954 but both demonstrate continuity with the past, change and selection. These two folk phenomena are quite different, however, and a more sophisticated model of oral folk tradition is required to understand the processes involved. The *D Day Dodgers* has a powerful narrative and is an expression of community and identity that reaches beyond the confines of the folk club circuit. Bawdy versions of *Camptown Races* / *Yogi Bear*, however, are a verbal game where singers compete for, and share a delight in, language that in other circumstances might offend.

Here a model of the folk process has to accommodate the importance of the meaning that is ascribed to the phenomena in question and the fact that this ascribed meaning can evolve and change quite independently of the text. In the case of the *D Day Dodgers* it is unlikely that, for all their sympathetic stand, the folk club intelligentsia of the late sixties shared in the same experiential meaning and sense of community of the anonymous soldier that coined these satirical words in 1944 " We landed at Salerno, A holiday with pay. Jerry brought his bands out, To cheer us on his way, Look around the hillsides, Through the mist and rain, See the scattered crosses, Some that bear no name." ⁵²

Inventing Traditions

In 1950 the American folklorist, Richard Dorson coined the term "fakelore" as a label for "spurious commercial goods" posing as folk tradition. In 1979 he published a paper emphasising the importance of separating traditional folklore from commercialised and ideological "fakelore" or "folklorismus" if the study of folk tradition was to become a serious branch of anthropology.⁵³ In 1983, Hobsbawm and Ranger⁵⁴ provoked a popular debate by arguing that some traditions were ideological constructs with the Ossianic traditions of Scotland and Iolo Morganwg's Welsh revival coming under particular scrutiny. The British monarchy was provided as an example of a "ruling elite consolidating its ideological dominance by exploiting pageantry as propaganda".⁵⁵ It is interesting that the debate stopped short of arguing that all traditions were invented and followed Dorson in distinguishing between the invented and the genuine: "the strength and adaptability of genuine traditions is not to be confused with 'the invention of tradition'. Where the old ways are alive, traditions need be neither revived nor invented".⁵⁶ This simple acceptance of the "old ways" as "genuine tradition" betrays Hobsbawm's Marxism and primary interest in deconstructing the legitimisation of power in a hegemonic society. He did not explore the logical conclusion of his argument that all traditions started somewhere even those customs embedded in the behaviour working class society.

As early as 1976, Harker had employed a similar Marxist critique to examine folk song traditions in North East England ⁵⁷ but it was an article entitled *May Cecil Sharp Be Praised?* in 1982,⁵⁸ and the publication of *Fakesong* in 1985,⁵⁹ that introduced a fierce debate about the nature and authenticity of British folk tradition generally. Harker critically examines the discursive background, culture and drives of the early folksong collectors and folklorists to argue that their folk revival had class origins and an elitist

fabrication operating to the advantage of bourgeois and capitalist interests. In short, he suggests that the early folklorists “mediated” the material they collected for their own purposes, which was a mixture of nationalism and cultural control. They collected from “the people” and taught back to them from their power base in the education system and media what they felt to be suitable and consistent with the interests of perpetuating bourgeoisie culture.

Boyes widened Harker’s debate to include dance and a scrutiny of the development of the folk revival from a feminist perspective, challenging, for example, traditions such as all male Morris dance sides arguing that this was the product of ideology rather than universally evident research.⁶⁰ This criticism of the early revivalists encouraged a vigorous response from some commentators such as Onderdonk⁶¹, Brocken⁶² and Bearman⁶³ who argued that any discursive bias of their mediation was a product of their time and social context but that their recording was good and served posterity well. Bearman in particular was at pains to deconstruct the Marxist position on traditional folk music but still failed to reach any clear definition: “Folk music is a vague, unsatisfactory, and probably a-historical term, but it remains the best description so far of a phenomenon which is probably beyond description in precise scientific or historical terms.”⁶⁴

Bearman’s admission of defeat in finding a viable scientific and historical definition for the phenomena of folk⁶⁵ is ironic in that his critique of Marxist ideology marks the point in the debate where a workable model emerges. Handler and Linnekin explore oral folk tradition as a process still further:

Against the naturalistic paradigm, which presumes boundedness and essence, we argue that tradition is a symbolic process: that ‘traditional’ is not an objective property of phenomena but an assigned meaning. When we insist that the past is always constructed in the present, we are not suggesting that present-day acts and ideas have no correspondence to the past. But we argue that the relation of prior to unfolding representation can be equally well termed discontinuous as continuous.⁶⁶

For Handler and Linnekin, then, this process is an interpretive one, continuous in that the source material comes from the past, discontinuous in that meanings ascribed to

this material change. Atkinson expands upon this to show that invention is not just the beginning of a tradition but an integral part of an on-going process:

Accordingly, 'tradition' is actually continually altering to suit changed circumstances and new ideological requirements; the process of the selection and privileging of cultural forms and products is always going on (though minor shifts in the corpus might be difficult to identify). Tradition, on this view, can itself be equated with the ongoing reconstruction or invention of tradition.⁶⁷

Thus, we have in folk tradition a social phenomenon comprising of a package of motifs, texts, meanings and activities that are gradually modified or replaced over time. In terms of meanings, this is a process similar to memory where recollections of the past are interpreted according more recent experiences and contemporary discursivity.⁶⁸

To take Boyes' argument about all male Morris dance sides as an example. There may be little historical evidence to support the case for all male sides being a definitive feature of Morris dance or indeed that it is uniquely English,⁶⁹ but Sharps ideological background encouraged his promotion of both Englishness and masculinity. Sharp was a product of Edwardian England reacting to the culture shock of a waning British Empire, uncertainty at the loss of familiar social stratification, and the advent of women's suffrage. An influential voice in the Morris dance world of the 1930s was Rolf Gardiner who was also of his time and had a flirtation with German fascism. This led him to feel that Sharp had not gone far enough and he used the formative Morris Ring as an organisation to actively promote Morris as the preserve of masculine English tradition.⁷⁰ By the 1990s, this had become established to the point where it was now seen as breaking with tradition and "new" to have female dancers, desirably modern for some and sacrilege for others.⁷¹

This evolution of Morris dancing as an all male, "English", tradition in the first half of the twentieth century and the challenge to this in the second half demonstrates both continuity, change and selection in meaning as well as the material substance of the performance. Not only is the meaning and enactment of tradition influenced and informed by prevailing circumstances but the mindset of stakeholders and key players also have an impact on what is done and what is understood.

Reflexivity and Reflectivity in oral folk tradition

In an interview for the documentary film, *Oss Tales*, Hutton suggests that “.. the idea that Padstow Hobby Horse is ancient and pagan is itself only just under a hundred years old it begins with the coming of the professional folklorist”.⁷² There is no evidence that the participants of Padstow’s May Day celebrations were particularly interested in the significance and origin of the tradition until folklorists arrived, asked questions and offered their own theories. Ó Giolláin sees the researcher as having a clear impact upon the researched in folklore:

The folklore of the community is discovered by strangers and the self-consciousness brought in by the external ‘discoverers’ of ‘folklore’ inevitably changes the way in which the community sees its own culture and heritage. There is continuity of form, but the cultural item in question will now carry additional meanings, national, or indeed commercial.⁷³

If this is the case, then before the arrival of the folklorists any change to custom influenced by outside forces might be seen as simple and reflexive. Once participants, perhaps influenced by the researcher, start to consider meaning then there will be a more complex, reflective, approach to the process of change. Magliocco uses a series of interviews with participants to show that both processes take place side by side at the Padstow May Day Celebrations.⁷⁴

The concept of reflexivity and reflectivity helps to understand and define folk tradition when the researcher becomes the reflective practitioner. Hoerburger explored this in 1968 when he introduced the notion of a first and second existence for folk dance.⁷⁵ In summary, Hoerburger identified three aspects, which defined the difference between the first and second existence:

1. In a first existence folk dance is an integral part of community life and has an important function whether religious or social. In a second existence dance is no longer the property of the community but only that of a few interested people as an occupation of leisure, hobby or sport.
2. Folk dance in its first existence is not fixed or unchangeable in choreography or music and continuity is found in the general style and framework not the detail. In a second existence there are fixed figures and movements tied to a particular piece of music or music rhythm.

3. First existence dance is taught by participation from an early stage in life whereas in a second existence is formally taught by recognised teachers.

Hoerburger was clear that he did not value one existence more than another, he was just observing that tradition existed in these two forms.

Hoerburger's model still stands the test of time in that it provides a benchmark between original and revived locations⁷⁶ but it has been subject to refining. In her study of the Kolomyika in 1992, Nahachewsky⁷⁷ showed that Hoerburger's model was over simplistic and did not allow for movement between first and second existences or the continuing influence of one upon the other. She found that the dance could be described as second existence when it moved from its original location in the Ukraine and was taught to ex patriots in Canada. It quickly took root and became a first existence dance phenomena for these communities developing in a style and variety that was distanced from its origins, but nevertheless an integral part of their lives. Nahachewsky subsequently concluded that whilst it was helpful to understand folk dance phenomena in terms of a first and second existence the defining forces were those of reflexivity and reflectivity and that the time line of a dance took it through historical phases where there was greater or lesser emphasis on reflection.⁷⁸

These notions of reflexivity and reflectivity can be applied to oral folk tradition generally not just dance and provide a capstone for the working model used in this thesis. The process of change in folk tradition is thus a dynamic one and the product of two contrasting forces. An example, in terms of folk song would be the contrast is between informal community singing sessions and a more structured, performance orientated situation such as a folk club. In the former selection and modification of material is reflexive and determined by the chance experience and interest of those involved, whereas in the latter participants reflect upon what material it is appropriate to use, how their audience will respond and how it should be performed. The Irish set dances described by Brennan provide a good example of reflexivity and reflectivity in dance.⁷⁹ As a social activity in the dance room of a pub or at a village crossroads, the set dance evolved reflexively but when taught by a dancing master or entered into a folk dance competition then the influences on dance performance were reflective.

Reflexivity and reflectivity describe in functional terms how the process of oral tradition is driven but recognising these forces leads to questions of ownership. The way in which the "expert folklorist" in the form of Cecil Sharp and Rolf Gardiner guided

the trajectory of change in Morris Dance traditions has met with not a little criticism from commentators such as Boyse.⁸⁰ Who owns the right to decide what changes should take place within a tradition, the “expert” who has researched the phenomena in detail or the practitioners, and what if the practitioner is also the researcher? Is there a risk that heritage will compete with novelty? Magliocco counters the question of ownership by suggesting change, from whatever source, can be seen as part of the process:

We now see tradition as a process that is dynamic and under constant negotiation. Even a tradition like the Padstow May Day Hobby Horse that has continuity through time and space changes every year. There are differences because of different individuals involved, because of different historical and political processes and sometimes the actions of a particularly determined and talented individual can start a whole new tradition.The process of reclaiming and reviving tradition is part of the traditional process and does not exist apart from the process of tradition.⁸¹

Cornish Identity

James questions the extent to which the establishment of folklore, as an area of study, was instigated by the search for national identity and challenges the suggestion of folklorists that “their predecessors were important participants in the struggle for ethnic sovereignty”.⁸² This chapter makes the case for a common pool of folk tradition that is adopted and adapted to express national identities with Bunting and Sharp providing two clear examples of this. This study shows that, whether or not it is an inheritance of the Romantic Movement, the ascription of national identity to folk phenomena has become embedded in the way that folk tradition is understood and interpreted.

Due to the mediation and interpretation of the early collectors, it has become the convention to see folk tradition as something that would “represent the nation” and this is evidenced in organisations like Europeade⁸³, which is responsible for a large annual festival celebrating the dance and costume of Europe. It is evidenced in festivals like the Festival Interceltique in Lorient and the Pan Celtic festival held in various locations in Ireland, which invite representations from the “Celtic Nations” including Cornwall. Herder introduced his ideas about folk tradition representing the national spirit of a

people 200 years ago and they have since have become an integral part of how these traditions are understood.

That national boundaries in Europe have shifted continuously over this period and that folk traditions have not only shifted with them but also migrated globally does reinforce Ling's position that folk tradition is something that is used to express identity and nationality rather than being intrinsically national in itself.⁸⁴ Kennedy apparently struggled with this when presenting the material he had collected across the British Isles and Ireland between 1950 and 1975 for publication:

To date, folksongs from Britain have usually appeared in separate collections, either as English, Irish, Scottish or Welsh. Indeed local nationalism, or regionalism within those areas, has in the past, generally been the incentive for their publication and for local collectors and folk song societies to gather material for them. However, these artificial boundaries of interest have led to the neglect of other minority and border traditions, while at the same time making it difficult to view the folk song tradition of Britain as a whole.⁸⁵

Kennedy addresses this in by presenting a relatively homogenous picture of folk song with variants of some songs being found almost universally in these Islands, regardless of perceived national boundaries. At the same time, he recognises some regions and cultures as distinctive such as Cornwall, The Isle of Man and the Channel Islands and dedicates sections to them. Kennedy's recognition of Cornwall is interesting here because not only is he making a statement about the existence of a local tradition, in doing so he also connects with the Cornish movement⁸⁶ which has its roots in the Celticism of Bunting, Macpherson, Renan and Arnold.⁸⁷ Although some of the songs recorded by Kennedy are distinctive to Cornwall in the form in which he collected them,⁸⁸ none were provided to him in Cornish at the point of collection. All the songs in his section on Cornwall are nevertheless given with Cornish translations, but only one has a provenance of any great antiquity in the language.⁸⁹

This is a clear example of folk tradition being interpreted and presented in terms of a Cornish identity but it was not the first occasion that the world of folk song collection and the Cornish movement connected with each other. In 1931 Carpenter recorded 43 items on a collecting trip to Cornwall, many as live recordings on a wax

cylinder and some of these sung in the Cornish language.⁹⁰ Carpenters principal sources were members of the Old Cornwall Societies in West Cornwall, several of whom were involved in the newly formed Cornish Gorsedh. Sources such as Miners and Watson made clear their perception of the Celtic nature of Cornish identity in their contributions to the Old Cornwall Society Magazines.⁹¹

Cornish identity is problematic, however, in that in terms of nationality or ethnicity it fails to be recognised, or is contested, in some modern systems. One example is that Cornwall is governed as a county or unitary authority of England. Another example is electronic information management on websites such as the University of Exeter student database, which will often offer no choice of national identity but “English” for someone of Cornish origin. The outcome of this is a reinforcement of what Deacon describes as a Cornish identity nested in Englishness.⁹² Paradoxically, Cornwall has a number of institutions that make it quite distinctive from other regions of local governance in England, two examples being the existence of an indigenous, non-English, language together with associated organisations and a political party devoted to devolution for Cornwall, which has enjoyed electoral success.⁹³ These encourage a Cornish identity that parallels that of Wales and other United Kingdom constituents which is oppositional and understood in terms of being expressly not English.⁹⁴

It is the debate around Cornish identity, which provides one of the core issues for Cornish Studies. Deacon suggests that in the 1990s a shift in emphasis from empiricism and humanities to an approach informed by social theory freed thinking from the archaeological constructs of the past and encouraged examination of contemporary perceptions and experiences of Cornishness.⁹⁵ Williams points out that within a postmodern paradigm of social theory “It matters not at all that the Gorsedh and the tartan were invented or that the language and the music have been revived, but rather the way in which people in Cornwall use these symbols of identity”.⁹⁶ Deacon developed this discussion to advocate the model of Critical Discourse Analysis devised by Fairclough⁹⁷ as methodology for understanding identity in Cornwall. Deacon’s point is that there are “many Cornwalls out there” each constructed by the discursivity to which the individuals concerned are attracted so that: “Both Cornwall and the Cornish people have been and are being discursively constructed in a number of often conflicting ways. The result is a confusing kaleidoscope through which ‘real’ Cornwall’s are glimpsed only hazily and intermittently”.⁹⁸

Stets and Burke⁹⁹ suggest a model of identity theory that combines both micro and macro processes. “Self” is seen as constructed in two domains, one focussed on the individual or personal level and the other on a social or collective level. Although the two are inextricably linked, it is the latter, which is particularly useful to enquiry into oral folk tradition as this is by definition a social and collective phenomenon. Dickinson used Brewer and Chen’s model of a collective self that has a construction polarised between relational and group nodes, to underpin a research project examining Cornish identities.¹⁰⁰ He found that:

Those people who describe themselves as both Cornish and English tend to view their Cornish identity in interpersonal terms, while those who identify as Cornish but not English are more likely to portray their Cornishness in depersonalised terms. the former experience their Cornish identity as relational collectivism and the latter as group collectivism.¹⁰¹

Dickinson shows that the significance of this is that within “group collectivism”, identity is more likely to be perceived and experienced socially in terms of the wider community e.g. feast days and pub sessions. Furthermore, within “group collectivism” Cornish icons, symbols and markers are likely to play an important part in the experience of identity.

Willett shows that not only is the perception of Cornish identity multiple in forms, it is also subject to a continuous process of change:

....., identity is a deeply subjective phenomenon and individuals can, and often do, hold multiple forms of identification. The many elements or strands of a person’s sense of self, or identity, are fluid and may well contain internal contradictions or tensions. They are also not fixed and so are subject to change over time, which makes identity responsive to ideas and experiences, which the individual comes into contact with.¹⁰²

This fundamentally complex nature of identity is captured in visual metaphor by Bolland who describes it as “The interconnectedness of things in a complex web of being”.¹⁰³ Bolland suggests that no matter how variable and unpredictable the outcome,

identity can nevertheless be understood as the product of a number of simple processes.¹⁰⁴

Oral folk tradition engages with this process of experiencing self in two ways. Involvement in a music or dance activity becomes part of how self is seen e.g. being a regular attendee of a singing session, playing in a particular group, or performing with a dance display team. If the focus of these different activities is on material seen as Cornish then a relationship with Cornishness will be part of the web of experiences that defines self. The other way in which oral folk tradition engages with identity is in the use of motifs with a shared meaning, to express Cornishness during a performance. An example of this in a dance display would be women wearing a “gook”¹⁰⁵ and a song might contain words or narrative evoking Cornish identity. For all it is new to oral tradition Roger Bryant’s *Cornish Lads* captures this in the chorus line: “Cornish lads are fishermen and Cornish lads are miners too”.¹⁰⁶ The fisherman and the miner are icons of Cornish identity which were retained as a logo by the new unitary authority in Cornwall in response to a vigorous and popular campaign.

Time lines of identity in Cornwall

The source material for this thesis covers an approximate 200 year period from the early part of the nineteenth century to the present. This is to a large extent governed by the availability of collected material that has demonstrable origin in, or relationship with, oral folk tradition. It also coincides with a very dynamic period in Cornwall’s history which laid the foundations for modern Cornish identity. It is a period that realised the symbols, icons, motifs and narratives that are now used to mark Cornishness and signify distinctivity within folk tradition. That is not to say that a distinctive identity did not exist in Cornwall before that time, modern histories from Halliday¹⁰⁷ through to Payton¹⁰⁸, Stoye¹⁰⁹ and Deacon¹¹⁰ all note the significance of prehistoric, Romano British, medieval and industrialising periods on the landscape of Cornish identity. Indeed Stoye argues that the Cornish rebellions of 1497, 1548, 1549, 1642, and 1648 were an expression of that identity.¹¹¹ It is, however, during this 200 year period that we can observe the modern Cornish identity being forged and also gain an increasing picture of the inter-relationship between oral folk tradition and Cornish identity.

When considering Cornwall at the beginning of the nineteenth century Payton warns that cultural change should not be mistaken for cultural extinction.¹¹² Just as the

Cornish language and its links with the distant past was at its lowest ebb so the Cornish economy was one of the first to industrialise and with it came a burgeoning self confidence. Deacon, however, points out that the industrial landscape developed in a diffused rural pattern with “the cottages of the miners distributed amongst the small fields, lanes and footpaths filling the spaces between mines and settlements”.¹¹³ This left social structures and families relatively intact and provided for continuity of oral folk traditions. It also introduced new experiences and context with which to cloth and embellish the folklore of the past. Bottrell’s *Traditions and Hearthsides Stories*¹¹⁴, for example, are celebrated as the relics of a fading Celtic past, but his characters step dance in the hard shoes of contemporary mining industry and his creatures thrive in an industrial, if rural, landscape. Dialect is a marker of Cornish identity and well represented in the work of antiquaries and folklorists in Cornwall during the nineteenth century.¹¹⁵ Deacon shows that “dialect tales in Cornwall almost invariably concerned mining and explains that “..... the literature, dense with mining references, acted to reinforce the connections of industry and region”.¹¹⁶

The later part of the nineteenth century saw a change in the ideological and geographic borders of Cornish identity. Wesley’s Methodism had found fertile ground on arrival in Cornwall at the end of the eighteenth century, although in the form of a proliferation of non-conformism rather than unity.¹¹⁷ This impacted upon folk tradition by providing a focal point for social activity around the chapel and its feast days perhaps encouraged by the competition that naturally grew up between chapel and village communities.¹¹⁸ Radical liberalism and non-conformist religion combined during the nineteenth century to strive for social reform that would address social deprivation. A core issue was seen as that of alcohol abuse and concerns here fuelled the temperance and Rechabite movements. An outcome of this concern to challenge commercially sponsored public house sports and entertainments by establishing the Tea Treat as an attractive alternative.¹¹⁹ In relation to music and dance three interesting social phenomena arose out of this culture, hymn singing, carol singing and tea treats. The informal and more secular nature of the latter two has made them important in terms of providing a medium in which the process of oral tradition can take place.

Payton shows the importance of the late nineteenth century to the development of the Cornish Diaspora.¹²⁰ However devastating the collapse of the mining industry might have been in local economic terms the migration that resulted was pivotal in

extending the notions of Cornishness beyond the geographic boundaries of Cornwall. The culture of extended Cornish families located around the globe was so universal as to be recognised with a specific dialect term “Cousin Jack and Jenny”.¹²¹ Schwartz shows that this was a very complex process and that family fragmentation was an issue with women being left behind as the head of the family in some cases.¹²² The cultural exchange that resulted from communications with, and return of, migrant workers widened the pool of cultural material to which people had access and there are some good examples to illustrate this in the database. Whatever the detail of epistemology, this migration laid the foundations for the modern Cornish Diaspora that is represented by organisations and events around the globe and is a feature of contemporary Cornish identity.

An interesting side show to the grand narrative of Cornish migration, but an important detail in terms of identity and folk tradition, is the movement of miners from the west of Cornwall to the Tamar valley in the nineteenth century. For Baring Gould, Dartmoor rather than the Tamar was the border for the Celts of the west and he claimed differences in folk song melodies as evidence of this.¹²³ He also saw evidence of Celticity in the name of his home, Lew Trenchard Manor (Lew i.e Looe meaning pool in Cornish), and the re-building of this amenity part of the task of reconstructing the manor to its former glory.¹²⁴ What is interesting, however, is that the area that was the focus of Baring Gould’s collecting activity is the very area to which these miners had moved barely a generation before. This is illustrated by the use of the Cornish term “Wheal” for some of the workings in the valley below Lew Trenchard. This supports Lings point that it is the identity of the people rather than a geographic or political map that is important for folk tradition.

Payton shows that the first half of the nineteenth century up to the immediate post Second World War period was a paradoxical one for Cornish identity.¹²⁵ In 1885, confidence and the sense of purpose in Cornwall was such that it was possible for Conybeare to be elected to Parliament representing Camborne and Redruth on a platform that included the abolition of the House of Lords, votes for women and home rule for Cornwall.¹²⁶ Twenty years later, the economy had collapsed due to de-industrialisation and with it this radical confidence. 1905 marked the emergence of two contrasting Cornwall’s and an uneasy alliance. This is the year that Jenner published a paper making the case for Cornwall as a Celtic Nation¹²⁷, it is also the year that saw the arrival of the Great Western Railway publicity machine:

..... the introduction in 1905 of the 'Cornish Riviera Limited' train heralded an increasing reliance by the Great Western on the symbolic repertoire of the Cornish-Celtic Revival. In short, there was a high degree of collaboration, sometimes overt, between the image-makers of the Great Western Railway and the architects of the Cornish-Celtic Revival, in which a significant section of Cornish society colluded in the creation of touristic imaginings of Cornwall.¹²⁸

On the one hand, Cornwall was promoted as a sleepy retreat from the metropolis, populated by piskies and pirates against a quasi-Mediterranean backdrop, on the other it was identified as the modern successor of an ancient Celtic civilisation.¹²⁹

The GWR construction of Cornish identity was nevertheless an essentially external one and it is interesting to observe just how little impact this has had on the process of oral folk tradition in Cornwall. A much more significant marker for Cornish identity and folk tradition was the advent of the Old Cornwall Societies in 1920. The formation of the Old Cornwall Societies was a symbolic move of ownership of Cornwall's Celtic identity from the ascetic enclave represented by Jenner and his acolytes¹³⁰ to grass roots activists like Watson, Miners and Thomas.¹³¹ Watson worked closely with Nance in collecting dialect words for use in a revived form of the Cornish language.¹³² He was a fluent speaker and argued that his work on dialect had brought him into direct contact with people who had retained some traditional knowledge of Cornish words.¹³³ Watson left school at 13, worked as a gardener and was entirely self-educated, which reportedly resulted in him being ignored by Jenner.¹³⁴ It is Watson, however, who embodies the representation of Cornish Celtic identity through to the nineteen fifties and in particular the way in which ownership of this identity moved away from the intelligentsia.

One of the most successful icons of Cornish identity coming out of this era was that of the Cornish tartan invented by Robert Morton Nance's nephew, Ernest, in 1948.¹³⁵ Since that date a number of new tartans have been designed and registered. The St Piran's flag also became increasingly recognised as a symbol of Cornish identity during this period. In 1838 Gilbert explained that "A white cross on a black background was formerly the banner of St Perran [alternative spelling of St Piran in Cornish], and the standard of Cornwall; probably with some allusion to the black ore

and white metal of tin.”¹³⁶ By the beginning of the 21st Century, this has become a ubiquitous representation of Cornish identity used on everything from car stickers to the promotion of Cornish produce. These symbols, together with the Cornish colours of black and gold have had an impact on visual representation of Cornish identity in folk tradition.¹³⁷

In the United Kingdom the political recognition of identity, ethnicity and minority rights issues developed considerably in the latter part of the twentieth century and opening of the twenty-first. This is tangibly expressed through the raft of legislation,¹³⁸ which give duties, powers and responsibilities to various government organisations, particularly local authorities, to celebrate diversity and practice equality. Deacon shows that the impact of this upon Cornwall has been mixed:

In the cultural sphere of the twenty-first century Cornish identity is allowed to take its place in the tapestry of British multiculturalism. But in the political sphere the government of Messrs Blair and Brown set its face stubbornly against the Cornish campaign for a Cornish Assembly. This campaign was the only one able to demonstrate any degree of popular enthusiasm for devolution..... But the 2002 White papershowed little wish to recognise Cornwall’s distinct position or the strength of its cultural identity.¹³⁹

Deacon suggests that the outcome of this in Cornwall has been the promotion, and greater recognition, of an oppositional identity to England, that shares a social terrain with ideas and stereotypes from mainstream English culture introduced by recent large-scale migration. This thesis explores the impact of these two “nodes” of Cornish identity both in the development of folk music as a genre in Cornwall and upon reflexivity and reflectivity within the process of oral folk tradition.

Conclusion

Contemporary thinking thus shows that both “oral folk tradition” and “identity” can be understood as processes rather than fixed states. Both are phenomena that result from the interface between the individual and the wider community. Oral folk tradition is a process whereby the structure, substance and meaning of an activity, or a performance material is continually changed or modified as a result of reflexive and reflective activity on the part of participants and stakeholders. A reflexive change is a

response to outside influences not subject to critical evaluation in terms of meaning and values. A reflective change is brought about by careful consideration of how values and meaning might be fulfilled. Both will be affected by the discourses to which the participants are exposed. Within this model of oral folk tradition, reflexivity and reflectivity result in selection taking place against a sense of continuity and identity. It is this process of selection that enacts creativity on the part of, and recognition by, a group or community and distinguishes it from the work of an individual operating within a commercial or artistic remit. The example given above is where Irish folk dance tradition assimilated polkas and quadrille sets reflexively at one stage because they were novel but merged well with established dance traditions. Later, however, the new style was formalised as Irish and examined reflectively and evaluated against perceived standards of Irish tradition for the purposes of competitions. The reflexive / reflective process of oral folk tradition has the power to carry some traditions through many generations in a form that remains recognisable and yet completely transform others in a relatively short space of time.

Whilst the outcomes of oral folk tradition are varied and chaotic, the processes behind are essentially quite simple and the same is true of identity. Identity is forged at the interface between self and the outside world, the relational and collective self as mediated by ever evolving experience. Bolland's "interconnected web of being"¹⁴⁰ can be metaphorically visualized in three dimensional complexity but at the same time individual strands and outcomes can be understood in simple terms. It must be accepted that there are as many Cornish identities "out there" as there are individuals who care to think about it but the strand that is most useful in examining folk tradition in Cornwall is that which carries the notion of nested and oppositional identities. The extent to which Cornwall is seen as distinctive or to which it is part of a larger whole will govern how folk tradition is understood and provides a useful enquiry tool for the examination of oral folk tradition in Cornwall.

Notes

- ¹ Bernard Deacon, "The reformulation of territorial identity: Cornwall in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries", (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Faculty of Social Sciences, Open University, 2001), p. 55; Philip Payton, "Cornwall in Context: The New Cornish Historiography" in *Cornish Studies Five*, ed. Philip Payton (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996) pp. 9 – 20; Amy Hale, and Philip Payton. *New Directions in Celtic Studies*, (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000); Bernard Deacon "The New Cornish Studies: New Discipline or Rhetorically Defined Space" in *Cornish Studies Ten*, ed. Philip Payton (Exeter, Exeter University Press, 2002), pp. 24 – 43; Malcolm Williams, "The New Cornish Social Science" *Cornish Studies Ten*, *ibid* pp. 44 -66.
- ² Imaginaries in the sense that "imagination is a representative faculty and all cultural identities are representations of belonging": John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism* (London, Continuum, 1991), p. 81.
- ³ Johann Gottfried Von Herder, ed. *Volkslieder*. (Leipzig, Weygandschen Buchhandlung, 1778), online version *Volkslieder* (Leipzig, Gebhardt und Reislaund, 1840) <http://www.archive.org/stream/volkslieder01falkgoog#page/n6/mode/2up> accessed 2nd July 2006.
- ⁴ John Francmanis, "Folk song and the 'folk': a relationship illuminated by Frank Kidson's Traditional Tunes" in *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*, ed. Ian Russel and David Atkinson (Aberdeen, The Elphinstone Institute, 2004), p186-187.
- ⁵ Dairmuid Ó Giolláin, *Locating Irish folklore : tradition, modernity, identity*, (Sterling, VA, Cork University Press, 2000), p. 25, with reference to Macphersons' Poems of Ossian and Renan's "La poésie des races celtiques".
- ⁶ Leith Davis, "Sequels of colonialism: Edward Bunting's ancient Irish music", *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, (2001) 23: 1, 29 - 57
URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08905490108583532> Accessed 18th March 2010.
- ⁷ Edward Bunting, *The ancient music of Ireland*, (Dublin, Hodges and Smith, 1840), p.28.
- ⁸ Alan Gailey, "The Nature of Tradition", *Folklore*, 100(2) 1989: pp. 143-161.
- ⁹ May McCann, " Music and Politics in Ireland: The Specificity of the Folk Revival in Belfast", *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 4, Special Issue: (1995), p.55.
Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3060683> Accessed: 31/10/2009.
- ¹⁰ Dairmuid Ó Giolláin, *Locating Irish folklore*, p. 94.

- ¹¹ Sigrid Rieuwerts, "The Ballad Society: a forgotten chapter in the history of English ballad studies" in *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*. ed. Ian Russel and David Atkinson, p32.
- ¹² Sabine Baring-Gould, R. H. Fleetwood Shepherd, "Introduction", *Songs and Ballads of the West: A Collection made from the mouths of the people*, (London, Methuen & Co.1891), pix.
- ¹³ Cecil J Sharp, *English folk-song : some conclusions*, (London, Simpkin & co, 1907) p. 4.
- ¹⁴ Georgina Boyse, *Imagined Village ,Culture, Ideology and the English Folk Revival*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press ,1993), p.15.
- ¹⁵ Georgina Boyes, "The lady that is with you" In *Step change: new views on traditional dance*. (London, Francis Boutle, 2001), p. 171.
- ¹⁶ Maude Karpeles, "Definition of Folk Music": *Journal of the International Folk Music Council*, Vol. 7 (1955), pp 6-7 Published by: International Council for Traditional Music Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/834518> Accessed: 03/11/2008.
- ¹⁷ Maude Karpeles, "Definition of Folk Music", pp. 6 -7.
- ¹⁸ Arthur Asa Berger, *Cultural criticism : a primer of key concepts*, (California, Sage Publications, 1995), p.123. Discusses the adoption of Jung's Psychoanalytic theory by folklorists both in terms of an internalised Birth > Life > Death process and also the concept of an shared cultural unconscious. Refers to: Carl G Jung, *Man and his symbols*, (New York, Doubleday. 1964).
- ¹⁹ Edmund O'Reilly "Transformations of Tradition in the Folkways", in *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*, ed. Ian Russel and David Atkinson, pp. 79 -94
- ²⁰ Dairmuid Ó Giolláin, *Locating Irish folklore*, ibid p.201. Citing A.L. Lloyd "This Folk Business: Review of the American People by B.A.Botkin", in *Our Time*, Sept 1946, pp. 44 – 46.
- ²¹ Michael Verrier, "Folk Club or Epic Theatre", in *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*, ed. Ian Russel and David Atkinson, pp. 108 – 114.
- ²² David Atkinson, "Revival: genuine or spurious?" in *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*, p.145. Summarises the way in which folk music was presented by Cecil Sharp and Francis James Child.
- ²³ A.L. (Bert) Lloyd, *Folk Song In England*. (London, Lawrence and Wishart,1967)
- ²⁴ Vic Gammon, "One Hundred Years Of The Folk Song Society", in *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*, p. 22.

²⁵ David Atkinson, "The English Revival Canon: Child Ballads and the Invention of Tradition", *The Journal of American Folklore* 114(453) 2001, pp. 370-380.

²⁶ Andrew King, "A thematic reconsideration of the textual ancestors of 'The Bitter Withy'", in *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*, ed. David Atkinson, *ibid*, p. 320- 335.

²⁷ Some elements of the "Bitter Withy" appear in the Folk Carol "The Holy Well" a number of versions of which were collected by Tom Miners, Cecil Sharp and James Madison Carpenter in the Camborne and Redruth areas.

²⁸ Edward Bunting *The ancient music of Ireland*, *ibid*, pp. 23-38.

²⁹ Cecil Sharp Sharp, *English folk-song : Some conclusions*. (London, Simpkin & co, 1907).

³⁰ A.L (Bert) Lloyd, *Folk Song In England*, (London, Lawrence & Wishart Ltd, 1967), p. 36.

³¹ In 1962 Alan Lomax and Conrad Arensberg developed an alternative system for analysing the structure of both music and dance collected from oral tradition which they termed cantometrics and choreometrics respectively: Alan Lomax, "Song Structure and Social Structure", *Ethnology*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Oct., 1962), pp. 425, Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3772850> , Accessed: 17/01/2011 08:05: Alan Lomax, "Brief Progress Report: Cantometrics-Choreometrics Projects", *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council*, Vol. 4, 25th Anniversary Issue (1972), pp. 142-145. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/767680>, Accessed: 17/01/2011.

³² Bertrand Harris Bronson, *The traditional tunes of the Child ballads; with their texts, according to the extant records of Great Britain and America*, 4 volumes (Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1959 - 1972).

³³ Bertrand Harris Bronson, *On the Union of Words and Music in the "Child" Ballads*, *Western Folklore*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (Oct., 1952), p. 238 Published by: Western States Folklore Society Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1496229> Accessed: 20/01/2011.

³⁴ In Cornwall, for example, The song "Cornish Girls" recorded by Arthur Pascoe of the Old Cornwall Society from his memories of singers at St Neot in the 1900s has phrases of music in common with the eighteenth century dance tune "Trip to Truro" and belongs to the family of tunes Bronson identifies as the "Nutting Girl" see : Merv Davey, Alison Davey Jowdy Davey, *Scout Dances, Troys, Furrys and Tea Treats: The Cornish Dance Tradition*, (London: Francis Boutle & Co, 2009), p. 132. In

March 2008, the Cornish Youth Dance Group used this tune for a dance of their own composition for an entry into the Cornish Dance Competitions.

³⁵ Jan Ling, *A history of European folk music*, (Rochester, N.Y., University of Rochester Press, 1998).

³⁶ Lings proposal is challenged by the extreme variety of bagpipe construction to be found in Europe but examples found along the Atlantic seaboard do support the principle of a “melting pot” of constructional ideas. The “Exposition de Cornemuse” staged at the “Lorient Festival Interceltique”^{1st} to 14th August 2010 demonstrated common properties between the bagpipes of Scotland, Ireland, Brittany, Asturia and Galicia. The Great Highland (mouth blown) pipes of Scotland are so similar to the “native” equivalents in Ireland and Brittany that they have largely replaced them.

³⁷ The four course paired strings of a Greek Bouzouki lend themselves well to open tuning for providing a rhythm instrument and to fifths like a mandolin for a melody line and are popular with folk rock groups for this reason. The bowl-backed shape of the Greek Bouzouki is replaced by a flat back to give more volume and brings the instrument in line with the Cittern / Mandola family.

³⁸ Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin, (1981). "Irish Music Defined." *The Crane Bag* 5(2): 83-87.

³⁹ Helen Brennan, *The story of Irish dance: the first history of an international cultural phenomenon*. (Dingle, Brandon press, 1999), p. 980.

⁴⁰ For example the Performing Rights Society takes the reasonable position that royalties: “should be paid to a songwriter, composer or publisher whenever their music is played in public”, but presumes that all music performed is subject to such a copyright: “Copyright: Rightful Rewards”, Performing Rights Society

<http://www.prsformusic.com/Pages/Rights.aspx> accessed 17th January 2011 :

Correspondence / discussion between author and PRS re licence for Lowender Peran Traditional Music and Dance Festival – 25th October 2010

⁴¹ A.L. (Bert) Lloyd, *Folk Song In England* , p.14.

⁴² Vic Gammon, “One Hundred Years Of The Folk Song Society” in *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*, p. 25.

⁴³ Franco Fabbri “A Theory of Musical Genres: Two Applications” in *Popular Music Perspectives*, ed. D. Horn and P. Tagg, (Goteborg and Exeter, IASPM, 1982), pp. 52-81. Reprinted in *Popular Music: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*, Ed Simon Frith, (London, Routledge, 2004).

⁴⁴ BBC Folk Britannia, first broadcast winter 2006 consisting of three programmes: 1 Ballads and Blues; 2 Folk roots and new routes ; 3 Between the Wars.

⁴⁵ Britta Sweers, “Ghosts of Voices” in *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*, pp 130 -143, With reference to Karl Dallas *The Electric Muse: The Story of Folk into Rock*, (London, Eyre Methuen,1975).

⁴⁶ “Index of A.L.Lloyd’s songs – cross referenced to discography ”, English Folk Music , Reinhard Zierke, <http://www.informatik.uni-hamburg.de/~zierke/lloyd/songs/index.html> , Accessed 20th Jan 2010. This web site also provides discography and song indexing for other major revivalists performers.

⁴⁷ “Vintage Audio – Its a Long Way To Tipperary” , Firstworldwar.com: a multi media history of World War One.

<http://www.firstworldwar.com/audio/itsalongwaytotipperary.htm> accessed

Accessed 20th January 2011. Has three archive audio recordings of this song

⁴⁸ Participatory Action Research: singers session Kings Arms, Luxulyan, 14th June 2010, see Appendix 3: Participatory Action Research Summary.

⁴⁹ Author recalls “Caught my balls in a barbed wire fence” as an alternative first line to “Camptown Races” as a school boy rugby club song circa late 1960s. This process continues and in one example the words “Camptown Races” are replaced “Yogi Bear” and a similar bawdy them:

http://www.traditionalmusic.co.uk/folk-song-lyrics/Yogi_Bear_Song.htm Accessed 28th Jan 2011.

⁵⁰ The story behind the song: Lili Marlene”, The Telegraph, 11th October 2008

⁵¹ “The Real D Day Dodgers”, Web Site published by the *D Day Dodgers* <http://www.d-daydodgers.com/therealdodgers.htm> accessed on 20th January 2011.

1/ We are the D-Day Dodgers,
Out in Italy,
Always on the vino,
Always on the spree.
Eighth Army skivers and their tanks,
We go to war in ties like swanks.
For we are the D-Day Dodgers,
In sunny Italy.

2/ We landed at Salerno,
A holiday with pay.
Jerry brought his bands out
To cheer us on his way,
Showed us the sights and gave us tea,
We all sang songs, the beer was free.
For we are the D-Day Dodgers,
The lads that D-Day dodged

3/ Palermo and Cassino
Were taken in our stride,
We did not go to fight there,
We just went for the ride.
Anzio and Sangro are just names,
We only went to look for dames,
For we are the D-Day Dodgers,
In sunny Italy.

4/ On our way to Florence,
We had a lovely time,
We drove a bus from Rimini,
Right through the Gothic Line,
Then to Bologna we did go,
And went bathing in the River Po,
For we are the D-Day Dodgers,
The lads that D-Day dodged

5/ We hear the boys in France
Are going home on leave,
After six months service
Such a shame they're not relieved.
And we're told to carry on a few more years,
Because our wives don't shed no tears.
For we are the D-Day Dodgers,
Out in sunny Italy.

6/ Once we had a "blue light"
That we were going home,
Back to dear old Blighty,
Never more to roam.
Then someone whispered: 'In France we'll fight,'
We said: 'Not that, we'll just sit tight,'
For we are the D-Day Dodgers,
The lads that D-Day dodged.

7/ Dear Lady Astor,
You think you know alot,
Standing on a platform
And talking tommy rot.
Dear England's sweetheart and her pride,
We think your mouth is much too wide
From the D-Day Dodgers,
Out in sunny Italy.

8/ Look around the hillsides,
Through the mist and rain,
See the scattered crosses,
Some that bear no name.
Heartbreak and toil and suffering gone,
The lads beneath, they slumber on.
They are the D-Day Dodgers,
Who'll stay in Italy.

⁵² "The Real D Day Dodgers" Ibid.

⁵³ Richard M Dorson, "Is Folklore a Discipline?" *Folklore* **84 no 3** (autumn 1973) pp: 177-205. URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1259723> Accessed: 7th Nov 2009.

⁵⁴ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, ed. *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983).

⁵⁵ David Cannadine, "The British Monarchy", in *The Invention of Tradition*, p. 102.

⁵⁶ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, ed. *The Invention of Tradition*, p. 8.

⁵⁷ Dave Harker, 'Popular song and working-class consciousness in North-East England' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Cambridge University, 1976).

⁵⁸ Dave Harker, "May Cecil Sharp Be Praised?" *History Workshop* 1982(14): 44-62.

⁵⁹ Dave Harker, *Fakesong, the manufacture of British "Folksong" 1700 to the present day*, (Milton Keynes, Open University Press, 1985).

⁶⁰ Georgina Boyes, *The imagined village: culture, ideology, and the English folk revival*. (Manchester, Manchester University Press 1993).

⁶¹ Julian Onderdonk, "Vaughan Williams and the Modes." *Folk Music Journal* 7(5) 1999: 609-626: Addressed accusations that modes were misrepresented by Sharp and Vaughan Williams.

⁶² Michael Brocken, 'The British Folk Revival: An Analysis of folk / popular dichotomies from a popular music studies perspective' (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis Liverpool University 1997), also: Michael Brocken, *The British folk revival, 1944-2002.* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2003).

⁶³ Christopher J Bearman, "The English folk music movement 1889-1914", (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Hull University, 2001) also: Christopher J Bearman, "Who Were the Folk? The Demography of Cecil Sharps Singers." *The Historical Journal* 43(3) 2001: 751-775: Christopher J Bearman "Cecil Sharp in Somerset: Some Reactions on the Work of David Harker." *Folklore* 113 (1) 2002: 11- 34.

⁶⁴ Christopher J Bearman, "The English folk music movement 1889-1914", (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Hull University, 2001) p. 205.

⁶⁵ Christopher J Bearman, "The English folk music movement 1889-1914", *ibid.*

⁶⁶ Richard Handler, and Jocelyn Linnekin, "Tradition, Genuine or Spurious." *The Journal of American Folklore* 2004 97(385): p. 286.

⁶⁷ David Atkinson, "Revival: genuine or spurious?" in *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*, p. 147.

⁶⁸ Chapter 2 considers models of memory and discursivity as enquiry tools for this thesis.

⁶⁹ Thoinot Arbeau, *Orchesography*, (Langres,1589), English translation by Mary Stewart Evans, additional notes by Mary Sutton, (Toronto, Dover press, 1967), p.177. Describes a Morris dance from 16th Century France and discusses its probable origins in Rome or the Basque country.

⁷⁰ Georgina Boyse, *Step Change: New Views on Traditional Dance*,(London, Francis Boutle, 2001), p 185.

⁷¹ Mike Sutton, "England, whose England? Class, gender and national identity in the 20th century folklore revival" *Article MT053*, School of Humanities, University of Northumbria, <http://www.mustrad.org.uk/articles/england.htm> accessed 8th November 2006.

⁷² John Bishop, Sabina B Magliocco, *Oss Tales*, (Media-Generation, 2007). Interview with Ronald Hutton of Bristol University, 2004, [on DVD / DVDrom].

⁷³ Dairmuid Ó Giolláin, D. *Locating Irish folklore* *ibid*, p174. Citing Lauri Honko, "The Folklore Process" in Folklore Fellows Summer School Programme (Turku,

FFSS, 1991), p. 34. See also: Lauri Honko, "Memorates and the Study of Folk Beliefs." *Journal of the Folklore Institute*, 1964, 1(1/2): pp. 5-19.

⁷⁴ Sabina B Magliocco, John Bishop. *Oss Tales*.

⁷⁵ Felix Hoerburger, "Once Again: On the Concept of Folk Dance" *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* (1968: 30-1), p. 31.

⁷⁶ William C Reynolds, "Traditional Dance" in *International Encyclopaedia of Dance*, ed. S.J. Cohen, (Oxford University Press, Oxford 1998), pp. 536 – 539. Continues to use Hoerburger's model although here it is framed as "Traditional" and "Recreational / revival."

⁷⁷ Andriy Nahachewsky, "Structural Analysis of the Kolomyika", *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, T. 34, Fasc. 1/2 (1992), pp. 27-30. Published by Akadémiai Kiadó Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/902358> Accessed: 17th Dec 2010.

⁷⁸ Andriy Nahachewsky, A. (2001). "Once Again: On the Concept of 'Second Existence Folk Dance' Article MT053'." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 33: 17-28. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1519627> Accessed 21st June 2007.

⁷⁹ Helen Brennan, *The story of Irish dance : the first history of an international cultural phenomenon*. Ibid.

⁸⁰ Georgina Boyes, ed. *Step change: new views on traditional dance*. (London, Francis Boutle, 2001).

⁸¹ Sabina B Magliocco "Reclaiming Europe's Pagan Heritage", Paper 240, *SIEF Conference 2008 : Transcending 'European Heritages': Liberating the Ethnological Imagination*, University of Ulster, Derry, Northern Ireland, 16th – 20th June 2008

⁸² Ronald M. James, "Cornish Folklore", in *Cornish Studies Eighteen*, ed. Philip Payton (Exeter, Exeter University Press, 2010) p. 122.

⁸³ Europeade Festival: a Pan – European folk dance organisation which holds a major festival in a different location each year together with a number a smaller local festivals.

⁸⁴ Jan Ling, *A history of European folk music*. Ibid.

⁸⁵ Peter Kennedy, editor, *Folksongs of Britain And Ireland*, (London, Cassell, 1975), p. 2. See chapter 4 for more detailed discussion of Kennedy.

⁸⁶ Inglis Gundry was largely responsible for organising the section on Cornwall with material and Cornish translations provided by Richard Gendal and E.G Retallack-Hooper. All three were active members of the Cornish movement and Bards of the Cornish Gorsedh. They are credited by Kennedy using their bardic names: Ylewyth, Gelvynek and Talek respectively.

⁸⁷ Dairmuid Ó Giolláin, D. *Locating Irish folklore*, *ibid.* Also discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

⁸⁸ For example Boscastle Fair, Camborne Hill and Lamorna, see appendix 1.4.

⁸⁹ Pelea Era Why Moaz, Moes Fettow Teag, Peter Kennedy, editor, *Folksongs of Britain And Ireland*, *ibid.*, p 224. Usually known as Deliw Syvy, or Delkiow Sevy, first recorded in the Gwavas manuscript, British Museum. See appendix 2.1

⁹⁰ James Madison Carpenter Collection, Library of Congress, Washington DC, AFC 1972/001. See discussion in chapter 5 and appendix 1.4.

⁹¹ *Old Cornwall*, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, St Ives issue nos 5 – 12: Tom Miners, Tom Miners Old Cornish Carol Book,5, p. 22: Tom Miners, Cornwall and the Sea,6, p. 26: Tom Miners, "Likes",5, p.39 - 6, p. 36: Tom Miners, Old Cornish Valentines,7, p. 18: Tom Miners, Old May-Day Customs, pp 8 and 14: Tom Miners, Quaint Marriage Customs,12, p. 22: Tom Miners, Saturday Night es Coorten Night,7, p. 44: Tom Miners, The Mummies Play in West Cornwall,8, p. 4: William D Watson, Covyon Keltek,11, p. 15: William D Watson, Lankyloo,4, p. 29: William D Watson, Nebes Geriow Moy Adro Dho Gernuack,3, p. 3: William D Watson, The Black Bull of Mylor,7, p. 19.

⁹² Bernard Deacon, "Cornishness and Englishness: Nested Identities or Incompatible Ideologies?" *International Journal of Regional & Local Studies* 5.2 (2009): p. 26.

⁹³ "Mebyon Kernow, the Party for Cornwall" has a manifesto based on Cornish distinctiveness and the case for greater independence and at the time of writing has four elected members on Cornwall Council.

⁹⁴ Bernard Deacon, "Cornishness and Englishness: Nested Identities or Incompatible Ideologies?" *ibid.*

⁹⁵ Bernard Deacon, "New Cornish Studies", in *Cornish Studies Ten*, Ed Philip Payton (Exeter, Exeter University Press, 2002), pp. 28-29.

⁹⁶ Malcolm Williams, "The New Cornish Social Science, in *Cornish Studies Ten*, Ed Philip Payton (Exeter, Exeter University Press, 2002), p. 55.

⁹⁷ Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, (New York, Longman, 1995)

⁹⁸ Bernard Deacon, "From Cornish Studies to Critical Cornish Studies", *Cornish Studies Twelve*,(Exeter, Exeter University Press, 2004), p. 27.

⁹⁹ Jan E. Stets; Peter J. Burke, "Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory" *Social Psychology Quarterly*, Vol. 63, No. 3. (Sep., 2000), pp. 224-237.

Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0190-2725%28200009%2963%3A3%3C224%3AITASIT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-V>

Accessed 13th November 2007.

¹⁰⁰ Robert Dickinson, "Meanings of Cornishness: a study of contemporary Cornish identity" in *Cornish Studies Eighteen*, ed. Philip Payton (Exeter, Exeter University Press, 2010), pp. 71 - 100. With reference to M.B. Brewer and Y.R. Chen, "Where (who) Are Collectives in Collectivism? Toward Conceptual Clarification of Individualism and Collectivism", *Psychological review* 114,(1) (2007), pp.133-51.

¹⁰¹ Robert Dickinson, "Meanings of Cornishness: a study of contemporary Cornish identity" in *Cornish Studies Eighteen*, p. 92.

¹⁰² Joanie Willett, " Why is Cornwall so Poor? Narrative, Perception and Identity" (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Exeter, 2009): Citing Norton, "*Reflections on Political Identity*"; Hutto, "*Narrative and Understanding Persons*"; Mead, "*Mind, Self and Society*"; Anderson, "National Identity and Independence Attitudes; Minority Nationalism in Scotland and Wales"; Moreno, "Multiple Identities and Global Meso-Communities"; Gellner, E. *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006, 2nd Edition) ; Smith, A. *The Ethnic Origin of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986).

¹⁰³ Kathleen A. Bolland, Charles A Atherton. "Chaos Theory: an alternative approach to Social Work practice and research" *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Sciences* (1999), pp. 363 – 373.

¹⁰⁴ Kathleen A. Bolland. "Chaos Theory", p 370.

¹⁰⁵ A kind of bonnet worn by "bal maidens" - women surface workers in the mining industry. See glossary in Appendix 5

¹⁰⁶ Roger Bryant, "Cornish Lads", Cornwall Songwriters, *Cry of Tin*, CD (St Ervan, Lyngham House Music, 2000), LYNG212CD.

¹⁰⁷ F E Halliday, *A History of Cornwall*, (London, Duckworth, 1959).

¹⁰⁸ Philip Payton, *Cornwall: A History*, (Fowey, Cornwall Editions Ltd, 2004).

¹⁰⁹ Mark Stoye, *West Britons: Cornish Identities and the Early Modern British State*, (Exeter, UK: University of Exeter Press, 2002).

¹¹⁰ Bernard Deacon, "A Concise History Of Cornwall", *Histories of Europe*, (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2007).

¹¹¹ Mark Stoye "The Dissidence of Despair: Rebellion and Identity in Early Modern Cornwall" *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 4. (Oct., 1999), p. 423.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0021-9371%28199910%2938%3A4%3C423%3ATDODRA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-I>

Accessed 2nd November 2007.

¹¹² Philip Payton, *Cornwall : A History*, p. 179.

¹¹³ Bernard Deacon, "A Concise History of Cornwall", p.124.

¹¹⁴ William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthsides Stories of West Cornwall*. (Penzance, Deare and Sons, 1873)

¹¹⁵ For example: William Sandys, *Specimens of Cornish Provincial Dialect Selected and Arranged by Uncle Jan Trenoodle*, (London: J.R. Smith, 1846); George Clement Boase, and William Prideaux Courtney. *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis. A Catalogue of the Writings, Both Manuscript and Printed, of Cornishmen, and of Works Relating to the County of Cornwall, with Biographical Memoranda and Copious Literary References*. (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1874); Margaret Ann Courtney, and , Thomas Q. Couch. *Glossary of Words in Use in Cornwall*, (London, Trübner & Co, 1880); Fred W P Jago, *The Ancient Language and the Dialect of Cornwall* (Truro: Netherton and Worth, 1882).

¹¹⁶ Bernard Deacon, "A Concise History of Cornwall", p.136.

¹¹⁷ David Harvey , Catherine Brace, and Adrian R. Bailey. "Parading the Cornish Subject: Methodist Sunday Schools in West Cornwall, C. 1830-1930." *Journal of Historical Geography* 1.2007 (2006): pp. 24-44.

¹¹⁸ Respondents participating in the Rescorla Project recalling the latter period of Tea Treat and chapel culture commented on village and chapel rivalry as to who could attract the largest number to their events (see appendix 4.2) .

¹¹⁹ Alison Davey, Merv Davey, and Jowdy Davey. *Scoot Dances, Troyls, Furrys and Tea Treats: The Cornish Dance Tradition*. (London: Francis Boutle & Co, 2009), pp 38 - 42. See Also: H.L.Douche, *Old Cornish Inns and their place in the social history of the county*, (Truro, Bradford Barton, 1966), pp. 47-65 for discussion of public house sports and entertainments.

¹²⁰ Philip Payton, *Cornwall : A History*, pp. 207 -236.

¹²¹ A dialect term for Cornish emigrants see glossary p. 479.

¹²² Sharron P Schwartz, "Cornish Migration Studies: and epistemological and Paradigmatic Critique", in *Cornish Studies Ten* , ed. Philip Payton, (Exeter, Exeter University Press, 2002), pp.136-164.

¹²³ Sabine Baring-Gould, and H. Fleetwood Shepherd. *Songs and Ballads of the West: A Collection Made from the Mouths of the People*, (London: Methuen & Co, 1891), pp. vii – xi.

¹²⁴ Bickford Holland Cohan Dickinson, *Sabine Baring-Gould: Squarson, Writer and Folklorist, 1834-1924*. (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1970).

¹²⁵ Philip Payton, *Cornwall: A History* p.237 - 267

¹²⁶ Philip Payton, *Cornwall: A History*, *ibid.*

¹²⁷ Henry Jenner "Cornwall a Celtic Nation", *The Celtic Review*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Jan., 1905), pp. 234-246. See also: Henry Jenner, *A Handbook of the Cornish Language, Chiefly in Its Latest Stages, with Some Account of Its History and Literature*. (London, D. Nutt, 1904).

¹²⁸ Philip Payton, "Paralysis and Revival: The Reconstruction of Celtic - Catholic Cornwall 1980 -1945." *Cornwall: The cultural construction of place*, Ed Ella Westland. (Penzance, Patten Press, 1997), p. 34.

¹²⁹ Morton Nance, "Introduction", *Old Cornwall*, (April 1925), vol.1, no.1, p. 2, urges Old Cornwall Society Members to build a "new Cornwall" from the memories and fragments of the old.

¹³⁰ Sharon Lowenna "Noscitur A Sociis" in *Cornish Studies Twelve* , ed Philip Payton (Exeter, Exeter University Press, 2002), pp. 61 -87. Exposes an elitist and slightly darker side to Jenner and the Celto-Cornish movement.

¹³¹ William Watson, Tom Miners and Jim Thomas were major contributors to the early old Cornwall Society Magazines, providing articles on folk songs, guizing customs, storytelling and the Cornish language.

¹³² Robert Morton Nance was a key figure in Cornish Language revival, see: Peter W Thomas, and Derek R. Williams. *Setting Cornwall on Its Feet: Robert Morton Nance 1873-1959*, (London: Francis Boutle Publishers, 2007).

¹³³ William Daniel Watson, "How Cornish Came To Me", *Old Cornwall*, vol. 5, no. 8, pp. 340-342.

¹³⁴ Vanessa Beaman / Watson family Correspondence with author, 29th April 2009.

¹³⁵ Jonathon Howlett, "Putting the Kitsch into Kernow", in *Cornish Studies Twelve* , Ed Philip Payton (Exeter, Exeter University Press, 2004), p. 44.

¹³⁶ Davies Gilbert, *The Parochial History of Cornwall*, Vol. 3, (London, Nichols and Son, 1838), p.332.

¹³⁷ Alison Davey, et al *Scoot Dances*, p. 56 with reference to video footage and photographs in the Lowender Peran Festival archive of costume worn by dance groups and other performers at the festival over a 30-year period. See Chapter 10 .

¹³⁸ For example, Disability Discrimination Act 2000, the Equal Opportunities Act, and the The Race Relations Act, as incorporated into the Human Rights Act 2009.

¹³⁹ Bernard Deacon, "A Concise History of Cornwall", p. 229.

¹⁴⁰ Kathleen A. Bolland. "Chaos Theory".

Chapter 2: Methodological framework, sourcing and managing data

The historiographies of oral folk tradition and Cornish identity discussed in the previous chapter invite a cross disciplinary approach to this study. Both oral folk tradition and identity are influenced by discursivity and memory and this chapter draws from these two paradigms to establish an enquiry framework. This chapter will argue that the principles of oral history also have much to offer this study but with the caveat that texts collected reflect the agenda of the collector and the circumstances of collection rather than necessarily a history as seen by the performer.

There were two particular challenges in setting the methodology for this research. In the first place, a significant amount of data was available in contemporary performance of oral folk tradition and therefore observation / participant observation provided useful primary sources, but this approach raises questions about objectivity. In the second, it was intended that, as well as contributing to the understanding of folk tradition and identity in Cornwall, this research would directly promote and inform folk arts practice. It is argued here that action research provides a framework of enquiry that can draw upon other paradigms of study, systematically address the issue of objectivity and provide for an engagement with folk arts practitioners that will both promote and inform folk traditions. This chapter sets out the framework of enquiry used for this thesis and describes how this has been applied to the sourcing, selection and practical management of the data.

Action research, a framework for enquiry

The model of “action research” proposed by Kemmis and McTaggart seeks to provide a scientific approach through a “planning > acting > observing > reflecting > revised planning” process undertaken systematically and rigorously so that relationship between these moments can be understood, providing a source of both improvement and advancement of knowledge.¹ Coombes develops this by advocating the reinforcement of action research with the triangulation of information conversationally across a range of sources, this builds on the quality of information to provide a consistent evidence base and greater illumination of the research subject:

The triangulation of evidence analysis process aims to provide an alternative `experimental` policy. This new paradigm `experimental` approach is to be compared with the more conventional physical science

paradigm, which tends to adopt quantitative analysis methods exclusively as the arbiter of truth and validity. By providing triangulated accounts it is intended that subsequent experimental findings will be illuminated in a systematic (and hence rigorous) way.²

The experimental approach advocated by Coombes is valuable in an interdisciplinary study such as this because it encourages continuous reflection and evaluation of methods. Importantly it allows for a flexibility of approach, which will encourage a variety of perspectives rather than being driven by a specific methodology. A practical outcome of this has been to take a project management approach to some of the research. A project might take the form of a presentation and discussion with peers or the publication of a book with both formal and informal review.³ Space does not allow for all of these projects to be recorded in detail but a summary is provided in Appendix 3, and Appendix 4 provides more detail of examples that have been specifically referred to in the main body of this thesis. Where a project outcome took the form of a publication, recording or broadcast then these are referenced within the endnotes to each chapter and the bibliography.

Coombes' emphasis on qualitative evidence, supported by critical triangulation rather than quantitative data, is useful in enquiry where it will be difficult to obtain some empirical information. For example, it is not possible to establish precisely how often a particular song is performed or how many people ascribe the same set of meanings to a given folk phenomenon. However, one example of performance and meaning can be triangulated with other moments to evidence broad popularity and consistency of context. For example, if a song is:

- included at a number of pub singers sessions perceived as a Cornish event
- included in song sheets for other community singing events in the Cornish calendar
- appears on a number of recorded albums proclaiming Cornishness
- described as a popular Cornish song during interviews or correspondence
- presented as Cornish in a published collection

then there is a high level of triangulation supporting the case for the song to be seen as part of a Cornish canon of selected material.

This model provides a sound scientific base and an over arching conversational style that can draw upon other paradigms of enquiry but Reason and Bradbury expand further to address the issue of outcomes by suggesting that action research can be:

..... a participatory, democratic process concerned with developing practical knowing in the pursuit of worthwhile human purposes, grounded in a participatory worldview which we believe is emerging at this historical moment. It seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people, and more generally the flourishing of individual persons and their communities.⁴

Action research is thus a tool for reflective practice and learning in a social setting, which recognises the value of the insights and knowledge of the people who are involved in the phenomenon that is the subject of the research.

Reason and Bradbury show that this methodology has roots in post modernism in that it demonstrates the fallacy of an empirically “objective” researcher and justifies active participation as a research tool. However, they move on from a post modernist position to recognise that there are shared realities:

A participatory view competes with both the positivism of modern times and with the deconstructive postmodern alternative—and we hold it to be a more adequate and creative paradigm for our times. However, we can also say that it draws on and integrates both paradigms: it follows positivism in arguing that there is a “real” reality . . . and draws on the constructionist perspective in acknowledging that as soon as we attempt to articulate this we enter a world of human language and cultural expression.⁵

Typically, action research is used as a tool to develop skills and practice in Health, Social Care and Educational settings where the issues and the groups of people concerned are clearly defined and outcomes are intended to be emancipatory for both researcher and researched.⁶ Wadsworth, however, argues that action research can go much deeper and be a more dynamic process that critically reflects on the historical, political, cultural economic and geographic contexts, which make sense of it.⁷ As a participative form of research “the mere act of asking questions is an

intervention, and giving and hearing answers and making sense of them inevitably brings about changes in those involved".⁸ The point here is that even if an outcome is not identified there is still a likelihood of change resulting from participatory action research. It can be seen that the simple act of discussing a folk tradition with practitioners will raise the stakes by implying value and encouraging reflectivity. It might be argued that this is moving a tradition from a reflexive state to a reflective one but Chapter 1 shows that both are part of the natural process of oral folk tradition. A useful point to highlight here is that in action research, as applied to oral folk tradition, the roles of researcher, performer, participant and practitioner merge to an extent and they can all be seen as stakeholders.

Reason and McKardle identify different schools of practice within action research ranging from simple co-operative enquiry to the management of organisational change. However, for them, participatory action research has a clear task to challenge preconceptions and seek to achieve social change:

Participative research. This term is usually used to refer to action research strategies, which grew out of the liberationist ideas of Paulo Freire and others in countries of the South. Participatory action research (PAR) is explicitly political, aiming to restore to oppressed peoples the ability to create knowledge and practice in their own interests and as such has a double objective. One aim is to produce knowledge and action directly useful to a group of people—through research, through adult education, and through socio-political action. The second aim is to empower people at a second and deeper level through the process of constructing and using their own knowledge: they "see through" the ways in which the establishment monopolizes the production and use of knowledge for the benefit of its members.⁹

This is particularly interesting when looking at folk tradition in the context of Cornish studies because one of the issues is around the recognition of a distinctive Cornish identity and its expression through folk tradition against the background of a cultural hegemony, which, as O'Connor shows, can be resistant to this.

Opposition to newly identified Cornish material was fostered by a few vociferous speakers, some well respected. Some were conservative:

reflecting Bodmin Folk Club's old extra-Cornish agenda they mistrusted anyone outside the EFDSS [English Folk Song and Dance Society] or not subject to academic overview. Some believed that nothing more could possibly remain to be discovered, so anything new must be false. Some saw the overt celebration of Cornish culture as an invention to promote Cornish political consciousness. Some showed a tacit acceptance of simplistic and unsupported views of the processes of evolution and transmission of vernacular culture, and a politicized view of how they may have applied to Cornwall. There was conflict of generations and personalities which also reflected the cultural and political aspirations of the participants. Today some still retain a cynical view of material identifiably Cornish or those promoting it¹⁰

Outside of the protest song genre, socio – political action may not be the first image that springs to mind in connection with folk tradition and a case history is useful in illustrating why an action research approach is relevant for this study. Padstow Mummers Day is a custom that takes place in the village on Boxing Day and New Years Day. In essence, it comprises of a carnivalesque procession of musicians who black their faces and adopt a variety of brightly coloured dress within a general theme of "mock posh".¹¹ In common with similar traditions in Cornwall, it seems to have been associated with a Mummers Play earlier in its history,¹² but later become focussed around a procession. Except for a song / step dance called *Tom Bowling*¹³ not much is known about the music associated with the play in the 19th century but in the 1940s, songs like the *Padstow (Derby) Ram*, *Old Mrs Flipper Flopper* and *Old Daddy Fox* were sung during the procession.¹⁴ These songs are also associated with Guizing elsewhere in Cornwall.

The Padstow Mummers currently draw on a variety of well-known tunes, including some compositions by Foster, a popular 19th Century American songwriter.¹⁵ Foster's work is strongly associated with the Minstrel shows now portrayed as demeaning Black American culture but there are some writers, such as Cockrell, who challenge that this was ever the original intention of these songs.¹⁶ Whatever their origins, these songs have become part of vernacular culture and at Padstow were merged into a medley of tunes that included *Trelawny*, *Scotland the Brave* and *She'll Be Coming 'Round the Mountain*.

Between 2004 and 2006 the Padstow Mummers attracted media criticism, scrutiny by the police and ultimately parliamentary censure in the form of an Early Day Motion for alleged racist activity.¹⁷ The author was familiar with the tradition and used participatory action research to explore the issues concerned. In this case, triangulation involved research into the origins of the tradition, examination of the legal position, participant observation, external co-worker observation, interviews and correspondence with a wide range of stakeholders and monitoring of the media.

Participatory action research is a particularly effective tool in exploring the multiple viewpoints and competing readings of customs such as the Padstow Mummers, not least because it encourages the researcher to examine and reflect upon their own views and experience of the event. In this case, the views and experiences of the author which were recorded immediately after the event:

.....I had previously decided that, notwithstanding the blackening of faces, I would accept the invitation to join the musicians provided there was no evidence of racism in either dress or behaviour.

..... My foremost and clearest reaction to the event is that I felt I was being drawn into an expression of community identity and the desire to belong.

..... The feeling of identity was strongly augmented by the scattered Cornish symbolism of rugby shirts, flags and tartan [The Cornish Rugby colours are black and yellow stripes, the flag of Cornwall is widely recognised as a white cross on a black background and a Cornish Tartan was designed in the 1950s as a symbol of Cornwall's Celtic connections].¹⁸

Triangulation increased the insights gained from participation to show that both the experience of the event and the interpretation of meaning varied enormously for those participating either as performers or audience. It showed that there was little evidence to support accusations of racism and that the information that Diane Abbot MP used to back her Early Day Motion was inaccurate.

The outcomes included correspondence with Members of Parliament, both informal and more structured feedback to participants, and the publication of a peer-reviewed paper.¹⁹ This paper examined the origins of the traditions involved in the

Padstow Mummers Day and its contemporary form together with the views and meanings associated with it. It also considered the custom in relation to contemporary social policy and legislation concerned with discrimination and anti racist practice. It supported the case against accusations of racism and drew attention to inaccuracies in the Early Day Motion. This piece of work thus achieved one of the aims participatory action research and that is to empower people with information.

Discursivity and speech communities

Reason and Bradbury show that participatory action research is a “world of human language and cultural expression”,²⁰ i.e. a territory of texts and discursive meaning. The artefacts of oral folk tradition, i.e. the performance of music, dance and associated customs, can thus be understood and analysed as discursive text. Fairclough proposes that discourse should be recognised as both a social interaction in “real situations” and as a “social construction of reality” which constituted a form of knowledge”.²¹ He suggests a framework where text can be analysed in terms of representations, identities and relations. As important as the content of the text are how a text is represented, who does the representing and what the relationship is between those involved. Thus, the meaning of a performance as a text is governed by how it is represented, who undertakes this and what his or her relationship is with the audience or other stakeholders.

In the example given above of the Padstow Mummers Day, there were a variety of narratives found to be associated with the event. One example was that it was a “fertility rite for midwinter” another that “a slave ship was wrecked off Padstow and the villagers blacked up to confuse the slavers and help the slaves escape”.²² These explanations may have little foundation in history but they reflect the mindset of the narrator. The first has echoes of the attitudes of the Edwardian folklorist and the second might be the response of someone conscious of Cornwall’s history of a vociferous anti slavery movement.

There are three contestants for a “common sense” position in the narratives provided for the Padstow Mummers. Both the local and national press pursued themes of political “correctness gone mad” and the misuse of police time to investigate an innocent event.²³ Malcolm McCarthy spoke for the Padstow community when he commented that it was simply an excuse to have a good time at Christmas, without meaning anyone any harm.²⁴ Diane Abbot MP, however, saw it as white people

dressing up and behaving in such a way as to demean black people. McCarthy and Abbot can be understood as representing two different speech communities here, each constructing a narrative of events that reflects their speech community's worldview.

Fairclough describes worldviews such as this as “ideological-discursive formations” and warns that they can become unfounded common sense:

There is usually one IDF [ideological-discursive formation] which is clearly dominant. Each IDF is a sort of ‘speech community’ with its own discourse norms but also embedded within and symbolised by the latter, its own ‘ideological norms’. Institutional subjects are constructed in accordance of the norms of an IDF, in subject positions whose ideological underpinnings they may be unaware of. A characteristic of a dominant IDF is the capacity to ‘naturalize’ ideologies, i.e. to win acceptance for them as non-ideological ‘common sense.’²⁵

He advocates critical analysis of discourses in order to deconstruct these formations and the meanings they create. Deacon and Williams debate the use of Critical Discourse Analysis as a fundamental methodology for Cornish studies.²⁶ Deacon shows how socially disadvantageous constructions of Cornwall can be deconstructed using this paradigm.²⁷ Whilst Williams agrees in principle he expresses concern that one relativistic position is being replaced with another and makes the case for methodological pluralism.²⁸ Critical discourse analysis is a persuasive model and applies well to this study as it encourages recognition that beliefs and presumptions about Cornwall and its traditions can be critically examined as social constructions. At the same time the broad based approach and triangulation of action research addresses Williams concerns that this should be supported by methodological pluralism. Fairclough has shown that discourse and ideology are intrinsically linked and, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, ideology is a major player in the interpretation, mediation and performance of material from folk tradition.

Fairclough's suggestion that an ideological-discursive formation can be understood as “speech community” is a particularly useful concept for the study of oral folk tradition where dialect and local indigenous languages are important. Porter uses this term to describe the Doric folk community in North East Scotland where there is a strong linguistic element of dialect terms around the “Bothy Ballads” that are neither

Scottish Gaelic nor Scots but a merger of a number of different historical traditions from this area.²⁹ O'Neill applies this concept to a study of Native American languages to show that when expressions cross from one language to another, meanings are not always universal in the new language but will be shared by the "speech community" from which they derive.³⁰ This touches on the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis about the determinate relationship between language and thinking, that the vocabulary, language and its meaning within a speech community defines that community's worldview and self-view.³¹ In terms of folk tradition, this is illustrated by the example given in the previous chapter of the very specific meanings ascribed to Morris dancing in terms of gender and nationalism by the speech community of the English Folk Dance movement, which were not necessarily the same as that universally recognised elsewhere.

For the purposes of understanding oral folk tradition and identity in Cornwall, the term "speech community" needs to be refined still further. It can represent communities within, or overlapping other communities in the sense that an individual might be a member of a number of different groups with their own systems of meaning. For example, folk music as a genre forms as a speech community where terms like "folk club", "ceilidh" and "ballad" represent a package of meanings and experiences not shared by the wider population. For some folk enthusiasts meaning will go little further than sharing an interest in a particular style of music and dance. For others, there may be a deeper value system relating to cultural identity, for example the counter-culture of the sixties folk club scene.

Chapter 1 discusses the importance of language with respect to Cornish identity and this is played out in the "speech communities" that have evolved around this in Cornwall. It can be seen that the existence of a Celtic language and a distinctive Anglo-Cornish dialect will have a major impact upon the evolution of speech communities in Cornwall.³² It is a wider issue than just language, however, it is about the statements that are being made and identity expressed in using this language. When a group of young people came together from different dance display and music groups in Cornwall to take part in the Festival Interceltique in , 2010, they decided upon the name Kemysk. This means mixture and apart from being an apt description, the use of Cornish proclaimed their ideological subscription to the notion of a Celtic Cornwall. The issue for Fairclough, and an important one in examining oral folk tradition and identity in

Cornwall, is that of power and unfounded “common sense” derived from dominant ideologies.

Oral history and oral testimony

Folk song collectors from Baring Gould to Kennedy clearly operated within the domain of orality. They travelled and worked among communities collecting material “From the mouths of the people”³³ and recording what they found with the technology available to them. This, however, represents oral text and testimony rather than a history. Portelli defines oral history as “an art dealing with the individual in social and historical context... .. to know, and to classify, - to connect them with ‘history’ and in turn force history to listen to them.”³⁴ In the case of the folk song collectors, what they asked their informants to provide was determined by their own discursivity and what they recorded and subsequently published was mediated by this discursivity. Graebe, for example shows that Baring Gould misrepresented the social background of some of his “old singing men” and certainly did not seek to elicit their view of historical context nor their understanding of the songs that they sung.³⁵ This is not to devalue what was collected but to recognise it as a snapshot of oral folk tradition through the lens of the collector’s discursivity and their relationship with informants.

Indeed this researcher / researched relationship, which is transformed into a co-stakeholder relationship within the methodology of participatory action research, is also identified by Portelli as a key issue for oral history. He describes oral history as a “.... a dialogic discourse, created not only by what the interviewees say, but also by what we as historians do - by the historians presence in the field, and by the historian's presentation of the material.”³⁶ An example of the way in which participatory action research and oral history dovetails as a research methodology is provided by a case example from the Rescorla Project.³⁷ This was an oral history project which included the geographic area where the author lived and some of the people involved in information giving were friends, neighbours and musical contemporaries although separated by the better part of a generation. Whilst the author was in the role of neighbour and musical contemporary information and reminiscence flowed freely and was information rich. When the author asked if people would like to be interviewed as part of the project the reaction was mixed. Some people were attracted by the idea but others were not. To an extent, this reflects the natural discomfort of some people to the prospect of being recorded. However, it was also clear that the change in role of the author from peer to university researcher, represented by the introduction of a

recording machine and the interview consent form,³⁸ also created a communication barrier. It is interesting to note that where the interview worked well, the interviewee retained a position of authority and expertise in the interview situation.

Reflecting on this within the action research paradigm it was decided to focus formal interviews on situations where parity was established between interviewer and interviewee and elsewhere to rely on a mixture of participant observation and sound recording in the public domain for triangulation. The outcome was a number of situations where the interview became the recording of peer discussion or peer views.³⁹ Conversely, reliance on recording was waived in situations where this would have interfered with the flow of information and damaged the relationship between action researcher and information givers.⁴⁰ Similarly, there were occasions as a participant observer, or just observer, when events taking place in a public domain could be recorded without reference to relationships or risk to ethical principles.⁴¹

In addition to issues around the interviewer / interviewee relationship, Portelli's model of oral history raises other questions that apply equally to the information gathering tools within participatory action research. He raises ethical questions about how the research will be used and considers the moral, academic and professional responsibility of the oral historian to provide effective archiving of the public history recorded. With respect to the politics of power and empowerment, he also questions how the narrator / information giver and the community represented will be portrayed by the mediation of the text.⁴² The narrator may be concerned about how the information is used and desire to influence this, or be vulnerable by having no concept of what might happen to this information.⁴³ Not only do these questions help to guide the ethics of research, they also emphasise the impact of the research upon the researched and the importance of understanding the reflexive / reflective process within oral folk tradition. The case history above of the Padstow Mummers shows that participatory action research as a method of enquiry is well placed to address these questions and concerns.

Portelli addresses the ethical concerns about research outcomes by identifying a Gramscian dimension to oral history in that it can provide an alternative view to the hegemonic grand narrative. An antidote to what Fairclough describes as the "power of the social agents whose strategy it is 'to get their messages across', e.g. their access to and control over mass media and other channels and networks for diffusion".⁴⁴

Portelli used oral history as a methodology to elicit an alternative history of the fascist wartime regime in Italy to the carefully edited establishment version of the immediate post war period. There is a sense in which this thesis uses the tools within participatory action research to challenge the external grand narratives of oral folk tradition and identity on Cornwall.

Portelli is not without his critics who point to the subjective influence of his own political standpoint upon the interpretation of his research and the recordings he published.⁴⁵ Portelli naturally defends his position, partly by showing the limited effect of his personal ideology and partly by arguing that folk song recordings were universally mediated in this way elsewhere.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, for all that each interview or episode of participant observation is a dialogic experience before becomes a text, interpretation and mediation begins at the point of selecting the narrator or event to be observed and continues in every subsequent representation of the text. The concern for the social researcher lies in the lack of objectivity within this process. In terms of folk tradition, information, already tempered by the vagaries of memory, is now subject to a range of interpretation and mediation. Yow accepts these criticisms of oral history as a methodology but suggests that any text record can be subject to similar criticism.⁴⁷ She demonstrates this by asking questions of the written document such as; “for whom was the document intended?”; “how close was the witness to the event in time and space and how informed when writing the document?”; and “What prior assumptions did the witness have at the point of writing the document?”. Yow suggests that this critique can be addressed by using grounded theory – the examination of a large sample of and a multiplicity of incidents. It may not have been possible to practice grounded theory in the sense suggested by Yow within this research project but the extensive triangulation recommended by Coombs as part of participatory action research methodology comes some way in meeting this.⁴⁸

Memory

A certain pragmatism is needed when considering the relationship between memory and change in folk traditions. There are clear examples to show that some changes that take place are simply accidental or result from reconstruction required because memory was incomplete.⁴⁹ What is interesting to the researcher here is the selectivity and creativity that then accompanies this. With this caveat, memory is nevertheless a phenomenon that dovetails into the methodologies discussed above

and provides another strand of insight into the complexities of both oral folk tradition and identity.

Le Goff emphasises the importance of understanding personal memory as an experience rather than the simple recovery of stored data. That it is a process of actualizing and re-experiencing information to form an “internal model of the external universe”.⁵⁰ Bolland and Atherton point out the subjective nature of this experience and suggest that: “processing capacity and mental effort are reduced by using heuristics (subjective operational knowledge of the world).”⁵¹ This “subjective operational knowledge of the world”, is in part, determined by the discursivity of the speech communities to which the individual belongs. Smith sees memory as a “set of stored fragments / incomplete bundles of features “which are retrieved and assembled in a jigsaw like way leading to the creation of a “current memory”.⁵² Brockmeier contrasts two views of memory; what he describes as a traditional “Newtonian” view where events and experience are mapped along a linear time scale; and a more recently introduced “narrative” view where memory is a symbolic cultural construction combining different times, time orders and possibilities.⁵³

These models of memory accord well with the notion of oral folk tradition as a process and it can be seen that the symbolic cultural construction of memory described by Brockmeier is something that will broadly support continuity as well as fuelling change and reflectivity. Likewise Smith’s notion of “fragments” that are pieced together to create current memories offer a further perspective on the process of change in folk tradition. Elements within oral folk tradition such as story lines, verses and sets of lyrics together with musical phrases and tune structures can be understood as “fragments” within Smith’s model. These “fragments” are then pieced together to make contemporary cultural and artistic sense within a performance. Ideas about meaning significance and the provenance of folk material might also be seen as fragments of memory that add to the melting pot from which sense is made. A prosaic example of this is the Cherry Tree Carol, which belongs to a family of songs which have verses recounting Joseph’s reaction to Mary’s pregnancy with Christ.⁵⁴ In a religious context, sense is made by emphasis on the verses related to the Immaculate Conception, whereas in a secular situation Joseph’s indignation that he is not the father of Mary’s child that comes to the fore.

Some aspects of oral folk tradition are more difficult to accommodate within a model of interpretive memory. Take for example the apparent consistency of some performers' memory within this tradition. Baring Gould described one of his informants, James Parsons, as a "Singing Machine" because of his "remarkable memory and seemingly inexhaustible repertoire on which he would continue to draw night after night without ever repeating himself, provided that his tankard was regularly refilled."⁵⁵ James Parsons clearly had a talent for remembering songs or a convincing ability to improvise, perhaps a combination of both. A singer's consistency might be due to the lyrics having been memorised by rote in the first place, reinforced through repetition, and supported by the mnemonics of melody, rhythm, rhyme and story line. It is clear from Baring Gould's description that James Parsons was experiencing a new role and significance for himself and his songs in acting as a source of information and a teacher. This was a role and an importance quite different to that of an itinerant pub entertainer and likely to have affected the way he saw himself and structured his memories. His practiced verses may have remained the same over the years but what did he communicate to Baring Gould about their origins and did his thinking around this change. Did he supply all the verses he knew, or did some seem less significant or less worthy of recall in the light of his newfound importance?

Another dimension of memory is the collective one and Kansteiner develops this to suggest that: "Collective memory is not history, though it is sometimes made from similar material. It is a collective phenomenon but it only manifests itself in the actions and statements of individuals".⁵⁶ Green identifies two contemporary models of collective memory. One sees the past as negotiated collectively by large numbers of people actively participating in public remembering.⁵⁷ The other identifies collective memory with the sharing of cultural knowledge between successive generations using "vehicles of memory" such as books, films and museums.⁵⁸ What both of these models have in common is the notion that there are sites of memory. Kansteiner refers to Nora in associating sites of memory with "elites" who monopolise them to legitimise and reinforce hegemony.⁵⁹ This has resonance with Hobsbawm's "invention of traditions" as a device to ascribe legitimacy to a powerful elite.⁶⁰ Biener, however, shows how folk memory associated with particular sites can also act against the hegemony to provide alternative constructions of history, which are all the more empowering in their lack of requirement for evidence.⁶¹ Irrespective of whether manipulation is being undertaken by one group or another, the concept of a "site of memory" can be applied to the understanding of oral folk tradition and why importance and significance is attributed to

a phenomenon. Lavolette suggests that folk phenomena such as the Midsummer Bonfire and Padstow May Day customs can be seen as manifestations of collective memory.⁶² This notion that a song, tune, dance or custom can be a vehicle, or site, of memory configures well with the model of oral folk tradition discussed in Chapter 1 and helps to show why some phenomena seem to take on a particular significance.

Sourcing, selecting and managing the data

Oral folk tradition is a process that can be charted and understood through the performances it produces and the dialogues that take place about meaning and significance. For example, to understand an event such as the Padstow Mummers it is necessary to obtain the views of participants as well as observe the event itself. Indeed the notion of a “stakeholder” within action research goes beyond the immediate participant to include those who have some form of stake in the folk phenomena in question. It is interesting and informative to apply this retrospectively to the work of people such as Baring Gould whose stake was they sought to preserve and revive oral folk tradition as a national heritage. He included notes with his views on the provenance and significance of the songs in his published collections and there is a sense in which this is a dialogue with his expected audience and tells us about what he feels would engage them. Records of performances and dialogues provide a snapshot in time, location and context, which are triangulated in this study with other snapshots to provide information about, and insights into, the phenomena. The form which these snapshots have take over the approximate 200 year period covered by this study vary according to the technology and skills available to and used by the recorder together with their mindset and the purpose of the recording.

Primary sources in relation to performance will therefore comprise of original recordings in a variety of formats from handwritten and printed documents and music script to analogue and digital sound recordings, photographs and video footage. Publications might be seen as once removed, mediated versions of the original performance but sometimes they are all that is available and if they contain any notes or commentary then they can be considered primary sources in terms of dialogue. This is a research environment in which the distinction between primary and secondary sources is not always clear but Cornwall is rich in both antiquarian commentary and fictional narratives inspired by and based on local community customs, which do give an alternative perspective from a secondary source view.⁶³ Oral folk tradition is a living phenomenon. In addition to historical records, primary sources therefore include

observation and recording of phenomena as it has taken place during the course of this research. Primary sources also include dialogue and correspondence with stakeholders recorded as part of participatory action research.

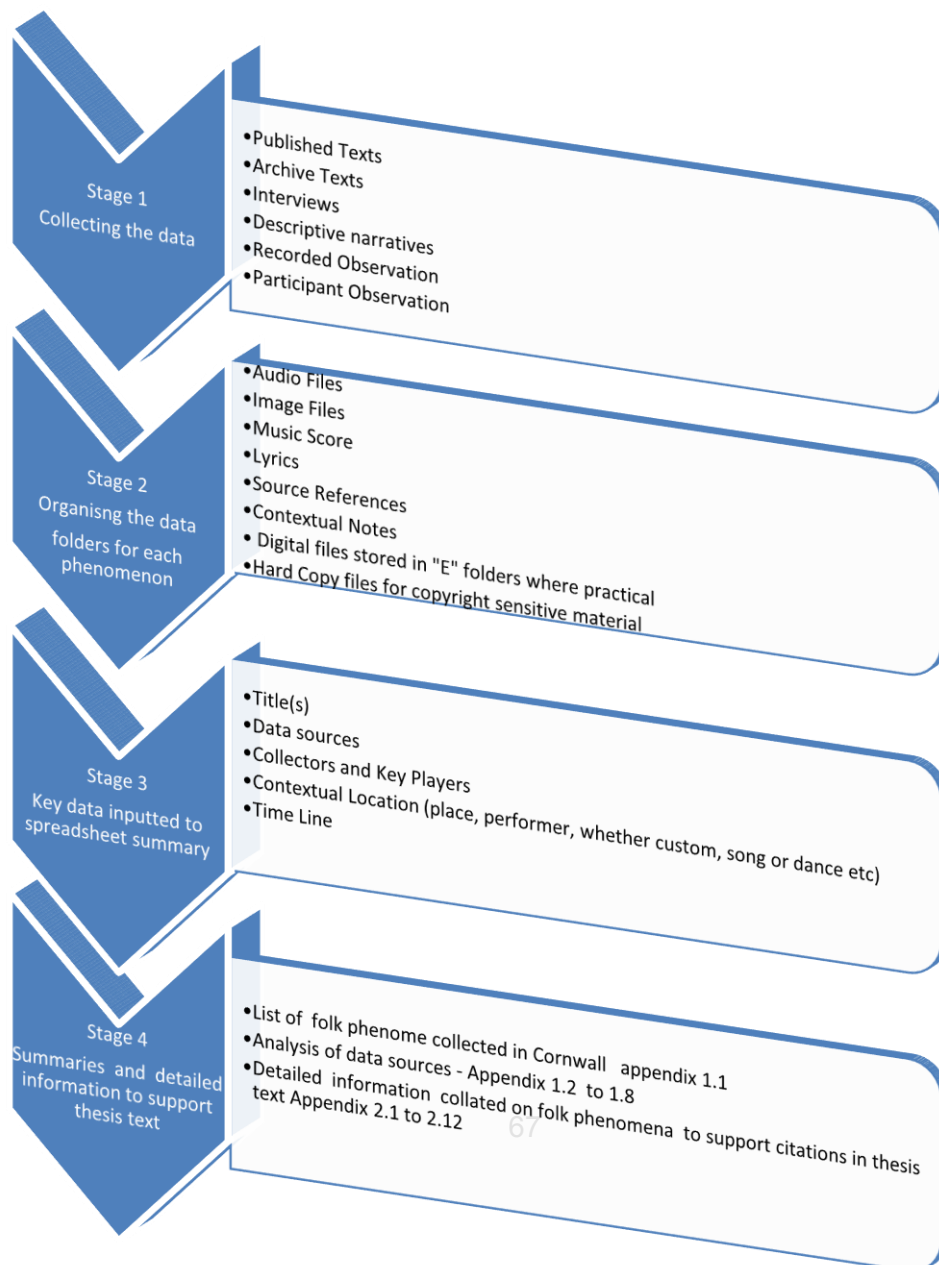
The model of oral folk tradition as the product of community creativity rather than an individual, or defined group of individuals, guides the selection of material for this study. A key issue is that the performance should be subject to a broad process of reflexivity and reflectivity within the community rather than a composition for artistic or commercial purposes. In practice, however, there is a continuum between these two poles rather than a clear demarcation line. This is especially so when dimensions of context and meaning are added to the structure and content of the performance. For example, the lyrics of Trelawny have changed little since Hawker wrote them but two different melodies have been used and the meaning of the song for participants has acquired significance beyond that of the religious politics of the historical figure referred to in the title.⁶⁴ For some people it is a delightful Cornish idiosyncrasy but for others it will invoke a primitive sense of belonging as ancient as the human psyche itself. The qualitative approach and reflective triangulation of action research provides a clear method here. A judgement is made at the point of identification as to whether material has been subject to the process of oral folk tradition and selected accordingly. Evaluation takes place as and when further information is realised enabling discussion as to where within the continuum of oral folk tradition the performance in question lies. This in turn provides insights and information about the process of oral folk tradition.

Key data about folk phenomenon collected in Cornwall such as sources, collector, dates and frequency of reference were entered into an excel spreadsheet to facilitate quantitative analysis. There are 1103 entries in the spreadsheet relating to 639 individual phenomena and Appendix 1 provides a summary of this analysis. More detailed information, such as, lyrics, music, and audiovisual material, were collated in to individual folders and where practicality and copyright permitted these were transferred to digital format. This digital format enabled ease of reference and the opportunity to use search engine software it also laid the foundations for a web site where this information can be made more widely available. Appendix 2 provides more detail of folk phenomenon where this is needed in order to provide evidence and support statements made elsewhere in this thesis.

Information acquired through participatory action research was recorded either; as observation logs in the form of written text supported by images, audio recordings; or as a project file containing details of activities, correspondence, outcomes and memorabilia such as programmes and flyers. Much of this information has been included within the database and individual files discussed above. Appendix 3 summarises participatory action research undertaken in the form of a table identifying the folk phenomenon concerned, methods, record type and outcomes. Appendix 4 provides information on action research projects or events referred to in the main text of this thesis in more detail.

There were thus four stages in the management of data for this thesis, which are summarised in diagram 1 below:

Diagram 1: management of folk phenomena data



Conclusion and key concepts

Action research not only provides a methodology for participant observation it also shows how outcomes can be achieved through research practice such as project work and dialogue. It encourages a flexible but systematic approach to research practice so that methods are evaluated and modified accordingly. It can be applied as well to the methods by which extant historic collections of folk material are collated and analysed as it can to contemporary fieldwork sources. Whilst it has roots in post modernism, it is not deconstructionist and accepts that there are shared realities between people that can be understood and worked with.

The paradigms of discursivity, oral history and memory discussed in this chapter encourage us to recognise them as dynamic and complex processes. It can be seen that discursivity and memory will each provide strands to Bolland's model of identity as a "complex web of being" and that this sense of being will determine relationships and further affect how oral history / testimony is mediated.⁶⁵ Furthermore, all three processes will have an impact upon reflexivity and reflectivity in Nahachewsky's model of oral folk tradition.⁶⁶

In addition to this broad cohesiveness each of the paradigms of action research, discursivity, oral history and memory formulate key concepts for this thesis. Action research shows that performers, audience, researchers and supporters / detractors can all be seen as "stakeholders" with a vested interest in oral folk tradition. Discursivity introduces the notion of "speech communities" which is important in understanding the significance of language, not only in the sense of Cornish and Anglo-Cornish dialect but also in terms of shared understandings of English expressions which contribute to a sense of identity. Oral history shows the significance of recognising the "hegemonic power structure" and the significance of voicing individual and minority group understandings of tradition that may not concur with that of the establishment. Memory theory encourages folk traditions to be seen as a "sites of memory" which shows why some songs or customs can take on a special meaning for those concerned.

Coombes' model of enquiry as conversational triangulation is a systems approach and lends itself well to a diagrammatic summary of the methodological framework for this thesis:

Diagram 2: Coombes' conversational enquiry model applied to the study of oral folk tradition



Notes

- ¹ Stephen Kemmis, and Robin McTaggart, *The action research Planner*, (Waurnd Ponds, Victoria, Deakin University Press, 1988).
- ² Steve Coombes, 'Action research and project management (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Brunel University 1995), p. 185.
- ³ Example 1, presenting ideas in a seminar situation and having feedback from peers e.g. a presentation during Lowender Peran Celtic Festival Oct 2009 entitled "Celticity and Cornish Dance". Example 2, writing the historical section for a book on Cornish dance: Merv Davey, "Locating Cornish Dance Culturally", in Merv Davey, Alison, and Jowdy Davey. *Scout Dances, Troys, Furrys and Tea Treats: The Cornish Dance Tradition*, (London: Francis Boutle & Co, 2009), pp. 17 -56.
- ⁴ Peter Reason and Hilary Bradbury, *Handbook of action research*. (London, Sage Publications. 2008), p. 2.
- ⁵ Peter Reason and Hilary Bradbury, *Handbook of action research* , p. 7.
- ⁶ See for example: Alan Bleakley and Ken Gale, *Education Research in the Postmodern*, Peninsula Medical School, University of Plymouth, 2004 : <http://www.faeexmdev.plymouth.ac.uk/resined/postmodernism/pmhome.htm> accessed 18th August 2006. Merv Davey, "Perceptions of disability and real needs"(Unpublished Dissertation for Master of Arts, Plymouth University, 2000) Caterina Arcidiacono, "Distinctiveness And Sense Of Community In The Historical Center Of Naples: A Piece Of Participatory Action Research " *Journal Of Community Psychology*, Vol. 33, No. 6, 631–638 (2005) Wiley Periodicals, Inc.
- ⁷ Yoland Wadsworth, "What is Participatory Action Research ?", *action research International*, 1998, Paper 2. <http://www.scu.edu.au/schools/sawd/ari/ari-wadsworth.html> accessed 18th August 2006.
- ⁸ Yoland Wadsworth, "What is Participatory Action Research ?", p. 3.
- ⁹ Peter Reason and Kate Louise McArdle , "Brief Notes on the Theory and Practice of Action Research " in Saul Becker and Alan Bryman Editors, *Understanding research for social policy and practice : themes, methods and approaches*. (Bristol, Policy Press, 2004).
- ¹⁰ Mike O'Connor, *Ilow Kernow 4 : Cornish instrumental tradition : the resource*. (Wadebridge, Lyngham House, 2009), p. 127. Discusses the resistance of "English" folk club in accepting the notion of a Cornish tradition and their use of a criteria for "Cornish tradition" which much of their own material from "English tradition" would not have met. For example it was acceptable for Cecil Sharp and contemporaries to

change song titles to fit with their own view of what English tradition should be but not acceptable to change titles collected in Cornwall to fit with a Cornish mindset.

¹¹ See appendix 4.1.

¹² James Madison Carpenter Manuscript, American Folk Life Centre, Library of Congress, reference codes 1972/001, MS. p.p. 10562 , 10565 -10582. Carpenter noted the mummers play from Captain Magor of Padstow circa 1933 but one of his informants was Robert Morton Nance whose father recalled the play being performed in the 1880s.

¹³ James Madison Carpenter Manuscript.

¹⁴ John Buckingham, interviewed 20/03/06.

¹⁵ Stephen Collins Foster (1826 – 1864), wrote “Swanee River”, “Oh Susannah”, “Camptown Races” and a number of other songs that have become part of the vernacular music repertoire.

¹⁶ Dale Cockrell, *Demons of Disorder- Early Black faced Minstrels And Their World* , (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997). This book explores in detail, the European and African American influences on the development of the black faced minstrel music hall genre and its social context.

¹⁷ Early Day Motion 1317 Cornish Festival of Darkie Day, 9th Jan 2006.

¹⁸ This quote is taken from contemporaneous notes and summary of audio recording., see appendix 4.1

¹⁹ Merv Davey, "Guizing: Ancient Traditions And Modern Sensitivities." In *Cornish Studies Fourteen*, ed Philip Payton (Exeter, University of Exeter press, 2006), pp. 229 - 244.

²⁰ Peter Reason and Hilary Bradbury *Handbook of action research*, *ibid*

²¹ Norman Fairclough, *Media Discourse*. (London; New York: E. Arnold, 1995), p18.

²² Appendix 4.1 page 405, summary of reflective discussion with other researchers.

²³ Alastair Wreford, Cornish Guardian 3rd March 2005: Western Morning News 15/03/05; Simon De Bruxelles, The Times 25/02/05; Richard Savill, The Telegraph 25/02/05; Peter Allen, The Daily Mail 25/02/05.

²⁶ Story also local press: Cornish Guardian 30/12/04, 3/3/05, Western Morning News 15/03/05

²⁴ Malcolm McCarthy, correspondence with 06/04/06, see appendix 4.1

²⁵ Norman Fairclough, *The Critical Study of Language*, (London and New York, London, 1995), p. 27.

²⁶ Bernard Deacon, "From Cornish Studies to Critical Cornish Studies: Reflections On Methodology", in *Cornish Studies Twelve*, ed. Philip Payton (Exeter, Exeter University Press, 2004) pp. 13 – 29. Malcolm Williams, "Discourse and Social Science in Cornish Studies", in *Cornish Studies Thirteen*, ed. Philip Payton (Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 2005), pp.14 -22.

²⁷ Bernard Deacon, "From Cornish Studies to Critical Cornish Studies: Reflections On Methodology" *ibid*.

²⁸ Malcolm Williams, "Discourse and Social Science in Cornish Studies", *ibid*

²⁹ James Porter, " The Folklore of Northern Scotland: Five Discourses on Cultural Representation", *Folklore*, Vol. 109 (1998), p. 5.

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1260565> Accessed: 12th July 2010

³⁰ Sean O'Neill, "Mythic and Poetic Dimensions of Speech in Northwestern California: From Cultural Vocabulary to Linguistic Relativity", *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol. 48, No. 4 (Winter, 2006), p. 312.

URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25132401> Accessed: 22nd Jan 2010

³¹ Paul Kay and Willett Kempton, "What Is the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis?", *American Anthropologist, New Series*, Vol. 86, No. 1 (Mar., 1984), 65-79 .

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/679389> Accessed: 13th April 2010. With reference to: Edward Sapir, *Language*. (New York,: Harcourt and Brace, 1921) , and Benmjamin Lee Whorf, "Science and Linguistics", in *Language, Thought and Reality*, ed John B. Carroll, *Technology Review* 42:229-231, 247-248.

³² See chapter 6 for further development of this discussion, also the examples provided in appendix 5: Glossary of terms.

³³ The title of Baring Goulds first published collection: Sabine Baring and Rev. H. Fleetwood Shepherd. *Songs and Ballads of the West: A Collection Made from the Mouths of the People* (London: Methuen & Co, 1891).

³⁴ Alessandro Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Giulia, Oral history and the Art of Dialogue* (Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), p. viii.

³⁵ Martin Graebe, "Sabine Baring Gould and his Old Singing Men" in *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*. Eds. Ian Russel and David Atkinson, (Aberdeen: The Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, 2004), p. 178.

³⁶ Alessandro Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue*. (Madison, Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), p. 3.

³⁷ Merv Davey, Alison Davey, *Clay Country Customs*. (St Austell, Rescorla Festival Project, 2008).

³⁸ Under Exeter University's Ethical Review procedures covering human subjects, interviewees were asked to complete an interview consent form. See Appendix 3.3

³⁹ For example when recording Mike O'Connor (PAR audio file 280106-1) and Trev Lawrence (PAR audio file 200106-1) there was a clear peer parity in the interview relationship.

⁴⁰ For example when providing a talk / entertainment for St Dennis Women's Institute (04/06/07) and taking part in Golowan at Castle An Dinas (23/06/08) useful information and insights were provided through informal conversation and it would have been inappropriate and impractical to stop this and set up a recorded interview.

⁴¹ For example the explanation provided for the John Knill Ceremony at St Ives (PAR audio file 250706-1) and the introduction to the Padstow Obby Oss (PAR audio file 010506 – 2)

⁴² Alessandro Portelli, "What Makes Oral History Different", Perks R, Thompson A Eds, *The Oral history Reader*, (London, Routledge, 1998), p. 63.

⁴³ The author had direct experience of this when researching the Padstow Mummers Day tradition when one informant stated that he was only interested in "pro Padstow Mummers" articles. See Merv Davey "Ancient Traditions and Modern Sensitivities", in *Cornish Studies 14*, ed. Philip Payton, (Exeter, Exeter University Press, 2006), pp. 229 - 244.

⁴⁴ Norman Fairclough, "Critical discourse analysis in transdisciplinary research", University of Lancaster: www.ling.lancs.ac.uk/staff/norman/paper4.doc accessed 23rd April 2008.

⁴⁵ Steve Siporin "Review: Italian-American Records", *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 98, No. 389 (Jul. - Sep., 1985), pp. 371- Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/539963> Accessed 28th March 2007

⁴⁶ Alessandro Portelli, "Which Party?: Reply to Siporin" *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 99, No. 393. (Jul. - Sep., 1986), pp. 320-321. Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0021-8715%28198607%2F09%2999%3A393%3C320%3A%22PRTS%3E2.0.CO%3B2-F> accessed 28th March 2007.

⁴⁷ Valerie Raleigh Yow, *Recording Oral history A practical guide for Social Scientists*, (London, Sage Publications, 1994), pp.18 -19.

⁴⁸ Steve Coombes, "Action Research and Project Management", *ibid.*

⁴⁹ The melody line in the Lark in the Morning published by Hitchcock has some difference from the original in Baring Gould's manuscript. This is presumably a

transcription error as he provides no explanation for this. Hitchcock makes clear from the outset, however, that the lyrics and music he gives are arranged and altered. This publication seems to have resulted in the song / tune re-entering oral tradition but with a further change in the tune to make musical sense of Hitchcock's transcription. The result of this was that a significantly different tune was collected for the Racca project in 1997 than the original 1890 version from St Mawgan (See Appendix 2.2). There are certainly published versions of songs and tunes reconstructed from fragments and individual examples of this taking place. Similarity of sounds can result in ambiguity for example in "Little Eyes" and "Little Lize" with the result that two different titles are used for this song despite a relatively recent original source.

⁵⁰ Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory*, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1992) (translation by Rendall and Claman unrevised from 1978), p. 51.

⁵¹ Katherine Bolland and Charles Atherton, "Chaos theory: An alternative approach to social work practice and research", *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Services*, 80(4) (1999), 367-373.

⁵² Philip T Smith, "A jigsaw puzzle theory of memory", in *Memory*, 8: 4, (2000) p245 — 264 URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/096582100406801>, accessed 25th February 2011

⁵³ Jens Brockmeier, "Stories to Remember Narrative and the Time of Memory", in *Story Worlds: A Journal of Narrative Studies*, Volume 1, 2009, University of Nebraska Press, p118. <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/stw/summary/v001/1.brockmeier.html> accessed 25th February 2011.

⁵⁴ J E Thomas - The Cherry Tree Carol:

4/ When Joseph and Mary Was in the garden green

They saw cherries and berries, That was fitted to be seen.

5/ And Mary said to Joseph In words meek and mild:

Pick me some cherries, Joseph, For I am with child.

6/Then Joseph spoke to Mary ,In words so unkind:

Let him pluck thee cherries, Mary, who brought thee with child

See Appendix 2.4 The Cherry Tree Carol

⁵⁵ Bickford, H C Dickinson, *Sabine Baring-Gould: Squarson, Writer and Folklorist 1834 – 1924*, (Newton Abbot, David Charles, 1970), p. 127.

⁵⁶ Wulf Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory: a methodological critique of Collective Memory Studies", *History and Theory*, 41 (May 2002), p. 181.

⁵⁷ Anna Green, "Individual Remembering and 'Collective Memory', ': *Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary Debates: Oral History*, Vol. 32, No. 2, Memory and

Society (Autumn, 2004), p. 36. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40179797>. Accessed 25th February 2011. Cites Paula Hamilton, 'Memory Studies and Cultural History', in *Cultural History in Australia*, ed. Hsu-Ming Teo and Richard White, (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2003), p. 83.

⁵⁸ Anna Green, *ibid.* Citing: Alon Confino, 'Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method', *American Historical Review*, vol. 102, no. 5, (1997), p. 1386.

⁵⁹ Wulf Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory", p.183. With reference to Pierre Nora, "General Introduction: Between Memory and History," in *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, vol. 1, ed. Lawrence Kritzman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Pierre Nora, "The Era of Commemoration," in *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, vol. 3, ed. Lawrence Kritzman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

⁶⁰ Eric Hobsbawm, and Terence. O. Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983).

⁶¹ Guy Beiner, "Recycling the Dustbin of Irish History: The Radical Challenge of 'Folk Memory'", *History Ireland*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Jan. - Feb., 2006), pp. 42-47. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27725395> Accessed: 28th March 2010.

⁶² Patrick Laviolette, "Landscaping Death", *Journal of Material Culture*, Vol 8(2) p 224.

⁶³ Examples of fictional authors basing their stories on real life experience and observation are: Arthur Quiller – Couch, Charles Lee and Salome Hosking.

⁶⁴ Robert S Hawkers "Song of the Western Men" is now known as "Trelawny". Hawker originally portrayed this as Cornish traditional song of some antiquity but later acknowledged authorship and it is now thought his composition was inspired by the phrase "twenty thousand Cornishmen will know the reason why" as well as the story of Bishop Jonathon Trelawny. As a national anthem for Cornwall, it probably conjures images of more dramatic Cornish rebellions for most people than that associated with Bishop Trelawny. See Appendix 2.3.

⁶⁵ Katherine Bolland and Charles A. Atherton, "Chaos Theory: An Alternative Approach to Social Work Practice and Research. ." *Families in Society, The Journal of Contemporary Human Services*. 80.(4), (1999): 367-73.

⁶⁶ Nahachewsky, Andriy. "Once Again: On the Concept Of 'Second Existence Folk Dance'." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 33 (2001): 17-28.

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Section 2: Collectors and key players

Chapter 3 Antiquarians folklorists and chapel culture

Scholarly interest in traditional folk music and related customs can be traced back to at least the early seventeenth century in Cornwall. Richard Carew's *Survey of Cornwall* first published in 1602, for example, describes folk customs such as wrestling, miracle plays and three men's songs including John Dory.¹ It is the nineteenth century, however, when we are first able to identify detailed recording from oral tradition and an extensive interest in folklore reflected in the publication of a series of major antiquarian works and frequent reference in such periodicals as *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries* and the *The Western Antiquary*.

Nineteenth century attitudes towards oral folk tradition can be understood by recognising the dynamic changes in the way Cornwall, its people and customs were perceived and presented during this period. Deacon shows how the combination of industrialisation and Methodist ideology had encouraged a very rationalist, forward-looking consciousness in Cornwall at the beginning of the nineteenth century but a consciousness that was later increasingly imbued with nostalgia:

Even as Cornish mining boomed and Cornwall seemed set fair for an industrial future, the Cornish landed and middle classes also turned to nostalgic romantacism in the face of rapid change. A search for old ways seeped into every nook and cranny as the local middle class desperate to assert Cornwall's distinctiveness, heaped superstitions and old customs indiscriminantly onto the bandwagon marked "local peculiarities", along with icons of industrialization like the steam engine and popular enthusiasms such as religious revivals. Although superstitions and industrial imagery may seem strange companions they co-existed quite amicably as representations of mid nineteenth century Cornwall....²

This chapter seeks to show that the mediation of oral folk song and dance traditions reflected these dynamic changes and in doing so laid the foundations for both the folk and Celto -Cornish revivals in the early twentieth century.

Antiquarians

Davies Gilbert (1767-1839) was a scientist by training and ultimately a politician by profession who embraced the new industrial technologies but retained a broad interest in the heritage of his West Cornwall roots. He married into a wealthy family and changed his surname from Giddy to Gilbert in order to ensure continuity of that family name. He took up residence in the Gilbert family estate in Eastbourne but maintained links and strong association with Cornwall as MP initially for Helston then Bodmin and also as an active member of Cornish scholarly institutions. From the perspective of Cornish studies his three major pieces of work were: *Some Ancient Christmas Carols* (1822 / 1823);³ *Mount Calvary* (1826) from the Cornish Mystery Play *Gwreans and Bys*; ⁴ and *The Parochial History of Cornwall* (1838).⁵ All three were based on manuscripts from other sources and reflect Gilbert's interest in preserving records of Cornwall's heritage rather than original work or research on his part.

There is no evidence to suggest that Gilbert's purpose was to revive the material he recorded for popular usage, possibly even the contrary. Payton⁶ suggests that Gilbert was the archetypal forward-looking Cornishman of his time, his world was utilitarian and technological and he sought to be unhindered by the trappings of what was perceived as archaic culture. Thus, his antiquarianism was an expression of curiosity and his mediation was framed in terms of rejoicing that an archaic culture was in demise and recorded it for posterity rather than revival. In his introduction to the second edition of *Some Ancient Christmas Carols* published in 1823 he expresses surprise at the interest aroused by this collection but his introduction to *Calvary* makes clear his position on the Cornish Language:

No one more sincerely rejoices, than does the Editor of this ancient mystery, that the Cornish dialect of the Celtic or Gaelic language has ceased altogether from being used by the inhabitants of Cornwall ; whatever may have been its degree of intrinsic excellence: experience amply demonstrating, that no infliction on a province is equally severe, or irremediable, as the separation by distinct speech from a great and enlightened Nation, of which it forms a part.⁷

Linguistics and folk customs were not Gilbert's area of expertise and it may be that he did not feel the material merited the scholarly attention of that enjoyed by the physical sciences. These works have subsequently attracted criticism and caution must

be taken with them. Norris for example cites an average of 20 mistakes per page in *Calvary*.⁸ McGrady also points out that Gilbert was not a professional musician and suggests there is little evidence that he was even an accomplished amateur thus explaining the apparently flawed nature of some of his musical score.⁹ Gammon, however, observes that McGrady is taking the position of western art music orthodoxy here without acknowledging that Gilbert's score might represent the folk style performance of oral tradition.¹⁰ The fact remains, however, that in the early 19th Century the only practical way of recording music from oral tradition was to transcribe using formal art music score as a medium. McGrady is therefore justified in concluding that Gilbert probably did not have the musical training or skill to write music down as performed and is therefore unlikely to have recorded his material from source singers in the way that later folk song collectors did.

Gilbert himself is not clear about his sources, the ritual of noting date, informant and informant's age and occupation did not materialise until much later in the nineteenth century. It does seem likely that they were a mixture of his own recollections and those of his family together with manuscripts in his possession or sent to him by contemporaries aware of his interest. A secular song called *Jenefer Gentle* is included in his second book of carols and is apparently from his own recollection but incomplete.¹¹ He comments that some verses and line are "wanting" but it is a testimony to his view that this was a bygone curio that he did not seek to fill in the missing lines. In this example Gilbert could not have been more wrong about it being a bygone curio as it eventually found its way in to the charts of popular music in the form of Simon and Garfunkle's *Scarborough Fair* (see appendix 2.9).

What is clear is that following the publication of *Some Ancient Christmas Carols* in 1822 a number of additional manuscripts were sent to him.¹² Whilst it is unlikely that these ballad carols were collected from oral tradition in quite the same fashion as subsequent folk song collectors they arguably represent vernacular tradition of the late 18th / early 19th centuries and may well have been subject to the process of oral transmission. O'Connor shows that Gilbert did come from a family with strong amateur music connections and that he was speaking with some authority when he states that these ballads continued to enjoy popularity in Cornwall; whilst being replaced elsewhere by the more austere hymnal carols of the 19th Century.¹³ The reflexive impact of Gilbert's work upon the traditional carol is quite clear. To his surprise, evident in the introduction of the 1823 edition, the shorter 1822 edition proved a popular sell-

out. Gilbert was instrumental in ensuring that these carols remained in the popular domain and his collection, together with that of Sandys¹⁴ formed the core of the *Oxford Book of Carols*¹⁵ published 100 years later.

For Gilbert, the primary context of carol singing was in the home and among friends¹⁶ and this tradition has continued in Cornwall to the present day with a good example being that of the custom in Padstow.¹⁷ The carol is deeply embedded within the tradition of vernacular local composers in Cornwall, particularly well represented by Thomas Merrit, and warrants detailed study outside the scope of this study. Gilbert's 1823 edition contains four folk songs and two dances in addition to 20 carols, however, and these are of interest in terms of oral folk tradition in Cornwall. The dances included were the *Helston Foray* (sic) and *Joan Sanderson* or the *Cushion dance*. The four folk songs were *Jenifer Gentle /Three Sisters*, *The Three Knights*, *The Serving Man* and *the Husbandman*, and *The King Shall Have His Own Again*.

Apart from the fact that *Jenifer Gentle* was from his own recollection, Gilbert provides no information about his sources for these six items, except to explain that they were well known and popular in Cornwall. His explanation of the word "Furry" as "Foray" is more interesting in what it reveals about Gilbert than the traditional Furry dance. He would certainly have had access to Playford's version of *Joan Sanderson*¹⁸ but provides a more detailed description which suggests another source or personal observation. What is interesting is that despite Gilbert's observation that these were relics of an ancient culture in decline, *Furry Dances* have a well recorded continuity through to the present day and *the Cushion Dance* was recorded at the West Looe May Fair as late as the 1920s¹⁹ before being reintroduced again in 1966 by Gundry in *Canow Kernow*²⁰. The four songs appear in subsequent collections in a variety of versions but Gilbert's are among the earliest published. It is also ironic that in recording this material out of antiquarian interest rather than any sense of revival, Gilbert's work should act as an inspiration for Gundry in his *Canow Kernow* (1966). It is also interesting that by the time of the RACCA project in the mid 1990s these six secular items should have returned to, or have continued to remain within, the domain of oral tradition

William Sandys (1792–1874) is synonymous with Gilbert in relation to Christmas Carols and part 2 of his *Christmas Carols Ancient and Modern* (1833) contains 36 carols apparently collected in West Cornwall.²¹ It is under the pen name *Uncle Jan*

Trenoodle that he engages with Cornish secular folk traditions and his major work in this context was the publication of *Specimens of Cornish Provincial Dialect Selected and Arranged by Uncle Jan Trenoodle (1846)*²². Sandys may have had family roots in Cornwall²³ but contacts during his lifetime were provided by marriage and work. His wife, Harriet Hill, came from Carwythenack and he was employed as Commissioner of Affidavits for the Stannary Court of Cornwall.²⁴ He was born and educated in London and worked in the city as a solicitor until his death in 1874. Like Gilbert, he was an amateur antiquarian and also like Gilbert, his musical skills have been criticised²⁵ but he only produced one example of a musical score in *Specimens of Cornish Provincial Dialect* and our interest here is in the provenance of the material he published.

In the first part of *Specimens of Cornish Provincial Dialect* he includes 10 examples of Cornish dialect of which three are the words of chorus songs without music: *Tom Treloare*, *Jan Knuckey* and the *Baarley Mow*. He provides sources for the dialect tales but not the songs and so that it seems likely that these were familiar to him as a result of visits to Cornwall or supplied by his family and friends. These three items are not ballads for the solo singer to entertain others they are chorus songs for all to join in singing. Later in the 19th Century songs like the *Barley Mow* were popular at feasts and suppers such as the *Guldhise / Harvest supper*²⁶ and it is reasonable to assume this was also the context in which these songs were known to Sandys.

In the second part of this collection he includes a further 7 songs which he connects with Cornwall but these are not in dialect. The first of these is what he describes as *The Furry – Day Song* with words and music. It is literally the song that was sung during the Furry Day festivities at the time he was writing, i.e. the *Hal An Tow*, but this has subsequently been confused with the *Furry Dance* tune. Both Baring Gould and Jenner published the *Hal An Tow* words set to the quite different *Furry Dance* tune. He gives no source but if he did not collect this from oral tradition himself then it is likely that someone did this for him. He sourced the remaining six songs from other printed material. *Trelawny* came from Gilbert's *Parochial History of Cornwall*. *The Well of St Keyne* is a poem by Southey's (1774 - 1843) and tells the legend of the Well as related in Carew's *Survey of Cornwall*. *John Dory* is from Chappell's *Popular Music of the Olden Time*,²⁷ and it narrates the story of Nicholas of Fowey. It is also included in *The Survey of Cornwall* and ties in nicely with Carew's reference to three men's songs. *The Duke of Cornwall's Daughter* and *The Stout Cripple of Cornwall* are both taken

from Evan's *Old Ballads*²⁸. The last song, *The Old Drinking Song* is from Deuteromelia and included because of its similarity to the *Baarley Mow*.

Sandys' intentions are less clearly stated than Gilbert's and there is not the same feel that he is celebrating a cultural curio that is well left behind but rather that he is jumping on a band wagon of contemporary interest. Sandys is recording the contemporaneous as well as the historical. For example, he was arguably reflecting living tradition with the inclusion of the three chorus songs together with *Trelawny* and the *Furry Dance*. Carew refers to *John Dory* and it is likely to have remained within oral tradition in Cornwall at the time of Sandy's publication. We do not know if the *Well of St Keyne* was put to music in a vernacular setting in Sandys' time. Ninety years later Dunstan in fact provides an arrangement of Southey's *Well of St Keyne* to the tune of the *Helston Furry*²⁹ but does not explain if this was his work or a recalled popular rendering of the poem. The two songs from Evans are about Cornwall rather than necessarily having any provenance in oral tradition. There is a sense in which Sandys is introducing or re-introducing this material into the public domain as Cornish and may be seen as acting reflectively here.

Sandys was nevertheless an interested antiquarian outsider largely dependant on printed material and manuscripts that he would have had access to in London. Just as his musical knowledge was questioned so was his expertise in Cornish dialect. His use of the pseudonym *Uncle Jan Trenoodle* lead to confusion with another dialect authority, Tregellas, who took the opportunity to point this out in *Original Cornish Ballads* published in 1846 shortly after *Specimens of Cornish Provincial Dialect*.

Mr Tregellas repudiates the editorship of the book in question [Specimens of Cornish Dialect]:- that gentleman says that he wouldn't have took such a buffle-headed name as that es at oal. Trenoodle! Why do'e know what that do main in Cornish? Why the town of folls!!³⁰

Original Cornish Ballads is essentially a book of humorous Cornish Dialect stories drawn mostly from the repertoire of Tregellas and rendered into ballad form by the Editor, Mrs S Miles. Miles explains that she was encouraged in publishing this collection by the "favour with which they were received in private circles, especially in a mining district",³¹ the language of which suggests drawing room performance rather than farm kitchen or village inn. What is particularly interesting is the introductory essay

by Miles, which clearly celebrates the distinctive nature of Cornish dialect and identity as a living tradition rather than historical phenomena. That Tregellas took the trouble to publish criticism of Sandys also suggest that the subject of dialect was taken very seriously.

Folklorists

If Gilbert represents the discourses of enlightenment and the confident forward looking Cornish of the early nineteenth century in relation to his approach to Cornish traditions then Sandys, Tregellas and Miles represent a link to the next group of antiquarian folklorists who found Cornwall to be fertile territory for the romanticism and nostalgia of the late nineteenth century. Three key players here are Robert Hunt (1807-1887), William Bottrell (1816 - 1881) and Margaret A Courtney (1834 - 1920). Their interpretation of oral folk tradition in Cornwall defined the genre and informed subsequent generations of folklore researchers and practitioners throughout the 20th Century. They inspired both Robert Morton Nance and A K Hamilton Jenkin in their reconstruction of Guizing customs during the first half of the 20th Century.³² Deane and Shaw drew heavily upon these three people in their 1975 contribution to the *Folklore of the British Isle* series³³ and booklets on Cornish legends and fairy folk aimed at the tourist market also rely heavily on them for their content.³⁴ Hunt, Courtney and Bottrell continue to inform revivalists in the 21st Century, a good example of which being the detailed citations on the Golowan and Montol festival web sites explaining the background to midsummer and midwinter customs in Penzance.

Hunt came from a Penzance family, his early schooling took place in Plymouth and Penzance and he moved to London at the age of 12 to further his educational opportunities. Ultimately, he became a chemist by profession with an interest in photography and worked variously in Penzance, Falmouth, Devonport and London throughout his life. In 1829, he spent 10 months in Cornwall convalescing after a serious illness (acquired when he fell into the Thames) and spent this time visiting ancient sites and collecting folk tales and customs.³⁵ Hunt enjoyed an increasingly academic career, he held office with the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society, and he worked for the mining record office and was involved in the formative years of the Camborne School of Mines. His precise relationship with Bottrell is unclear but he seems to have had correspondence with him and been inspired to collate and edit the stories and customs he originally collected in 1829 for publication in 1865.³⁶

Bottrell has become almost an “industry standard” for people with an interest in Cornish folklore and custom and is frequently referenced by the later Celto-Cornish revivalists such as A. K. Hamilton Jenkin and Morton Nance who described him as the “The Old Celt”.³⁷ He did not have the high profile of Hunt and information about his life is less readily available. It is known that he came from St Levan and that he spent some time abroad before returning to live in Cornwall. His main sources of information seem to be his grandmother before 1837 and local miners after 1865.³⁸ Bottrell’s work lies in a series of articles published in local journals, which eventually formed the basis of *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall* 1873.³⁹

Margaret Courtney’s family were educated, industrious and self-made. Her grandparents had originally moved to Falmouth from Ilfracombe to set up a school where her father, J S Courtney, had taught initially before moving to Penzance.⁴⁰ Her father worked in partnership in a Penzance store before entering into banking where he seems to have enjoyed a successful career. He was a musician and played the violin but in the context of the family sitting room rather than folk fiddle. He was also interested in local history, publishing a *Guide to Penzance and its Neighbourhood* in 1845⁴¹ and updated this with the help of another daughter, Louise, in 1878.⁴² Margaret Courtney remained in the family home at Alverton throughout her life and seems to have been of sufficiently independent means to indulge an interest in Cornish customs, dialect and folklore.⁴³

Correspondence with her brother, the Liberal politician and ultimately peer, Lord Leonard Courtney, implies a shared a political philosophy.⁴⁴ Courtney was a radical liberal politician, a lifelong champion of women’s suffrage and a committed unionist who opposed Irish home rule.⁴⁵ He valued the individual but did not idolise the common man in the same way as later social reformers or for that matter, folk revivalists such as Baring- Gould. This background perhaps explains why Margaret Courtney’s recording and recounting of Cornish folk traditions is more dispassionate than that of say Bottrell who engages in a degree of Celtic mysticism. She was, however, consistent in her acknowledgement of Cornish Celticity with comments like “Cornish people possess in a marked degree all the characteristics of the Celts”⁴⁶ and “Like all other Celts, the Cornish are an imaginative and poetical people”.⁴⁷ At this point in time Ireland was synonymous with the term Celtic and the issue of Irish Home Rule had polarised British society with what was sometimes portrayed as a Saxon / Celtic divide.⁴⁸ It is possible that this could have placed her in conflict with her brother and

the unionist ideology that dominated Cornwall at the time. It may be, however, that the mindset of the time encouraged her interpretation of the folk phenomena she was recording as declining or already of the past and not something that threatened the present or future,

It is also important to recognise that Hunt, Bottrell and Courtney were writing for a middle class audience. These people entertained a romantic notion of Cornish identity and saw nostalgia as an essential ingredient. Bottrell illustrates this in the way he links 19th Century Guising traditions to Cornish Medieval Drama:

This droll formed the subject of an old Guize-dance (Christmas Play) which is all but forgotten yet, in our youth, we have heard a few scenes rehearsed, which may be interesting as an example of a primitive drama of West Penwith, that may have succeeded, or been contemporary with, the miracle plays which, about three centuries ago, were acted in the Plan-an-gwarre, St. Just, and at the Church-town cross in most other western parishes. This uncouth piece shows something of the rude and simple humour of old times, when people were quite as innocent, though less fastidious, than in our days.⁴⁹

Here Bottrell establishes the authenticity of the Guize dance through antiquity and connection with the miracle plays and suggests that the tradition is now only a lingering memory.

This emphasis on antiquity and decline make for an uncertain picture of living tradition at the time of writing as it is clear from work of the Old Cornwall Societies and James Madison Carpenter, the American folklorist, that these plays and associated customs were familiar childhood memories for an older generation in the 1920s and 1930s. The Old Cornwall Society, for example, was able to reconstruct the *Hal An Tow* from the memories of Helstonians who recalled the event some sixty years earlier.⁵⁰ When Carpenter was collecting folk plays in Cornwall in 1933/1934, he was supplied with the script for the *Padstow Mummers* play by a Mr Magor. He was also provided with recollections going back 70 years, one of which came from Robert Morton Nance's family.⁵¹ All of which suggest that these traditions were thriving at a time when antiquarian writers were apparently recording and even celebrating their demise.

Hunt, Bottrell and Courtney provide no music and only limited detail of the lyrics and dances. Unlike the folk song collectors that followed them in Cornwall, however, they provide information about the performance style and context of oral folk tradition. Some of their work directly describes the customs that provided a medium for folk songs, dances and music. Much of their work relates to a corpus of folk tales or *legends* in which folk song, dance and music is incidental to the focus of their narrative and unwitting testimony to the way things were done, or perceived to have been done. In *Duffy and the Devil*,⁵² for example, three hand reels were performed in the farmhouse kitchen much as they were 100 years later in the farm house kitchens of North Cornwall.⁵³ These folk plays and stories are based on legends and the distinction between fairy tales and legends is important here. The fairy tale takes place in an imaginary world but the legends recorded by Hunt, Bottrell and Courtney are set in the physical and social reality of nineteenth century Cornwall. The performance of dances, music and singing by humans or mythological creatures takes place within the familiar territory of feast day customs and informal gatherings in the local inn or farmhouse kitchen.

Hunt provides the words for two songs, *Merry Seine Lads*⁵⁴ and *Bet Mills Spinning Song*⁵⁵ within the context of Guize dance plays. He discusses the customs of *Maying*, the *Wassail*, and the *Guldhize* together with the *Helston Furry* dance and gives a number of examples of Guize dancing. Bottrell again only gives the complete words to songs as part of the script for a Guizers play in this case *Lanines Song*⁵⁶ and *Tarraway*⁵⁷ in *Duffy and the Devil*. Two further songs linked to guising are noted, *Tweedle Tweedle*⁵⁸ and *The Frog and Mouse*⁵⁹ and Bottrell also discusses the origins of two Ballads, *The Cherry Tree Carol*⁶⁰ and *The Streams of Lovely Nancy*⁶¹. These later four songs have remained popular in oral tradition to the present day.⁶² Bottrell makes many references to dances and dancing in his stories, particularly *Three Hand Reels* and circular *Hand in Hand* dances. The music is variously provided by a piper, a fiddler or rhythmic accompaniment on a crowd (skin sieve used as a drum) or kitchen utensils. Bottrell recalls a wedding celebration he attended where the father of the bride was encouraged to lead some step dances:

Presently the fiddle struck up with a jig. "Les have the double shuffle, Uncle Will," said the young people. Up he jumped as lively as a kid, though he was near eighty, and footed it out to the delight of all. Young Jan of Santust (St Just) followed, making the fire fly from the heels of his boots, like

flashes of lightning; and all the company were quickly whirling, in reels, without much order.⁶³

Courtney is clearer and more scholarly with her referencing to sources than either Hunt or Bottrell. Much comes from her own observations and informants such as H.R.C. “a Penzance man to whom I must own I am indebted for much information about Cornish folk-lore”.⁶⁴ There is also extensive referencing to journals such as the *Western Antiquary* and *Notes And Queries* as well as Hunt, Bottrell and Thomas Quiller Couch, with whom she had collaborated on a glossary of Cornish dialect.⁶⁵ The time line of her work just overlaps with that of Baring Gould and in the revised version published as a book, in 1890,⁶⁶ she includes a chapter on Cornish Ballads and makes reference to his collecting activity. She shares with her peers the principle of authenticity through antiquity so one is not always clear how contemporaneous some of the phenomenon is that she writes about is.

In her introduction to the section on Ballads her apology implies that these will be very familiar to her audience: “There are a few well-known old Cornish ballads, which have already been printed and re-printed; my apology for again introducing them here, must be, that a work of this kind would not be complete without them”.⁶⁷ We are left with the conundrum of not knowing whether Courtney’s material is familiar to her readers because it continues to be part of living oral tradition or because it is readily available in print. It does, however, clearly lie within the cycle of oral tradition and reflexivity. There is no sense that she is reflecting on folk phenomena with a view to supporting its continuity or instigating a revival, she is simply an observer.

It is cautionary to note her comment that Carols such as *I Saw Three Ships* and *The first Joys Mary Had* “are now no longer heard”,⁶⁸ which one takes to be the time of writing, 1886, as these were both collected from oral tradition in the early 20th century. It may be that we are simply witnessing a natural waxing and waning of popular interest but it resonates with Gilbert’s insistence some sixty years before that these traditions were dying out. Courtney notes and discusses, Guizing traditions, Wassailing, and a number of dance games associated with tea treats such as *The Millers Dance* and *Joggle Along*. She provides some detailed descriptions of the customs associated with the midsummer bonfires and quay fairs at Penzance but is not limited to the West and also includes descriptions of customs in the East of Cornwall such as the *Giglets Fair* at Launceston, *Padstow Obby Oss* and *Bodmin Riding*. She provides a description of

the *Furry Dance* and includes a version of the tune associated with the words *John The Bone* but is clear about the mistake some people made in confusing the *Hal An Tow* song with the *Furry Dance*. In the revised edition of *Cornish Feast and Folklore* Courtney includes words and references to 12 songs in her section on ballads together with some snippets of songs recalled by either herself or her informants.

Romanticist inclinations and an interest in the perceived links between oral folk traditions and paganism may have created a certain distance between the folklorists and the chapel culture of nineteenth century Cornwall. A distance compounded by their differing social locations. It seems reasonable to assume that Courtney was a lady of independent means and for all their involvement in the mining industry and associated sciences neither Hunt, Botterell nor Sandys and Gilbert before them were miners. They were certainly not at the sharp end of the divide between temperance on the one hand and what one commentator described as “devices to promote intemperance and idleness”⁶⁹ on the other. For all their distance from the social location, it is clear that to a greater or lesser extent all three lived in and were part of the broader community to which this oral tradition belonged whether they actively participated in performance or not. Leonard Courtney, for example, wrote to his sister on Midsummer’s Eve 1863 bemoaning the fact that he was yet again missing the festivities.⁷⁰

Chapel Culture, Religion and Tea Treats

Cornish folk singer and cultural ambassador Brenda Wootton eloquently expressed the received wisdom that religious attitudes discouraged traditional music and dance when she commented that when Wesley came to Cornwall he “saved our souls and cost us our culture”.⁷¹ Participatory action research, however, seems to indicate that there was a high level of festivity associated with Tea Treats particularly involving dances and games.⁷² There is a suggestion here that chapel culture actually served to promote rather than discourage phenomena associated with the process of oral folk tradition. Harvey and Brace explain the paradox by showing that Methodist Tea Treat activities offered an “appealing substitute to the carnivalesque intensity of customary fairs, with local folk traditions permeating the formal Methodist practices”.⁷³ Luker in fact argues that the success of Methodism in Cornwall can be attributed in part to its promotion of religious revivals, which appealed to pre-existing spiritual cultures such as the Guize dancing and Furry dance processions.⁷⁴ Luker’s interpretation of Methodism as a “bridge between the old and the new, promoting individualist ideas but

within structures of continuity and tradition”⁷⁵ sits well with the model of oral folk tradition as a dynamic process adopted for this study.

A good case study to illustrate how a narrative of religious intolerance is constructed is that of the May Day celebrations in Padstow. These celebrations are well referenced from the mid nineteenth century but prior to this are best understood as belonging to the broad genre of Cornish Guizing traditions. The event features two dancers, the *Obby Oss* and the *Teazer* lead by a *Master of Ceremonies* and an informal band of musicians and followed by an entourage who sing and dance or sway with the music, all the participants are described as *Mayers*.⁷⁶ In 1845, Thomas Trevaskis, a lay preacher and owner of the mill at St Issey placed a poster up in Padstow prior to May Day announcing:

To the proprietors of the Hobby Horse of Padstow
This is to give you notice that on or about the end of this month I shall offer you a bullock according to the promise; it is for you to consult against that time, whether you will give up your vain practice of the HOBBY for the rational amusement of eating ROAST BEEF
Padstow April 10 1845 - Thomas Tregaskis⁷⁷

The response of the Padstow mayers was unequivocal and also framed in a poster:

We have read the proposal Mr Trevaskis made to the proprietors of the Hobbyhorse which we decidedly reject.

For several years past, he, and his Family, have made ineffectual attempts to cry down the Hobby. In their system of annoyance they have resorted to the meanest stratagem to carry out their fanatical and visionary projects. We presume to offer a suggestion to the sagacious and liberal Sir Tommy, that will better develop the principle of sound philosophy and a more effectual check to “vain practices” than the “Proprietors of the Hobbyhorse eating a Bullock for their rational amusement”. It is this, that at the next Teetotal Festival, instead of attracting a large assembly at St Issey, to fill the Public house, and disgrace the occasion that called them together, he will issue a Proclamation to give every person gratuitously as much cake and tea (or a roasted Bullock if he would rather), as they choose to make

use of. Charity would then begin at home, and inspire us with confidence in his principles, which we do not at present possess.

The bones of every Padstow boy are fired by the Hobbyhorse. As soon as a child is able to lisp its parents name it will chant the glorious strains of our ancient Festival Song; and will usher in May's first merry morn, with "the summer, and the summer, and the May, O'.

And shall we allow aliens and strangers to usurp our pleasures, and rob us of our birthright, that we have inherited from Mother to Daughter, from Father to Son? No we will not: and poor Sir Tommy shall not be crowned King of the Hobbyhorse.⁷⁸

This exchange sees the religious establishment accused of hypocrisy in that the teetotal festivals organised by Tregaskis actually became a public spectacle after which the audience sought alcoholic refreshment at the local public house. The language is interesting in that it is literate and expresses a community rather than individual view. The wording also suggests a very strong sense of ownership and continuity within the tradition together with a group identity reinforced by the *other*, the outsider who seeks to usurp and rob Padstonians of their birthright. The reflexive response to outside pressure is thus to strengthen social bonds and identity within the tradition. Furthermore, this particular incident has become part of the Padstow May Day narrative and regularly cited as an example of the failure of outside agencies to control the tradition.⁷⁹

There is an interesting parallel between this story and the conflict in 2005 between the Padstow Christmas Guizing custom where participants black their faces and the political platform used by Diane Abbot MP around political correctness. As in 1845, disapproval from some quarters acted reflexively on a folk tradition and the defensive response of the participants became incorporated into the very meaning that tradition held for participants.⁸⁰

Similar stories can be found for other traditions such as the Methodists who drew their curtains at Helston when the Furry Dance went past on Flora Day⁸¹ and the publication of letters in the local press expressing disapproval of the St Ives Guize dancers and celebrating their demise.⁸²

Examples can equally be found to show where religion engaged positively with oral folk tradition. Two religious personalities, Robert Stephen Hawker (1803–1875) and Billy Bray (1794 – 1868), provide an interesting alternative picture to the relationship between religion and folk traditions. Hawker was an educated high churchman who converted to Catholicism on his death bed whereas Billy Bray started out his working life as a miner and had an anarchic, non conformist, approach to religion.⁸³ There is a sense in which Hawker connected with oral folk tradition by reaching back into the past whereas Billy Bray was forward looking and celebrated the joy of his religion using the step dances and songs available to him.

Hawker's *Trelawny* is an interesting case study. It was a regular feature of Cornish concerts in the UK and the Cornish Diaspora abroad in the late nineteenth century, an accepted national anthem for Cornwall by the nineteen thirties,⁸⁴ and now an expected part of the singing repertoire for any event proclaiming Cornishness from Old Cornwall Society meetings to rugby matches.⁸⁵ Its religious connotations were ambiguous at the outset and have been the subject of some debate and yet few singing it today would identify any religious connotations at all (see appendix 2.9).

It was written by Hawker in 1824 and apparently inspired by the expression "Here's twenty thousand Cornish men Will know the reason why". He describes it as "the Song of the Western Men – When Sir Jonathon Trelawny, one of the seven Bishops, was committed to the Tower, the Cornish men arose one and all and marched as far as Exeter in their way to extort his liberation".⁸⁶ The broad thrust of history recognises him as astute politician treading a careful path between the Jacobites and the supporters of William of Orange in the late 17th Century. His claim to fame was to be imprisoned in the tower in 1688 along in with six other bishops for his opposition to King James II policy of granting of Catholic indulgences.

It was first published anonymously in a Plymouth Newspaper in 1826. The extent to which Hawker encouraged it to be understood as original and traditional in the first instance is a matter of conjecture but it does fit with the popular image of his eccentricity and mischievousness. It was taken to be an original ballad by Davies Gilbert and republished as such by him. Both Sir Walter Scott and Dickens also acknowledged it as an example of a good traditional ballad. Hawker apparently corresponded with Davies Gilbert to explain his authorship and the background of the

ballad. In 1840 he published it in a book of poems called *Ecclesia*⁸⁷ and made clear both his authorship, and his delight at the way it had been taken as traditional.

Hawker did not identify a fixed a tune or musical arrangement for the song initially although according to Jenner and Dunstan, *Auld Lang Syne* was a candidate at one stage. It is now difficult to track down exactly when tune as we know it now was first used but it seems to have been established early on if not at the outset. Nance argues that *Wheal Rodney* was already established as a folk song with this melody at the time that Hawker composed *The Song of the Western Men* and contains the common element of “[forty] thousand Cornish boys shall know the reason why”.⁸⁸ The tune can certainly be understood as coming from a broad European melting pot of melodic folk motifs and Broadwood identifies a relationship with a Welsh song *Y Blodyn Du* and a tune she collected in Leicestershire to a song / game about coal dust as well the French *Le Petit Tambour* and the nursery rhyme *Grand Old Duke of York*.⁸⁹

There may have been a certain amount of creative romanticism (or mischievousness) on Hawkers part here as the Trelawny in question was not a figure of popular dissent in Cornwall like, An Gof or Flamank, nor was he involved in the prayer book rebellion. What is significant here is not the extent to which Trelawny had popular support for his position in Cornwall but the extent to which the process of oral tradition has caused the meaning of the song to become disassociated from the events in the original story and attached to popular contemporary sentiments. This is not to say that the words of the song have been radically altered but rather that key phrases have assumed particular importance for the singers:

With a good sword and a trusty hand
A faithful heart and true
King James's men shall understand
What Cornish men can do
And have they fixed the where and when?
And shall Trelawny die?
Here's twenty thousand Cornish men
Will know the reason why.

Chorus

And shall Trelawny live?
Or shall Trelawny die?

**Here's twenty thousand Cornish men
Will know the reason why.**

Out spake the captain brave and bold
A merry wight was he
Though London Tower were Michael's hold
We'll set Trelawny free
We'll cross the Tamar, land to land
The Severn is no stay
Then one and all and hand in hand
And who shall bid us nay.

And when we came to London wall
A pleasant sight to view
Come forth, come forth, ye cowards all
Here are better men than you
Trelawny, he's in keep in hold
Trelawny he may die
**But twenty thousand Cornish men
Will know the reason why.** ⁹⁰

Unlike the original story the main thrust of the text here lies with the implied confidence of the Cornish, their feeling of superiority and their challenge to the establishment. It seems paradoxical that this song of rebellion should have risen to such popularity during a period in when the dominant political ideology in Cornwall was distancing itself from notions of Celticity and allying itself with unionist sentiments of the greater Britain. These rebellious sentiments, however, might equally have been sung in support of the unionist parliamentary candidate described by the Royal Cornwall Gazette in 1910 as someone “who knew what Cornishmen wanted, who went about them and who understood their feelings and who could be trusted to represent their needs and wishes.....” ⁹¹

A more symbolic contribution to folk tradition in Cornwall was Hawker's revival of the Harvest Festival apparently inspired by historic customs such as the Cornish *Guldize*. ⁹² The first service was held in Morwenstowe Church in 1843 and spread in popularity to become a regular event in the Church calendar. In doing this, Hawker both connected with the secular calendar and introduced festivity rather than austerity into religious observance. In the later part of the 19th Century the celebration had

extended out into the community to involve a tea party and games in the afternoon before the service.⁹³ This is perhaps an example of the Church of England incorporating older medieval folk customs into the modern religious calendar in much the same way as Harvey and Brace describe this process with early Methodism.

Unlike Hawker, there are no folk song or dance traditions in Cornwall that can be attributed to Billy Bray. What he does do, however, is dispel the myth of Puritanism in the burgeoning culture of Cornish non-conformist chapels and show that religious beliefs could be, and were, expressed joyously. Bray was dismissive of conservative elements in the church establishment, he encouraged boisterous services, and his sermons incorporated step dancing and songs. This is demonstrated by entries in his own journal which invoke an image more akin to 20th Century American Gospel music than Victorian austerity. One such description is a record of Billy's response to the discomfort of a neighbouring Bible Christian preacher at his style of service:

..... But I was a glad man and the Lord made me so, bless his holy name. David was not a mad man when he danced before the lord with all his might though his wife called him so. She said he was like one of the wild fellows, shameful, uncovered. But he told her he would be more viles yet , for it was before the lord that he leaped and danced. It was the Lord that made me so happy as to make me dance and leap for joy.....⁹⁴

Bray is making it clear that dancing was an expression of the joy he experienced in his faith. Harvey and Brace show that he was not alone in this and furthermore that this religious culture embraced and adapted pre existing medieval traditions so that they became part of the parades and social activities of the Tea Treat.⁹⁵ Douche shows the role that the Inns and Public houses played in providing public entertainment such as wrestling and step dancing competitions.⁹⁶ Harvey and Brace suggest that the Tea Treats deliberately provided an alternative that was more consistent with a protestant work ethic of temperance and respect for religious and secular authority.⁹⁷

Tea Treats appear in the story line of novelists such as Salome Hocking⁹⁸ and Charles Lee⁹⁹ who set their novels in the early nineteenth and early twentieth centuries respectively. They were still to be found deeply embedded in cultural memory projects such as Corollyn in 1992¹⁰⁰ and the Rescorla Project in 2008.¹⁰¹ However, where analysts such as Harvey and Brace focus on Tea Treats as the extension of a

Methodist educational tool for children, these other narratives, particularly those from oral history, provide for a very different picture of the Tea Treat as social activity for the entire community. The opportunity that the serpent dance provided for teenagers to meet with the opposite sex was often commented upon and many descriptions were from informants who, as children, remembered watching parents dance. Similarly the pictorial evidence points to wide community involvement.¹⁰²

At the height of its popularity, the *Tea Treat* involved a procession (or Furry Dance) through the village led by the local band and decorated with various banners of the organisations involved such as the *Band of Hope*. Possibly due to being less expensive and more accessible, fife and drum bands were also common in the country areas. Dunstan recorded a number of Tea Treat marches and polkas, which he had learned as a pupil tutor during his formative musical years in the 1890s.¹⁰³ The *Serpent Dance* and all its variations have been found associated with Tea Treats throughout Cornwall as have *Broom* and *Step Dances*. The Rescorla Festival Oral History Project located a number of people who provided testimony to the Tea Treat traditions of the eastern part of the Clay Country in Mid Cornwall including the *Snail Creep*, and *The Millers Dance*.¹⁰⁴

The *Snail Creep* is particularly well documented and provides a case study that illustrates the relationship between Chapel culture, Folk Tradition and the opportunities for social interaction offered by the phenomena. The custom involves a long procession of couples following a band, led by two people holding up branches – the tentacles of the snail. A feature of the custom was the large number of people typically involved, one event in Bugle recorded as many as 600 adults and 350 children participating.¹⁰⁵ As with the snake dances of other areas, it was “the place for young men to pick their girls and some married couples maintained that they originally met at the Snail Creep”.¹⁰⁶ Two descriptions, just over seventy years apart, capture these aspects:

Western Antiquary 1881:

At Roche and in one or two adjacent Parishes a curious dance is performed at their annual feasts and which, I am of the opinion, is of very ancient origin. It enjoys the rather undignified name of “snail Creep” but would more properly be called the serpent’s coil. The Following is scarcely a perfect description of it:-

The young people being all assembled in a large meadow, the village band strikes up a simple but lively air and marches forward followed by the whole

assemblage, leading hand in hand (or more closely linked in the case of engaged couples) the whole keeping time to a lively step. The band or head of the serpent keep marching in an ever narrowing circle whilst its train of dancing followers becomes coiled around it in circle after circle. It is now that the most interesting part of the dance commences, for the band taking a sharp turn about commences to retrace the circle, still following as before and a number of young men with long leafy branches of trees in their hands as standards direct the counter movement with almost military precision. The lively music and constant repassing couples make this a very exhilarating dance and no rural sports which our poets treat could be more thoroughly enjoyable. Is this dance a relic of the Saxons, Romans or old Britons? I do not remember reading of any reference to the above."¹⁰⁷.

Cornish Magazine 1958:

During my boyhood, feast days were great events. These were well arranged so as not to take place on the same day—this enabled people to travel from one village to another. It was the one great event of the year, sometimes there would be a competition between various places in matter of teas games and other amusements. Weather permitting tables would be lavishly spread in the open air consisting of splits and cream, home baked bread and saffron cakes. In the fading light the fife and drum band could be heard in the distance. Presently it would march on to the field and this was the summons for all young people to choose a member of the opposite sex. Then linking arms the stage was set for the 'Creep'.¹⁰⁸

These two accounts not only show the continuity of tradition between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries they also provide an example supporting Harvey and Brace's suggestion that the medieval feast evolved to find a role within the chapel culture of Cornwall. Wad's question about the origin of the dance and suggestion of great antiquity is consistent with the mindset of the time and interest in these customs as relics of past classical cultures.

Conclusion

The three groups of key players discussed in this chapter, antiquarians, folklorists and chapel culture each played a key role in recording and preserving folk traditions in Cornwall. They also mediated this material in a way that reflected their own ideologies

and in doing so contributed to the process of oral folk tradition reflexively and reflectively. They acted reflexively in that they provided a force from outside which resulted in change, even if the change materialised as a greater commitment to the tradition as it did for the Padstow May Day customs. Their interpretations also introduced reflectivity by raising questions about the origins of these tradition activities and why they were engaged in and how, it all started, and how they should be engaged in the future.

These key players were also stakeholders with a vested interest in these traditions which informed their mediation. For the first group, folk customs were the relics of a primitive era and their demise evidence of Cornwall's progress and integration into a new industrial society. For the second they were a medium for romantic nostalgia and it was important for them to be able to distinguish between the pure and natural form of the customs as they were in the past and debased versions, which they had become. The first two groups can be seen as middle class voyeurs into the activities of lower socio-economic groups. Chapel culture, in contrast, can be seen as consisting of practitioners themselves, drawn from the working communities involved in mining, the clay industry and agriculture. Rather than reducing folk phenomena to the pages of print this group both preserved and mediated traditional custom by incorporating it into practices which supported their own ideology. Their stake was twofold. In the first place it was that they, rather than the publicans, should own this traditional culture and in the second it was that it served to strengthen social ties within the community.

An important theme that is shown from examination of these three groups of players is the dynamic nature of oral folk tradition as a process which takes place within multiple community settings and reacts to external influence by change or accommodation. This is a feature which should be born in mind when considering the next group of players, the collectors and folk revivalists. It will be argued that they perceived themselves as capturing and preserving a cultural artefact that was about to be lost when in fact they were taking a snapshot of oral folk tradition as it was at a given point in time.

Notes

- ¹ Richard Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall: And an Epistle Concerning the Excellencies of the English Tongue* (London: printed for Samuel Chapman; Daniel Brown jun.; and James Woodman, 1723), p. 174.
- ² Bernard Deacon, *A Concise History of Cornwall* Histories of Europe (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), pp. 123 -144, p. 135.
- ³ Davies Gilbert, (1823). *Some Ancient Christmas Carols* (London, John Nichols And Son, 1823).
- ⁴ Davies Gilbert, and John Keygwyn, *Mount Calvary : or history of the passion, death and resurrection, of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (London, Nichols, 1826). Based on William Jordan's manuscript 1611 of the Cornish Mystery Play *Gwreans and Bys* together with John Keigwins English translation.
- ⁵ Davies Gilbert, Thomas Tonkin, et al. *The Parochial history of Cornwall, founded on the manuscript histories of Mr Hals and Mr Tonkin.* (London, J.B. Nichols, 1838).
- ⁶ Philip Payton, "Paralysis and Revival: The Reconstruction of Celtic - Catholic Cornwall 1980 -1945". In *Cornwall: The Cultural Construction of Place*, Ed. Ella Westland. (Penzance, Patten Press, 1997), p. 29.
- ⁷ Davies Gilbert, *Mount Calvary*, Introduction p.V.
- ⁸: Whitley-Stokes, *Gwreans an Bys: The Creation of the World, A Cornish Mystery Play* (London, Williams and Norgate, 1864), p.1.
- ⁹ Richard McGrady, *Traces of Ancient Mystery: The Ballad Carols of Davies Gilbert and William Sandys*, Sources of Cornish History, Vol. 3, (Callington, Institute of Cornish Studies, 1993), p.15.
- ¹⁰ Vic Gammon, "Reviews" *Folk Music Journal* Vol. 7, no.1(1995), pp. 90-92 Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4522516> Accessed: 21st April 2009.
- ¹¹ Davies Gilbert, *Some Ancient Christmas Carols, with the Tunes to Which They Were Formerly Sung in the West of England. Together with Two Ancient Ballads, a Dialogue*, second ed. (London, Nichols and Son, 1823), pp. 65 -67. See also Appendix 2.9.
- ¹² Richard L. Greene, "The Traditional Survival of Two Medieval Carols. ELH journal vol. 7, n. 3, (3): (John Hopkins University Press 1940), p. 234: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2871493> Accessed: 21st April 2009. Manuscript books sent to Gilbert by a John Paynter of Boskenna in 1824 now held by Harvard Library. Also Inglis Gundry, *Now Carol We*, (Redruth Dyllansow Truran, 1980) . A collection of carols sent to Gilbert by Hutchens to late for inclusion in *Some Ancient Christmas Carols*.

- ¹³ Mike O'Connor. *Echoes of Old Kea : Extracts from the musical notebook of John Giddy, Gentleman*, (Wadebridge, Lyngham House.2001), introduction.
- ¹⁴ William Sandys, *Christmas Carols, Ancient And Modern : including the most popular in the West of England, and the airs to which they are sung*, (London,Beckley,1833).
- ¹⁵ Percy Dearmer, Ralph Vaughan Williams, et al. *The Oxford Book of Carols*. (London, Oxford University Press, H. Milford. 1928).
- ¹⁶ Richard McGrady *Traces Of Ancient Mystery*, p. vii.
- ¹⁷ John Worden, *Strike Sound: a collection of Padstow carols*. (Padstow, Lodenek Press, 1971).
- ¹⁸ John Playford *The Dancing Master, or, Directions for dancing country dances, with the tunes to each dance for the treble-violin*. (London, printed by J.P. and sold by John Playford 1686).
- ¹⁹ Shapcote, "Some Looe Customs", *Old Cornwall*, vol. 1, no. 11, Summer 1930, p. 24.
- ²⁰ Inglis Gundry, *Canow Kernow : songs and dances from Cornwall*. (St. Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies 1966), p. 5.
- ²¹ William Sandys, *Christmas Carols*.
- ²² William Sandys, *Specimens of Cornish Provincial Dialect Selected And Arranged By Uncle Jan Trenoodle*, (London,J R Smith 1846).
- ²³ Richard McGrady, *Traces of Ancient Mystery*,: p. vii.
- ²⁴ Henry Davey, Sandys, William (1792–1874). In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (London, Oxford University Press,.2004) < <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.lib.exeter.ac.uk:60700/view/article/24654> accessed 4th April 2009.
- ²⁵ Richard Terry, ed. *Gilbert and Sandys' Christmas Carols with six collateral tunes*. (London, Burns Oates and Washbourne Ltd. 1931), pp. vi –vii.
- ²⁶ Ralph Dunstan, *The Cornish Song Book, Lyver Canow Kernewek*. (London, Reid Bros Ltd. 1929), p. 48. Quoting J.C Tregarthen, *John Penrose*, p. 96.
- ²⁷ William Chappell, *The ballad literature and popular music of the olden time, a history of the ancient songs, ballad, and of the dance tunes of England, with numerous anecdotes and entire ballads. Also a short account of the minstrels*. (London,Chappell,1800).
- ²⁸ Thomas Evans, *Old ballads, historical and narrative: with some of modern date* (London, Printed for T Evans in the Strand 1777).
- ²⁹ Ralph Dunstan, *The Cornish Song Book*, p. 32.

³⁰ Walter H Tregellas, and Sibella E. H. Miles, *Original Cornish ballads: chiefly founded on stories humorously told by Mr. Tregellas in his popular lectures on "Peculiarities" : to which are appended some drafts of kindred character from the portfolio of the editress : the whole prefixed by an introductory essay on the peculiar characteristics of the Cornish peasantry.* (London Simpkin, Marshall, 1846), p. 58.

³¹ Walter H Tregellas and Sibella E. H. Miles, *Original Cornish Ballads 1846*, p. iii, prefatory remarks.

³² Peter W Thomas, and Derek R. Williams. *Setting Cornwall on Its Feet: Robert Morton Nance 1873-1959*, (London: Francis Boutle Publishers, 2007).

³³ Tony Deane and Tony Shaw, *The Folklore of Cornwall*, (London, B.T.Batsford Ltd, 1975).

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<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14203>> [accessed 26 April 2009]

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³⁷ Robert Morton-Nance, "Cornish Culture" *Cornish Review*, Spring edition, 1949, p.11.

³⁸ Mike O'Connor, *Ilow Kernow 4 : Cornish Instrumental Tradition : The Resource*, (Wadebridge, Lyngham House, 2007), p.89.

³⁹ William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*, (Penzance, Deare and Son, 1873).

⁴⁰ G.P. Gooche, *Life of Lord Courtney*, (London, Macmillan and Co, Ltd, 1920), pp.1–19.

⁴¹ John Sampson Courtney, *A guide to Penzance and its neighbourhood : including the islands of Scilly : with an appendix containing the natural history of Western Cornwall, etc.* (Penzance, E. Rowe, 1845).

⁴² Louise d'Este Courtney, *Half a Century of Penzance (1825–1875): from notes by J. S. Courtney*, (Penzance, Beare & Son, 1878).

⁴³ The Peerage.com, *A genealogical survey of the peerage of Britain as well as the royal families of Europe*, <http://thepeerage.com/p23222.htm#i232218>, Accessed 26th April 2009 p23222 . citing: L,G,Pine, *The New Extinct Peerage 1884-1971: Containing*

Extinct, Abeyant, Dormant and Suspended Peerages With Genealogies and Arms.

(London, Heraldry Today, 1972.).

⁴⁴ Gooche G.P. *Life of Lord Courtney*, cites seventeen letters from Leonard Courtney to Margaret much of which relates his political experiences and excitements.

⁴⁵ G.P.Gooche *Life of Lord Courtney*, p.618.

⁴⁶ Margaret Ann Courtney, *Cornish Folk-Lore. Part 2" (Continued).*" The Folk-Lore Journal Vol. 5, no. 2 (1887), p. 85.

⁴⁷ Margaret Ann Courtney, Thomas Quiller- Couch, *Glossary of Words in Use in Cornwall. : West Cornwall by Miss M.A. Courtney. East Cornwall by Thomas Q. Couch.* (London, Trübner & Co, 1880), introduction, p.12.

⁴⁸ Garry Tregidga, "Politics of the Celto-Cornish Revival 1886-1939", in *Cornish studies* 5, Editor, Philip J Payton, (Exeter, University of Exeter Press. 1997), p. 131.

⁴⁹ William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthsides Stories of West Cornwall* (Penzance, Deare and Sons 1873), p. 1.

⁵⁰ Spencer Toy, *The History of Helston.* (London, Oxford University Press, 1936), p.375.

⁵¹ Library of Congress, Archive of Folk Culture, The James Madison Carpenter Collection ,index 10565-10582: *Padstow Version of the St George or Mummers Play.* Carpenter Collected the play when he visited Cornwall 1933/1934 and notes correspondence with Robert Morton Nance whose father could remember being scared by the dragon in the play as a child, circa 1845.

⁵² Robert Hunt, *R Popular Romances*, p. 181.

William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthsides Stories*, p. 1.

Robert Morton- *The Cledry plays; drolls of old Cornwall for village acting and home reading.* (Marazion, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies 1956), p.7.

⁵³ Jowdy Davey, *Catch up Your Heels.* (Bodmin, The An Daras Project, 2003) p35.

⁵⁴ Robert Hunt , *Popular Romances* :p152.

⁵⁵ Robert Hunt , *Popular Romances* :p192.

⁵⁶ William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthsides Stories of West Cornwall*, p.10.

⁵⁷ William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthsides Stories of West Cornwall*, p.16.

⁵⁸ William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthsides Stories of West Cornwall*, p.194.

⁵⁹ William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthsides Stories of West Cornwall*, p.195.

⁶⁰ William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthsides Stories of West Cornwall*, p.148.

⁶¹ William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthsides Stories of West Cornwall*, p.151.

⁶² A number of versions of the The Frog and the mouse were contributed to Old Cornwall, 1939, Vol 3, number 5 p195, The Cherry Tree Carol continues popularity

today see appendix 2.4, and the Streams of Lovely Nancy remains a popular pub session song and session tune and was included in Racca (Calstock, Racca project, 1997).

⁶³ William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*, p.238.

⁶⁴ Margaret Ann Courtney, *Cornish Folk-Lore*, part II, p. 101.

⁶⁵ Margaret Ann Courtney and Thomas Quiller-Couch, *Glossary of words in use in Cornwall*.

⁶⁶ Margaret Ann Courtney, *Cornish Feasts And Folk-Lore. Revised and reprinted from the Folk-Lore Society journals, 1886-87.* (Penzance.1890 reprinted: Totowa, N.J., Rowman and Littlefield, 1973).

⁶⁷ Margaret Ann Courtney, *Cornish feasts and folk-lore*, p. 190.

⁶⁸ Margaret Ann Courtney, *Cornish Folk-Lore, part 1*, p.101.

⁶⁹ William H Paynter: *The History of the Borough of Iiskeard – John Allen*. Edited and revised 1967. (Original Version John Allen 1856), p. 140.

⁷⁰ G P Gooche, *Life Of Lord Courtney*, p.43.

⁷¹ Brenda Wootton. "Folk In Cornwall", *Cornish Review*, Spring, 1972, p.33.

⁷² Participatory action research undertaken with the Rescorla Project, see appendix 4.2 identified harvest dances, step dances and social dances that were an integral part of Tea Treat tradition.

⁷³ David Harvey, Catherine Brace, et al. "Parading the Cornish subject: Methodist Sunday schools in west Cornwall, c. 1830-1930.", *Journal of Historical Geography* vol 1(2007), pp. 24-44.

⁷⁴David Luker, "Revivalism in theory and practice: the case of Cornish Methodism", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 37 (1986), pp. 603-619. cited in David Harvey , Catherine Brace , et al. *Parading the Cornish subject*.

⁷⁵David Luker, "Cornish Methodism, Revivalism and popular belief, c.1780-1870", (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1987), p.408. Cited in Bernard W Deacon, "The reformulation of territorial identity: Cornwall in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" (Unpublished doctoral thesis. Faculty of Social Sciences, Open University,2001), p.285.

⁷⁶ Sabrina Magliocco, John Bishop, *Oss Tales*. Media-Generation, 2007. DVD / CDrom format. Observation by author 1st May 2005 -2010.

⁷⁷ Thomas Shaw, *A History of Cornish Methodism*, (Truro D Bradford Barton, 1967), p.93.

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- ⁷⁸ Donald Rawe, *Padstow's Obby Oss and May Day Festivities : A Study in Folklore and Tradition*. (Padstow, Lodenek Press,1982), p. 17.
- ⁷⁹ John Buckingham, interview with author 23 March 2006.
Participatory Action Research: Conversations during festival with Ray Delf 1st May 2006 and Dave Eddy 1st May 2007. Sabrina Maggliooco, John Bishop:, *Oss tales*. (Portland, Oregon, Media-Generation,2007), DVD format, interviews with Mayers
- ⁸⁰ Merv Davey, "Guizing: Ancient Traditions And Modern Sensitivities." *Cornish Studies* 14: (Exeter, Exeter University Press, 2006), pp. 229 – 244.
- ⁸¹ Thomas Shaw *A History of Methodism in Cornwall*.(Truro: D Bradford Barton Ltd, 1967), p.101.
- ⁸² S.T.Rowe, "Guise Dancing at St Ives", *St Ives Weekly Summary*, January 6, 1900, p.5, column 1.
- ⁸³ John Rowe, *Cornwall in the Age of the Industrial Revolution*. (St Austell: Cornish Hillside Publications, 1993), pp. 261.1 - 261.48.
- ⁸⁴ Ralph Dunstan, *Lyver Canow Kernow /The Cornish Song Book*, (London, Reid Bros 1929), p.12.
- ⁸⁵ The table in appendix 3.1 lists the events observed and participated in as research for this thesis. Some events such as the Old Cornwall society meetings made a point of standing for Trelawny, in other events such as the Cape Cornwall Singers session in the bar at the Lowender Peran festival the emphasis was on the dramatic power in the voices.
- ⁸⁶ Robert Stephen Hawker, *Ecclesia*,(Oxford, T Combe,1840), pp. 91 -93.
- ⁸⁷ Robert Stephen Hawker, *Ecclesia*, *ibid*.
- ⁸⁸ Robert Morton Nance, "The Reason Why". *Old Cornwall*, April 1927, Vol 1 no 6 (St Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1927), p.38.
- ⁸⁹ Lucy Broadwood, "Songs Connected With Customs" *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, Vol. 5, No. 19, Jun., 1915, p. 219.
- ⁹⁰ St Columb Old Cornwall Society Song sheet distributed during Mid Summer Bonfire celebration at Castle An Dinas 23rd June 2005.
- ⁹¹ Royal Cornwall Gazette, 13 Jan 1910. Cited in Garry Tregidga, "Politics of the Celto-Cornish Revival 1886-1939", in *Cornish studies* 5, ed. Philip Payton, (Exeter, University of Exeter Press. 1997), p.130.
- ⁹² Guldize is a dialect version of the Cornish "Gooldheys" the feast or celebration of the corn see appendix 5 glossary of terms.

⁹³ Howard Miles Brown. *A Century for Cornwall : The Diocese of Truro, 1877-1977*. (Truro Oscar Blackford Ltd 1976), pp. 62 – 63.

⁹⁴ Chris Wright,. *Billy Bray In His Own Words*. (Surry, Highland Books, 2004), p.39.

⁹⁵ David Harvey, Catherine. Brace, et al. *Parading the Cornish subject*. *Ibid*.

⁹⁶ Henry Leslie Douch, *Old Cornish Inns*, (Truro, Bradford Barton. 1966), pp. 47 – 65. In “The Holidays”, *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 11 June 1808, there is a description of an event at Illogan where several thousand people attended to watch wrestling tournaments and step dancing competitions.

⁹⁷ David Harvey, Catherine Brace *Parading the Cornish Subject*, p. 11.

⁹⁸ Salome Hocking, *Some Old Cornish Folk: Characters from St Stephen in Brannel a Century Ago* (St Austell, Cornish Hillside Publications, 2002), first published 1903, pp.33- 35.

⁹⁹ Charles Lee *Dorinda's Birthday : A Cornish Idyll*.(London; New York: J.M. Dent ; E.P. Dutton, 1911), pp, 238 -247,

¹⁰⁰ Alison Davey, *Corollyn: The Cornish Dances*, (Perranporth, Cam Kernewek, 1992). Corollyn was a collaborative project between different dance organisations in Cornwall which recorded and collated dances collected by individuals and groups from oral tradition during the 1980s.

¹⁰¹ Rescorla Project 2008, Rescorla Chapel, Rescorla, St Austell, Cornwall. Oral History project recording memories of people from the Clay Country in Mid Cornwall particularly, in connection with the custom of the Snail Creep. See appendix 4.2.

¹⁰² The early photographs collected for the Resorla Project show processions through towns and villages involving large numbers of people. See appendix 4.2.

¹⁰³ Ralph Dunstan, . *Lyver Canow Kernow: The Cornish Song Book*, (London, Reid and Co 1929), pp,76-78 and pp,136-137.

¹⁰⁴ Rescorla Project 2008.

¹⁰⁵ The Cornish Guardian, 4 July 1902, p.2.

¹⁰⁶ “Tales from the White Mountains”, Cornwall Literature Development Project, 1993, p.18, description of Snail Creep by Mrs W.J.Scott.

¹⁰⁷ W.C.Wad, *Western Antiquary* 1881.

¹⁰⁸ R.E.L. Collins, “An Old Cornish Custom—The Snail Creep”, *Cornish Magazine* August 1958.

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Chapter 4: The collectors and folk revivalists

The end of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century saw the collection and study of folk song and dance traditions shift from the mindset of antiquarianism and nostalgia to that of the revivalist. From a broader perspective of Cornish Studies the distinction between antiquarian and revivalists can be a fine one but for oral folk tradition there is a clear difference between the passive collector and the active revivalist who collected expressly for the purpose of preserving the tradition and in doing so impacted upon the process of transmission. Livingston¹ defines a (music) revival as a “social movement with an overt cultural and political agenda which strives to restore, or reconstruct, a musical system perceived as disappearing”. Gammon² Harker³ and Boyes⁴ argue that the folk songs collected by revivalists such as Cecil Sharp and Gardiner were used to construct, and express, middle class Edwardian ideals of Englishness. Roper and Morgan⁵ argue that the folk revivals in Scotland and Wales respectively were also a construction born out of a nationalist ideology. There was a parallel Celto-Cornish revival during the same period represented by the formation of the Cowethas Kelto-Kernuak,⁶ which impacted on the way that folk tradition was collected, constructed and mediated in Cornwall. This is considered in detail in Chapter 6 where it is argued that this folk revival followed a significantly different trajectory.

Harker and Boyes represent the revisionist movement of the 1980s which challenged the validity of the way in which the early revivalists collected and mediated their material. They saw these collectors as drawn from an educated and powerful elite who had very clear ideas on what comprised culture and had no compunction in dismissing aspects and material that did not fit their ideology. Ritual dances such as Morris were seen as a predominantly male domain despite evidence to the contrary,⁷ regional dialects and vernacular language were largely ignored and it was maintained that their best informants would be those people unsullied by contact with the wider world through travel or literacy.⁸ Harker and Boyes both refer to Gramsci’s theories of cultural hegemony and argue that a very narrow version of what constituted folk tradition was promoted in the interests of the cultural elite.

Onderdonk⁹ questions this perception of the early collectors, showing for example that whilst Vaughan Williams, a close associate of Sharp, had a reputation for pre-occupation with modality in the music he selected for publication and arrangement this was not necessarily the case with the music he recorded as part of his collection.

Bearman undertook a very detailed deconstruction of the revisionist movement in his doctoral thesis,¹⁰ which made the case that Sharp in particular was as much a product of his time, as the revisionists were of theirs. He showed that Sharp was meticulous in the detail of what he recorded and argues that such mediation as he undertook resulted from the pragmatism needed in order to promote what he saw as a valuable cultural heritage. Overtly vernacular songs would not have been accepted by Edwardian society and the only practical medium if songs were to be performed was that of sheet music arranged for the voice parts and piano popular at parlour concerts.

This polarity of views provides a useful perspective from which to consider the way in which the collector / revivalists selected and mediated the material they collected in Cornwall and the reflective and reflexive impact this had on the process of oral folk tradition.

This chapter examines the role of five major British folk song collectors who have undertaken significant work in Cornwall. The first three were part of the early revivalist movement: Sabine Baring-Gould made a number of expeditions to Cornwall between 1889 and 1891; George B Gardiner collected 27 songs on a tour of Cornwall in 1904; and Cecil J Sharp visited Cornwall once in 1913 and twice in 1914. The fourth collector, James Madison Carpenter, followed the footsteps of the early revivalists visiting Cornwall on at least two occasions between 1929 and 1934. The last to be considered is Peter Kennedy who visited Padstow in 1951, recorded a number of songs during the Christmas of 1956 but continued to work with local singers to produce the Cornish section of *Folk Songs of Britain and Ireland* in 1975.¹¹

Sabine Baring-Gould (1834 – 1924)

Baring-Gould was an established popular author and his folk song collections were widely available in a series of publications that remain easily accessible today. His biographer and grandson, Bickford H C Dickinson, paints a picture of a man driven by strong political and moral convictions, a sense of duty as parson and squire and an almost endless stream of enthusiasms.¹² As a cleric, Baring Gould was a tractarian but passionate about what he saw as the evolution of the Church of England into a modern religion that nevertheless respected the aesthetics of the past. He was fascinated with the early archaeology of Dartmoor and Cornwall together with the folklore and legends of that had grown up around them in the local communities. He was familiar with the culture of the “singing men” who entertained with their songs and stories from his

childhood days on Dartmoor. It was a chance conversation in 1888 with friends who lamented the loss of these songs that triggered his particular enthusiasm for folk music.¹³ Within a short space of time, he had enlisted the help and musical expertise of F. W. Bussell (of Brasenose College, Oxford) and Rev H. Fleetwood Sheppard (an authority on sacred music). This task was to all intents and purposes completed within 3 years and culminated in the publication of four volumes under the title *Songs and Ballads of the West*.¹⁴ Baring-Gould then pursued other interests but continued to add notes and draw from this work for the rest of his life.

Baring-Gould's use of what we would now call oral testimony is indicated by the sub title of his collection: *A Collection Made From The Mouths Of The People*. Certainly, for the purposes of this study there is an element of oral history in his work and it is important therefore to understand what he brought to the interviewer / interviewee relationship and how this affected the text. The image created by Dickinson helps to set the scene here:

Bussell, Sheppard and Sabine would occasionally set out all together, and a strange trio they must have made: the tall hawk-faced Sabine, Sheppard, the gentle old musician, and Bussell, the little Oxford dandy. They would stay at wayside taverns and lonely moorland inns, entertaining such old men as could hobble so far and noting down their songs.¹⁵

It is sometimes assumed that as parson and squire, Baring-Gould saw his old singers as his friends but not his equals. It is difficult to argue that there was not a power relationship in favour of the three gentlemen described here against the old singers who provided them with the material they sought, but Baring-Gould's attitude towards class was a complex one. He combined an almost feudal paternalism with advanced political views and insisted that the social aloofness of the landed gentry was a modern trait not characteristic of manorial families who took their duties and responsibilities seriously in previous centuries.¹⁶ He saw education as a liberating tool and started his working life as a teacher in poor areas in defiance of his family's wishes. It was whilst holding just such a position met and married his wife who was a mill worker. It is likely that this action was a product of his single mindedness rather than a political statement but it helps to show that he was likely to have established a comfortable relationship with the people from whom he collected songs and gained their confidence.

For all he may have established effective relationships with his sources Baring-Gould's single mindedness introduced a narrow focus to the oral text he collected. He visited the Falcon Inn at St Mawgan on several occasions and collected a number of songs from the Gilbert family who were landlords for several generations.¹⁷ Martin Graebe shows that this was an extended family with a network of singing contacts.¹⁸ They had realised an interest in these songs well before Baring-Gould's time and continuing with this interest, sent four songs to Cecil Sharp in 1904. The author Charles Lee who spent a year in St Mawgan in 1903 researching and seeking inspiration for his novel, *Dorinda's Birthday*, also knew them. His diary records the rich musical life of the community and one of the events he witnessed was the serpentine dance of St Mawgan Feast.¹⁹ This was clearly a significant folk dance event for the village but was not noted or commented upon by Baring-Gould although he certainly demonstrated an interest in dance on other occasions. Baring-Gould included dances with his family concert party performance of the songs he collected. He was also instrumental in introducing Cecil Sharp to a version of *The Triumph* performed by local dancers. Dance was simply not on Baring-Gould's agenda during his most active period of folk song collecting.

Baring-Gould's aesthetic interests also informed and influenced his selectivity. He felt the treasures of the past were something to be preserved for contemporary appreciation, a practical example of this being his devotion to the task of restoring the architectural artefacts of his church in Lew Trenchard and in so doing to provide an aesthetically rich place of worship. These values also informed his folk song collection both in terms of what he was looking for and how he mediated it. The preface to *Folk Songs And Ballads Of The West* helps us to understand what these values were:

Wherever Celtic blood flows, there it carries with it a love of music and musical creativeness. Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Brittany, have their national melodies. It seemed to me incredible that the West of England—the old Kingdom of Damnonia—Devon and Cornwall, where the Celtic element is so strong, should be void of Folk-Music. When I was a boy I was wont to ride round and on Dartmoor, and put I up at little village taverns. There—should I be [there] on a payday—I was sure to hear one or two men sing, and sing on hour after hour, one song following another with little intermission. But then I paid no particular attention to these songs. In 1888

it occurred to me that it would be well to make a collection—at all events to examine into the literary and musical value of these songs, and their melodies.....

..... Through local papers I appealed to the public in the West for traditional songs and airs I also knew of one (singer) in my own neighbourhood. James Parsons, From him I procured about five-and-twenty ballads and songs, some of a very early and archaic character, certainly not later than the reign of Henry VII., which he had acquired from his father.²⁰

He clearly shares the 19th century romanticist notion of a by-gone age with a rich musical culture and for purposes of his folk song project; this age was that of the Celts of the West. He felt that the melodies he collected in the west were quite different to those found further east and explains this in terms of the Celtic past:

Directly the Exe is crossed we come into a different musical deposit. I do not say different in kind, for music was the same every where in certain epochs, and where certain instruments were in use. For instance, a harp tune was of the same character in Ireland, in Wales, in Cornwall, in Scotland, and in France; and a bagpipe tune or a hornpipe tune had the same character everywhere. But what I find is that songs and ballads sung to their traditional melodies in Somersetshire, in Sussex, in Yorkshire, and Northumberland, are sung to quite independent airs on Dartmoor and in Cornwall. How is this ? Because the same process went on in the West as in Scotland.

The Celtic tongue retrograded and finally expired in Cornwall. Then English ballads and songs found their way into Cornwall, as they found their way into Scotland and Ireland, and were set to already familiar melodies thenceforth dissociated from their no longer understood words.²¹

Unlike previous folk song collectors such as Francis Child, he placed greater emphasis on the melodies than the words and preferred oral sources to printed or archive texts. The detailed recording of the lyrics he provides within the 600 or so items in his manuscript collection suggests that he was methodical in his recording even if he was subsequently less scrupulous with mediation.²²

The sheer volume and breadth of Baring-Gould's other writing shows him to be both creative and to have a feel for popular presentation. His creative approach when publishing folk songs was criticised by Cecil Sharp who complained that he even forgot when he had been creative with material, claiming it to be as originally collected. Dickinson points out that such criticism is unfair and ironic in that Sharp himself frequently elected to change or be selective when publishing material he had collected.²³ The problem of bowdlerisation is intrinsic to folk song studies and the issue of altering text perceived as original and authentic has been a matter for much debate historically. The discussion in chapter two shows that this is nevertheless change in response to the influence of the prevailing social climate and part of the process of folk tradition.

The late nineteenth century was a period when there was considerable interest in and attention paid to Cornish dialect as we have seen above. Baring-Gould sometimes uses dialect when quoting from his sources in both his field notes and also in his *Reminiscences*²⁴ but dialect rarely appears in published lyrics of the songs he collected. This may be a reflection on the perception he had of the audience for whom he was recording and the eventual readership. If this was the case then it was not so for other authors such as Sandys and Thomas Quiller-Couch who clearly saw a market for dialect publications. It may simply be that Baring –Gould did not expect his audience to wish, or be able, to sing in dialect. There would also have been the practical difficulty of transcribing dialect pronunciation and Baring-Gould acknowledged that he was unreliable with dialect words, in spite of or perhaps because of his multilingualism²⁵. The one song he collected and published in Cornish (or for that matter Dartmoor) dialect was *Uncle Pengerric* and this was largely reconstructed.²⁶

Baring Gould collected some 75 songs in Cornwall from 37 sources; he also collected a number of songs from people living in Devon who had learned their songs as children in Cornwall. Much of his activity focussed on East Cornwall in easy travelling distance from his home on Dartmoor although he visited St Mawgan on a number of occasions and received a number of songs via correspondence with people in Bodmin and further west. The database shows that some of the songs noted by Baring-Gould remained within the domain of oral tradition to be noted again by Carpenter in 1931 and Kennedy in the 1950s. In addition to the various editions of *Songs of the West* and *Garlands*, Baring Gould's collection contributed reflexively to

oral tradition in Cornwall through publications aimed at a Cornish / Celtic audience. The first of these was Henry Jenner's contribution of 12 songs to the *National Songs Of The Celtic Countries*²⁷, 10 of which were provided for him by Baring-Gould. In 1960 Inglis Gundry used a songs from Baring Gould in *Canow Kernow*²⁸ and in 1983 songs and tunes from the Faircopy mss then held in Plymouth Library were included in *Hengan*.²⁹ The *Racca Project*³⁰ of 1995 / 97 recorded tunes currently in circulation that were known to Baring- Gould but it is not possible to identify which of these had remained within oral tradition from the time of his collection 1888- 1891 and how many had returned to this domain as a result of the above publications. Whilst the ballads he collected continued to provide material for singers operating within folk music as a genre throughout the twentieth century, few of the songs survived within oral tradition located within the original community setting. For example, the *Ring Of Bells* public house in St Issey lies within the same geographic area as that of the Gilbert family of St Mawgan and the singers they introduced to Baring Gould. It hosts regular informal local singing sessions but few of his songs are now sung in this setting.³¹

Cecil Sharp (1859–1924)

Like Baring-Gould, Cecil Sharp did not develop an interest in Folk Song and Dance until later in life but for him it became a consuming passion, which he pursued for the rest of his life, ultimately in the professional role of educator, editor and publisher. His background was urban and middle class but not particularly moneyed. In his early adult life he tried out various career possibilities in Australia. He was largely a self-taught musician but on his return to Britain in 1892 he took up a post of music master at a prep school (mostly for Eton), which gave him the freedom to pursue other interests including folk music.³² Sharp was politically aware and a social reformer with sympathies that lay initially with the Liberals and later with Labour. He was not, however, sympathetic to women's suffrage and this did impact upon his mediation of folk tradition and resulted in difficult relationships with other folk activists, such as Mary Neal, who saw working women's involvement in folk dance as emancipatory.³³ His biographer, and erstwhile personal assistant, Maude Karpeles, suggested that this opposition was more to do with the violence associated with women's suffrage than ideology.³⁴ She was, however, writing some forty years after his death at a time when Sharps attitude towards women and Morris dancing was coming under close scrutiny by the revisionists discussed above and there may be a defensive element here.

Cecil Sharp's main collection period in Britain was between 1903 and 1914 but he also collected songs and dances from the Appalachians in the United States between 1917 and 1918. He visited Baring-Gould in the Christmas of 1903 / 04 and this was the beginning of collaborative work between them in republishing *Songs and Ballads of the West*³⁵ and also *English Folk Songs*³⁶ aimed at Schools. This also marked the start of a campaigning period when Cecil Sharp endeavoured to gain recognition for English folk songs as a discrete entity and a "National Treasure" which culminated in the publication of *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions* in 1907.³⁷ The two men appeared to have collaborated well and *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions* is dedicated to Baring-Gould but Sharp does seem to have ridden rough shod over suggestions of Celtic influences in the West in notes on the songs. For example, under Baring-Gould's editorship it was suggested that the tune to *Lord Arscot of Tetcott* had origins in Wales whereas Sharp, based upon the same information, construed English origins. In later life Baring-Gould also expressed regret that Sharp had used new arrangements of his own for some of the songs rather than the arrangements made by Rev Shepherd. He felt that Shepherd's arrangements were more sympathetic to the original tunes sung to him.³⁸

Throughout the pages of his biography, Maude Karpeles is slightly defensive of Sharp. It is clear that whilst he was a charismatic figure and instrumental in gaining wider recognition for British folk music he was also fairly rigid in his views. He was dismissive of people who thought there might be different explanations for the origin of folk phenomena or that folk song and dance might be performed in a different way to that perceived as correct by Sharp. His charisma was such that he became the definitive voice of English folk song and dance tradition with critics and competition being assigned to the wilderness. He took control of the Folk Song Society, which had originally adopted a wider world view interest in the subject and reframed this as the English Folk Song Society. This may have been a reflection of Edwardian times and a reaction to an increasing public awareness that the British/English Empire was not necessarily a permanent fixture. There was increasing concern about Americanisation on the one hand and fears of cultural domination on the part of Germany on the other. Sharp's nationalism marks him out as a man of his time and Hobsbawm et al show us that the engineering of tradition to legitimise a culture of nationalism was far from unique to England.³⁹

What is remarkable about Sharp is that he remained unchallenged and largely uncriticised until his work came under the scrutiny of revisionists such as Harker, Gammon and Boyes. This might reflect the limited academic interest afforded to Folklore and Folk music and the low public profile between the wars. In *English Folk Song - Some Conclusions*⁴⁰ Sharp developed Gummere's ideas on the communal origins of balladry⁴¹ to establish the principles of *continuity*, *variation* and *selection* as the basis for defining a folk song and this remained a persuasive definition for much of the twentieth century. More than forty years after the publication of *Some Conclusions*, Maude Karpeles was able to take his ideas to the International Folk Music Society Conference in Sao Paulo where they were used as the basis for an internationally agreed definition of Folk Music.⁴² Sharp's model of the folk process has evolved to embrace more contemporary ideas about the nature of memory as a process informed by both individual and community experience. Sharp's insistence on respect for the performer / informant and the importance of the collector / collectee relationship also resonates well with the principles of Oral History proposed by practitioners such as Portelli. Where Cecil Sharp comes in for criticism by revisionists is the extent to which he failed to put his methodology into practice. Scrutiny of his informants in Somerset, for example, showed that far from being unlettered and isolated many of his informants were well travelled and literate (Harker 1982).⁴³

Sharp's manuscript collection has 63 records from Cornwall representing 44 distinct folk phenomena, comprising a mixture of ballads, community songs, carols, and sea shanties together with 4 dances.⁴⁴ As early as 1904 he was sent 4 songs by the Gilbert family of St Mawgan, discussed above. In 1912 he was sent 4 songs by Tom Miners from Camborne who was one of his contacts when he visited Helston, Camborne and Redruth in 1913 where he collected 35 songs and dances. Tom Miners together with another of Sharps singers, Jim Thomas, went on to publish articles of their own in the *Folk Song Journal* as well as the *Old Cornwall Society Magazine* and it is a moot point as whether they should be seen as what Sharp described as his singers or collector / researchers in their own right.⁴⁵ He visited Padstow and Camborne on 31st April / 1st May 1914 and made notes on the May Day song and the dance performed by the Obby Oss and Teazer. He visited Camborne again in July of that year where he collected a further 18 songs, some from the people he had met the previous year. This data suggests that Sharp was targeting the better-known folk customs of Helston and Padstow but also taking advantage of the contact with Tom Miners to collect material in Camborne and Redruth. It comes at the end of his main collecting

period in Britain and it is likely that he assumed that between his own work and that of Baring-Gould in the West there was little new to be collected in Cornwall. This is borne out by some of his comments on Gardiner's collecting discussed below. In fact Baring-Gould had never ventured as far west as Camborne and Sharps interest was clearly raised to some extent in that he made a further visit, unconnected with the Padstow or Helston customs, in July 1914 further following up the contacts he had made the previous year through Tom Miners.

As far as dances are concerned, he appears to have been entirely focussed on the Helston Furry and the dance of the Oss and Teazer at Padstow and not interested in dance activity elsewhere. From his manuscript notes, coming across the Grampound and St Austell Furry dances was the result of a chance meeting. This is intriguing as we can be reasonably confident that there was Guize dancing and mummers activity around at this time together with step dancing and also the serpent dances of the Tea Treats.⁴⁶ The answer may lie in the discursivity created by Sharp around folk dance culture. He was by now focussing on what he saw as the male domain of ritual dance⁴⁷ which would have discouraged him from seeing the mixed sex Furry dances as anything other than a form of social dance. Indeed he is quite dismissive of the dance used to round off the Helston Furry at the Corn Exchange prior to the First World War: "The dance through the streets lasted till one o'clock when the procession re-entered the Corn Exchange, danced once or twice round the hall and stopped in longways formation. The leading couple then began a country dance of the ordinary kind although the top couples were evidently unused to this form of dancing."⁴⁸

Boyes⁴⁹ discusses the construction of a model of folk tradition by Sharp and his followers that excluded the artefacts of an industrial working class such as clog dancing, the cakewalk and music hall songs in preference for what was perceived as the racially pure cultural artefacts of the rural peasantry. This being the case Sharp is unlikely to have expressed interest in or followed up any reference made to the kind of dances described by Hunt, Bottrell, and Courtney. He is also likely to have been unimpressed by the dances of the Tea Treats as their association with Fife and Drum or Brass bands would have marked them off as contaminated by modern society. The Furry dance, however, is probably the archetypal example of reflexivity in that Sharp ensured its inclusion in the Schools folk dance curriculum but as the only dance from Cornwall included there was an implication that this was all there was.

This goes some way to explain the otherwise rather strange festival programmes adopted by the Cornwall Folk Dance Society (formed in 1920s by Lady Mary Trefusis) for their festivals. The posters for the festival held in Penzance in the early 1920s and Launceston in 1929, for example lists Morris dances and Sword dances but no scoot dances from Cornwall and a variety of country-dances but only the Helston Furry Dance from Cornwall.⁵⁰

George Gardiner (1852 – 1910)

Unlike Sharp or Baring-Gould, Gardiner was a professional academic, albeit in the classics rather than Folklore or Folk music but in 1903 seems to have applied his skills to “undertake a systematic study of the folk songs of Europe learning typical examples of French, German, Russian, Swedish, Finnish, Hungarian and even Bohemian and Slovenian songs.”⁵¹ Encouraged by another Folk song collector and enthusiast, Henry Hammond, he developed an interest in similar research nearer home. In 1905 he piloted this by collecting songs from Cornwall and presumably knew that this was an area that had not been covered by Cecil Sharp. Gardiner enlisted the help of two musicians Rev E Quintrell of Helston and C Stanley Parsonson of Launceston for his collecting in Cornwall. Although travelling further into Cornwall than Baring-Gould he still only collected 5 songs from the West, the remaining 21 were all from North Cornwall, 15 of them from Launceston, an area which Baring-Gould had been very active in fifteen years previously..

Gardiner demonstrates a more reflective and possibly objective approach to folk song collection than that of some of his contemporaries. Having collected his material, he then seems to have submitted examples to both Baring-Gould and Sharp together with the Secretary of the Folk Song Society, Lucy Broadwood, for advice and feedback, which they duly provided.⁵² Baring-Gould and Sharp seem comfortable but clear in their role as experts making comments like “ I have had several versions of ringers songs; one from Egloshayle and much like this”⁵³ and “ End of tune like *We won't go home till morning*”.⁵⁴ On the advice of Broadwood, Gardiner went on to focus his activity in Hampshire, Dorset and the Home Counties eventually collecting in the region of 1,460 songs placing him at the top end of the league of British folk song collectors. Relatively little of Gardiners collection was published, 45 songs were included in an article in the *Folk Song Society Journal* in 1909⁵⁵ and a further 16 were included in the third edition of *Folk Songs of England* edited by Sharp in the same year. Pursloe⁵⁶ shows that Gardiner was professional and scholarly in his recording, noting words whether or not

they made sense to him and refrained from bowdlerisation. Although reasonably able musically he nevertheless used trained musicians to transcribe tunes where possible.

Gardiner's objectivity did not transfer to the publishers of his material, however, all of which was mediated by Sharp and fellow revivalist and composer Vaughan Williams. For example, in the 1909 edition of *Folk Songs of England* five of the songs were furnished with new texts and a bias was made towards the inclusion of songs in a Dorian mode probably due to Vaughan Williams' perception of this to be a particularly English trait.⁵⁷ Neither of these included his songs from Cornwall but one Cornish tune seized upon by the English Folk Song establishment was that collected by Quintrell from a Mr J Boaden of Cury near Helston and forwarded to Gardiner in May 1905. No title or text was collected with the tune but the discussion in an article in the *Folk Song Journal* of 1905⁵⁸ came to the conclusion that as the words of *Maid In Bedlam/ I love My Love* fitted this tune so well this must be an alternative melody for the words and the title of the song. This approach provides a good example of the attitudes and mindset of the revivalist movement of the time. Despite Baring-Gould's observations about the distinctive melodies of the West and the transient nature of the relationship between tune and words made some fifteen years before there seems to have been an absolute conviction that because the tune fitted the words of *I Love My Love* then this was the source of the tune. Furthermore, because the melody was in a Dorian mode then it fitted their construction of what was authentically English. As "I Love My Love", Boaden's melody was incorporated into musical arrangements by Holst that were presented as archetypically English.⁵⁹

It was perhaps inevitable that later Cornish revivalists would see this as appropriation and cultural strip mining.⁶⁰ The Cornish provenance of *I Love My Love* was not lost on Inglis Gundry, however, who published it along with 3 other songs from Gardiner's collection in *Canow Kernow*⁶¹ in 1966. In 1975 Tony Snell followed this by writing words in Cornish for the tune and giving it the title *Ryb An Avon* by which it is popularly recognised in Cornwall today.⁶²

James Madison Carpenter (1888 – 1984)

Bishop⁶³ shows the ironic juxtaposition of Dr James Madison Carpenter's folk song and custom collecting expedition to Britain between 1929 and 1935 with Maude Karpeles collecting work in Newfoundland during the same period. Karpeles represented a continuation of Sharp's discursivity with respect to folk song and dance

and shared with her revivalist peers the opinion that the folk song in its original context had died out in Britain as a result of industrialisation and modernisation. The expedition to Newfoundland was an attempt to locate folk songs amongst communities that had been left unchanged by modernisation and had remained true to the “innocent peasant” of Sharp’s model of folk tradition. Carpenter, conversely, had already visited Ireland in the course of researching for his Doctorate, found it a rich source of material and persuaded the Harvard University Authorities to fund an extensive project in Britain to study British / American folk song links.

Carpenter was a Harvard-trained scholar from the school of folk song research introduced by Professor F J Child⁶⁴ and represented by published collections between 1857 and 1885 which became known as the *Child Ballads*. Carpenter’s tutor and mentor was Professor George Lyman Kittredge and literally successor to Child. This provided for a formidable analytical and academic background compared to activists within the British folk revival like Sharp but it was entirely written text and manuscript-based. It was studied as a form of vernacular literature, music was not taken into consideration and there was no element of oral testimony involved. For all his analytical academic background Carpenter was embarking on new territory for Harvard and not only because he included the music with the lyrics. His use of a portable wax cylinder *Dictaphone* and close attention to the text of the performer also marks him out as an early oral historian. Carpenter never published his work nor did he fully transcribe all his recordings. In 1972 his collection, which took the form of his own written and typed notes, newspaper cuttings, photographs and wax cylinder recordings, was purchased for the Library of Congress.⁶⁵

Whilst the use of a recording machine introduced an element of objectivity to the text and music being recorded, Carpenter was still bringing much to the interviewer / interviewee relationship that would influence and mediate the material he collected. He is unlikely to have cut quite the same educated British Middle Class image of Sharp and Gardiner, he slept rough in his car for much of the time and his contacts were often driven by concern for his health to offer food and somewhere to sleep. He also seems to have found that his American nationality was an advantage in building up contacts and relationships with his sources.⁶⁶ His manuscript notes suggest a fairly pedantic approach when collecting material from people. It is evident that he would record the sound and then back this up by asking for constant repetition until he had transcribed the words using a portable typewriter.⁶⁷

Carpenter's papers show that he visited Cornwall at least twice during his research work in Britain between 1929 and 1934. His visit to West Penwith in the winter of 1931 /1932 was apparently for health reasons, to recover from pneumonia he had contracted whilst touring the North in an open topped car. Records are not complete but it seems likely that this is when he collected much of his Cornish material. Altogether he recorded approximately 44 items of folk phenomena from Cornwall, mostly from Penzance and Camborne areas but also from Padstow and Cadgewith. Carpenter seems to have located his sources partly by chance and partly by tracking down people or families known to Baring Gould and Sharp some twenty to forty years previously. In the case of Cornwall he contacted one of Sharps singers, Sydney Veale from Camborne and possibly the family of James Thomas another singer now deceased. He also made contact with Tom Miners who had sent songs to Sharp and had articles published in *The Folk Song Journal*.⁶⁸ Miners by this time was involved with the Old Cornwall Societies and the formative Cornish Gorsedh and it is likely that he put Carpenter in touch with W D Watson from whom he recorded 11 items some of which were in the Cornish language. Carpenter recorded three songs from Tom Miners himself and also seems to have had some contact with Morton Nance who supplied him with information from his own family regarding the *Padstow Mummers Play*.⁶⁹ It can be seen that, for all the objectivity of Carpenter may have exercised in his recording, there might have been some bias towards the Celto – Cornish revivalists in his location of sources.

As Carpenter's work was never published there is a sense in which it was never mediated or interpreted in the way that Baring-Gould's or Sharp's material was. His collection has not been readily available within the public domain and does not appear to have informed the reflection of practitioners or have had a reflexive influence on the way songs and customs have evolved. There is, however, an interesting history around the St Day Carol which might be seen as reflexive. There is a received understanding without any provenance that the carol was originally in Cornish and subsequently translated into English, from whence it became part of the canon of British carols. Watson provided a translation of the carol in the *Old Cornwall Society Journal* in 1926⁷⁰ and evidently sung this for Carpenter to record. Carpenter notes this as "Sans Day Trelys Gans W D Watson" which has been taken by subsequent archivists to mean the title was Sans Day Trelys Gans and that it was collected from Watson rather than

translated by him (trelys gans = translated by). This may have contributed to the belief in the Cornish Language origins of the *St Day Carol*.

Peter Kennedy (1922 – 2006)

Carpenters invisibility is reflected in an additional verse to the *Cadgewith Anthem* which came into circulation circa 2005 and fails to recognise his wax cylinder recording of the song in 1931:

This Song was collected by the great Peter Kennedy
On an old tape recorder in 1956
Reel to reel, not cassette,
Reel to reel, not cassette
For Cassettes weren't invented in 1956 ⁷¹

It also hints at Peter Kennedy's reputation for quite extensive reel to reel recording of traditional material.

Peter Kennedy was the son of Douglas Kennedy, Director of the English Folk Song and Dance Society for 37 years following Cecil Sharp's death in 1924.⁷² He was also the nephew of Maude Karpeles, Sharps biographer so his relationship with the folk revivalists was almost dynastic. In his autobiographical notes, he describes training initially as an architect with a view to using these skills in theatre set design.⁷³ On leaving the RAF after the War, however he joined his parents in working for the English Folk Song and Dance Society. In 1952 he successfully petitioned the BBC to undertake a more systematic approach to folk music and was taken on himself as researcher for the BBC Radio programme *As I Roved Out*, which ran from 1953 to 1958. This period also saw the development of his own interests in recording folk phenomena and culminated in the publication of *Folksongs of Ireland and Britain*⁷⁴ in 1975 together with a cassette tape series under the *Folktrax* label edited and re-mastered from his original reel to reel tapes.

Kennedy's approach to folk song collecting was influenced by the technology available to him and the developing media industry around record production. He set up a company called *Folktrax and Soundpost Publications* to facilitate publication of this material but seems to have encountered some criticism with respect to his attitude towards apparent personal ownership of the material rather than lodging it with the

English Folk Song and Dance Society. Stradling⁷⁵, for example, suggests that he sidestepped copyright issues by dubbing his own accompaniments on to field recordings and *bought* the right to material he collected from singers with “insultingly small payments”. Kennedy was clearly aware of these criticisms and made the following comments on his Folktrax web site:

Folktrax protected the rights of performers, and other collectors and benefitted them by protection and from royalties from broadcasting and publication, at the same time making their inheritance more widely available to students and research bodies. Although such traditions recorded in location may not have a commercial interest, they form an archive of oral history with considerable educational value.⁷⁶

This criticism, however, has a resonance with the criticism of Sharp who also made a career out of the material he collected some fifty years previously and had difficulty in obtaining dances from some groups due to their concerns about loss of ownership and mistreatment of the material. What this discussion does do, however, is draw attention to the tension between copyright and commercial interest on the one hand and the notion of public ownership on the other. It may be that the commercial environment where income can be generated by recorded material as well as live performance is a factor that encourages the development of folk music as a genre of popular music as well as an oral tradition.

Kennedy's first collecting expedition to Cornwall was 1950 when he made a documentary film of the Padstow May Day Festivities with Alan Lomax.⁷⁷ His main collecting period in Cornwall was during the early winter of 1956 but he seems to have maintained contact with people like Charlie Bate of Padstow who acted as guide for the 1950 documentary, provided him with some songs in 1957 and probably introduced him to the Biddick family of Boscastle. As well as interviewing individuals Kennedy made a number of recordings of groups in settings where they normally performed, for example the Truro Wassailers at the Heron Inn in Malpas and the fishermen singing in a Cadgewith pub. Altogether he recorded 35 songs in Cornwall mostly from the west and particularly from Cadgewith where he recorded 11 songs and Redruth where he recorded 7 songs from the Skinners Bottom Glee Singers.

For all his folk pedigree, Kennedy's mindset was very different from his early twentieth century predecessors. Gone was the pre-occupation with English nationality and the rural idyll. In the introduction to *Folk Songs of Britain and Ireland* he explains his reason for ignoring regional and national boundaries.⁷⁸ Rather than geographic boundaries, he perceived natural boundaries between the type of song, between love songs, working songs, etc and also the cultural communities that sang certain songs for example travellers and gypsies. Kennedy's mediation by taxonomy also extended to the compilations he made with his cassette albums and it is interesting that even here Cornwall remains reasonably intact as a distinct identity. There are fourteen albums with material collected in Cornwall, some from his original work in 1956 / 57 together with more recent material as it became available. Titles include *Boscastle Bow Wow – Pub Session at the Nap* (i.e. Napoleon Inn Boscastle), *Way down to Lamorna – Songs Of Scilly And Cornwall* and *Camborne Hill, Songs and Customs From Cornwall*.⁷⁹

It is his interest in the Celtic speaking communities, however, which is particularly relevant to Cornish studies. As well as songs in the three Gaelic languages and Welsh he includes a section on Cornwall with 12 songs translated into Cornish in *Folk Songs of Britain and Ireland*. He collaborated with Inglis Gundry in the publication of *Canow Kernow*⁸⁰ and published 2 cassette tapes of songs recorded in Cornish by Dick Gendall. These projects had the reflexive effect of making songs in Cornish more widely available and there is a sense here in which Kennedy's work dovetails in to the activities of the Celto-Cornish revivalists.

Conclusion

These five collectors provide a valuable and unique snapshot of oral folk tradition in Cornwall at approximately twenty-year intervals between Baring-Gould's first collecting forays in 1888 and the publication of Kennedy's *Folk Songs of Great Britain and Ireland* in 1975. The material collected by individuals arguably falls comfortably within the Gramscian definition of folk song suggested by Portelli ie: from a source located outside the culture of the ruling elites and based on oral transmission.⁸¹ These collectors however, comprise of a country squire and parson, an urban English nationalist, two professionally trained academics and a folk music professional with an English Folk Song and Dance Society establishment pedigree. Together they might be seen as a good cross section of the ruling cultural elite and unlikely to attach the same meaning or significance to the material they collected as the original performers in Cornwall.

The material they collected reflects their opportunities, interests and influences but there are large gaps in geography, social location and context so their work cannot be seen as a definitive description of activity within folk tradition in Cornwall. They brought a variety of different skills, technology and mindsets to the task and used the material they collected in very different ways. The early collectors rarely ventured into the world of the performer and his or her material, preferring to record phenomena in a controlled environment away from its original location. This shows a bias of interest towards the narratives and melodies associated with ballads where greater emphasis is laid on the individual performance than context or location. In contrast to this Kennedy had both the technology to record in situ and the desire to participate which encouraged him to enter into the world of the performance in its original location.

Sharp may have been interested in dances elsewhere but in Cornwall his focus was limited to the already well documented Padstow and Helston May traditions. Unlike Carpenter and Kennedy, the earlier collectors paid very little attention to the Cornish language, Cornish dialect nor the customs and dances documented by folklorists like Courtney. The collections of Carpenter and Kennedy, however, do show the influence of another group of people who played and continue to play a key role in the process oral folk tradition, the Celto – Cornish Revivalists.

Notes

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- ² Victor, A.F. Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society Sussex 1815 – 1914', (Unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Sussex, 1985), p.178
- ³ Dave Harker, *Fakesong, The Manufacture of British "Folksong" 1700 to the present day.* (Milton Keynes, Open University Press, 1985).
- ⁴ Georgina Boyes, *The imagined village: culture, ideology, and the English folk revival,* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1993), p.77.
- ⁵ Trevor Roper, The invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland, in *The Invention Of Tradition*, ed. Eric, R, Hobsbawm, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press1983), pp. 15 -27. Also Prys Morgan, "From Death to a View: The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period" in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric, R, Hobsbawm, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press1983), pp. 43 -49.
- ⁶ Amy Hale, "Genesis of the Celto Cornish Revival, L.C.Duncombe-Jewell and the Cowethas Kelto-Kernuak" in *Cornish Studies Five*, ed. Philip Payton, (Exeter, Exeter University Press, 1997), pp. 100 -111.
- ⁸ Dave Harker, "May Cecil Sharp Be Praised?" *History Workshop*(14): 1982. p. 56.
- ⁹ Julian Onderdonk, "Vaughan Williams and the Modes." *Folk Music Journal* 7(5) 1999: 609-626.
- ¹⁰ Chris J Bearman, "The English folk music movement 1889-1914", (Unpublished PhD thesis Hull University BL: DXN053461, 2001).
- ¹¹ Peter Kennedy, ed. *Folksongs of Britain and Ireland*, (London, Cassell, 1975).
- ¹² Holland Cohan Bickford Dickinson,. *Sabine Baring-Gould: Squarson, Writer and Folklorist, 1834-1924.* (Newton Abbot, David & Charles, 1970), pp.117 and 123.
- ¹³ H,C, Bickford Dickenson *Sabine Baring-Gould*, p. 125.
- ¹⁴ Sabine Baring Gould, Henry Fleetwood Shepherd. *Songs and Ballads of the West: A Collection Made from the Mouths of the People* (London, Methuen & Co, 1891).
- ¹⁵ H.C. Bickford Dickenson *Sabine Baring Gould*, p. 129.
- ¹⁶ H C Bickford Dickinson *Sabine Baring Gould*, pp. 89 – 110.
- ¹⁷ Sabine Baring Gould, S., Henry Fleetwood Sheppard. *A Garland of Country Song; English Folk Songs with Their Traditional Melodies.* (London: Methuen, 1895), p. vii.
- ¹⁸ Martin Greabe. "The Folk Next Door - Sabine Baring-Gould and Cornwall." Baring Gould Study Day: Wren Trust, Okehampton, 2002, p. 7.

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- ¹⁹ Ken C. Philips, *Charles Lee: The Cornish Journal of Charles Lee 1892 – 1908*, (Tabb House, Padstow 1995), p.98.
- ²⁰ Sabine Baring-Gould, Henry Fleetwood Shepherd. *Songs and Ballads of the West: A Collection Made from the Mouths of the People* (London: Methuen & Co, 1891), p.vi.
- ²² Wren Trust, Okehampton Baring-Gould, S. (1888 - 1906). *Songs Of The West: Baring-Gould Heritage Project*, Baring-Gould Manuscripts, Micro- Fiche Collection
- ²³ Dickinson *Sabine Baring Gould*, p. 135.
- ²⁴ Sabine Baring Gould, *Further Reminiscences* 2 vols.(London: John Lane The Bodley Head Ltd, 1925), for example p.201.
- ²⁵ Dickinson, *Sabine Baring Gould* , p.145.
- ²⁶ This is a dialect ballad originally published with music by William Forfar circa 1860, collected from oral tradition by Baring Gould in 1894, and published by him with revised words and a different tune in 1905, see appendix 2.5.
- ²⁷ Alfred Percival Graves, *The Celtic song book: being representative folk songs of the six Celtic Nations*, (London, E. Benn.1928).
- ²⁸ Inglis Gundry, *Canow Kernow: Songs and Dances from Cornwall*. (St. Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1966).
- ²⁹ Merv Davey, *Hengan, Traditional Songs Tunes And Broadside Ballads From Cornwall* , (Dyllansow Truran, Redruth, 1983).
- ³⁰ Frances Bennet, Hilary Coleman, Nick Crowhurst, Merv Davey, Rosie Fierek, eds. *Racca 2: Cornish Tunes for Cornish Sessions*, (Calstock, Racca Project, 1997).
- ³¹ This session was included in participant observation see Appendix 3. The participatory action research project: Kanow Tavern – Cornish Pub songs see Appendix 4.3 only identified one of Bating Gould’s songs: The Nightingale.
- ³² Maude Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*. (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1967), pp. 12 – 15.
- ³³ Georgina Boyes, *The imagined village : culture, ideology, and the English folk revival*. (Manchester / New York Manchester University Press, 1993), p.107.
- ³⁴ Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, p. 20.
- ³⁵ Sabine Baring-Gould, and Cecil James Sharp. *Songs of the West*, (London, Methuen, 1905).
- ³⁶ Sabine Baring Gould, Cecil James Sharp. *English Folk-Songs for Schools*. (London: Curwen, 1900s -Date not provided on first publication, circa 1905).
- ³⁷ Cecil J Sharp, *English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions*. (London, Simpkin & Co , Novello &co. London, 1907).
- ³⁸ Bickford Dickinson, *Sabine Baring Gould*, p.129.

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- ³⁹ Eric Hobsbawm, et al *The invention of tradition*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- ⁴⁰ Cecil J Sharp, *English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions*. (London. Novello and Co 1907), p. 10.
- ⁴¹ Francis Barton Gummere, *The beginnings of poetry*. (New York; London, Macmillan & Co, 1901).
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- ⁴³ Harker, *May Cecil Sharp Be Praised*, p.57.
- ⁴⁴ Cecil J. Sharp, Transcription of notebook, Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, Cecil Sharp House, London.
- ⁴⁵ James E Thomas, et al. "Cornish Carols." *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* 8.33 (1929): pp 111-24. Also James E Thomas, et al. "Sea Shanties." *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* 8.32 (1928), pp. 96-100: Tom Miners, The Mummers Play *Old Cornwall Society Magazine Oct 1928, Vol.1, no. 8.* p.4.
- ⁴⁶ Merv Davey, Alison Davey, and Jowdy Davey. *Scot Dances, Troys, Furrys and Tea Treats: The Cornish Dance Tradition*. (London: Francis Boutle & Co, 2009). See also appendix 4.3 Rescorla Project.
- ⁴⁷ Georgina Boyes, *The Imagined Village*, p. 85.
- ⁴⁸ Sharp. *Folk dance notes* vol.3, p.104.
- ⁴⁹ Georgina Boyes, *The Imagined Village*, pp. 66 to 77.
- ⁵⁰ Henry Jenner, Ms box Courtney Library, Royal Institute of Cornwall, copies of posters and notifications of meetings relating to the Cornish Folk Dance society.
- ⁵¹ Frank Purslow, "The George Gardiner Folk Song Collection." *Folk Music Journal* 1(3): 129-157. 1967 p 130 quoting a letter to the Hampshire Chronicle 1906, presumably in support of his collecting activities in the area.
- ⁵² George B Gardiner Manuscripts, Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, Cecil Sharp House, Regents Park Road, London.
- ⁵³ Sabine Baring Gould: hand written note added to *The St Dominic Ringers*, George B Gardiner Manuscripts.
- ⁵⁴ Cecil Sharp, hand written note added to *Personal Song / Compliments Returned* George B Gardiner manuscripts.
- ⁵⁵ George B Gardiner et al. "Songs Collected By George B Gardiner", *Journal of the Folk Song Society*, Vol 3. No 13 June 1909. pages 249 – 317 Published by The English Folk Song Society, London, 1909.

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- ⁵⁶ Frank Purslow "The George Gardiner Folk Song Collection", pp. 135 -136.
- ⁵⁷ Frank Purslow, "The George Gardiner Folk Song Collection", pp. 136 -137.
- ⁵⁸ Lucy Broadwood, Maid of Bedlam, *Journal of the Folk Song Society Vol 2 1905 – 1906 no 7*, p. 93.
- ⁵⁹ Gustav Holst, Second Suite in F for Military Band (op.28, No2), Movement 2, "Song without words- I'll love my Love" composed (London, Boosey & Hawkes, 1984) , composed 1911.
- ⁶⁰ Paul Holmes, discussion with author 14th October 2007 (Lowender Peran Festival). "I love my love" was part of his singing repertoire and when introducing the song he explained that it was an example of English appropriation of Cornish material.
- ⁶¹ Inglis Gundry, *Canow Kernow*, (St Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1966)
- ⁶² For example it is included in Racca 2 (Calstock, Racca Project, 1997), see appendix 3.
- ⁶³ Julia C Bishop, "Dr Carpenter from the Harvard College in America': An Introduction to James Madison Carpenter and His Collection". *Folk Music Journal* 7.4 (1998), pp. 402-20.
- ⁶⁴ Francis James Child,. *English and Scottish Ballads*. (Boston; Cincinnati: Little, Brown and Co. / Moore Wiltach, Keys and Co. 1857).
Francis James Child,. *English and Scottish Ballads*. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1885).
- ⁶⁵ Library of Congress, "*The James Madison Carpenter Collection*". Washington DC, 1996. (June 1996): Summary and Catalogue. The American Folklife Center. 17th Aug 2009.
- ⁶⁶ Julia Bishop, "Dr Carpenter From the Harvard College in America", p. 407.
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<<http://www.loc.gov/folklife/guides/carpenter.html>>.
- ⁶⁸ James E Thomas, Tom Miners, T., et al. "*Cornish Carols*." *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* 8.33 (1929), p.111-24.
- ⁶⁹ Library of Congress, Archive of Folk Culture, The James Madison Carpenter Collection ,index 10565-10582: *Padstow Version of the St George or Mummers Play*. Carpenter Collected the play when he visited Cornwall 1933/1934 and notes correspondence with Robert Morton Nance whose father could remember being scared by the dragon in the play as a child, circa 1845.
- ⁷⁰ W.D.Watson, Sans Day Carol . *Old Cornwall April 1926*. (St Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1926), p. 30.

- ⁷¹ See Appendix 4.3: Participatory Action Research, Pub Song Project.
- ⁷² Derek Schofield, "Peter Kennedy" Obituary. *Guardian* 19th June 2006.
- ⁷³ Peter Kennedy, "Folktrax". 2005. http://www.folktrax-archive.org/menus/history_about.htm . Accessed 8th August 2009.
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- ⁷⁵ Rod Stradling, *Peter Kennedy an Appraisal*. 2006. Mustrad.
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- ⁷⁶ Peter Kennedy, Folktrax 2005 <http://www.folktrax-archive.org/menus/history_about.htm>.
- ⁷⁷ Sabina Magliocco, John Bishop. *Oss Tales*. (Berkely, Media-Generation, 2007). DVD / DVDrom format. Includes original footage from 1951 documentary *Oss Oss Wee Oss* Dir Peter Kennedy and Alan Lomax in 1951.
- ⁷⁸ Peter Kennedy, ed. *Folksongs of Britain and Ireland*.,
- ⁷⁹ Folktrax Catalogue numbers FTX 096, FTX217, FTX 010. Out of print. Copyright held by Topic Records.
- ⁸⁰ Inglis Gundry, *Canow Kernow*.
- ⁸¹ Alessandro Portelli, *The death of Luigi Trastulli, and other stories : form and meaning in oral history*. (Albany, N.Y., State University of New York Press, 1990), p.161.

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Chapter 5: Fakelore, revival and survival: *The Celto - Cornish movement and folk tradition in Cornwall.*

Celticity is an inescapable element of contemporary Cornish Studies. This chapter shows that the impact it has had on the canon of musical material described as folk and on the process of oral folk tradition in Cornwall is as varied and debated as the very term Celtic itself. Cornwall has belonged to the Celtic imaginary throughout the evolution of the term since its genesis denoting a linguistic family in Llyud's *Archaeologica Britannica* 1707. Cornwall was represented at the first Celtic conference in St Brieuc, Brittany in 1867.¹ Following a campaign by Cowethas Kelto-Kernuak, the Pan Celtic Congress accepted Cornwall as a member in 1904. This campaign culminated in the presentation of a paper by Henry Jenner to the Congress.² This paper sought to demonstrate that the Cornish Language was not extinct and therefore Cornwall met the criteria for membership i.e. it had a living Celtic Language. In twenty first century Cornwall, Celticity finds articulation in an increasing variety of forms from the politics of cultural identity, through archaeology to mysticism and spirituality as shown by Hale and Payton.³ This is also illustrated by the programme of papers presented at a symposium entitled "Celticity and Cornwall" held during the Lowender Peran festival in October 2009.⁴

Critiques of Celticity represented particularly by Hobsbawm et al and Chapman point to its constructed, and by implication, artificial nature.⁵ Hale and Payton draw upon Sims-Williams and Colley to show that Celtic is used and understood today to broadly refer to the peoples, languages and cultures of Cornwall, Ireland, Wales, Brittany, the Isle of Man and Scotland.⁶ They also show that whilst this is in many ways a construction dating from the early modern period, many identities have been historically constructed in the same manner and this does not make them artificial or inauthentic.

What is interesting here is that the problem of Celtic authenticity seems to be an academic construct rather than an experience had by people engaging in cultural activity perceived as Celtic. Celticity and Cornishness was proclaimed and understood in a variety of ways during the events and activities that inform this study, but it was never seen as a problem.⁷ Hale and Payton show why this comes about:

We now realise that 'Celtic', like any other ethnonyms, is an imprecise term which covers a range of phenomena far exceeding language or material

culture. People who use it to describe themselves or their cultural products may interpret it in different ways. Scholars who attempt to limit or define what is or is not Celtic, particularly when referring to contemporary culture, will have a difficult task, for popular culture and belief change rapidly and are not easily restricted by academics.⁸

The relationship between the scholar, the purveyors of Celto-Cornish identity and the practitioners of oral folk tradition provides the background for this chapter which seeks to show that the mindset of the Celtic revivalists influenced the process of oral folk tradition in Cornwall as indeed it did elsewhere. It will be argued that this influence does not make Cornish folk tradition “fake” but rather that it provided a positive force for both revival and survival.

Fakelore and the Celtic Imaginary

American folklorist, Richard Dorson coined the term “fakelore” in the 1950s and used this to separate “traditional” folklore from commercialized and ideological fakelore or folklorismus⁹. Alan Dundes¹⁰ uses this concept of fakelore to show that emergent nationalities in early modern Europe employed just such a “creation of tradition” to support their nationalist ideology. Particular examples given were the ballads of *Kalevala* for Finland (1835), the work of the Brothers Grimm in Germany (1812 / 1818) and in Scotland, Macpherson’s *Poems of Ossian* (1761 /1765). Iolo Morgannwg (Edward Williams) has been described as the Welsh equivalent of Macpherson.¹¹ Between 1792 and 1826 he instituted the Welsh Eisteddfod and a Gorsedd based on what some commentators see as a fairly creative interpretation of history and folklore.¹² The *Poems of Ossian* and Williams’ Gorsedd provided the cornerstones for the expression of Celtic identity in mainland Britain and substance for the critiques of Celticity discussed above. Both Morgannwg and Macpherson tapped into oral tradition and manuscript sources. The extent to which they were creative with these sources has been the subject of debate and criticism. Marion Löffler shows this “legacy of invention” was a positive force in that both “the success and the critique of [Morgannwg’s] theoretical history were part of the process through which the Welsh discovered and recorded a national historical narrative”.¹³

Macpherson’s *Ossian* texts set in motion what is described in Roper’s critique as the “the artificial creation of new Scottish traditions presented as ancient and

authentic”.¹⁴ In 1778 the Highland Society was inaugurated (in London) and by 1822 Sir Walter Scott was masterminding “Scottish ceremonies” for the visits of Hanovarian monarchs. By 1843 the Sobieski-Stuart brothers had “compiled” a definitive list of clans and tartans and laid the foundations for the global cultural industry based around the iconography of kilts, bagpipes and tartans witnessed at the end of the twentieth century¹⁵. The Highland Games and the Scottish Mòd are two products of Roper’s “artificial creations” which can be shown to have interacted positively and reflexively with the process of oral folk tradition. Flett identifies the Highland Games, first introduced by the Highland Society in Falkirk in 1781, as an important vehicle for the development of piping and solo dancing traditions in Scotland.¹⁶ The games consolidated the disparate step dances taught by the Dancing Masters of Scotland by establishing them as competition pieces. The oral traditions of the “Piobreachd” (classical bagpipe music) were treated in a similar way.¹⁷ Löffler shows that, An Comunn Gaidhealach (The Gaelic Society) and the Scottish Mòd first held in Oban in 1892 were based on Morgannwg’s Eisteddfod.¹⁸ The Mòd placed its emphasis on Gaelic singing and the music associated with fiddle orchestras and the clarsach. The 2009 programme shows that this continues today with a full complement of fringe events such as ceilidhs and sessions.¹⁹

Morgannwg, and arguably Macpherson also, influenced Villemarqué’s collection of Breton ballads, *Barzaz Breizh*, published in 1839. He was made an honorary bard of the Welsh Gorsedd at this time and had strong links with the evolving Pan Celtic movement.²⁰ Winnick suggests that whilst these ballads were an expression of Celtic identity and an articulation of the growing struggle with French hegemony they seem likely to have been subject to the same creativity as their Ossianic precedents.²¹ *Barzaz Breizh* continued to provide a source of inspiration for contemporary performers such as Alan Stivell into the last decades of the twentieth century.²² Ties between Brittany and the Welsh Gorsedd were strengthened in 1899 when the two countries were symbolically linked by a ceremony in which two half swords were united. In 1901 the Breton, Gorsedd, Goursez Barzhed Gourenez Breizh-Vihan was founded as a branch of the Welsh institution with the aim of promoting the Breton language and distinctive folk traditions.²³

Polig Montjarret (1920 – 2003) was a key figure in the revival of the Breton *Sonneurs* and the establishment of *Bodadeg Ar Sonerion* (The Society of Pipers) in 1948.²⁴ Initially he does not seem to have been so directly inspired by the Celtic revival

in Britain. He made clear that he saw Breton music as a medieval survival rather than Celtic and demonstrated that the *sonneurs* were a thriving tradition in Brittany throughout the nineteenth Century without any need of a revival.²⁵ Paradoxically, the *Bodadeg ar Sonerion* developed the Breton *Bagad* as a medium for Breton music and modelled this on the Scottish and Irish pipe bands.²⁶ One of the vehicles of the *Bodadeg ar Sonerion* was a bagpipe festival established in Lorient during the 1950s, which later became the basis for the Festival Interceltique. Likewise the sister organisation of *Bodadeg Ar Sonerion* is the Breton cultural movement and dance society *Cercle Celtique* (of which Montjarret was also a founder member) and the community based member groups prefix their locality name with *Cercle Celtique* e.g. “*Cercle Celtique St Nazaire*”.²⁷

The tensions associated with the Act of Union of Ireland with the Kingdom of Great Britain in 1800 created a much more complex, politicised environment and makes comparison with the emergence of Celtic consciousness elsewhere difficult. Gailey nevertheless shows that parallel constructions around identity were taking place during this same time period in Ireland, the most obvious inventions being that of the traditions associated with the Orange Order Marches in Ulster.²⁸ Another example he gives is that of a mummings play from Wexford. When first recorded it was a simple variant of the mummings plays found throughout Britain and Ireland with a Turkish knight et al. At some stage after the 1820s, the original characters were gradually replaced by figures from Irish history and the story identified with the Irish rebellion of 1798.²⁹ These examples, however, are an expression of Irish identities arising out of political tensions and not the Celtic Imaginary.

For the roots of Celtic romanticism as portrayed by such contemporary performers such as the Chieftains,³⁰ it is necessary to look at the work of collectors such as Edward Bunting (1773 – 1843). In 1792, Bunting attended a harp festival in Belfast, the music of which he described as “the expiring flicker of the lamp that once shed its lustre over Christendom”.³¹ He saw these performers as the last of a bardic cultural tradition and sought to record, and preserve, this tradition. He was also member of the Belfast Harp Society formed in 1806, which had broad cultural interests including the sponsorship of Gaelic Language classes.³² Bunting identifies a complete package of Gaelic language based culture around the Harp with a general vocabulary of “Ancient Irish Musical Terms”.³³ Breathnach, however, shows that the keys and arrangements published by Bunting could not have been played on the Irish Harps of

the time.³⁴ This invites the question as to the extent to which Bunting, like Macpherson, Williams and Villemarqué, embellished and added to the material he collected and whether this can be seen as a tradition which is invented or evolving. Irish folk culture arguably connected with Löffler's "Legacy of Invention" when Douglas Hyde was inspired by the Welsh Eisteddfod to set up Conradh na Gaeilge and its annual festival Oireachtas in 1893. The aim of the organisation was to "de-anglicise Ireland" and in 1898 the Welsh Gorsedd and Arch Druid were invited to preside over the festival proceedings.³⁵

The Isle of Man makes an interesting comparator with Cornwall in that it is also much smaller in population and size than other Celtic regions. In the nineteenth century the Isle Of Man enjoyed recognition as a distinctive identity as a result of its status as a Crown dependency rather than being part of the United Kingdom. This status was endorsed in 1866 when the Manx Government of the Tynwald became an elected assembly. Bazin shows that "The sense of Manxness was closely linked with that of belonging to the "Keltic brotherhood, and the leaders of the movement were not slow to become linked to the Celtic Congress and other similar organisations".³⁶ The first Manx music festival focussing on native traditions was founded in 1886 and Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh (the Manx Gaelic Society) was founded in 1899.

A common element within this Celtic Imaginary is the notion of a Golden Age placed at some time in the distant past which is echoed in oral folk tradition and can be re-created using the ballads, stories, music, dance and other folk arts embedded in that tradition. Not only do these traditions serve to inform and inspire the expression of contemporary identity they are also used to provide a sense of authenticity. Dundes makes the case that these "forces of romanticism and nationalism were so powerful that what the people believed was more important than what was true It is only scholarly folklorists who are concerned with oral pedigrees".³⁷ These "forces" were evident elsewhere in the Celtic regions so what of Cornwall? Although Borlase (1696 – 1772) engages in similar territory to Macpherson and Williams in some of the essays included in "Antiquities" (1758),³⁸ he does not make the same leap into Celtic mythology despite his interest in Druidic superstitions and customs. He is nevertheless clear about what we would now term Cornwall's linguistic Celticity and close historic and cultural ties with Brittany³⁹. There was certainly mythological material supporting a distinctive Cornish identity available at the time, especially Arthuriana, and John of Cornwall's *Prophecy of Merlin* in particular.⁴⁰ We have also seen that antiquarians

from Gilbert through to Bottrell gave recognition to the Celtic Imaginary in Cornwall. However, it is not until the first half of the twentieth century that we see Celticity articulated in Cornwall in a way parallel to the legacy of Macpherson, Morgannwg and Villemarque, elsewhere. This might partly be explained by the status of the Cornish Language, which was perceived as extinct by the Pan Celtic Congress until 1904 and its recognition thereafter served to stimulate the Celtic Imaginary in Cornwall. Caution must be exercised here as it can be argued that this is less a case of Cornwall being a latecomer and more because Cornwall already enjoyed a strong distinctive identity at the beginning of the nineteenth.

Dundes identifies a common element in the examples he gives of emergent nationalities using folk traditions to authenticate their nationalist ideologies. He proposes that they all suffered from “ a severe case of an inferiority complex”.⁴¹ In the examples he gave he suggests that Finland had experienced centuries of Swedish occupation, Germany had been culturally dominated by the French and “....in the late eighteenth century [Scotland] was frequently the subject of humour and abuse by the English”.⁴² However, far from having a cultural inferiority complex Rowe shows that by the 1840s Cornwall was enjoying a distinctive identity defined by its role at the forefront of global technological development.⁴³ Deacon expands upon this to propose that as a result of the industrialisation process the cultural hegemony of the South East gave way to multiple and dispersed “centres” of technological achievement and cultural change for a short time in the early nineteenth century. He explains that “At such a time, the feeling of what it meant to be “Cornish” was transformed in the crucible of industrialisation. The Cornish People were more actively constructing images of themselves and their place.....”.⁴⁴ What was a golden age for Macpherson et al was an irrelevant historical curiosity for Gilbert and the confident, forward looking Cornish of the first half of the nineteenth century. Celticity was recognised, indeed Gilbert was one of the first people to use the term Celtic to describe the music of the Helston Furry and connect it to similar traditions in Ireland.⁴⁵ However, he saw this and customs like it as borne of ignorance that should be discarded in the modern world.

According to Payton, this all changed cataclysmically in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁶ Global economics had changed and with it Cornwall’s industrial prowess which was replaced by a centre/periphery culture. Deacon argues that this period marked the beginning of an era of multiple identities in Cornwall:

After the 1860s imaginations of Cornwall as an industrial region, as a centre of industrial civilisation and prowess, gradually gave way to imaginations of Cornwall as a Celtic periphery, primitive and marginal. But these categories to some extent always overlapped. The regional consciousness that had developed during Cornwall's industrial period persisted well into the twentieth century while the arguably more romantic Celtic representations had their roots in earlier periods. What did change was that, after the 1870s, there was no longer a hegemonic representation, at least not in Cornwall. The Cornish identity had entered a more hybrid phase; one more clearly marked by plural Cornwall's rather than a single Cornwall.⁴⁷

If this was an era of multiple identities, then it allowed for Cornwall to be both administered as a shire county and enjoy promotion as an ancient Celtic principality.

Against this background and the need to replace the identity lost with the decline of the mining industry, we see the evolution of the Celtic revival in Cornwall. The Cowethas Kelto-Kernuak (Celtic-Cornish Society) formed in 1901 with the published aims of protecting ancient monuments; preserving Cornish national customs such as wrestling, hurling and feast days; reviving the Cornish language and ancient Miracle plays; and re-establishing the Cornish Gorsedh.⁴⁸ This organisation apparently made little direct connection with the folk music and dance related customs that are the subject of this thesis. It nevertheless set the theme for future involvement by firmly locating Cornwall within the wider Pan Celtic movement. A movement which, elsewhere, enthusiastically pursued a Von Herder style philosophy in that by reclaiming "Celtic" folk traditions they sought to counter the prevailing English / French cultural hegemony.⁴⁹

In addition to the flagship of Celtic language this movement also identified symbols of Celtic uniqueness based on folk traditions, music, dances and costumes. An example of just such symbolism was provided by a display in the National Museum of Ireland, in Dublin in 2004, which included mannequins dressed in what was labelled as neo druidic costume dated circa 1917. One of these figures represented Eamon Ceannt, self styled as an Irish piper including saffron kilt and reconstructed Irish bagpipes. Naive though this dressing up appears to modern eyes there was a serious element in that Ceannt was a prominent nationalist who was eventually executed by

the British. Cowethas Kelto-Kernuak seems to have subscribed to the imagery promoted by the Pan Celtic movement. Founder member Duncombe-Jewell is reported in the 1902 issue of *Celtia* as having designed a Cornish National costume comprising of kilt and tunic dyed in blue woad.⁵⁰

By the 1920s, the Celtic movement articulated expectations of Celticity, that Cornwall, like the other Celtic Nations, would have a repertoire of traditional dances, music, costume and customs with which to demonstrate distinctiveness. This expectation was implicit in the formation of the Old Cornwall Societies in 1920, the first publication of their journal *Old Cornwall* in 1925 and the inauguration of the Cornish Gorsedh alongside of Dunstan's *Cornish Song Book: Canow Kernewek* in 1929. The change towards a Celto-Cornish bias in the material recorded from oral tradition shown in the database suggests that Cornwall became increasingly fertile ground for the Celtic revivalists.

Kilts and woad would certainly seem to meet Dorson's definition of "ideologically driven fakelore" but there was another development of this in Cornwall. Payton argues that an imagery of "peripheral Celtic Cornwall" was also promoted by a strange alliance between the propaganda machine of the Great Western Railway (together with the Southern Railway) and the Celtic revivalists.⁵¹ To induce the tourist to visit Cornwall the Great Western Railway provided a heady concoction of Celtic remains, Merlin, King Arthur, smugglers, wreckers, pixies and pasties. Much of which was informed by the works of writers such as Bottrell and brought to the attention of GWR by the revivalists themselves. A good example perhaps of Dorson's "commercially driven fakelore". What is interesting is that these particular fakelore images do not seem to make much of an appearance within the record of oral folk tradition shown in the database.⁵² Chapman proposes a centre-periphery model of romanticism whereby it is the centre where archaic cultural features from the rural periphery become fashionable.⁵³ The periphery does not control this and indeed its culture may need to be tamed and threatened in order to become fashionable at the centre. This may go some way to explaining the love – hate relationship between practitioners of folk tradition and the tourist industry.⁵⁴

Revival

Henry Jenner (1848 – 1934) spent much of his working life as an archivist and librarian at the British Museum in London, although he was born in St Columb and maintained strong links with Cornwall. He developed an interest in the Cornish

language in his twenties and by the time he retired to Cornwall in 1909, he had published the definitive *Handbook of the Cornish Language*⁵⁵ and successfully led the campaign for Cornwall's membership of the Pan Celtic Congress. Although he is now celebrated as the father of the Cornish Language revival⁵⁶ his wide antiquarian interests are evidenced by the correspondence and notes bequeathed to the Royal Institution of Cornwall.⁵⁷ He corresponded with both Cecil Sharp and Baring Gould with respect to folk tradition and was a friend of Lady Mary Trefusis, president of the English Folk Dance Society and founder of the Cornish branch. As Lady Lygon, she had been an enthusiastic supporter of Sharp in the formative years of English Folk Song Society and became its first president in 1913. On marrying Lord Trefusis, she brought this enthusiasm to Cornwall and organised Sharp's summer school for dance teachers at Plymouth⁵⁸. A letter from Morton Nance dated 24th July 1926 regarding the John Knill Ceremony due to take place that year includes the following passage which seems to capture the atmosphere of their relationship

Dear Mr Jenner

..... I am glad you are turning up for the "Knillian Games" on Monday, I shall be there and probably join in one or two of the folk dances myself. I expect we shall see you leading off with Lady May (Mary) [sic] in the Furry dances.

Yours sincerely R Morton Nance⁵⁹

Jenner's relationship with Lady Mary Trefusis and the Cornish branch of the English Dance Society is intriguing and paradoxical bearing in mind the extent of his activities within the pan Celtic movement; their emphasis on using folklore, including dance, to underpin Celtic national identities; and his insistence elsewhere that Cornwall was historically and culturally distinct from England. Lady Mary Trefusis formed the Cornish Branch of the English Folk Dance Society in 1920⁶⁰, they held their first festival in Penzance in June of that year⁶¹ and Jenner seems to have been involved with the organisation. Schools were represented from as far up as St Austell and the children were taught dances in preparation for the event. There were taught eighteen country-dances, five Morris dances and a sword dance. The Helston Furry was included as a country-dance, although choreographically and folkloristically it is closer to the Tideswell Processional, which was included in the same programme as a Morris dance. There were no other dances from Cornwall in the programme which considering

Jenner's position on Cornish distinctiveness and his influential status is surprising to say the least.

There is evidence to show that there was a thriving local folk dance tradition in Cornwall at this time that embraced the full spectrum of country, processional and ritual dances.⁶² The Penzance festival programme is a manifestation of Sharp's mindset in terms of folk dance as he had written the instruction books used by the schools, supervised the training of teachers and defined what the dances should be. The absence of any protest from Jenner might reflect his own sense of having a scholarly classical background, his class and his Anglo Catholicism, none of which was likely to have brought him to contact with dance traditions. He was unlikely to have regularly associated with contemporary mediums of folk dance activity such as the Methodist Tea Treats, the troyls, or Guize dancing in the streets, pubs and fish quays of West Cornwall.

Jenner was nevertheless an advocate of folk dance and music customs as shown by his presidential address to the Royal Polytechnic Society in Falmouth in September 1920, ironically entitled *The Renaissance of Merry England*.⁶³ He makes an issue of "counting Cornwall, for this occasion only, as if it were part of England" in order to allude to the golden age of community games and social activity prior to the austerity brought by Puritanism. He expressed the view that common amusements such as "folk songs, folk dances and village dramas" could bring "all classes together" in a positive way and shield against social unrest. As well as revealing his Catholicism by his attitude to the reformation, this paper also illustrates that he identified with the concerns of his own class regarding the labour movement and what he described as "those mischievous enemies of civilisation, the Bolsheviks".⁶⁴ He added a footnote to the address when it was published in 1922 applauding both the success of the folk dance movement in Cornwall and Morton Nance's work in reviving the guising and folk play traditions in St Ives.⁶⁵

Another strangely missed opportunity for Jenner was his failure to include any songs in Cornish with his contribution to the Graves *Celtic Song Book*⁶⁶ published in 1928. Graves was a founder member of the Folk Song Society in London in 1898 but seems to have left and diverted his attention to the Pan Celtic movement at about the time Sharp changed the name of the organisation to the English Folk Song Society. Jenner neither translated any songs nor included the ubiquitous *Delioiw Sevy* for the

Cornish section of this compilation. The Cornish words of this song were in the Gwavas manuscript of 1698,⁶⁷ and Pryces *Archaeologia Cornu-Britannica* 1790,⁶⁸ both of which would have been familiar reference material to him. Although Baring-Gould died in 1924, Graves proposed such a collection long before this date and it is difficult to believe that the project was not discussed between Jenner and Baring-Gould who were in regular contact for nearly twenty years prior to his death. It has to be recognised that Jenner was in his late seventies at this time and not well but it did not seem to stop him from working with Ralph Dunstan and translations for *Lyver Canow Kernewek / The Cornish Song Book* published a year later.⁶⁹ It may simply have been copyright issues, convenience or pre-occupation with matters elsewhere that governed his choice of material but it was nevertheless a fascinating and odd selection.

Twelve songs were included, nine of which were reprinted from Baring-Gould's collection courtesy of his publishers. Of these one was *Widdicombe Fair*, a variant of which, *Helston Fair* was collected in Cornwall in 1878. This predates Baring Gould's publication in *Songs And Ballads Of The West* and allows for the case to be made for a parallel Cornish evolution of this song to the Devon one. It seems that Jenner was unaware of the Helston version and does not attempt to link *Widdicombe Fair* to Cornwall for all one might argue Celtic influence in the personal and place names. Not only was this a song strongly identified across the border with Devon but also the very song that convinced Baring-Gould that there must be more and better material out there to collect.⁷⁰ This is in stark contrast to *The Streams Of Lovely Nancy* which is open to Arthurian allusion⁷¹ and *The Keenly Lode* which is rich in Cornish dialect and Celtic words like *bal* (mine).

Jenner also repeated Baring-Gould's mistake of using the *Hal An Tow* words to the tune of the *Helston Furry Dance*. In the notes he provided for Graves he commented: "This is a capital tune, with curious but rather unintelligible words. It has been included, if only for the tune of our one really Cornish folk dance. It is well known and very popular, especially at folk-dancing festivals".⁷² This statement underlines Jenner's lack of consistency and credibility in relation to folk song and dance traditions. For all he saw these traditions as a force to maintain middle class hegemony he seems to have had very little interest or contact with them in practice. The festivals he refers to are clearly those organised by the English Folk Song and Dance Society rather than indigenous culture and despite his contact with Trefusis and Sharp he did not check Baring-Gould's version of the Helston Furry. This example may be providing a

glimpse of world of the “Celtic Right” described by Lowenna⁷³ and supports the notion that Jenner valued his class connections at the expense of any serious study of folk tradition that formed an integral part of the Celtic Imaginary elsewhere.

Three songs are included from outside of Baring-Gould’s collection, *The Dilly Carol*, *The Tavern in the Town* and *Limadie*. From the folklorist point of view the *Dilly Carol* is a good choice despite its universal cumulative theme as a large number of variants were found in the Camborne area by Tom Miners (who was probably Jenner’s informant). *The Tavern in the Town* is another interesting choice and the source of some criticism when Graves’ book was reviewed in the *Musical Times*.⁷⁴ The version now popularly sung was written by Charles S Hall in America circa 1880 but apparently inspired by the singing of Cornish miners. The reviewer picked it out as particularly non Celtic in structure. Dunstan also includes it in his collection with the brief note “Said to be of Cornish origin” but we do not know if Jenner influenced this.⁷⁵

There is an interesting twist to the story of *The Tavern In The Town* as it turns up again as one of the tunes used for the *Snail Creep* in Rescorla in the 1930s.⁷⁶ It is not possible to know now whether this adoption into Cornish tradition is a vindication of Jenner’s inclusion of the song in the *Celtic Song Book* or whether he and Dunstan were responsible for introducing it into the canon of Cornish folk tune material in the first place. *Limadie*, however, compounds the mystery of Jenner’s lack of inclusion of Cornish in his submission as he had provided Morton Nance with a Cornish translation based on a version supplied to him by William Gilbert, son of Sam Gilbert who was one of Baring-Gould’s singers.⁷⁷

Jenner may have been luke-warm in connecting folk music and dance to his vision of a Celtic Cornwall but his protégé and successor Robert Morton Nance (1873 – 1959) took a more enthusiastic, if creative, approach. Kent shows that Nance had been drawn to folk drama and the use of *Cornu-English*⁷⁸ as a literary medium long before his association with Jenner and the Cornish Language.⁷⁹ Nance was born of Cornish parents in Cardiff who maintained links with Padstow because of the family’s coal shipping business. He evidently grew up in an environment where the links between Wales, Cornwall and Brittany were discussed and understood.⁸⁰ With Quiller-Couch’s encouragement, he contributed artwork and literary material to the *Cornish Magazine* during his late twenties.⁸¹ He moved to Cornwall in 1906, initially living at Nanledra and then moving to St Ives in 1914. It is during this period that he developed a close

working relationship with Jenner and a pro-active approach to the Cornish Language. Like Jenner he was interested in the possibility of establishing a Cornish Gorsedh and promoting Cornwall's links with the Pan Celtic movement. Unlike Jenner, however, he did not see this as limited to the domain of scholarly interest. His ambition was to revive Cornish as a spoken language and a flagship for modern Celto-Cornish identity. For Nance, this Celto-Cornish identity also embraced dialect and folk music traditions together with the mythology and folklore described by Bottrell, Hunt and Courtney in the previous century.

During his time at Nancledra, Nance collected dialect, traditional stories and ideas and incorporated these into the script, music, songs and dances of what became known as *The Cledry Plays* but also included what he termed "Christmas Guize Dance Drolls".⁸² Although three plays were eventually published in 1956⁸³ and articles with Cledry play material were occasionally included in the Old Cornwall Society Magazines, the bulk of extant material concerning these plays now lies within the Nance manuscripts held by the Courtney Library.⁸⁴ This comprises of a large number of lyric drafts and play scripts together with roughed out ideas in music score, which are subsequently compiled as fair copies ready for printing or duplication to provide a script for performance. Eight distinct plays are identifiable: *Duffy and the Devil*; *Sally's Shiners*; *The Kite In The Castle*; *Pliskan Pot*; *Change-about*; *The Devil May Play / Pay*;⁸⁵ *The Humours of Jan and Doll*; and *The Christmas Play of St George*. The first five plays have the tunes associated with them set out ready for a publisher in a music manuscript book. Sometimes there are just a few bars to be sung as part of the text and sometimes the music is identified with a distinct song or dance.

Fair copies of music and lyrics for nine songs are also included with these plays. The *Holly Carol* has an identified source, J H Stanley Cooper from Penarth, Wales, Christmas 1919. *Back-along*, *The Twisted Thorn* and *Down-along* are parts of the plays text intended for singing. *The Millers Song* is apparently "inspired by an old mill tower on Scilly". *Tom Bawcock's Eve* and *Morvah Fair* are based on local legends. *The Fisherman's Catch*, a rhyme in Cornish is identified with the same in the Tonkin Manuscript. The *The Moan of a Mouzel Maid* is a dialect interpretation of Kitty Lee's *Boats of Sennen*.⁸⁶ These songs are indicated for performance during breaks or at the end of the play. Distributed through the *Cledry Play* manuscripts are tunes and snippets which seem to have been gathered by Nance as part of his information and inspiration finding. Many are anonymous and simply linked to a play by a number which

tallies with the faircopy. Some such as *John Dory*, *John The Bone* (Helston Furry), *My Dilding My Dolding* (Little Dutch Girl), and *Sunny Bank* can be identified with oral tradition in Cornwall. Further tunes such as the *Bunningford Assembly*, *Cold and Raw*, and *Bristol Fair* are dances from eighteenth century collections, the period in which the Cledry plays are set. It seems likely that many items were simply composed by Nance albeit inspired by traditional and historical sources.

Nance cannot properly be described as a collector of oral folk tradition. He did not make any of the detailed notes concerning sources, performers and contexts that became the accepted methodology of the collectors described in the previous chapter. Indeed the evidence of his creativity seems to make his work an obvious candidate for the label "Invented Tradition". There is, however, no indication that Nance ever intended to accurately record and transcribe folk song lyrics and tunes nor does he claim to have done so. Instead, he used the folk material around him creatively as a performance medium for Cornish dialect. This is explained in his preface to *The Cledry Plays* in 1956:

Written first nearly fifty years ago for acting by the children of a village school, these plays aimed at carrying on the West-Penwith tradition of turning local folk tales into plays for Christmas acting. What they took over from these Guize-dance drolls, as they were called, was their love of the local speech and their readiness to break here and there into rhyme or song. the simple airs do not ask for accompaniment or for trained voices to do them justice. They are only a slight extension of the music that West-Penwith voices will put into the dialogue.⁸⁷

There is a sense here in which Nance is a practitioner rather than a collector or scholar and in which he is working reflectively within an oral tradition. He seems to have drawn creatively on his experiences of living in the small rural village of Nancledra for his plays in much the same way that Charles Lee drew on his experiences of living in St Mawgan to write *Dorinda's Birthday*.⁸⁸ Unfortunately, unlike Lee, Nance has not left us a notebook diary of his observations that we can relate to historical persons or events as unwitting testimony. Nance was certainly influenced by Bottrell's *Hearthside Stories* but his material goes far beyond what is available here. How much he created and how much he obtained from oral tradition in Nancledra may now be a matter of conjecture but the weaving of step dances and songs into the plays and using them for

intervals and finales is entirely consistent with the Guize dance plays described by Miners, who did record his sources more carefully.⁸⁹

Whilst the Cledry Plays represent the major part of Nance's involvement with folk songs and dances he did publish a number of further items, apparently from oral tradition, in the *Old Cornwall Magazines*. Amongst these were *Wheal Rodney*, *Come All Ye Tanners* and *Lattapouch*. Nance also records three songs that were given to him, or been known by, his father W E Morton Nance: *Reuben Ranzo*⁹⁰, *The Trees They Grow So High*⁹¹ and *Chase the Buffalo*⁹². Altogether, some forty items of folk phenomena are associated with Nance in the Database compiled to support this thesis. Eighteen of these can be cross-referenced with oral tradition collected elsewhere but the remainder are likely to have been his own compositions but inspired by or reconstructed from traditional sources.

The publication in 1929 of *The Cornish Song Book; Lyver Canow Kernow*⁹³ under the editorship of Ralph Dunstan (1857 – 1933) is significant both in terms of marking the revival of interest in folk song and dance and the location of this revival as part of a distinct Cornish identity. Dunstan was a professional academic who realised an interest in Cornish Studies on his retirement and return to Cornwall (1921).⁹⁴ His editorship of *The Cornish Song Book* is quite the antithesis of Jenner's somewhat reserved contribution to Graves *Celtic Song Book* published the previous year.⁹⁵ Close examination of its content and those who influenced it, however, shows that it is primarily an artefact of the Celto-Cornish revival

Dunstan discusses the preparation he undertook for *The Cornish Song Book* the winter edition of *Old Cornwall* published the same year.⁹⁶ The Patrons for the book were leading organisations in the Celto-Cornish movement at the time: The Royal Institution of Cornwall; The London Cornish Association; The Federation of Old Cornwall Societies; and the Cornish Gorsedh. Dunstan describes how he consulted with a wide range of people from these organisations in order to obtain views of what should be included in a National Song Book for Cornwall. The resulting compilation seems almost to be an exercise in how the potential tensions between a Celto-Cornish movement and wider unionist sensitivities in Cornwall could be accommodated.

The contents are divided into three groups, songs in Cornish, instrumentals and songs in English and Christmas carols. The first seventeen pages provide a heady mix

of competing nationalisms translated into the Cornish Language. The scene is set by the first song, which is the British National Anthem of *God Save the King* duly translated into Cornish by Jenner. This is followed by Jenner's version of *Bro Goth Agan Tasow* (Land Of My Fathers) widely recognised as the Welsh national anthem but also used as national anthems in Cornwall and Brittany as an expression of Brythonic unity. Nance provides a Cornish National Anthem in *Kernow Agan Mamvro* and affirms Brythonic identity with *Dynargh dhe Dus a Vreton Vyghan – A welcome to the Bretons* before providing Cornish and English words for the Royalist cavalier song *Here's Health to the King* together with a Cornish translation for Burn's *Auld Lang Syne*. Trelawny is included here with Cornish words and the whole is rounded off with *One And All*, a popular concert and party piece for Cornish gatherings in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Dunstan does provide an explanation for such a musical eclectic in his introduction:

No apology is needed for the inclusion of a few songs not specially Cornish in any way. Even at the most exclusive all-Cornish banquet our coffee and cigars are foreign products, and we enjoy them none the less. At all our gatherings we sing the National Anthem, and frequently "God Bless the Prince of Wales" and "Auld Lang Syne"; and the Cornish Gorsedh is utilizing Welsh and Breton tunes in its ceremonies. The secretary of the London Cornish Association agrees with me that this volume loses nothing by the addition of half a dozen "foreign" songs of special interest for community singing.⁹⁷

The Cornish Song Book accommodates Celto-Cornish expectations of Arthurian mythology with three items: Nance's *Arta Ef a-Dhe* (He, i.e. King Arthur, Shall Come Again) in Cornish; *Merlin the Diviner*, an English translation from Barzazh Breizh; and Jenner's *The Story of St Just (son of King Geraint)* in Latin. A further classical Cornish allusion is provided by *The Pool of Pilate* translated from two verses of the Ordinalia arranged to be sung to a "melody based on an Old Cornish Folk-tune". The slightly more "Great Western Railway" model of Cornish identity suggested by Payton⁹⁸ also materialises in the form of *John Sturtridge and the Piskies* with the footnote: "A Cornish Song Book without the Piskies would be incomplete... .. John Sturtridge is adapted from 'Piskie Laden' by the late Rev John Isabell of Padstow"⁹⁹. In much the same vein are *A Cornish Smuggler's Song* (to the tune of the Lincolnshire Poacher) and *The Mermaid* the lyrics of both of which were composed jointly by Dunstan and J.

C. Tregarthen¹⁰⁰. Hawker's *Featherstones Doom* is set to music by Dunstan and completes the GWR model by providing reference to *Wreckers*. However well rooted these story lines are in Cornwall's mythology and Celticity what is striking is that they all had to be specially composed, none were obtained from oral tradition and arguably none have since entered oral tradition with the possible exception of the tune to *Featherstone's Doom*.¹⁰¹

It can be seen that where oral folk tradition synchronises with Celto-Cornish aspirations then this is embraced enthusiastically but where there are gaps, as there are with songs in the Cornish Language, Arthurian narratives and Celtic mythology then these slots are filled creatively. Dunstan also draws upon his mainstream career and knowledge of music history to include items from Giles Farnaby and Playford which have Cornish links as well as songs from the repertoire of Cornish tenor, Charles Inledon. Similarly his section on Carols is underpinned by extensive previous work completed in this area.¹⁰²

Survival

Nance may have been almost Ossianic in his approach to Cornish folk tradition in that his enthusiasm for the material outweighed any interest in recording its provenance, leaving us uncertain as to where it lies in the folklore / feklore spectrum. As observed in other scenarios by Dundes,¹⁰³ however, this kind of creativity can act positively on oral folk tradition, in this case by stimulating more detailed recording. Dunstan's *Cornish Song Book* is arguably a good example of this. From the list of patrons and people consulted it is evident that the overall concept of the collection and the nationalist overtones of the first few pages are driven by the mindset of Nance and other influential activists within the Celto-Cornish movement. This same mindset, however, also encouraged the inclusion of a large body of material from oral folk tradition in Cornwall, some 46 tunes and songs, on the premise that their provenance made them self evidently Cornish. Dunstan thus takes care to confirm this provenance and in doing so provides a detailed record of material that had survived in his day within oral folk tradition.

Although Dunstan's *Cornish Dialect and Folk Song* (1932) is normally represented as a continuation of work started in the *Cornish Song Book* in actual fact it moves much more towards oral folk tradition and away from the Celto-Cornish Revival in its content. Of the 37 songs, 27 were recorded from oral tradition, the remainder

being drawn from dialect, folklore and Cornish historical themes. Dunstan seems to have collected sufficient material for a further publication in this series but died before he could do so and his manuscripts for this work were not preserved¹⁰⁴. There are no songs in the Cornish language and Cornishness is expressed through the dialect and context of the songs and their narratives. There are contributions from RJ Noal, R Morton Nance, Jim Thomas and Tregonning-Hooper, all of whom were active members of the Old Cornwall Society and part of the evolving Celto-Cornish movement. Dunstan was not only recording from contemporary oral tradition and feeding back into the tradition reflectively, he was also mediating this material as an expression of Cornish identity. More than eighty years later a large part of this material remains within the canon of Cornish oral folk tradition.

Between them, the *Cornish Song Book* and *Cornish Dialect and Folk Song* contain 186 songs, tunes and carols of which 73 are collected from oral tradition. Dunstan is rarely recognised or cited outside of Cornish Studies yet in the context of Cornwall this places him well within the league of Baring-Gould as a collector. As an oral historian, he is interesting in that for all his musical training and professional career he was a product of the very musical tradition he was recording. He was born at Feock, engaged with local band culture from an early age and frequent references in *The Cornish Song Book* show him to have been familiar with the Tea Treat and regatta music of late nineteenth century Cornwall. What is also significant is the relationship he records with his informants, which was that of a shared culture and equality rather than collector/ informant. These two publications inspired a series of subsequent collections which drew on material collected from oral folk tradition in Cornwall for example: *Canow Kernow* (1966) edited by Gundry¹⁰⁵; *Hengan* (1983) edited by Davey¹⁰⁶; and *Ilow Kernow* (2000) edited by O'Connor.¹⁰⁷

Another outcome of the Celto-Cornish movement that had a profound impact upon oral folk tradition in Cornwall was the advent of the Old Cornwall Societies. The first Old Cornwall Society formed in St Ives in 1920 following a performance, significantly, of one of Morton Nance's Cledry Plays, *Duffy And The Devil*. This was followed by the formation of further societies throughout Cornwall with the result that a Federation of Old Cornwall Societies was formed. The aim of the Federation is summed up in the motto "Kyntelleugh an brewyon es gesys na vo kellys travyth – Gather the fragments that are left so that nothing is lost". In order to achieve this aim each society appointed a *recorder* whose task it was to record information brought to

the society by members and invited speakers. The brief was to record information appertaining to Cornwall's distinctive history and culture. The three principle mediums for recording and sharing information were the local society meetings and field trips; the six monthly *Old Cornwall* magazine; and a publication series comprising of pamphlets and books on Cornish subjects.

In order to understand the relationship between oral folk tradition in Cornwall and the Old Cornwall Societies it is important to recognise that the movement was much more than just a local history and folklore society. Nance makes clear in the opening article of the first edition of the *Old Cornwall* magazine that the organisation was on a mission working towards a "New Cornwall" which drew its essence of Cornishness from the "Old Cornwall". The societies' purpose was to maintain and revive not just to record:

For over a century we have had learned societies that deal with Cornish Antiquities, and these have done much to uphold the honour of Cornwall. To them, however, Cornwall's past is a subject for antiquarian discussions; to us it holds a living spirit, and in our unlearned way we aim at spreading a knowledge of this past amongst Cornish people of every sort as a thing that is necessary to them if they would remain Cornish.
Equally important in other ways are the old customs – Hurling, Christmas Plays, May Games, Carol Singing etc.- a memory of which at least can be revived, and often, if not to long gone , the custom itself.¹⁰⁸

Nance's language is interesting here in that whilst he is respectful of antiquarian scholarship he is nevertheless distancing himself and the Old Cornwall Societies from it. He sees the "knowledge" of Cornwall's heritage as something to be owned by Cornish people and understood as part of their identity. This helps us to understand the Old Cornwall Societies as an agency that will mediate the material it collects in relation to a distinctive Cornish identity. It is also clear that the intention is for the organisation to take an active role in reviving folk traditions.

What becomes apparent in this opening article and elsewhere is that Nance did not share the middle class elitism of immediate predecessors in the Celto-Cornish movement such as Jenner. He had a sense of the egalitarian which is evident in his insistance that the Cornish Gorsedh should have only one level of membership, that of

Bard, and not the hierarchic structure of Bards, Ovates and Druids adopted by the Welsh and Breton Gorsedds. This egalitarianism may not have been universal in everything he did and does seem at odds to his fairly autocratic approach to the Cornish Language and his own unified version¹⁰⁹. Similarly, it could be argued that Nance's management of the Cornish Language in for example the *Old Cornwall* magazine was far from egalitarian. He was not the only editor, however, and apart from articles in or about the Cornish Language and dialect, seems to have limited editorial involvement to the occasional interpretive footnote. For example, there are a series of notes in the 1926 – 1927 issues concerning the song *Heligan / Lankyloo*, the Manx connection of which clearly appealed to Nance's sense of Celticity but he provides additional discussion about the song and its provenance rather than exercising any editorial control over the material originally submitted.

The *Old Cornwall* magazine was (and remains) the main organ of the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies. Individual societies maintained their own records but the archiving of these records was often erratic and sometimes inseparable from the personal papers of the recorders. This may have been lost to the public domain but a large amount of material sourced from the local society recorders was published in *Old Cornwall*. In the first twenty five years to 1950 there are some sixty four references to folk phenomena recorded direct from oral tradition and a further fifty two references from indirect sources. Numerically this makes the Old Cornwall Societies major players in the collection and recording of folk tradition in Cornwall. Like the work of the collectors discussed in chapter 5, these references sometimes comprise of a complete description with words and tune, for example the *Stratton Carol Of The Months*¹¹⁰ and sometimes a series of snippets and verses like the *Frog and The Mouse*.¹¹¹ What it is important to recognise here is that the societies published material as it was recorded rather than mediating by publishing collections of selected and edited versions as happened in many cases elsewhere.

Whilst there is a marked decrease in new references to material from oral tradition during the next twenty five years with just 15 references there are a number of interpretive articles drawing together references and "fragments" from earlier publications of *Old Cornwall*. Topics covered include Crying the neck,¹¹² Guize Dancing,¹¹³ Snail Rhymes and Games,¹¹⁴ Midsummer Bonfires.¹¹⁵ It is tempting to interpret this decline in recording as a decline in activity within oral folk tradition in

Cornwall. This was voiced by some of the interviewees for this project who commented that everything had changed after the War:

William Barber, St Ives

.....it was all changed after the War, some people did not like the guising because it made it obvious where the gaps were in the family photograph albums, the people who were known for certain songs or parts did not come back so it upset people to be reminded. ¹¹⁶

Norman Mannell, Grampound

They did not do the Furry Dance in Grampound after the War, people all came back with different ideas, they seen that world was a much bigger place and they were not interested in little village things. ¹¹⁷

There is a parallel here with A L Rowse's description of the celebration of the armistice in 1918 with a Furry dance through St Austell. He describes it as a pathetic old landmark being swept away by the tide of change that followed, in this case, the first World War.¹¹⁸ Paradoxically, both William Barber and William Mannel describe these traditions as thriving in the inter war period. Furthermore, research for the Rescorla Project showed these customs to have continued in popularity well into the fifties.¹¹⁹

These examples demonstrate the problem of determining continuity in folk tradition, determining survival as opposed to revival. Furry Dances and Guising can be seen from contemporary observation to have a broad continuity from the date of the earliest records of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹²⁰ From the local perspectives of William Barber, Norman Mannell and A.L.Rowse, however, these traditions had died out as a result of the social disruption of war. Barber recognised and applauded the way in which the St Ives Guize dancing was perpetuated in the nineteen seventies and the twenty first century, but for him it was different and not the same as the activity he had engaged with as a child. Likewise, Furry Dances in the Clay Country hinterland of St Austell seem to have enjoyed periods of popularity and periods of disuse throughout the twentieth century to the present. This reinforces the model of folk tradition as a process of change but is a reminder that some commentators will perceive tradition as something static for which change represents the end of something not a natural evolution.

The Celto-Cornish movement as represented by Nance, Dunstan and the Old Cornwall Societies was also an agent of both change and of survival for oral folk tradition in Cornwall. What changed is that these traditions became an expression of Cornish identity and Celticity on the part of participants. Although the words Cornish and Celtic were used descriptively by scholars and folklorists during the nineteenth century there is little evidence to suggest that identity went beyond the immediately locality for the participants. What the Celto-Cornish movement did was to connect these traditions to the broader “Celtic Imaginary” at the same time as fostering their survival in both original and revivalist locations.

The *Hal An Tow* provides a case study which illustrates the impact of the Celto-Cornish movement in Cornwall. It is a Guize Dance performance which takes place during the course of the Helston Flora Day celebrations which had all but died out towards the end of the nineteenth century and was re-instated by the Helston Old Cornwall Society in 1930¹²¹. They used information provided by older Helstonians and an observational trip to the Padstow May Day celebrations in 1929 to provide a Guize Dance Play which was performed by boys from the Helston Grammar School. Howard Curnow, Helston Town Crier¹²², has described the evolution of *Hal An Tow* since then with the tradition being inherited by the Helston Community School in the 1960s and opened out to involve the wider community by 2000. Observed in 2006, 2007 and 2008 the *Hal An Tow* continued to show the influence of the Celto-Cornish revivalists with its opening welcome in English and Cornish to “friends from overseas and our English neighbours”,¹²³ Cornish Language banners and the addition of St Piran to the characters portrayed. In 2008 observers and participants are left in little doubt as to the Cornish identity being expressed and it is interesting to see *Green Man* imagery evolve in the banners which perhaps reflects an element of New Age Celticity rather than a linguistic model. The play nevertheless remains a Guize dance in its original location and recognisable from any nineteenth century description of the custom.

Two other examples of the Celto-Cornish movements influence on folk customs are the *Guldhise* (Harvest Home) with its *Crying the Neck* ceremony and the midsummer celebrations of *Golowan*. The *Crying the Neck* ceremony marks the harvest by cutting the last sheaf of corn with the cry in Cornish “Yma genef, yma genef, yma genef!” the response “pyth us genes, pyth us genes, pyth us genes?” and the reply “Pen Yar, Pen Yar, Pen Yar!”. Repeated in dialect “I ave’n”, “What avee” and “A

Neck!”¹²⁴ There is a dance associated with the *Guldhise* called *Cock in Britches* which tells the story of the corn from sowing to harvest. The midsummer festival of *Golowan* takes place at the end of the midsummer solstice on 23rd June with a bonfire and a ceremony where a bunch of “good” and “bad” herbs are thrown on the fire accompanied by an incantation in Cornish.¹²⁵ The survival of these customs with their associated community singing was largely driven by the Old Cornwall Societies until the 1970s since when festival culture has also provided a medium for these customs with their associated songs, music and dance. The obvious examples being Penzance and the Golowan Festival and Polperro’s Midsummer Festival with its revival of the Mock Mayor based on Quiller Couch’s description of local Guize dancers.

If collecting fragments was the focus of Old Cornwall Societies activities during their formative years then reflecting on traditional material and encouraging its continued use became the theme of later activity. Nowhere is this better represented than by Inglis Gundry’s *Canow Kernow*, which was a collaborative work between the Old Cornwall Societies and Peter Kennedy’s Folk Tracks and Sound Post organisation. In the introduction, Grand Bard Retallick-Hooper echoed Morton Nance’s introduction to the first Old Cornwall Magazine forty Years previously, “How welcome this book is, and may it foster the new as well as the old music of Cornwall”. Although there is little in the way of completely new material in *Canow Kernow*, Gundry did undertake some oral history in revisiting sources. He gained additional information from W Arthur Pascoe of St Neot who originally contributed songs to *Old Cornwall*, together with Richard Jenkin and R E Cleake who were involved with Helston School’s performance of *Hal An Tow* during Flora Day. He also noted down both the *Helston Furry* and the *Padstow May Song* as he observed them performed in 1962.

Many of the songs were arranged in part harmony by Gundry, hinting at his background as an operatic composer, but he also provided chord symbols to accommodate the increasing popularity of guitar accompaniment. Although the arrangements together with the scope and depth of detail are comparable to that of Dunstan’s books the format is cramped and understated. This was possibly for reasons of economy and is consistent with the standard of other short run folk publications of the time. The outcome was nevertheless a very inexpensive and accessible publication, which marked a move towards a wider audience for music and dance identified with the Celto-Cornish movement. There were eight songs translated into Cornish, mostly by E.G. Retallick-Hooper, Nance’s successor as Grand Bard, but one

translation by Richard Gendal was included, the *Sweet Nightingale*. This set the scene for the more systematic translation into Cornish of many of the songs in the canon of oral folk tradition in Cornwall. In his *Folk Songs of Britain and Ireland* (1975) Kennedy devotes an entire section of twelve songs translated into Cornish four of which come from Canow Kernow.

Conclusion

It can be seen that the mindset of the Celto-Cornish movement was essentially revivalist, to create a new Cornwall from the traditions of the past. Although the Cornish Language remained the flagship of cultural and national identity, folk tradition was also drawn into the revivalist domain particularly through the activities of the Old Cornwall Societies. A combination of antiquarian fascination and the ascription of authenticity to historic provenance served to encourage research and recording of oral folk traditions. The Celto-Cornish movement created new space in which the performance of folk arts could take place. Initially this took the form of concerts and entertainment associated with meetings and conferences but it was the creation of performance space within the wider Pan-Celtic movement that would raise the stakes and have a major impact how folk traditions were (and are) interpreted and performed in Cornwall. It is nevertheless important to recognise that this activity also served to support survival in its original locations, for example the customs associated with the *Crying The Neck Ceremony* and the *Hal An Tow*.

The Celto-Cornish revival in Cornwall may have been driven initially by the classical aspirations of Jenner but under Nance and the Old Cornwall Societies ownership transferred to a wider group of people defined by their interest in Cornwall and their stake in its identity rather than their education or socio-economic status. The ramifications of this “ownership by the people” rather than an elite group of collectors were far reaching. The very use of the term “recorder” by the Old Cornwall Societies rather than collector is itself significant. People were encouraged to record their own experiences and recollections together with that of their contemporaries. This provided for a participant observer style of collecting material and when recording the recollections of others the relationship was that of peers rather than that of researcher and subject. Portelli would see such equality in relationships as a practice to be aspired to in oral history projects.¹²⁶ Furthermore, ownership remained identified with the provider of the information. W Arthur Pascoe for example, recalled the songs he could remember singing in the sessions at the pub in St Neot and where they are published

in the *Old Cornwall* magazines he is recognised as the author / contributor. This is in stark contrast to Sharp and Kennedy for example both of whom were criticised for making material their own through the respective processes of musical arrangement and mechanical copyright.

Although Cornwall's distinctiveness was interpreted in a variety of ways through the pages of magazines such as *Old Cornwall*, ranging from the cultural to the political they did share a common imaginary of a Celtic Cornwall. In this sense, the Celto-Cornish movement might be described as a speech community where meanings and interpretations in relation to oral folk tradition were developed around the notion of a distinctive Celtic Cornwall. One construct, for example, would be that folk songs lost their native Cornish words as a result of Anglicisation therefore it was a natural progression to translate these songs back into Cornish. The works of Dunstan, Gundry and Kennedy all provide examples of this. Another construct is that if a traditional item has reasonable provenance in Cornwall then it is Cornish and Celtic rather than English and Anglo Saxon. It can be seen that this mindset would have an impact upon the reflective processes in oral folk tradition in Cornwall. It also set the scene for conflict and competition with another speech community, that of the English Folk Revival of the sixties which saw Cornwall as an English shire county.

Notes

¹ Amy Hale, "Genesis of the Celto-Cornish Revival", *Cornish studies* 5, ed. Philip J Payton, (Exeter, University of Exeter Press. 1996) p. 103.

² Henry Jenner "Cornwall: A Celtic Nation", *Celtic Review*, January 1905.

³ Amy Hale and Philip Payton. *New directions in Celtic Studies*. (Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 2000).

⁴ Kesarweth: Keltegieth yn Kernow / Symposium: Celticity in Cornwall. 16th Oct 2009 Lowender Peran Celtic Festival, Perranaporth, Cornwall (Lowender Peran Archive DVD, Ted Chapman, 2009). Papers Presented: Garry Tregidga, Celtic Testimonies: Culture and Tradition in Contemporary Cornwall; Bob Keys, Culture and Identity: Representations of custom and community on film, some Celtic comparisons; Caradoc Peters, Cornwall, Celts and the Archaeological Record; Merv Davey, Cornish Dances and Celtic Identities; Tim Hall, Celtic Spirituality; Shelley Trower and Marion Gibson, Myth, Mysticism and Celtic Nationalism - introducing the CAVA oral history project.

⁵ Eric J Hobsbawm Terence. O. Ranger, *The Invention Of Tradition*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press,1983); Malcolm Chapman, *The Celts : the construction of a myth*. (London, St Martin's Press, 1992).

⁶ Amy Hale and Philip Payton : *New Directions In Celtic Studies* (Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 2000), pp. 6 – 8, citing: Patrick Sims-Williams, "The Visionary Celt: the Construction of an ethnic preconception". *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 11 pp.71-96, 1896 Also citing: L Colley, *Britons Forging the Nation 1707 – 1837* (New Haven 1992).

⁷ Two examples of this:

When acting a promoter for the Lowender Peran Celtic Festival author was approached by a band wishing to perform. The band were asked if they sung in a Celtic language to which they responded no. They were asked what style of music they played was it traditional Irish or Breton, to which the response was that they had developed their own style and composed their own music. They saw no problem in identifying themselves with Celtic Music and the "folkie" style of their demo CD is likely to have seen most music stores content to list them under "Celtic".

Interview with Author 15th September 2010 -Pete Berryman's explanation of how his band, Blue Ticket, engaged with music he saw as Celtic:

I don't how it happened maybe I had heard Moving Hearts, Moving Hearts weren't Jazz but they were an electric Irish folk band folk which

hadn't really happened before, I hadn't really thought about where it (Blue Ticket's Celtic Music) came from before, but somehow we got together with Will and his bagpipes, because it was very striking and he became Genghis Trewartha a big guy at the front I had several labels at the time with the music anyway, Afro, Afro- Celtic, Latin, Funk so the Celtic thing was in there with him, So he has us singing some Cornish stuff and even a couple of verses there in Cornish then it began to click, there is, there actually is some traditional Cornish music, and that's how it happened.

⁸Amy Hale and Philip Payton : *New Directions In Celtic Studies*, p. 9.

⁹Richard. M. Dorson, "Is Folklore a Discipline?" *Folklore* 84(3): pp 177-205. (1973), pp. 199 and 204.

¹⁰ Alan Dundes, "Nationalistic Inferiority Complexes and the Fabrication of Feklore: A Reconsideration of Ossian, the Kinder- und Hausmarchen, the Kalevala, and Paul Bunyan." *Journal of Folklore Research* 22(1) 1985, pp. 5-18.

¹¹ Juliette Wood, "Perceptions of the Past in Welsh Folklore Studies." *Folklore* 108(1997):pp 93-102. p.97, citing: Prys Morgan ."Keeping the Legends Alive.", in *Wales: The Imagined Nation: Studies in Cultural and National Identity*, editor Tony Curtis. 17-42. (Bridgend: Poetry Wales Press, 1986.) , 75-92; and Gereint Bowen . "Gorsedd y Beirdd-From Primrose Hill 1782 to Aberystwyth 1992." *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* 1992), pp.115-30.

¹² Wood, "Perceptions of the Past in Welsh Folklore Studies.", p.97.

¹³ Marion Löffler, *The Literary and Historical Legacy of Iolo Morganwg 1826 – 1926*, (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2007), p.78.

¹⁴Trevor Roper, "The invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland", in *The Invention Of Tradition*, eds. Eric J Hobsbawm and Terence. O. Ranger (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.1983), pp. 16 – 27.

¹⁵ Marion Bowman, *Cardiac Celts*, unpublished paper presented at the CERN conference, Truro September 2006.

¹⁶ Joan Flett, et al. *Traditional Step-Dancing in Scotland*. (Edinburgh: Scottish Cultural Press, 1996), p.21.

¹⁷ Alexander John Haddow, *The History and Structure of Ceol Mor : A Guide to Piobaireachd, the Classical Music of the Great Highland Bagpipe : A Collection of Critical and Historical Essays*. (Scotland: Haddow,1982). Describes the structure of Ceol Mor (the great music) and the ways in which stylised grace notes and improvisations are used to develop the basic air or "ground" of the tune to produce

Piobreached. Although orthodox western music transcription have recently been adapted to provide a music score in essence the style is based around prescribed grace notes which are taught and practiced by repetition and memorisation.

¹⁸ Marion Löffler, *The Literary and Historical Legacy of Iolo Morganwg 1826 – 1926*, (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2007), p.71.

¹⁹ Am Mòd Nàiseanta Rioghail, An t-Oban 2009 - The Royal National Mod, Oban 2009 , events page, <http://www.oban2009.co.uk/events.html> ,accessed 4th April 2010.

²⁰ Stephen D Winnick “Breton Folk Music, Breton Identity, and Alan Stivell's Again” *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 108, No. 429 (Summer, 1995), pp. 334-354.

Published by: American Folklore Society Stable URL:

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/541889> Accessed: 25/03/2009. Barzaz Breizh and discussion concerning authenticity featured in the first Celtic Congress held in St Brieuc in 1867.

²¹Stephen D. Winnick “Breton Folk Music”.

²² Alan Stivell, *Renaissance of the Celtic Harp*. Philips, 1971. LP, (released 1990 as a CD). This was his first major album which was followed by a series of albums and tours celebrating Brittany’s Celticity and links with Ireland in particular.

²³ Löffler, *The Literary and Historical Legacy of Iolo Morganwg 1826 – 1926*, p.72.

²⁴ Bodadeg ar Sonerion, *Waroak Kit: Toniou evit ar Bagadou* (Renne, Bodadeg ar Sonerion, 1967)

²⁵ Polig Montjarret *Toniou Breizh Izel*, (Brest, Bodadeg Ar Sonerion, 1984).

Also conversations between author and Polig Montjarret at the Pan Celtic Festival in Killarney in May 1980 and the Festival Interceltic in Lorient in August 1980. Polig was a member of both organising committees at that time and was instrumental in inviting a dance group to represent Cornwall in Lorient. Montjarret also contributed to a workshop on Bagpipes at the Lowender Peran Festival in Perranporth 1985.

²⁶*Bagad: Kampionad Breizh- Epreuve de Lorient*. Coop Breizh (2000), CD 898, DB17, Also conversations with Polig Montjarret, May 1980: Before 1948 the sonneurs typically comprised a duo of Binou (small high pitched bagpipe) and Bombarde (a kind of shaum) or Veuze (larger bagpipe similar to Great Highland Pipes) and Bombarde. The Breton Bagad was modelled on the Scottish and Irish pipe bands replacing the Binou and Veuze with the Great Highland Bagpipe and introducing a drum core. The B flat Bombarde was kept however as this fitted well in ensemble with the pitch of the Great Highland Bagpipes but maintained a distinctive Breton style. By the end of the

twentieth century Breton Bagadou had developed a more eclectic style incorporating the Binou and Veuze into performance.

²⁷ St Nazaire Cercle Celtique. <http://www.cercle-celtique-saint-nazaire.net/> accessed 4th April 2010.

²⁸ Alan Gailey, "The Nature of Tradition", *Folklore*, Vol 100, No 2 (1989), pp143 -161. p.145.

²⁹ Alan Gailey, "The Nature of Tradition", p154.

³⁰The Chieftains. Chieftains 2. Claddagh Records Ltd (1969), LP.

The Chieftains were formed in 1962. Their second album features the first recorded work by 17th/18th century composer Turlough O' Carolan, one of the harpers from the tradition identified by Bunting.

³¹ Edward Bunting, *The Ancient Music of Ireland*. (Dublin, Hodges and Smith, 1840). p 20. Although published in 1840 the music in this collection is largely attributed to the harpers attending the Belfast Harp Festival in 1792.

³² Gailey, "The Nature of Tradition", p. 154.

³³ Bunting, *The Ancient Music Of Ireland*, p. 30.

³⁴ Brendan Breathnach, *Folk Music And Dances of Ireland* , (Dublin, The Talbot Press, 1971), pp.111-112.

³⁵ Löffler *The Literary and Historical Legacy of Iolo Morganwg 1826 – 1926*, p. 71 citing: Padraig O Fearail, *The Story of Conradh na Gaeilge* (Baile Atha Cliath, 1975), p 5 : and George Grote, *Torn Between Politics and Culture: The Gaelic League 1983 - 1993* (Munster 1994), pp. 22-23, 60 – 61.

³⁶ Fenella Crowe Bazin, "Music in the Isle Of Man up to 1896", (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Liverpool, 1995), p.401.

³⁷ Dundes, "Nationalistic Inferiority Complexes". p.10.

³⁸ William Borlase, *Antiquities Historical and Monumental of Cornwall* (Oxford , W Jackson. 1758 and 1769).

³⁹ William Borlase, *Antiquities*, p.40.

⁴⁰ Amy Hale, Alan M Kent, Tim Saunders, T. *Inside Merlin's CAve: A Cornish Arthurian Reader 1000-2000*. (London, Francis Boutle, 2000). pp. 42- 46.

⁴¹ Dundes , "Nationalistic Inferiority Complexes ...", p.11.

⁴² Ibid citing Bailey Saunders, "The Life and letters of James Macpherson, containing a particular account of his famous quarrel with Dr. Johnson, and a sketch of the origin and influence of the Ossianic poems" (London, Swan, Sonnenschein and Co, 1894), pp,183-187.

- ⁴³ John Rowe, *Cornwall in the age of the Industrial Revolution*. (St Austell, Cornish Hillside Press, 1993), p. 127.
- ⁴⁴ Bernard Deacon, "The Hollow Jarring of the Distant Steam Engines: Images of Cornwall between West Barbary and Delectable Duchy.", in *Cornwall, the Cultural Construction of Place*, ed. Ella Westland, (Penzance, Patten Press, 1997).
- ⁴⁵ Gilbert, Davies. *Some Ancient Christmas Carols*_Second ed. (London: John Nichols And Son, , 1823), Th Helston Forey – a Specimen of Celtick Music.
- ⁴⁶ Philip Payton. "Paralysis and Revival: The reconstruction of Celtic -Catholic Cornwall 1880 -1945." in *Cornwall: The Cultural Construction Of Place*, ed. Ella Westland, (Penzance, Patten Press, 1997), pp. 25-39.
- ⁴⁷ Bernard Deacon, "The reformulation of territorial identity: Cornwall in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" (unpublished PhD Thesis, Faculty of Social Sciences, Open University.2001), p. 316.
- ⁴⁸ Amy Hale, "Genesis of the Celto-Cornish Revival", p100.
- ⁴⁹ Lesley Stevenson, "Scotland the Real: The Representation of Traditional Music in Scottish Tourism." (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Glasgow University, 2004), p.22. For example, shows the impact of Herders construction of "folk music" on the development of Scottish identity and tourism.
- ⁵⁰ Amy Hale, "Genesis of the Celto-Cornish Revival", p.107. Citing *Celtia* September 1902.
- ⁵¹ Philip Payton "The Great Western Railway and the Cornish-Celtic Revival " in *Cornish Studies*, **3**, ed. Philip Payton, (Exeter, Exeter University Press,1995), pp. 83 - 99.
- ⁵² For example, appendix 1.1 lists 639 items of folk phenomena collected from oral tradition in Cornwall. Neither Merlin, King Arthur nor Piskies are referred to in any of the titles and there are just two references to smugglers and two to pasties.
- ⁵³ Chapman, *The Celts*, p.138.
- ⁵⁴ For example, in the Padstow traditions of Winter Mumming and May day, the tourists are seen as outsiders and not part of the event, at the same time they are essential to the atmosphere of both festivals.
- ⁵⁵ Henry Jenner. *A handbook of the Cornish language, chiefly in its latest stages, with some account of its history and literature*. (London, D. Nutt. 1904)
- ⁵⁶ Derek Williams (ed.), *Henry and Katherine Jenner: A celebration of Cornwall's Culture, Language and Identity*. (London, Francis Boutle 2004).
- ⁵⁷ Courtney Library, Royal Institution of Cornwall, Jenner Manuscript Boxes.

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- ⁵⁸ "The Late Lady Mary Trefusis." *The Journal of the English Folk Dance Society*.1 (1927), pp. 46-47.
- ⁵⁹ Courtney Library, Jenner Manuscripts Box 24, packet 24.
- ⁶⁰ Courtney Library, Jenner Manuscripts Box 7 packet 1: notice of Committee meeting 20th Feb 1920
- ⁶¹ Courtney Library, Jenner Manuscripts Box 7 packet 11: Folk Dancing Festival Penzance – Programme Sat 26th June 1920.
- ⁶² Gwen Masters, interviewed by Alison Davey 12th July 1997, (An Daras Project Audio Archive, 120797-1) described a well established scoot dancing tradition taking place in the farmhouse kitchens in and around Blisland when she was a teenager in the inter-war years. This is interesting as contact address for the Launceston Folk Dance Festival 1929 was given as Blisland. Either the festival organiser had little contact with local people, judged that these dances were not suitable for this festival, or was not in a position to change an established programme of folk dances. For further discussion of fold dance activity in Cornwall at this time see Merv Davey, et al. *Scoot Dances, Troyls, Furrys and Tea Treats: The Cornish Dance Tradition*. (London, Francis Boutle & Co, 2009), pp. 17-56.
- ⁶³ Henry Jenner, "The Renaissance of Merry England: Presidential address, September 1920", *Journal of Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society* (Falmouth), 1922, pp. 51 – 61.
- ⁶⁴ Henry Jenner, *The Renaissance of Merry England*, footnote p. 60.
- ⁶⁵ Henry Jenner, *The Renaissance of Merry England*, footnote p. 51.
- ⁶⁶ Alfred Percival Graves, *The Celtic song book : being representative folk songs of the six Celtic nations*. (London, E. Benn. 1928).
- ⁶⁷ Gwavas manuscript ,1698, (British Museum MSS 28554) p135- item 9, see appendix 2.1.
- ⁶⁸ William Pryce, *Archaeologia Cornu-Britannica*, (Sherborne, 1790) p. 245, see appendix 2.1.
- ⁶⁹ Ralph Dunstan, Ed. *The Cornish Song Book, Lyver Canow Kernewek*, (London, Reid Bros Ltd 1929).
- ⁷⁰ Sabine Baring-Gould, *Further Reminiscences*, (London, John Lane The Bodley Head Ltd, 1925). p. 184.
- ⁷¹ G, Gilchrist. "Come All You Little Streamers.", *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* 1913 Vol 4, no17, pp. 312- 4.
- ⁷² Alfred Percival Graves, *The Celtic song book*, p 256.

⁷³ Sharon Lowenna, "Noscitur a Sociis: Jenner, Duncombe-Jewell and their milieu", Editor Philip Payton *Cornish Studies Twelve*, (Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 2004) pp 61-87 .

⁷⁴ *The Musical Times*, Vol. 69, No.1026. (Aug. 1st 1928), p. 713.

⁷⁵ Dunstan, *The Cornish Song Book*, p. 79.

⁷⁶ Mike Jenkin, Leader of the band for the revival of the Snail Creep at Wheal Martyn in September 2007 could remember his father playing "Tavern in the Town alongside the tradition tune in the 1930s. See appendix 4.2.

⁷⁷ Courtney Library, Royal Institution of Cornwall, Truro, Nance Manuscript, Boxes 1 – 13.

⁷⁸ Alan Kent, discussion with author at Cornish Music Symposium Tremough Campus Exeter University February 2008. Proposed that the term *Cornu-English* was preferable to the term *dialect* as it gave a clearer indication of a separate structure and vocabulary from standard English .

⁷⁹ Alan Kent "Some Ancientry That Lingers" in Peter W. Thomas and Derek R. Williams, eds. *Setting Cornwall on Its Feet: Robert Morton Nance 1873 - 1959*. (London: Francis Boutle, 2007), p. 97.

⁸⁰ Ann Trevenen Jenkin, "Reawakening Cornwall's Celtic Consciousness". In Peter W Thomas and Derek Williams Ed. *Setting Cornwall On Its Feet: Robert Morton Nance 1873 -1959*. (London, Francis Boutle.2007), p. 250.

⁸¹ Arthur T Quiller-Couch, *The Cornish Magazine* Vol 1 and 2, (Truro, Pollard, 1898 – 1900).

⁸² Robert Morton Nance "Redruth Christmas Play", *Old Cornwall* Vol 1, (St Ives, Federation Of Old Cornwall Societies, 1926), pp. 29 - 32.

⁸³ Robert Morton Nance, *The Cledry plays; drolls of old Cornwall for village acting and home reading*. (Marazion, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies 1956).

⁸⁴ Courtney Library, Royal Institution of Cornwall, Truro, Nance Manuscript, Boxes 1 – 13.

⁸⁵ Apparently based on Chrononhotonthologos, a comic tragedy written by Henry Carey in 1734 which Nance presumably intended to adapt or use as inspiration for a dialect play.

⁸⁶ Dunstan. *The Cornish Song Book*, p. 63.

⁸⁷ Robert Morton Nance, *The Cledry plays. drolls of old Cornwall for village acting and home reading*. (Marazion, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies 1956), p. 3.

- ⁸⁸ Charles Lee. *Dorinda's Birthday : A Cornish Idyll*. (London; New York: J.M. Dent; E.P. Dutton, 1911).
- ⁸⁹ Tom Miners, "The Mummers Play In West Cornwall" *Old Cornwall* (St Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1928) Vol 1, no 8, pp. 4 – 16.
- ⁹⁰ Ralph Dunstan, Ed. *The Cornish Song Book*, p. 73.
- ⁹¹ Gundry, *Canow Kernow*, p. 33.
- ⁹² Gundry, *Canow Kernow*, p. 50.
- ⁹³ Courtney Library, Jenner Manuscripts
- ⁹⁴ Obituary: "Ralph Dunstan." *Musical Times* (London The Musical Times Publications Ltd, 1933) Vol 74, Issue 1084.
- ⁹⁵ Graves, *The Celtic song book*.
- ⁹⁶ Ralph Dunstan "The Cornish Song Book: Lyver Canow Kernewek" *Old Cornwall* (St Ives, Federation Of Old Cornwall Societies, 1929) Vol1, No 9, p. 35.
- ⁹⁷ Dunstan, *The Cornish Song Book*, p.4.
- ⁹⁸ Philip Payton, and P Thornton, "The Great Western Railway and the Cornish-Celtic Revival", in *Cornish Studies 3*, ed. *Philip Payton*, (Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 1995), p. 83.
- ⁹⁹ Dunstan, *The Cornish Song Book*. p. 29.
- ¹⁰⁰ Dunstan, *The Cornish Song Book*, pp. 62 and 66.
- ¹⁰¹ Frances Bennet et al, eds, *Racca 2: Cornish Tunes for Cornish Sessions*, (Calstock, Racca Project, 1997), p. 238.
- ¹⁰² Ralph Dunstan, *A Second book of carols sixty six traditional and Tudor carols*. (London, Reid Bros. 1925)
- ¹⁰³ Dundes, "Nationalistic Inferiority Complexes and the Fabrication of Fakelore", pp. 5-18.
- ¹⁰⁴ Inglis Gundry: interview with author 26th Oct 1987. Gundry had contacted Dunstan's family when researching Canow Kernow, he had kept his papers in the garden gazebo where he had worked and these had been irreparably damaged by the damp.
- ¹⁰⁵ Gundry, *Canow Kernow*.
- ¹⁰⁶ Merv Davey, *Hengan : traditional folk songs, dances and broadside ballads collected in Cornwall*. (Redruth, Dyllansow Truran, 1983).
- ¹⁰⁷ Mike O'Connor, *Ilow Kernow: The Traditional Instrumental Music of Cornwall*. (Wadebridge, Lyngham House, 2000).
- ¹⁰⁸ Robert Morton Nance, "What We Stand For", *Old Cornwall* , (St Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, April 1925) Vol. 1, No 1, pp. 3-45.

¹⁰⁹ Courtney Library, Royal Institution of Cornwall, Truro, Nance Manuscript, Boxes 1 – 13. These contain copies of correspondence with A S D Smith that show Nance to be fairly uncompromising with his ideas on the structure of Cornish.

¹¹⁰ Edeth Jewell, “Stratton Carol Of The Months” *Old Cornwall*, (St Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1936) Vol 2, No 12, p. 20.

¹¹¹ “Frog and The Mouse” *Old Cornwall*, (St Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1939) Vol 3, No 3, pp.195-196.

¹¹² R C Johns, “Crying the Neck” *Old Cornwall* (St Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1951), Vol 5, No1, p.20.

¹¹³ J Kelynack, “Newlyn Guise Dancers” *Old Cornwall* (St Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1953), Vol. 5, No. 3, p.156.

¹¹⁴ Robert Morton Nance, “Snail Lore” *Old Cornwall* (St Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1957), Vol. 5, No 8, p.347.

¹¹⁵ R J Noall, “Midsummer Bonfire” *Old Cornwall* (St Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1963) Vol. 6, No. 4, p.164-169.

¹¹⁶ William Barber Interviewed 30th October 2009, St Ives.

¹¹⁷ Norman and Joan Mannel Interviewed 3rd November 2009, Grampound.

¹¹⁸ A.L Rowse *A Cornish Childhood*, (London, Jonathon Cape.1942), p. 7.

¹¹⁹ Merv Davey, Alison Davey, *Snail Creeps and Tea Treat: Clay Country Customs* (St Austell, The Rescorla Project, 2008) see also appendix 4.2.

¹²⁰ Chapter 7 discussed Guizing customs in more detail see also appendix 4.4

¹²¹ Merv Davey *Scoot Dances*, p. 33.

¹²² Howard Curnow, interviewed 20th May 2008, St Hilary .

¹²³ Observation and field recording, 08/05/06 and 08/05/08 Helston, see appendix 4.4.

¹²⁴ Crying the neck was one of the customs associated with the Clay Country see appendix 4.2 .

¹²⁵ *The Midsummer Bonfire Celebration* St Columb Old Cornwall Society Information Leaflet (St Columb, Old Cornwall Society, 2001). Observed 23rd June 1995 – 2010 at Both Castle an Dinas (St Columb) and St Ives.

¹²⁶ Alessandro Portelli, A. *The Battle of Valle Guilia. Oral History and the Art of Dialogue*. University of Wisconsin Press 1997, introduction p.vii-xix.

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Chapter 6 Competing speech communities

The final chapter of this section focuses on the evolution of folk tradition, and the new spaces created for performance, within the Celto-Cornish movement through the latter half of the twentieth century to the current era of festival culture and Pan-Celticism. It makes the case that the Celto-Cornish movement and the folk revival that arrived in Cornwall in the sixties represent different speech communities, which competed for ownership of oral folk tradition and the authenticity it represented. It must be also be recognised that there is a third speech community with a stake in the celebration of tradition, the local community within which it takes place. One outcome of these competing speech communities is the way in which the same folk phenomena will be used to express quite different identities. The Padstow May Day festivities for example are a celebration that firstly represents a sense of the towns community¹ and secondly a Celto-Cornish tradition² but at the same time is used as an icon by the English Folk Dance And Song Society.³ Underlying this discussion, however, must be the recognition that identity is chaotically unique for each individual and each group of individuals, all of which are at the centre of a “complex web of being”.⁴ In order to pursue this argument it is first necessary to revisit and examine more closely what is meant by a speech community and how this might affect performance and meaning within oral folk tradition.

Speech Communities

Boland describes identity as a complex web of interconnections that ultimately provide each individual with a distinctive sense of being.⁵ These interconnections are experiential both within the internal world of memory and emotion and within the external world where meaning is ascribed discursively to social contact and sensory experience. In this thesis the term speech community has been coined to refer to a strand within this web which represents an experience of shared ideas and meanings within the social context of a specific group of individuals. An individual may subscribe to different speech communities according to a variety of contexts thus Boland’s notion of complexity. In order to be used as a model to understand the experience and expression of identity through folk traditions, however, the term speech community needs to be quite clearly defined.

Speech community as a model used here thus comprises of three elements: an emotive sense of shared identity; shared meanings of language; and collective memory

with a shared interpretation of history. Tomlinson describes a community as a group of people with a shared identity:

..... all cultural identities - be they national, regional, local - are in one way of the same order. They are all representations (in the sense that imagination is a representative faculty) of belonging.Where people think beyond the immediate presence of others, which is today almost everywhere, it is the 'imaginary community' to which they belong.⁶

Thus from the perspective of the Celto-Cornish movement this is a shared imaginary of people who identify themselves with a notion of being Cornish and distinct from the people across the border in Devon and England. This is an emotive rather than cognitive sense of being and illustrated by Jenner's response to the question "Why Learn Cornish?", "The question is a fair one, the answer is a simple. Because they are Cornishmen".⁷ A century later Cornish Grand Bard, Mick Paynter, responded to the question of what makes someone Cornish with "People are Cornish by birth, parentage or *inclination*".⁸ A sense of Cornish distinctiveness is also illustrated by the Helston town criers introduction to the performance of the Hal an Tow which welcomes all, including "Our English neighbours".⁹ Similar sentiments are also expressed at another folk tradition setting at Padstow. During the May Day celebrations, one of the Masters of Ceremony engages the crowd waiting for the Old Oss shortly before it exits the Golden Lion at 11 am by welcoming "our visitors" and teaching them to sing the May Song¹⁰. Thus making it clear that they are outsiders but at the same time welcome to join in the celebrations. In Padstow, as Magliocco shows in *Oss Tales*¹¹ there is also a strong sense of locality and identification with long standing families in the town. The term "visitor" is typically used to denote tourist in North Cornwall so the Master of Ceremonies here is acknowledging both the Padstow families / outsider identities and the Cornish local / visitor identities.

What Atkinson describes as the second "British Folk Revival"¹² arrived in Cornwall in the sixties, packaged with a set of values associated with a specific genre of music, which provided a recognised identity for subscribers. These values were bound up in the fusion of the eclectic and counter cultural sixties folk song revival with Edwardian English Folk Dance and Song Society orthodoxy so there were some inconsistencies in how nationality, class and oral folk tradition were perceived. This fusion should have made for a very complex speech community, if, indeed, one could

be identified at all. For example, as Boyse shows, the Edwardian folk revival sought to preserve the hegemonic social structures of British Empire,¹³ whereas the Sixties revival of A.L. (Bert) Lloyd and Ewan MacColl made great play of the songs that witnessed the working class struggle against the very same hegemony.¹⁴ In practice, the shared imaginary of the English Folk movement ignores these inconsistencies or chooses to interpret them in such a way as to avoid conflict. The contemporary Folk Club song repertoire draws on material that ranges from the ballads of early folk revival romanticism and the urban, industrial songs of the A.L. (Bert) Lloyd era to contemporary composition that would meet neither Lloyd's nor Sharp's definition of folk music as that fashioned by a community rather than an individual. Similarly, folk dance within the folk revival includes clog and step dancing with music hall associations originally rejected by Sharp; together with the long sword and rapper dances of mining areas that outwardly have little in common with the Morris dances originating from the Cotswolds that provided the rural idyll for the earlier revivalists.

Boyse exposed these inconsistencies in her deconstruction of the English Folk Revival in *The Imagined Village*¹⁵ published in 1993 and a more detailed examination of folk dance in *Step Change*,¹⁶ published in 2001. It is perhaps symbolic that the Speech Community of the English Folk Revival responded to this with a project called *The Imagined Village* which was led by well known names in the revival with the published aim of "exploring our musical roots and identity as English musicians and music makers".¹⁷

Linguistic Relativity or the Sapir-Whorfe Hypothesis¹⁸ and the extent to which language and thinking inter-relate spirals into a complex debate about the power of language over thinking on the one hand;¹⁹ and the extent to which thinking takes place outside of language on the other.²⁰ i.e. how much is thought governed by language and how much can thought exist outside of language Taken at the micro level, however, the significance and meaning ascribed to certain terms by speech communities helps to define those communities. O'Neil used the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis to examine the impact of language difference in his study of Native American communities. His summarisation might equally well apply to different speech communities in Cornwall: "We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way, an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language."²¹ Whilst the symbolic use of both Cornish and Cornu-

English provides a marker for a speech community sharing the Celtic imaginary in Cornwall, what is also important is the meaning and significance ascribed to terms in everyday English usage. The very word “Celtic” used by one speech community carries a significance that relates it to the six surviving Celtic languages. Another community, however, could describe Morris dancing as Celtic on the basis that they believe it to have roots in customs that date back to a time when the whole of Britain was “Celtic” and before Anglo Saxon influences.²² We have seen the very term folk vary in meaning and connotation. For the early Old Cornwall Societies, folk tradition in Cornwall was synonymous with the Celtic but for Sharp, the folk songs and dance of romanticised rurality were quintessentially English.

In his analysis of the relationship between perceptions of history and political communities in France, Gildea discusses how these communities compete in terms of “collective memory” and interpretation of the past.²³ This is evident in the differing ways in which the Right and Left treated the French revolution and the principles of 1789, “Liberty, Equality and Fraternity” during the bicentenary celebrations. The Right celebrated Paris as “the capital of the rights of man” whereas the Left felt that the principles of 1789 had been appropriated by capitalism in that a monarchic hegemony had simply been replaced by a bourgeoisie hegemony.²⁴

The parallel for Cornwall is the way in which different groups of people emphasise aspects of history in order to provide a status for Cornwall that fits their grand narrative. An example of this is Cornwall’s apparent loyalty to the crown during the Civil War of 1642-1646, which seems to fit the grand narrative of an English Cornwall. The speech community for whom Cornwall is a discrete cultural and political entity from England, however, will point to the interpretation of Stoye who suggests that the civil war acted as a flashpoint for ethnic conflict between the Cornish and English.²⁵ Indeed the demeaning of the Cornish in a folk ballad dating from this time, *The Stout Cripple Of Cornwall* is perhaps propaganda associated with just such a conflict.²⁶ The interpretation and mythology surrounding historical events impacts upon the text of oral folk tradition which in turn affects how a speech community will respond to that tradition. *Trelawny* is a good example of this in that collective memory re-defined the historical associations of the narrative.²⁷

Just as identity is multi-faceted and complex, so these speech communities cannot be seen as separate homogenous groups and some individuals may at different

times and in different contexts engage with folk tradition from the perspective of more than one.²⁸ What all these speech communities have in common is a stake in the folk phenomena in question. At one level this is simply the opportunity for socialising and pleasure in a community event or as McCarthy described the Padstow Mummers day “it is just an excuse for a bit of fun all I want to do is drink a lot and have a bloody good time”²⁹. At another it provides an opportunity for a shared expression of identity as we have seen with the Hal an Tow and Padstow May traditions. Where communities compete, however, is where these traditions are used to express and authenticate opposing identities such as being Cornish, in the sense understood by the Celto-Cornish movement or being English in the way understood by Sharp and the successive English Folk Revivals.

Celtitude and Festivals

Jenner’s presidential address to the 1932 congress is interesting. It was entitled “Awakening of Celtic Cornwall” and wound up with the assertion “Thanks to the Old Cornwall Movement no intelligent Cornish person can remain utterly ignorant of his or her Celtic nationality, and thousands take pride in it.”³⁰ Which can be taken as a statement of cultural identity with a shared, collective, interpretation of meaning from Cornwall’s past. A sense of developing identity is also reflected in Nance’s enthusiasm and praise for the work of the Manx youth movement during the Congress. He reminds that the aim of the Old Cornwall Societies, and by inference other groups within the Celto-Cornish movement such as the Gorsedh, “has always been that of *building up a New Cornwall that in spite of all changes shall remain Cornish (sic)*”.³¹ The Congress was due to meet in Cornwall again in 1939 but this was abandoned due to the outbreak of war and next met in Cornwall in 1950.

The pan-Celtic movement in Cornwall emphasised the Cornish language at the expense of other vehicles of Cornish Celtic identity during the first half of the nineteenth century. This changed after the war, however, and by the time of the 1950 Celtic Congress, the Celto-Cornish movement had increased its stake in folk tradition with a Cornish and Celtic Dance School forming in Truro and an Inter-Celtic festival in St Ives in 1949.³² Denys Val Baker articulated the Celtic Imaginary of Cornwall when he described the 1949 Festival in the Cornish Review:

The aim of the St Ives festival will be to recapture the national culture of the Celtic people; the preservation and teaching of Celtic languages; the

popularisation of the music dances, games and industries of the Celt; and the promotion of greater unity between the Celtic nations. Competitions will be held in Celtic Music, literature, languages, Dancing, and games.
..... The festival culminates in an all-Celtic Ceilidhe, with teams of visiting dancers, and the famous Helston Furry Dancers are performing the traditional Cornish Dance.³³

This festival anticipated the Pan-Celtic festival culture that developed within the communities of the Celtic imaginary over the next twenty years and the formula of concerts, ceilidhs, workshops and competitions that was to become the norm

The dance school in Truro was organised by Helena Charles, a Celto-Cornish activist and founder member of Mebyon Kernow.³⁴ Her family had been involved in the Helston Furry before the first World War and she was critical of Cecil Sharp's interpretation of the dance maintaining that he had been influenced by the advice of Lady Rogers (of Exeter) as to what she felt would look nice rather than what actually took place.³⁵ In 1950, she was involved in the Celtic Congress held at Truro and staged an excerpt of the Cornish Mystery play, *Bewnans Meryasek*, at St Piran Round. She took the opportunity to incorporate folk dancing and rounded off the performance with a mixture of Cornish and Breton social dance. In doing so, she was setting the scene for a shared sense of identity through folk dance which would become associated with the Celto-Cornish movement. Some fifty years later this is illustrated in the internet blog of Alan Trevarthen a Cornishman living in Brittany. On a visit to Cornwall he came across a dance evening organised by a youth Group called Tan Ha Dowr and comments:

The Cornish Fest Noz: Two nights ago I saw the most amazing thing -- I went to a Cornish Fest Noz. The first hour was a teach-in for newcomers, and a warm-up for the masses. A group of determined and talented teenage girls got on stage and took over. They formed us up in a big ring, linking arms, and then they started playing.
..... One dance would be pure Breton. Then the next would be one modelled on a Breton dance but a wild Cornish exuberance was now being given free rein. The circles widened, spun faster, there were wild whoops of joy, like in some of the Scottish dances, there were new steps, partners were swung around.³⁶

It can be seen that this also provides an example of a specialised vocabulary being used by the Celto-Cornish speech community and the significance assigned to given expressions. The term “Fest Noz”, here, clearly comes with a whole package of images around energetic community dancing by young people. “Fest Noz” is derived from the Breton for a night party or night feast, the equivalent for Wales is “Noson Lawen”, again a merry night, and in Nance’s unified Cornish “Nos Lowen / Noswyth Lowen” was used in much the same way.

The nineteen sixties saw the emergence of popular music festival culture, the Cambridge Folk Festival started in 1964, the Isle of Wight in 1968 and the iconic Woodstock took place in 1969 followed by Glastonbury in 1970. This wave of interest also encouraged the development of Celtic Festivals with all the variety of definitions, national allegiances and identities that the term offers. The festivals that influenced the folk traditions of Cornwall, however, were those that were expressly Pan Celtic with an expectation of, or opportunity for, some form of representation from Cornwall. The largest of these was the Festival Interceltique held in Lorient, Brittany (1970) but also very influential was the Irish Pan Celtic Festival (1970) and the Manx Yn Chruinnaght (1978). In its early days the Pontardawe Festival in Wales (1969) was also influential as an Inter-Celtic Festival but followed popular fashion to become “East Meets West” culturally. Its Pan Celtic role in Wales being taken on more recently by Cwllwm Celtiadd (2001).

The Festival Interceltique held in Lorient provides a case study showing how Pan Celtic festival culture increased the Celto-Cornish movement’s stake in folk tradition and impacted upon interpretation and performance in Cornwall. In the current form it came into being in 1970 but was based around an older bagpipe festival organised by Bodadeg ar Sonerion the Breton Bagpipe society. It quickly became one of the largest festivals of its kind in Europe with a multi-million pound turnover (and a head office in Paris). Bagpipes remain an integral part of the festival’s showcase and for this reason it was perhaps inevitable that the original Six Nations concept of the Pan Celtic Movement should be stretched to incorporate Asturias and Galythia in Northern Spain both of which had thriving marching pipe band traditions. The Festival Interceltique did not limit itself to folk song and dance tradition and embraced a much wider culture of the Celtic imaginary with choir concerts, military pipe bands, popular, rock and orchestral music concerts, arts and crafts and inter-Celtic sports such as Breton /

Cornish Wrestling .³⁷ In short, it was (and is), a large popular music and cultural festival using the Celtic imaginary as a marketable commodity. Matheson's study of the Glasgow Celtic Connections Festival, which started more recently but is of a similar size and structure, suggests such commoditisation of culture does not necessarily detract from the authenticity of experience for participants. She shows that Celtic Connections "is a festival for the Scottish peoples and acts as a means of identity" it also "remains infused with sufficient interaction to suggest that the authenticity of the experience or, indeed, the object have not been destroyed by the commoditisation process".³⁸

Celtic Critique

Of the voices of Celtic critique it is Chapman who scrutinises the festival scene and describes the Festival Interceltique in Lorient in very different terms:

The fete Inter-Celtique gathers 'Celts' from all the 'Celtic nations'. Self styled, highly educated, intellectual and youthful 'Celts' (many of them studious language learners) come to share their identity, to drink, dance, play music, listen to music, deplore oppression, fight nuclear power, oppose colonialism, lament militarism, buy craftwork and so on..... It would be easy from a superficial, temporary and enthusiastic view of an event like this to represent what was going on as a genuine popular festival of transnational solidarity embedded in its Celtic location.³⁹

There is little evidence to support this statement from the events and performers programmed during the festival in the eighties and early nineties⁴⁰, although nationalist tensions in Ireland and Brittany were sometimes the subject of material included by performers like Stivell.⁴¹ Contrarily, the pipe band spectacles, which have been a feature of the festival since its inception, are clearly inspired by the military tattoo such as that performed annually at Edinburgh castle.

Chapman's description was circulated to groups who attended from Cornwall in 2009 and the broad response was to emphasise the scale and spectacle of the festival together with the opportunities to meet with people sharing a taste for the music, dance and craftwork being promoted:

I was struck by the sheer size of this festival: some 650,000 visitors (more than the whole population of Cornwall!), 4,000 performers, huge media coverage across Brittany, France & the rest of the world, hundreds of stalls selling everything and anything linked with the Celtic world.....⁴²

Festival is an amazing opportunity to meet new people, learn about different traditions and make friends from all over the world. The festival draws together a combination of music, dancing and singing and is enjoyed immensely by both performers and observers. The light hearted festival is looked forward to by thousands ever year, and never fails to disappoint. A gathering of the most bizarre, and probably the coolest people in the celtic (whole?) world, drinking, dancing and generally having a good time. In an evening I bumped into a Viking called Manix, an Asturian who looked like Mr.Bean, and a Scotsman in traditional costume - and converse sneakers.⁴³

Correspondents recognised the opportunity to share identity from Chapman's description but not the "studious language learner". Nor was there any reference to events or activities around the politics of "oppression", "colonialism", "militarism" or "nuclear power". Although this seems to be another example of the dislocation between academic and practitioner in Celtic studies Chapman's warning about presuming transnational solidarity in a Celtic location does need to be examined more closely. For all its size, the Festival Interceltique is a manifestation of the pan-Celtic movement and does not necessarily represent the wider populations of the regions from which it is drawn. To extend Chapman's argument, it is unlikely that a random sample of people on the streets of Dublin, Cardiff, Truro, Brest, or, in the particular example cited by him, Lorient, would identify strongly with the notion of a trans-national pan-Celtic community. There are no comparative studies currently available here so it is difficult to argue against this point.

It must nevertheless be recognised that the people of Lorient are exposed for several weeks of the year to extensive publicity around the festival and the Celtic identity it celebrates. If this attracts their attention at all then they will have some sense of transnational Celticism. A comparable event in Ireland is the Fèile Pan Cheilteach, held in a different part of the country each year. Again, the publicity around this festival, particularly the images and logo used⁴⁴ would draw attention to wider Celtic links. A

phenomena parallel to these festivals that draws attention to pan-Celticism is the specialist record industry around Celtic music. This is much more global than the festivals held at specific geographic locations. High street record stores are invited to use the category “Celtic” and under this category browsers will see albums included from across the Celtic regions and albums which have tracks of music from more than one Celtic region. Good examples from the era in which Chapman is writing would be the Chieftains and Alan Stivell, both of whom included arrangements of music from other Celtic regions in addition to their native traditions. Current examples are Mabon⁴⁵ a contemporary folk rock band from Wales and in contrast the more traditional St Lawrence O’Toole Pipe Band⁴⁶ where again, a broad range of music from the Celtic regions is represented. Record browsers and fans of these groups will frequently be exposed to the notion of a transnational Celticity.

In her study of the “Celtic Connections” festival, Matheson⁴⁷ shows that the term “Celtic” is used to denote the musical culture of Ireland and Scotland to the exclusion of Wales, Cornwall and the Isle of Man.⁴⁸ In a sense this is another speech community that identifies Celticity with Irish and Scottish music and a cross over between the two. In Cornwall, however, expressions of Cornish identity frequently connect with pan-Celticism. The description of the Cornish Language on the Cornwall Council web site⁴⁹, for example, emphasises its place as part of the family of Celtic languages and the article is supported by an image of the St Piran’s Day procession on Perran sands which celebrates the arrival of St Piran from Ireland. Likewise, the annual Cornish Gorsedh welcomes representative from Wales and Brittany as an integral part of the ceremony. Furthermore, festivals like Lowender Peran and Aberfest have specifically evolved around a Cornish pan-Celtic identity. This may suggest that the Celto-Cornish movement perceives a need to draw on the wider recognition and strength of pan-Celtic identity but nevertheless shows that it is important factor influencing the way that oral folk tradition is interpreted in Cornwall.

Expressing the Celtic Imaginary

By staging the artefacts of oral folk tradition within the Celtic Imaginary alongside such icons as the choirs, pipe bands, wrestling and neo druidism these artefacts connect with and became part of the expression of Celticity. The French word “Celtitude” refers to a sense of belonging to Celtic culture and is used in Brittany to draw attention to its distinctive cultural identity. Wilkinson expands on the term to show that this connection can be as much about experience as ethnicity:

For me the twin concepts of Bretonnitude and Celtitude imply a psychosocial construct, a set of assumed though constantly debated – attitudes and attributes . I suggest that precisely because these terms are imprecise and abstract, they constitute a useful and non-exclusive way of describing the cultural reality under discussion here. Bretonnitude and Celtitude imply less a statement of ethnic belonging and more to ways of experiencing or participating in cultural world shaped in Brittany by a pan-Celtic imagescape.⁵⁰

Wilkinson relates this experience to cultural activities that appear in the later twentieth century :

Celtitude can thus encompass a whole range of cultural expression ranging from obscure Druidic rituals to business strategies.... During the last three decades of the twentieth century, there has been a new fusion of the building blocks of music, mythology history, and politics in Brittany to give contemporary meaning and form to Celtitude. Though one might continue to view them through the lens of some well known critiques that point to the constructed and by implication artificial nature of the Celtic imaginary they give shape to a definable and tangible social reality, which demands to be treated as such, whether one accepts the given logic of its pedigree or not.⁵¹

This provides an interesting comparison to the evolution of Celticity in Cornwall which can boast a similar range of cultural expression of Celticity.⁵²

The impact upon Cornwall has been to provide an international platform for Cornish performers and an expectation that performance would represent Cornwall's Celtic Imaginary. One of the first performers to become involved was Brenda Wootton⁵³ in 1970 who subsequently described this as the launch of her professional career. Although locally well known, her activity until this date had largely been limited to events at the Minack Theatre, and the folk club circuit. After her appearance at the Lorient Festival she attracted large audiences on the continent and became known by the name "Pamplemousse".⁵⁴ Brenda's daughter, Sue Luxton, was acting as her manager and took on the co-ordination of Cornish representation at the festival. This

representation was wide ranging and by no means did oral folk tradition provide the only performance material, the punk rock band Bates Motel, for example, regularly represented Cornwall. Dance groups were also in demand as the spectacle provided by dance displays had much to offer a festival like this with large outdoor events.

Chapter five shows that oral folk tradition provided a sense of authenticity for the Pan Celtic movement. This was particularly significant for dance where, unlike song lyrics, choreography could not so easily express Celticity through language or narrative. The opportunity for travel and large audiences encouraged the formation of dance teams along the lines of the Breton Cercle Celtique and the Welsh Dawnsyr Werin but the pressure was also on them to research Cornish dance traditions in order to establish a repertoire that could be understood as authentic. In this they were fortunate in that antiquarian interest in the nineteenth century, and the Old Cornwall Society Movement from the 1920s, had already laid down the foundations for the music and dance which might be used for this. Cornish Scoot (step) dancing which lends itself well to choreographic arrangement for display, continued within oral tradition well into this period with practitioners from oral tradition who were able to teach the formative dance groups.⁵⁵ This in turn broadened the domain of the Celto-Cornish movement extending the range of activities seen as Celtic in Cornwall and added to the vocabulary of the speech community. Dance brought with it words from oral folk tradition like Troyl, the Cornish equivalent for a Ffest Noz or Ceilidh and Scoot a term for step dancing. It also introduced words from Cornish into wider English usage within the Celto-Cornish movement and beyond in that the dance groups identified themselves by Cornish names following the lead of their Breton and Welsh counterparts. For example Cam Kernewek - Cornish Step; Ros Keltek – Celtic Circle; Myrghes an Vro – Daughters of the Land (Women’s Institute dancers); and Bagas Byghan – Little Group.⁵⁶

The importance here is that the pan-Celtic festival culture created (and creates) a more dynamic cultural environment for traditional dance and its associated music due to its more participative nature.⁵⁷ The more dynamic environment created an interest and demand for material not satisfied by the publications and collections to date. This resulted in a number of booklets and song sheets produced by individual performers and organisations it also encouraged two major collection projects, which effectively continue the sequence of collection described in chapters four five and six through to the end of the twentieth century. *Corollyn: Cornish Dances*⁵⁸ and *Racca: Cornish*

*Tunes For Cornish Sessions*⁵⁹ were both projects articulating Cornwall's Celticity and expressed the shared sense of identity, language and collective memory of the Celto-Cornish speech community.

Corollyn (Cornish – let us dance) was a collaborative project between the various Cornish dance groups and the University of Plymouth College of Art and Design. The latter used the project to enable final year students to submit an entry to the newly formed Celtic Film Festival taking place in Brittany in the summer of 1992. Forty four dances were included of which twenty had been collected directly from oral tradition by members of the groups. The remainder were drawn from Old Cornwall Society publications and antiquarian sources as well as Dunstan and Gundry. The project published the dances as a book with accompanying audiocassette of tunes together with a video, which provided a documentary style history and demonstration of Cornish dance. The sound track was recorded in Cornish as well as English so that the University could enter it for the Cornish language section of the Celtic Film festival.

Racca was also a collaborative project which adopted the following rationale and objectives:

The notion of a Cornish tune book evolved during the "Tune Swap day" held at Fowey in February 1995. There had long been a demand for a book of Cornish dance music but an interest in collecting together a common repertoire of session tunes was also expressed. A small working group drawn from the participants of the Tune Swap day were 'volunteered' to take on this project. The aim was to collect the following: old and new Cornish tunes currently in vogue amongst traditional musicians and groups in Cornwall, and lesser known tunes that warrant an airing in the common repertoire."⁶⁰

In the event the first edition contained some 165 tunes, the majority of which were sourced from oral tradition, a further 75 tunes were added in 1997 but a much greater proportion of these were newly composed. For the purposes of this thesis newly composed material has not been included in the database in appendix 1. The database shows that much of the material included in Racca had also been recorded in earlier collections. In some instances this represents continuity, especially when associated with an original location, for example *Tom Bawcock's Eve*, *Hal An Tow* and

Bodmin Riding. Others such as Dunstan's tea treat marches and *Joan Sanderson* seem more likely to have been re-introduced by the Celto-Cornish movement who used Dunstan⁶¹, Gundry⁶² and other collectors as their source. The tunes in the *Racca* project nevertheless show varying degrees of change from the original source which illustrate both the process of oral tradition as a model adopted by this thesis and the importance of continuity and re-introduction as vectors within this process. The tune to the dance of Harvey Darvey provides a good example of the way in which these vectors can merge. R J Noall described the dance and tune at a meeting of the St Ives Old Cornwall Society in 1927⁶³ and it was subsequently published in *Old Cornwall*. Groups found no examples of this within oral tradition during the nineteen eighties although the dance is defined by its step patterns rather than moves, which are very simple, and these steps were similar to those collected for the broom dances⁶⁴. By the time *Racca* was published in 1995 there were four variations of this tune identified.

What both the *Corollyn* and the *Racca* projects do is provide a snapshot of the traditional material in vogue during the mid nineteen nineties. What it is also important to recognise is that both projects were community based and that ownership remained within that community much as the material recorded by the Old Cornwall Societies remained in the ownership of the source. This community ownership addresses some of the criticism of folk song collecting voiced by Boyse⁶⁵ and Harker⁶⁶ who felt that popular folk culture had been appropriated as an agency for middle class values. The issue here is not so much the socio economic status of those involved as the fact that it was the original performers and participants who were recording this material in order to share with each other rather than the material being collected by an outside agency for its own purposes.

The *Corollyn* and *Racca* projects also serve to show how language is used within the Celto-Cornish speech community as an expression of the Celtic imaginary in Cornish folk tradition. In *Racca*, 99 out of the 251 tunes included use Cornish language or dialect as the principle or alternative title. Likewise, *Corollyn* provides Cornish / dialect titles for 23 out of the 38 dances included. The Lowender Peran Festival Anniversary Programme of 2008 listed 31 dance bands and display groups that had performed at the festival over the previous twenty years. Of these 20 had Cornish language names and 8 names based on dialect expressions. Both the *Corollyn* and *Racca* projects together with earlier published collections of songs such as *Hengan*⁶⁷, *Canow Kernow*⁶⁸ and *Cornish Dialect and Folk Song*⁶⁹ make use of Cornish / Dialect

terms used in connection with folk song and dance not typically used in the English / British folk dance and song movement. The glossary in appendix 5 provides a detailed list of specialist and dialect terms but examples of this would be a “Crawdy Crawn”, a form of hand drum; “Racca”, a music session; and “Droll teller”, story teller.

Orthodoxy and Eclecticism

The Celto-Cornish movement and its engagement with oral folk tradition in the wider community in Cornwall steadily grew throughout the inter-war years and on to the festival culture of the seventies. As well as sponsoring Dunstan’s *Cornish Song Book – Lyver Canow Kernow* and Gundry’s *Canow Kernow* the movement was directly involved with promoting traditions such as the *Hal An Tow*⁷⁰ and *Crying the Neck*⁷¹. Cornwall may have parallels with other Celtic regions here but in England the folk movement lost its impetus with the death of major players such as Sharp and Baring Gould in the nineteen twenties. In the early fifties Ewan MacColl and A.L. (Bert) Lloyd spearheaded what is arguably the Second English Folk Revival. Gammon rejects that this was simply a continuation of the first revival suggesting that there were a number of differences.⁷² He points out that it was located in different social and physical spaces, there was a wider ranging and less affluent group of people involved and performance was more likely to take place in a pub than polite society drawing room.

Initially, at any rate, there was little involvement in dance and it was musically very different drawing upon contemporary composition as much as oral folk tradition. There is also a sense here in which folk became a genre of popular music rather than a definition of musical origin or process. Indeed the International Folk Music Council’s emphasis on the term “tradition” rather than “folk” at the Sao Paulo conference in 1955 was a reflection of this change.

Livingstone’s description of music revivals as “middle class phenomena which play an important role in the formulation and maintenance of a class-based identity of subgroups of individuals disaffected with aspects of contemporary life”,⁷³ accords well with the rural imaginary of Sharp and the English Folk Dance And Song Society of Edwardian times. The folk song revival of MacColl and Lloyd with its politically charged repertoire of protest songs, however, is better suited to the Gramscian definition used by Portelli:

The expression “folk song” implies at least two factors: a source located outside the culture of the ruling elites (Antonio Gramsci’s terms’ outside the

hegemonic culture); and a form of transmission based in orality. These conditions, in turn, imply the social context of a community or a chain of interrelated communities, conceived to be essentially homogenous, based on face to face contact, circumscribed by space and stable in time, and endowed with specific and shared forms of expression. The concepts of non-hegemonic source, oral transmission, community and shared forms are the cornerstone of the standard definition of a folk song.⁷⁴

MacColl and Lloyd were both members of the Communist party and the “Workers Music Association” sponsored much of their work, including Lloyds definitive “Folk Song in England” published in 1967. Lloyd sees folk song as an instrument of empowerment in the working class struggle and “one of the most intimate, reassuring and embellishing possessions of the poor”.⁷⁵

The English folk revival of Lloyd is contradictory in a number of ways, it is a mixture of Sharp’s orthodoxy with a much more eclectic approach as to what folk tradition means and represents. In *Folk Song In England* Lloyd presents the revival as an internationalist movement of working people whilst at the same time identifying the movement with Sharp and middle class English nationalism. He also recognises the incorporation into the folk repertoire of protest songs such as Dylan’s song *Blowing in the Wind* which expresses the sentiments of the intelligentsia rather than the working class. This “Second English Folk Revival” was an urban phenomenon in that it was located in the social and physical space of towns and cities rather than the villages and countryside of Sharp’s rural idyll. One of the outcomes of this was the encouragement of industrial songs and songs expressing unionist sentiments like the *Blackleg Miner* and social commentary like MacColl’s *Dirty Old Town* which recollected his own youth in Salford.

There is no evidence, however, that the folk club, which acted as a performance platform for both singers and songs, was ever a working class space. As a venue for a particular popular music genre it could be seen as classless but there is still a suggestion here of the intelligentsia using folk song to enter into the world of working class life by proxy. This incongruity may not be so very different from the Edwardian gentlefolk entering into the world of the farm labourer by means of society drawing rooms and Sharp’s pianoforte arrangements of country songs. It may be that Lloyd

recognised and sought to address this incongruity when he promoted a culture of only singing material from one's own region or ethnic culture in the folk clubs.

Whilst accepting that the "Second English Folk Revival" contrasted in many ways with the "first" Atkinson shows that continuity (and possibly in their eyes authenticity) was provided by adopting into the revival canon material from the Child Ballads even though many of these songs were not strictly English⁷⁶. Child was a professor of English at Harvard University and collected some 305 ballad texts dating from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries using extant manuscript sources in Britain and America. He published these in five volumes between 1882 and 1898.⁷⁷ Atkins suggests that there were two reasons for placing the Child ballads at the heart of the revival. Firstly, their publication together with associated tunes by Bronson in 1953 made them very accessible.⁷⁸ Secondly, their antiquity made them too remote to be the property of any particular social group and, intentionally or otherwise, this helped to avoid the incongruity of one social class singing about the experiences of another as discussed above.

There is, however, one major difference between the two revivals as Atkinson points out, "Whereas the first revival was predominantly the activity of a comparatively small number of enthusiasts, the second was (and is), relatively speaking, a mass cultural movement which has continued, changed, but unabated, for half a century or more."⁷⁹ The Count House at Bottalack hosted the first club in Cornwall in the early sixties followed by The Pipers at St Buryan and the Folk Cottage at Mitchell. These clubs became associated with a number of folk performers who subsequently became well established, including Ralph McTell, Wizz Jones, Pete Berryman, Michael Chapman and Brenda Wootton.⁸⁰ Pete Berryman described the folk scene in Cornwall as "a series of circles or families with the immediate local family based around the clubs in St Buryan and Mitchell and a larger, overlapping, family involving performers on the wider British club circuit".⁸¹ He explained that there was no sense of Cornish identity within this community but there was a shared sense of belonging to a group of performers and patrons with an interest in exploring the musical opportunities offered by the folk / blues scene.

There have been cycles of popularity but the culture of folk clubs has continued to the present day with six clubs currently listed as active in the Cornish folk broadsheet.⁸² To place this in chronological context with the Pan Celtic movement, the

Festival Interceltique in Lorient, and the Feile Pan Cheilteach in Killarney, were first held in 1970 and 1971 respectively. It is fair to say that folk club patrons and performers would probably describe themselves in terms of the folk scene rather than a community and clubs such as the Folk Cottage at Mitchell owed more to the counter culture of the sixties than the folk revivalist movement of Baring-Gould or Sharp.⁸³ There was nevertheless a shared sense of belonging to an alternative lifestyle and a shared language associated with a genre of music, which changed and grew as a cultural movement.

Collective memory and shared history may not be so well defined as that of the “Right” and “Left” in Gildea’s France but folk club poet balladeers like Wizz Jones articulated a shared world view that the academic community, if not the folk scene, would describe as post modernist. An example of this is the chorus of a song from Wizz Jones’ repertoire, *Put a little label on it*:

Put a little label on it, no one will know,
Just what it was, that frightened us so.
Put a little label on it, give it a name,
Everything can carry on just the same.⁸⁴

Or *Sunshine Gal* from Clive Palmer and Cornwall’s own Famous Jug Band:

My little sunshine gal,
Living in her makers arms,
Doesn’t need an explanation,
Of what makes the world go round.⁸⁵

The Bodmin Folk Club started in 1969, it was affiliated to and sponsored by the English Folk Dance And Song Society and had a reputation for being more traditionally orientated. It nevertheless marks a merging of the English Folk Dance And Song Society orthodoxy with the more contemporary, art house folk style of the earlier clubs in Cornwall. The advent of folk rock and British bands like Steeleye Span encouraged a wider audience into the folk scene and their use of material from the Child Ballads served to bring this canon of music into a broader public domain. There was (and is) a certain amount of debate as to whether a “Folk, Bass and Drums” style of performance does justice to traditional music and some clubs in Cornwall polarised around this issue. In the mid nineteen seventies the Falmouth Folk club and in particular their

resident band, Fal Folk, drew much of their material from folk rock in contrast to Bodmin which portrayed itself as very traditional and identified with the unaccompanied singer. There is a risk here that “common sense” would support the latter as a more authentic and justified heritage. It is argued here that a seventeenth century street or fair singer purveying *The Poacher* would find both the folk club and the folk rock performance style equally alien. Although he or she may have found the theatre of folk rock more sympathetic to the drama of the narrative which ends in a hanging and more in keeping with the robust theatre of the street or fair.⁸⁶

The relationship between folk club and the process of oral tradition is a complex and contradictory one. The typical folk club programme structure is that of a significant, probably paid, performer supported by spots from the audience or organisers. It is an art house performance in the sense that it is expected to have some depth, it is largely independent of commercial interests and aimed at a niche audience. Performance is in front of discerning peers and contact maintained with them before, during and after the performance. This offers the opportunity for feedback and reflection as well as encouraging creativity and the search for new material. All of which points to art music and individual ownership at the opposite end of the spectrum from oral folk tradition.

At the same time, the folk club offers an additional social space for the performance and transmission of material from oral folk tradition. There is a culture of memorising lyrics and music rather than sight-reading. This encourages memory as an active process of change, actualising, re-experiencing and modifying in the way described by Le Goff,⁸⁷ rather than a passive recall process. The structure of performance in a folk club is such as to encourage audience participation in refrains, choruses and community singing, which lie closer to the domain of oral folk tradition than art music. Thus, the folk club provides both an intellectualised art music venue and an environment conducive to the process of oral tradition, which would normally be seen as mutually exclusive phenomena.

Competition for space to sing in

Brenda Wootton was a native of Newlyn and a leading light of the Sixties folk club scene in West Cornwall. Her discography shows that between 1968 and 1973 she incorporated at least eighteen songs from Cornish oral tradition into her regular repertoire. Some were community songs like *Lamorna* and *Camborne Hill* and some ballads like *Maggie May* and *The Ringers of Egloshayle*. In 1973 she released *Crowdy*

*Crawn*⁸⁸ with Richard Gendall and a large number of tracks translated by him into Cornish which anticipated Peter Kennedy's Cornish section in *Folk Songs Of Britain and Ireland* by two years. This was at the beginning of her professional career and marks a move from material sourced from oral tradition to a more art house style of performance, which we have seen was much in vogue in folk club culture. In the sixties and seventies recording an LP was an expensive business and beyond the pocket of most folk club performers so it is now difficult to measure the extent to which the canon of songs from oral folk tradition in Cornwall enjoyed popularity in the clubs. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that material from oral folk tradition in Cornwall, which was by this time largely community singing orientated, was ever more than an occasional audience participation item in a folk club evening's programme. Wootton was one of the few Celto-Cornish performers to have been fully embraced by folk club culture and that may be because she led the clubs concerned. Furthermore, she seems to have moved on from the folk club circuit by the time she was presenting as the voice of Celtic Cornwall.

Members of the Fal Folk Club in Falmouth did make a connection with the Celto-Cornish movement in 1978. They were encouraged by Brenda Wootton to form a group and enter the Pan Celtic Singing competition held in Killarney that year. They used the name Kemysk, meaning a mixture. The competition required one traditional song and a new composition. The group entered *Delyow Syvy*⁸⁹ as the traditional entry and were provided with a song called *An Mystry* by Gendall for the new composition and coached by him to sing it in Cornish. They were successful in the competition and became the first Cornish group to win. They were a once off project band, however, who went their separate ways after the competition and did not provide a sustained Celto-Cornish presence within the folk club circuit.

Before parting company, the Fal Folk released an album called *Folk at the Dock And Railway*.⁹⁰ The choice of material included in this album illustrates three, broad, locations which can be identified with the performance of folk music in Cornwall. Some songs were drawn from the folk club revival repertoire such as Cyril Tawney's *Oggie Man*⁹¹ and can be seen as located within this setting as they were largely unknown in the wider community. Others songs, such as the *Cadgewith Anthem*, were from oral tradition in pub sessions and enjoyed much wider popularity in Cornwall.⁹² A third location is represented by the inclusion of songs in Cornish such as *An Vorvoren Senor* (The Mermaid of Zenor) which was an entry for the Gorsedh folk song competition in

1975 and a popular song with people learning the language. The subsequent story line of Fal Folk / Kemysk also illustrates the contrasting locations of folk music and dance in Cornwall. Part of the band reformed as Thunder and Lightening an English style barn dance band lead by Bob Rundle a contemporary and colleague of Peter Kennedy. Thunder and Lightening primarily formed as a dance band and were regularly booked for barn dances at festivals sponsored by the English Folk Dance And Song Society such as that at Wadebridge and Sidmouth. As a singing group they also continued to perform on the folk club circuit. Other members regrouped as Quylkyn Tew and Bucca and became located more firmly within the Celto-Cornish revival. Quylkyn Tew included two fluent Cornish language singers and focussed their attention on performance opportunities offered by events organised by the Celtic Congress and the Cornish Language organisations. Bucca followed Brenda Wootton into the Celtic festival scene to perform at the Festival Interceltique in Lorient and also Yn Chruinnaght in the Isle of Man and released an album⁹³ in 1983 shortly before they disbanded.

The publicity surrounding the success of Kemysk did stir some interest and controversy in the local press however.⁹⁴ Under the name “Celt” a contributor maintained that *Delyow Syvy* was the only Cornish Folk Song and there was no other traditional music to be found in Cornwall. The response from the band was to point out that there had been substantial collection of folk songs in Cornwall. “Celt” in turn challenged the band to identify any material that had not already been included in the major British collections. To which the band had responded that Baring- Gould was a major British collector but the songs he collected in Cornwall could be seen as Cornish. In the context of current understanding, both positions might be considered naive but this example does show how the Celto-Cornish Movement and the English Folk Revival were competing for authenticity. “Celt” transpired to be Rob Bartlett, erstwhile accompanist for Brenda Wootton and a regular professional performer on the folk club circuit.

This altercation voices English Folk Revival “common sense” that denies the existence and authenticity of a Cornish music tradition as distinct from the general canon of British / American folk music. According to Atkinson, however, the authenticity of the English Folk Revival might be denied on the same basis.⁹⁵ The Celto-Cornish movement takes the position that if the folk phenomenon originates in Cornwall then it must be Cornish and Celtic. The phenomenon does not have an intrinsic authenticity,

however, and Wilkinson shows that Celticity is a psychosocial construct based on interpretation and experiences.⁹⁶

Hengan,⁹⁷ published in 1983, articulated the Cornish speech community's response to this criticism and significantly adding to the number of folk songs available in Cornish and including songs and tunes recently collected from oral tradition. The nineteen eighties saw an escalation in the material, available both in print and audio formats, which presented Cornish music as a distinct tradition. This raised the profile of Cornish folk tradition, but as O'Connor points out, also encouraged criticism from the English Folk Dance and Song Society establishment.⁹⁸

The case being made in this study is that this material and the way it was interpreted may have been "newly identified" in the eyes of the recently arrived speech community of English Folk Dance and Song orthodoxy but it had a long pedigree in Cornwall. The ongoing work of the Old Cornwall Society recorders had established a large collection of folk performance material, which served to reinforce living tradition and encourage revival. Interest in folk songs in Cornish-English dialect dates back to the mid nineteenth century and the translation of songs into Cornish for performance has been a common practice since the nineteen twenties and arguably has its roots in the very beginnings of the Cornish Language revival. Nance, for example, argues that Edward Chirgwen originally translated *Delyow Syvy* into Cornish from English for performance purposes in or around 1698.⁹⁹ The articulation of Cornishness by *Hengan* and other folk song related publications since the nineteen eighties is the continuation of a process that can be traced back through Gundry, Dunstan and the early Celto-Cornish movement.

Competition for space to dance in

Folk dance in Britain has perhaps followed a slightly different trajectory to folk song in that it was not part of the mass cultural movement described by Atkinson but it remained within the public consciousness. In Scotland, social dance joined the step and sword dances of the Highland Games as part of the Celtic Imaginary when the Scottish Country Dance Society formed in 1923.¹⁰⁰ This organisation has grown steadily since this time and currently enjoys a membership of some 15,000 worldwide.¹⁰¹ Cymdeithas Ddawns Werin Cymru, The Welsh Folk Dance Society formed in 1949 but its origins lay in the research and revivalist activity of Hugh Mellor in

1922.¹⁰² Like the Scottish Country Dance Society it has grown steadily since this time and currently has nineteen display teams.¹⁰³

Just as Celtic festival culture encouraged the development of new space for the performance of folk dance so the Scottish and Welsh dance societies acted as Celtic role models for the Cornish groups who were using these new spaces. Costume provides one example of the way in which this happened. Costume is an essential feature in marking out the difference between a dance display for a passive audience and social dance for audience participation. Cornish groups initially involved in the Celtic festival scene either followed the Welsh model of using nineteenth century “folk” costume or, like the Scottish groups, used tartan, an increasing number of Cornish versions of which were becoming available. Also like the Welsh and Scottish groups the first Cornish display groups also biased their programmes towards social dances in sets rather than the scoot / step dances.

It is a core argument of this thesis that the influence of other Celtic folk cultures on the evolution of tradition in Cornwall is a natural part of the reflective / reflexive process within oral folk tradition. It is an expression of the Celtic imaginary rather than evidence of lack of indigenous folk culture, indeed Cornwall may have been abreast or even ahead of Celtic contemporaries in some folk practices. For example, the term “Barn Dance” seems to have arrived with American Square dancing after the war and there is little evidence of its use before this time. The term Ceili (Ceili in Irish Gaelic – Ceilidh in Scottish Gaelic) was first used in relation to dance at a London Gaelic Society event in Bloomsbury Square in October 1897 but was not used extensively for set dance events until the 1930s.¹⁰⁴ The root meaning of Ceili is simply a social event. It is interesting that Cornish dialect should have developed its own term for social dance, Troyl, as early as 1885.¹⁰⁵ The term Troyl comes from the Cornish for a reel, whirl or spiral.¹⁰⁶

Another example is that of step dancing for which Cornish dialect had its own word, “Lapyor”. A term which appears in both feminine and masculine form in the twelfth century *Vocabularium Cornicum*¹⁰⁷ with the gloss “saltator / saltatrix” (dancer), was used in the context of step dancer as early as the seventeenth century¹⁰⁸ and makes a clear appearance in the folklore collected in the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁹ This is certainly parallel to, if not ahead, of the step dancing recorded in the highland games of Scotland from 1750.¹¹⁰

In 1949 Douglas Kennedy wrote a review of the folk dance movement in England showing that there had been continuity from Sharp's time but an increasing influence from American Square dancing in the social dance repertoire since the war.¹¹¹ He points out that this encouraged the development of simplified dances based on Playford moves thus making folk dance more accessible. John Forrest's 1985 paper *Here We Come A-Fossiling*¹¹² and the subsequent debate,¹¹³ critically examines the accuracy of Sharp's transcription of display dances such as the Morris. In doing so, he also shows that not only was there continuity from Sharp's time but that some dances had remained in oral tradition quite independently from Sharp and the English Folk Dance And Song Society. He also describes the reconstruction of Border Morris by John Kirkpatrick in 1975 from sources previously dismissed by Sharp as incomplete or degraded.

Kirkpatrick was (and continues to be) involved with Folk Rock Bands such as the Albion Country Dance Band and Steeleye Span. Kirkpatrick's career illustrates the way in which folk had developed as a genre to embrace both the contemporary and the traditional in folk music as well as drawing in the theatre of ritual dances and participation of community dances. Schofield's history of the Sidmouth Folk Festival shows that all of this had a symbiotic relationship with the developing folk festival culture.¹¹⁴

It is against this background of an existing indigenous folk dance culture and British folk revival that the first Morris team formed in Cornwall in 1971 from members of the Bodmin Folk club and took the name Trigg.¹¹⁵ They drew their repertoire from the Cotswold dances noted down by Sharp and have remained an all male side. This is significant in that the tradition of all male sides for ritual or display dances is an English phenomenon not shared by the Celtic cultures and fiercely challenged by folk dance researchers such as Georgina Boyse.¹¹⁶ Since then a number of other Morris teams have formed in Cornwall. In 2010 there were nine groups advertising themselves, three all male Cotswold dance sides, one mixed, three Border Morris sides and two ladies North West clog teams.

It is interesting that the emphasis here should be on the importation of dance traditions from England rather than exploring the possibilities offered by local Guize and Scoot Dance traditions. There was a well-documented Scoot Dance tradition in

Boscastle at the time Trigg Morris was formed¹¹⁷ and a little local research would have provided dancers with steps and moves that could have been interpreted to create a distinctive style of dance in the way that Kirkpatrick approached Border Morris. The Guize dancing tradition still extant in St Ives and with its history of cross dressing might also have provided inspiration for the development of a Dance Tradition along the lines of the revival of Molly dancing in East Anglia described by Elaine Brandke.¹¹⁸

The arrival of English Morris dancing in Cornwall thus resulted in competition for cultural space with indigenous folk dancing. The speech community of English Folk Dance and Song Society did not recognise a distinction between Cornish and English folk tradition so that presenting Cotswold or Border Morris dances as “authentic” folk tradition to represent Cornwall would not be seen as problematic. A practical outcome of this mindset, for example, would be that a twinning association wishing to organise an event representing their own local culture would be encouraged by this speech community to use a Morris side. For example, during the nineteen eighties the Wadebridge Folk Festival, who were at that time largely run by members of Trigg Morris and The Bodmin Folk Club, worked closely with the Town twinning association and used Morris teams as part of their exchange.

The Cornish Dance groups that developed out of the Celto-Cornish movement challenged this authenticity by presenting the dances they performed within an historical context in Cornwall. The tension between these two speech communities was articulated in the correspondence pages of the “Cornish Scene” in 1986.¹¹⁹ Following a broad article on Cornish music which mentioned dances a letter was published challenging the authenticity of these dances and dismissing them as “spurious” products of “over-enthusiastic Cornishness”.¹²⁰ This prompted several letters defending their provenance and praising the groups involved. Whilst there was an inevitable descent into the semantics of authenticity, what is interesting is that Morris dancers in Cornwall were not subject to the same scrutiny as groups representing the Celto-Cornish movement. The speech community of English Folk Dance and Song Society orthodoxy was the more powerful and therefore represented “common sense” against which the claims of Cornishness were measured.

The mindset of the English Folk Dance And Song Society is also illustrated in a different way by the *Canow Kerrier Project* undertaken by Somerset based organisation Folk South West in the Redruth and Camborne areas in 1997.¹²¹ The published aim of

the project was to engage the local community and schools with the oral folk traditions of their area. Volunteers were recruited to research the material and develop presentation skills in order to work with children using a pack prepared by the project. The songs used for the pack were those from recognised collections such as Sharps identified as coming from the area. The dances, however, were introduced by a section entitled “Notes on Teaching English Country Dance”.¹²² This section started by explaining the terms “country dancing”, “barn dancing” and ceilidh dancing” but made no mention of the Cornish equivalent “troyl”. Similarly, dance steps were introduced as “Rhythms within the British country dance tradition” but no mention was made of the steps associated with Cornish Furry dances.

Six dances were included in the pack, three generic dances and three sourced from but not credited to the Corollyn project.¹²³ Two of the generic dances were re-named *The Stithians Shuffle* and *The Camborne March*. Reference was made to “increasing interest in re-establishing a repertoire of Cornish dances in recent years”¹²⁴ but neither the Corollyn project nor earlier work by the Old Cornwall Societies was actually cited despite the project leader being provided with this information.¹²⁵ Cornish collections were not subject to any critique in the text, leading to the conclusion that they were excluded because they did not fit in with the project leader’s mindset rather than dismissed because of any inadequacy. This conclusion is supported by the fact that six other folk dance information and resource packs are mentioned in the text and in the bibliography but these are all either from the project leader’s own publications or from the English Folk Dance and Song Society.

There is a sense here in which the suggestion of an identity in Cornish folk dance as Celtic, rather than English, is part of a much wider threat to the homogeneity of English folk dance. If Cornish traditions are not English then what about the North East with its Rapper Sword Dancing, Border Morris and its Welsh connections or Molly dancing in East Anglia all of which contrast strongly with Cotswold traditions. Conversely how can traditions seen as quintessentially English by Sharp such as Morris dancing and the rapper sword traditions also appear in Wales¹²⁶, Ireland¹²⁷ and the Isle of Man?¹²⁸ Is there in fact a distinctively English folk tradition? In 1936, Needham¹²⁹ analysed ceremonial folk dance in zones and proposed that they were related to the areas of the Dane-law, Old Saxon Kingdoms of Mercia and Wessex, and the Celtic areas of Wales and Cornwall. Whilst Needham’s proposal of such a direct geographic link with the early kingdoms of Britain and nineteenth century folk traditions

have since been substantially revised¹³⁰ it nevertheless shows that folk dance traditions in England vary to such an extent that an explanation is invited. The English Folk Dance And Song Society, however, is the author of the English Folk Revival and clearly has a vested interest in this homogeneity. Despite the fact that the “Englishness” of the five star Rapper sword configuration and the Padstow Obby Oss are contested both are used extensively by the society as icons of English folk tradition.

Conclusions

This chapter argues that the Celto-Cornish movement and its links with folk song and dance were well established before the arrival of the English Folk Revival in the nineteen sixties. The movement had engaged reflexively and reflectively in folk music and dance in its original location and provided new locations for its performance. The agenda for the Celto-Cornish movement was that in order to assert its Celticity Cornwall needed to have a distinctive oral folk tradition from England, one recognised in the same way as that of Brittany, Wales, Scotland Ireland and the Isle of Man. Furthermore, in the spirit of building Nance’s “New Cornwall”,¹³¹ it also promoted / promotes new folk dances and songs within a culture expressing sentiments of Cornish distinctiveness.

When the English Folk Revival arrived in Cornwall in the sixties and seventies it came packaged with its own imaginary concerning what was authentic and appropriate in folk tradition, which did not fit with the mindset of the Celto-Cornish movement. This chapter makes the case that the English Folk Revival had a stake in Cornwall being part of the English imaginary. For Cornwall to be Celtic rather than English challenged the notion of Cornwall’s Englishness. This was especially problematic for folk dance, and Morris sides in particular, as they would have no authenticity as a traditional activity of Cornwall. They would become a dance activity in Cornwall like Scottish Country dancing or Line Dancing rather than having the authenticity of being a native tradition of Cornwall as part of England.

The Celto-Cornish movement and the English Folk Dance and Song revival can therefore be understood as two speech communities that use the same folk material as currency but interpret it in different ways and use it to express identities that potentially conflict. The English Folk Dance and Song movement is a powerful one, however. It has a large number of people investing in its identity, it has commercial backing, a

large media presence and recognition within the school curriculum dating from the time of Sharp and the early publications for schools. The implications for the Cornish are that the mindset of this more powerful speech community risk becoming “received wisdom” and “common sense” despite the lack of any evidence to favour this position against any other. The outcome for Cornish cultural identity of such “common sense” is that indigenous folk culture risks losing out in the competition for social and performance space.

Notes

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- ¹ Sabina Magliocco, John Bishop. *Oss Tales*, (Berkeley, Media-Generation, 2007), DVD / DVD.rom format.
- ² Donald Rawe, *Padstow's Obby Oss and May Day Festivities : A Study in Folklore and Tradition*. (Padstow, Lodenek Press, 1982): Alison Davey et al *Scot Dances, Troys, Furrys and Tea Treats: The Cornish Dance Tradition*. (London: Francis Boutle & Co, 2009).
- ³ The English Folk Dance And Song Society headquarters at Cecil Sharp House makes use of two particular symbols to represent folk tradition in static displays in the building and in publications: the image of five crossed swords of the Rapper Dances from the North East / Isle of Man; and the image of Padstow's Obby Oss.
- ⁴ Kathleen A. Bolland and Charles A. Atherton, "Chaos Theory: an alternative approach to Social Work practice and research" *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Sciences* (1999), pp. 367- 373.
- ⁵ Kathleen A Bolland, *ibid*.
- ⁶ John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism* (London, Continuum, 1991), p. 81
- ⁷ Henry Jenner, *A Handbook of the Cornish Language* (London, David Nutt, 1904), p.xi.
- ⁸ Mick Paynter, speaking at a reception held by the Chair and Chief Executive of Cornwall council for Cornish bards who were members or staff. Chairman's Office, New County Hall Truro, 6th May 2010.
- ⁹ Hal An Tow, field recording. 8th May 2008, Howard Curnow. Interview with author 20th May 2008. Howard Curnow – Helston Town Crier.
- ¹⁰ Old Oss, Padstow, field recordings 1st May 2008 and 2009.
- ¹¹ Magliocco, *Oss Tales*.
- ¹² Alan Stivell, *Renaissance of the Celtic Harp*. Philips, 1971. LP, (released 1990 as a CD). This was his first major album which was followed by a series of albums and tours celebrating Brittany's Celticity and links with Ireland in particular.
- ¹³ Georgina Boyes, *The imagined village : culture, ideology, and the English folk revival*. (Manchester; Manchester University Press 1993), p. 24.
- ¹⁴ A.L (Bert) Lloyd, *Folk Song In England*, (London, Laurence & Wishart Ltd in association with The Workers Music Association, 1967), pp, 39 -148.
- ¹⁵ Georgina Boyes, *The imagined village* .
- ¹⁶ Georgina Boyes, ed. *Step Change: New Views on Traditional Dance*, (London, Francis Boutle, 2001).

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- ¹⁷ *The Imagined Village*. S.Emmerson, S. Chandra, et al. The Imaginary Village Project (Wiltshire, UK, Real World, 2007) CD.
- ¹⁸ John A. Lucy, "Linguistic Relativity", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 26 (1997), pp. 291-312. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2952524>, accessed: 13/04/2010. Describes the Linguistic Relativity Hypothesis as the proposal that the particular language we speak influences the way we think about reality. This influence can be divided into three elements: immediate perception and attention; personal and social-cultural systems of classification, inference, and memory; aesthetic judgment and creativity. Language embodies an interpretation of reality and language can influence thought about that reality. Linguistic Relativity is also known as the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis as it draws on their work: Edward Sapir: D G Mandelbaum ed. 1949. *The Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture, and Personality*. (Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press 1949) and Benjamin Whorf : J.B.Carroll JB, ed. *Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press 1956).
- ¹⁹ Fatemeh Khosroshahi "Penguins Don't Care, but Women Do: A Social Identity Analysis of a Whorfian Problem", *Language in Society*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Dec., 1989), pp. 505-525. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4168079>, accessed 10th April 2010. Shows the power of language to promote masculine or feminine images quite irrespective of the subject in hand.
- ²⁰ Paul Kay and Willett Kempton, "What Is the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis?": *American Anthropologist, New Series*, Vol. 86, No. 1 (Mar., 1984), pp. 65-79. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/679389>, accessed: 13/04/2010. Ingrid Björk, "Relativizing linguistic relativity. Investigating underlying assumptions about language in the neo-Whorfian literature", (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Uppsalla, Sweden 2008), pp. 59 -81.
- ²¹ Sean O'Neill, "Mythic and Poetic Dimensions of Speech in Northwestern California: From Cultural Vocabulary to Linguistic Relativity." *Anthropological Linguistics*, 2006 , **48**(4): 305-334.p 307 citing John B Carroll, *Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*. (Cambridge, Mass. MIT Press, 1956), p. 213.
- ²² Joseph Needham, "The Geographical Distribution of English Ceremonial Dance Traditions." *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 3.1 (1936): pp. 1-45.
- ²³ Robert Gildea, *The past in French history*. (New Haven, Yale University Press.1994) pp. 10-12.
- ²⁴ Robert Gildea, *The past in French history*, p. 14.

²⁵ Mark Stoye, *West Britons*, (Exeter, Exeter University Press, 2002) pp. 50 - 65.

²⁶ Mark Stoye, *West Britons*, p. 72 :Bodleian Library Broadside Collection, Douce Ballads 3 (8), Hardy Ballads, Johnson Ballads (Manchester, Shelmerdine, between 1800 and 1849). <http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/ballads/ballads.htm>, accessed 4th Feb 2010.

²⁷ See appendix 2.3

²⁸ Obby Oss Musicians, participant observation. Ring of Bells, St Issey, 20th / 21st March 2010. One of the traditions of Padstow is that the May Song and tune should not be played or sung outside of May Day and the practices and events leading up to it. Four musicians from the Old Oss were playing at a session of Cornish music at St Issey on 20th March 2010 and at midnight lead the session with the complete May Day Song and tune repertoire. They expressed the view that it was Cornish and therefore appropriate for the music of the session and also lay within the May Day tradition as it was within the practice period.

²⁹ Malcolm McCarthy, correspondence with the author, 6th April 2006.

³⁰ Robert Morton Nance, "Old Cornwall And The Celtic Congress", *Old Cornwall*, Vol. 2, no.1, p. 22.

³¹ Robert Morton Nance, "Old Cornwall And The Celtic Congress", p. 25.

³² Advert. *The Cornish Review*, First series no. 2, Summer 1949.

³³ Denys Val Baker, "Editorial" *The Cornish Review*, First Series, Spring 1949, no. 2, pp. 6 – 7.

³⁴ Denys Val Baker, "People" *The Cornish Review*, First Series, Winter 1951, no. 8, p. 67 .

³⁵ Helena Charles, "Drama in Cornwall" *The Cornish Review*, First Series, Winter 1951, no 8, pp. 51 – 56.

³⁶ Alan Trevarthen, *Cornish Fest Noz*.

<http://archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/CORNISH/2001-01/0978917153>, date 08/01/2001, accessed 01/06/04.

³⁷ The Cornish Wrestling association have sent a team to the Lorient festival on a number of occasions and a major activity on the part of Cornwall is the staffing of a tourist / cultural stand. See appendix 4.10

³⁸ Catherine M Matheson, "Products and Passions: Explorations of Authenticity within Celtic Music Festivities", (Unpublished PhD thesis Glasgow, Glasgow Caledonian University, 2004), p. 172.

- ³⁹ Malcolm Chapman, "The Celts: the construction of a myth". (London, St Martin's Press.1992), p 240.
- ⁴⁰ Festival Programmes 1983 and 1991, Festival Interceltique, Lorient.
- ⁴¹ Alan Stivell, *A l'Olympia*, Fontana 1972, LP. Includes "The Wind of Keltia," which romanticises a return of the golden age of the Celts and a version of the "The Foggy Dew" which describes the British reaction to the declaration of independence in 1918; Also, Alan Stivell. *Live In Dublin*. Fontana 1975. LP: 9299 547. Includes a track called "Deliverance". During the live performance in Dublin Stivell encouraged the audience to join in chanting "freedom" in the six Celtic languages.
- ⁴² Carmen Hunt, correspondence with author 10/11/2009.
- ⁴³ Members of Kekezza, correspondence with author 20/11/2009.
- ⁴⁴ Fèile Pan Ceilteach. <http://www.panceltic.ie/>, accessed 22nd April 2010. Publicity includes images of people in Cornish tartan and a logo which includes the flags of the "Six Celtic Nations" drawing together the familiar such as the Irish tricolour and Welsh Dragon with Cornwall's St Piran's flag and the Breton Flag.
- ⁴⁵ Official Mabon Website, <http://www.mabon.org/>, accessed 22 April 2010, Mabon are a contemporary Folk Rock Band, have included music from Ireland and Cornwall as well as Wales on their Albums.
- ⁴⁶ The St Lawrence O'Toole Pipe Band, "The Dawning of the Day", Monarch, 2005. CD. Includes Irish, Scottish and Galician music.
- ⁴⁷ Catherine M Matheson, "Products and Passions: Explorations of Authenticity within Celtic Music Festivities". (Unpublished PhD thesis, Glasgow Caledonian University, 2004).
- ⁴⁸ This is no longer the case as Manx groups King Chiallee and Perree Tee have both since performed at the festival and in 2011 Dalla from Cornwall were booked for a major concert event and Mabon from Wales headlined another event.
- ⁴⁹ Maga: The Cornish Language Partnership, "About Cornish" <http://www.magakernow.org.uk/index.aspx?articleid=38569>, accessed 22nd April 2010.
- ⁵⁰ Desi Wilkinson, "The Fest Noz and Breton Dance Revival", in *Celtic modern : music at the global fringe*, eds. Martin Stokes and Philip. V. Bohlman, (Lanham, Scarecrow Press. 2003), p. 220.
- ⁵¹ Desi Wilkinson, "The Fest Noz and Breton Dance Revival", p 226
- ⁵² In relation to the specific examples of Druidic rituals and business given by Wilkinson: Druidic rituals are performed both within the more formal institution of the ceremonies of the Cornish Gorsedh and informality setting of the annual Pagan

Festival held at Morwenstow. Bewnans Kernow, a cultural organisation sponsored by Cornwall Council, organised a conference in February 2011 entitled “Cornish Identity – Good For Business.

⁵³ Brenda Wootton is easily identifiable because of an established professional career but there were other Cornish groups touring Brittany at the time for example “Tremenysy” lead by Cornish language bard, Tony Snell.

⁵⁴ Brenda Wootton encouraged the use of her nickname “Pamplemouse” (Grapefruit) when performing in Brittany and France.

⁵⁵ Merv Davey, et al. *Scoot Dances, Troyls, Furrys and Tea Treats: The Cornish Dance Tradition*. (London, Francis Boutle & Co, 2009), Section One.

⁵⁶ Anniversary programme, Lowender Peran, 2008. This provides a list of all the Cornish groups to have performed at the event since 1978.

⁵⁷ Catherine M. Matheson, “Products and Passions”, p.10.

⁵⁸ Alison Davey, Editor, *Corollyn: Cornish Dances*, (Perranporth, Cam Kernewek / Plymouth University, 1992), book / CD / Video format.

⁵⁹ Frances Bennett, et al Editors . *Racca: Cornish Tunes for Cornish Sessions*, (Calstock, published by RACCA, edition 1. 1995 and edition 2. 1997)

⁶⁰ Frances Bennett, *Racca*, p. 1.

⁶¹ Ralph Dunstan, *Cornish Song Book*,(1929), *Cornish Dialect and Folk Song* (1932)

⁶² Inglis Gundry, *Canow Kernow* (1960)

⁶³ R J Noall, Robert Morton Nance (St Ives Recorder) “Harvey Darvey” *Old Cornwall* (St Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies 1927), Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 36,

⁶⁴ Merv Davey et al *Scoots Teat Treats and Troyls* (2009), p. 75.

⁶⁵ Georgina Boyse, *The imagined village*.

⁶⁶ Dave Harker, *Fakesong : the manufacture of British "folksong" 1700 to the present day*, (Milton Keynes, Open University Press, 1985).

⁶⁷ Merv Davey. *Hengan : Traditional Folk Songs, Dances and Broadside Ballads Collected in Cornwall*, (Redruth: Dyllansow Truran, 1983).

⁶⁸ Inglis Gundry. *Canow Kernow : Songs and Dances from Cornwall*. (St. Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1966).

⁶⁹ Ralph Dunstan. *Cornish Dialect and Folk Songs*, (Truro, Jordan's Bookshop, 1932).

⁷⁰ Howard Curnow, interviewed by author 16th May 2008, see also appendix 4.4.

⁷¹ The Old Cornwall Societies collected information about the “Crying the Neck” ceremony and in some cases enacted it themselves thus dovetailing with continuous living tradition see appendix 4.11.

⁷² Vic Gammon. "One Hundred Years Of The Folk Song Society", *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*, eds. Ian Russel and David Atkinson, (Aberdeen, The Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, 2004), p. 21.

⁷³ E T Livingstone, "Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory", *Ethnomusicology* 43 (No1 Winter 1999), pp, 66 – 85.

⁷⁴ Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and other stories: Form and meaning in Oral History* (New York, State University of New York Press 1991), p. 161.

⁷⁵ A.L. (Bert) Lloyd, *Folk Song In England*. (London, Lawrence & Wishart Ltd, 1967), p. 19.

⁷⁶ David Atkinson, "The English Revival Canon: Child Ballads and the Invention of Tradition." *The Journal of American Folklore* 2001, 114(453), pp. 370-380.

⁷⁷ Francis, James Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (New York Dover Press, 1882-1898), Vols. 1 – 5.

⁷⁸ Bertram H Bronson, *The Traditional tunes of the child ballads with their texts, according to the extant records of Great Britain and America*. (Princeton, N.J., Princeton university press. 1953).

⁷⁹ David Atkinson, "Revival: Genuine or Spurious?" in *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*. eds. Ian Russel and David Atkinson, (Aberdeen, The Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, 2004), p 152.

⁸⁰ Rupert White, "Interview with Martin Val-Baker", *Art Cornwall Nov 2006*.
<http://www.artcornwall.org/interview%20Martin%20Val%20Baker.htm> , Accessed 9th Feb 2010.

⁸¹ Pete Berryman, interview with author, St Blazey, 9th September 2010.

⁸² Folknews Kernow, Editor Chris Ridley (St Columb, Folknews Kernow, 2010) Jan, Feb March edition, p. 6.

⁸³ Jens Lund, and R. Serge. Denisoff, "The Folk Music Revival and the Counter Culture: Contributions and Contradictions." *The Journal of American Folklore* 1971 84(334), pp. 394-405: Cited Theodore Roszak, *The making of a counter culture; reflections on the technocratic society and its youthful opposition*, (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday. 1969), in constructing an evolutionary counter cultural model to describe the folk movement in the sixties.

⁸⁴ Wizz Jones. *The Legendary Me*, Alan Tunbridge, The Village Thing (1970), LP: VTS 4,

⁸⁵ The Famous Jug Band. *Sunshine Possibilities*, Wooden Hill Recordings, (1969) LP: HILLCD25.

- ⁸⁶ Steeleye Span, concert tour 1974, the performance at Brunel University involved a mock hanging.
- ⁸⁷ Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory*, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1992) pp. 51-52.
- ⁸⁸ Brenda Wootton and Richard Gendall. Crowdy Crawn. Sentinel records (1973), LP: SENS 1016.
- ⁸⁹ The Cornish words for this song were apparently written or taken down in 1698 by Edwin Chirgwin, see appendix 2.1.
- ⁹⁰ Fal Folk. *Folk at the Dock And Railway*. Fal Folk Club, Falmouth (1979). Cassette Tape.
- ⁹¹ Cyril Tawney, *Live at Holsteins (1981)*, CD: ADA 109CD. Sleeve notes: Tawney (1930 – 2005) was a revivalist singer/ songwriter who wrote the “Oggie Man” in 1959 to commemorate a Pasty Seller he remembered plying his trade in Plymouth Docks during the War.
- ⁹² This song was included in the Pub Song project see appendix 4.3, p.421.
- ⁹³ Bucca. The Hole in Harpers Head. Plantlife. (1983), LP.
- ⁹⁴ Falmouth Packet, correspondence, (Lakes Publishers), May – June 1978.
- ⁹⁵ David Atkinson, *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*.
- ⁹⁶ Desi Wilknsn, “The Fest Noz and Breton Dance Revival”.
- ⁹⁷ Merv Davey. *Hengan: Traditional Folk Songs, Dances and Broadside Ballads collected in Cornwall*, (Redruth, Dyllansow Truran, 1983).
- ⁹⁸ Mike O’Connor *Ilow Kernow 5 : Cornish instrumental tradition : the resource*. (Wadebridge, Lyngham House, 2007), pp. 126-127.
- ⁹⁹ Robert Morton Nance, “Edward Chirgwen’s Cornish Song”, *Old Cornwall Society Magazine* Vol 4 no 6 (1947), pp. 210-213.
- ¹⁰⁰ Jean C Milligan, *The Scottish Country Dance*, (Glasgow, Paterson Sons, 1924).
- ¹⁰¹ History of Royal Scottish Country Dance Society. Royal Scottish Country Dance Society, <http://www.rscds.org/about-us.html>, accessed 29th April 2010.
- ¹⁰² Hugh Mellor, *Welsh Folk Dances; an Inquiry*. (London: Novello and company Ltd. 1935), p. 22.
- ¹⁰³ The Welsh Folk Dance Society. <http://www.welshfolkdance.org.uk/> accessed 29th April 2010.
- ¹⁰⁴ John P Cullaine, *Encyclopaedia of Ireland*. (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 2003), p. 176.

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- ¹⁰⁵ Merv Davey et al . *Scoot Dances, Troyls, Furrys and Tea Treats: The Cornish Dance Tradition*. London: Francis Boutle & Co, 2009. pp.1 and 19.
- ¹⁰⁶ Borlase, William. *Antiquities, Historical and Monumental of Cornwall*: (Oxford W. Jackson, 1758 - second enlarged edition 1769), p. 459. See also glossary.
- ¹⁰⁷ *Vocabularium Cornicum*, Cottonian Library, Oxford.
- ¹⁰⁸ William Pryce. *Minerologia Cornubensis (1778)* (Truro Bradford Barton, 1972, reprint), p.136: "The very first task which boys were given when they went to the mines at about the age of eight to nine years old) was picking or washing the ore... to aide separation the boys agitated the mixture with a heather broom or, in the early days , by standing ankle deep in the water and using their *feet*. Because of this,, in the 17th century they were called lappiors (dancers)".
- ¹⁰⁹ Merv Davey, *Scoot Dances.....* Page 29
- ¹¹⁰ Joan Flett, et al. *Traditional Step-Dancing in Scotland*. (Edinburgh: Scottish Cultural Press, 1996).
- ¹¹¹ Douglas Kennedy, *England's Dances: Folk Dancing To-Day And Yesterday*. (London, G.Bell & Sons Ltd, 1949), p. 20.
- ¹¹² John Forrest, "Here We Come A-Fossiling." *Dance Research Journal*, 1985,_17(1), pp. 27-34.
- ¹¹³ Anthony G. Barrand, et al "Comments on John Forrest's "Here We Come A-Fossiling." *Dance Research Journal*.1985 17(1), pp. 34-42.
- ¹¹⁴ Derek Schofield, *The First Week In August - Fifty Years of the Sidmouth Festival*, (Sidmouth, Sidmouth International Festival Ltd, 2005). The festival in Sidmouth started in 1955 as a seaside holiday for dance teams organised by the English Folk Dance And Song Society. In 1962 it merged with the folk song revival to become *Sidmouth Folk Festival* and in 1987 it became managed professionally as *Sidmouth International Folk Festival*, reverting to a more modestly sized English Folk festival with visiting Celtic performers in 2004 as a result of financial pressures.
- ¹¹⁵ Trigg Morris, information sheet and venue list 2010. Although Pete Marlow explained that there had been a group in Falmouth called Kernow Morris which started before this, but had not become fully established (interviewed 19th April 2011).
- ¹¹⁶ Georgina Boyes, *The Imagined Village*, also Georgina Boyes, *Step Change*.
- ¹¹⁷ Merv Davey, *Scoot Dances.....*, 2009
- ¹¹⁸ Elaine Bradtke, "Molly Dancing: a Study of Discontinuity and Change" Georgina Boyes, in *Step change : new views on traditional dance*, ed. Georgina Boyes, (London, Francis. Boutle. 2001). p. 61 – 86.

¹¹⁹ Ian Marshall, "Recording Cornish Folk Songs" *Cornish Scene*; vol. 1, no. 5, February / March 1986, p. 49: "Letters to the Editor", *Cornish Scene*, vol. 1, no. 5, April / May 1986; vol. 2, no. 1, June / July 1986; vol. 2, no. 2, August / Sept 1986.

¹²⁰ J Penlee, "Letters to the Editor", *Cornish Scene*; vol. 1, no. 5, April / May 1986, p.12.

¹²¹ Eddie Upton, *Canow Kerrier*, (Montacute, Folk South West. 1997).

¹²² Eddie Upton, *Canow Kerrier (1997)*, p. 32.

¹²³ Alison Davey. *Corollyn*.

¹²⁴ Eddie Upton, *Canow Kerrier* .

¹²⁵ Correspondence with author, 23rd Feb 1997: Provided a comprehensive list of Cornish folk song and dance publications plus details of songs collected in the area.

¹²⁶ Lois Blake."The Morris in Wales". *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Dec., 1960), pp. 56- 57.

¹²⁷ Alan Gailey. "The Nature Of Tradition" *Folklore*, Vol. 100, No. 2. (1989), pp. 143-161. p. 155. Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0015-587X%281989%29100%3A2%3C143%3ATNOT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-M>. accessed 25th Jan 2008.

¹²⁸ Mona Douglas, "Manx Folk Dances: Their Notation and Revival" *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 1937; III(2), pp.110-16: The White Boys. *Lowender Peran 2007*. Tower Films 2008. DVD format. The Manx "White Boys" use "Swords " similar to those of Rapper sides to form a six point star. The same star that is used by the English Folk Song and Dance society as a logo.

¹²⁹ Joseph Needham, "The Geographical Distribution of English Ceremonial Dance Traditions." *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 1936 , 3(1), pp. 1-45.

¹³⁰ E. C. Cawte, Alex Helm, R. J. Marriott and N. Peacock. A Geographical Index of the Ceremonial Dance in Great Britain: Part One *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Dec., 1960), pp. ii +1-41.

¹³¹ Robert Morton Nance, "Introduction: What we stand for", *Old Cornwall Vol.1, No, 1*, (St Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1925), p. 3.

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Section 3 Contemporary locations of oral folk tradition in Cornwall

Chapter 7: Continuity and revival in the public domain

Chapters 7 to 10 consider the social, geographic and contextual locations where the process of oral tradition can be observed to take place in contemporary Cornwall. In order to do this Hoerburger's model of a first and second existence in folk dance¹, and the development of this model by more recent dance theorists such as Ruyter² and Nahachewsky³, is applied to phenomenon of oral folk tradition as a whole. Thus the "first existence" is where the phenomena takes place unselfconsciously in its original cultural location and is an integral part of community life. In contrast to this, the "second existence" is where the phenomena is consciously revived, or cultivated by a given group of people, rather than owned by the whole community.

Key issues for Ruyter and Nahachewsky are the extent to which a folk phenomenon's evolution is relatively unrestricted in the first existence and open to a wide range of influences whereas in the second existence, evolution is subject to a more reflective approach on the part of a given subculture with a shared notion of the authentic. This section is therefore divided into two, corresponding to Hoerburger's "two existences". Chapters 8 and 9 will show that there are examples of oral folk tradition in Cornwall that continue to exist, or have been revived, within their original cultural location. Chapters 10 and 11 will explore and examine the new cultural locations for oral folk tradition that have developed in the latter part of the twentieth century and the early part of the twenty-first. It must, however, be recognised that this division is an analytical device to assist enquiry rather than something empirically descriptive. The distinction between these two existences can be very fine at times but this model nevertheless helps to identify and understand the processes within oral folk tradition.

Identity is another key issue inextricably linked to tradition and Jones' study of American artist, Gary Robertson, shows how performance and performers "... draw upon tradition to create objects or to perform, and thereby fabricate a personal identity and social role for themselves."⁴ Jones distils late twentieth century constructions and deconstructions of tradition⁵ and suggests a number of features that can be associated with identity and the construction of self in relation to tradition in that it:

1. has continuity through time
2. is social and communal nature rather than individual

3. defines events and marks the passage of time
4. becomes moribund or inactive at one stage only to be revived and engaged in later
5. is a process where people will select which aspects they will learn, perform and actively transmit
6. involves symbolic constructions of the past in the present for the future

These features provide a useful model against which to compare oral folk tradition in locations considered in this section.

The model of enquiry underpinning this thesis is “action research” which seeks to explore a social phenomenon from within and understand by critical reflection, triangulating the researcher’s experiences with information from other sources.⁶ This section places particular emphasis on reflection and discussion informed by participant observation and action research.

Chapter 7 focuses on two groups of oral folk phenomena located in the public domain: Guizing customs; and dances associated with feast days. By looking at the provenance and evolution of these phenomena together with the context in which they take place today this chapter argues that, for all the episodes of revival and introduction of the “new”, these folk activities remain located within an original existence. Furthermore, the changes that take place in the course of revival and the introduction of new ideas and meanings are the very substance of oral folk tradition

Guizing Customs

This thesis follows the convention of the Old Cornwall Society in grouping under the generic term “Guizing”, customs where the participants disguise themselves by cross-dressing, blacking up faces, wearing veils or masks and process around the area to perform dances, songs or a folk play at venues varying from streets and pubs to private houses and farm kitchens. This is a convention broadly following the description of Guizing provided by Jago⁷ in 1882 but also reflects the experience of participants such as Tom Miners⁸ and the recollections of his contemporaries in the nineteen twenties. In doing so, it is sought to reflect oral testimony and descriptions by participants rather than the taxonomy of folklorists. The Bodmin Play discussed, below, is a good example of where disguise, mock mayors, mumming, procession and the performance of spots merge within one guizing custom.

The term “darky party” was also a Cornish dialect expression used to describe groups of Guize Dancers. Modern English usage has seen this term associated with demeaning people but it is evident that historically in Cornwall, this was a descriptive term rather than a reference to an ethnic minority.⁹ Nevertheless, out of respect for modern sensitivities, the Boxing Day Guizers in Padstow changed their name of their event “Padstow Darky Day” to “Padstow Mummers Day” in 2006 and this thesis follows their lead in avoiding the use of terminology which may be misleading or seen as offensive.

This distinction between the custom as experienced by participants and that interpreted by others is an important one. When Jenner wrote to Sharp seeking some explanation for the storyline of a what was possibly a Guize dance play recalled by an informant from childhood, the response was:

It is an amazing story - obviously a ritual death to ensure a re-birth and renewal of [unreadable] vitality, similar to the killing in the mumming play and subsequent revival. The dual death is curious but probably would be cleared up with more detailed evidence.....¹⁰

In this Sharp follows the example of Frazer in “Golden Bough”¹¹ where meaning is ascribed in classical terms, in this case that of death and resurrection. In much the same interpretative vein, Lavolette describes both the midsummer bonfire customs and the Padstow May festival in terms of “signifying the destruction of evil and the strengthening of good”.¹² Whilst formal, published interpretations of these events by the organisations involved broadly echo such sentiments, this is not necessarily the meaning readily ascribed by participants.¹³ Interviews with people attending the midsummer bonfires provided a contrasting focus. For example: “The bonfire festival is about keeping an old Cornish tradition alive, it is a pity when it gets swamped with something else like it does at Golowan in Penzance”;¹⁴ “ it is good to meet up with people and have a bit of a sing, they always ask me to bring my accordion”.¹⁵ Similarly Magliocco’s interviews with Padstow’s Mayers showed that for them birth, life and death was about continuity within a family.¹⁶ It is perfectly possible that the distant antecedents of these customs held a meaning for participants consistent with folkloristic interpretation but the point is that ascribed meaning is not static, it changes over time, generation and social location.

The table below is drawn from the database. It is not a comprehensive catalogue of Guizing in Cornwall but illustrates the provenance of some reasonably well known customs. These phenomena divide into three overlapping groups indicated by black, blue and red colour fonts in the table. The first group (black) comprises of those traditions that have a provenance reaching back into the nineteenth century. Although the narratives interpreting these traditions tend to argue for much older origins, the nineteenth century provides detailed documentary description. The second (blue) is that of traditions revived from records and recollection of nineteenth century traditions. The third group (red) is that of recently introduced customs which draw from the narratives of history or legend for their substance or imagery.

Table 1 Guizing Traditions

Guizing Tradition	Area	Time of Year	Provenance
Hal An Tow Procession and Ritual Dance / song	Helston	8 th May	Continuity since 19 th Century
Padstow Mummers Procession through village	Padstow	Boxing Day and New Year	Continuity since 19 th Century
Padstow Obby Oss Procession and ritual dance / song	Padstow	1 st May / May Day	Continuity since 19 th Century
St Ives Guizers Procession with singing and step dances	St Ives	St Ives Feast (Feb) And Christmas	Continuity since 19 th Century
Tom Bawcocks Eve Procession through Village	Mousehole	Midwinter	Continuity since 19 th Century
Wassail Tour around Bodmin pubs and houses to sing the Bodmin Wassail.	Bodmin	Christmas and New Year	Continuity since 19 th Century
Turkey Rhubarb Band / The Madron Mummers Play Procession with singing and step dances	Madron / Penzance	Christmas	Continuity 19 th Century to 1930s Revived 2009
Black Prince Procession and launch of Boat	Millbrook	1 st May Day / May Day	Revived 1986
Bodmin Riding Beating the bounds and procession in Medieval costume returning the Bones of St Petrock	Bodmin	July 5th	Revived 1974

Guizing Tradition	Area	Time of Year	Provenance
Polperro Mock Mayor Mayor is elected, Processed through village and thrown into sea	Polperro	Midsummer	Revived 1996
Mazey Day Procession with Singing and dance following "Pen Glas" (Horse Skull Hobby Horse)	Penzance	Midsummer	Revived in 1992
Montol Procession with singing and dances following "Pen Glas"	Penzance	Midwinter	Revived in 2008
Bodmin Play / Mock Court Inspired by historical Mock Mayor topical themes are woven into story of the capture and trial of the Beast of Bodmin.	Bodmin	July 5th	Revived 1974 New elements introduced 2003
Pen Gwyn Procession with Singing and dance following "Pen Gwyn" (Horse Skull Hobby Horse)	Perranporth	October – Lowender Peran Festival	Revived / Introduced 1979
Calstock May Revels Procession with Puppet Giant	Calstock	Early May	Revived / introduced 1980
Bolster Play Promenade community play based on the Legend of Giant Bolster	St Agnes	Last Sunday in April	Introduced 1994
Lostwithiel Giants Procession of Puppet "Giants" from Cornish Legends	Lostwithiel	New Years Eve	Introduced 2000
St Piran Play and pilgrimage (Promenade community play based on Legend of St Piran) St Pirans Welcome St Pirans Mummings Play	Perranporth	St Piran's Tide / March 5th	Introduced in 1990

Generic descriptions throughout the nineteenth century illustrate the continuity, and the communal nature, of guizing:

.... during the early part of the last century (i.e. 1800s) the costume of the Guize dancer consisted of an antique finery such as would now raise envy in the head of a collector. Male players were to be seen in long waisted, gay coloured coats, resplendent with buttons of brass or tin as

large as crown pieces and having long ruffles at their breast and wrists.
..... The chief glory of the men, however, lay in their cocked hats which
were surmounted with streamers and ribbons. (Heath - 1800s)¹⁷

Maidens(dress) as young men, men for maidens. Thus dressed visit
neighbours dance ... make jokes.....and the spirit of drollery and wit
kept among the people. Music and dancing, they are kept with liquor then
proceed to next house and carry on the same sport.....geese dancing is
done in nearly every town and large village. The term applied to all
Christmas plays and indeed any kind of sport in which characters were
assumed by performers or disguises worn.(Hunt -1881).¹⁸

Bottrell¹⁹, Courtney²⁰, Quiller-Couch²¹, and Jenkin²² provide similar descriptions.
The detail provided by Bottrell²³ accords well with the descriptions provided by
Miners²⁴ some hundred years after the events in Bottrell's account. These references
show that during this period Guize dancing acted as a cultural location for an evolving
folk dance tradition in Cornwall and provided a thread of continuity between the dance
traditions of much earlier times, and revivalists of the early twentieth century.

It is also clear from these descriptions that these events mark the passage of
time, Midwinter, Spring, Midsummer and Harvest time as well as Christmas, New Year
and the Saints days or feast days in the annual calendar. This can be constructed as a
symbolic representation of past present and future and an example of a dance custom
that embraces this is provided in Mrs Rowse's description of the solo scot dance
"Cock In Britches".²⁵ This is a harvest dance performed at the same time as the crying
the neck ceremony in the autumn. Using dance movements and lyrics it describes the
cycle of the agricultural year in terms of preparing the ground, sowing the corn,
weeding, reaping and finishes saying "good bye to Gertie Grey" the old rye bread from
the last season. This celebration of the seasons through folk custom resonates with
modern Paganism where activities such as the Midwinter excursions of Pen Glaz and
the Midsummer bonfires of Golowan are identified with eight segments within the
pagan "Wheel of the Year".²⁶

St Ives Guizing, a study in continuity

The story of Guize dancing in St Ives shows how a tradition can follow a cycle of popularity and inactivity where the revival of interest reflects selectivity on the part of participants. At the beginning of the twentieth century Guize dance seems to have been popular but not well received by all parts of the community:

I learn with greatest satisfaction that the worthy Mayor of St Ives, Mr Edward Hain has prohibited Gees Dancing for the year 1900. In this I feel he has the support of every man and woman having any pretensions to moral refinement in the parish.

As to the origin of Guy (sic) Dancing, we know but little. Whether it was an ancient religious rite, a manifestation of superstitious heathenism, a monkish performance having for its object the promotion of ignorance to monastic rule matters very little. St Ives Guize Dancing may be summed up in a few sentences. On twelfth night, or Epiphany Eve, people parade the principle streets many being “dressed up” , shouting, singing, dancing, and an indulgence in a rough kind of play, which sometimes ends in broken heads, broken glass and belabouring one another with anything handy in the form of a cudgel. Some masquerade as animals, some as kings and queens but what seems to create the greatest fun, and is the most enjoyed by the crowd, are men dressed as women and women dressed as men, girls as boys and boys as girls, some of whom under the influence of drink, perform sundry antics which, for vulgarity, would be hard to beat. (St Ives Weekly - 1900)²⁷

Guize dancing is occasionally reported in the St Ives Times²⁸ over the next 20 years but popularity would seem to have waned until its revival by the St Ives Old Cornwall Society in 1925. It was then framed as “the revival of an ancient custom” and the “sundry antics” were replaced by a more sober “parade of Guizers”.²⁹ In the immediate post-war period children were encouraged to take part and William Barber describes how they enjoyed the novelty of cross dressing.³⁰ By 1957 the popularity of guizing and New Year edition of the St Ives times carries an article going into some detail about the customs chequered history and comments that the streets of St Ives are “quiet enough now , television, radio and cinema having replaced older and more vigorous entertainments”.³¹ In 1979 the custom enjoyed a new lease of life at the

instigation of the Mayor, Keith Slocomb, with the help of a Cornishman in exile Dave Lobb, a Morris dance enthusiast whose father took part in earlier Guize dancing.³² For the practical reason that it was a quieter time of year for dance enthusiasts, the Guizing date was moved from Christmas to the St Ives Feast Day celebrations.³³ It now took the form of a series of masked processions through the town and adopted greenery in the style of the “green man”.³⁴

By 1989, Guizing was less well supported and the numbers of participants and audience reducing. It is interesting to note that a correspondent in the local paper comments that this was “not surprising as Guize dancing should be a spontaneous activity and was never traditionally associated with the feast”.³⁵ Participants felt that there was an issue about Guizers coming from outside of St Ives and Cornwall³⁶ and Dave Lobb felt that they had been a bit too rowdy for the people of St Ives who were a bit reserved.³⁷ Participant observation, however, did not find any evidence to support this,³⁸ and Will Barber was quite enthusiastic about the Guizers of the 1980s, “they were out to have a bit of fun, it was quite a good thing really we all liked it.”³⁹

Even if there is little evidence to support any ambivalence in St Ives towards the Guizers it is interesting that they were conscious that this might be an issue. It shows that there was an expectation of being perceived as the “other” from outside of St Ives. In practice, encouraged by the influence of an artist’s colony and a high level of commitment to the tourist industry St Ives had an arguably positive relationship with the “other”. Both William Barber and Mary Quick described being brought up in the “Digey”⁴⁰ on Teetotal Street, they witnessed change but neither expressed resentment nor a feeling that St Ives was losing its identity. The demand for properties in the “Digey” encouraged residents to sell up and move to modern comfortable housing, on the outskirts of St Ives.

In 1990 selection and preference took place again. The mayor of St Ives invited a local Cornish dance group, Ros Keltek, to become involved with and lead a Furry dance for the Well procession held on the Feast day. It is significant that the selection and preference was for an expressly Cornish dance group as this is a statement of identity. Ros Keltek acted as a core group and invited other Cornish dance groups and musicians to join them, especially people from St Ives. They did not use Guize costume but elected to remain in the team costume they normally wore for dance displays. Within ten years this had become a largely local performance, with some support from

musicians from elsewhere in Cornwall.⁴¹ In 2007 the St Ives a masked version of the Guizers was introduced again drawing from musicians and dancers who had been taking part in the Well Procession. The dancers dressed “mock posh”, much along the lines of Heaths description and toured the streets and harbour side pubs with displays of scoot dancing on the eve of the Feast Day.

The historical trajectory of the St Ives Guizing clearly illustrates the first five features of tradition described by Jones as above but for the sixth, “the symbolic constructions of the past in the present for the future”, it is necessary to look at the motives of the participants and the meaning they ascribe to the St Ives Guizing. There is little information about the motives of the Guizers prior to the 1920s and it has to be said that there is no evidence or indication that the participants themselves were consciously constructing anything other than “party time”. In the nineteen twenties, however, Guizing was clearly an expression of Nance’s mantra “to rebuild a new Cornwall from the past” in that the Celtic identity of the future was to be reconstructed from the gathered fragments, in this case of oral folk tradition.⁴² We have seen a deliberate move towards a Cornish identity in the nineteen nineties by the organisers seeking the help of specifically Cornish dancers and musicians for the procession. Likewise, the Guizers of 2010 make a clear statement about their performance being an expression of Cornish identity both in the introduction provided by the Master of Ceremonies and by their choice of material.⁴³

The Polperro Mock Mayor and Tourism

Both Couch and Miners describe the Mock Mayor custom in Polperro.⁴⁴ It is not clear when it became inactive but in 1925 Miners refers to it in the past tense. It was revived again in 1996 as part of opening of the Polperro Festival, which takes place during the third week of June around the date of the midsummer. Other events during the festival include concerts, pub bands, Furry dances and displays from touring Morris sides. The revived Mock Mayor is based on Jonathon Couch’s description and comprises of four groups of activities. Firstly, there is a procession bringing the previous year’s mayor from the top of the village down to the “Green” and in some years a Furry Dance, performed largely by school children, has been incorporated into this. The new mayor is then inaugurated who makes a speech about how he or she will improve Polperro. This incorporates comments about ensuring that the quality of the beer remains good and inexpensive and by guaranteeing good weather. A further procession through the village then takes place stopping at each pub to test the beer,

make a short speech of approval and distribute the new mayors “bank notes”. Eventually the procession reaches the outer harbour and beach where the new mayor is dropped into the sea.

The mayors attire themselves in bizarre costume stylised to suit each individual but usually involving some symbolism involving Cornwall e.g. the St Piran’s black and White flag or Cornish tartan . The mayor is accompanied by an entourage of six “merry men” dressed in a combination of bowler hats decorated with the St Piran’s flag and fishermen’s smocks .⁴⁵ The procession is complete with a green man and lead by two musicians, a piper and drummer.⁴⁶ The mayor is normally a well-known local figure and the “merry men” are recruited from the immediate community, typically fishermen. The character of green man is played by the same person each year, again a Polperro resident, but the piper and drummer are brought in from outside.

The location of this revived tradition within part of an early season festival, seems intentionally part of the tourist attraction.⁴⁷ This could be criticised as a commodification of culture or re-inventing tradition for the sake of the tourist market. Bendix, however, argues that appeal to a touristic audience might only constitute a surface rationale for inventing traditions:

Economic motivations are one part of the story, perhaps an important rhetorical argument in the process of creating display events. But wished for economic benefits do not sufficiently explain why such events are continued for decades or even centuries. A close examination of the motivations and choices of originators, performers, and audiences of new, traditionalized displays points instead toward an affirmation of local and national cultural identity in the face of seasonal mass foreign invasion.⁴⁸

In the light of Bendix’s argument the intensely local and Cornish focus is interesting. The reasons given for the selection of the mayor and the subsequent inaugural speech are largely opaque to outsiders who will not be familiar with the names or activities of the people concerned.⁴⁹ The mayoral procession is seen to have priority over other activities in the town, particularly the Morris displays which take place fairly randomly in the streets and can temporarily block routes. When this happens the Merry Men’s sense of ownership will normally encourage the procession to proceed regardless of any interruption this might cause. This is entered into in the

spirit of fun on both sides but in 2008 a display on the outer harbour at the same time as the mayor was due to be thrown in the water did cause discontent and the procession forced its way through despite protests from one of the display organisers.⁵⁰ This is an example of the tension between two speech communities, in this case local / Cornish and folk dance revivalists in the form of visiting Morris sides and their hosts. Both groups felt that they had a priority of ownership for the event, one group because they were local and Cornish the other because they were folk performers taking part in a folk event.

Affirmation of Cornish identity is not only evident in the use of Cornish symbols in the costume. In the 2000 event musicians were added to the entourage and booked from outside expressly to ensure that Cornish was music played.⁵¹ There was also an interesting discussion during the 2006 event around the use of the Cornish flag which had been incorporated stylistically into the programme design. A view was expressed within the ranks of the Merry Men that the Cornish flag was sacrosanct and should not be interfered with in this way. The significance is not so much on the rationality of any argument but on the value associated with Cornish identity by the participants in the Mock Mayor custom.

Polperro's Mock Mayor custom is a clear illustration of Bendix's point that economic motivation does not fully explain continuity. Although it adds to the carnival of the opening procession, it is only one entry among many and its absence would have little impact. Similarly, it adds colour to the formal opening of the festival but once the procession through the town is underway, it becomes a very localised activity with little to offer as a spectacle. What it does do, is provide an anchor point for immediate local and broader Cornish identity within a multicultural festival driven by the tourist industry and economic need.

Bodmin Riding, the Beast and the Bodmin Play

The Bodmin Riding Day was revived in 1974 and was based on the "beating the bounds" and the mock mayor customs that took place historically during the first week in July.⁵² The day comprised a series of events representing Bodmin's history and traditions and included a procession of the bones of St Petrock, followed by the presentation, and consumption of the Riding Ale, a Furry Dance and a Mock Mayor ceremony. The Mock Mayor custom took the form of a procession through the town in medieval costume followed by a "banquet" on Mount Folly (the town centre, which is

adjacent to the Old Crown Court house). In a representation of the events following the 1549 Cornish rebellion, the “Kings Troops” arrested the “Mayor” during the banquet and marched him away to be hanged for his support of the insurgents. There was later a staged hanging of the Mayor managed by a professional stunt crew, which became a major spectacle. From the outset of the revival, the mock mayor custom recognised Bodmin’s role in the Cornish rising of 1549 and at various times this was augmented with the help of a re-enactment society by staging a battle between Henry VII’s troops and the Cornish insurgents sporting the St George’s cross and the St Piran’s cross respectively.⁵³

The event has followed a cycle of varying support and popularity depending upon the vagaries of the weather, local interest, and the opportunities for arts grant funding since its inception. For example, it expanded its compass considerably in the mid nineteen nineties with help from Kneehigh theatre and Arts Council Funding to become Bodmin Heritage Festival and Riding Day with a broader range of arts events in the preceding week. When sightings of a large cat (presumed to be a feral panther or similar animal) were reported in the Bodmin area, the opportunity was seized to create a contemporary myth. “The Beast of Bodmin Moor” became a feature of the festival and local children took part in a project lead by members of Kneehigh theatre to create a large carnival cat to act as focus for the processions.

In 1974 the event was seen to be drawing on the past for the benefit of the future and the hope was expressed that Bodmin Riding would become “a permanent part of the calendar of Cornish customs”.⁵⁴ Thirty years later Bodmin Riding’s mock mayor developed to become the “Bodmin Play”⁵⁵ and provide a particularly good representation of Jones’ “symbolic constructions of the past in the present for the future”. The contemporary “Cornish Studies” challenge to the notion of a subdued medieval Cornwall gradually losing its distinctive identity to a provincial Englishness is embraced in the narrative of the play.⁵⁶ The Beast of Bodmin becomes the spirit of Cornwall which is hunted, captured and tried by a jury of Bodmin dignitaries (The Ragadasiow – forefathers) lead by Justice Jan Tregeagle, and charged with being “a deviation from the acceptable” and “an affront to decency”.⁵⁷ Witnesses are summoned in the form of historical figures such as Flamank and Angove (leaders of the 1497 rebellion) and contemporary characters such as Miss Minx a television personality with a second home. These witnesses show that the only crime the beast has committed is to proclaim Cornishness and challenge the “accepted and decent

notion” of Cornwall’s provincial Englishness. The outcome, with the support of a vociferous campaign on the part of Bodmin children to “free the beast”, is the exoneration of Cornwall’s spirit of distinctiveness, in the form of the beast, and the castigation of the forces of that deny this, represented by Tregagle.

Although initially introduced with a detailed written script which was carefully rehearsed the play evolved over the six years to date to become much more communal in authorship with a series of improvised sketches within the framework of the original narrative. These improvised sketches can incorporate contemporary issues. For example, when the local MP, Dan Rogerson, took part in the play in 2009 against a background of news coverage around MPs expenses his lines involved an assurance that his character would not be claiming expenses. Local people have grown into the characters and community involvement with the play is also enhanced by the action of the Helliers, the hunters, played by young people whose task it is to chase the beast around the town with much shouting but little to rehearse. Despite this modern interpretive creativity and vision of a future Cornwall, the play nevertheless has continuity with the traditions of the past and uses these as a medium for comment. In particular the use of masks, bizarre costume and the creation of large hairy pantomime “beast” are anchored firmly in Cornish Guizing tradition.

Feast Day Dances

Guize dances in their original location are invariably associated with feast days and make up part of a package of customs that include processional dances. The database shows two groups of processional dances associated with feast days, the Furry and the Serpent Dance. The Furry dances are based on a formula comprising of a music led procession, a natural grouping of people in couples and a simple dance choreography that accommodates movement forward. A typical formula is eight bars processing forward and a further eight bars performing a “dosi-do” or a “star” (see app 5 – Glossary). The Serpent, or Snake dance, also follows a very simple formula of a long line of people holding hands and led through a series of snake like loops and spirals that can either gradually process forward or take place within a large open area or field. This dance is a form of the medieval “farandole”.⁵⁸

The early nineteenth century provides a starting point for this thesis and the enquiry into oral folk tradition in Cornwall for the simple reason that this is when information that is more detailed becomes available. It is clear that as early as 1803,

Polwhele understood feast day dances as an historically deep rooted and well-established tradition.⁵⁹ By his own admission, Polwhele's "history" was an antiquarian romp for the purposes of entertainment rather than a scholarly study but this makes it all the more valuable in gauging popular contemporary understanding of oral folk traditions. For all he confuses the couple formation of processional Furry dance with the hand in hand, line formation of the farandole Polwhele clearly links the feast day traditions of Cornwall to customs in Ireland and on the continent:

In Ireland and in France we trace the fade or the Furry-dance. And the ancient Irish dance the Rinceadh-fada answers like the Furry of Helston to the feastal dance of the Greeks. According to Mr. Halloran, the private and public balls of the Irish used to always conclude with the Rinceadh-fada. And still, in the county of Limerick and many other parts of Ireland, this dance is always danced on the Eve of May. In 'Miss Plumtree's residence in France', is an account of a Provençal dance very much resembling that at Helston. 'It being the festival of the republic day that we were at Avignon, I there first saw the Farandeule, a sort of dance which the Provençaise are passionately fond, but which is only danced on occasions of festivity. A string of people go hand in hand, dancing along the streets, At intervals they stop and dance different figures and then again go on again, still dancing and catching hold of any body they meet to join the train.'⁶⁰

The extent to which these are pan-European traditions, which stem from each other is an interesting question. In the Breton *Kas Ha Barh* for example, couples move forward for 8 bars as in the Furry dance and the gentleman then draws his partner through a figure of 8 shape with his right hand. An adaption of the *An Dro*⁶¹ step is used to travel which comes close to the one two three slide travelling step of the Helston Furry dance. It is tempting to see this as reflecting the cultural links between Brittany and Cornwall but such a simple choreography could equally have been arrived at quite independently. There is an interesting comparator in the Isle of Man in that the Manx *Hop Tu Na* also has a similar structure, moving forwards with a reel step which is like the "one, two, three, hop" of the Furry for eight bars followed by a figure with arches. At least one Cornish engineer is known to have moved to Mann to work on Laxey Wheel, but again there is no evidence that this is anything other than a chance convergence of dance evolution. Furry type processional dances are also recorded in

Ireland⁶² Derbyshire⁶³, Wales⁶⁴ and Sharp's *Winster Processional*⁶⁵ uses this as a device to move the dancers from one location to the next. The Derbyshire tradition is often attributed to communities of Cornish Miners⁶⁶ moving to where their skills were in demand and similarities in the music do support this.⁶⁷ There are, however, many examples of early music thematically related to the Furry Dance the oldest of which comes from 16th Century France.⁶⁸

The Serpent Dance provides another example of a shared melting pot of choreographic ideas and as the "Farandole", it appears in various forms across Europe. The Flemish painter Pieter Breughel captured the dance in a painting in 1628,⁶⁹ the early twentieth century dance collector, Violet Alford, found versions in Switzerland, The Pyrenees and the Provençal.⁷⁰ There are contemporary examples of Swedish, Scottish, Estonian and Lithuanian groups incorporating Farandole shapes into dance displays.⁷¹ Lee's description of the Serpent Dance in "Dorinda's Birthday" captures the atmosphere of the simplified version used to follow a brass band:

..... The mazy evolutions had endured for full quarter of an hour..... The fugleman nodded, and prepared for the final manoeuvre by shaping a straight course for his starting point in the middle of the field. Here he began what appeared at first to be the primary evolution over again; but before the circle was joined, a slight change of direction converted it into an inward winding spiral. A shout from the knowing ones gave warning to all of the imminent climax. Tighter and tighter were drawn the coils, slower and slower grew the pace, until, amid much laughter and shrieks not a few, the leader lifted his flag at arm's length and stood calmly triumphant in the centre of a huddled mass of breathless humanity.⁷²

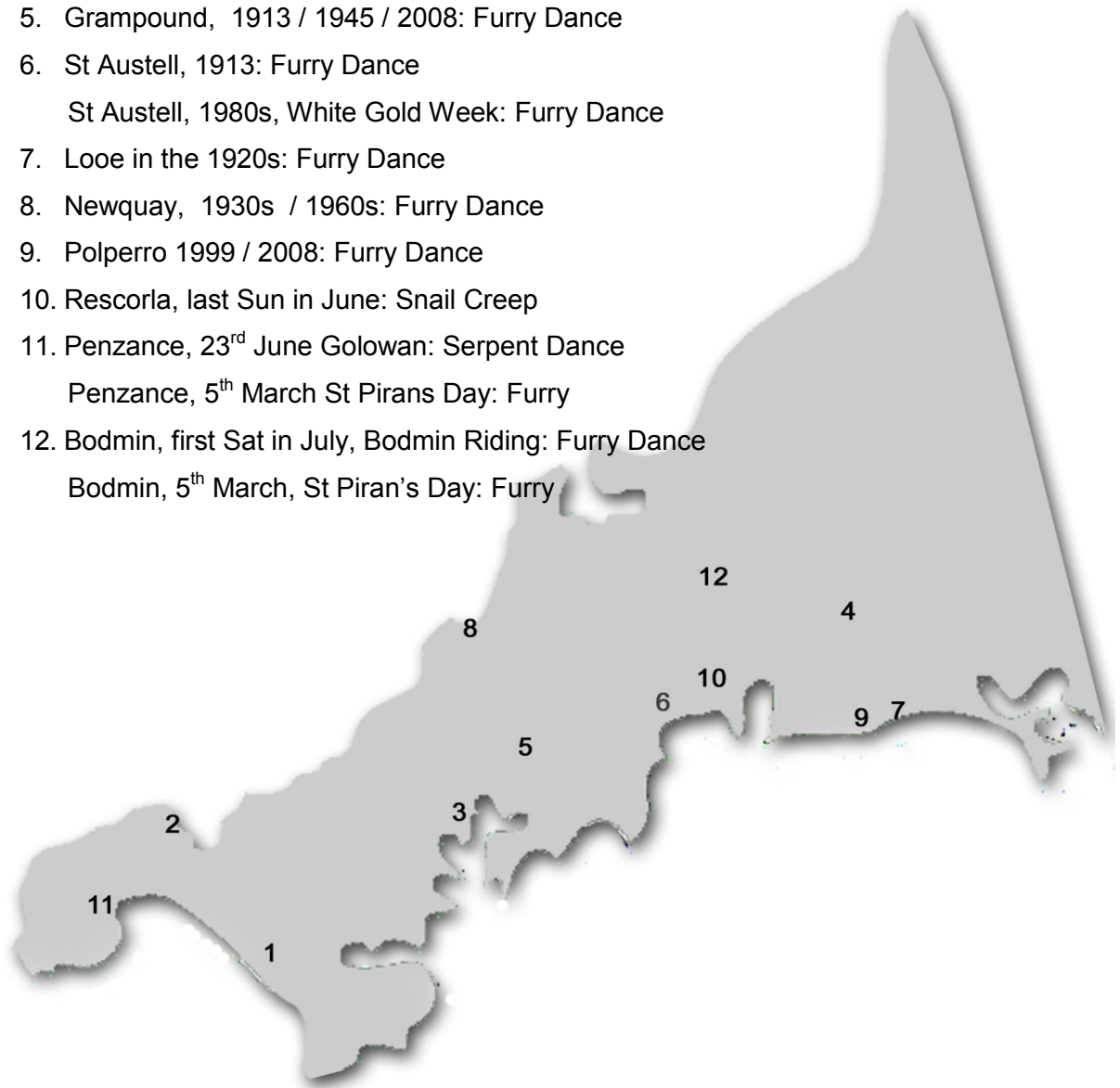
It was recorded as part of the Tea Treat traditions up to the nineteen forties in the Clay Country area of mid Cornwall and features in revivals.⁷³ The Serpent dance has also been revived as part of the Golowan festival in Penzance on 23rd June. Here the band process ahead of the dancers rather than leading them so that more elaborate figures are possible, involving arches and threading the needle (the entire line proceeds through an arch formed by the last two dancers).⁷⁴

These feast day dances are intrinsically tied to a place and the community who live there, and are perhaps the easiest of Cornish folk phenomena to argue a case for

a first existence location according to Hoerburger's model.⁷⁵ They also provide an unambiguous example of a tradition marking time, one of the features identified by Jones.⁷⁶ The map below is drawn from the database, and provides examples of feast days dances that have been recorded in the twenty first century but have a continuity broken or otherwise with the nineteenth century.

Diagram 3: Examples of contemporary locations of Feast Day Dances in Cornwall

1. Helston, 1790 / present, 8th May: Furry Dance
2. St Ives, 1801 / present, five yearly Knill Ceremony in July: Furry Dance
St Ives Feast, first Monday in Feb: Furry Dance
3. Truro, 1822: Furry Dance
Truro, 1990, St Piran's Day: Furry Dance
4. Liskeard, 1856 / present, St Mathews Feast: Furry Dance
5. Grampound, 1913 / 1945 / 2008: Furry Dance
6. St Austell, 1913: Furry Dance
St Austell, 1980s, White Gold Week: Furry Dance
7. Looe in the 1920s: Furry Dance
8. Newquay, 1930s / 1960s: Furry Dance
9. Polperro 1999 / 2008: Furry Dance
10. Rescorla, last Sun in June: Snail Creep
11. Penzance, 23rd June Golowan: Serpent Dance
Penzance, 5th March St Pirans Day: Furry
12. Bodmin, first Sat in July, Bodmin Riding: Furry Dance
Bodmin, 5th March, St Piran's Day: Furry



Furry dances, the evolution of meaning within tradition and reflexivity.

For much of the oral folk tradition explored in this thesis we are reliant upon participant observation combined with narrow snapshots of the past for data. Furry dances, however, particularly that associated with Helston, are well documented, witnessed in oral testimony and often subject to published commentary. The term “Furry” is used for this group of dances throughout this thesis as this reflects the current practice in Helston and the convention of dance groups in Cornwall. The history of the dance, however, shows a succession of terms being used starting with the term “Faddy” in the eighteenth century, the “Furry” for the latter half of the nineteenth with “Flora” and then “Floral” becoming popular terms in the twentieth century. “Furry” has nevertheless become the preferred term where people have sought to anchor the dance within Cornish tradition and identity. This progression of terms helps to signpost the different meanings and interpretations held by people about this tradition over these two centuries. It also demonstrates the process of reflexivity in the way that outside influences have impacted upon the trajectory of change within oral tradition.

The earliest written reference found to date for the dance in Cornwall is a letter published in the Gentleman’s Magazine of 1790:

“It is called the Furry – day supposedly Flora’s day; not I imagine, as many have thought in remembrance of some festival instituted in honour of that goddess, but rather from the garlands commonly worn on that day.
..... About the middle of the day they collect together to dance hand-in-hand round the streets to the sound of a fiddle playing a particular tune, which they continue to do till it is dark. This is called the “Faddy”.⁷⁷

It is clear that the writer understands that “Furry” refers to the day and “Faddy” to the dance although he does hint at confusion between use of the word “Flora” used adjectivally as “flower” day and the goddess “Flora”. The letter is framed as a descriptive observation rather than a scholarly study and it is reasonable to suggest that this might represent the understanding of the terms by the wider population at the time of writing. Polwhele also presents “Furry” as the name for the celebration and dismisses the use of “Flora” as a “vulgar error” explaining “I scruple not to deduce *Furry* from the old Cornish word *fer*, a fair or jubilee: whence, also the Latin *feriæ*.”⁷⁸

Polwhele uses *Fadè* as the name of the dance and he describes this as being an old English word for “go” but it is interesting that he does not appear to make a connection with the Irish “*Rinceadh-Fada*” (*Rinceadh* – Dance, *Fada* – Long) to which he refers in a later volume in the series.

Although he may personally have been dismissive of the value of Cornish Celticity Davies Gilbert connects with the “Celtic Imaginary” in his explanation of the Furry dance and associated customs:

This specimen of Celtic Musick is heard in Ireland and in Wales, when the people dance round their bonfires, originally kindled in honour of the Summer Solstice, although now dedicated to St John. In Cornwall it is peculiar to the town of Helston, where a Foray was annually celebrated up to recent times, with all the pantomime of a predatory excursion into the country, and a triumphant return of the inhabitants to this air. Some shadow of the festival is even still preserved in the more elegant amusements of the eight of May but with its nature totally changed, and its name obscured, by a fanciful allusion to Greek or Roman Mythology.⁷⁹

There is no evidence to suggest that “Foray” was widely understood to be the meaning of “Furry” but it is interesting that in providing his own explanation, Sandys (1846) misquotes Gilbert by saying that he supposed the Foray into the town “to be in commemoration of some victory over the Saxons”. Sandys dismissed this as being just as improbable as a connection with the Roman *Floralia* but continues to describe the day as the “Furry Day” and the dance as “faddy-ing around the town”. In his dialect gloss he describes “*fadè*” as meaning “to go” and particularly applied to the Furry Dance⁸⁰. Elsewhere he illustrates this use of “*fadè*” in a dialect narrative:

Then a passel of maidens comed en to the pleace.
Each so smaart thee caan't think, weth a pure roagish feace
And beginn'd for to skeyce and to *fadè* so friskis,.
Why they seemed to my mind like a passel of piskeys.⁸¹

“Passel” is a parcel in the sense of a group, and *skeyce* is to run away or frisk about, stemming from the middle Cornish “*skusy* - to escape”⁸².

Fadè / faddy is intriguing. “Fadic” appears in the *Vocabularium Cornicum*⁸³ and is given the Latin meaning “profugus” which glosses as “fleeing, fugitive, banished, migratory”. This would be consistent with the way that faddy is used by Polwhele and Gilbert in their description of the dance and also Jago’s dialect vocabulary of 1882 where it is described as meaning “to go”⁸⁴. Hodge, however, points out that “there is a medial /d / which, if this word existed in Middle Cornish, would have become “fasy”, “fassey”, and then “fazy” in Late Cornish and dialect”.⁸⁵

The Oxford English Dictionary describes (The) “Fadding” as “apparently an Irish dance, with an unknown etymology” but acknowledges that a suggested origin is the Irish “feadán” for a pipe or whistle (but not the Rince Fadé, literally Rince – dance, Fadé – long, which would seem obvious). Contextual references are also made to Sandys as above and a play in English dated 1606 / 1611.⁸⁶ At the time of writing, it has not been possible to locate fadè, faddy or fading in the Anglo Saxon or Middle English dictionaries⁸⁷ and there is thus the possibility that it was introduced into sixteenth and seventeenth century English usage via the Gaelic “Fadé”.

For all the uncertainties of origin, it is interpretation and meaning attached to the term, which is the focus of this thesis. For Courtney in 1882 the Fading was “an old English term for a dance from country to town”⁸⁸ but for the growing Pan Celtic movement it was linked to the Irish “Rince Fadé”. In 1911 Grattan-Flood described Helston “Faddy” as stemming from the Irish “Rince Fadé”⁸⁹ which does make some sense but he also described the Furry dance tune as a bagpipe tune called “An Maidhrin Ruadh” (sic) which it is not. “An Maidhin Ruadh” (maidhin – fox, ruadh – red) is a competition pipe tune popularly known as the Red Fox and a quite different melody. The link with the Rince Fadé does have some grounding, however, as this name is currently identified with a processional dance performed as part of a midsummer custom in Kilkenny.⁹⁰ It may well be this is the Irish dance, or type of Irish dance, to which Gilbert was referring in 1823.⁹¹

For Hunt⁹² and Courtney⁹³ in the latter half of the nineteenth century the “Furry Day” and the “Furry Dance” were indistinguishable. Courtney still recognises “Faddy” as an alternative name and introduces the term “Flurry” which, like Gilberts “Foray” does not seem to have been used widely. Hunt, however, subscribes to Classical romanticism and for him there was “... no doubt of the Furry originating from the ‘Floralia’, anciently observed by the Romans on the fourth of the calends of May”.⁹⁴

For all they confuse the tunes of the Furry Dance and the Hal an Tow both Baring-Gould in 1891⁹⁵ and Sharp 1913⁹⁶ refer to the dances as the Furry not the Faddy or Flora.

Dunstan recalls the popularity of the “Flora” from his days as a tutor / student in Brass Band culture of Tea Treats and Regatta in the late nineteenth century⁹⁷ and by 1901 the following words seems to have become popularly being sung to the Helston tune:

Jan said to me wan day
‘Can’ ee dance the Flora?’
Iss I can with a nice young man
Ere we’m off to Trora⁹⁸

The Celto-Cornish movement challenged the correctness of the term “Flora” in the correspondence pages of the Western Morning News and the Mercury. In 1931 the Old Cornwall Society published a booklet discussing the origins of the Furry in detail⁹⁹ and this is referenced to and expanded upon by Toy in his history of Helston.¹⁰⁰ For all the Celto-Cornish movements’ preference for the term “Furry”, “Flora” became embedded in popular usage. The Helston Flora Day committee today takes the position that the day is “Flora Day” but the dance is the “Furry”.¹⁰¹

The use of the term “Floral” can be dated to Katie Moss’s composition, “The Floral Dance” which was inspired by her visit to Helston in the spring of 1911. Although to all intents and purposes this was an entirely new composition with Edwardian lyrics celebrating the rural idyll, the Furry Dance tune from Helston was employed as a recurrent theme by Moss.¹⁰² Peter Dawson recorded it on a 78-rpm disc in 1912 with a number of subsequent re-issues due to its popularity. By the nineteen sixties the term “Floral” had become inextricably linked with the Furry Dance and used interchangeably with “Flora”. This link was subsequently popularised and reinforced by the Brighthouse And Rastrick Band LP recording of 1977 and Terry Wogan’s 1978 Top of the Pops performance. This was not altogether well received in Cornwall:

Helston’s Furry Dance tune has been raped from its home town and given a place among the best selling L.P. records, flooding the media with its haunting melody. Although irritating no doubt to many who think it a breach of west-country unwritten copyright, it has the advantage of free

advertisements. It also brings a whiff of sanity to the cacophony accepted by many as music. The popularity will pass; in time it will become again Helston's own tune, and we who love its unique appeal conjured up by true Cornishmen will be joining the crowds in the old town's revelry as usual.¹⁰³

Whilst the popularity may have passed, there has nevertheless been a reflexive impact upon tradition in that the term "Floral" has replaced the term "Furry" in many first existence locations of this tradition. For example, it was the express wish of the Boscastle archive to have their photographs of the Village Furry dance to be labelled as the Boscastle "Floral Dance" not "Furry Dance".¹⁰⁴ There are also practical problems with the Brighthouse And Rastrick arrangement of Katie Moss's "Floral Dance" in that the pattern of bars and tune make this very difficult to dance a conventional Furry Dance to.¹⁰⁵

Feast days as a device for social interaction - "party time!"

One of the striking insights that emerges from this enquiry is the extent to which interpretation of some folk dance phenomena as a form of ritual derives not from the participants but from folklorists. William Barber describes the St Ives Guizers as "all a bit of fun really".¹⁰⁶ For Malcolm McCarthy, the Padstow Mummers is "just a happy festival where we all have a lot to drink and a bloody good time".¹⁰⁷ For Norman Mannell, the Furry Dance at Grampound was an opportunity for people "to come in from the country and all meet up".¹⁰⁸

Whilst dress marks performers out for the Guize Dance this is not so much the case for the feast day dances. There is an element of "evening dress" code for the Helston Furry but for the most part it is simply a matter of being colourful and "party time". This can make the line between a feast day dance and a social dancing a very fine one. It seems likely that the feast day traditions fostered by Cornish chapel culture were partly an adoption of long standing customs but also driven by the desire to provide alternative social activities to those based around the sale of alcohol.¹⁰⁹ The significance of the calendar event is that it provides an opportunity, perhaps even an excuse, for a socially interactive event rather than being the real driving force. Time is nevertheless still marked in the way described by Jones.¹¹⁰

Badges of Cornishness

Both Guize Dancing and Feast Days traditions are carnivalesque, they provide an opportunity for colour and costume and here they are particularly open to influences that lie beyond the immediate event. For example, musicians and dancers in a procession are limited to using the same text as far as lyrics, tune and choreography are concerned but costume is much more flexible and open to choice. There may be dress codes, the Guizers at Padstow black their faces for disguise but after that it is a free for all with bright colours being the theme.¹¹¹ The St Ives Guizers use masks and dress “mock posh” but that leaves much opportunity for self expression, similarly the Penzance Guizers focus attention on the detail of their masks and then dress as colourfully as possible.¹¹² Feast day processions do not feature disguise in the way of Guize Dancing traditions, but they do invite the adoption of some form of costume. What is interesting is the extent to which “Badges of Cornishness” have been incorporated into these locations to become part of the tradition.

Howlett uses the term “Badges of Cornishness” in describing the success of E. E. Morton-Nance’s Cornish National Tartan and the adoption of the St Piran’s Flag as national emblems for a modern Cornwall.¹¹³ These are clear products of the Celto-Cornish movement and present Cornwall alongside the other Celtic Nations in having its own national costume and flag. Distinctive historic costume also provides an image of place for the Celto-Cornish movement, the most iconic of these is probably the Gook (women’s bonnet) but the Newlyn school of painters frequently used stylised working costume as a subject¹¹⁴ and this has served to inform the notion of Cornish historic dress. The marketing opportunities provided by Cornwall’s success in the County Rugby League championships has also ensured the wide availability of clothing in the Cornish colours of black and gold. What is found in that these four groups of Cornish imagery are used in different ways but, nevertheless almost universally, in Guizing and Feast Day traditions.

Conclusion

These locations thus lie within a “first existence” according to Hoerburger’s model of oral folk tradition. Rather than a seamless flow, however, continuity seems to comprise of a series of alternating periods of inactivity and popularity with both the Guizing and Feast Day traditions. This challenges the whole notion of a “revival” as a discrete entity. As far as oral folk tradition as a process is concerned, it can be seen

that “revival” is an essential component of continuity. Not only this, but as a tradition moves from a state of decline to one of relative activity so it becomes open to a wider range of influences which Ruyter¹¹⁵ and Nahachewsky¹¹⁶ suggest as a marker for oral folk tradition in a “first existence”.

These locations also demonstrate the distinction between reflexivity and reflectivity, which can sometimes be a fine one. For example, if the practitioners involved in Furry Dance traditions were acting reflectively they would consider the origins of the term and would be likely to deduce that “Faddy” or “Furry” were the more authentic in as much as they were free from unfounded classical allusion or popular media imagery. It is principally the Helston tradition that has retained the term “Furry” and this is can be attributed to research and reflection on the part of the Helston Old Cornwall Society.¹¹⁷ Elsewhere the terms “Flora Dance” and “Floral Dance” are widely used and the latter is a particularly good example of reflexivity in action because of its link with the commercial and popular music industry.

Although scholars and commentators made links between these traditions and the construction of a classical or Celtic past in Cornwall there is uncertainty that nineteenth century participants were extending the identity expressed by these traditions beyond their immediate location. What we do find, however, is that these traditions embrace a clear Cornish identity in the latter half of the twentieth century. This is evidenced both by the adoption of “badges of Cornishness” and by the adoption into the texts of the performance of material and narratives that are identified with Cornwall. The revival of the Polperro Mock Mayor ceremony is based primarily on Jonathon Couch’s description,¹¹⁸ but draws on familiar contemporary images of Cornwall for the costumes of the Mayors and the Merry-men, none of which is described by Couch. Similarly, for all the debate about what the correct term for the dance might be, the Furry / Floral dance is clearly identified as Cornish whether through recognition of tradition or promotion in the popular media. To choose to do a Furry dance as part of or instead of a carnival procession is an act of positive selection towards Cornishness.

Notes

¹ Felix Hoerburger, "Once Again: On the Concept of Folk Dance" *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* (1968), pp. 30-31.

² Nancy Lee, Chalfa Ruyter, "Some musings on folk dance", *Dance Chronicle*, Vol 18, No 2 (1995). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1567880>, accessed 19th September 2008.

³ Andriy Nahachewsky, "Once Again: On the Concept of 'Second Existence Folk Dance'", *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, Vol. 33. (2001), pp. 17-28.

⁴ Michael Owen Jones, "'Tradition' in Identity Discourses and an Individual's Symbolic Construction of Self ." *Western Folklore* Vol. 59, No. 2 (Spring 2000), p.116.

Stable URL - <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0043-373X%28200021%2959%3A2%3C115%3A%22IIDAA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-P> , accessed 13th Nov 2007.

⁵Michael Owen Jones, " Tradition in identity discourses" pp.115 - 141.

Summarises contemporary debate on the nature of tradition including: Continuities and tradition - Honko, Lauri et al. "On the Analytical Value of the Concept of Tradition", *Studia Fennica* No. 27, 1983, pp. 233-249: Social and communal nature of tradition – Robert A. Georges and Michael Owen Jones, *Folkloristics: An Introduction*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995): Traditions becoming inactive /extinguished and revived many years later - Kenneth Goldstein, "On the Application of the Concepts of Active and Inactive Traditions to the Study of Repertory". *Journal of American Folklore* 84, 1971, pp.62-67: traditions becoming inactive /extinguished and revived many years later Traditions - Elli Kaija Kongas, "Immigrant Folklore: Survival or Living Tradition?" *Midwest Folklore* No. 10, 1960, pp.117-123: Deconstructing tradition– Eric J. Hobsbawm, and Terrence Ranger, ed. *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

⁶ Peter Reason, Hilary Bradbury. *The Sage Handbook of Action Research : Participative Inquiry and Practice*. (London: SAGE, 2008).

⁷ Fred W. .P Jago, *The Ancient Language and the Dialect of Cornwall* (Truro: Netherton and worth, 1882.) Entry under Guise Dance: "A kind of comical or Bal masque at Christmas. Polwhele calls is the guise or disguise dance, for so the Cornish pronounce guise (geeze). This dance answers to the mummers of Devon, and the Morrice dancers of Oxfordshire &c. In Celtic Cornish ges, means mockery, a jest."

⁸ Tom Miners, "The Mummers' Play in West Cornwall", *Old Cornwall* Vol. 1, No. 8, (1928), pp. 4 -16.

- ⁹ Merv Davey "Guizing: Ancient Traditions and Modern Sensitivities." in *Cornish Studies 14* ed Philip Payton (Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 2006), pp. 229 - 244.
- ¹⁰ Courtney Library, Royal Institution of Cornwall, Jenner Manuscript Box. Reply letter from Cecil Sharp dated 16th July 1921. There is no copy of Jenner's original letter to Sharp.
- ¹¹ James Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, (London, Wordsworth Editions Lt, 1993), First published in 1922 as an abridged version of twelve volumes published between 1890 and 1915.
- ¹² Patrick Laviolette, "Landscaping Death: resting places for Cornish identity" *Journal of Material Culture, Vol 8(2):* (2003) , pp 224 -225
- ¹³ Cyril Noall, *The Cornish Midsummer Eve Bonfire Celebrations*, (Penzance, The Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1963 and 1977). Also Donald R. Rawe, *Padstow's Obby Oss and May Day Festivities : A Study in Folklore and Tradition*. (Padstow: Lodenek Press, 1982).
- ¹⁴ Trevor Lawrence, interview with author, Penzance, 20/01/06.
- ¹⁵ Conversation with Mark Hawken, accordionist leading community singing at Midsummer Bonfire, Castle An Dinas, 23rd June 2008.
- ¹⁶ Sabrina Magliocco and John. Bishop, *Oss Tales*, Media-Generation. (2007). DVD and DVD rom format.
- ¹⁷ Alfred Kenneth Hamilton Jenkin. *Cornwall and Its People: Cornish Seafarers, Cornwall and the Cornish, Cornish Homes and Customs*. (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1945), p. 424. Cites Robert Heath but gives no reference details.
- ¹⁸ Robert Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England; or, the Drolls, Traditions, and Superstitions of Old Cornwall*. (London, J.C. Hotten, 1871), p. 392.
- ¹⁹William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*. (Penzance, Deare and Son, 1873).
- ²⁰ Margaret Ann Courtney, *Cornish Feasts and Folk-Lore. Revised and Reprinted from the Folk-Lore Society Journals, 1886-87.*(Penzance, Beare and Son, 1890).
- ²¹ Arthur Quiller-Couch, *The Delectable Duchy*, (London, Dent and Sons,1900).
- ²² Alfred Kenneth Hamilton Jenkin, p. 422.
- ²³William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories*, pp. 9, 15, 16, 17, 26, 38 - 39, 97-98, 119,161 -162, 283, 287.
- ²⁴ Tom Miners, "The Mummers' Play in West Cornwall".
- ²⁵ See appendix 4.2.

²⁶ Cassandra Latham, presentation and performance with Pen Glaz at the Devon and Cornwall Pagan Conference, 6th March, 2010, Penstowe Manor, Kilkhampton, Bude. A summary was produced on the festival web site:

<http://www.paganfederationdevonandcornwall.co.uk/pages/wheel.htm>, accessed 7th March 2010:

Samhain - 31st October (pronounced Sow-in):

The Wheel of the Year is seen to begin at Samhain, which is also known as Hallowe'en or All Hallows Eve. This is the Celtic New Year, when the veil between the worlds of life and death stands open. Samhain is a festival of the dead, when Pagans remember those who have gone before and acknowledge the mystery of death. As Pagans we celebrate death as a part of life.

Yule - 21st December (archaic form Geola, pronounced Yula):

Yule is the time of the winter solstice, when the sun child is reborn, an image of the return of all new life born through the love of the Gods. The Norse had a God Ullr, and within the Northern Tradition Yule is regarded as the New Year.

Imbolc - 2nd February:

Imbolc, also called Oimeic and Candlemas, celebrates the awakening of the land and the growing power of the Sun. Often, the Goddess is venerated in her aspect as the Virgin of Light and her altar is decked with snowdrops, the heralds of spring.

Spring Equinox - 21st March:

Now night and day stand equal. The Sun grows in power and the land begins to bloom. By Spring Equinox, the powers of the gathering year are equal to the darkness of winter and death. For many Pagans, the youthful God with his hunting call leads the way in dance and celebration. Others dedicate this time to Eostre the Anglo- Saxon Goddess of fertility.

Beltane - 30th April:

The powers of light and new life now dance and move through all creation. The Wheel continues to turn. Spring gives way to Summer's first full bloom and Pagans celebrate Beltane with maypole dances, symbolizing the mystery of the Sacred Marriage of Goddess and God.

Midsummer - 21st June:

At summer solstice is the festival of Midsummer, sometimes called Litha. The God in his light aspect is at the height of his power and is crowned Lord of Light. It is a time of plenty and celebration.

Lughnasadh - 1st August (pronounced Loo-nassa):

Lughnasadh, otherwise called Lammas, is the time of the corn harvest, when Pagans reap those things they have sown; when they celebrate the fruits of the mystery of Nature. At Lughnasadh, Pagans give thanks for the bounty of the Goddess as Queen of the Land.

Autumn Equinox - 21 September:

Day and night stand hand in hand as equals. As the shadows lengthen, Pagans see the darker faces of the God and Goddess. For many Pagans, this rite honours old age and the approach of Winter.

Samhain - 31st October:

The Wheel turns and returns to Samhain, the festival of the dead, when we face the Gods in their most awesome forms. This is not a time of fear, but a time to understand more deeply that life and death are part of a sacred whole.

See also: Ronald Hutton, "Modern Pagan Festivals: A Study in the Nature of Tradition", *Folklore*, 119:3, (2008), pp. 251 — 273; Sabina Magliocco, *Witching culture: Folklore and Neo Paganism in America*, (Philadelphia: Penn, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

²⁷ S. T. Rowe, "Guise Dancing at St Ives", *St Ives Weekly Summary*, January 6, 1900, page 5, column 1.

²⁸ *St Ives Times*, January 1901, Jan 1921.

²⁹ *St Ives Times*, January 11th 1929 "Successful Revival of Ancient Custom".

³⁰ William Barber, interview with author, 30/10/09.

³¹ Cyril Noall, "Guize Dancing At St Ives" *St Ives Times*, January 4th 1957.

³² Dave Lobb, Interview with Author, Withiel, 26/07/06.

³³ St Ives Feast Day is held on the first Monday after the third of February and involves a Furry dance procession from the Guild Hall to St Ives town hall now led by an informal band of local musicians. Participant observation: 07/02/05, 06/02/06.

³⁴ “St Ives Feast”, “What’s on listings”, *Cornish Life*, Feb 1984: 4th Feb, Dressing of St Ives town hall, Porthmeor Beach in the afternoon. Guize Dancing 7.30pm: 5th Feb, Green Morris men from several parts of the country will dance: 6th Feb, Parade of Guizers to Guildhall at 9 am. Hurling of the Silver Ball at 10.45. See images appendix 4.8: St Ives Guizing

³⁵ Mary Quick, “Guizing through the ages”, *The St Ives Times and Echo and Hayle times*, February 3rd 1989.

³⁶ Pauline McKeon, conversation with author 6th Feb 2006 . Pauline was a member of the Guizers who came to St Ives in the seventies and eighties. Participatory action research 06/02/2006.

³⁷ Dave Lobb, Interview.

³⁸ St Ives Guizing, participant observation: Stopped by people on several occasions and asked if these were the Guize dancers, where were they performing next and commenting that they had enjoyed seeing them twenty some years ago. Participatory action research: 04/02/07, 08/02/09, 18/12/08, 01/02/10.

³⁹ William Barber, interview.

⁴⁰ “The Digey is a small area of streets in the lower part of St Ives most strongly associated with the old fishing industry but now a popular studio area.

⁴¹ Rod Lyon, conversation with author, Rod Lyon was first invited to lead the St Ives Well procession in 1993 together with Ros Keltok who felt this was an important promotion of a Cornish tradition. Participatory action research, 06/02/06.

⁴² Robert Morton Nance, “Introduction”, *Old Cornwall* vol. 1, No. 1, (1925).

⁴³ St Ives Guizing, participatory action research, 04/02/07, 08/02/09, 18/12/08, 01/02/10. The Master of Ceremonies took time at each venue to explain the Cornish nature of the tradition and the music, dances and songs performed. Songs included “Cornish Lads” and Poetry written by local Poets were read.

⁴⁴ Jonathon Couch, *An Historical Account of the Village of Polperro in Cornwall and Its Neighbourhood*. 1815. (Truro, Lake, unidentified date); Tom Miners, “Mock Mayors” *Old Cornwall* 1926, Vol.1, No.3, p. 15-22.

⁴⁵ See appendix 4.7 for images of the mock mayor procession

⁴⁶ Participant observation, the author has played this role since 2000

⁴⁷ Ted Pilchur, conversation with author; Ted (mock mayor 2005, owner of local gift store) explained that the tourist industry in Polperro held a very precarious position in terms of the weather and it was hoped that festival would bring more consistent trade into the village. Participant observation, 26/06/07,

⁴⁸ Regina Bendix, "Tourism and Cultural Displays: Inventing Traditions for Whom?", *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 102, No. 404 (Apr. - Jun., 1989), pp. 131-146. Published by: American Folklore Society Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/540676> Accessed: 04/10/2009 13:21

⁴⁹ Participant observation 2008, the route of the procession avoided a particular pub because it had declined to take part in a money- raising event earlier in the year. The allusion in the mayors speech was not apparent until the change in route was commented upon by the author and explanation provided by one of the "Merry Men".

⁵⁰ Participant observation 2008. The author, as musician, found himself encouraged to continue leading the procession on through the Morris teams display by the Lord Mayor and Merry Men but asked to wait until the performance had finished by the festival organiser responsible for booking the Morris sides.

⁵¹ Ted Pilchur, conversation with the author. Explained that when he was festival organiser in 2000 he booked a piper expressly to play Cornish music for the procession. Participant observation 22/06/07.

⁵² Pat Munn, *Bodmin Riding and other similar Celtic customs*, (Bodmin, Bodmin Books Ltd, 1975).

⁵³ The distinction between the rebellions of 1497 and 1549 might be profound for historians, but as a site of memory representing Cornish identity the two fuse and in the later Bodmin Play characters from both are drawn into the trial of the Beast. See appendix 4.9.

⁵⁴ Ivor Whiting, "Forward", Munn, *Bodmin Riding*, p.9.

⁵⁵ The play is performed at Mount Folly, the town centre, at the beginning and end of the day and is performed as a shortened mummers play at various pubs and venues around Bodmin in between. See appendix 4.9

⁵⁶ Philip Payton, " 'A concealed envy against the English': a note on the aftermath of the 1497 rebellions in Cornwall", in *Cornish Studies One*, ed. by Philip Payton, (Exeter, Exeter University Press, 1993); Bernard Deacon, *A Concise History Of Cornwall*, (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2007).

⁵⁷ Participatory action research – The improvised speech of the character, "Tregeagle", during the 2008 performance.

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- ⁵⁸ Alison Davey, Merv Davey, and Jowdy Davey. *Scoot Dances, Troyls, Furrys and Tea Treats: The Cornish Dance Tradition*. (London: Francis Boutle & Co, 2009), pp. 40 - 129.
- ⁵⁹ Richard Polwhele, *The History of Cornwall*, Volume 1, (London: Cadell and Davies, 1803, facsimile reprint: Dorking, Kohler and Coombes Ltd, 1978), pp. 41-44.
- ⁶⁰ Richard Polwhele, *The History of Cornwall*, Volume 7, p. 138.
- ⁶¹ The “An Dro” is a basic Breton dance comprising of a line of people gliding to the left with a characteristic step and specific arm movements.
- ⁶² John Fry, and Alan J. Fletcher, 'The Kilkenny Morris, 1610', *Folk Music Journal*, 6 (1992), p. 382.
- ⁶³ Needham, Joseph 'The Geographical Distribution of English Ceremonial Dance Traditions', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 3 (1936), p. 21.
- ⁶⁴ Hugh Mellor, *Welsh Folk Dances; an Inquiry* (London: Novello and company, Ltd., 1935), P. 59.
- ⁶⁵ Cecil J Sharp, and Herbert C. Macilwaine, *The Morris Book : With a Description of Dances as Performed by the Morris-Men of England. Parts 1, 2 & 3*. (Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1974), p. 76.
- ⁶⁶ Joseph Needham 'The Geographical Distribution of English Ceremonial Dance Traditions', p. 22, attributes the Derbyshire Processional to Cornish Miners.
- ⁶⁷ Dave Bathe, "Oddfellows and Morris Dancing in a Peak District Village." *Folk Music Journal* 5.1 (1985), pp. 4 - 47. Gives examples of tunes collected which, whilst not identical to the Helston Furry, are related in their structure.
- ⁶⁸ Mike O'Connor, *Ilow Kernow 4*. Wadebridge, Lyngam House, 2007), p. 29.
- ⁶⁹ Pieter Breughel (Pieter the Younger), b. 1564, Bruxelles, d. 1638, Antwerp, *The Kermesse of St George*, 1628.
- ⁷⁰ Violet Alford, "Music and Dance of the Swiss Folk." *The Musical Quarterly* 27.4 (1941), pp. 500-13: Violet Alford, "Notes on Three Provençal Dances.", *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 4.2 (1941), pp. 67-76: Alford, Violet. "Dance and Song in Two Pyrenean Valleys.", *The Musical Quarterly* 17.2 (1931), pp. 248-58.
- ⁷¹ *Féile Europeade 2004: European Folk Arts Festival County*. Mayo County Development Boar. 2004. On DVD format. Representatives from Estonia and Lithuania performed the farandole: Participant Observation, 30/05/10, International Fold Dance Festival – Bromley, both Sällskapet Gammeldansens Vänner (Malmö, Sweden) and the MacIennan Scottish Group used part of the Farandoles known as the “Tobacco Roll” in their choreography.

⁷² Charles Lee, *Dorinda's Birthday: A Cornish Idyll*, (London, J M Dent and Sons, 1911), p. 238 - 247. This is based on his experiences, recorded whilst staying at St Mawgan in the early 1900s.

⁷³ Merv Davey and Alison Davey, "Clay Country Customs", (St Austell, Rescorla Festival Project, 2008). See appendix 4.2. Clay Country Customs project.

⁷⁴ Participant observation 23/06/10, Pen Glaze, Chapel Street, , 9pm to 11pm, as part of the Golowan Festival.

⁷⁵ Felix Hoerburger, "Once Again: On the Concept of Folk Dance".

⁷⁶ Michael Owen Jones, "The Meaning of Tradition".

⁷⁷ Durgan, letter addressed to Editor, Sylvanus Urban. *Gentlemans Magazine and Historical Chronicle* for the year MDCCXC, p. 520.

⁷⁸ Richard Polwhele, *The History of Cornwall*, Vol.1, (London: Cadell and Davies, 1803, facsimile reprint: Dorking, Kohler and Coombes Ltd, 1978), p. 41.

⁷⁹ Davies Gilbert, *Some Ancient Christmas Carols* (London, J Nichols and Son, 1823), p. 79.

⁸⁰ William Sandys, *Specimens of Cornish Provincial Dialect Selected and Arranged by Uncle Jan Trenoodle*, (London: J.R. Smith, 1846), p. 93.

⁸¹ William Sandys, *Specimens*, p.19.

⁸² Pol Hodge / Cornwall Council Cornish Language information service, correspondence with author 7th July 2010.

⁸³ Carl Anderson, "Vocabularium Cornicum", 2004.

<http://www.carlaz.com/cornish/voccorn.txt>, accessed 1st July 2010.

⁸⁴ Fred Jago, *The Ancient Language and the Dialect of Cornwall* (Truro: Netherton and worth, 1882), p.163. "fadé or faddy" is described as meaning "to go" .

⁸⁵ Pol Hodge / Cornwall Council Cornish Language information service, correspondence with author 7th July 2010.

⁸⁶ Oxford English Dictionary, 1989, Fading/fadding – noun,

<http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50081615>, also fade - verb,

<http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50081597> accessed 1st July 2010, citing literary examples: Beaumont and Fletchers " The Knight and the Burning Pestle" 1609 /1611 III. v, "I will have him dance Fading; Fading is a fine jig": And also William Sandys, "Specimens", 1846, p.19.

⁸⁷ "Bosworth Toller AS Dictionary",

http://home.comcast.net/~modean52/oeme_dictionaries.htm, accessed 29th July 2010

"Middle English Dictionary", University of Michigan, 2000,
<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/> accessed 29th July 2010.

⁸⁸ Margaret A Courtney, Cornish Feasts and "Feasten" Customs. [Continued] *The Folk-Lore Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (1886), pp. 221-249.

⁸⁹ William Henry Grattan-Flood. *The Story of the Bagpipe*. Music Story Series. (London; New York: Walter Scott Pub. Co.; C. Scribner's Sons, 1911), p. 97 – 98.

⁹⁰ John Fry, and Alan J. Fletcher. "The Kilkenny Morris, 1610." *Folk Music Journal* 6.3 (1992), pp 381-83: Also, Joseph Needham: The Geographical Distribution of English Ceremonial Dance Traditions: *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Dec., 1936), p.31.

⁹¹ Davies Gilbert, *Some Ancient Christmas Carols*,

⁹² Robert Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England; or, the Drolls, Traditions, and Superstitions of Old Cornwall*, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1881).

⁹³ Margaret Ann Courtney, *Cornish Feasts and Folk-Lore. Revised and Reprinted from the Folk-Lore Society Journals, 1886-87*. (Penzance, 1890).

⁹⁴ Robert Hunt, *Popular Romances* , p171

⁹⁵ Sabine Baring-Gould, and Rev. H. Fleetwood Shepherd. *Songs and Ballads of the West: A Collection Made from the Mouths of the People*, (London: Methuen & Co, 1891).

⁹⁶ Sharp, Cecil J., and George Butterworth. *The Morris Book, with a Description of the Dances as Performed by the Morris Men of England*. Vol. 5. (London: Novello, 1913), p. 102.

⁹⁷ Ralph Dunstan, ed. *The Cornish Song Book, Lyver Canow Kernewek*, (London: Reid Bros Ltd 1929), p. 31.

⁹⁸ John Betjeman and A.L.Rowse, *Victorian and Edwardian Cornwall from old photographs*, (London, B. T. Batsford Ltd, 1974), caption to plate 132 "The Furry Dance Helston, 1901".

⁹⁹ James Dryden Hosken, *Helston Furry Day*, (St Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1931).

¹⁰⁰ Spencer Toy, *The History of Helston*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), pp. 367 - 379.

¹⁰¹ Souvenir Programme, Helston Flora Day, 2009.

¹⁰² Ian Marshall, *The Amazing Story of the Floral Dance in Words and Music*. (Dobwalls, Cornwall, Songs of Cornwall publications, 2003). Pp. 25 – 32.

¹⁰³ "By The Way", Editorial note, *Old Cornwall*, Vol. 8, no.10, (1978), p. 467.

- ¹⁰⁴ Rod and Anne Knight, discussion with author, 28th Aug 2008.
- ¹⁰⁵ “Celebrating Cornwall”, primary school workshop and performance, participant observation 17th June 2010. Teachers used the “Brighthouse And Rastrick” Floral dance CD to teach children the Helston Furry with very limited success which appeared to make the dance and not the music, the problem.
- ¹⁰⁶ William Barber, interview with author, 30/10/09.
- ¹⁰⁷ Malcom McCarthy, correspondence with author 6/04/2006.
- ¹⁰⁸ Norman Mannel, interview with author 03/11/09.
- ¹⁰⁹ David Harvey, Catherine Brace, and Adrian R. Bailey. "Parading the Cornish Subject: Methodist Sunday Schools in West Cornwall, C. 1830-1930." *Journal of Historical Geography* 1.2007 (2006): pp. 24-44.
- ¹¹⁰ Michael Owen Jones, “Tradition’ in Identity”.
- ¹¹¹ See appendix 4.1
- ¹¹² See appendix 4.6
- ¹¹³ Jonathon Howlett, “Putting the Kitsch Into Kernow”, Philip Payton ed. *Cornish Studies Twelve*, (Exeter, Exeter University Press, 2004), p. 44.
- ¹¹⁴ Josephine Stewart, *The Costume of Cornwall: Workwear of the Newlyn Area in the Late Nineteenth Century*. (Bodmin: An Daras Folk Arts Project, 2004).
- ¹¹⁵ Nancy Lee Chalfa Ruyter, “Some musings on folk dance”.
- ¹¹⁶ Andriy Nahachewsky, Once Again: On the Concept of "Second Existence Folk Dance".
- ¹¹⁷ Spencer Toy, *The History of Helston*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1936), p. 369.
- ¹¹⁸ Jonathon Couch, *An Historical Account of the Village of Polperro*.

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Chapter 8 Continuity revival and invisible locations

Social dance and singing sessions do not attract the same reportage or commentary as the more public Guizing and Furry dance traditions and are therefore much less visible. There are nevertheless significant numbers of people involved. A survey undertaken in collaboration with the Cornish Dance Society showed that members reached an audience of nearly 3000 people for private social dance events during a one-year period.¹ Likewise, there are many informal singing session events across Cornwall, typically but not always in pubs, which are not widely publicised or advertised on a commercial basis.²

Elsewhere specialised terms have been adopted by this thesis in order to reflect or respect conventions of stake holders within the community. For example the term “Guizing” is used as this represents the convention of the Old Cornwall Societies and “Mummers” is used for the Padstow Guizers as this respects their consideration for modern sensitivities. The term singing session is reasonably self explanatory and used here for consistency but is sometimes referred to as a “shout” or a “pub session”.

Use of the term “Troyl”, however, represents the reflective nature and developing agenda of this thesis. “Troyl” is used here to denote dance in a social context rather than that of ritual or folk custom. It has a substantial provenance in Cornwall³ and the gloss used by Borlase of “whirls spirals and reels”⁴ is a good description of the physical activity that takes place during social dance. In current practice amongst Cornish groups it is often used interchangeably, if not necessarily accurately, with terms like “Ceilidh”, “Barn Dance”, “Nos Lowen and “Noswyth Lowen” (see app 3: Glossary of Terms). An interesting outcome of its use interchangeably with the term “ceili” is that this has impacted reflexively to change its meaning in contemporary use to extend beyond dance. The term “ceili” has its origins in the Gaelic word for an informal social gathering rather than any specific connection with dance⁵ and the term troyl is now sometimes used in the same way.⁶ On the one hand this is an example of change within the process of oral tradition, but on the other this is understating a phenomena that has a distinctive origin in Cornwall. In the latter part of the nineteenth century the term troyl was an established term used to describe social dance events in Cornwall whereas the term Ceili was first used in relation to dance at a London Gaelic Society event in Bloomsbury Square in October 1897 but was not used extensively for dance events until the 1930s.⁷ In the term troyl Cornwall may thus have one of the oldest terms for community dancing within the Celtic movement.

This chapter will show that whilst there is a good case for considering these as “first existence” traditions located in their original settings material is influenced by, or drawn from, “second existence” locations. For example a song written or arranged reflectively for a “second existence” staged or concert performance that becomes drawn into the singing session repertoire through the selective process of oral folk tradition. Another example would be a new social dance, composed to reflect the traditions of dance in Cornwall which is entered for the Cornish Dance Society competitions and subsequently becomes popular dance at Troyls. In doing this the process by which folk phenomena become associated with Cornwall and Cornish identity will also be explored.

Troyls: folk dance in a social dance context

At first, dances from oral folk tradition taking place in a purely social context seem more difficult to define clearly in terms of Hoerburger’s model of a first and second existence in folk dance.⁸ It is argued here that it does meet his criteria for first existence folk dance as it takes place unselfconsciously in an original cultural location that has continuity with the past. The cultural location is that of social interaction, i.e. “party time”, and folk dance in this context lies within the community repertoire of activities employed for “party time”. Other activities in that repertoire will depend upon the culture and social location of those involved. Examples in the twenty first century might range from a disco to ballroom dancing, from a cocktail party to a barbeque or from informal community singing to organised entertainment with a programme of popular music favourites.

The very fact that folk dance is used alongside or provides an alternative to activities that are not normally seen as part of oral folk tradition offers the opportunity, and arguably the inevitability, of cross fertilisation. This strengthens the case for social / folk dance as an original location bearing in mind the Ruyter⁹ and Nahachewsky¹⁰ proposal that folk phenomena in the first existence will be open to a wide range of influences. The point here is that choice of activity is governed by what it is felt people would like to do rather than any sense of the “correct” or “authentic”. People might of course choose to do something that celebrates Cornish identity but this is not the primary aim or purpose of the event, if it were, then within this model, it would be a “second existence” folk dance.

An invisible tradition

Folk dances in this setting are essentially private affairs and the information available depends much more on oral testimony and the kind of recording undertaken by the old Cornwall Societies. Recalling a Troyl held in the fish cellars of Newquay in 1885, Edward Veale explained that “there was dancing and general merriment in the long room [of the Unity Fish Cellars] it was very amusing for me a boy of five watching them dancing the lancers and many old dances including the *Lattapouch*.”¹¹ Whilst one would not expect the experiences of a five year old to be recalled with absolute accuracy some sixty years after the event this date is consistent with the “Lancers”, originally danced as part of a Quadrille in country houses, becoming more widely popular.¹² The important point here is that we have the “new Lancers” being danced alongside of the “old dances” and *Lattapouch*, which is known to have been part of oral folk tradition¹³. Similarly, Shapcot’s account of the “May Frolics” in early twentieth century Looe describes dances embedded in oral folk tradition like the *Triumph* and *Cushion Dance* used alongside the contemporary *Quicksteps*.¹⁴

The inclusion of the *Lattapouch*¹⁵ in an evening of social dance is also interesting for although this is essentially a display dance to show off clever footwork, it is being performed here in an informal social context rather than as a stage or competition performance. It is a “party piece”. Scoot dancing is named after the metal plate used on the toe and heel of working shoes to prolong their life.¹⁶ These shoes can be used to provide a percussive accompaniment to a melody line. Bottrell’s description of dancing at a wedding party in the 1820s provides a similar image to that of Edward Veale’s Troyl in the Newquay fish cellars:

Presently the fiddler struck up with a jig. "Les have the double shuffle, Uncle Will," said the young people. Up he jumped as lively as a kid, though he was near eighty, and footed it out to the delight of all. Young Jan of Santust (St Just) followed, making the fire fly from the heels of his boots, like flashes of lightning; and all the company were quickly whirling, in reels, without much order.¹⁷

Further references from Old Cornwall Society recorders,¹⁸ together with more recent oral testimony¹⁹, show continuity of this tradition up to the nineteen forties.

A survey of activity undertaken by Cornish dance display groups and associated musicians covering the period September 2007 to August 2008 showed that 32 bookings for social dance events had been accepted during this time period by respondents (appendix 4.11). The survey was comprehensive in terms of dance display groups but did not include bands without associated dancers. It is likely that this figure would be much higher had these bands been included in the survey.²⁰ To place this in context of the folk dance phenomena tied to the calendar, this would average out to three to four social dance events in any month making use of dances from oral folk tradition in Cornwall. These events are typically private functions so they remain largely invisible. Unfortunately, folk dance band activity for private functions is equally invisible for groups who do not specialise in Cornish dance so it is not possible to make comparisons that show the relative popularity of Cornish bands for this type of event. What the Cornish Dance society survey did show, however was that the audience / dancers at these events totalled nearly 3,000 people during the period in question.

Marking Time

Whilst not tied to the calendar in the way that other oral folk dance traditions are, there is sense in which many of the social dance events for which these groups are booked mark time. The reasons for holding Troys / barn dances vary from celebrating weddings, birthdays, and retirement to fund raising social activities for organisations such as parent teacher associations. The social dances held to celebrate milestones in an individual's life clearly define an event marking the passage of time, weddings being the prime example of this. Weddings are a significant source of private bookings for most of the Cornish folk dance bands,²¹ which is interesting as these are events lying largely out of the domain of either the Folk Revival or the Celto-Cornish Movement and an example of active choice by the organisers.

Weddings are rich in information for the anthropologist and frequently used as medium for exploring wider issues and changes in society.²² It is argued here that they are a location for folk dance in an original existence and, very literally, lie within the repertoire of social activities available to the families organising the event. Feedback from people who book groups suggests is the accessibility and suitability for a wide age range that makes a Troyl attractive for weddings. At the same time, however, "rustic barn dances" do figure from time to time as a suitable activity in wedding magazines²³ and there is also a commercial element in that groups will advertise themselves as available for weddings and make use of wedding fairs for promotion. This discussion

goes beyond the brief of this thesis except to make the point that wedding Troyls are a contemporary location for tradition but it may be that we are witnessing here the transformation of marriage rituals from homemade and community-based customs to a more consumerist model.²⁴ The popularity of Cornish tartan and Kilts for weddings in Cornwall²⁵ also deserves some comment here. This is clearly an articulation of identity and what is perhaps significant is the connection between Cornishness and glamour which may be at odds with stereotypical images of rurality.

Expressing Cornishness

What is interesting is that these groups advertise as Cornish or Cornish and Celtic and there are alternative folk dance bands presenting as English or American or without any particular regional specialism.²⁶ When the Cornish groups are booked then, a Cornish identity for the event is either being deliberately chosen or at least recognised and people are actively selecting aspects of tradition that interest them. They are thus open to being influenced by a more reflective “second existence” of traditional dance in Cornwall where performers and practitioners are actively researching or creating material that is felt to represent Cornish identity and tradition.

The kitsch badges of Cornish identity²⁷ seen in the Guize dancing traditions are replaced here by badges of language or representations of Cornwall’s historical profile. Of the 31 Cornish dance groups and dance bands who performed at the Lowender Peran Festival between 1978 and 2008 Folk dance bands specialising in Cornish dance, 21 used Cornish names for the group and 8 used names associated with Cornish Dialect.²⁸ A snapshot of two social dance events provided by different bands in 2009 provides a list totalling 27 dances (with some duplication) and of these 18 were introduced as specifically Cornish with an explanation of their historical context.²⁹ In both cases the group leaders had discussed the programme with event organisers and established that this was the kind of programme they were looking for.

Locating the singers and songs

Porter’s model for a folk song analysis emphasises the importance of understanding the text of the song in relation to the significance attached to it, by both the performer and the observer. He suggests that to understand the phenomena the focus must be “..... not only on the events recounted in the song, the songs function and meaning or even the singers estimation of it, but also, just as critically, on the observers view of the song its genesis, and his or her epistemological and existential

relationship to it.”³⁰ Here the text is understood and examined not only for its meaning within the narrative or lyrics but also in terms of the style and mood of the music. The way in which this is perceived, and presented by the performer adds a further dimension to the text and music but the entire meaning can only be captured by understanding how each individual in the audience is influenced by their own understanding, experiences and mindset. The importance attached to the performance and audience makes this a good model for examining oral folk song tradition in a “first existence” location.

Another issue for analysis is the convention of separating “traditional” folk songs from “contemporary” folk songs. This arose out of the desire to separate out the product of oral tradition within a community from the product of an individual within a genre of popular music seen as a folk revival. The problem here is the tendency to associate “tradition” with antiquity thus denying change and the new as an essential element of the process of oral folk tradition. Winick shows how the re-release of 1960s albums in CD format by Topic Records re-invigorated the traditional folk song culture by making large amounts of material readily available and inexpensive³¹. He quotes Goldstein to show how wider changes in communication technology have a history of impact upon the process of oral tradition:

Each major technological advance in mass communication media helped to produce a folksong revival: in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, the introduction of moveable type and metal engravings resulted in a revival to which the printing of broadsides, chap- books and songsters contributed greatly. Offset and gravure printing, invented a couple of centuries later, contributed to another folksong revival; the invention of the sound recording machine, and later of the disc phonograph record, each produced major folk song revivals; the widespread use of radios produced still another revival and reinforced and continued the impetus of the phonographically inspired revival. Nor is the end in sight with the introduction of the tape recorder and long-playing records in the 1950s and 1960s.³²

In this model, a “folk Song” is not an historical artefact at risk of being lost in a sea of social change but rather that the impact of this change on songs and singing traditions is part of the very nature of oral tradition. Writing in 1982, Goldstein also showed considerable prescience with respect to the burgeoning technological

advances since that date. Winnick illustrates this model by examining the song *Reynardine* and showing that whilst it is now embedded in the canon of British folk song and widely recorded and understood as having a long historical provenance, it was, in fact, largely the creation of A L (Bert) Lloyd and owes its existence to his recording and publication.³³ It is nevertheless subject to the process of oral tradition, being traditional is not an absolute state of being for the phenomena in question it is about where, how, why and when the song is being sung.

As well as examining the repertoire, the task here, then, is to examine the singers and audience within oral folk tradition historically in Cornwall and to look for modern counterparts. The argument presented here is that, despite the immense social changes and development of communication technologies since the nineteenth century, singing tradition in Cornwall remains located in a “first existence setting”. That is to say it takes place unselfconsciously in its original cultural location, the repertoire is “owned” and identified with by the audience as well as the singer, is unrestricted and open to a wide range of influences including the new communication technologies.

Cultural location and community life

The received wisdom of the early folk revivalists and collectors, not yet entirely dissipated, is that folk songs were the largely exclusive domain of the agricultural worker and latter day peasant. There is, however, little evidence to support this. Baring Gould had a tendency to portray his singers as elderly, illiterate and destitute people of a “lower order” who carried an “heirloom of the past from a class of musicians far higher in station and culture than those who now possess the treasure”³⁴. Graebe, however, demonstrated that many of his singers were no older than Baring-Gould himself and at least a third were farmers and tradesmen, socially well placed people recognised as pillars of the local community.³⁵

A case to point is that of Sam Gilbert and his family of St Mawgan, a farming family who had taken over the Falcon Inn. They hosted at least three of Baring-Gould’s forays in this part of Cornwall between 1889 and 1893 and introduced him to other singers from nearby villages including St Ervan, St Eval and St Breock. This same family entertained Charles Lee when he stayed in St Mawgan in 1903 researching for his novel *Dorinda’s Birthday* and recorded details of Tea Treat dances in his notebook. The family were certainly literate and were arguably song collectors in their own right. William Gilbert, the son of Baring-Gould’s singer, Samuel, sent Cecil Sharp four songs

that he had transcribed in 1904. He also provided Jenner with the song *Limadie* for inclusion in the Celtic Song Book of 1928.

As well as showing that people involved in oral folk song tradition were literate and informed these examples also show a cultural location for singers and their songs that focused on the Falcon Inn and its landlord and embraces the wider community. Baring-Gould does not provide an account of singing sessions at the Falcon Inn but his description of an earlier encounter with this culture, in the Oxenham Arms at Zeal, captures the moment:

That day happened to have been pay day at a mine on the edge of the moor, and the miners had come to spend their money at the tavern.

.....

..... At the table and in the high-backed settle sat the men, smoking, talking, drinking. Conspicuous among them was one man with a high forehead, partly bald, who with upturned eyes sang ballads. I learned that he was given free entertainment at the inn on condition that he sang as long as the tavern was open, for the amusement of the guests. He seemed to be inexhaustible in his store of songs and ballads; with the most readiness, whenever called on he sang and skilfully varied the character of his pieces -to grave succeeded gay, to a ballad a lyric.³⁶

The cultural location seen in Baring-Gould's collecting is also evident in the notes provided by Dunstan³⁷ and the recordings of Old Cornwall Society members such as W Arthur Pascoe.³⁸ This is the cultural location for much of Kennedy's collecting between 1950 and 1975 and the advent of inexpensive cassette recorders has resulted in a large number of personal and professional recordings of such events up to the present day.³⁹

The Saturday night singing session at the Ring of Bells, St Issey⁴⁰ is an example of just such an event and provides a case study illustrating this continuity of tradition. These sessions have in fact followed the Landlord, Chris Ivins, over many years through the ownership and tenancy of several local pubs including the Cornish Arms at St Merryn and the Ship Inn at Wadebridge. The format of the evening is entirely unstructured and depends upon who turns up. Regulars are drawn from St Issey itself and nearby villages of Padstow, St Merryn, St Columb Wadebridge and Withiel, with

some people travelling from further afield. Although most people rely on vehicular transport in 2010 and can travel more easily than in 1890, this is a catchment area similar to the Falcon Inn at St Mawgan. Typically food will be served to paying customers up to about 9pm following which there is an informal instrumental session with anything from 2 to 20 musicians. Instrumental music is interspersed with songs throughout but from about 11.30 onwards to 1am or so songs dominate. To an extent this is a natural progression because the pub is quieter by this time and Landlord Chris, who participates in and occasionally leads the singing, has largely finished work. The repertoire varies from night to night but typically includes at least one example of a narrative ballad, a comical song, a song with a strong chorus line and a come all ye song sung in improvised harmony.⁴¹

It was neither practical, nor desirable within the research paradigm of this thesis to undertake a structured survey of the socio – economic status of participants. Participant observation in the form of natural conversation with participants did identify some current and past occupations, however. The following occupations were represented: factory workers; care workers; taxi driver; IT workers; tourist and catering industry; teachers; construction workers; agriculture; and fishing. It is argued that this represents a socio-economic group that is much the equivalent of the farmers, tradesmen, agricultural workers and miners of Baring Gould's collection era.

The physical location of a pub for singing has an obvious resonance between St Mawgan and the Falcon Inn circa 1890 and St Issey and the Ring Of Bells in 2010. The point, however, is that this is a community location where people get together socially which in the current era is most conveniently provided by a public house but historically could as well be the large farm kitchens that catered for agricultural workers on an almost mass catering scale. This emphasis on community rather than licensed victualling aspects is important in that during the early part of the period covered by this thesis extensive temperance and teetotal movements in wider society impacted upon the way in which public houses were viewed and who used them. For example, in 2010 there is not an obvious imbalance in the gender profile of singers at the Ring Of Bells but in 1890 there may well have been.

Continuity, change and selection in repertoire

The data that informs this thesis does not compare like with like, what it does do is record snapshots in different times and geographic locations which are influenced by

the interest and social contacts of the collector. The data is qualitative rather than quantitative in that it does not show how popular a song in terms of how many times it was sung in what places but it does demonstrate continuity selection and social context. *Jan Knuckey* provides a case study illustrating this (appendix 2.8). Sandys knew it in 1846 as a dialect narrative of 23 verses but it is not clear that there was a tune associated with it. By 1887, it was known to Cornish migrants to South Africa and had acquired a melody and chorus. Thomas Collette (a mine captain, who had worked in South Africa) communicated a verse and chorus to Dunstan in 1932 who published it in his *Cornish Dialect and Folk Songs*. By 1972, it was part of Brenda Wootton's repertoire and continues to the present as a party piece for dialect singers such as Paul Holmes.⁴² By 1995, the melody for *Jan Knuckey* had a separate existence in its own right and was recorded as part of a set of dance tunes by Asteveryn in 2007.⁴³

Another important dimension for *Jan Knuckey* is that of selection and identity. What Sandys, the Cornish migrant workers, Dunstan and Brenda Wootton all had in common was a desire to capture and represent the Cornish imaginary. A Cornish identity is intrinsic in both the narrative and the language of the title and lyrics. The narrative concerns that of a miner who could wrestle, was part of chapel culture and played the bass viol. The story line is that he makes romantic advances to "Auntie Grace" a shop keeper but gets forcibly ejected from the shop for his efforts. Knuckey is a surname that is particular to Cornwall and Jan is a dialect rendering of John. The lyrics are rich with dialect pronunciation like "wrestle", (wrestle) and "cloaze" (clothes) with expressions like "bal" (a mine), "fooche" (to throw out) and "durns" (door posts). Other songs with a long continuity that express Cornish identity through narrative, lyrics or title in this way are *Trelawny*, *The Egloshayle Ringers* and *The Keenly Lode*.

The process of selection within oral folk tradition is difficult to analyse and predict. What is clear from the database is that material adopted into the repertoire does not particularly reflect songs that have been commercially very successful or artistically well acclaimed. This hints at a complexity model whereby a small number of chance events and drives create a seemingly random outcome. *Little Eyes / Little Lize* provides an example of this. As *Honey Honey* it was the B side to *Deep River* by the Deep River Boys.⁴⁴ The Deep River Boys were an American Gospel act who later switched to Rhythm and Blues and active from the mid 1940s to 1980 in various forms. Little Lize was adopted into the repertoire of a close harmony group called the Joy Boys from Camborne in the mid fifties and by the late sixties it had become a popular

song in singing sessions.⁴⁵ Brenda Wootton recorded it in 1971 and by 1983 it was appearing on song sheets with Cornish translations. By this stage, it was being treated as traditional and there was little awareness of its origins. It was in response to a mention by Stephen Hall on the Radio Cornwall folk programme in 1982 that a listener who had sung with the Joy Boys and recalled the song, telephoned in and explained the connection. What happened here is that the Joy Boys found the song by chance or research, adopted as part of their repertoire and introduced it to a singing session audience.

Informal singing sessions in Cornwall are often lead by people who also rehearse together more formally as a choir or organised singing group so that the singing session repertoire will be predisposed towards songs with a natural, easy harmony.⁴⁶ The combination of simple, nonsense words, repetitive chorus line and opportunities for free style harmony ensured that *Little Eyes* quickly assimilated into this repertoire. The lack of any real narrative and nonsensical words also invites the addition of further witty or bawdy verses. *Maggie May* entered the singing session repertoire through the singing of Charlie Bate and John Bolitho in much the same way and although their histories are less easily traceable, both the *Cadgewith Anthem* and the *White Rose* seem likely to have a similar pedigree.

These songs are all in English: although a number enjoy popularity in Cornish translation this is essentially “second existence” within the Hoerburger model because in this form they are a reflective reconstruction on the part of the Celto-Cornish community. This predominance of the English language, however, challenges the notion of an exclusively European melting pot of tradition. It is clear from the trajectory of songs like *Little Lize* and *Maggie May* that originate from the other side of the Atlantic that if there is a melting pot here, then it is defined by language rather than geography.

The school of ballad study instigated by Child⁴⁷ followed a folkloristic model of analysis, grouping songs together in terms of textual themes such as the *Elfin Knight*, which appeared in Cornwall as *Jenefer Gentle* (appendix 2.9). The text comprises of a list of tasks which must be accomplished in order to “win the heart of the lady / man”. A textual motif of “Lovers Tasks” along with the other themes identified by Child may well belong to a European folkloric melting pot that has spread across the English speaking Diaspora, but the interesting point is that these ballad songs have not been observed

within this singing session “first existence” location. Some ballads are sung within the singing session environment but these tend to belong to the repertoire of the individual not the community, they may be popularly requested as a solo performance piece but not engaged with by all.

It is notable that very few of the ballad songs recorded by the early folk song collectors seem to have enjoyed continuity in a “first existence” location in Cornwall. It is the lyrical songs with strong melody lines, choruses and the opportunity for harmony that have been the subject of both continuity, e.g. *the Sweet Nightingale* and *Cadgewith Anthem* and selectivity e.g. *Little Lize* and *Maggie May* within a “first existence” location in Cornwall. O'Connor suggests that this selection might be seen as part of the distinctive profile of Cornish music. He points out the similarity with the “three men’s songs” recorded as far back as 1603 in Carew’s History of Cornwall.⁴⁸ Certainly the popularity of choirs in Cornwall and the harmony singing encouraged by this culture might be seen as an external influence here within the model of a “first existence” proposed by Ruyter⁴⁹ and Nahachewsky.⁵⁰

The construction of identity

Songs selected by the process of oral tradition because they capture the expression of Cornish identity also show how the “Celto –Cornish imaginary” has evolved. *Lamorna* (appendix 2.10) for example, captures an early 1900s imagination of place in the form of West Cornwall village culture although it is probably a skilful adaption to Cornish dialect by Charles Lee of a music hall song called *Pomorna*.⁵¹ *The Old Grey Duck* as sung now has its melodic origins in the carol *The Seven Good Joys* and a dance tune called *The Forty Thieves* in John Old’s collection.⁵² The lyrics of *the Old Grey Duck* are rich in Cornish dialect and the song seems to have entered the repertoire in the late nineteen twenties. *Camborne Hill*, in contrast, makes its first appearance in the nineteen fifties and has a very clear allusion to Cornwall’s technological prowess and Trevithick’s steam engine. What is interesting is that songs that have entered into the repertoire more recently such as *Cornish Lads*⁵³, *Song For Cornwall*⁵⁴ and *The Cornish Miner*⁵⁵ have a much stronger element of cultural nationalism in the lyrics. *Song For Cornwall* has the line “Cornwall is not a county, but a country in the west”.

Porters model of analysis can be used to understand *Cornish Lads* as a folk phenomena. It was written by Roger Bryant in 1994 and was inspired by the slogan

“Now the fish and tin are gone what are us Cornish lads to do?” which alluded to the decline in traditional Cornish industries.⁵⁶ Although it has an identifiable author, it is subject to the process of oral folk tradition, transmitted largely from singer to singer and being absorbed into the repertoire of singing sessions in Cornwall in much the same way as *Little Eyes* and *Maggie May*. It captures the moment and has a depth of meaning for a specific community of singers but its popularity is not driven by commercial or aesthetic forces in the way that other popular or art music might be.

Although the narrative of the song follows the demise of the fishing and mining industries, the tune is melodic and the lyrics provide for a strong chorus line. This, together with a slightly upbeat last verse, prevents the text from being overly nostalgic:

We'll do as we have done before
Go out to roam the wild world o'er
Wherever sea or ship are found
Or there's a hole down underground⁵⁷

This story of enforced economic migration also acts as a metaphor for the experience of many Cornish families and the expectation that younger members will have to leave Cornwall to find work initially but hope to return at some stage. When sung by a largely Cornish audience during a session at the Kings Arms Luxulyan⁵⁸ it was sung as an anthem defiantly proclaiming Cornishness against adversity in much the same vein as *Trelawny*. A few weeks later at a folk club session in Penzance with an audience more strongly associated with British folk revival culture it was sung with much less gusto and presented as a nostalgic lamentation for a lost past.⁵⁹ Here the combination of lyrics and melody provided a text, which enabled to audience to engage, by proxy, with their perception of Cornwall's experience of the loss of traditional industries. It might be argued here that the example of performance in the Kings Arms was located in “First existence” according to Hoerburger's model whereas the Penzance Folk club it was “Second Existence” as there was a considered and reflective approach as to what it was appropriate to sing.

It is interesting to examine *Cornish Lads* against the features associated with the construction of identity by Jones.⁶⁰ As a recent composition, the song does not have continuity but it is arguable that the narrative of the text does invoke two centuries of industrial experience in Cornwall and mark the passage of time through change. It has

become part of a repertoire that identifies with Cornishness and for all that the composer is known, he is rarely identified in any precursor to performance which is typically spontaneous. It has been selected as part of a singing session repertoire because it constructs a symbolic past that contemporary singers can own and identify with.

Porter's model suggests another experiential and emotive dimension to folk songs in singing sessions that can be personal in meaning or shared with a given group of people. This is where a song, albeit sung as a lyrical community or chorus song is associated with an individual or for that matter a poignant event. An example of this within oral folk tradition in Cornwall is *Maggie May*. *Maggie May* is attributed to Charles Blamphin an established popular music composer in America in the mid nineteenth century.⁶¹ It was published as sheet music in Chicago in 1870 and according to Captain Collett, one of Dunstan's singers,⁶² found its way to St Mabyn that same year. John Bolitho of Bude, who sang it partly in Cornish, championed this song. Not only did he reinforce the popularity of this song in North Cornwall singing sessions,⁶³ he also introduced it to singing sessions within the Celto-Cornish movement. This also had the effect of making the song very closely associated with him. After he died his memory was invoked by this song and he became part of its meaning for a large number of people who were regular attendees of singing sessions.

Conclusion

As with Guizing and Feast day traditions discussed in the previous chapter the model of "first existence" and "second existence" locations for folk tradition proposed by Hoerburger, Ruyter and Nahachewsky does provide a useful tool in understanding the processes of continuity, selection, reflection and reflexivity in social dance and singing sessions. At the same time, it is clear that this is an analytical model for enquiry rather than an empirical description and there is considerable interplay between the two types of location for both Troyls and singing sessions.

At the end of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth there is clear evidence that popular new country dances augmented the social dance repertoire for Troyls. The arrival of the "barn dance" as a genre of social dance in the latter part of the twentieth century resulted in people specifically looking for this as a social dance activity and sometimes specifically selecting Cornish dance for this. Although less in

the public eye than Feast Days and Guizing customs, Troyls form an important part of ongoing folk dance tradition in Cornwall.

Likewise with singing sessions which have continued in almost identical locations since the days of folk song collectors such as Baring Gould albeit with a steadily evolving repertoire. The way in which this repertoire evolves is particularly interesting. One of external influences seen to be acting reflexively upon it is that of Cornish identity which has had an increasing impact during the latter half of the twentieth century. In answer to the question “What makes someone Cornish?” Grand Bard, Mick Paynter, voiced what might be seen as the official Gorsedh party line when he suggested that an individual is Cornish by birth, ancestry or *inclination* (emphasised).⁶⁴ It can be seen from the examples given that Cornishness in folk song tradition parallels this. Songs such as *Cornish Lads* are composed (born) as Cornish, songs like *Jan Knuckey* and *Trelawny* have an ancestry in dialect or history that identifies them as Cornish. However, the songs that incline towards Cornish identity such as *Little Lize* and *Maggie May* represent a powerful element in the process of oral folk tradition. These are the songs that have a quality that causes them to be selected, as Goldstein⁶⁵ points out, from the increasingly vast repertoire of vernacular music available through an ever-widening variety of media. These songs are selected through a complex process that starts with the chance interest of an individual or group of individuals, proceeds through a lyrical and musical screening for qualities that lend to community singing with improvised harmony. What is powerful however is the way in which songs are adopted into a repertoire that is seen as Cornish regardless of their origin.

Notes

- ¹ The Cornish Dance Society is a collective of dance display groups and associated musicians who organise events and activities to promote interest in Cornish dance. See appendix 4.11 for details of survey.
- ² The author was involved in a number of these events as “participant observer” between 2005 and 2010 whilst researching on this thesis. See appendix 3.1
- ³ Merv Davey, Alison Davey et al. *Scoot Dances, Troyls, Furrys and Tea Treats: The Cornish Dance Tradition*. (London: Francis Boutle & Co, 2009) p45.
- ⁴ William Borlase, *Antiquities, Historical and Monumental of Cornwall*, (Oxford, W. Jackson, 1758), p. 459: “Traillia to turn, traillia an ber to turn the spit. Treyl id” , “Troill a turning reel; Ar. A term in Hunting”.
- ⁵ John P Cullaine, *Encyclopaedia of Ireland*, (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 2003), p. 176.
- ⁶ For example: *Troyl-The Concert at Mars Hill*, Jim Wearne, Marion Howard et al, (Jim Wearne Records, CD, 2005), this is a recording of a concert at the “13th Gathering of Cornish Cousins in North America”.
- ⁷ John P Cullaine, *Encyclopaedia of Ireland*.
- ⁸ Felix Hoerbinger, "Once Again: On the Concept of Folk Dance", *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* (1968: 30-1).
- ⁹ Nancy Lee Chalfa Ruyter, “Some musings on folk dance”, *Dance Chronicle*, Vol. 18, No. 2, (1995), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1567880>, accessed 19th September 2008
- ¹⁰ Andriy Nahachewsky, Once Again: On the Concept of "Second Existence Folk Dance", *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, Vol. 33. (2001), pp. 17-28.
- ¹¹ Edward Veale, *The Notebook Of Edward Veale* (Bodmin, The An Daras Folk Arts Project, 2008). The notebook is in the possession of the author. It was published together with supporting newspaper reports and photographs as a short run publication as a project in partnership with An Daras. A copy is lodged with Newquay Old Cornwall Society Museum, Councils Offices, Marcus Hill Newquay.
- ¹² "Lancers." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2010, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/329055/lancers>, accessed 08 Jul. 2010
- ¹³ Merv Davey, Alison Davey. Jowdy Davey, *Scoot Dances, Troyls, Furrys and Tea Treats: The Cornish Dance Tradition*. (London: Francis Boutle & Co, 2009), p. 102.
- ¹⁴ E.S. Shapcote, “Some Looe Customs”, *Old Cornwall*, Vol. 1, (1930), no. 11, p. 24. This was a paper presented to the Looe Old Cornwall Society and in the discussion that followed it transpired that the Triumph was still danced at Morval and all the dances mentioned were familiar in the district up until 25 years previously.

¹⁵ Lattapouch is a “scoot dance” i.e. a step dance done with shoes reinforced with metal plates called “scoots” see appendix 1.8.

¹⁶ Fred W. Jago, *The Ancient Language and the Dialect of Cornwall*, (Truro, Netherton and Worth, 1882) calls this a scute.

¹⁷ William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*, Second Series. (Penzance, Deare and Son 1873), p. 238.

¹⁸ Redruth, Cornwall Centre Local Studies Library, North Hill Old Cornwall Society Recorders notes 1930 to 1935

March 2nd 1933

“There be dancing of all zorts gain on. Heard told how one girl who was dancing, had the misfortune to dance on a rotten part of the barn floor and it gived way. One leg went through and she found herself standing on the back of a cow that was standing beneath.”

May 5th 1931

When the supper is over the guests will adjourn to another room and then there is singing of the old songs and then there are games and forfeits. If there is any room available all the better. I must not forget to mention the “dance over the broomstick” this is most interesting, especially if someone is present with a concertina. The dance is, I think, to the tune of “So Early In The Morning”. It is fine when you hear the heavy boots beating a tattoo on the stone floor as the dancers lift one leg over another to pass the broomstick from hand to hand as if they were weaving. What a wonderful time too. As the dance proceeds the musician plays faster and the dancers have to dance faster. It is a marvel how these men, some big, well built, can jump some nimbly as they do for this dance. The party goes on until well after midnight.

¹⁹ Merv Davey et al, *Scoot Dances, Troyls, Furrys and Tea Treats*, pp. 45 – 49.

²⁰ Participant Observation: For example, the author was a member of a dance band without an associated display team called Bagas Porthia who accepted 5 social dance bookings during this period.

²¹ The author performed regularly with two contrasting folk dance bands between 2005 and 2010.

²² Online journals provide a number of examples of weddings as a vehicle for anthropological enquiry, e.g.: Emily Allen, “Culinary Exhibition: Victorian Wedding Cakes and Royal Spectacle.” *Victorian Studies*: Indiana University Press, 2003, pp.

457-84. Vol. 45. The changing rituals associated with wedding cakes are used to explore Victorian social history: and Medora Barnes, "White Weddings and Modern Marriage in a Postmodern Family Context." *Conference Papers -- American Sociological Association* (2008). p. 1. Contemporary wedding rituals are used to show that post-modern society continues to adapt and invent new traditions to accommodate changes in society such as same sex marriages.

²³ Participant observation, within the twelve months prior to writing the authors dance band, "North Cornwall Ceili Band" have been offered two bookings where the families have been attracted to Cornwall as a venue for a registry wedding and wished to have an evening event that was "Cornish".

²⁴ Vicki Howard, *Brides, Inc.: American Weddings and the Business of Tradition*. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), p. 306. Discusses how weddings in America have moved from being essentially homespun rituals to commercial "must have" consumerism.

²⁵ Cornish Tartan Companies such as Cornovi Creations and Gwethnoc Tartans target their Hire services at Weddings and the demand for this is witnessed by regular photos in the wedding pages of local papers depicting couples making use of dress tartans.

²⁶ *Folk News Kernow*, ed. Christopher Ridley, Trenilocs, St Columb. Quarterly broadsheet includes advertising space for folk dance bands in Cornwall and provides an example of the range of styles available.

²⁷ Jonathon Howlett, "Putting the Kitsch Into Kernow", Philip Payton ed. *Cornish Studies Twelve*, (Exeter, Exeter University Press, 2004), p. 44.

²⁸ Merv Davey, et al *Scoot Dances, Troyls, Furrys and Tea Treats*, p. 55.

²⁹ Participant observation: Bagas Porthia at Penzance and North Cornwall Ceili Band at Port Isaac see appendix 4.12

³⁰ James Porter, "Convergence, Divergence, and Dialectic in Folk Song Paradigms: Critical Directions for Transatlantic Scholarship." *The Journal of American Folklore* 106.419 (1993), p. 74.

³¹ Stephen D. Winick, "Reissuing the Revival: British and Irish Music on Topic Records." *The Journal of American Folklore* 110.437 (1997), pp. 324 – 41.

³² Stephen D. Winick "Reissuing the Revival: British and Irish Music on Topic Records", citing: Kenneth Goldstein, "The Impact of Recording Technology on the British Folksong Revival" in *Folk Music and Modern Sound*, ed. William Ferris and Mary L. Hart, pp. 3-14. (Jackson, University Press of Mississippi, 1982).

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- ³³ Stephen Winick, "A. L. Lloyd and Reynardine: Authenticity and Authorship in the Afterlife of a British Broadside Ballad." *Folklore* 115.3 (2004), pp. 286-308.
- ³⁴ Sabine Baring-Gould, and H. Fleetwood Shepherd. *Songs and Ballads of the West: A Collection Made from the Mouths of the People* (London: Methuen & Co, 1891). p. ix.
- ³⁵ Martin Graebe, "Baring Gould and his Singing men" in *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*. eds. Ian Russel and David Atkinson, (Aberdeen, The Elphinstone Institute, 2004), pp.175 -185.
- ³⁶ Sabine Baring-Gould, "Among the Western Song Men", 1892, *English Illustrated Magazine*. 102 (1892): ProQuest LLC. <Stable URL <http://pao.chadwyck.co.uk/PDF/1275765058213.pdf>.> Accessed 5th June 2010.
- ³⁷ Ralph Dunstan, *The Cornish Song Book, Lyver Canow Kernewek*. (London: Reid Bros Ltd, 1929), Ralph Dunstan, *Cornish Dialect and Folk Songs*, (Truro, Jordan's Bookshop, 1932).
- ³⁸ W. Arthur Pascoe, "Cornish Girls", and "Drinking Song", in *Canow Kernow : Songs and Dances from Cornwall*, ed. Inglis Gundry (St. Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1966), p. 49: also W. Arthur Pascoe, "Warleggan Ploughboy" *Old Cornwall*, Vol. 1, (1928), no. 8, p. 37.
- ³⁹ For example: *The Cobwebs 1980*, various singers, private recording by John Bolitho, (copy held: Truro, Royal Institution of Cornwall Library, Federation of Old Cornwall Society Folk Song Recorders Archive): *Pass Around The Grog*, Tommy Morissey and Charlie Pitman, Veteran Tapes, 1992, VT122, recorded at the Ship Inn in Wadebridge and the London Inn at Padstow: *Ring o' Bells May 2007*, various singers, private recording, Romfolk 20070502-1-4.
- ⁴⁰ Participant observation 2007 to 2010.
- ⁴¹ *Canow Tavern: Cornish Pub Songs* , Ed Merv Davey, (Bodmin, The An Daras Cornish Folk Arts Project, 2008). Participatory action research project. Regular singers in sessions at the Ring of Bells, St Issey and the Western Inn, Launceston were invited to contribute to a collection of Cornish Pub Songs.
- ⁴² Paul Holmes, conversation with author, 15th October 2007, at Lowender Peran Festival, Perranporth.
- ⁴³ Francis Bennet, et al Editors. *Racca : Cornish Tunes for Cornish Sessions*. (Calstock, Published by RACCA, 1995).
- ⁴⁴ Deep River Boys, "Deep River", HMV POP 263 -78rpm (1950s), Deep River Boys "London Harmony", CD Format (2004), re-mastered from original tracks recorded between 1950 -1955.

- ⁴⁵ Merv Davey, "Hengan" (Redruth, Dyllansow Truran, 1983), p. 12.
- ⁴⁶ Examples of this are the Cape Cornwall Singers and the Perraners both of whom rehearse as community choirs but regularly take part in informal singing sessions. Observed for the purposes of this study at singing sessions at both the Lowender Peran Festival and at the Kings Arms, Luxulyan.
- ⁴⁷ Francis James Child, *English and Scottish Ballads*. (Boston; Cincinnati: Little, Brown and Co. ; Moore Wilstach, Keys and Co., 1857, 1882 and 1885).
- ⁴⁸ Mike O'Connor, Interview with author, 29th January 2006.
- ⁴⁹ Nancy Lee Chalfa Ruyter, "Some musings on folk dance".
- ⁵⁰ Andriy Nahachewsky , Once Again: On the Concept of "Second Existence Folk Dance".
- ⁵¹ Mike O'Connor, correspondence with author 12/09/08: it is possible that Lamorna was written or adapted by Charles Lee, he was an associate of various members of the Newlyn Art School in the late 19th Century one of whom from Manchester may have communicated the Music Hall Song "Down to Pomorna" Bodleian Library Ballads Catalogue: Harding B 11(65).
- ⁵² Mike O'Connor, "Forty Thieves" , *No Song No Supper: The Music of John Old Dancing Master of Par*. (Wadebridge: Lyngham House, 2002).
- ⁵³ Roger Bryant, "Cornish Lads", Cornwall Songwriters, CD - Cry of Tin", CD (St Ervan, Lyngham House Music, 2000), LYNG212CD.
- ⁵⁴ Harry (Safari) Glasson, "Song For Cornwall" Cape Cornwall Singers, *Our Beautiful Land* CD, (1998).
- ⁵⁵ Mike O'Connor, "Cornish Miner", Cornwall Songwriters, CD-"Cornish Lads" (St Ervan, Lyngham House Music, 2009).
- ⁵⁶ This slogan appeared on a wall near South Crofty mine at Pool, in the period leading up to its closure.
- ⁵⁷ Rober Bryant, "Cornish Lads"
- ⁵⁸ Participant observation Rescorla festival session 12th June 2010, : Kings Arms Luxulyan,
- ⁵⁹ Participant observation: Wednesday Folk Club Session, 23rd June 2010, Admiral Benbow, Penzance.
- ⁶⁰ Michael Owen Jones, "The Meaning of Tradition".
- ⁶¹ Charles Blamphin, *Little Maggie May*, (Chicago: -Root & Cady, 1870) published online by Music Division, Library of Congress, stable URL: <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collid=mussm&fileName=sm/sm1870/03300/03380/mussm03380.db&rec>

[Num=4&itemLink=h?ammem/mussm:@field\(NUMBER+@band\(sm1870+03380\)\)&linkText=0](#), accessed 10th November 2010.

⁶² Ralph Dunstan, *Cornish Dialect and Folk Song*, Ralph Dunstan, *Cornish Dialect and Folk Songs*, (Truro, Jordan's Bookshop, 1932), p.43.

⁶³ Royal Institution of Cornwall, Memorial Library, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies folk song archive, John Bolitho Audio Archives.

⁶⁴ Participant Observation: Mick Paynter, response to question from Chair of Cornwall Council during a speech given at reception for members and staff who were bards of the Cornish Gorsedh, 14th April 2010.

⁶⁵ Cited by Stephen D. Winick "Reissuing the Revival".

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Chapter 9: Reflective practice and oral folk tradition: quarrying the Celtic Imaginary?

Chapters 7 and 8 identify physical and social locations where folk traditions are popularly accepted as having taken place since time immemorial, sometimes with continuity and sometimes with interruptions and revivals. Chapter 9 moves on to consider locations where the performance of a tradition is subject to greater reflection and perhaps more creativity. It is argued that these add to, rather than detract from, the process of folk tradition. Here, the folk process takes place in a second existence, according to Hoerburger's model where it is consciously revived, or cultivated by a given group of people.¹ The group of people considered here are the Celto-Cornish movement, who have a shared sense of the Celtic imaginary in relation to folk tradition and a discursivity, which distinguishes between the English and the Cornish.

Although the extent to which any "imaginary" is shared, must vary from individual to individual here it is taken that there will be a common element around Cornwall's oppositional identity to England. Deacon shows that by the last decade of the twentieth century this movement had "fused its Celticity with the classical industrial Cornish identity. In doing so, notions of Cornishness as incompatible with Englishness took firmer root. These now feed off an appropriately more oppositional new nativist Cornish history...".² Thus, for the Celto-Cornish movement, icons of nineteenth century Cornishness such as bal maidens, fish jowsters, gooks and tea treats (see appendix 5 : Glossary) all became part of the Celtic imaginary and symbols of Cornish distinctiveness. These symbols blended naturally with the nineteenth century music, dances and folkloric customs described by Bottrell, Courtney and Hunt et al.

Deacon suggests the past has been "... quarried since the eighteenth century in order to emphasise difference and to claim special treatment whether in terms of ecclesiastical government in the nineteenth century or political devolution in the late twentieth".³ The chapters in Section two examined the evolution of a canon of folk phenomena that was perceived or adopted as distinctly Cornish. This chapter will argue that whilst this was in a sense "quarrying" folk tradition to provide both a medium and a material for the expression of a modern Cornish identity, this is a two way process in that folk tradition is itself fuelled by evolving perceptions of identity. This two way relationship may well be evident in the reflexivity observed in first existence folk tradition⁴ but it is in the reflectivity of second existence that the oppositional and more nativist expression of Cornish identity described by Deacon becomes most apparent.

Dorson⁵ introduced the notion that some folk traditions are “fakelore” and driven by commercial interests rather than historical provenance. Harker pursued this further from a Marxist perspective to argue that the concept of a “British folk song tradition” was manufactured in order to sustain a political ideology around class.⁶ Hobsbawm and Ranger took a similar position in suggesting that the “Invention of tradition” was a device to legitimise hegemony.⁷ These critiques are shown to be over simplistic by commentators such as Boyse⁸ and Bearman⁹ but there nevertheless remains a notion that all traditions are invented.

In examining folk tradition in a second existence, Chapter nine will show that this notion relies on a static model of tradition that does not take into account its dynamic properties as a process. In the first place, it may be that all traditions are “created” in that they have a point of origin, but, particularly for folk tradition, this point of origin may itself be informed by earlier folk phenomena. Furthermore, as a psychosocial phenomenon, folk tradition shares with memory and identity the property of change, of being an active process rather than a static artefact. Because of this interaction, not only will material outcomes change but also so will the meanings and significance attributed to traditional folk phenomena.

Schwartz shows that sites of memory are not necessarily geographical:

“Sacred sites are *lieux de memoire*, but so are the flag and anthem, monument and shrine, sanctuary and ruin, statue and bust, portrait and history painting, coin and medallion, holiday and ritual. Literature, film, and popular visual imagery in such popular media as postcards, cartoons, and posters, these, too, are important *lieux de memoire*”.¹⁰

In this sense festivals like Lowender Peran, Aberfest¹¹ and the Penseythen Kernewek¹², are also sites of memory as are events arranged up by organisations such as the Celtic Congress, Cornish Gorsedh and Old Cornwall Societies. Schwartz explains that these sites are experiences of memory as an active process and that the meanings associated with them change and evolve with time¹³.

Assman describes these experiences of memory as concretions of identity:

“in the context of objectivized culture and of organized or ceremonial communication, a close connection to groups and their identity exists which is similar to that found in the case of everyday memory. We can refer to the structure of knowledge in this case as the "concretion of identity." With this we mean that a group bases its consciousness of unity and specificity upon this knowledge and derives formative and normative impulses from it, which allows the group to reproduce its identity”¹⁴.

The tasks of this chapter are thus to clarify the distinction between first and second existence folk tradition, to identify the people involved and to explore the interaction between the Celto-Cornish movement, identity and the folk process. This chapter draws on evidence and examples provided by participatory action research methods and project work undertaken in partnership with the Cornish Dance Society, the Lowender Peran Festival and the An Daras Cornish Folk Arts Project.

How does the second existence of folk tradition differ from the first?

Hoerburger¹⁵ introduced the concept of folk dance existing in a first (original) and second (revived) existence and Nahachewsky¹⁶ developed this to recognise, and contrast, the impact of reflexivity and reflectivity within these two existences. This model is taken a stage further in this study. It is used to embrace a wider spectrum of folk phenomena that includes all music, dance and associated customs. The Hoerburger / Nahachewsky based model is useful in that it focuses enquiry on process, influences and change rather than a descriptive analysis that assigns phenomena to a subjective taxonomy.

At first it seems very arbitrary to describe the St Agnes Bolster day which was introduced in 1994 as a folk tradition in its original setting and yet discuss the Lowender Peran festival, first held in 1978 and much more established, as a new or revived location. According to Hoerburger’s model, however, the contextual location of the St Agnes Bolster Day is the same as much older customs. It is a community event, which takes place in the same social setting as more established Guize dance customs and draws upon local tradition i.e. the legend of Giant Bolster. The accompanying musicians are arguably a revival of the nineteenth century shallal band (see Appendix 5: Glossary) but the musical arrangement is reflexive in that it borrows from the style of the Samba band which is currently a popular form of community music group.¹⁷ Lowender Peran, on the other hand, is a self-conscious statement of Celticity and

carefully reflects on what it should be representing as Cornish and Celtic in folk tradition.

Lowender Peran owes its origin to the Pan Celtic movement and the increasing expression of this movement through festival culture in the 1970s. In its formative years, it enjoyed the patronage and support of Polig Montjarret, Vice president of the Festival Interceltique and Con O'Connail, Chief Executive of the Irish Feile Pan Cheilteach. This is important as it marks a very clear association with, and recognition by, a wider Pan-Celtic movement. Celto-Cornish discursivity is implicit in the published aims of the festival: "to encourage recognition of Cornwall's heritage and Celtic links as a vibrant, living tradition that people of all ages and backgrounds can participate in and enjoy".¹⁸ This festival voices a speech community, which recognises a distinctive Cornish and Celtic heritage.

There is a parallel here with Deacon's discussion of nested and oppositional identities of Cornishness.¹⁹ Where history and identity are interpreted in such a way as to be distinctively Cornish but part of a wider British / English²⁰ whole it is a nested identity, whereas an oppositional identity is an interpretation where the two are mutually exclusive. The evolving custom at St Agnes carries a clear message of Cornishness in its association with legend but does not engage in an overt oppositional Cornish / English discursivity. Participants and observers would be aware of the essential Cornish nature of the custom but if they perceived the event as nested within wider English folk tradition there is little about the event that would challenge this. Lowender Peran is, however, quite ostentatious in its oppositional stance with performers framed as representing each of the six Celtic nations, including Cornwall alongside of Wales, Scotland, the Isle of Man, Ireland and Brittany. Here, the festival is acting reflectively by interpreting Cornish tradition and history within the discursive framework of the Celto-Cornish movement.

This oppositional stance is illustrated by the conditions laid down for stallholders taking part in the "Celtic Market" that takes place during the festival:

"Lowender Peran has a policy of displaying goods made in Cornwall, and would prefer goods labelled "Made in Cornwall" or "Made in Great Britain" as we feel Cornwall is a Celtic part of Great Britain and not of South West England. We ask all stall holders to look carefully at labelling."²¹

This may allow for a “nested in Britain” identity but expressly excludes an English identity for Cornwall. An interesting paradox arose during the 2007 festival, which invites closer examination of this oppositional stance. Although the festival is strictly apolitical, political organisations that also have a clear cultural remit in relation to Cornish culture and identity are invited to take part in the festival by having stalls with information and merchandising in the Celtic Market. Mebyon Kernow²² is a political organisation with just such a cultural remit but found its stall under criticism from festival directors for merchandising goods labelled “made in China”. The goods in question were tokens of Cornish identity such as St Piran’s flags and Cornish nationality stickers for cars so were ostentatious in their expression of Cornish identity. What happened here is that the festival was placing an emphasis on Cornish culture by being “Made in Cornwall”²³ whereas Mebyon Kernow was merchandising goods that would give a strong message of Cornish identity as well as being a useful form of fundraising. In order to do this high profit margins were important thus the purchase from large international organisations who offered competitive rates. This shows that even between two organisations that share membership of the Celto-Cornish speech community, outcomes from the discursivity of that community can be contradictory.

Who are the people involved in second existence Cornish folk tradition?

Given that the borders between first and second existence folk tradition are grey, one of the markers is that performers within the second existence are likely to have made a much clearer decision about selecting and interpreting the material they are going to perform than performers in the first existence. To clarify this with an example, the singers in an informal session (i.e. a first existence setting) will be spontaneous in their selection of material whereas a group of singers that rehearse in a structured way (second existence setting) will select according to the musical style and identity they wish to project. Pete Berryman’s description of the evolving repertoire of the bands that he worked with provides an illustration: “Blue Ticket’s repertoire was mostly our own compositions but when we formed West we wanted to incorporate more of a Cornish identity into what we did and as well as composed material we used some traditional items.”²⁴ The performers who signify their identification with the Celto-Cornish speech community by their choice of material, group name and how they present themselves provide the location for Cornish folk tradition in its second existence.

It is not possible to quantify in absolute terms the number of groups in Cornwall with a repertoire informed by the desire to express Cornish identity nor is it possible to analyse their material in terms of oral folk tradition, commercial or art music. A group may form and rehearse for a single event and then disband. It is however possible to gain a snapshot of performers who are sufficiently sustained and organised to market albums of their material. Kesson is a specialist web site selling CDs by Cornish musicians and in September 2010 they advertised a total of 85 albums representing the work of 60 groups.²⁵ The charts below provide an analysis of the performers in terms of age, gender, group name and album content.

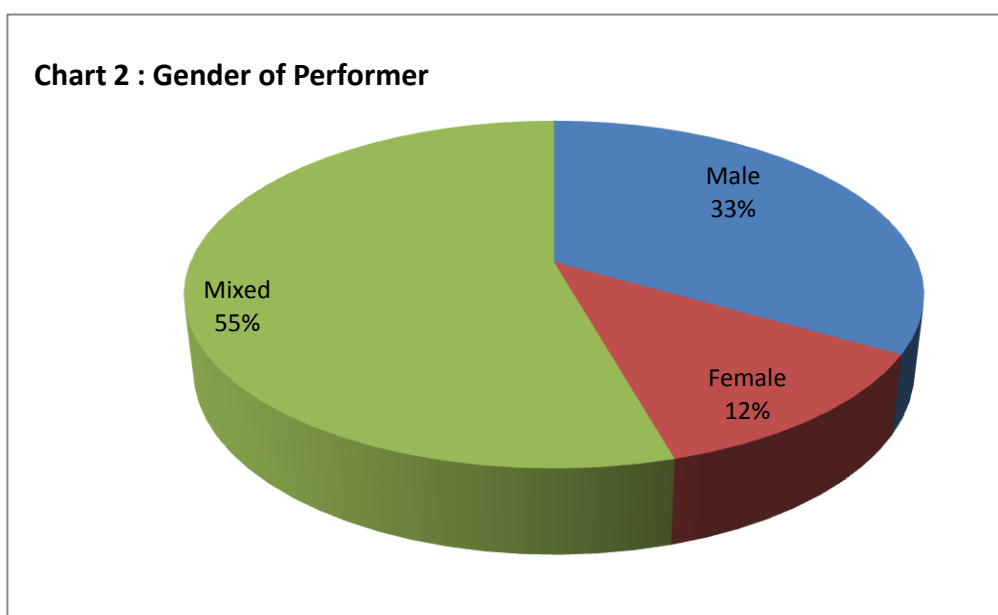
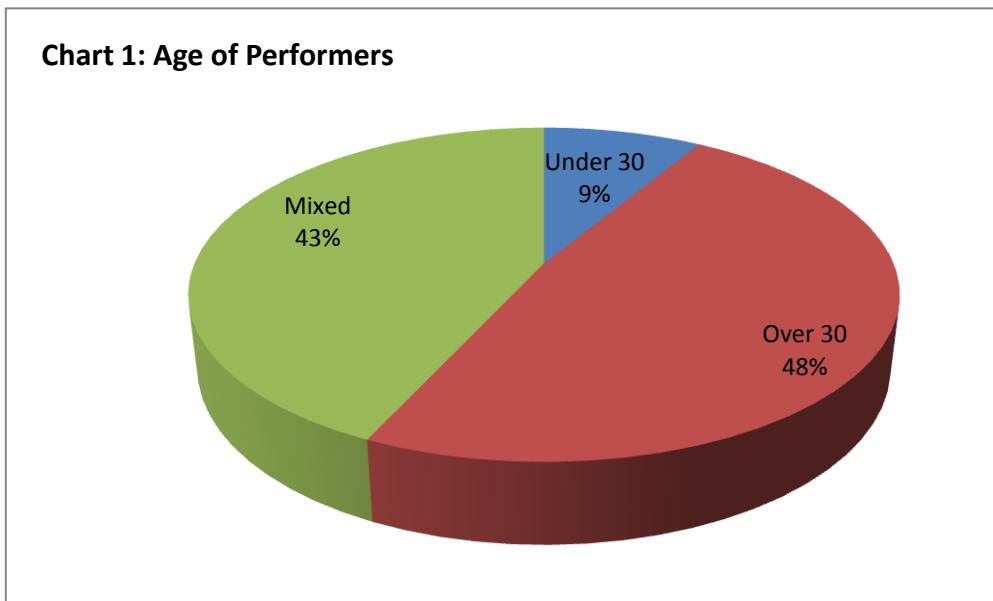


Chart 3: Performer Name

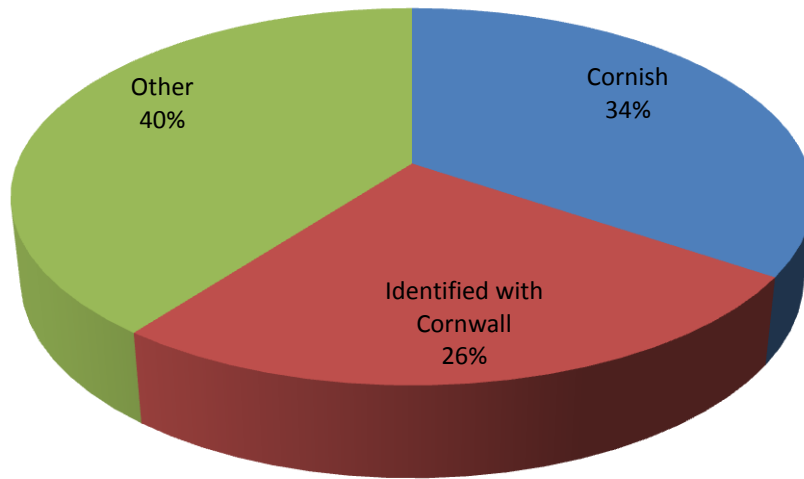
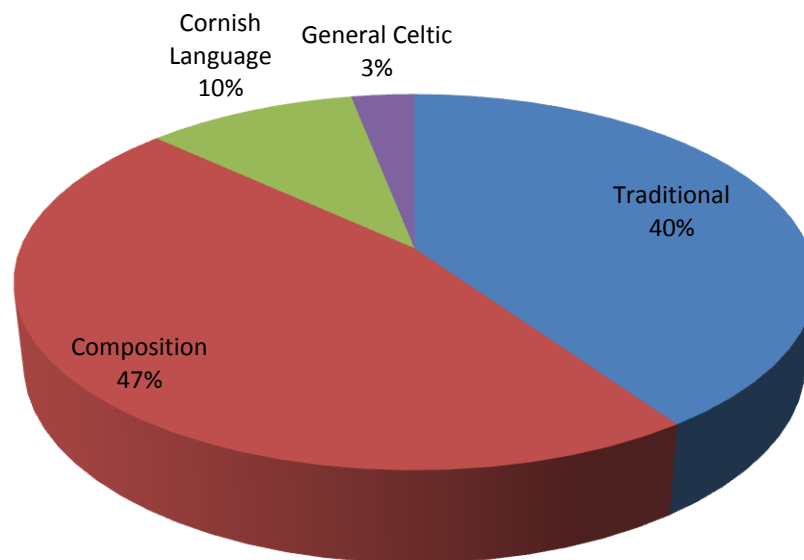


Chart 4: Album Content



The proportion of under / over thirty year olds approximately matches the population profile in Cornwall of 1:4²⁶ but taking into account the number of groups with mixed ages it could be argued that the number is higher. The significance here is that there is no indication that there are a disproportionate number of older or younger people involved in this activity. The male / female ratio of approximately 3:1 does not reflect the profile in Cornwall although if the Male Voice Choirs are removed from the calculation, the ratio is nearer 2:1. The majority of performance groups are mixed, however, which does temper this figure. Figures regarding the gender ratios of performers within the broad folk music genre are not readily available but the anecdotal evidence provided by examining folk event billing would suggest that male artists are often in the majority.

Exposure to the Cornish language is limited in the mass media and any engagement with the language will be an active rather than passive process. It is therefore argued here that performers using the language for album titles or band names are actively identifying themselves with a Celto-Cornish speech community. Where names and titles are in English, significance of identity depends upon the narratives of performance but two of these performers made clear during interviews that they saw themselves and their music as part of the Cornish music revival.²⁷ The chart shows that well over half the performers used names identifying themselves as Cornish.

The content of the albums showed a slight bias towards composition but it is also clear from this chart that music from oral tradition plays a significant part of the repertoire of these performers. What does seem significant is the contrast in the number of groups using Cornish names in relation to the relatively small amount of material sung in the Cornish language. Whilst this is in part a reflection of the amount of instrumental music on the albums, it is significant in that it shows that performers are using the Cornish language as a badge without it necessarily being incorporated into their repertoire.

Whilst the Kesson catalogue provides a snapshot of performance around songs and instrumental music, Lowender Peran provides a slightly wider view with the list of performers taking part in the festival between 1978 and 2008 published in the anniversary programme that includes theatre, dance and storytelling. A complete list of performers is provided in appendix 4.13, a summary is provided below:

Table 2 Summary of Cornish performers at Lowender Peran 1978 - 2008

Total no of performers from Cornwall	Performer Names					Performance					
	Cornish	English / dialect name identifying as Cornish	Link To Cornish Place name	Personal Name	No Obvious Cornish connection	Instrumental	Song	Story-telling / Verbal arts	Theatre	Dance Display	Social Dance Band
123	52	12	16	25	18	48	71	13	17	16	15

All 123 performers were selected by the festival on the basis that they were able to provide a programme that reflected a distinctive Cornish culture, either in the material selected or in narrative. The analysis in the above table shows that 64 performers overtly identified with the Celto-Cornish speech community, either by using a Cornish band name (52) or dialect name (12). A further 15 performer names were linked to Cornwall by use of a place name which indicates a local association with Cornwall but provides no information about the extent to which the members identify with the Celto-Cornish movement. Likewise, no indication of a sense of identity is provided by performers' names that were personal or bore no obvious connection with Cornwall.

This table also shows what type of performance the groups were engaged in but detailed information is not readily available as to the extent to which this drew on the body of material from oral tradition identified in the database. Video footage of the Gwary Dons – Celtic Dance Spectacular²⁸ does however show that the dance display groups drew largely upon traditional material in their choreography.

Between September 2007 and August 2008 the Cornish Dance Society undertook a survey amongst its members to provide data about the numbers of people involved in Cornish dance (See appendix 4.11). The data collected includes details of displays, workshops, club nights and festivals all of which, it is argued here, are second existence folk tradition on the basis that performance is reflective and careful consideration is given to history, background and origin. Seven out of eight dance groups actively involved in the events described during this period, responded. The survey did not include adult education classes, dance clubs at schools or groups who may have formed for a particular occasion so the number of events and audience is therefore likely to be understated. It nevertheless provides an indication of the range and extent of activity taking place within the second existence of folk tradition.

Table 3: Cornish Dance Society survey: Summary of second existence events

	No of events	Audience
Displays	58	4920
Workshops	24	847
Club nights	80	

Displays were provided by the groups in a variety of settings ranging from informal street dancing to main-stage events at festivals and here the emphasis would be on those dances that provided, or could be choreographed to provide the most effective spectacle.²⁹ Groups often provide interpretation and information about the origin of dances as part of the performance, both of which emphasise the reflective nature of the performance. Workshops are less concerned with spectacle and more focussed on the intrinsic interest of the dance and might seek to provide of an overview of Cornish dance. As well as practice and rehearsal, club nights provide an opportunity to try out different and possibly newly written dances.

Audiences for a display are being entertained rather than actively engaging in a folk tradition whereas people attending a workshop are arguably participants. It is interesting within the context of first and second settings for folk tradition to contrast participation in dance workshops with participation in social dance at Troys / Ceilis etc. During the latter, the roles are essentially that of entertainer and audience. In dance workshops, however, there is a teacher / student relationship between the group and the attendees, which will include questions and reflection about the dance and how it is to be performed.

An interesting group of performers that help to illustrate the line between first and second existence of folk tradition in Cornwall are the street or processional bands. On the one hand, it can be argued that they are part of an established tradition of Shallal or Guize dance bands (See app 5 Glossary). On the other, they perform away from a specific date in the calendar and are not tied to a geographic location. Furthermore, they take a considered and reflective approach towards how they will pursue the tradition of Cornish identity and are thus operating in a second existence. Consider the following examples:

Table 4: Cornish Shallal bands and processional Guize dance groups³⁰

Band Name	Instruments	Music Repertoire	Description
Falmouth Marine Band	Mostly commercial sized treacle tins – and whistles.	Percussive	In procession they emulate a marching band. Dress involves full “regalia” of Cornish tartans. They also use a historical “marine” costume involving red jackets.
Hornets	Brass and wind instruments,	Newly written and traditional Cornish	Inspired by Dunstan’s references to Hornets. Dress is “rugby style” black yellow and gold.
Crowders	Fiddles and violas,	Newly written or traditional Cornish	Inspired by Dunstan’s references to Crowders. Dress is “rugby style” black yellow and gold.
Rubber Band	Any Instruments that turn up (thus the name “Rubber Band” group could be any size.	Newly written or traditional Cornish	Calstock Village “Folk Band”, “Carnival” Dress with some black yellow and gold.
Turkey Rhubarb Band	Variety of instruments percussion and Tuba dominate	Largely traditional Cornish	Guize dancers with masks and horses Skull
Golowan Band	Variety of instruments accordions and percussion dominate	Largely traditional	May Day “Whites” Musicians drawn from Mazey Day Procession in Penzance
PenGuizers	Bagpipes and drums	Largely Traditional Cornish	Guize Dancers with Masks and horses Skull
Ramrods	Accordions and Drums	Largely Cornish / Celtic	May Day “Whites” , Musicians drawn from Padstow Obby Oss and Padstow Mummies
Bolingey Troyl Band	Variety of instruments	Newly written or traditional Cornish	Part of display dance group “folk” style dress with some black and yellow

Cornish identity and the folk process

What informs reflectivity within the process of folk tradition here, is not strictly speaking the archival collections of antiquarians and folklorists or the recollections and recording of past society but this information transplanted into an ever-changing contemporary contextual interpretation. The recorders and mediators of folk phenomena from the early days of the Old Cornwall Societies through Dunstan and Gundry to the Racca Project identified, and added to, a body of material perceived as Cornish.³¹ What Schwartz³² and Assman³³ show us here is that there is a sense, in which this body of material also becomes a site of memory so that its significance and meaning are subject to a process of constant change.

Cornish Language

This thesis considers the process of oral folk tradition during a critical period in the evolution of Cornish identity, a period within which we are fortunate in having a large amount of data available. One of the striking changes over this period has been the relationship between the Cornish language and identity in Cornwall. In 1810, Cornish was arguably at an all time low with little interest in it being expressed by the vernacular or academic communities except, as in the case of Gilbert,³⁴ to celebrate its passing. By 1910, it had gained the interest of a small group of people who practiced an academic interest but recognised its potential as a symbol of Cornish distinctiveness. In 2010 it is still far from being the vernacular language of medieval times but it enjoys official sanction, academic scrutiny and importantly, from the point of view of examining the process of folk tradition, popular interest in the wider community. Cornish may not be widely spoken as a conversational language but it enjoys increasing use as a badge of identity. One way in which this is evident lies in the popularity of Cornish for personal names and house names together with the interest in the origins of family and place names.

Another, very accessible, way of engaging in the language without speaking it is through song and there has been an increasing connection between Cornish and folk tradition. Although its influences are clearly present in some dialect items, there is very little Cornish Language material recorded in the nineteenth century. By the latter half of the twentieth century, however, both Gundry (1960)³⁵ and Kennedy (1975)³⁶ saw fit to publish Cornish translations and by the time of the Kanow Tavern project in 2007 (see appendix 4.3) it was becoming difficult to attribute translations to given individuals as these had entered into the public domain. The Cornish language has impacted upon

the folk process in both reflective and reflexive situations. Some performers are proactive in promoting the language because they feel that using Cornish for band names, tune names or as a medium for singing is an appropriate way of interpreting material from Cornwall and expressing their Cornishness. Other performers respond to this lead in a more passive, reflexive, way accepting this as the “done thing”.

Influencing musical style

The reflective / reflexive process model of oral folk tradition used as an enquiry tool for this thesis is one of degrees, shades and judgement rather than absolute values. This is particularly evident when examining reflective practice and making a judgement about whether an arrangement, a style or a choreography represents continuity within the process of oral tradition or the creative activity of an individual or group of individuals. The folk process trajectory of a Carol called “Choirs of Angels” provides an example of the way in which notions of Cornish identity can affect the way in which music is arranged and adapted. Dunstan learned this carol from his father who came by it in 1865. In 1993, the author arranged this as an instrumental and the diagram below outlines how the structure of the melody was changed:

Diagram 4: Choirs of Angels as published by Ralph Dunstan

Bars	1	2	3 (repeat of bar 1)	4	5	6	7
Time Signature	5/2	5/2	5/2	5/2	4/2	3/2	2/2 (One note)

Diagram 5: Cor Elow (Choir of Angels) as arranged by Author

Bars	1	2	3 (repeat of bar 1)	4	Last 3 bars ignored 4 X 4-bar phrases added, each a variation on the first.
Time Signature	5/4	5/4	5/4	5/4	

In summary, the carol was arranged as an instrumental by the simple expedient of increasing the speed and adding four variations. The author was engaged in a project³⁷ that needed some original instrumental material with a Cornish connection and had “quarried” Dunstan’s collection for inspiration. The project involved a celebration of Cornish history and the story of the pilgrims’ route between Padstow and Fowey and thus the need for a Cornish identity influenced the choice of material. The outcome was the arrangement of a traditional carol as an instrumental that straddled the border between individual creativity and natural change within the folk process.

The drive to express a distinctive identity in Cornwall also influenced the subsequent trajectory of this tune. During the project it was paired with a song composed by John Mills,³⁸ Tansys Golowan, also in 5/4 time. Both tunes were included as instrumentals in the Racca project of 1995 /1997³⁹ and had evidently stimulated interest as a further two 5/4 instrumentals were composed and included in the pack that underpinned this project. In 2010 some eight 5/4 tunes had been composed and were regularly being played at instrumental music sessions⁴⁰ and had a dance written to go with them.⁴¹ Whilst the introduction of newly composed 5/4 instrumentals into the repertoire of instrumental sessions in Cornwall is clearly a creative rather than reflective activity, drawing inspiration from Dunstan's original carol was arguably a reflective one.

O'Connor⁴² explains whilst 5 beats in the bar are not uncommon in vocal tradition they are rare in British instrumental tradition.⁴³ He points out that they do sometimes occur in Breton music, however, and suggests that part of the attraction for Cornish performers was this link with Brittany. What we have here then is the chance arrangement of an element of oral folk tradition, i.e. four bars of a carol with an interesting time signature, triggering the composition and addition to the Cornish session repertoire of a number of tunes with the same unusual feature. It is clear that this is exercise of preference driven by the Celto-Cornish movement and the desire to interpret Cornish music as something distinctive but linked to Breton culture. This drive, however, is part of the process of oral tradition within a speech community and not artistic creativity on the part of an individual or the realisation of any commerciality. As other parts of the process, such as selectivity and change, impact over time, it will be seen whether this becomes a recognised feature of traditional music in Cornwall.

Selecting the Songs

Atkinson⁴⁴ suggests that the vernacular texts of the eighteenth Century and nineteenth century broadsides were as much part of the traditional folk process as oral transmission despite being in written form. He explains that "Unlike the 'literary' texts presented for example, in Percy's relics, individual texts of this kind carry no special authority in themselves but rather inherent reference outwards towards all their other actual and potential manifestations, regardless of format, embracing the possibility of variation as well as of continuity".⁴⁵ Atkinson's analysis allows for an interesting parallel in modern Cornwall, the song sheets produced for community singing by Cornish organisations such as the Old Cornwall Society, the Cornish branch of the

Celtic Congress and the Cornish Federation of Women's Institutes. These song sheets also carry no special authority and may be transcribed from memory or from other textual sources including another organisation's song sheets. Below are examples of a list of songs from two of these sheets:

St Columb Old Cornwall Society Midsummer Bonfire 23/6/2008	Withiel Women's Institute Harvest Supper Meeting 18/10/2009
1 Universal Cornish Favourites 1. Camborne Hill 2. Little Eyes 3. Lamorna 4. Cadgewith Anthem* 5. Sweet Nightingale* 6. The Old Grey Duck* 7. The White Rose 8. Trelawny	1 Universal Cornish Favourites 1. Lamorna 2. Little Eyes 3. The White Rose 4. Goin' Up Camborne Hill 5. Sweet Nightingale 6. Cadgewith Anthem 7. Cornish Lads 8. Trelawny
2 Influenced by Celto-Cornish movement Trelawny 9. Bro Goth Agan Tasow	2 Influenced by Celto-Cornish movement Trelawny 9. Trelawny's Prayer 10. Hail to the Homeland 11. Cornish Lads 12. Old Land of Our Fathers 13. Bro Goth Agan Tasow
3 Other 10. The Oggie Song 11. Grandfathers Clock 12. Black Bird I'll avee' 13. Hymn	3 Other 14. Oggie Song 15. Let the Lower Lights Be Burning 16. We Plough the Fields and Scatter 17. Come Ye Thankful People Come

These singing sessions are folk tradition in a second existence as selection is taking place reflectively as to what it would be appropriate and popular to sing at an event celebrating Cornishness. These lists can be divided into three groups of influences. The first group are universal Cornish favourites and included in collections like Gundry⁴⁶ and Kennedy⁴⁷. Whilst the first group are arguably influenced by the notion of a distinctive Cornish repertoire encouraged by the Celto-Cornish movement it is the second group with songs as Bro Goth Agan Tasow which reflect a specifically oppositional Cornish identity.

Other "Cornish" is an interesting group of songs that invites some discussion around nested and oppositional identities. These are songs that were not identified by correspondents for the Cornish Pub Song Project (see appendix 4.3) and do not often materialise in the form of Cornish translations for song sheets. *My Grandfathers Clock* shares American origins with *Maggie May* and *Little Lize* but unlike the latter songs it

remains widely popular in Britain and America so that its credentials are not good in terms of oppositional Cornish identity. Likewise, *The Blackbird* has been popularised as a West Country standard by the Wurzels⁴⁸ and sits better with a nested identity than an oppositional. It can be seen that the pastoral, Westcountry “mummerset”⁴⁹ culture represented by the Wurzels is the antithesis of the culture of Celtic nationality embraced by the Celto-Cornish movement. The complexity of perceived identities, however, is thrown into sharp relief by the case study of the *Oggie Song*. Evidence points to its origins in the Royal Navy and the barracks at Devonport⁵⁰ but it is immediately identifiable with Cornwall and the pasty. John Ellery, secretary for the St Columb Old Cornwall Society, commented that the *Oggie Song* had been included in their song sheet by one of his predecessors but none of the members wanted to sing it as it was not “proper Cornish”.⁵¹ In contrast to this not only did the song feature in Bodmin’s celebration of St Piran’s Day 2007 but the band billed for the evening was Chris Lundy and The Oggie Men. They provided a programme that was a mixture of Wurzels tribute songs and written material on topics such as the beast of Bodmin that adopted a similar performance style. The room was, however, bedecked in Cornish and Celtic flags and the master of ceremonies for the evening made clear a distinctive view of Cornish identity, both in his kilted attire and presentation of the evening.

Identity in Context

Another way in which the Celto-Cornish movement has influenced the performance of folk material is to provide contextual settings. An example of this was a production called *Don’t take sugar* at Lowender Peran in 2001.⁵² This was a participatory project where various performers involved in the festival worked with groups of children to explore the custom in Cornwall of “not taking sugar in tea except with a pasty”. This custom is understood to be an echo of the popularity of the anti – slavery movement in early nineteenth century Cornwall and a campaign to reduce consumption of sugar in order to put economic pressure on manufacturers who took advantage of the slave trade.

This symbolises the cultural memory of radical liberalism in Cornwall, a cultural memory at odds with the stereotypical image of the Cornish as a peripheral provincial community who remain behind the times on equality issues.⁵³ The performance utilised dances and songs from oral folk tradition to illustrate both the Cornish opposition to the slave trade and the particular story of Joseph Emidy an ex-slave and talented musician who progressed from playing jigs and reels to entertain shipmates as

a sailor, to dance band master and music teacher in Truro and Helston.⁵⁴ He was unable to work as a musician in London because of his ethnic background but became a celebrity in “provincial” Cornwall.⁵⁵ A Furry dance was used to act as a boat to connect different parts of the performance together and a sea shanty, *Sally Brown*,⁵⁶ provided a musical link throughout the event. A further dimension of Cornish identity was provided by the use of St Piran’s flags and dress that identified with both mining and the sea. Here, then, an historical narrative was combined with material from oral folk tradition to create a cultural memory which accommodated a modern, diversity sensitive, Cornish identity that challenged stereotypes.

Costume and identity

There is a sense in which all performance has a theatrical element in dress, whether it is the formality of the symphony orchestra, the colour co-ordination of a musical or the studied counter culture of popular music. It is natural, therefore, to seek to enhance the performance of folk tradition by adopting a distinctive dress that carries the desired message, in this case of one of a Cornish, or Celto-Cornish identity. Most, if not all, performers within second existence folk tradition adopt articles of dress proclaiming Cornishness at one time or another.⁵⁷ For musicians and folk bands this is not always ostentatious as it can merge with the informal and counter cultural image that has become associated with this genre. Spectacle is an essential part of the performance of dance display groups and street processional bands however and it is here that Cornish identity is most overtly expressed through costume. The inspiration for this dress can be shown to come from two sources, those drawn from modern statements of Cornish identity and those found by “quarrying the past”.

Howlett⁵⁸ discusses the success of Cornish tartans as a modern statement of Cornishness and these give rise to a variety of formal and informal wear that can be utilised to express Cornish identity. The St Piran’s flag⁵⁹ is included as part of this identity package along with the Cornish colours of black and deep yellow that form part of Cornish rugby culture. All of which is arguably a site of identity in the way described by Schwartz⁶⁰. Thus when groups consider how best to reflect Cornish identity in their performance these badges of Cornishness are readily available and the images of Guizers in appendices 4.1, 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, and 4.8 together with the dance display teams in appendix 4.15 illustrate this and show a variety of tartan, black, white and yellow colours being utilised. Whilst it is clear that a Cornish identity is being expressed here, there is no measure to indicate what kind of Cornish identity is being perceived at a

personal level. However, it is difficult to see that anyone involved in wearing kilts or tartan would not at least be aware of the Celto-Cornish movement and the identification with the other Celtic countries even if their own perception was that of a nested rather than oppositional Cornish identity.

In the light of Roper's deconstruction of the Scottish tradition of tartans and kilts⁶¹ the Cornish tartan dress is an interesting phenomenon. The chequered design depicted in the images of the fishwives shawl, by both the Newlyn School of Artists and the early portrait photographers (see appendix 4.15) could well have served to provide substance to E.E. Morton Nance's justification for a Cornish tartan but he makes no mention of them. He prefers, instead, an allusion to classical images of Celtic warriors and Arthurian connections⁶² and thus fits Roper's critique like a glove. Nance's tartan found a post modernist niche in the fabric of Cornish identity and required no background of authenticity to become popular. Hobsbawm himself commented, "the Cornish are fortunate to be able to paint their regional discontents in the attractive colours of Celtic tradition, which makes them so much more viable".⁶³ In Cornwall, it was as if kilts and tartans were a tradition waiting to be invented.

One of the outcomes of the fusion of classical industrial Cornish identity with Celticity described by Deacon is the interest in nineteenth century costume. Both the Newlyn School of painters and the greeting card culture of the early photographic industry capture a romantic image of nineteenth century historic working class dress and provide a wealth of visual images for folk performers.⁶⁴ The fish jousters and bal maidens in particular provide powerful symbols for the Celto-Cornish movement. The costume of the fish jouter features a black bonnet shaped to carry the strap of the fish basket and a striking red or tartan cloak. It first makes an appearance in the late eighteenth century drawing of a fish market⁶⁵ and is the clothing that archetypal Cornish characters Dolly Pentreath and Mary Kelynack are often portrayed as wearing. The bal maidens (surface mine workers) wore a kind of protective bonnet which they called a "gook". The shape of the gook provided the opportunity for both stylisation within different companies and decoration for Sunday best.

The distinctive dress of the mining and fishing industries and the women associated with it provides a site of cultural memory that reinforces Cornish distinctivity for the Celto-Cornish movement. In the first place, the costumes are strongly associated with fishing and mining which provide the cornerstones of identity in terms

of industrial heritage. In a second and more subtle way, these women represent independence. Social necessity brought on by the frequent absence of men folk resulted in these women earning their own wage and being financially independent in a wider British culture where this was rare.⁶⁶ This may have been a matter of expedience rather than desirability for families in the nineteenth century, but by the twenty first century, it was symbolic of healthy independence.⁶⁷ Ó Giolláin suggests that, “as part of the national or regional heritage, folklore is of ideological importance and has often provided a reservoir of symbols for identity politics”.⁶⁸ The costume of Bal Maidens and Fish jousters also provide just such folkloric symbols for identity politics in Cornwall.

It is difficult to find an example of a Cornish dance display team that have never used historic costume based on the fishing and mining industries and the photographs of groups from the nineteen seventies through to the twenty first century in appendix 4.15 illustrates the various dress adopted. Using such costume is a reflective exercise. Research into the origins of dance in Cornwall tends to sign post the nineteenth century as a period when social dance was widely popular⁶⁹ and the reasoning is therefore that the costume of the time is an appropriate way in which to add spectacle.

It is tempting to label this reflectivity as the product of folklorismus i.e. “the performance of folk culture away from its original local context, the playful imitation of popular motifs by another social class, and the invention and creation of folklore for different purposes outside any known tradition”.⁷⁰ It is certainly the convention of the Europeade folk dance movement to borrow motifs from peasant dress in order to construct a suitable costume image⁷¹ and this is also the case within the pan Celtic movement. Woods, for example, demonstrates the romantic origins and synthetic nature of the costume⁷² favoured by Welsh dance groups. In Cornwall, however, it seems as if there was a “failure” to create a synthesised traditional costume and the dance groups resorted instead to the historic dress of the nineteenth century recorded by painting and photograph.

Identity as an accelerant for the folk process

The post modernist success of the Celto-Cornish kilts and tartans without the need for established tradition or historical authenticity also raises another question; does this movement actually depend in any way upon folk tradition for its contemporary identity? The short answer to that is probably not as there was noticeably little

engagement in folk tradition outside of the Old Cornwall Societies during the formative and most difficult period of the movement's development.⁷³ What seems to have happened is that the natural process of folk tradition has fed off the Cornish identities created by the Celto-Cornish movement and in doing so provided materials and artefacts to support that movement so that there is an almost symbiotic relationship.

To translate from abstract to concrete terms an example of this is the music for the Bardic processions associated with the Cornish Gorsedh. In 1984 a procession was held in Truro leading to a proclamation (shortened version of the Gorsedh ceremony) at the Cathedral. The procession was lead by a local band called the Nimrods who played a variety of tunes, none of which had any connection with Cornwall but did include two popular pieces, *When the Saints* and *Eye Level* the theme from a television series. Within twenty years, however, folk traditional had impacted sufficiently upon the Celto-Cornish movement for it to be expected that the processional music would be Cornish. When local processional bands were invited to play for the Bardic procession in Penzance in 2007 and St Ives 2010 they simply drew on a now familiar of body of music recognised as Cornish.

Conclusion

This chapter pursues the argument that folk tradition is an abstract process that can be understood using the paradigms of memory, oral history and discursivity. It is a process that is active rather than passive and feeds off emergent Cornish identities as part of its own natural evolution. This is much the point that Dundes⁷⁴ and Löffler⁷⁵ make with respect to the increasing interest in national identity and folklore in mid nineteenth century Europe. Whilst the artefacts of the process of folk tradition might be quarried by those seeking material with which to express Cornish identity, the process itself thrives and is fuelled by such a dynamic social environment. Oppositional identity in particular invites a reflectivity in the second existence which privileges an interpretation of distinctiveness. This encourages the incorporation of the Cornish language into folk performance and the search for a distinctive repertoire, musical style and visual presentation..

In the example given above of the development of 5/4 tunes within the session tune repertoire it can be seen that the natural process of change was accelerated by the discourse of Cornish distinctivity. Similarly, it can be seen that the notion of songs belonging to a canon of Cornish material will reinforce the process of selectivity within

folk tradition, the perceived Cornishness will increase the likelihood of its selection. The case of the *Oggie Song* however, shows that this is not just about someone adding a song to a list because it appears to have some kind of connection to Cornwall,⁷⁶ but rather a more widespread recognition within the community. Of all the fuels for the process of tradition it is costume and the inspiration provided by both Cornwall's industrial past and twentieth century revivalists which is the most overt and widely evident.

Although the artefacts of tradition are interpreted and used as an expression of Cornishness this remains a far more complex process than merely "inventing tradition". This chapter argues that rather than causing traditions to be invented Cornish identity has acted as an accelerant for the natural process of folk tradition and that this is symbiotic relationship.

Notes

¹ See Chapter 1 – Hoerburgers model of first and second existence dance traditions is adapted to apply to folk tradition more broadly.

² Bernard Deacon, "Cornishness and Englishness: Nested Identities or Incompatible Ideologies?" *International Journal of Regional & Local Studies* 5.2 (2009), p. 26.

³ Bernard Deacon "Cornishness and Englishness".

⁴ Discussed in detail in chapters 7 and 8 with prime examples being the evolution of the Bodmin Riding and its mummers play and also the increasing significance of Cornish identity in wedding customs.

⁵ Richard M Dorson, *Is Folklore a Discipline?*, "Folklore", Vol. 84, No. 3 (Autumn, 1973), pp. 177-205, (Taylor & Francis, Ltd. on behalf of Folklore Enterprises, Ltd).

⁶ Dave Harker, "May Cecil Sharp Be Praised?" *History Workshop*.14 (1982), pp. 44-62. Also: Dave Harker, *The Manufacture of British "Folksong" 1700 to the Present Day*. (Milton Keynes, Open University Press, 1985).

⁷ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of tradition*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983).

⁸ Georgina Boyes, *The Imagined Village : Culture, Ideology, and the English Folk Revival*. (Manchester, Manchester University Press ,1993).

⁹ Christopher J Bearman, "The English Folk Music Movement 1889-1914". (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Hull University 2001: BI: Dxn053461). Also:

Christopher J Bearman, "Cecil Sharp in Somerset: Some Reflections on the Work of David Harker." *Folklore* 113 1 (2002), pp. 11- 34.

¹⁰ Barry Schwartz, "Collective Memory and History: How Abraham Lincoln Became a Symbol of Racial Equality", *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (Summer, 1997), p 470, Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4121155> Accessed 18/01/2010

Citing :Pierre Nora, editor, *Les Lieux de Memoire*.(Paris, Gallimar,1984-1992), 3 vols.

¹¹ Biennial Cornish / Breton festival held in Falmouth , <http://www.aberfest.org/> accessed 08/10/10.

¹² Annual Cornish language weekend involving workshops, activities, concerts and troyls using Cornish as a medium

URL: <http://www.magakernow.org.uk/default.aspx?page=318>, accessed 08/10/10.

¹³ Barry Schwartz, "Collective Memory and History", pp. 469-496. Shows how rituals and symbols have shaped the memory and meaning of Abraham Lincoln. Whatever his personal feelings on the matter may have been, in the political arena he advocated racial segregation and yet a hundred years later the Civil Rights movement incorporated his image and statements about freedom together with those of Martin Luther King as part of their poster campaign.

¹⁴ Jan Assmann, and John Czaplicka , "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity." *New German Critique, Cultural History/Cultural Studies* No 65, 1995, p. 128.

¹⁵ Felix Hoerburger, "Once Again: On the Concept of Folk Dance" *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* " (1968: 30-1).

¹⁶ Andrij Nahachewsky, ". "Once Again: On the Concept Of 'Second Existence Folk Dance'." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 33 (2001), 17-28.

¹⁷ Participant Observation: 8th and 15th Nov 2006, 6th and 15th Nov 2007, practice and performance of Samba Bands for the Truro City of Lights procession. Cornish dance tunes employed as melody base lines for Samba Bands. The particular value of Samba as a medium for community music is that it can comprise of a series of basic rhythms learned quickly by people without particular music training where variety, interest and musical arrangement is lead by one person who signals change. This is how the Shallal band for the Bolster procession worked, observation / recording / images: 30th April 2006.

¹⁸ Lowender Peran, 20th Anniversary Programme, 1998.

¹⁹ Bernard Deacon "Cornishness and Englishness".

²⁰ An issue within Cornish Studies is the confusion between "British" and "English", whilst "Cornishness could sit comfortably within "Britishness", "Englishness" was more

problematic See: Bernard Deacon, "Cornishness and Englishness", p. 19: Philip Payton, "A Duchy in every respect un-English": discourses of identity in late-modern Cornwall', in Bill Lancaster, Diana Newton and Natasha Vall (eds), *An Agenda for Regional History* (Newcastle, 2007), pp.320 and 326: Philip Payton, *The Making of Modern Cornwall : Historical Experience and the Persistence Of "Difference"*. (Redruth, Kernow, Cornwall: Dyllansow Truran, 1992).

²¹ Lowender Peran, Letter to potential stall holders August 2007.

²² Mebyon Kernow – The "Party for Cornwall" was launched in 1951 as a political and cultural pressure group. It adopted a more party political stance in the 1970s but continues to have a high profile in promoting cultural distinctiveness in Cornwall.

²³ "Made in Cornwall" is in fact a Council sponsored approved origin scheme with whom the festival were collaborating at the time. "Made In Cornwall", Cornwall Council Website, <http://www.cornwall.gov.uk/default.aspx?page=5768> , accessed 23rd Sept 2010.

²⁴ Pete Berryman, interview with author 15th September 2010.

²⁵ www.kesson.com, The Cornish Music Collaborative, accessed 30th Oct 2010

²⁶ Source: ONS, Population Estimates Unit.

<http://www.cornwall.gov.uk/default.aspx?page=22123>, Accessed 18th December 2010.

²⁷ Mike O Connor, interview with author 28th Jan 2006; Pete Berryman, interview with author 15th Sept 2010.

²⁸ "Gwary Dons – Dance Spectacular" in *Lowender Peran Highlights*, Tower Films, DVD published each year from 1987.

²⁹ Examples of this can be seen in *Lowender Peran Highlights*.

³⁰ Participatory action research, 01/11/10: review of the Bodmin Play, how the play associated activities should proceed in 2011. It was suggested that street bands and Guize dance groups should be invited to a "shallal" competition. This is the list that was drawn up of people to contact.

³¹ Discussed in Chapter 6.

³² Barry Schwartz, "Collective Memory and History".

³³ Jan Assmann, and John Czaplicka , "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity.

³⁴ See Chapter 3.

³⁵ Inglis Gundry, *Canow Kernow: songs and dances from Cornwall*. (St. Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1966).

³⁶ Peter Kennedy, *Folk Songs of Britain and Ireland*, (London, Cassell. 1975).

³⁷ *Forth an Syms – music from an ancient trackway*, Pyba, 1995 CD / Cassette, format.

³⁸ Tansys Golowan, *Forth an Syns*.

³⁹ Frances Bennett, Hilary Coleman et al. Editors *Racca 2: Cornish Tunes for Cornish Sessions*, (Calstock, RACCA, 1997).

⁴⁰ Participant observation: instrumental sessions at The Ring of Bells, St Issey and Liskeard. Neil Davey- Correspondences with author November 2010, Jackie Oates You Tube <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bVcQY6jmUmY> Accessed 2nd Dec 2010

⁴¹ Cabm Pym – five step. A Dance based on a combination of the Tea Treat Serpent Dance and the Scoot dances of North Cornwall: *Resources*, “Cumpas Cornish Music Projects” <http://www.cumpas.co.uk/resources/resources.php>, accessed 9th November 2010.

⁴² Mike O Connor , *Ilow Kernow 5 : Music in Cornish Culture*. (Unpublished paper, Lyngham House music, 2009), p.132.

⁴³ One example of British instrumental music in 5/4 is “Take Five”, composed by Paul Desmond, and popularised by Dave Brubeck Quartet on the album *Time Out* (1959, CS 8192). There is a paradox to discussion here in that due to the unusual time signature “Take Five” became associated with “Modern” as opposed to “Trad” jazz.

⁴⁴ David Atkinson, “Folk Songs In Print: Text and Tradition”, *Folk Music Journal*, volume 8, Number 4, 2004. pp. 456-483.

⁴⁵ David Atkinson, “Folk Songs In Print: Text and Tradition”, p. 456.

⁴⁶ Inglis Gundry, *Canow Kernow*.

⁴⁷ Peter Kennedy, *Folk Songs or Britain and Ireland*.

⁴⁸ “The Blackbird”, The Wurzels, *The Combine Harvester* 1976 EMI One Up OU2138 12" Vinyl.

⁴⁹ Mummerset was a derisory term used by Morton Nance and the early Cornish movment to describe theatrical caricatures of Cornish dialect.

⁵⁰ Cyril Tawney, *The Traditional song and verse of the Royal Navy 1900 – 1970* (London : Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), p. 63.

⁵¹ Participatory action research, John Ellery, conversation with author, St Columb Old Cornwall Society meeting, 15th November 2010.

⁵² Lowender Peran Video, 2001, Tower Films, Falmouth.

⁵³ For example in the debate around the Padstow mummies and the way in which the participants black up their faces critics dismissed the Cornish as provincial racists but did not make this assumption about Morris sides in the home counties. For further

discussion see Merv Davey, "Guizing: Ancient Traditions And Modern Sensitivities." *Cornish Studies* 14, pp. 229 - 244.

⁵⁴ Richard McGrady, *Music and musicians in early nineteenth-century Cornwall : the world of Joseph Emidy—slave, violinist, and composer*, (Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 1991); Alan Kent, *The Tin Violin: The Adventures of Joseph Emidy*. (London, Francis Boutle, 2007), also provides a narrative for Emidy in the form of a play and scoot dances were choreographed into the production to illustrate Emidy's music

⁵⁵ Richard McGrady, *Music and musicians in early nineteenth-century Cornwall*.

⁵⁶ Journal of the Folk-Song Society, Vol. 8, No. 32 (Dec., 1928), pp. 96-100: Sally Brown was collected by J. E. Thomas from John Farr (aged 76) Gwithian, 6th Dec 1926.

⁵⁷ Lowender Peran Annual Highlights Video series, (Falmouth, Tower Films, 1987 to 2010) provides a record of the performance of active Cornish dance groups and the costume worn over a 24 year period.

⁵⁸ Jonathon Howlett, "Putting the Kitsch into Kernow" in *Cornish Studies* 12, edited by Philip Payton (Exeter, Exeter University Press, 2004), p. 44.

⁵⁹ See page 36.

⁶⁰ Barry Schwartz, "Collective Memory and History: How Abraham Lincoln Became a Symbol of Racial Equality", *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 3, (Summer, 1997), p. 470, Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4121155>, Accessed: 18/01/2010
Citing: Pierre Nora, editor, *Les Lieux de Memoire*. (Paris, Gallimar, 1984-1992), 3 vols; Daniel J Sherman, "Art, Commerce, and the Production of Memory in France after World War I .", pp. 118-214.

⁶¹ Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland". In Eric Hobsbawm, Ed. *The Invention Of Tradition*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 15.

⁶² Ernest E Morton Nance, "Cornish Tartan", *Cornish Nation* (Redruth, Mebyon Kernow, 1978), this seems to be one of the first explanations of the Cornish Tartan to be published and forms the basis for the description of the tartan as marketed through his son's enterprise "Gwethnoc".

⁶³ Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, (Cambridge, 1992), p.178.

⁶⁴ Josephine Stewart, *The Costume of Cornwall: Workwear of the Newlyn area in the late nineteenth century*. (Bodmin, An Daras Folk Arts Project, 2004). Provides examples of a number of Newlyn School paintings and contemporary photographs which illustrate this.

⁶⁵ "The Fish Market", Lawrence House Museum, Launceston.

⁶⁶ Bernard Deacon, 'The Cornish Family: from public narratives to conceptual narratives'. Key Note paper, *Narratives of the Family: Exploring Constructions of Kinship and Community* Conference, Truro, 16th August 2008. Showed that the absence of men was brought upon by the high mortality rate in both industries and also, in the latter part of the nineteenth century by the decline of the mining industry and the frequent necessity for men to find work abroad.

⁶⁷ The Local Government Union, Unison, newsletter in Cornwall was called the "Bal Maiden" and the title pages made clear that these were the reasons for the choice of title.

⁶⁸ Diarmuid Ó Giolláin, *Locating Irish folklore : tradition, modernity, identity*. Sterling, VA, Cork University Press 2000), p. 1.

⁶⁹ Merv Davey, Alison Davey, Jowdy Davey *Scot Dances, Troys, Furrys and Tea Treats: The Cornish Dance Tradition*. (London, Francis Boutle & Co.2009).

⁷⁰ Venetia J Newall, "The Adaptation of Folklore and Tradition (Folklorismus)." *Folklore* **98**(2) (1987): 131-151 citing Hans Moser, ' Vom Folklorismus in unserer Zeit, 'Zeitschrift für Volkskunde(1962),Vo I. 58 pp.177-209.

⁷¹ Participant observation and discussion with performers at Europeade festivals in Mayo 2004, Bromley 2005 and Bromley 2010 provided examples of this from Latvia, Estonia, Slovakia, Sweden and Provence.

⁷² Julliette Woods, "Perceptions of the Past in Welsh Folklore Studies." *Folklore* 108 (1997), pp. 93-10.

⁷³ See discussion in Chapter 5, the focus of the early Celto-Cornish movement was largely linguistic.

⁷⁴ Alan Dundes, "Nationalistic Inferiority Complexes and the Fabrication of Fakelore: A Reconsideration of Ossian, the Kinder- und Hausmarchen, the Kalevala, and Paul Bunyan." *Journal of Folklore Research* 22(1) 1985, pp. 5-18.

⁷⁵ Marion Löffler, *The Literary and Historical Legacy of Iolo Morganwg 1826 – 1926*, (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2007), p. 78.

⁷⁶ Cyril Tawney, *The Traditional song and verse of the Royal Navy 1900 – 1970*.

Chapter 10: Digi-Folk and Cyber-Celts: *the demise of the folk process or a new location?*

In considering contemporary locations for oral folk tradition in Cornwall, the impact of new communication technologies and the development of the internet invite examination. Do the digital worlds of easy access to recording and recording technology, global communication and the advent of the “Network Society” represent a new location for the folk process or its demise?

Commentators such as Jones¹, Barney² and Robins³ observe that although the internet and associated information technologies are hailed as the information revolution, the cultural and technological foundation for this are embedded in the past. This chapter takes the position that the internet, although characterised by a novel interactivity, is part of a process of developing communications, which can be traced back through analogue recording technologies, television, the radio to the invention of the printing press and ultimately the written text. For much of the twentieth century folk tradition was embraced by a counter cultural, counter technological discourse, it is argued here, however, that information technology was, and is, an essential ingredient that fuelled the actual process of oral folk tradition. The folk process is thus a social phenomenon that will be encouraged rather than made obsolescent by the multiplex and interactive communication opportunities offered by the internet.

This chapter considers the impact of new information technologies on folk tradition. It looks at whether increased interconnectivity has changed communities and the way in which they engage with the process of folk tradition.

Communication Technology

The relationship between (communication) technology and oral folk tradition is a strange one, for much of the formative years of folk song, dance and custom research the two were seen as inimical. This was certainly the position taken by Sharp⁴ in 1907, and as late as the 1990s Lind⁵ firmly linked folk music to peasant society rather than a modern, technological, environment. Yet the evidence points to a position where folk process has thrived on and fed off the opportunities provided by new technologies. Atkinson⁶, for example, shows that the printed word in formal publications may have kept a fossilised record of folk songs but the broadside ballads were an integral part of transmission and change. Radio and television brought folk tradition to a wider audience and encouraged the development of a specific genre of popular music from it.

Verrier describes the influence of the BBC “Radio Ballads” broadcast in the 1950s on the evolution of performance style in the folk clubs, which in turn contributed to and encouraged the process of oral folk tradition.⁷ Vinyl, cassette tapes and CDs, may fossilise performance at a given point in time but there is no evidence that this has inhibited the process of oral folk tradition. Consider the examples within Cornish tradition of, *Maggie May* and *Little Lize*. *Maggie May* originates from American popular music culture as a composition by Charles Blamphin.⁸ It was first published as sheet music in Chicago in 1870 and found its way to Cornwall that same year.⁹ It was reconstructed by Dunstan in 1932 from the partial memory of one of his singers¹⁰ and eventually found its way into the repertoire of Cornish singers such as John Bolitho of Bude¹¹ and Charlie Pitman of Padstow¹². *Little Lize* followed a similar trajectory, starting out as part of American popular music culture in the repertoire of a Gospel Group called the Deep Rover Boys but in this case, it arrived in Cornwall via a vinyl LP rather than in print.¹³ Both songs are now regularly sung at sessions, appear on song sheets and have Cornish translations. The information “revolution” does have an impact on our understanding of this process, however. In 1980 it took a radio broadcast and an interview with a respondent to track down the origin of *Little Lize* but in 2010 this information is readily available using an internet search engine.

There is also a sense in which technology and performance within folk tradition can be hybridised, for example when recorded music is used for folk dancing. Here there is interaction between a fixed element of performance i.e. the recorded music, and a living form that has the potential to vary according to the reflexive and reflective influences of the moment i.e. the dance. There is no relationship between the two groups of performers so that dancers and musicians cannot influence each other with respect to the speed, rhythm and length of the dance and an element of the folk process is thus lost. This issue can be explored by examining three case studies that progressively increase dependence upon technology:

Case Study 1 (Participant observation 16/10/2009)

During the Lowender Peran festival 2009 the Christine Wilson Highland Dancers temporarily discarded their resident piper, Ben Gibbs and collaborated with Mabon, a folk rock band, for a dance display. They choreographed traditional steps and rehearsed their performance using a CD of the band in question but their live performance with the band had all the elements of continuity, change, reflectivity and reflexivity associated

with folk tradition as a process. The dancers used steps and moves from highland dancing tradition, but adapted them reflectively to suit music that was more folk rock in style than the solo bagpipes normally used. Their arrangement was reflexive in that the desire to present a display in this way was influenced by contemporary dance styles associated with popular music and productions such as “River Dance”.

Case Study 2 (Participant observation 30/05/10)

At the International Folk Dance Festival in Bromley in May 2010 the Fiona Ray School of Highland Dancing provided a display of a traditional Scottish hornpipe together with some original dance choreographed by members of the group. For the hornpipe they used a CD recorded by Ben Gibbs (as above) and for the choreographed piece a CD by Samba Celtica. Although there was a pipe band and pipers available at the festival this was understandable, in the first place, Gibbs’ level of playing was exceptionally high and in the second they were able to rehearse their performance to synchronise with every last grace note on the pipes. Similarly, as far as Samba Celtic was concerned, there was no possibility of this youth dance group being able to commission or pay for a band to play at this level for their performance. There is a sense here where tradition and live music may have lost out to art house and commercial performance but at the same time continuity of a tradition is supported in that a group with a different expectation of music and dance have incorporated one with the other.

Case Study 3 (Participant observation 16/02/10)

During a break in rehearsals, some members of Cornish youth dance display group, Tan Ha Dowr, placed a mobile phone on the floor and set it up to play an MP3 track from a favourite “boy band”. They then proceeded to adapt steps they had just learned to this music and choreographed a dance around the mobile phone. Their teacher / choreographer was struck by the parallels between this and lattapouch, a traditional dance / game that was performed around an old shoe.¹⁴ It was also seen as an opportunity to challenge orthodoxy and engage these young people with Cornish folk dance tradition in a way that was relevant to them. This is an example of reflexivity on the part of the dancers and reflectivity on the part of the

teacher who saw creative choreographic opportunities arising from their idea.

In all three examples, young people have engaged in folk tradition and have presented it in a creative way relevant to their contemporary cultural experience. McLaughlin and McLoone describe this as hybridity and give the example of Horslips, a 1970s dance band who incorporated traditional elements in order to make the music easier to dance to:

On one hand there were audiences composed of (largely middle-class) 'hippies', interested in the psychedelic aspects of the music and performance and who came along to watch, to listen and to be impressed. On the other hand, traditionalists were drawn to the jigs and reels (and frequently complained when the band did not play enough of these). Added to this, the Horslips hybrid certainly offended folk 'purists' who were not only angered by the apparent dilution of traditional form but also by the hedonistic and excessive elements that were now being attached to folk modes.¹⁵

Using the process model of folk tradition two features can be understood about these examples. Firstly, that the centre of gravity of the performance has moved away from a second existence location of tradition towards one that is more art / popular music orientated. Secondly, it shows us that the reason it moves away from tradition is not due to the style of music being Folk Rock or Samba but to the fact that the music has become fixed. In the case of Mabon and Horslips the dancers and musicians still had the opportunity to interact and change regardless of the art / popular music influences.

When the band was replaced by a recording, however, this opportunity for interaction and change was lost. Karaoke, where a singer is provided with the written words to a song and a pre-recorded backing track is recognisably quite distanced from the folk process and it can be argued that dancing to pre-recorded music is heading in this direction. McLaughlin and McLoone's example shows that hybridity in live music is also subject to criticism from some quarters. In each of these examples, however, the purpose of the exercise was to draw upon folk tradition to provide a positive experience for both the performers and the audience and any measure of value or criticism would need to be made against these criteria.

We have seen in the history of “Little Lize” above an example of new material being introduced to the traditional repertoire by means of a vinyl recording. Another dimension of recorded music as part of the folk process is its role in transmitting material already within traditional repertoire music from one performer to another. Portelli¹⁶ shows us the importance of understanding text as a form of mediation governed by relationships and language. He also explains that oral material recorded mechanically can be considered as text in the same way as that recorded in writing. When text is recorded mechanically an important element of mediation is the recorder's decision about who and what to record. To understand the influence of recorded music on folk tradition it is therefore necessary to consider the nature of mediation that takes place. In the early stages of recording technology it was relatively expensive and cumbersome and not practical as a way of capturing an informal singing or instrumental session. As it progressed through cassette players, recordable CDs and iPods to the point where the mobile phone that many people carry as a matter of course will also provide an audiovisual recording so the form of mediation changed.

Initially mediation took place in the form of the recorder's decision about who and what to record or the performer choosing what material to record in order to transmit to another person. The latter in particular fits in well with the second existence / reflective model of folk tradition. A good example of this is a cassette tape recorded by Tony Snell in 1978 and circulated to friends interested in Cornish traditional music.¹⁷ Here he mediates by suggesting suitable material for Cornish folk music performers and recording this music on the cassette. This continues to be common practice among traditional performers who prefer this to music score.¹⁸

Mediation passes into the hands of the recipient with the use of iPod and mobile phone technology, which is likely to be carried habitually by the user as a matter so that the decision to record something is much more spontaneous. Technology has another impact on the folk process here in that a person would normally need to be exposed to a song or a tune on a number of occasions at different sessions in order to acquire it as a repertoire item but with instant recording opportunities the music can immediately be taken home to learn. It is thus argued that, apart from a brief digital existence, the tune or song remains within oral tradition and continues to be subject to the same processes of memory and variation. If recording technology has extended the opportunity for experiential learning within the folk process then internet technology extends this still further.

*Homo Interneticus*¹⁹

The theme of contemporary commentary on the developing information technologies polarises between their commercial and controlling role in contrast to the anarchy and freedom of information aspired to by early enthusiasts.²⁰ For some, as Barney suggests, “the advent and the spread of network technology brings with it the promise of rejuvenation of community engagement and solidarity, a promise denied by preceding technologies of mass communication such as print and television, which lacked the capacity for multiplex, interactive communication provided by the internet.”²¹ Critics such as Webster express concern about unequal access to, and control over information resources and their relationship to “social forms of organisation, their centrality to structures of political power, and their role in the cultural logic of consumer capitalism.”²² For Folk tradition and the culture associated with it, however, there seems to be a relationship of synergy with internet technology. Perhaps the anarchy of information offered by the internet blends well with the chaotic way in which folk tradition draws down influences from the wider world.

One very specific way in which the internet supports traditional music making is through connectivity. For example; an instrumental music or singers sessions which do not have any formal organisation except that it becomes known via an informal network that on a certain date people are likely to turn up for a session. With the aid of the internet devices such as emailing lists and social networking sites the extent of this network can be increased considerably.²³ Web sites are also a source of information connecting people to events for example the number of “hits” on the An Daras web site listing of St Piran’s Tide events increases significantly in the weeks immediately prior to the festival.²⁴

Just as recording technology enables singers and musicians to transmit their material beyond immediate audience contact so the internet amplifies and personalises this ability. Here the internet offers a spectrum of engagement ranging from webcasts²⁵ and downloadable music,²⁶ which extends the medium of traditional publishing, to file sharing and discussion websites²⁷ where music and experience is shared in a more individual way. The www.youtube.com site provides a good example of how experiences can be shared and what the impact is for the folk process. This site facilitates the uploading of video clips to the internet and links with search engines so that typing an event or band name will provide viewing of any relevant material that has been uploaded. This has an interesting impact upon music techniques as an enthusiast

is able to record footage of a particular musician's technique and share this quickly with anyone who is interested in learning from this. This contrasts with video footage mediated for popular entertainment, which would not find such a narrow focus commercially viable.

The accessibility and immediacy of a medium like this becomes apparent with an example like the video footage taken of the *Snail Creep* and the Cornish Dance Group "Tan Ha Dowr" at the Rescorla Festival in June 2009. Footage of this was uploaded by the evening of the performance²⁸ with the result that it was immediately available to anyone with an internet connection who typed in key words to the www.youtube.com search engine.

The interactivity offered by developing technologies has also introduced a new dimension to discussion of what constitutes identity and community. Writers such as Turkle²⁹ saw the internet as providing an opportunity for alternative realities. She suggested that games based around multi-user domains were an example of the realisation of the post modernism of Foucault and Lacan, where "...the self is multiple, fluid, and constituted in interaction with machine connections; it is made and transformed by language..".³⁰ The point being that the internet would provide users with an opportunity to create multiple on line identities for themselves. Fifteen years later, however, with reference to the commercial games industry, she felt that "we have not been nourished by what we created but rather consumed by it".³¹ Fanning, perhaps predictably as his Napster web project was closed due to copyright problems, also voiced concerns that "the lack of rules and regulations means that those with the most resources can enforce their authority".³²

Shirkey takes the impact of the internet on identity a stage further by drawing a parallel with the invention of the printing press.³³ He suggests that both were expected to impart mediated information from the top down as a form of control but in practice promoted creativity, mass interaction and diversity. Importantly, Shirky emphasises the productive and participative nature of the internet in contrast to the passive and consumptive nature of immediate post-industrial leisure activities such as the cinema and television.

Within the paradigm of discursivity, it can be seen that this "participative nature" of the internet will support the expansion of a speech community such as the Celto-

Cornish movement. Likewise the internet provides a readily accessible medium through which the narratives of oral history can be expressed. Indeed an earlier book by Shirkey has the title “Here Comes Everybody: the power of organising without organisations” and a subtext that suggest that history no longer belongs to the hegemonic few.³⁴ But what of memory, does the fact that a fixed text is easily referenced and returned to, counter memory as an active process and a vector of change within the folk process? The ease of access does not alter the fact that internet publications are text in the same way that broadside ballads were two hundred years previously and we have seen that these supported rather than restricted the process of change. Furthermore, if the internet is referenced for the words or tune for a folk phenomenon then the likelihood is that a number of variants will become available to select from.³⁵

In terms of “speech communities”, the interesting question here is not whether memory is overridden by the internet but whether cultural memory can be located on the internet? It may be that this question is premature and in his conclusion about the social impact of the network society, Barney refers to Hegel in suggesting that “historical change can only be expressed theoretically after the change has run its course”.³⁶ So far, however, the answer appears to be no. For example, as far as Cornish folk tradition is concerned there is a large amount of information available on the internet³⁷ but this requires informed and focussed searching and there is nothing to suggest that this is more than an extension of publishing books magazines and leaflets, albeit a very flexible way of doing so. The advent of social networking sites such as My-Space (2004), Face-book (2004) and Twitter (2006) provided a different, personalised and potentially faster way of exchanging and networking texts and narratives but it remains ephemeral and there is little evidence that it is becoming a repository for memory.

It is also tempting to consider predictive software processes designed to make the internet more intuitive such as caching pages, favourites, histories and sub programmes that predict interest, as a form of mediation but it is difficult to find evidence to support this. The search engines that provide a base line entry use a simple key word systems³⁸ which are very wide ranging and do not appear to point the user towards with any discursive bias. For example using the Google.co.uk search engine to find “Cornish Folk Song” came up with 29,400 results which means that this exact phrase occurred somewhere in the text of this number of web pages. The search

engine automatically refines the results and prioritises according to the hierarchy initially of where it occurs in headings and subsequently where it occurs elsewhere in the page or site. A brief analysis of the first twenty results provides a pen picture of the sites most likely to be visited as a result of such a search:

- Commercial Advertising: 6 entries
- Personal Interest / Cornish: 4 entries
- You tube: 2 entries
- Wikipedia: 2 entries
- Face Book: 2 entries (saved as space but no entries)
- Discussion Forum: 1 entry
- Town Website: 1 entry
- Old Cornwall Society: 1 entry
- Performer / Promotional: 1 entry.

Although some of these entries will lead on to pages with more songs and information, the songs (and tunes) that are immediately identified are: *I love my Love*; *The White Rose*; *Trelawny*; *Fer Lyskerys*; *Heva Dance*; *Bodmin Riding*; *There's Something About a Pasty*; and *The Sweet Nightingale*. These accord with the database supporting this thesis and represent a reasonable dip into the repertoire of the canon of folk tradition in Cornwall.

The vicarious nature of the information provided by these searches is demonstrated by the fact that the very first entry for “Cornish Folk Songs” is a link to the “You Tube” site and a video from a Brenda Wootton Concert in 1978 which features her guitarist, Chris Newman, playing a guitar solo of *O'Carolan's Concerto*.³⁹ Furthermore a web “surfer” on “You Tube” would find adjacent this a further item under the heading “Cornish Folk Songs” and entitled “Traditional Music at the Cornish Arms, St Merryn May 2006”. In actual fact the musicians were seasonal visitors rather than session regulars⁴⁰ and the video is of them singing *The Black Velvet Band* popularised by the Dubliners. The personal interest, promotional and Old Cornwall Society sites might be seen as representing the Celto-Cornish movement and the way material is framed as Cornish / not English does reflect the discursivity of this speech community. It is therefore argued that the internet extends the opportunities for mediation rather than acts as an agent of mediation in itself.

Cyber Celts and Digital Communities

Neither surfing the internet nor participatory action research provides any evidence of major on-line communities, unconnected with a physical presence, that define themselves as Cornish or for that matter Celtic. One possible candidate would be the USA based New World Celts⁴¹ who have a face book group listing 617 members spread across the Asian, Australasian and American continents. Another would be the Cornish based Celtic Link⁴² who have a face book group listing 3,970 members and a membership drawn largely from the British Isles, Ireland and North America. Both, however, are essentially promotional, informational and discussion group tools of organisations that exist in the material rather than virtual world. The Celtic Link, for example, is comprised of performers and patrons of the inter-Celtic festival circuit and most will meet physically at some stage on this circuit, even if it is no more than a performer / audience / promoter relationship.

Watson describes a debate about whether interconnectivity, represented for example by on-line forums, results in the formation of recognisable communities.⁴³ He addresses this by questioning the usefulness of the term “virtual community” and suggesting that a more valuable focus would be on communication and representation. If this is extended to include the sharing of experience, ideas and meanings, then Boland’s definition of identity as a complex web of interconnections⁴⁴ and the use of the term “speech community” in this thesis to refer to a thread of shared experience, ideas and meanings does support the notion of the internet as community location. If it is seen as place where Tomlinson’s community of the shared imaginary⁴⁵ is clothed in a more tangible form of images and text, then it can argued that it is both an extension and a realisation of this community.

What the internet offers the Celto-Cornish speech community is just such an opportunity to reinforce, promote and expand the shared experiences, ideas and meanings. A “micro community” case example serves to illustrate the mechanics of this:

Case Study 4: Kemysk Cornish Dance Group

A small group of musicians / dancers were looking for opportunities to take a display of Cornish Scoot dancing⁴⁶ to a wider audience at the inter-Celtic festival in Lorient. This was framed as a project and people known to be interested in Scoot Dancing were contacted, some via Email and some in person during events that arose within the Celto-Cornish

movement such as St Piran's Day and the Cornish Dance Day. The next stage of the project was to set up communications by means of a Website⁴⁷ and a named group on the "Face Book" social network site.⁴⁸ The Website was the primary vehicle for communicating to the Festival about the nature of the performance and the social network site served to support the sometimes quite complex arrangements for rehearsals. Once the booking had been confirmed with the festival, then arrangements for travel, accommodation and festival passes were made partly on Face Book and partly through E-mail.

These were all tasks which replicated, albeit more efficiently, what would have been undertaken by telephone or writing without the internet. It is the subsequent networking and file sharing made possible by "Face Book" and "You Tube" respectively that shows how the internet can promote and expand the range of a group's activities in a way which is quite unprecedented. During the festival, photographs and video footage of performances were taken and posted up on "Face Book"⁴⁹ and "You Tube".⁵⁰ The social networking nature of both of these sites ensured that a large number of people shared this information and also gained individual and personalised insights into the group and its performance. This network of people embraced the inter-Celtic festival "Scene", as well as the immediate friends within Celto-Cornish movement. The outcome of this was that a number of other events and festivals issued the group invitations and the life of the project was thus extended quite considerably.

The mechanics of this example are therefore that the internet provided communication and networking tools in the form of a website, E-mail, social networking and file sharing which expedited the initial tasks of the project and enhanced the outcomes.

The project and its outcomes might arguably have been achieved by use of telephone and written correspondence in combination with printed promotional material. However, two major areas of difference result from the interconnectivity of the internet. This first and most obvious is the convenience and speed with which the group shared its experiences with a large number of people. The second, and particularly interesting area, is that of mediation, choice and anarchy. Many of the

images and texts were spontaneous in that they were uploaded by mobile phone within minutes of the event being recorded. Other images were uploaded from digital cameras via computer after the event and were therefore subject to some form of selection. Selectivity was governed by the interest of those who had the necessary technology rather than exercised by a leader with an eye to promotion. Furthermore, an extended “community” of people developed around Kemysk who participated temporarily with each event by contributing their own images and comments.

Digital Diaspora

The Cornish Diaspora is an essential part of the Cornish sense of being and captured in folklore by an allusion to mining in the expression “*At the bottom of every hole in the ground in the world there is a Cornishman*”. As “Cousin Jack” and “Cousin Jenny” Cornish dialect has developed specific terms to meet the linguistic need for identification of family connections across the globe and the notion of a Cornish Diaspora is embedded in cultural institutions such as the Cornish Gorsedh⁵¹ and the Cornish Associations.⁵² Schwartz points out that “Barely a year goes by without the publication of a new book or article somewhere in the world that reveals more about the epic story of Cornish migration”.⁵³

There is a very practical sense in which the information revolution and the development of the “global village” imaginary nourish the Cornish Diaspora. Information organisations such as the Cornwall Family History Society enable detailed research without the need to visit Cornwall in person and encourage the interest in ancestry. Cultural organisations such as the “International Gathering of the Cornish Cousins” in North America⁵⁴ and “Kernewek Lowender” in South Australia⁵⁵ were born out of the interest of Cornish descendants discovering their roots in the latter part of the twentieth century and represent the modern Cornish Diaspora. The extent of the Diaspora’s engagement with the internet is witnessed both by the extent of referencing to URL pages in this chapter and in turn the large number of links to other Cornish Diaspora sites from these pages. It could be argued that the Dehwelans, the Diaspora festival held in Cornwall every four years since 2000 is also a product of the ease of contemporary communication and relatively inexpensive travel.

An interesting issue for the researcher is the apparent lack of folkloric engagement or ownership by the Cornish Diapora especially in terms of traditional music and dance. There is no Cornish equivalent to O’Neills collection of Irish dance

music from Chicago⁵⁶ or Cape Breton's style of Scottish step dancing⁵⁷. The Kernewek Lowender in Australia boasts a *Flora Dance* and a *Maypole dance*⁵⁸ but use of the term "Flora" rather than "Furry" suggests that it was adopted for the first festival in 1973 rather than travelling with the original migrants and Maypole dancing does not feature strongly in Cornish tradition.

Schwartz shows that the main period of migration was 1815 -1915.⁵⁹ We have seen that there was a strong folk culture in Cornwall during this period and it seems unlikely that this did not travel with them.⁶⁰ There are certainly examples to show that in some cases it did. Payton shows that the Cornish Carol tradition was transported to New South Wales⁶¹ and Grass Valley, California, California has a documented history of Cornish choir and Carol singing as far back as the Gold Rush of 1849.⁶² The Wisconsin archive has six items identified as collected from emigrant Cornish Communities, and the description of guising provided by one of their informants is similar to the narratives collected by the Old Cornwall Societies:

We would disguise ourselves by turning our caps inside out and our coats inside out and occasionally a cork face [i.e. blacking up faces] and go around one or two places. When we arrived at the door we would all sing

Oh we have come to your door to neither beg nor borrow,
But we have come to your door to wash away your sorrows.
For it's in the Christmas times

We travel far and near,

On being taken inside we be given some saffron cake cookies, some cider and perhaps some nuts or candy and we would take our leave and sing

We wish you a merry Christmas and a happy new year.

We wish you a merry Christmas and a happy new year,

With your pockets full of money and your cellars full of beer.

As long as you live, Happy may you be,

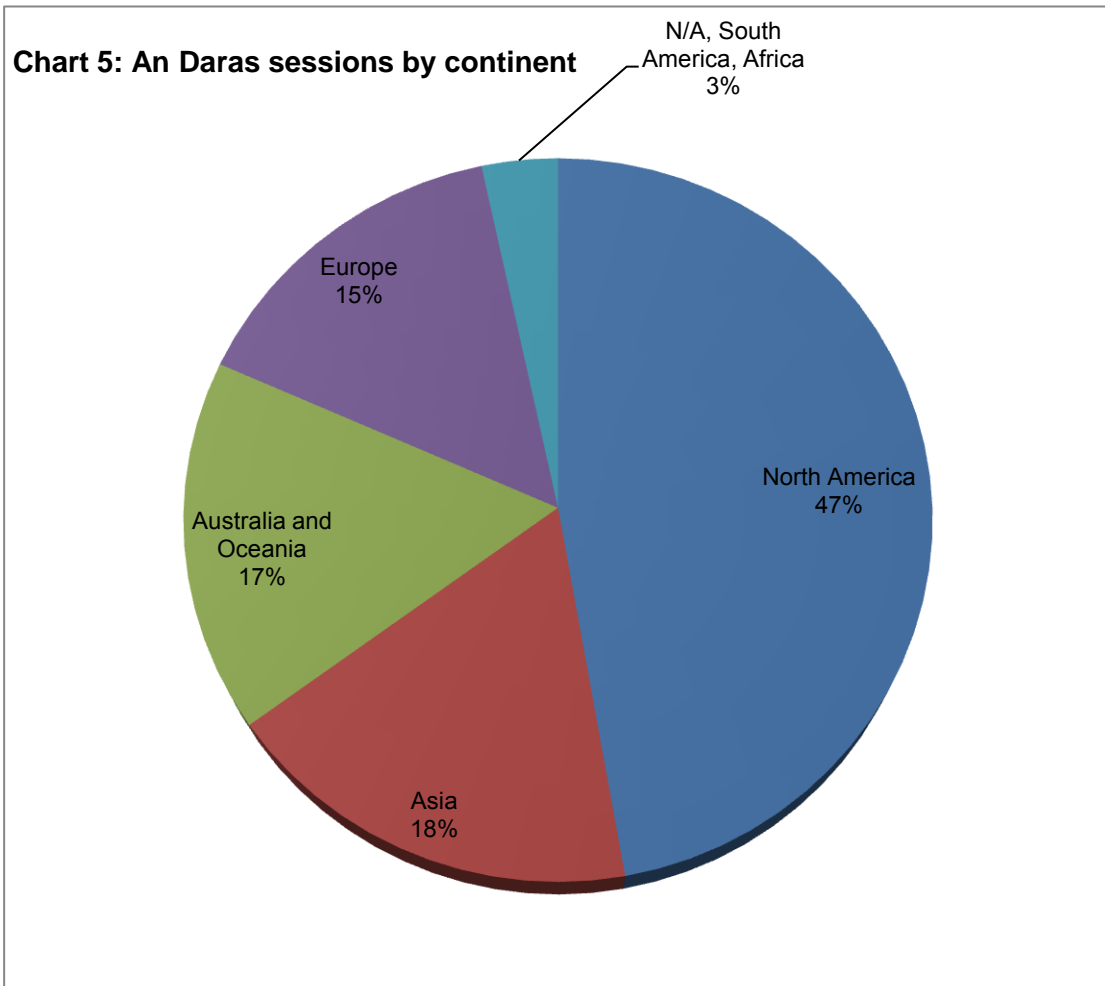
With a heart's content and you fortunes free.⁶³

It may simply be that the agenda of the "home comers" is different. Ray shows that the "Celtic Imaginary" of American tourists who identified with a Scottish descent was quite different from the emerging twenty-first century Scotland with its new

Parliament.⁶⁴ Certainly the programmes published for Cornish Diaspora festivals and events which have a much wider focus which includes genealogy and cuisine.⁶⁵

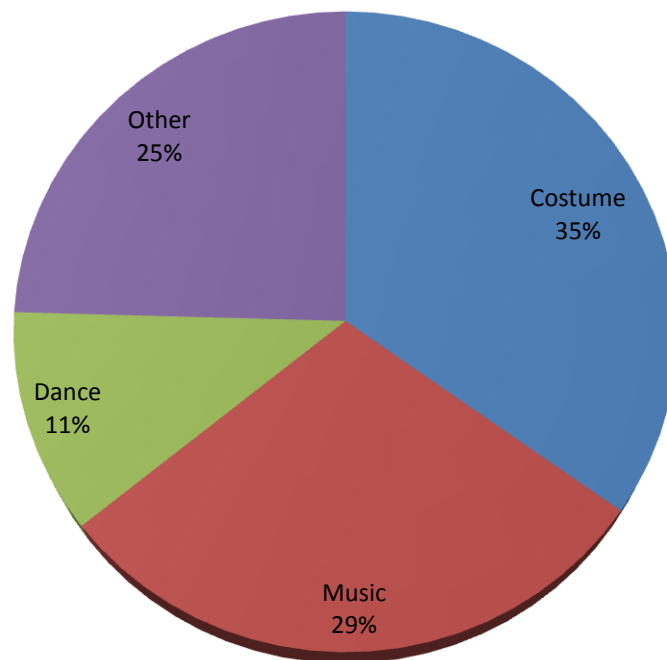
The digital domain of the Cornish Diaspora is very new, however, and although the eventual effects of these new technologies may be, as Barney⁶⁶ points out, as yet unknowable, there are some examples of a greater interest and involvement in folk tradition and therefore a potential impact upon the folk process. The An Daras project provides information and sign posting regarding folk arts in Cornwall and data from the server gives some insights into interest in this area.

During the period July / August / September 2010 the monthly average of website hits was 61,000 and of these an average of 7580 resulted in extended sessions on the website with more than one page being opened. The analysis of these sessions by continent is interesting. It is not surprising that North America provided the most sessions taking into account population size and access to the internet but the similarity between Australasia and Asia is difficult to account for. It may simply be that the sheer number of internet users from Japan, Korea and China skews the results.



The analysis of topic areas visited shows costume to be the most visited pages followed by music, and then dance. “Other” principally represents sign posting and information about performers and events. Data is not readily available from other informational sites and even if it were, it would be difficult to be sure that like was being compared to like. Whilst caution must be exercised in drawing to many conclusions from just one web site, it is reasonable to say that in this example at least, interest is significant at 7,500 visits a month and it is also fairly global.

Chart 6: Analysis of session topic area



Whilst this data does not give any indication of the number of visits from people who would identify with the Cornish Diaspora it does show that information about Cornish folk tradition is readily available to those interested. If people are interested and draw from the information on sites such as this for performance, then this would be a good example of second existence folk tradition within the model adopted by this thesis and the sites concerned important players in the process of oral folk tradition.

An example of second existence folk tradition facilitated by the interconnectivity of new technology can be seen in the work of Jim Wearne a Cornish American folk singer from Illinois who has been a regular visitor to festivals like Lowender Peran and

Dehwelans in Cornwall as well as performing on the Cornish American festival circuit. His performances and recorded albums provide a mixture of material from the canon of acknowledged Cornish tradition together with songs composed or reconstructed by himself along a Cornish theme and are readily available in Cornwall as well as direct from him. He accompanies himself on guitar and his style is that of the solo folk club singer in the tradition of Burl Ives and Ewan McColl. A case example is provided by *The Hurling Song*:

In 1958 the Old Cornwall Society recorded the words:

We roll the town or country ball along
We roll the town or country ball along
We roll the town or country ball along
And we wont' drag on behind
Hip, Hip Hooray! town or country ball⁶⁷

By 1972 Rabey⁶⁸ had recorded some variations on the verse plus the tune but it remained largely unknown outside of the immediate tradition of Hurling at St Columb. In 2010 Wearne had decided that he would like to have a song celebrating this custom and in the process of writing it used the Bewnans Kernow Email network⁶⁹ to see if a song or words already existed. The network provided several references to the *Hurling Song*, which Wearne subsequently used to partly re-write the song for his purposes. It remains to be seen whether this will serve to introduce the song to a wider singer's session base but it is an example of global interconnectivity interacting with the folk process.

Conclusion

There is little evidence that the information revolution and global interconnectivity have created on-line communities that impact upon Cornish folk tradition but it is clear that they have extended the reach and encouraged existing communities. Furthermore, rather than destroying the process of folk tradition the new technologies have acted as an accelerant. Many of the informational web sites act in much the same way as the vernacular broadsheets with individual variations and nuances recorded without any reference to the hegemony of an outside authority. The difference being that the modern day equivalents are multi dimensional providing images and sound as well as the written text. There is no longer the need for tools which are open to mediation, such

as the orthodoxy of music score or commerciality of recording studios, in order to communicate a song or tune, or for that matter dances. These can now be recorded by the average mobile phone as a video clip and uploaded to a web site, or more typically a social network site. As well as offering an exchange of material, the social networking opportunities of the internet facilitate real life activities regardless of geographic separation, a micro example being that of the Cornwall wide dance group Kemysk and a macro one, the global wide organisation of Dehwelans.

Notes

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- ¹ Steven G Jones, *Virtual culture : identity and communication in cybersociety*, (London, Sage Publications. 1998), p.1.
- ² Darin D Barney, D. D. *The network society*. (Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA, Polity, 2004), p.108.
- ³ Kevin Robins, "The Long History of the Information Revolution" in *The information society reader*, editors Webster, F. and R. Blom (London; New York, Routledge, 2004), p. 62.
- ⁴ Cecil J. Sharp, *English folk-song : Some conclusions*, (London, Simpkin & co, 1907).
- ⁵ Jan Lind, *A history of European folk music*. (Rochester, N.Y., University of Rochester Press, 1998).
- ⁶ David Atkinson, *Folk Songs In Print: Text and Tradition*, Folk Music Journal, volume 8, Number 4, 2004. pp. 456-483.
- ⁷ Michael Verrier, "Folk Club or Epic Theatre: Brecht's influence of the performance practice of Ewan MacColl", in *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*. eds. Ian Russel and David Atkinson. (Aberdeen, The Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, 2004), pp.108-113.
- ⁸ Charles Blamphin, *Little Maggie May*, (Chicago: -Root & Cady, 1870) published online by Music Division, Library of Congress, stable URL: [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mussm&fileName=sm/sm1870/03300/03380/mussm03380.db&recNum=4&itemLink=h?ammem/mussm:@field\(NUMBER+@band\(sm1870+03380\)\)&linkText=0](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mussm&fileName=sm/sm1870/03300/03380/mussm03380.db&recNum=4&itemLink=h?ammem/mussm:@field(NUMBER+@band(sm1870+03380))&linkText=0), accessed 10th November 2010.
- ⁹ Ralph Dunstan, *Cornish Dialect and Folk Song*, (Truro, Jordan's Bookshop, 1832), p.43.
- ¹⁰ Ralph Dunstan, *Cornish Dialect and Folk Song*.

¹¹ “The Cobweb singing session 1990”, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies Sound Archive, Courtney Library, Royal Institution of Cornwall, Truro.

¹² Charlie Pitman “Maggie May” *Pass Around the Grog : The songs of two Cornishmen*. Charlie Pitman and Tommy Morrisey. Recorded and produced by John Howson. Cassette, VT122 Veteran tapes, 1992.

¹³ “Honey Honey” Deep River Boys, *Deep River*, HMV POP 263 -78rpm (1950s), Deep River Boys “London Harmony”, CD Format (2004), re-mastered from original tracks recorded between 1950 -1955.

¹⁴ See appendix 1.8 Scoot Dances also Alison Davey, Merv Davey, and Jowdy Davey. *Scoot Dances, Troyls, Furrys and Tea Treats: The Cornish Dance Tradition*. (London: Francis Boutle & Co, 2009), p. 102.

¹⁵ Noel McLaughlin and Martin McLoone, “Hybridity and national musics: the case of Irish rock music” *Popular Music*, Volume 19/2 (2000), (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 190.

See also *Horslips Discography*, URL: <http://www.horslips.ie/discpage.html> accessed 19th November 2010, provides a pen picture of the band’s music.

¹⁶ Alessandro Portelli, *The battle of Valle Giulia : oral history and the art of dialogue*. (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1997).

¹⁷ “Tony Snell 1978”, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies Sound Archive, Courtney Library, Royal Institution of Cornwall, Truro. Tony Snell is a Cornish speaker and folk performer. In the mid 1970s he toured Brittany with a Group called “Tremenysy” and in Easter 1975 presented a programme of traditional songs in Cornish and English as well as some instrumental music at a concert held by the Celtic Congress in St Austell,

¹⁸ Participant observation: “practice” tapes/ CDs were used by Bagas Porthia, Troyl and Error and the North Cornwall Ceili band by author and other band members to communicate and learn music. See appendix 4.12

¹⁹ “Homo Interneticus”, Philip Smith, *The Virtual Revolution*. (United Kingdom, BBC, 2010). This was the title of the fourth programme in the BBC series presented by Aleks Krotoski broadcast Jan / Feb 2010.

²⁰ The great levelling? Programme 1 *The Virtual Revolution*.

²¹ Darin Barney, *The Network Society*, (Cambridge, Polity Press, 2004), p.159.

²² Frank Webster, R. Blom, et al. *The Information Society Reader*. (London Routledge, 2004), p.77.

²³ Participatory action research – examples:

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- The Singers Session held at the Ring of Bells, St Issy, information circulated by email
 - The Cornish music session at the Seiners, Perranporth, information circulated by email and facebook
 - The Annual Launceston St Piran's Session held on 19th November relies on email circulation.

See appendix 3.1 for summary of observer / participant observer events.

²⁴ Matrix Statistical Report: www.an-daras.com 1st – 29th Feb 2008. 671 hits were recorded for the St Piran's events page.

²⁵ For Example:

www.an-daras.com provides textual information in the form of downloadable text files, image files including music score and audio files.

²⁶ For Example:

www.kesson.com provides a catalogue of music that can be purchased either by postal order as a CD or a download as an mp3 file.

www.spotify.com which provides a subscription service to a range of music accommodating specialist interests.

²⁷ For example:

The Session: <http://www.thesession.org/tunes/>

Nova Irish Session: <http://www.novasession.org/Bog%20Kit/bwindex.htm>

The Mud Cat Cafe <http://mudcat.org/threads.cfm>

²⁸ Sue Davey: www.youtube.com – Caresenevales – Rescorla June 2009.

²⁹ Sherry Turkle, *Life on the screen : identity in the age of the Internet*. (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1995).

³⁰ Sherry Turkle, *Life on the screen*, p.15.

³¹ Sherry Turkle, interviewed by Dr Aleks Krotosky, *Virtual Revolution*, February 2010.

³² Shaun Fanning, interviewed by Dr Aleks Krotosky, *Virtual Revolution*.

³³ Clay Shirky, *Cognitive surplus : creativity and generosity in a connected age*. (New York, Penguin Press, 2010).

³⁴ Clay Shirky, *Here comes everybody : the power of organizing without organizations*. (New York, Penguin Press, 2008).

³⁵ For example typing in the name of a tune or a song into a search engine is likely to list sites such as *The Mudcat Cafe* (<http://mudcat.org/>) or Lyrics Domain (<http://www.lyricsdomain.com>), and link to both discussions of a songs origins and a variety of versions.

³⁶ Darin Barney, *The Network Society*, p. 177, with reference to

Georg W.F.Hegel. *The philosophy of right : the philosophy of history*. (Chicago, Encyclopaedia Britannica. 1952)

³⁷ Taking sites such as www.an-daras.com and www.cornishculture.co.uk as starting points a number of sites can be found with information about Cornish Traditions, performers and events.

³⁸ "Google Search Basics" explains this process:

[http://www.google.com/support/websearch/bin/answer.py?hl=\(hl\)&answer=134479&rd=1](http://www.google.com/support/websearch/bin/answer.py?hl=(hl)&answer=134479&rd=1), Accessed 2nd December 2010.

³⁹ "Carolan's Concerto (Fanny Power)", Derek Bell *Carolan's Reciept (Claddagh Records, 1975)* Turlough O'Carolan was a Seventeenth Century Irish Harper and composer, his music was introduced in the seventies to a wider folk world by The Chieftains and their harpist, Derek Bell.

⁴⁰ Participant observation: the Cornish Arms at St Merryn was managed By Chris Ivins in 2005 and 2006 before moving to the Ring of Bells at St Issey. He hosted a Cornish music and singing session on a monthly basis at both pubs.

⁴¹ New World Celts

- Website URL: <http://www.newworldcelts.org/>
- Facebook: <http://www.facebook.com/home.php?#!/group.php?gid=45775475618>
- Accessed 25th November 2010.
- Stated aims: "To promote awareness of the outstanding contributions and history of the Celtic Peoples in the formation and continuance of the New World"

⁴² Celtic Link

- Website URL <http://www.thecelticlink.com/>
- Facebook: <http://www.facebook.com/home.php?#!/group.php?gid=127240167215>
- Accessed 25th November 2010
- Stated aims "connecting Celts throughout the globe.....to build stronger links within the Celtic world both musically and culturally and to connect people and individuals alike from all corners of the globe".

⁴³ Nessim Watson, "Why We Argue About Virtual Community: A Case Study Of The Phis.Net Fan Community" in *Virtual culture : identity and communication in cybersociety*, ed by Steven G Jones, (London, Sage Publications. 1998), pp. 102 - 132.

⁴⁴ Kathleen A. Bolland and Charles A. Atherton "Chaos Theory: An Alternative Approach to Social Work Practice and Research", *Families in Society, The Journal of Contemporary Human Services* 80.(4), (1999), pp. 367-73. Also discussed in Chapter 6: Competing Speech Communities.

⁴⁵ John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism* (London, Continuum, 1991), p. 81.

⁴⁶ Scoot Dancing – a form of Step dance relying on metal heels and toes pieces – see glossary.

⁴⁷ Kemysk: The Cornish Dance Project: www.kemysk.co.uk Accessed 26th November 2010.

⁴⁸ Kemysk Cornish Dancers, <http://www.facebook.com/home.php?#!/pages/Kemysk-Cornish-Dancers/152741794742376>, Accessed 26th November 2010

⁴⁹ Kemysk Cornish Dancers

⁵⁰ You Tube: Kemysk, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oNxG6i0hcKc>, Accessed 26th November 2010.

⁵¹ The Cornish Gorsedh regularly recognises the work done to promote Cornish identity and Culture overseas by awarding Bardships for “services to Cornwall overseas” and also has an “ambassadors shield” for services to the Cornish Diaspora.

⁵² For Example: Cornish Association of Queensland, <http://www.cornishqld.com/> (accessed 3rd Dec 2010): Toronto Cornish Association, <http://www.torontocornishassociation.org/>, accessed 3rd Dec 2010: Pennsylvania Cornish association, <http://www.pacornish.org/>, accessed 3rd Dec 2010.

⁵³ Sharron P Schwartz, “Cornish Migration Studies: An Epistemological And Paradigmatic Critique”, in *Cornish Studies 10*, ed. Philip Payton, (Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 2002), p.136.

⁵⁴ International Gathering Of The Cornish Cousins, <http://www.cornishfest.org/gathering-of-cornish-cousins.html>, accessed 3rd December 2010.

⁵⁵ Kernewek Lowender : <http://www.kernewek.org/History2.html> , accessed 3rd Dec 2010.

⁵⁶ Francis O'Neill, and James O'Neill *The dance music of Ireland : 1001 gems : double jigs, single jigs, hop or slip jigs, reels, hornpipes, long dances, set dances, etc.* (Chicago, Lyon & Healy, 1907).

⁵⁷ Frank Rodes, “Step Dancing in Nova Scotia” in Joan Flett, et al. *Traditional step-dancing in Scotland.* (Edinburgh, Scottish Cultural Press, 1996), p.185.

⁵⁸ Tom Bowden, "Kernewek Lowender 20 years ago", *Cornwall 24 Magazine*, posted October 2010, <http://www.cornwall24.net/magazine/kernewek-lowender-20-years-ago/>, accessed 6th December 2010.

⁵⁹ Sharron P Schwartz, "Cornish Migration Studies, p.156.

⁶⁰ See Chapter 3 and the evidence provided by antiquarian writers.

⁶¹ Philip Payton, *Cornish Carols From Australia*, (Redruth, Dyllansow Truran, 1984).

⁶² Grass Valley Choir: <http://gvmalevoicechoir.org/>, accessed 3rd December 2010. also Downtown Grass Valley : <http://www.downtowngrassvalley.com/grass-valley/st-pirans.html>, accessed 3rd December 2010.

⁶³ *Wisconsin Folksong Collection, 1937-1946*, University Of Wisconsin Digital Collections, <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/WiscFolkSong/>, Accessed 5th December 2010.

⁶⁴ Celeste Ray (University of the South, Tennessee) "Transatlantic Celts: Ancestral Tourism and Scottish Clanscapes" paper presented at *CAVA Conference 2006: '21st Century Celts'*, 8-10 September, County Hall, Truro with reference to: Celeste Ray *Transatlantic Celts* (Alabama, University of Alabama Press, 2005)

⁶⁵ E.g. programme of events Gathering Of Cornish Cousins, Philadelphia August 1999. Author attended this festival with a Cornish Youth Dance Group: Mineral Point Cornish Festival 2010, <http://www.cornishfest.org/gathering-of-cornish-cousins.html>, accessed 6th Dec 2010: Kernewek Lowender: <http://www.kernewek.org/>, accessed 5th December 2010.

⁶⁶ Darin Barney, *The Network Society*, p. 177.

⁶⁷ H L Pearce "The Hurling Game at St Columb", *Old Cornwall*, 1958, vol. 5, no. 9, p. 368.

⁶⁸ Ivan Rabey, *Hurling at St Columb and in Cornwall: a study in history and tradition*. (Padstow, Lodenek Press, 1972).

⁶⁹ Participatory action research: author is a member of Bewnans Kernow, a cultural organisation set up in 2009 as forum for various Cornish organisations that would meet Cornwall Councils need to have a single point of contact for information about Cornish Cultural organisations. A spin off from this was the large email network that developed which could be used to circulate questions on practically any aspect of Cornish culture and elicit information and advice.

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Conclusion: *showcasing Cornish folk tradition*

This study provides a major contribution to New Cornish Studies and demonstrates that folk tradition is an important issue in understanding modern Cornwall. It shows that there is a strong link between folk tradition and identity in Cornwall and that this is a positive and creative relationship. Understanding folk tradition and identity as processes rather than static artefacts or states of being is the key to this study. This challenges popular stereotypes and portrays folk tradition as a contemporary process that draws upon the past but takes place in the present and embraces the changes that will arise in the future. Using the formula of “process” rather than reducing folk traditions to disparate groups of phenomena has enabled a more holistic approach to the subject. A significant outcome of this work has been to demonstrate the full extent of folk tradition in Cornwall, past and present, and to recognise the variety of ways in which it has been recorded.

The study of folk tradition also serves to increase our wider knowledge of Cornwall by providing an alternative vantage point on key issues of the present as well as the past. It provides another view of the mindsets of the early nineteenth century industrialists, the romanticism of the antiquarians and the world of the Celto-Cornish revivalists. All of which provide a legacy that impacts upon how Cornwall is perceived today. Observing folk traditions today provides insight into the impact of contemporary social trends on the identity of modern Cornwall from the debate about the black faces of the Padstow mummers to the Celtic Festival scene. This study also introduces the intriguing prospect that the interconnectivity resulting from new information technologies will strengthen both folk tradition and Cornish identity.

The significance of this study and the approach taken to folk tradition goes beyond Cornwall into a broader Celtic, European and global context. It recognises that all traditions and identities are in a sense constructed but argues that this does not make them artificial or inauthentic. Indeed, the case made by this study is that folk tradition is, by its very nature, a process of construction but rooted in elements that represent continuity and community ownership. The ways in which these elements are drawn together create a profile that defines the cultural distinctiveness of a community. This study examines these elements and with particular reference to Cornwall but in doing so provides new insights into the development of folk tradition in the other Celtic communities.

This chapter summarises how the understanding of folk tradition has been developed and extended in this study. It evaluates the inter-relationship with identity and particularly the impact of an evolving sense of a Celtic Cornwall on folk tradition. The use of action research as an enquiry tool is reviewed here together with the impact of the researcher upon the researched. The conclusion to this study is that folk tradition is a natural, ongoing and powerful social process.

Folk tradition in a Cornish context

The concepts of “folk song”, “folklore” and “folk tradition” evolved within the Romantic Movement alongside notions of nationality, regionality and authenticity of origin. A sense of purity developed from this that saw folk tradition as distanced from commerciality, popular culture and arbitrary aestheticism by merit of continuity with the past and a Darwinian process of selection within community ownership. In the mid twentieth century, this was articulated by the International Folk Music Council’s definition of folk music in oppositional terms to popular music; and Dorson’s use of the terms *fakelore* and *folklorismus* to describe folk traditions contrived for the purposes of commerciality and tourism.¹

The emergence of “folk” as a genre of popular music alongside of “Jazz” and “Rock” provided a twist, which challenged this. In Britain, this was represented by the development of MacColl and Lloyd’s folk club scene in the fifties and sixties. Although MacColl and Lloyd sought authenticity by making use of the Child Ballads,² they were nevertheless also influenced by Gramscian notions of voicing a challenge to hegemonic power through folk song. This was realised through compositions such as MacColl’s “Dirty Old Town” and embracing the American protest song culture of singers like Bob Dylan.

To an extent, the old school accommodated this by recognising a distinction between traditional and contemporary folk. However, the whole issue of tradition and the authenticity of collectors and revivalists were subject to substantial deconstruction from critics such as Hobsbawn, Harker and Boyse in the latter half of the twentieth century.³ Tradition was seen as either an invention to legitimise the ruling elite, or a folk phenomenon that was mediated in order to support its ideology. Critics argued that mediation was a significant agent of change in folk music together with the influences of commercial and aesthetic interests. This challenged the sense of

legitimacy in folk tradition and opened the door to a postmodern free for all where nothing was authentic. What it did do was free the study of folk music from the constraints of earlier orthodoxy and encourage the move towards a more pragmatic view. Writers such as Ó Giolláin ⁴ and Russell ⁵ subsequently brought the study of traditional music into an era that recognised the complexity of folk tradition as a social phenomenon.

Folk dance definitions followed a slightly different trajectory with Hoerburger's proposal that traditional dance could be seen as having first and second existences. The first existence equated with an original setting and the second with a revived one. Nahachewsky developed this idea further to show a cyclical relationship between first and second existences. Reflexivity featured as an agent of change in the first existence and reflectivity in the second. In this model, reflexive change is a response to external social and cultural influences and reflective change the result of a considered and evaluative approach on the part of the participants. Selection is a factor in both reflexivity and reflectivity in that the new element is attractive to or felt appropriate by the performer. Nahachewsky makes the point that a tradition can also move from a second existence to an original one. She illustrates this by showing that Ukrainian dances imported to Canada by migrants as a second existence tradition would be seen as existing in an original setting as the new communities became established.

This study argues that Nahachewsky's template can be combined with the principles of continuity and selectivity in community ownership to provide a model that describes and explains the folk process in relation to music and songs as well as dance. It helps to situate guizing traditions in Cornwall, for example, and anticipates that there will be cycles of popularity, decline and revival. In Helston, the Hal An Tow, can now reasonably be described as a first existence tradition in an original social and geographic location that takes place on an historically established date. In the last few years, there have been changes such as the inclusion of Cornish language on banners and the introduction of the character St Piran, which are a response to the prevailing social trend of increased awareness of Cornish identity.

The Hal An Tow had ceased to be performed by the end of the nineteenth century and it was due to the efforts of the Celto-Cornish movement that it was revived in 1930. The reconstruction was a reflective process informed by the recollections of people who had observed or participated in it historically and a comparison with other

Guizing traditions, particularly Padstow's Obby Oss. From the vantage point of the 21st century, the absence of performance during the first decades of the 20th century seems but a small blip against an overall continuity recorded back as far as 1790. The Old Cornwall Society, who were the original instigators of the revival now have little involvement and the tradition lies entirely in the ownership of the local community.

This approach also helps to understand songs or tunes as products of this process in their own right, as well as being part of a broader community singing tradition. Indeed the concept of cyclical relationship between first and second existences can be extended to accommodate the way in which material of commercial or art music origins can be absorbed into folk tradition. The value of this insight is that it focuses on the extent to which structure, meaning and context has changed rather than whether an art music or commercial origin is identified. It explains why songs like Maggie May and Little Lize can be understood as traditional to Cornwall although they originate as composed popular music in the United States. These songs were popular in Cornwall because they lent themselves well to informal harmony and extended choruses not because of massive exposure or marketing. Both were the subject of structural change in words and music through the process of oral folk tradition and have a first existence / original setting within community singing sessions. It is arguable that they also have a second, reflective, existence represented by translation into the Cornish language and their incorporation into musical arrangements intended to portray Cornish identity.⁶

An important point argued in this study is that the development of performance through critical reflection in a second existence is as much part of the folk process as accidental or intuitive change in the first existence. This makes sense of contemporary phenomena such as folk festivals and dance displays as part of the folk process. In Cornwall this is particularly so for activities arising out of the Celto-Cornish movement where reflectivity will involve judgments about Cornishness and identity. The Lowender Peran festival is an example of a stakeholder that will make judgements about the Celtic and Cornish nature of performance before providing a platform for that performance. Another clear example of reflectivity is the Cornish dance competitions, set up in the first instance by the Cornish Gorsedh. Entries are invited for performance of traditional dances and newly composed dances in a traditional style and adjudicated using criteria based on quality of performance and the observation of traditional steps and choreography. An outcome of this has been the development of a much greater

consistency of style and a sharper performance.⁷ These events serve to build on the repertoire of Cornish dances but selectivity is quite fierce and only those compositions that catch the imagination of the dancers are regularly seen in performance.

This study does move beyond Nahachewsky's essentially material and structural template by emphasising the importance of meaning and the role of folk tradition as site of memory. Here, the folk phenomenon acts as a vehicle carrying meanings and memories between people and across generations with each adding their own significance and attaching greater or lesser importance to that inherited from predecessors. The song Trelawny is an example of this. It was originally composed by Hawker circa 1825 drawing on the folk motif of "here's twenty Thousand Cornishmen will know the reason why" and the story of Bishop Trelawny. By the end of that century, it had become a rallying point for Cornish identity in the growing Diaspora and by the next a symbol of defiance against the establishment whether in the context of County Rugby Championships or the celebration of the 500th anniversary 1497 rebellion.⁸ There has been little change in words or tune but the meaning and significance for contemporary singers is arguably different to that attached by Hawker or Sandys.⁹

Trelawny is very tangible as a site of memory for the Celto-Cornish speech community but the same principle applies to more personal and poignant circumstances. In Magliocco's documentary of Padstow May,¹⁰ interviewees describe how the faces of people long since deceased seem to remain present amongst the Mayers on May Day. Likewise, some songs are strongly associated with, and continue to be attributed to, certain singers who have since passed away. Maggie May is an example which has been encouraged by the nostalgic nature of the lyrics. The interesting point is that within the Celto-Cornish movement, the song is attributed to John Bolitho, late Grand Bard and within the folk club scene to Charlie Bate who was an associate of Peter Kennedy and a driving force of the folk revival in Cornwall.

The database supporting this study contains approximately 1100 references relating to 639 folk phenomena collected in Cornwall over an approximate 200-year period to the present. Drawing on the paradigms of discursivity, oral history and memory it is clear that the records in this database are not comparing like to like. What they provide instead are snapshots of oral folk tradition as filtered by the mindset, knowledge and skills of the individual collectors together with the technology and locations available to them. For example, Gilbert had neither the musical skills of

Dunstan, nor the mobility of Kennedy. Baring Gould and Sharp were both class conscious and collected material for publication and performance within an entirely different social setting to that of their sources. In contrast, Miners and the Thomas family recorded oral folk tradition from the communities of which they were a part. Likewise, Dunstan for all that he had an academic career in music outside of Cornwall, recorded musical traditions that he had himself participated in as a young man as well as drawing on the memories of his contemporaries as an older person in late 1920s Cornwall.

Rising tides of Celtic Identity

In the 21st Century, the term “Celtic” is associated with a much wider range of meanings than at its genesis in the early eighteenth century. For Llyud and his contemporaries it was a linguistic term but became synonymous with the communities who spoke the Celtic languages of the Western European seaboard. When Herder introduced the romance of folklore as an expression of nationality, especially subjugated minority nationalities, Celtic identity was well placed to be part of this movement and although it was in a sense a “construct” so were other the identities of this time. This did not make it artificial or inauthentic.¹¹

Understanding Cornwall and its language was a key factor in the development of the term Celtic and the recorders and collectors of folk tradition from Gilbert through to Baring Gould all made reference to Cornish Celticity. Unlike their contemporaries elsewhere in the Celtic world, their interest was not to quarry the folkloric past in order to actualise and justify a modern identity but rather to celebrate its passing. Gilbert's stake was that there was little room for archaic languages and peasant traditions in the modern, technocratic Cornish identity. Bottrell, Hunt and Courtney mediated in favour of romance and nostalgia. Baring Gould also held romantic notions about folk tradition but was one of the forerunners of a more revivalist approach.

The early years of the twentieth century saw the increasing development of speech communities across the British Isles and Ireland, each with a stake in what folk traditions represented and how they could be interpreted. In Scotland, Wales, Ireland and the Isle of Man this was part of a continuing movement seeking to represent the cultural integrity of the nations concerned. In England Sharp made clear that he saw folk dance and song as a way of celebrating Englishness. Critics such as Harker and

Boyse later suggested that Sharp he also saw it as a way of maintaining the hegemonic status quo.

This study shows that in Cornwall, the Celto-Cornish movement also saw folk tradition as part of the armoury available to promote Cornish distinctiveness. It faltered slightly with Jenner's lead as he had very little understanding of folk tradition and a class-consciousness that distanced him from any experiential contact. Indeed, Jenner expresses the views and motives for which Sharp was criticised by Harker and Boyse.¹² With the advent of the Old Cornwall Societies in 1920, the Celto-Cornish movement connected in an organisation very much owned by the people and not the academic or political establishment. Activists such as William D Watson, the Thomas family and Tom Miners were regular contributors to the Old Cornwall Society Magazines as well as the Folk Song Journal and were amongst the performers to be recorded by Carpenter in 1931. The important point about these people is that they were participants and performers themselves and not "visiting folklorists". They were recording what they and their immediate peers sang and performed.

Although the Cornish language remained its primary concern, the Celto-Cornish movement steadily developed its engagement with Cornish folk traditions during the first half of the nineteenth century. It identified Cornishness with folk tradition located in an original "first existence" setting and was a positive force in promoting revival and continuity. A large amount of material was recorded in the Old Cornwall Society Magazines. People like A K Hamilton Jenkin revisited the work of the nineteenth century antiquarians and used it to revive and support traditions such as Guize dancing and the midsummer festival of Golowan. Dunstan's two songbooks, published in 1929 and 1932, were seminal in establishing a body of folk songs identified as Cornish. His were the first of a string of publications of songs, music and dances linked to Cornish identity that continue to the present. These served to provide the material for performance in new locations seen as second, reflective existence folk tradition in Nahachewsky's model.

A key point argued in this study is that folk tradition in Cornwall became contested territory in the sixties and seventies. It is here that the concepts of speech communities and power relationships are particular useful in analysing the debate. By this time, the folk song and dance culture of Sharp had merged with the folk club scene of MacColl and Lloyd to provide for a folk revival and a speech community with a

discursivity that had very little room for a Cornish folk tradition outside of an English one. Sharp had effectively collected just one dance in Cornwall and a small number of folk songs so when the folk revival arrived in Cornwall it brought its own songs and dances with it. The homegrown Celto-Cornish movement at the same time was developing a relationship with pan-Celtic festival culture and the ability to provide a quite different representation of Cornish folk tradition to that of the folk revival. The most significant difference being that it shared with the other Celtic regions an oppositional identity in relation to England.

A feature of the debate at the time was the perceived “common sense” of the more powerful English / British folk revivalist speech community. Claims to Cornishness in folk tradition were seen to be spurious and inauthentic, especially the mediation of some songs by translation into Cornish or tunes by the adoption of Cornish titles.¹³ Particularly interesting here is that contemporary critiques were showing English, Scottish and Welsh folk traditions to have been subject to an equivalent level of mediation.¹⁴

One of the intriguing revelations of this study is the contrast between the approach taken by the Old Cornwall Societies in collecting and reviving traditions to that of the English collectors from Sharp through to Kennedy. In the case of the former, ownership of the tradition and its revival remained with the individuals and communities from whence it came. For the latter there was a tendency for it to become their personal domain. It was as if the Old Cornwall Societies had anticipated and addressed the criticism and deconstruction of folk tradition by Harker and Boyse by some fifty years.

Outcomes of action research

Participatory action research was the principle means of obtaining information on contemporary folk activity for this study. In practice, this comprised of a mixture of project work, interviews, correspondence and dialogue together with participant and passive observation. Such a method does not cover every traditional event or record the frequency of performance of a dance or a song, to do so would clearly not be possible. The methodology of action research nevertheless provides a level of critical reflection and triangulation with other evidence that justifies it as a reasonable contemporary record of folk tradition in Cornwall.¹⁵

The impact of the researcher upon the researched is a recurring theme in this study and a particular issue when participation is used to gain information and insights. This study argues that, by observing the ethics of ownership and empowerment embedded in participatory action research, this impact can be a positive one. Two projects serve to illustrate this, the “Padstow Mummers” and the “Clay Country Customs” (Rescorla Festival).¹⁶ For the Padstow Mummers project, a detailed analysis of the historical and legal contexts was published as a paper. This was then lodged with the local information centre and shared through dialogue with various stakeholders. The information provided by this research will serve to inform future debate and support the Padstow Mummers against criticism. The Clay Country Customs project involved local people in remembering and researching customs associated with the area. The practical outcome of this was the sharing of information about these customs through workshops and publications and the revival of the *Snail Creep*. Another important outcome was to provide contributors with a sense of value in these customs and their recollections of them.

Continuity

Just as the work of the folk song collector and folklorist bears witness to the continuity of oral folk tradition over a 200-year period in Cornwall so this present study shows that the process continues today. The feast days, Guize Dancing and street processions identified in this study provide evidence of both continuity and revival of folk traditions in Cornwall. This study also shows that increasing recognition and expression of Cornish distinctivity is a prevailing social trend that is reflected in the dress, dances and music used in these customs along with “badges” of Cornishness such as the St Piran’s flag.

It is also clear from this study that not all events within oral folk tradition are immediately visible and that there is considerable activity within relatively private spaces as well as well-advertised public locations. Obvious amongst these are the informal singing sessions but weddings and private parties also provide a significant location for traditional activity especially around social dance. What is particularly interesting here is that few of the performers involved in traditional aspects of Cornish music and dance promote themselves on a strongly commercial basis so that event organisers will have been actively seeking out something of this nature rather than simply booking suitable entertainment.

This study shows that the relationship between Cornish identity and oral folk tradition is a symbiotic one. Cornish identity and its connection with the “Celtic Imaginary” has resulted in opportunities for performers to present traditional material to a wider audience on the festival scene and in turn have this material recognised and reinforced. This has both reflexive and reflective impact upon Cornish folk traditions by introducing new ideas and encouraging critical examination of performance. As well as being a stakeholder in the Cornishness of established folk customs, the Celto-Cornish movement is a key player in the social trend of increasing interest in Cornish identity, which creates new locations for traditional music and dance activity. St Piran’s tide provides a number of examples of this with organisations and towns throughout Cornwall staging events that are likely to incorporate some form of music or dance from Cornish tradition.

It is apparent from participatory action research that, far from being a destructive force, the information revolution and global interconnectivity has integrated with and accelerated the process of oral folk tradition. A key issue here is the disempowerment of hegemony within this particular medium, whether that hegemony is understood in terms of a ruling elite, cultural imperialism or a global conglomerate. Folk activity on the internet is much more akin to Old Cornwall Society members sharing information about songs dances and customs amongst themselves. As opposed to Cecil Sharp who made judgements about what it was appropriate to publish as traditional or record companies making decisions about what forms of folk tradition to promote.

The flywheel of folk tradition

This study has taken the reader on a journey through the folk traditions of the people of Cornwall. It has engaged with these traditions from the perspectives of critic, observer and participant. It has also explored the processes that lay behind folk tradition and the meanings attributed to it. For the researcher, one of the strangest revelations is that the study of folk tradition is about the present and not the past and one of the delights, its chaotic nature.

By developing the concept of folk tradition as a process this thesis shows that it acts as a kind of flywheel which increases momentum as new ideas and meanings are added. This thesis argues that the very mechanisms that were feared would cause the demise of folk tradition, from the printing press to global communications and mass interconnectivity, have in fact added to its momentum. This makes the present time

particularly exciting time for the study of folk tradition. Although the internet may not have achieved the freedoms and emancipation dreamed of by its early enthusiasts, the culture of connectivity has become matter of fact rather than novel. Paired with new audiovisual technologies it facilitates the instant sharing of music and images without the intervention of commercial or artistic interests.

Writing in the mid 1920s at a pivotal point in the development of the Celto-Cornish movement, Nance voiced a clear view on the interaction between folk traditions of the past and the Cornwall of the future.¹⁷ He saw the folk culture of Cornwall as the material from which a “New Cornwall” and strong Cornish identity could be forged. By the twenty first century, significant elements of Nance’s ambitions for Cornish cultural integrity and recognition have been realised particularly in terms of pan Celticism, linguistic heritage and folk tradition. His “New Cornwall”, however, remains a future to which the Celto-Cornish movement aspires and folk tradition will provide a medium well placed to express the Cornish identities of the future.

Notes

¹ The International Folk Music Council definition agreed at the 1954 conference and Richard M. Dorson, "Is Folklore a Discipline?" *Folklore* 84(3): (1973) p.199 and p.204. See also discussion Chapter 1. pp. 24 -25.

² Francis James Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. (Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin and Co, 1857 – 1882). This collection provided a corpus of folk ballads for the folk revivals.

³ Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983). See Chapter 1. pp. 24 - 25 for discussion.

⁴ Diarmuid Ó Giolláin, *Locating Irish Folklore : Tradition, Modernity, Identity*, (Sterling, VA: Cork University Press, 2000).

⁵ Ian Russell and David Atkinson, *Folk Song : Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*, (Aberdeen: Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, 2004).

⁶ See appendices 2.10 and 2.11, also *The Ghosts of May*, Pete Berryman, CD, Zafredot, 2010. Track 11, "Cambornia", includes a jazz arrangement of "Little Lise".

⁷ Ted Chapman, *Lowender Peran Video Archive 1987- 2011*, Lowender Peran Celtic Festival, Perranporth, The development of performance style can be observed from video footage of Cornish dance groups main stage performances.

⁸ The events involving Bishop Trelawny, and romanticised by Hawker, actually took place in 1687 but what has happened here is that this song has become detached from its original meaning and connected generally with expressions of Cornish dissent from 1497 onwards.

⁹ See Appendix 2.3

¹⁰ Sabrina Magliocco and John Bishop, *Oss Tales*. Media-Generation, 2007, [DVD / CD-Rom format].

¹¹ Amy Hale and Philip Payton, *New Directions in Celtic Studies*, Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), p. 9.

¹² Henry Jenner. "The Renaissance of Merry England: Presidential Address, September 1920", in *Journal of the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society Journal* (Falmouth), 1922, pp. 51 - 61.

¹³ See discussion of "I Love my love / Ryb and Avon", chapter 4. p. 114.

¹⁴ David Harker, *Fakesong: The Manufacture of British "Folksong" 1700 to the Present Day*, (Milton Keynes, Open University Press, 1985).

Georgina Boyes, *The Imagined Village : Culture, Ideology, and the English Folk Revival*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1993).

Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*.

See also discussion in chapter 1. p. 17.

¹⁵ Chapter 2 describes the methodology of participatory action research and appendices 3 and 4 record the practical application of this together with case examples.

¹⁶ See appendices 4.1 and 4.2 and discussion in chapter 7.

¹⁷ Robert Morton Nance, "What we stand for", *Old Cornwall*, (St Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1925), vol. 1, p. 1.

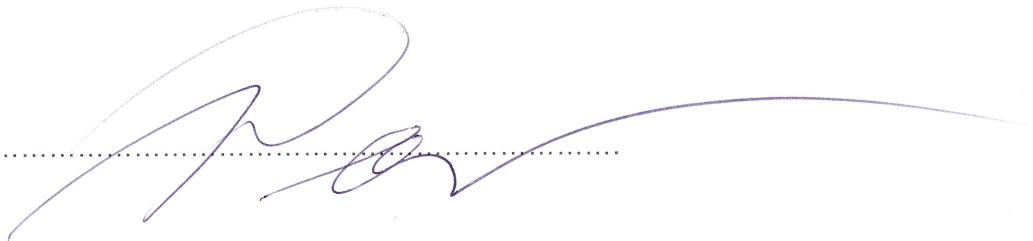
“As is the manner and the custom”
Folk tradition and identity in Cornwall
Volume 2 of 2

Submitted by Mervyn Rex Davey to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in September 2011

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I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

Signature:

A handwritten signature in blue ink, consisting of a large, stylized initial 'R' followed by a series of loops and a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

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Appendix 1. Database summary

1.1 list of folk phenomena collected in Cornwall identified in this study

1. Adam And Eve
2. Adam's Fall
3. Adieu Sweet lovely Nancy
4. Allan Apples
5. Alphabet Song
6. Altarnon Volunteer
7. Ann Tremellan / Barbara Ellen
8. Are you a widow or wife / Gilly FLower
9. As I sat on a sunny Bank
10. As I walked out / on a May Morning Early
11. As Johnnie Walked Out
12. **B**anks of Sweet Dundee, The
13. Banks of the Newfoundland
14. Barley Mow
15. Barn Dance
16. Barn Door Waltze / Darras n Skyber
17. Batchelors Easy Life
18. Begone From The Window
19. Behold what Grace
20. Bet Mills Spinning Song
21. Betsy Gunner
22. Betsy Watson
23. Bingo - Tea Treat dance game
24. Bishops Jig
25. Black Prince
26. Black Velvet Band, The
27. Blind Fiddler
28. Blow my Bully Boys Blow
29. Blue Bonnets/ Penghughow Glas
30. Bodmin Play
31. Bodmin Riding
32. Bodmin Riding Procession
33. Bodmin Town / Tre Bosvenegh
34. Bold General Wolf /General Wolf
35. Bold Privateer /Morladron
36. Bold Reynolds
37. Bolingey Furry
38. Bonfire Dance - Circle
39. Bonny Light Horseman
40. Boscastle Breakdown
41. Boscastle Fair
42. Both Sexes Give Ear To My Fancy
43. Bro Goth
44. Broom Dance
45. Broom Dance - North Hill
46. Broom Stick / An Wellen Skubyl
47. Burying Song
48. Buttercup Joe
49. Byngo
50. **C**adgewith / Come Fill Up your glasses
51. Cadgwith Anthem
52. Camborne Hill / Bre Cambron
53. Can Jack / Jack's Song
54. Can Scoswas / Squires Song
55. Candle Dance
59. Candle Dance / Wedding Custom
60. Candlemas / Carol for the Twelveth Night
61. Carol Kelineen San Day
62. Caroline Of Edinboro Town
63. Chase the Buffalo
64. Cherry Tree Carol- Keresen Waltz. ,
65. Choir of Angels / Cor Elow
66. Christmas is Drawing Nigh
67. Claude Parkin's Hornepipe
68. Cloamen Dish/ Nursery Rhyme
69. Cluster of Nuts
70. Cobblers Hornepipe
71. Cock in Britches / The Weedin' Paddle
72. Cockles and Mussels
73. Cold Blows the Wind
74. Cold Green Bank - Dance Game
75. Come All Ye Tanners
76. Come all ye youth from Cornwall
77. Come My Lads
78. Compliments Returned
79. Constantine In Kerrier
80. Constantine In Kerrier Funeral Hymn
81. Cornish Alphabet
82. Cornish Girls /Mowysy Kernow
83. Cornish Kitchen
84. Cornish Knight / Marhek
85. Cornish Lads
86. Cornish Mating Dance
87. Cornish Ox Drivers Song
88. Cornish Squire
89. Cornish Wassail Song
90. Cornish Wassail Song
91. Cornish Wassail Song
92. Cornwall (is not a county)
93. Cornwall Queen of All
94. Cotillion
95. Counting Game: Kerayjes
96. Counting Rhyme Falmouth
97. Counting Rhyme St Just
98. Counting Rhyme: As I cam a Walking
99. Counting Rhyme: Hiary, Hoary
100. Counting Rhyme: Little Old Man
101. Counting Rhyme:Ena Mena
102. Counting Rhyme:Icary Arry
103. Country Dance 1752
104. Cradle Song
105. Crantock Games / Willie Coombe
106. Crimean War
107. Cross, The
108. Cry of the Pilchard Man
109. Crying the Neck
110. Crying the Neck - East Cornwall
111. Crying The Neck- Kynance
112. Cuckoo / Cornish Courtship
113. Cushion Dance - Joan Sanderson

114. **Daddy** Fox
115. Damon And Phyllis
116. Daras A'n Skyber / Barn Door
117. De Hala Me / May Feast
118. Death Of Parker
119. Deep In Love
120. Delkiow Sevy / Deliw Syvy
121. Derby Ram
122. Devil In Cornwall., The
123. Dilly Song., The
124. Dons Culyek Lanust / St Just Cock Dance
125. Down In Cupids Garden
126. Dreadnought, The
127. Drowned Lover
128. Drunken Sailor, The
129. Duffys Song
130. Dugging Ring
131. Duke of Cornwall's Reel
132. Duke of Cornwall's Daughter, the
133. Dunkin Hunkin
134. Dutch Girl / Mowes Yseldryow
135. Dybarth .
136. **Egloshayle** Ringers (1)
137. Egloshayle Ringers (2)
138. Eight Handed Reel
139. Elfin Knight, The / Jenefer Gentle
140. Elicompane
141. Elyn Howlek
142. Emigrant's Song / Stranger the / Estren
143. Estren / Stranger The
144. Everlasting Circle, The
145. **Falmouth** Assembly
146. Falmouth Polka / Polka Aberfal
147. Farewell And Adieu
148. Farewell She
149. Farmer's Boy, The
150. Fathom The Bowl
151. Featherstone's Doom
152. Fer Lyskerys / Liskeard Fair
153. Fisherman's Catch
154. Fisherman's Hymn
155. Fisherwomans Festival
156. Flaming Seraphs
157. Flight March
158. Flight March / Kerthyans Hes
159. Flogh a Genes
160. Flora Dance / Furry Dance
161. Flora Dance, John The Bone
162. Flora Lily Of The West
163. Flowers and Weeds
164. Flowers of the Valley
165. For Years and Years and Years
166. Forbidden Fruit / Frut Dyfennys
167. Forty Thieves
168. Four Hand Reel / Plethen A Beswar
169. Fox and The Goose, The
170. Fox Hunting
171. Fox Hunting Boys, The
172. Fox, The
173. Frills Frills
174. Friskee, Friskee - Dance Game
175. Frog and The Mouse
176. Frog pool March / Polquyken .
177. Furry - North Cornwall
178. Furry - Truro / John The Bon
179. Furry Dance - Clay Country
180. Furry Dance - Helston
181. **George** the Magic Cough .
182. Giglets Fair
183. Giles and Sarah
184. Glad Tidings
185. Glas
186. God Rest You Merry Gentlemen
187. Gods Own Son / An Dufunyans
188. Going Up Camborne Hill
189. Gold Gold
190. Golden Bird
191. Golden Vanity, The
192. Golowan
193. Golowan / Bonfire Dance
194. Golowan / Midsummer Bonfire / Festival
195. Gookow, The
196. Gosport Beach
197. Grampound Furry Dance
198. Green Cockade / An Rosenyk Wer
199. Green Cockade, The / Rosenyk Wer, An
200. Green Grass Grew All Around, The
201. Green Gravel
202. Ground For The Floor
203. Grumbling Farmers
204. Guise - Christmas Goose Dance
205. Guize Dance - Duffy and the Devil
206. Guize Dance - Madron
207. Guize Dance / Gise Dance -St George and Turkish Knight
208. Guize Dance -Perranuthnoe
209. Guize Dance Play / ChildrensGame Spanish Knight
210. Guize Dance Play / Christmas Play - Redruth
211. Guize Dance Play / Christmas Play - St Keverne
212. Guize Dance Play / Stithians Mummings
213. Guize Dance Play/ Cardgewith
214. Guize Dance Play: Fraddam
215. Guize Dance Play:Manaccan
216. Guize Dance Plays - Newlyn
217. Guizers
218. Guizers - St Ives
219. Guizers -Penzance
220. Guldize
221. **Hail** To The Homeland
222. Hal An Tow
223. Hal An Tow (Furry - Day Song)
224. Hallan Apples
225. Halloween Custom
226. Hand in Hand (Circle Dance)
227. Hands Across Dance / Corn Exchange Dance
228. Handsome Looking Mite, The
229. Hark, Hark! what news
230. Harvest Song
231. Harvey Darvey
232. Haul Away Jo Pulling Chantey

233. Haul the Bowline - Pulling Chantey
 234. Heave Away My Johnny
 235. Heaving the Lead
 236. Helston Fair
 237. Helston Furry /John The Bon
 238. Helston Furry Dance
 239. Henry Martin
 240. Here Come Three Dukes A Riding
 241. Here Comes I, Old Bump On
 242. Heres to the Devil
 243. Herring Song, The
 244. Herring the / Hernen Wyn
 245. Herring's Head, The
 246. Heva /Hevva
 247. Highwayman, The
 248. Holly and the Ivy, The
 249. Holly and the Ivy, The
 250. Holly Carol box
 251. Holy Well, The
 252. Holy Well, The
 253. House Keepers Rhyme
 254. Hungan / Hush a Bye
 255. Hunter, the / Helghya
 256. Huntsman Sounds His Horn
 257. Huntsman's Song,The
 258. Hurling Song
 259. Hurraw for Pinkie
 260. Hush A Bye
 261. I had a Little Cock
 262. I like Pickled Onions
 263. I Saw Three Ships
 264. I touched her on the toe
 265. I went down the River - Pulling Chantey
 266. In and Out The Window
 267. In Those Twelve Days - Carol
 268. It Rains It Hails, It Snows It BlowsPours
 269. Jack Robinson
 270. Jacks song (2) / Joggle along
 271. Jack's Song / Can Jack
 272. Jackson's Claret
 273. Jan Knuckey
 274. Jenkins Cornish Song
 275. Jennifer Gentle / Jenefra Jentyl
 276. Jimmy Murphy
 277. Joans Song
 278. Joe Muggins
 279. Joggle Along -Dance Game
 280. John Bunt / Jowan Bunt
 281. John Dory
 282. John Jago
 283. John Knill Ceremony
 284. Johnny Bucca
 285. Johnny Whiskey
 286. Jolly Miller
 287. Jolly Shilling
 288. Jolly Waggoner, The
 289. Jonathon, James and John
 290. Jovial Beggar, The
 291. Joys Of Mary
 292. Joys of Mary the (seven)
 293. Joys of Mary, The / Nine Joys of Mary, The
 294. Kanna Kernuak
 295. Keenly Lode, The
 296. Keeper, The
 297. Kensa Blethan - Allens Cornihs Rhyme
 298. King of Sweden / Myghtern Sweden
 299. King Shall Have His Own Again, The
 300. Kiss In The Ring
 301. Lady Evesham's Jig
 302. Ladys Duffys Song
 303. Lamorna
 304. Landithy
 305. Lanines Song : Let Lightnings Blow.
 306. LankyLoo
 307. Lannines Ssong
 308. Lark The / Awhesyth An
 309. Lark, The / An Awhesyth
 310. Lattapouch / Letterpooch
 311. Laughing Tune /Dons Wtherthyn
 312. Lemonday
 313. Libbety, Libbety-Lat- Dance step game
 314. Limadie
 315. Liskeard Fair / Fer Lyskerrys
 316. Little
317. Little Cock Sparrow, The
 318. Little Dun Mare, The
 319. Little Eyes
 320. Little Eyes
 321. Little Eyes
 322. Little Lamb
 323. Little Liza
 324. Little Pigs went to Market (In Cornish)
 325. Liverpool Packet, The
 326. Lo The Eastern Sages
 327. Lord Lovell
 328. Lord Nelson
 329. Lovely Nancy 50
 330. Lovers' Tasks
 331. Lovers Tasks, The
 332. Lowarn, An (CorinishWords)
 333. Lowlands - Pulling Chantey
 334. Lowlands Away
 335. Lowlands Away
 336. Lul H Lay
 337. Ma Grunen War'n Gelynen
 338. Madam Will You Walk
 339. Madron Guise Dance
 340. Maggie May
 341. Mallard, The / An Culyek Hos
 342. Marigold /Les An Gok
 343. Marriage May Become King Of Sweden -
 344. Mary Kelynack's
 345. May Day Carol
 346. May Day West Cornwall
 347. Maypole Dance
 348. Maypole Song
 349. Merry Seine Lads
 350. Midshipman Search The Boat
 351. Midsummer Bonfire "Penheved"
 352. Midsummer Bonfire / Tansys Golowan

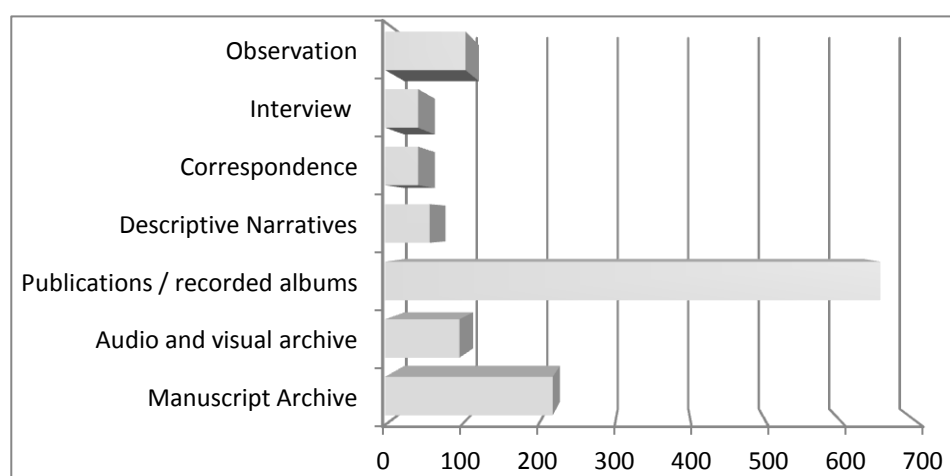
353. Midsummer Bonfire Pentewan
 354. Midsummer Bonfire, Midsummer, Carol
 355. Miller, The
 356. Millers Dance
 357. Miller's Last Will, The
 358. Miner's Anthem, The
 359. Miners Hornpipe / Tinnners Fancy
 360. Miners' Song, The
 361. Mister Blacksmith
 362. Mister John Bunt
 363. Mister Stormalong
 364. Mock Mayor - Stithians
 365. Mock Mayor - Bodmin
 366. Mock Mayor - Budock
 367. Mock Mayor - Buryan
 368. Mock Mayor - Chacewater
 369. Mock Mayor - Constantine
 370. Mock Mayor - Crowlas
 371. Mock Mayor - Halestown
 372. Mock Mayor - Helston
 373. Mock Mayor - Illogan
 374. Mock Mayor - Lanner
 375. Mock Mayor - Lostwithiel
 376. Mock Mayor - Lostwithiel
 377. Mock Mayor - Peace(Carnkie)
 378. Mock Mayor - Pelynt
 379. Mock Mayor - Penryn
 380. Mock Mayor - Penryn / Mylor
 381. Mock Mayor - Penzance
 382. Mock Mayor - Polperro
 383. Mock Mayor - Polperro
 384. Mock Mayor - St Germans
 385. Mock Mayor - St Germans
 386. Mock Mayor - St Neot
 387. Mock Mayor / Cuckles Court - Four Lanes
 388. Mock Mayors
 389. Morladron
 390. Morvah Fair
 391. Mothers Song
 392. Mr Martins Reel / Plethen Mester Martin
 393. Mrs Parkyns Jig
 394. Mummers Play - Sandys
 395. My Boy Billy
 396. My Father Had A horse
 397. My Good Old Man
 398. My Grandfathers Clock
 399. *Naw*then 'Cept You
 400. Nellie Dean
 401. New Mown Hay
 402. New Years Eve - Gwennap
 403. Newlyn Reel/ Plethen Lulynn
 404. Nicholas Pentreath
 405. Nightingale, The / Eos Whek
 406. Nine Brave Boys / Naw Map Harth
 407. No 1 Quick Step
 408. No Sir
 409. Nobleman And Thresher
 410. North Cornwall Furry
 411. Now You Are Married I Wish You Joy
 412. Nowell Nowell
 413. Number Song- The Long Hundred
 414. Ny A Vynsa -
 415. Ny Ol Devethas / Bowling Rhyme
 416. *Off* She Goes
 417. Oggie Song
 418. Oh The Broom
 419. Oh the Timers they are Hard
 420. Oh what a blow
 421. Old Adam / Squires Song
 422. Old Adam let his legs go bare
 423. Old Country Dance Tune
 424. Old Daddy Fox
 425. Old Friend John
 426. Old Grey Duck / An Hos Los Coth
 427. Old Hand In Hand
 428. Old Hundredth / Cor Trans
 429. Old Joe - Chantey
 430. Old King Cole
 431. Old Man Dubbin Deed
 432. Old Mother Hen
 433. Old Mother Nipper Nopper
 434. Old One And All, The
 435. Old Smugglers Song
 436. Old Time Religion
 437. Old Waits Carol The
 438. Oliver Colliver
 439. On the Mountains Styands A Lady
 440. Once I had a Crowder
 441. One And All
 442. One and All / Onen Hag Oil
 443. One evening So Clear / Gorthewer Mar Splan
 444. One Man And His Dog (In Cornish 1932)
 445. One Oh, The
 446. Ormand The Brave
 447. Ould Molly Pidgee
 448. Outlandish Knight, The
 449. Owl, The
 450. Ox-driver's Song
 451. Oxen Ploughing
 452. *Paddy* Doodle
 453. Paddys Blunder
 454. Padstow May Carol
 455. Padstow May Day
 456. Padstow May Song: The Day Song
 457. Padstow May Song: The Morning Song
 458. Padstow Mummers Play
 459. Padstow Obby Oss
 460. Parson Hogg
 461. Pass The Jug / Drinking Song
 462. Pasty Sellers Song
 463. Pasty Song, The
 464. Pencarrow / Arscott of Tetcott
 465. Personal Song
 466. Phoebe ...
 467. Pilchard Song -Rhyme / Towl Rooz
 468. Pippity Pippity
 469. Pleasant and Delightful
 470. Plethen Newlyn / Newlyn Reel
 471. Plough Boy, The
 472. Ploughman is a happy Soul

473. Point March
 474. Polka Aberfal / Falmouth Polka
 475. Pool of Pilate
 476. Poor Old Maidens, The
 477. Porthlystry
 478. Pray, Pretty Miss / Kiss in the Ring
 479. Quay Fair, The
 480. Queen Mary Song
 481. Quickstep of the 12th
 482. Ragged Beggar Man
 483. Railway Song
 484. Rarrawy
 485. Rattlebones
 486. Red Herring, The Song Of
 487. Reuben Ranzo
 488. Reuben Ranzo
 489. Riddle Song - As I went over London Bridge
 490. Riddle Song - Riddle me right
 491. Righteous Joseph
 492. Ringers - St Dominick Ringers, The
 493. Ringers of - St Dominicks -Ashwater Town
 494. Rio Grande, The
 495. Robin Hood and teh Bishop of Hereford
 496. Robin Hood and The Tanner
 497. Rogue's March
 498. Roll The Old Chariots
 499. Roll Tobacco / Tobacco Roll
 500. Rouse, Rouse
 501. Ryb An Avon
 502. St Gwinear Canticle
 503. St Ives Well Procession
 504. Sailors Alphabet
 505. Sally Brown
 506. Sandys Chant
 507. Sans Day Carol / St Day Carol
 508. Sarah Sykes
 509. Saturday Nighth is Coorten Night
 510. Scathow Sennen
 511. Sea Wrack (Scillionion Prayer)
 512. Searchers Song / Free Trade with France
 513. See In The East
 514. See What A Pretty Little Girl
 515. Seeds Of Love – Flowers And Weeds
 516. Seesaw Marjorie Daw
 517. Seige of St Malo
 518. Serpent Dance / Snake Dance / Serpentine Walk
 519. Serving Man and the Husbandman, The
 520. Seventeen Come Sunday
 521. Shallal
 522. Shanty Anna
 523. Shenadue (Chantey)
 524. Shule Agra
 525. Siege Of St. Malo
 526. Since We Were Boys Together
 527. Six hand reel / Cornish Way (Plethen a Wegh)
 528. Smugglers song
 529. Snail Creep
 530. Snail Lore - Bullorn
 531. Snail Race
 532. Snail Race Song St Ives
 533. Soldier On The Battlefield, The
 534. Song of the red Herring, The
 535. Spanish Ladies
 536. Sprig of May, The
 537. Sprig Of Thyme, The / The Lovers Tasks
 538. Squire's Song
 539. Squires Song / Can Scoswas
 540. St Austell Furry
 541. St Day Feast Dance
 542. St Gennys Fox-Hunting Song
 543. St Keverne Feast / Flight March
 544. St Malo
 545. St Pirantide
 546. St. Gennys Foxhunt, the
 547. St. Just' Cock Dance
 548. Story of My Country, The
 549. Stout Cripple Of Cornwall, The
 550. Stratton Carol of the Mnths / Carol and Mysow
 551. Streams of Lovely Nancy / Nantsian, The
 552. Summercourt Fair
 553. Sunny Corner March
 554. Sweet Nightingale / Eos Whek
 555. Syans Den Bal / Tinnens Fancy
 556. Take this Magic Wand in Hand
 557. Tally Ho Hark Away
 558. Tasks, Lovers Tasks, The
 559. Tasks,, The
 560. Tavern In The Town , The
 561. Tea Treats
 562. Terrytops' (Devil's) song
 563. There Stands A Lady
 564. Thousands or More
 565. Three Butchers, The
 566. Three hand Reel /Plethen a Dri
 567. Three Jolly Welshmen
 568. Three Knights, The /An Try Marghak
 569. Three Scholars / Jyg: Try Scoler
 570. Three Sisters /Try Whoer
 571. Thruble Step Dance
 572. Times They Are so hard
 573. To Mirth Inclined
 574. To Mirth Inclined (jig)
 575. To us a Child of Hope is Born
 576. Tobacco
 577. Toby
 578. Tom Bawcocks Eve / Wedding March
 579. Tom Bowling
 580. Tom Treloar / As Tom was a-walking
 581. Tomorrow Shall Be My Dancing Day...
 582. Treble Tailed Gypsy
 583. Tree In The Wood, The
 584. Tree On The Hill, The
 585. Tree they are so High
 586. Trelawny .
 587. Tremadheves / Tremadheeves
 588. Trevince March
 589. Trip To Truro
 590. Triumph, The
 591. Troyl
 592. Truro Agricultural Show

593. Truro Whitsun Fair
594. Tryphena Trenary
595. Turkey and the Pieman, The
596. Turkey Rhubarb / Tavol Turkey
597. Turning Of The Tide
598. Turpins ride to York
599. Twankidillo
600. Tweedily Tweedily
601. Twelve Days of Christmas
602. Twelve Joys of Mary, The
603. Two Babes In The Wood
604. **U**ncle Jan Dory
605. Untitled (I love My Love)
606. **V**irgin Most Pure / Magteth Moyha Pur
607. Virgin's Wreath / Garland, The
608. **W**arleggan Ox Driver
609. Wassail - Bodmin
610. Wassail – Constantine
611. Wassail - Padstow
612. Wassail - Padstow
613. Wassail - Truro
614. Wassail / Moorzeal
615. Wassail Song - Stithians Mummers
616. Watchword of Cornwall, The
617. Waters Of Tresillian, The
618. We Be
619. Well Done Liar
620. Well of St Keyne
621. Wembalo
622. What A Fine Hunting Day
623. What is that Upon thy Head
624. Wheal Rodney
625. When Adam First / Pan Adam.
626. When Shall We Be Married
627. Where are You Going To, My Pretty Maid
628. While Shepherd Watched
629. Whip the Cat
630. Whiskers on a Baby's Face
631. Whiskey (Chantey)
632. White Rose, The
633. Wild Rover, The
634. Wondrous Works
635. Wreck Off Scilly
636. Wrestling Match
637. **Y**e Sexes give ear
638. Ye Wintery Winds
639. **Z**eak Waltz

Appendix 1.2 Data sources for this study

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Observation	Interview	Correspondence	Descriptive Narratives	Publications / recorded albums	Audio and visual archive	Manuscript Archive
Number of items	105	43	43	58	647	97	219



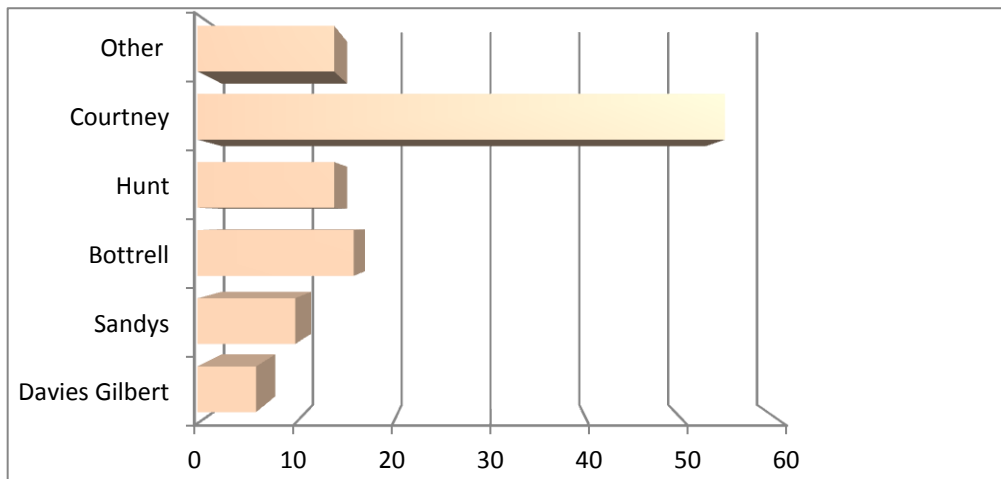
Notes

1. Observation: undertaken by author during the course of this study and recorded as written notes, audio file or an image.
2. Interviews: recorded by author either during the course of this study or previous fieldwork such as that connected with the Corollyn - Cornish Dance project 1992.
3. Correspondence: mostly in connection with participatory action research projects such as "Kanow Tavern – Cornish pub songs".
4. Descriptive narratives: there are some quite useful descriptions of folk traditions such as Guise dancing and the Snail Creep incorporated into both folk tales (e.g. Arthur T Quiller-Couch *The Delectable Duchy* (London, Dent & co the Wayfarers library, 1906) and locally based novels (e.g. Salome Hocking, *Some Old Cornish Folk: Characters from St Stephen in Brannel a Century Ago*. (St Austell, Cornish Hillside Publications, 2002, reprinted from 1903).
5. Publications: Journals and recorded music albums as well as published collections listed in Bibliography.
6. Audio Visual Archive: video and sound recordings such as the Lowender Peran Festival Video Archive (Cornwall Centre, Alma Place, Redruth, Cornwall) and the Bolitho Archive (Old Cornwall Society Archive, Courtney Library, Royal Institution of Cornwall, Truro). Listed in Bibliography
7. Manuscript Archives as listed in Bibliography.

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Appendix 1.3: Folk phenomena recorded by 19th Century antiquaries

1	2	3	4	5	6
	1886	1865	1873	1846	1823
Other	Courtney	Hunt	Bottrell	Sandys	Davies Gilbert
14	54	14	16	10	6
Total					114



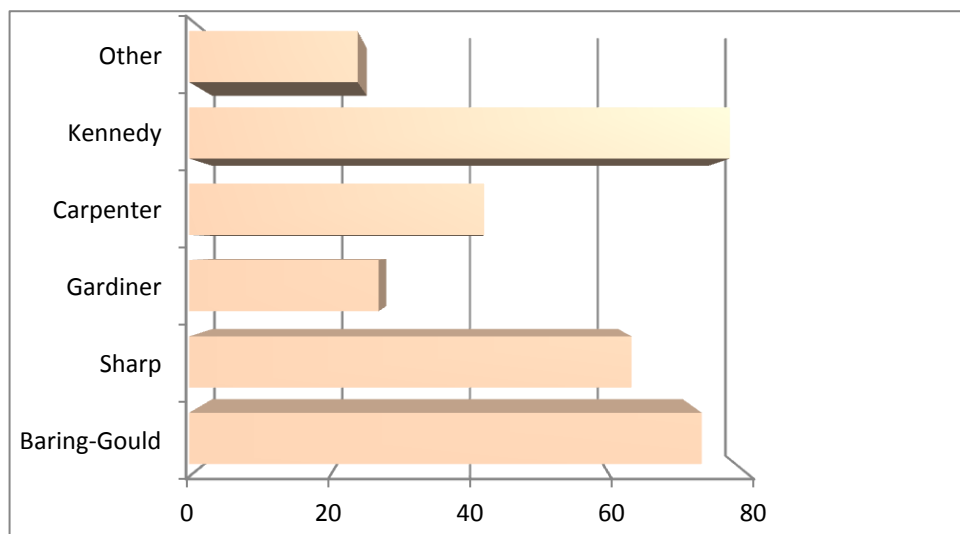
Notes

1. "Other" includes Borlase, Jago, J S Courtney, AJK Hamilton Jenkin and Quiller Couch.
2. Margaret Ann Courtney,. *Cornish Feasts and Folk-Lore*. Revised and Reprinted from the Folk-Lore Society Journals, 1886-87. (Penzance, 1890).
3. Robert Hunt, Robert, and George Cruikshank. *Popular Romances of the West of England, or, the Drolls, Traditions and Superstitions of Old Cornwall*. (London, John Camden Hotten,1865).
4. William Bottrel, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall. Second Series*: (Penzance, Deare and Son, 1873).
5. William Sandys, *Specimens of Cornish Provincial Dialect Selected and Arranged by Uncle Jan Trenoodle*. (London: J.R. Smith, 1846).
6. Davies Gilbert. *Some Ancient Christmas Carols*_Second edition (London: John Nichols And Son, 1823).

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Appendix 1.4: Folk phenomena recorded by folk song collectors

1	2	3	4	5	6
	1950-1975	1931	1905	1912-1914	1888-1900
Other	Kennedy	Carpenter	Gardiner	Sharp	Baring Gould
24	77	42	27	63	73
Total					306

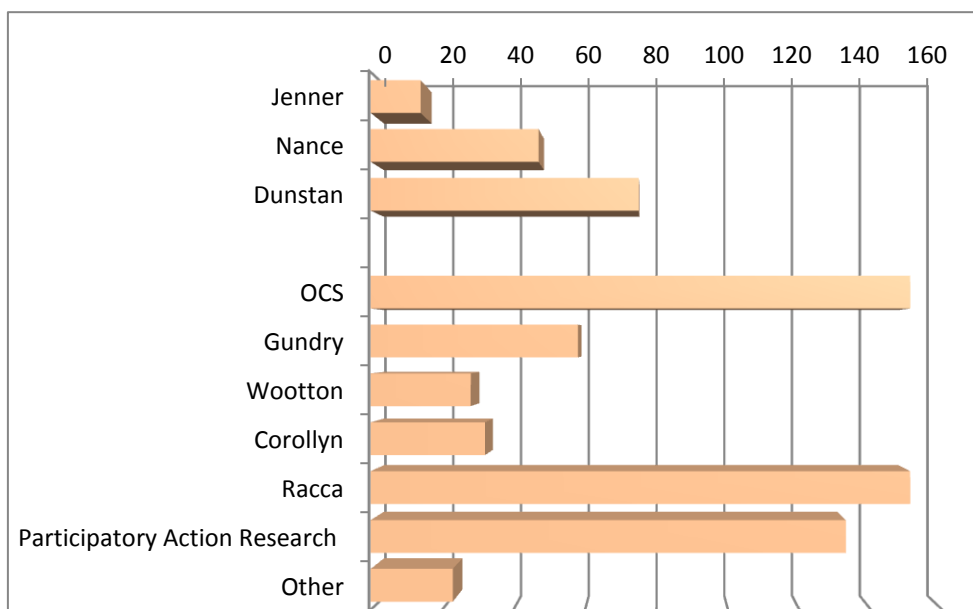


Notes

1. Other: typically sources from articles in folk song journal or individuals who have corresponded with collectors such as Sharp. Interestingly this includes Tom Miners and William D Watson who were involved in the Celto-Cornish revival.
2. Kennedy: Primarily sourced from, Peter Kennedy, ed. *Folksongs of Britain and Ireland*. (London: Cassell, 1975) and the notes on his collecting published by "Folktrax". 2005. 8th August 2009. http://www.folktrax-archive.org/menus/history_about.htm.
3. Carpenter: James Madison Carpenter, Library of Congress, AFC 1972/00, Cylinder numbers 069 and 102.
4. Gardiner: Gardiner Collection, Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, Cecil Sharp House, Regents Park Rd London.
5. Sharp: Sharp Collection, Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, Cecil Sharp House, Regents Park Road London.
6. Baring Gould: Songs of the West Baring Gould Heritage Project, Microfiche collection, Wren Trust, Okehampton.

Appendix 1.5 Folk phenomena recorded by the Celto-Cornish revivalists

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1911/1931	1920s	1929/1932	1925>	1966	1965/1973	1993	1997	2005>	
Jenner	Nance	Dunstan	OCS	Gundry	Wootton	Corollyn	Racca	Participatory Action Research	Other
14	47	75	151	58	28	32	151	133	23
Total									689



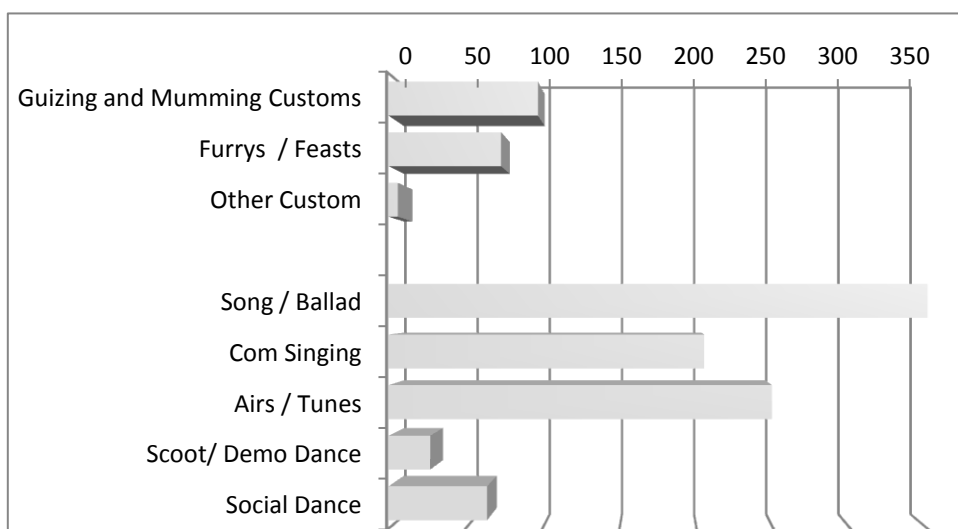
Notes

1. Jenner: Henry Jenner Collection, Courtney Library, Royal Institution of Cornwall Museum Truro, and contribution to Alfred P Graves, *The Celtic Song Book : Being Representative Folk Songs of the Six Celtic Nations*. (London: E. Benn, 1928).
2. Nance: Robert Morton Nance Collection, Courtney Library, Royal Institution Of Cornwall Museum, Truro, Ropbert Morton Nance, *The Cledry Plays; Drolls of Old Cornwall for Village Acting and Home Reading*. (Marazion, Worden, 1956).
3. Dunstan: primarily Ralph Dunstan, ed. *The Cornish Song Book, Lyver Canow Kernewek*. (London: Reid Bros Ltd 1929), and Ralph Dunstan, *Cornish Dialect and Folk Songs*. (Truro, Cornwall: Jordan's Bookshop, 1932).

4. Old Cornwall Societies: Primarily "Old Cornwall" published by the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1925 to present but also individual society recorder notes and correspondence.
5. Gundry: primarily Inglis Gundry, *Canow Kernow Songs and Dances from Cornwall*. (St. Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1966).
6. Wootton: Brenda Wootton released 17 albums between 1965 and 1985. Her earlier albums contain largely traditional material from her own musical background in Newlyn.
7. Corollyn: *Corollyn: Cornish Dances* (Perranporth, Cam Kernewek, Plymouth University, 1992) was a combined project between the five Cornish dance display groups active at the time and the University of Plymouth Film Unit to make a film on traditional dance in Cornwall. The film was entered for the Interceltic Film festival in Brittany in 1992 and the footage was also used in combination with a book and cassette / CD of dance music that could be used as a teaching pack. The practical outcome was a snapshot from a wide range of performers of traditional dance in Cornwall in the early 1990s.
8. Racca: *Racca: Cornish Tunes for Cornish Sessions*, (Calstock, Racca Project, 1997), was a collaborative project between a number of people involved in playing Cornish music and grew out of an annual workshop / tune swop day held originally in Fowey and later Bodmin. Anyone known to be involved with Cornish folk music was invited to contribute tunes that they regularly played at sessions. This provided for a very wide net, a large number of contributors and lot of individually composed material. Editorial control was very limited and as far as possible every item contributed was published. Where there were several clearly different versions of tunes then all were included. Composed and traditional material are clearly distinguished, however, and the project provides a snapshot of traditional music played in 1997 from a broad range of sources.
9. PAR: Participatory action research on the part of the author, sources are identified in detail in appendix 3
10. Other: includes William Watson, James E Thomas and Tom Miners who overlap with the "Folk Song Collectors".

Appendix 1.6 Context of folk activity

Customs			Songs and Music			Dance	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Guizing and Mumming Customs	Furrys / Feasts	Other Custom	Song / Ballad	Com Singing	Airs / Tunes	Scoot/ Demo Dance	Social Dance
97	73	6	350	205	249	27	64



Notes

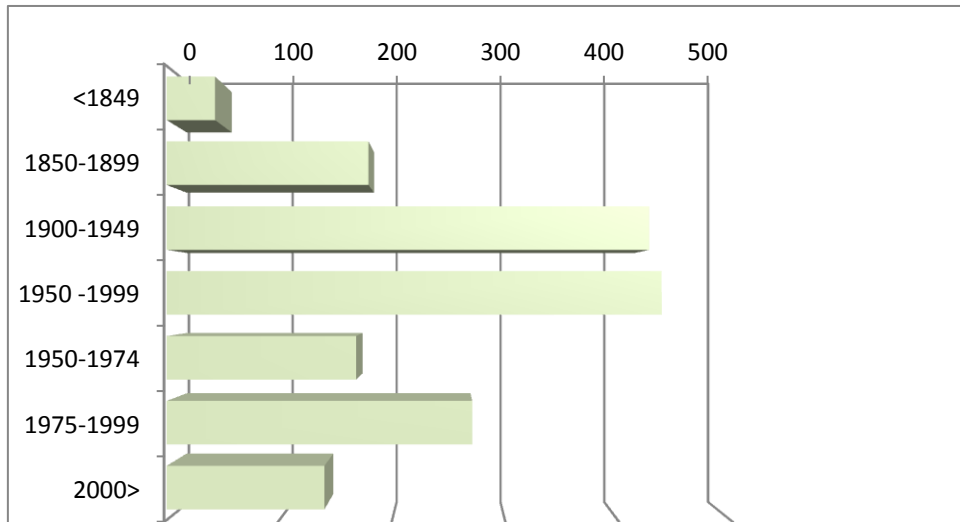
Whilst this study does not use detailed taxonomic analysis of folk phenomenon it is nevertheless useful to have broad data which shows the context of different activities. Some folk phenomenon might appear in more than one category, for example, Cock in Britches appears as a scoot dance, a song and a tune.

1. Guizing and Mumming customs: these follow the broad definition of Fred W. P. Jago. *The Ancient Language and the Dialect of Cornwall*. (Truro: Netherton and worth, 1882) and the convention of the Old Cornwall Societies to include Mock Mayors and Folk Plays and various customs and processions in bizarre costume as “Guizing”.
2. Furry Dances and Feast Day traditions: primarily processional dances performed as part of feast day celebrations.
3. Other Customs: Children’s games and Nursery Rhymes.
4. Song and Ballads: songs with more emphasis on a story line or individual performance

5. Community Singing: songs that lend themselves to pub sessions or informal community singing
6. Airs and tunes: melodies played for their own sake and in a traditional music context this would be for pub sessions or informal music making. These tunes might also be associated with dances or songs.
7. Scoot and demonstration dances: Scoot dancing is a style of step dancing in Cornwall named after the metal plates used to reinforce the soles of boots which make a “clacking sound”. Demonstration dances are set dances of sufficient interest to be used for display rather than just social dance.
8. Social Dance: those dances that originate or lend themselves to a social setting rather than display / concert performance.

Appendix 1.7 Time line of collection activity

<1849	1850-1899	1900-1949	1950-1999	1950-1974	1975-1999	2000>
43	179	428	439	168	271	140



Note

The actual date of “collection” is a difficult and arbitrary one to fix. Is it the date of the collector who recorded it for posterity or the date that it was first learned by the collector’s informant and what, if the collector is also the informant recording what they recall from some years previously? Dividing the time line into 50 year sections does, however, provide an outline of change in collection activity over the 200 year period covered in this study. It also synchronises approximately with four different cultural periods in Cornish history:

- Pre 1849 : a period defined by forward looking modernised and confident Cornwall
- 1850 – 1899: a period that saw industrial decline and an increase in antiquarian romanticism
- 1900 – 1950: a period of increasing activity in the Celto-Cornish movement
- Post 1950: a period of increasing realisation of the Celto-Cornish imaginary

It is interesting to subdivide the last 50 years of the twentieth century into two and observe the increase in activity.

The collecting activity recorded 2000 to present, however, will be affected by the participatory action research undertaken in this study.

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Merv Davey Appendix 1.7: Time line of collection activity

Appendix 1.8 Scoot Dances

Dance Name	Old Cornwall Society	Scoot Dance Project	Other	Place	Performer / Source	Direct - Oral	Indirect -	Time Line			
1. Boscastle Breakdown			√	Boscastle	William Hocken	√			1943		
		√		Boscastle	Charlie Jose Evan Tripp	√					1981
		√		Boscastle / Perranporth	Arthur Biddick						1982>
2. Broom Dance		√		Rilla Mill	Mrs Baker,	√					1980
		√		Morval / Looe	Hedley Martin	√					1980
		√		Madron	Mrs Watts	√					1980
		√		Truro	Guides	√					1980
		√		St Columb	Bill Glanville,	√					1994
	√			North Hill	E Thompson		√			1931	
			√	Boscastle	Evan Tripp	√					1981
4. Cock in Britches		√		Par	Alberta Rowse	√					1983
		√		Boscastle	Arthur Biddick	√					1982>
5. Four Hand Reel			√	Boscastle	William Hocken	√			1943		
		√		Boscastle	Arthur Biddick	√					1982>
6. Lattapouch	√			St Neot	W Arthur Pascoe	√				1929	
		√		Newquay	Elsie Millis	√					
			√		Dialect Society			1880			
	√				MR Morton Nance		√		1925		
	√				Jago		√	1882			
			√	Newquay	Edward Veale		√	1885	1953		
7. Mr Martins Reel		√		Morval / Looe	Martin H	√					
				Blisland	Gwen Masters	√					
8. Mrs Parkyns Jig		√		Lostwithiel	Margaret Parkyn	√					1987
9. Three Hand Reel	√		√	St Neot	Pascoe W A	√			1929	1960	
			√	West Cwll	Wm Bottrell		√	1873			
		√		Boscastle	Arthur Biddick						1982>
		√		Rilla Mill	Mrs Baker	√					1980
		√		Blisland	Gwen Masters	√					1997
10. Harvey Darvey	√			St Ives	R J Noall	√			1927		
11. Calstock Step Dance			√	Calstock	Jim Stacey	√					1985
12. Claude Parkin's Hornepipe		√		St Austell	Claude Parkin						1977
13. Cobblers hornepipe			√	West Cwll	R Morton Nance				1920		
14. The Broom box		√		West Cwll	Morton Nance				1920		
15. Thruble Step Dance	√			Lizard	J Nicholls		√			1928	

Notes

1. Scoot dancing is a form of step dancing done in Cornwall named after the metal plates used to reinforce the soles of shoes which made a clacking sound
2. The “scoot dance project” effectively started in 1982 when Arthur Biddick provided coaching for Cornish dance groups with the traditional steps he knew from the Boscastle and North Cornwall areas. It culminated in the launch of the Cornish Dance Society in 1995.
3. Dances 1-9 were collected from living tradition and known to Arthur Biddick who acted as a “Dancing Master” for Cam Kernewek and other dance groups in the early 1980s..
4. Dance 10, Harvey Darvey, was reconstructed from R J Noall’s description
5. Insufficient detail was available on dances 11 – 15 to identify new material and they were probably variations of those already described.
6. Dances 1 – 10 have provided the core steps and shapes from which a number of new dances have been written many in response to the Scoot dance competitions organised by the Cornish Dance Society.

Appendix 2: Individual files for folk phenomenon directly referenced in text

2.1 Delkiow Sevy / Deliw Syvy

Alternative Titles used:

Deliow Syvy / Delkiow Sevy/ Delyow Syvy / Ple`Th Esough Why Ow Mos / Strawberry Leaves / Where are you going (to), Dabbling in the Dew, Mowes A Vry, Pray whither so Trippingly? / Kan Kerniou/ Edwin Chirgwin's Cornish Song

Sources

Archival (Manuscript / Sound)

Gwavas Manuscript British Museum MSS 28554 (p135- item 9), 1698

Baring Gould Personal Copy Mss p137

Baring Gould Personal Copy Mss p261:

Cecil Sharp Mss Collection folk tune no 2988: Jim Thomas Camborne July 6th 1914; Tune and English words.

Publications (Book / Album)

W Pryce. *Archaeologia Cornu-Britannica* (Sherborne, 1790) p. 245.

Edward Jones, *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards* (London, printed for the Author, 2nd edition 1794) p. 69.

H Boulton, *Songs of the Four Nations*, (London, J.B. Cramer & Co., 1893) p. 58 et seq.

Robert Morton Nance, *Old Cornwall Summer 1947*, Quotes Chirgwens song with an adaption into unified Cornish.

Ralph Dunstan, *Cornish Dialect and Folk Song*, (London, Ascherberg, Hopwood and Crew Ltd, 1932).

Robert Morton Nance "Edwin Chirgwin's Cornish Song", *Old Cornwall*, Vol 4, no6, pp.210-213.

Inglis Gundry, *Canow Kernow*, (St Ives, Fed Old Cornwall Societies & Soundpost Publications, 1966), p.28.

Merv Davey, *Hengan*, (Dyllansow Truran, Redruth, 1983), p. 28.

Observation

Observed 2005 – 2010 singing and instrumental sessions

Notes

- Gwavas Manuscript British Museum MSS 28554 (p135- item 9), Signed by Edwin Chirgwen - syllables spaced out for singing, but no melody provided Dated 1698
- Boultons version is the same as Jones but these are different from that in Pryce. – Same theme but different in detail. The music is arranged by Arnold Sommerville to a tune provided by Baring Gould and actually put to the words of *Dabbling in the Dew* collected by Baring Gould.
- *Baring Gould Personal Copy Mss p137*: With HFS collected from James Olver, and with FWB from J Parson 1891. Baring Gould indicates that he is aware of Cornish version in Pryces Dictionary.
- *Dunstan, R Cornish Dialect and Folk Song, Ascherberg, Hopwood and crew ltd. London 1932*: uses Cornish Words from Pryce's *Archaeologia Cornu-Britannica* 1790, and English words and a tune Worth's West Country Garland 1875: *Where are you going to my Pretty Maid*.
- Robert Morton Nance "Edwin Chirgwin's Cornish Song", *Old Cornwall*, Vol 4, no6, pp210-213:

Edward Chirgwin's Cornish Song

THE last item in the "Collection of Proverbs, Rhimes, &c," printed by Pryce in *Archaeologia Cornu-Britannica* is "A Cornish Song." This was obtained from Thomas Tonkin, of Trevaunance, whose wife was a Kemp, with his note: "This was the first song that ever I heard in Cornwall; it was sung at Carlew (before Sister Kempe was married) in 1698, by one Chygwyn, brother-in-law to Mr. John Grose (the old Mr. Grose), of Penzance." It is found with a similar note, but with the above words in brackets added, in the Tonkin MSS., R.Inst. Cor., but what is evidently the original version, in the handwriting of the singer, who signs himself Edward Chirgwin and spaces out the syllables of each word for singing, is on p, 135 of the Gwavas MSS. in the British Museum. The song is not original, but translates a version of "Where are you going to, my pretty maid?" which was sung, however, to a different tune and with the recurring lines, "With your red rosy cheeks and your coal-black hair," "And strawberry leaves¹ make the milkmaids fair." Chirgwin does not give the words of the English song but translates his own Cornish. Some versions of it have, "it's dabbling (or rolling) in the dew makes the milkmaids fair," and words very like the Cornish ones in meaning, such

- Inglis Gundry, *Canow Kernow*, (St Ives, Fed Old Cornwall Societies & Soundpost Publications, 1966) p28, uses Edwin Chirgwens words to James Olver's melody collected by Baring Gould. This is the version used by Brenda Wootton, it was the Cornish traditional song entry by Kemysk in the 1978 Pan Celtic Festival in Cill Airne and has become the melody most used today.

Lyrics

Edward Jones – *Kan Kerniw - Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards*

Kán Kerniw.

1.

*Pa le er ew why moaz móz vean wébég,
Gen alaz tbég hagaz blèu melyn?
Mi a moaz a ba leath ba firra wébég,
A delkiow sevi gura muzi tég!*

2.

*Ka ve moaz gan a why, móz vean wébég,
Gen alaz tbég hagaz blèu melyn?
Gen oll an collan sírra wébég,
A delkiow sevi gura muzi tég!*

3.

*Pa le'r ew an Bew, móz vean wébég,
Gen alaz tbég hagaz blèu melyn?
En park an mow, ba firra wébég,
A delkiow sevi gura muzi tég!*

A Cornish Song.

1.

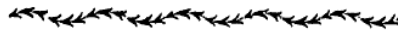
Where are you going, my Fair little Maid,
With your rofy cheeks and your golden hair?
I am going a milking, Sir, she said:
The Strawberry-leaves make Maidens Fair.

2.

Shall I go with you, my Fair little Maid,
With your rofy cheeks and your golden hair?
With all my heart, kind Sir, she said,
The Strawberry-leaves make Maidens Fair.

3.

Where is the Cow, my pretty little Maid,
With your rofy cheeks and your golden hair?
In Parken-pig, kind Sir, she said,
Where Strawberry-leaves make maidens Fair.



THE inhabitants of *Wales* and *Cornwal* are the only *Aborigines* ² of this island now remaining; both of which, as well as their fraternal tribe of *Bretagne*, in France, all speak the *ancient British language* ³; allowing their dialects to be now greatly corrupted, owing to the length of time they have been separated. The *Welsh language* was common to all *Britain*, prior to the *Saxon* invasion. The natives of *Cornwal*, and part of *Devonshire*, began to lose their *old Celtic dialect*, in the reign of Elizabeth, and is now almost extinct; although the people of *Cornwal* still retain many of their ancient customs and diversions; such as hunting, hawking, archery, wrestling ⁴, hurling ⁵, and singing three men's songs; also, they used to perform what they call *Chware-mirkl*, miracle-play, or Cornish Interludes ⁶. At *Redruth*, there were, till very lately, the evident remains of an amphitheatre, and another near the church of St. Just, vulgarly denominated a round; and the uses of those rounds anciently were to act religious and other interludes. There is a MS. of a Cornish play, with an English translation, in the *Harleian Library*; and two other Cornish MSS. in the *Bodleian Library*, NE. B. 5. 9. which contain several interludes, or *Ordinalies*.

Dunstan, R Cornish Dialect and Folk Song, Ascherberg, Hopwood and crew Ltd.

London 1932:

Cornish Words from Pryce's *Archaeologica Cornu-Britannica* 1790:-

*"Pelea era why moaz, moz fettow teag
Gen agaz bedgeth gwin, ha ahaz blew mellyn?"
"Mi a moaz than venton sarra wheag
Rag delkiow gwra muzi teag2*

*"Pea ve moaz gen a why, moz fettow teag
Gen agaz bedgeth gwin, ha agaz blew mellyn?"
"Grea mena why sarra wheag
Rag delkiow sevi gwra muzi teag".*

English words from Worth's West Country Garland 1875:


*"Pray whither so trippingly, my pretty fair maid
With your dface rosy white and your soft yellow hair?"
"Sweet sir to the well in the summer wood shade,
Summer wood shade Summer wood shade
For Strawberry leaves make the young maiden fair"*

*"Shall I go with, pretty fair maid, To the wood,
with your face so rosy white and your soft yellow hair?"
" Sir if you please, it will do my heart good,
do my heart good. Do my heart good,
For strawberry leaves make the youing maiden fair"*


, Tune – 'Where are you going to my Pretty Maid'.

As observed 2005 – 2010 singing sessions


Delkiow Sevy



Pelea er-a why moaz, moes fet-tow te-ag Gen Ack-as ped-den



dew ha ackas blew mel-en? Moas than ven-tan sar-ra we-age, Rag



Del-iow se-vy gwra mowe-sse teag

Literal Translation

Pelea era why moaz, moes fettow teag
 Gen Ackas pedden dew ha ackas blew melen?
 Moas than ventan sarra weage,
 Rag Delkiow sevy gwra mowesse teag

Where are you going to, sweet beautiful maid
 With your dark head and your yellow hair
 Going to the spring sweet sir
 For strawberry leaves make maidens beautiful

Ra ve moas gena why, moes fettow teag
 Gen ackas.....
 Grew mena why, sara wheage
 Rag Delkiow sevy.....

Shall I go with you sweet beautiful maid,
 With your
 Yes if you want to, sweet sir
 For strawberry leaves

Fatla gwra ve ackas gorra why en doar
 Gen Ackas
 Me veddn sefuall arta sara weage
 Rag Delkiow sevy

How shall I get you on the ground
 With
 I will get up again, sweet sir
 For

Fatla gwra ve ackas dry why gen flo?
 Gen Ackas
 Me veddn ye thonne, sarra weage
 Rag Delkiow

How shall I get you with child
 With
 I will bear it, sweet sir
 For

Pew vedna why gowas rage seera rag flo
 Gen Ackas
 Why re bose ye seera, sarra weage
 Rag Delkiow

Who will you find for a father for the child
 With
 You have been the father, sweet sir
 For

Pendre vedd why geal rag lednow rag as flo
 Gen Ackas.....
 E sera veath trehar, sarra weage
 Rag Delkiow sevy

What will you do for clothing for the child
 With
 You will be the tailor, sweet sir
 For

Blank page

2.2 The Lark / An Awhesyth

Sources

Archival (Manuscript / Sound)

Wren Trust, Okehampton, Sabine Baring Gould Rough Copy manuscript:

Fiche 3 Vol 3 p32

Fiche 5 Vol 5 p37

Fiche12 Vol 10 p3

Wren Trust, Okehampton, Sabine Baring Gould Personal Copy manuscript,
Vol 2, Fiche 10 page 258 Song no 255

Wren Trust, Okehampton, Baring Gould Fair Copy manuscript,
fiche 14, p447 song no 196 (CXLVI).

Publications (Book / Album)

Gordon Hitchcock. *Folk Songs of the West Country*, (Newton Abbot: David & Charles : Keith Prowse Music Publishing Co., 1974), pp.70 – 73.

Merv Davey , *Hengan*, (*Redruth, Dyllansow Truran, Redruth*, 1983) p 25,
words in English with Cornish translation (Merv Davey).

Frances Bennet, et al Editors. *Racca 2: Cornish Tunes for Cornish Sessions*, (Calstock, Racca Project, 1997), no. 81.

Observation

As “An Awhesyth” Old’s tune has become a popular session and dance tune noted from oral tradition in 1997 for the Racca project (see Appendix 1.5) and again in 2007 as part of Cornish Session tunes project.

Notes

- *Wren Trust, Sabine Baring Gould Rough Copy & Personal Copy Manuscripts* – collected by Baring Gould and Frank W Bussel from Samuel Gilbert, St Mawgan 1891, J Old – St Eval and R Hand St Breock. Baring Gould also notes a tune from Kidson’s *Traditional English Tunes* p 45 and a further tune from John Dingle on 12/9/05

- The Lark is not included in Baring Goulds Songs and Ballads of the West 1892 or Songs of the West 1905 Edited by Cecil Sharp. A large number of variations of words and different tunes are known through Britain and Ireland. Eg:
 - William Alexander Barrett in *English Folk-Songs* (London, Novello,1895) p46.
 - Frank Kidson collected a version called the Pretty Ploughboy from Yorkshire *Traditional Tunes; a Collection of Ballad Airs, Chiefly Obtained in Yorkshire and the South of Scotland; Together with Their Appropriate Words from Boadsides and from Oral Tradition.* (Cleveland, Bell & Howell, 1891)
 - Ralph Vaughan Williams, *Folk Songs from the Eastern Counties* (1908) pp.19-20 also. *The Jolly Ploughboy : Sussex Folk-Song,* (London, Novello & Co,1908).
 - There are broadside versions in the British Museum.

- Baring Gould collected three distinct melodies for this song as a result of his contact with the Gilbert family of the Falcon Inn at St Mawgan and a large number different melodies are associated with these lyrics elsewhere in Britain and Ireland.

- Gordon Hitchcock. *Folk Songs of the West Country.* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles : Keith Prowse Music Publishing Co., 1974) pp70 - 72 : includes same words with two versions of the tune provided by Sam Gilbert and By J Old (although he ascribes both to Gilbert). Hitchcock makes clear that he has altered / arranged some of the songs and tunes. One of the tunes he provides is clearly based on Old's version but there are some changes. The melody recorded for the session tune project in 2007 shows still further changes to the melody from Hitchcock's version. These are shown in the music scores below. The variations incurred as Old's tune was transmitted via Baring Gould to Hitchcock and the Cornish folk revival provide a good example of the folk process together with the acquisition of a Cornish name – An Awhesyth (The Lark).

Lyrics

Hitchcock / J Old

1. As I was a walking one morning in may
I heard a young damsel them words did she say,
Of all the calling whatever they may be,
No life is like the ploughboy in the merry month of may

2. The' lark in the morning awakes from her nest,
And' mounts the white air with the dew on her breast,
Oh the' lark and the plough-boy together can sing,
And return to her nest in the evening. . .

3. One morning she mounted so high, oh, so high.
And' looked around her. and at the dark sky,
In the' morning she was singing and thus was her lay,
There is ' no life like the plough-boy's in the sweet month of May.

4. When his' day's work is over that he hath to do,
o I then to a fair or a wake will he go,
And I there he will whistle and there he will sing,
And' then to his fair love a ribbon will he bring.

5. Good I luck to the plough-boys wherever they be,
They will I take a sweet maiden to sit on the knee,
They'll drink the brown beer, they will whistle and sing,
Oh the' plough-bay's more happy than noble or king.

Ballads Catalogue: Harding B 11(2060) Bodlian Library:

J. O. Bebbington, Printer, 26, Goulden-street, Oldham
Road, Manchester, and sold by John Beaumont, 176,
York-street, Leeds.*

As I was walking one morning in May,
I heard a pretty damsel those words for to say,
Of all the callings, whatever they may be,
No life like a plough boy all in the month of May.

The lark in the morning rises from her nest,
And mounts in the air with the dew around her breast,
Like the pretty plough-boy she'll whistle and sing,
And at night she'll return to her nest back again.

When his day's work is done that he's for to do,
Perhaps to some country wake he will go ;
There with his sweet-heart he'll dance and he'll sing,
And then he'll return with his lass back again.

And as they return from the wake in the town,
The meadows being mown and the grass cut down,
We chanced to tumble all on the new mown hay—
It's kiss me now or never, the maiden did say.

When twenty weeks were over and past
Her mamma ask'd her the reason why she so thickened
in the waist.
It was the pretty plough boy, the damsel did say,
That caused me to tumble on the new mown hay.

Come all you pretty maidens wherever you be,
You may trust a plough-boy to any degree ;
They're used so much to plowing, their seed for to sow,
That all who employ them are sure to find it grow.

So good luck to the plough boys, wherever they be,
That will take a pretty lass to sit on their knee,
And with a jug of beer they will whistle and sing,
And a plough-boy is as happy as a prince or a king.

Music Score

Note the variation in melody between Old's original > session tune project 2007

Old's (St Eval) tune: Wren Trust, Sabine Baring Gould Rough Copy manuscript, Fiche no3, Vol 3, page 32.

A musical score for a single melodic line in G major (one flat) and 4/4 time. It consists of three staves. The first staff contains the first eight measures, the second staff contains the next eight measures, and the third staff contains the final four measures ending with a double bar line.

J Old's (St Eval) Tune: Wren Trust, Sabine Baring Gould Personal Copy manuscript, Vol 2, Fiche 10 page 258 Song no 255

A musical score for a single melodic line in G major (one flat) and 4/4 time. It consists of three staves. The first staff contains the first eight measures, the second staff contains the next eight measures, and the third staff contains the final four measures ending with a double bar line.

Hitchcock's Version attributed to Gilbert but actually that of J Old

A musical score for a single melodic line in G major (one flat) and 4/4 time. It consists of three staves. The first staff contains the first eight measures, the second staff contains the next eight measures, and the third staff contains the final four measures ending with a double bar line.

Version of Old's tune collected for session tune project 2007



Sam Gilberts (St Mawgan) Tune taken down by FW Bussel: Wren Trust, Sabine Baring Gould Personal Copy manuscript , Vol 2, Fiche 10 page 258 Song no



Robert Hand's (St Breock) Tune: Wren Trust, Sabine Baring Gould Personal Copy manuscript,t Vol 2, Fiche 10 page 258 Song no 255



2.3 Trelawny/ The Song of the Western Men

Sources

Publications (Book / Album)

The Song of the Western Men *The Royal Devonport Telegraph and Plymouth Chronicle*, September 2, 1826.

Davies Gilbert, "And Shall Trelawny Die", *Gentleman's Magazine*, November 1827, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/8746404?accountid=10792> accessed 28th Nov 2010.

Robert S. Hawker, *Ecclesia*, (Oxford, T Combe, 1840), pp. 91 -93.

William Sandys, *Specimens of Cornish Provincial Dialect Selected And Arranged By Uncle Jan Trenoodle*. (London, J.R. Smith, 1846), p.62.

Louisa T Clare, *The Song Of the Western Men* (London, Weekes and Co, 1861).

Robert Stephen Hawker, *The Cornish Ballads and Other Poems of the Rev. R.S. Hawker*. (Oxford, J. Parker, 1869).

Clark C. Spence, *Mining Engineers and the American West: The Lace-Boot Brigade, 1849-1933* (Yale, 1970), p.313.

Charles Edward Byles. *The Life and Letters of R.S. Hawker (Sometime Vicar of Morwenstowe)* (London; New York, J. Lane, 1905).

Lucy Broadwood, "Come Lets Sit Down and Merry Be" in *Songs Connected With Customs*, *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, Vol. 5, No. 19 (Jun., 1915).

Charles Villiers Stanford, *National Song Book*, (London, Boosey & Hawkes, 1905), p.58.

Robert Morton Nance , *The Reason Why Old Cornwall 1927*, p. 38.

Ralph Dunstan, *Lyver Canow Kernow /The Cornish Song Book*, (London, Reid Bros 1929), p.12.

Inglis Gundry, *Canow Kernow*, (St Ives, Fed. of Old Cornwall Societies, 1966), p. 54.

Catherine Rachel John, "Letters", *Cornish Scene*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1987, p.20.

Catherine Rachel John "Some notes about the "Trelawny" we usually sing, *Cornish Scene*, Vol. 2, No. 5, 1987, p.19.

Phillip Payton (Writing as Car Dyvresow), "More notes about Trelawny", *Cornish Scene*, Vol. 2. No. 5, 1987, p.20.

Observation: 2005 -2010

- Observed in pub singing sessions across Cornwall
- Part of Cornish repertoire of community choirs such as "The Perraners" and "Cape Cornwall Singers".

- Included in the “Kanow Tavern”, pub song project and song sheets by Cornish organizations such as Old Cornwall Societies.
- It is seen as the Cornish national anthem and there is an expectation that people will expect to stand whilst singing this.
- Part of the song repertoire of Cornish rugby supporters especially the “Trelawny’s Army” supporters club.

Notes

Written by R.S. Hawker (1804-1875) in 1824 and inspired by the expression “Here's twenty thousand Cornish men Will know the reason why”. Although presumed to refer to Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Bishop of Bristol (one of seven bishops imprisoned in the Tower of London by James II in 1687), it is generally taken to represent Cornish dissent and the spirit of the 1497 and 1549 rebellions. It was first published anonymously in a Plymouth Newspaper in 1826. The extent to which Hawker encouraged it to be understood as original and traditional in the first instance is a matter of conjecture but it does fit with the popular image of his eccentricity and mischievousness. It was taken to be an original ballad by Davies Gilbert and republished as such by him. Both Sir Walter Scott and Dickens also acknowledged it as an example of a good traditional ballad. Hawker apparently corresponded with Davies Gilbert to explain his authorship and the background of the ballad. In 1840 he published it in a book of poems called *Ecclesia* and made clear both his authorship, and his delight at the way it had been taken as traditional.

Hawker did not identify a fixed a tune or musical arrangement for the song initially although according to Jenner and Dunstan, “Auld Lang Syne” was a candidate at one stage. It is now difficult to track down exactly when tune as we know it now was first used but it seems to have been established early on if not at the outset. Nance argues that “Wheal Rodney” was already established as a folk song with this melody at the time that Hawker composed “The Song of the Western Men” and contains the common element of “[forty] thousand Cornish boys shall know the reason why”. It was apparently arranged and set to music by Miss Louisa T Clare in 1861 and published by Weekes & Co, but at the time of writing, it has not been possible to locate a copy of this. A letter to Miss Clare from Hawker, [reproduced in Byles’ *The Life and Letters of R.S. Hawker*, p.269)], makes clear that he approved of this arrangement.

The tune can certainly be understood as coming from a broad European melting pot of melodic folk motifs and Broadwood identifies a relationship with a Welsh song “Y Blotyn Du” and a tune she collected in Leicestershire to a song / game about coal dust as well the French “Le Petit Tambour” and the nursery rhyme “Grand Old Duke of York”. (*Songs Connected With Customs* Journal of the Folk-Song Society, Vol. 5, No. 19, Jun., 1915, page 219)

Participant observation demonstrates that it is currently well embedded in the repertoire of Cornish tradition and this would seem to have been the case since the late nineteenth century. Trelawny is, however, a good example of the folk process in action and interesting to follow its trajectory and the interpretations laid upon it since Hawker’s time. Although published verses may have anchored the words to a definitive version that continues to be sung there have nevertheless been spin offs as part of the process or oral folk tradition. Not the least of which was the version Hawker himself penned for a parliamentary election.

R S Hawker 1824 / 1826 and 1840

“The Song Of The Western Men”, *Ecclesia*,(Oxford, T Combe,1840), pp. 91 -93:

When Sir Jonathan Trelawny, one of the seven Bishops, was committed to the Tower, the Cornish men rose one and all and marched as far as Exeter in their way to extort his liberation.

A GOOD sword and a trusty hand !
A merry heart and true !
King James's men shall understand
What Cornish lads can do !
II.
And have they fix'd the where and when?
And shall Trelawny die ?
Here's twenty thousand Cornish men
Will see the reason why !
III.
Out spake their captain brave and bold,
A merry wight was he,
" If London Tower were Michaels hold,
Well set Trelawny free !"
IV.
We'll cross the Tamar, land to land,
The Severn is no stay,
All side by side and hand to hand,
And who shall bid us nay !
V.
And when we come to London Wall
A pleasant sight to view.
Come forth, come forth ! ye cowards all
To better men than you !

VI.
Trelawny he's in keep and hold,
Trelawny he may die.
But here's twenty thousand Cornish bold
Will see the reason why !

With the exception of the chorus, contained in the two last lines, this song was written by me, as an imitation of the Old English Minstrelsy, and was inserted in a Plymouth Paper in 1825 (sic). It happened to fall into the hands of Davies Gilbert, Esq. who did me the honour to reprint it at his private press at East Bourne, under the impression that it was the original ballad. I have been still more deeply gratified by an unconscious compliment from the critical pen of Sir Walter Scott. In a note to the 4th volume of his collected poems, page 12, he thus writes of the Song of the Western Men :—

" In England, the popular ballad fell into contempt during the 17th century ; and although in remote counties* its inspiration was occasionally the source of a few verses, it seems to have become almost entirely obsolete in the Capital."

* *A curious and spirited specimen occurs in Cornwall, as late as the trial of the Bishops before the Revolution. The President of the Royal Society of London, Mr. Davies Gilbert, has not disdained the trouble of preserving it from oblivion.*" (pp 91 -93)

William Sandys, 1846

Specimens of Cornish Provincial Dialect Selected And Arranged By Uncle Jan Trenoodle. (London, 1846. J.R. Smith)

The next song was made when Sir Jonathan Trelawny Bart, then Bishop of Bristol (afterwards of Winchester) was committed to prison with other prelates in 1688, for his defence of the Protestant religion; it is printed in D. Gilbert's parochial History of Cornwall. (p6)

The words given on page 62 are the same as Hawkers version

Sabine Baring Gould, 1891

Baring-Gould, Rev. Sabine, and Rev. H. Fleetwood Shepherd. *Songs and Ballads of the West: A Collection Made from the Mouths of the People* (London: Methuen & Co, 1891).

Baring Gould provides unwitting testimony to the popularity of “Trelawny” when he cites it, along with “Widdecombe Fair”, as one of the few widely recognised folk songs when he was first started his collecting work. He dismisses it as “a ballad reconstructed by the late Rev. R. Hawker, Vicar of Morwenstowe, the tune of which is merely “Le Petit Tambour,” and therefore not Cornish at all”.(Preface, p vii). This dismissal is ironic in that Baring Gould himself was subsequently criticised for presenting his own work as traditional in *Songs and Ballads of the West*.

Clarke C Spence – Boer War

I stumbled across that ‘Trelawny’ reference I mentioned when last we met. The source is Clark C. Spence, *Mining Engineers and the American West: The Lace-Boot Brigade, 1849-1933* (Yale, 1970), p.313. it refers to John Hays Hammond, a prominent US mining engiennner who went to South Africa and was involved in the Jameson Raid. Captured by the Boers, he was sentenced to death – although later reprieved. The catch-cry in America was:

‘And shall Hays Hammond die?
And shall Hays hammond die?
There’s twenty thousand Yankee boys
Will know the reason why!’

Best Wishes,

(Correspondence Philip Payton 29th June 2011)

Robert Morton Nance 1927

“The Reason Why” *Old Cornwall* 1927 Vol 1 no6 page 38

In 1927 plans the Celto-Cornish movement was developing momentum and plans were afoot to establish the Cornish Gorseth and reassert links to the wider Celto world, Wales and Brittany in particular. Part of this involved a Cornish version of the Breton and Welsh “Land of my Fathers” – “Bro Goth Agan Tasow”, becoming the Cornish national anthem. Trelawny was already a well established national anthem for Cornwall and it is interesting that it was not incorporated into the Gorseth ceremony. Although one might have expected Jenner’s Catholicism to have affected this in actual fact he was able to place a more royalist spin on the story by connecting it to Bishop Jonathon Trelawny’s Grandfather who was imprisoned for contempt of Parliament in the reign of King Charles 1st. It is probably simply that Trelawny represented the strong identity of

industrial 19th Century Cornwall and this had yet to merge with the Celticism of the 20th Century.

Nance does however explore the roots of Hawker's words in some detail and shows the connection with the song "Wheal Rodney" :

We have always been led to believe that R. S. Hawker's "Song of the Western Men," with its "twenty thousand Cornish men will know the reason why," was based on a traditional refrain in which we find the number increased:- "And shall Trelawny die? And shall Trelawny die? Then thirty thousand Cornish boys will know the reason why!" and this we are told the miners varied to "Then thirty thousand underground will know the reason why!"-a line which with the same substitution of "twenty" for "thirty" we find in Hawker's first version of his song. That this refrain was traditional seems to rest on the word of Hawker, whose ingenious fabrication of legends and facts brings all his statements under suspicion of being "picturesque amplifications of actuality." He seems even to have been pleased to have the whole of his "Song of the Western Men" accepted as a genuine old ballad by Scott and Macaulay, and also by Win. Sandys ("Jan Trenoodle ") who put it as such into his *Specimens of Cornish Provincial Dialect*, 1846.

Such a Trelawny refrain may have existed since Bishop Trelawny's imprisonment in 1688, or even since 1628, when John Trelawny was the captive, but there is no record of it, and the only proof that the whole refrain, too, was not Hawker's invention is the fact that we have an earlier line, in an anonymous song to the same air, in which we are told that "forty thousand Cornish boys shall knawa the reason why,"-and this has nothing to do with Trelawny, but is a song against Bonaparte, written evidently in 1807, the date of the invasion of Poland, while Hawker's ballad was first printed in 1832. [sic] In this, "He summonsed forty thousand men, to Polland they did go," is said of "Boney Peartie," and the "forty thousand Cornish boys" of this song are here the natural rejoinder to the number raised by Napoleon.

The fact that this song was intended to be sung to the air of "Trelawny" or "A-mumming we will go," the same as that used for the old miner's song "Wheal Rodney" (*Old Cornwall* No. 2, p. 25), is disguised a little by the way

in which it is printed in J. O. Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, 1847, for there the whole is run into one verse. Halliwell presumably found it so on a ballad-sheet or in a manuscript copy, but here I have taken the liberty of restoring it into three four-line verses with the fourth as a chorus. I have also run in a few extra syllables (in italics) which may have dropped out accidentally, and print "knew" for "knawa"; otherwise it is untouched.....

.....It is clear that this old song sung to the same air as the "Song of the Western Men", and containing its "forty thousand Cornish boys shall knawa the reason why" must have had quite twenty years in which to become "traditional" before Hawker wrote his ballad.

Contrary to Nance's reasoning, the fact that this song refers to the invasion of Poland in 1807 does necessarily prove it was a contemporaneous composition but it certainly allows for the possibility. What it does show, however, is that this particular tune and the verbal motif of "twenty thousand / forty thousand Cornishmen shall know the reason why" was well embedded in oral folk tradition in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Ralph Dunstan, / Henry Jenner 1929

Lyver Canow Kernow /The Cornish Song Book, Reid Bros 1929 pp,12 +18 Cornish Words by Henry Jenner

"The Long received traditional account of this song, corrected Is as follows: Sir Jonathon Trelawny, Bishop of Bristol (and afterwards Exeter) a model of whose pastoral staff is preserved in the Church of Pelynt, near Looe, was one of the "seven bishops" committed to the Tower of London in 1688 by James II, for petitioning against the Declaration of Indulgence. It is said that Trelawny's brother Cornishmen rose in his behalf, and that a large number of miners started to March to London to demand his release, singing the following song. (It is said that they reached Exeter before the welcome news came of the acquittal of the seven bishops.) Except the refrain, the exact original words of the song were lost. Those given here are based on a "restoration" written (c 1835) by the Rev R S Hawker of Whitestone, Near Stratton who died in 1875. In 1688, the Trelawny Song is said to have "resounded in every house, in every highway, and in every street of Cornwall". (p.18).

Mr Jenner tells me, however, that the chorus originated when Bishop Trelawny's grandfather was imprisoned in the Tower for contempt of the House of Commons in the reign of Charles I. The origin of the tune is obscure. Mr Hawker at first suggested that his verses might be sung to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne". Subsequently he approved of the melody now generally associated with the words. The earliest known English use of the tune is in connection with a humorous skit on the military incompetency of Frederick Augustus, Duke of York (1763 – 1827). Sometime in the first half of the Nineteenth Century the "Trelawny Quickstep" appeared and was adopted by all the Volunteer and Regimental Bands of Cornwall. There is also a little French song, "Le Petit Tambour" very similar to much of the "Trelawny Quickstep" But there are marked differences of style; the Cornish tune owns a dignified simplicity almost absent from the flowery "Le Petit Tambour". Personally I am inclined to think that both owe their origin to the "Duke of York" tune. (p. 12)

Phillip Payton / Rachel Catherine John 1987

Letters to the Editor, *Cornish Scene*, vol 2, No 4, 1987 p19

"Some notes about the Trelawny we usually sing", *Cornish Scene*, vol 2, No 4, 1987 p19

More Notes about Trelawny, *Cornish Scene*, vol 2, No 4, 1987, p.20.

In 1987 the origin, authenticity and appropriateness of "Trelawny" as a national anthem for Cornwall was debated in the pages of *Cornish Scene*. Rachel Catherine John initially expressed unease about the tone of the words: "Is a mood of defiance a sign of weakness? And do we want to abuse others when we are asking for respect for ourselves? 'Come forth come forth ye cowards all' – remember the Blitz?". She made the case for using alternative words written by Hawker as an election song for Sir Salisbury Trelawny in 1832 which incorporated the words "Tre Pol and Pen" from the traditional rhyme "By Tre, Pol and Pen ye shall know Cornishmen". John went on to challenge the "establishment history" of religious intolerance represented by James II imprisonment of Jonathon Trelawny.

Philip Payton countered this showing that very complex religious history surrounding not only Jonathon Trelawny and the "Glorious revolution" of 1688 but also that

Hawker's own Anglo-Catholicism was not reflected in contemporary understanding of what the song represented. He challenged the need to be apologetic about the tone of the words: "the song is perhaps just a trifle too violent, a hint of anti-English, a little critical of London but that is hardly an argument; we should not be embarrassed by or apologetic, for the depth of Cornish patriotism, and it goes without saying that national anthems should be 'stirring stuff'." Payton also took a more postmodern position pointing out that "the popularity of the song extended beyond the educated middle classes to the great mass of Cornish working folk who, even if they had no idea who "Trelawny" might have been, recognised a patriotic song when they saw one and were certainly prepared to sing Cornwall's praise." He makes an important point that "Trelawny" was a song embodying Cornish distinctiveness and identity that was seized upon by both the Cornish Diaspora and those remaining in Cornwall from quite early in the nineteenth century.

Lyrics and Music

Participatant observation 2005 – 2010 – melody as per An Daras project “Sengen
Fiddee”

Trelawny

trad tune 2010



The image shows three staves of musical notation for the song 'Trelawny'. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a 4/4 time signature. The melody consists of a series of eighth and quarter notes, with some beamed eighth notes. The second staff continues the melody with similar rhythmic patterns. The third staff concludes the piece with a double bar line.

A good sword and a trusty hand, a merry heart and true
King James men shall understand, what Cornish men can do
And have they fixed the where and when, and shall Trelawny die
Here's twenty thousand Cornish men will know the reason why
And shall Trelawny live, And shall Trelawny die
Here's twenty thousand Cornish men will know the reason why

Out spake the captain brave and bold, a merry sight was he
Though London towers Michael's hold we'll set Trelawny free
We'll cross the tamar land to land the severn is no stay
Then one and all and hand in hand and who shall bid us nay
And shall Trelawny live, And shall Trelawny die
Here's twenty thousand Cornish men will know the reason why

And when we get come to London wall, a pleasant sight to view
Come forth, come forth ye cowards all, here's better men than you
Trelawny he's in keep and hold Trelawny he may die
But twenty thousand Cornish men will know the reason why
And shall Trelawny live, And shall Trelawny die
Here's twenty thousand Cornish men will know the reason why

Hawkers 1832 adaption for Lord Salisbury Trelawny's election

Catherine Rachel John, *Cornish Scene*, vol 2, No 4, 1987, p.19.

And do they scorn Tre ,Pol and Pen?
And shall Trelawny die?
Here's twenty thousand Cornish men
Will know the reason why!
The former spirit is not fled
Where Cornish hearst combine
We bow before the noble dead
And laud their living line!

And shall Trelawny Live
Or Shall Trelawny die
Here's twenty thousand Cornish men
Will know the reason why

And do they scorn Tre ,Pol and Pen?
And shall Trelawny die?
Here's twenty thousand Cornish men
Will know the reason why!
Be chainless as you rushing wave
Free as your native air
But honour the good and brave
And homage to the fair
And shall Trelawny Live
Or Shall Trelawny die
Here's twenty thousand Cornish men
Will know the reason why

Up with your hearts Tre ,Pol and Pen?
They bid Trelawny die?
Here's twenty thousand Cornish men
Will know the reason why!
Think on the warrior's waving hand
The patriots lasting fame
And follow o'er the Rocky Land
The old Trelawny name
And shall Trelawny Live
Or Shall Trelawny die
Here's twenty thousand Cornish men
Will know the reason why

Robert Morton Nance , *The Reason Why Old Cornwall* 1927 page 38

Wheal Rodney

A CORNISH SONG.

I.

Come all ye jolly Tinner boys, and listen *unto* me ;
I'll tell ee of a storie *as* shall make ee for to see,
Consarning Boney Peartie, the schaames which he had maade
To stop our tin and copper mines, and all our pilchard traade.

Chorus—

Hurea for tin and copper, boys, and fisheries likewise !
Hurea for Cornish maidens—Oh, bless their pretty eyes !
Hurea for our ould gentrie, and may they never faale !
Hurea, hurea for Cornwall ! Hurea, boys, “ one and ale ! ”

2.

He summonsed forty thousand men, to Polland they did goa,
All for to rob and plunder there, you very well do know ;
But ten thousand were killed and laade *all* dead in blood
and goare,
And thirty thousand runned away, and I cante tell where,
I'm sure.

3.

And should that Boney Peartie have forty thousand still,
To maake into an army *for* to work his wicked will,
And try for to invaade us, if he doen't quickly fly—
Why forty thousand Cornish boys shall know the reason why.

Blank Page.

2.4 The Cherry Tree Carol / Joseph Was An Old Man/ Keresen

Sources

Archival (Manuscript / Sound)

Davies Gilbert MSS pt 1, 1767 – 68, p. 22, *Joseph was an old man*

Sharp Mss Collection folk words no 2821: J Thomas at Camborne May 9th 1913. Lyrics with music.

Sharp Mss Collection Tune no 2843 (same page as Johnny Wurzey/ Whiskey):

Thomas Phillips (68) at Redruth May 10th 1913.

Sharp MSS 2821, Sent by Thomas Miners Camborne May 1913

Carpenter, J.M.Collection, Library of Congress (Ref AFC 1972/001, MS p. 11024):

From Harry Thomas circa 1933 (Authors Note – Substantial variant in tune – Lyrics - only one verse)

Carpenter, J.M.Collection, Library of Congress, Cylinder 069 (? - problem with labelling) circa 1933.

The Cherry-Tree Carol (cylinder recording), Harry Thomas St Just.

Publications (Book / Album)

Journal Of The Folk Song Society, Vol. II, No. 33 (1929), p. 111. Sung by S. Landry, Cornwall. 1924, JFSS V 1 no. 20 (1916), p. 321. Words noted by Miners in Jan 1916.

Dunstan, Ralph Lyver Canow Kernow /The Cornish Song Book ,Reid Bros, Ltd, London 1929, p. 85.

Sandys William, *Christmas Carols Ancient and Modern* Richard Beckley, London 1833.

Sandys William, *Christmas-tide, Its History, Festivities and Carols, With Their Music* (London, John Russell Smith, 1852), p. 241.

Bronson, Bertrand Harris *Traditional Tunes of the child Ballads* Vol II p4 . (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1959).

Racca 2, Calstock, 1997: Keresen - arranged as a waltz by Bill McColl.

Hymns and Carols of Christmas:

[http://hymnsandcarolsofchristmas.com/Hymns_and_Carols/Notes_On_Carols/cherry tree_carol-notes.htm](http://hymnsandcarolsofchristmas.com/Hymns_and_Carols/Notes_On_Carols/cherry_tree_carol-notes.htm) accessed 26th Nov 2006.

Observation

Jo Tagney / Kescanna perform this song (recorded on CD: Nadelik – 2000) miming the reactions of Joseph and Mary during the dialogue of the song – Mary's truculence and Joseph's indignation. -

Notes

This is a composite carol and an example of the various permutations the folk process can provide but as a piece of "religious" music, its provenances are better documented than they might have been for the secular music of the general population.

Sharp Journal of the Folk Song Society Vol IV p 14,

Suggests that the

The musical tradition . . . does not begin to appear in the record until about the beginning of the 19th Century." " I have a large number of variants of this carol, but have never taken down so full a set of words as those which Mr. Thomas gave me. The carol usually finishes at the end of the eighth stanza (see English Folk Carols, Nos. 3 and 4), the remaining verses generally forming part of a separate song, entitled " Joseph was a-walking." I have never before heard anyone sing the ninth and tenth stanzas of Mr. Thomas's version.

JFSS II no 33 (1929) p 111

Sung by S Landry Cornwall 1924 JFSS V no 20 (1916), p. 321. Words noted by Miners in Jan 1916 Authors - words and tune differ more like St Day Carol).

Douglas D. Anderson, Hymns and Carols of Christmas

http://hymnsandcarolsofchristmas.com/Hymns_and_Carols/Notes_On_Carols/cherry_tree_carol-notes.htm accessed 26th Nov 2006.

Anderson suggests a number of origins and variations for this carol:

William Studwell points out, however, there is not a single "Cherry Tree Carol." Rather, this is a combination of three separate folk carols which later merged. The first carol, based on the above quoted exchange, is "Joseph Was An Old Man." The second carol begins with the stanza "As Joseph Was A Walking" (also known as Joseph and the Angel). Finally, there is the Easter carol, "Mary's Question," which begins with the stanza "Then Mary took her young Son." Studwell writes "The truth of the matter is that there are a number of "Cherry Tree" carols so that instead of the very misleading singular form a multiple designation such as "The Cherry Tree Carols," or even better, "The Cherry Tree Carol Series" should be substituted." Even among the three carols which comprise this series, there

is considerable variation in the lyrics that are reproduced (as shown below).

It has been noted the editors of *The New Oxford Book of Carols* that Cecil Sharp collected no fewer than 8 texts. Ian Bradley notes one version captured in Cornwall in 1916 mixes in verses from 'The holly and the ivy' with a refrain:

Then sing O the holy holy
And sing O the holly
And of all the trees that are in the wood
It is the holly.

Likewise, there are a multitude of tunes to which the carol has been set. *The Oxford Book of Carols* captures four different tunes (Carol 66); separate tunes are given by Sandys, Husk, and Bramley and Stainer. The note in *The New Oxford Book of Carols* states: Centuries of use have woven a tangled web of variant texts, all of them marred by the vagaries and omissions of memory, by singers' mishearings and their replacement of idioms no longer understood, by their clipping or expansion of lines to fit different tunes, and by editorial inventions. They also note that the version given by Hone was "eclectic, having been assembled 'from various copies of it printed at different times.'" In addition, Studwell notes, there "are at least five distinct American songs with the cherry tree motif." He notes that in the United States there are two carols titled "Joseph and Mary" -- unrelated to the English carol of the same name -- plus single carols titled "The Cherry Tree," "When Joseph Was an Old Man," and "Oh, Joseph Took Mary Up on His Right Knee." Husk noted that Joseph's advanced age is mentioned in many places in the Apocryphal New Testament; as in the Gospel of the birth of Mary, where he is called "a person very advanced in years," and in the Protevangelion, where he is represented as saying, "I am an old man."

Bradley notes that multiple theories exist concerning the symbolism of the carol. He writes, "Some folklorists point to the widespread use in folklore of the gift of a cherry, or similar fruit carrying its own seed, as a divine authentication of human fertility." He also notes the relationship between the eating of the fruit by Eve in the Garden of Eden, and the eating of cherries by Mary whose son would erase the transgression. He adds that

some versions have Mary and Joseph walking through a garden, rather than an orchard, reinforcing the motif of the Garden of Eden.

It has also been noted that the apocryphal Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, Chapter 20, has a story that during their flight into Egypt, Mary sits beneath a palm tree and desires its dates, but is unable to reach them. Joseph is unable to climb the tree, but when Jesus intervenes, the tree bows down to give Mary the fruit.

Most versions likewise follow this pattern: when Joseph refuses to retrieve the fruit of the tree for Mary, Jesus intervenes from the womb and the tree bows down to deliver the fruit to the Virgin Mary. There are two notable exceptions. In one version of it is Joseph who commands the tree to bow to Mary (and it does!). More astonishingly, in *Joseph Were A Young Man*, it is the Lord Himself who issues the command. You can be certain of the result.

Lyrics

William Sandys, *Christmas Carols ancient and Modern*, (London Richard Beckley, 1833).

1. Joseph was an old man,
 And an old man was he,
When he wedded Mary
 In the land of Galilee.
2. Joseph and Mary walked
 Through an orchard good,
Where was cherries and berries
 So red as any blood.
3. Joseph and Mary walked
 Through an orchard green,
Where was berries and cherries
 As thick as might be seen.
4. O then bespoke Mary,
 So meek and so mild,

Pluck me one cherry, Joseph,
For I am with child.

5. O then bespoke Joseph
With words most unkind,
Let him pluck thee a cherry
That brought thee with child.

6. O then bespoke the Babe
Within his Mother's womb --
Bow down then the tallest tree
For my Mother to have some.

7. Then bowed down the highest tree
Unto his Mother's hand;
Then she cried, See, Joseph,
I have cherries at command!

8. O then bespake Joseph,
I have done Mary wrong,
But cheer up, my dearest,
And be not cast down.

9. Then Mary plucked a cherry
As red as the blood;
Then Mary went home
With her heavy load.

10. Then Mary took her Babe
And sat him on her knee,
Saying, My dear Son, tell me
What this world will be.

11. O, I shall be as dead, Mother,
As the stones in the wall;
O, the stones in the streets, Mother,
Shall mourn for me all.

12. Upon Easter-day, Mother,
My uprising shall be;
O, the sun and the moon, Mother,
Shall both rise with me.

Dunstan, Ralph The Cornish Song Book (London: Reid Bros. Ltd, 1929), p. 85.

1. When Joseph was an old man, an old man was he;
He married sweet Mary of fair Galilee;
And as they went a walking in the garden so free,
Fair Mary spied cherries upon a tall tree.

2. "O get those cherries, Joseph, which there I can see,
O get those sweet cherries and give them to me."
But Joseph spake unkindly, and thus answer'd he:
"I'll not pluck those cherries to give unto thee."

3. Then Mary said to Cherry-tree, "Bow down to my knee,
That I may pluck cherries, by one, two and three."
The highest branch, obedient, bowed down to her knee:
"Thus may you see, Joseph, those cherries are for me."

4. As Joseph was a-walking, he heard Angels sing,
"This night shall be born our Heavenly King.
He shall not be born in house or hall,
Nor in Heavenly mansion, but in an ox-stall.

5. "He shall not be clothed in purple or pall;
But all in fair linen as wear babies all.
He shall not be rocked in silver nor gold,
But in a wooden cradle that rocks on the mould."

6. Then Mary took her Baby, she dress'd Him so sweet,
She laid Him in a manger all there for to sleep.
And as she stood o'er Him she heard Angels sing:
"O bless our dear Saviour, our Heavenly King!"

J Thomas (Sharp mss no 2821)

Cherry Tree Carol Sung by J. Thomas (65) at Camborne, Cornwall, 9 May 1913

-

1/ When Joseph was an old man An old Man was he

He wedded our Mary The Queen of Ga lilee -

2 / And when he had a-wedded her And at home had her brought,
Mary proved with child, But Joseph knew her not.

3/ Then Joseph and Mary Was a-walking in the grove
They saw cherries and berries As red as any rose.

4/ When Joseph and Mary Was in the garden green
They saw cherries and berries, That was fitted to be seen.

5/ And Mary said to Joseph In words meek and mild:
Pick me some cherries, Joseph, For I am with child.

6/Then Joseph spoke to Mary ,In words so unkind:
Let him pluck thee cherries, Mary, who brought thee with child

7/ Then Jesus spoke unto the tree From within his mother's womb:
Bow down, sweet Cherry tree, For my mother to have some.

8/Then the highest branches bent, s mother Mary's knee
An she picked off the berries By one two and three

9/Then Mary had a young son, Which she dandled on her knee
And she said to her fair child, What wjfl this world be

10/ This world he said is no other, Than the stones in the street
but the sun moon and stars ,Shall sail under thy feet

11/ And I must not be rocked In silver or gold
but in a wood cradle That rock ofl the ground

*12/ And I must not be clothed In purple not poll
But be clothed in fine linen This child is your own*

Music Scores

William Sandys' Version

JOSEPH WAS AN OLD MAN.

I.

SANDYS' Carols, 1538.

Jo - seph was an old man, And an old man was he,
When he wed - ded Ma - ry In the land of Gal - i - lee.

Re-barred:—

II.

Husk's Songs of the Nativity.

Version from Mr S Landry / Tom Miners, JFDSS, Vol.II.No. 33 (1929), p.111.

I.—CHERRY, HOLLY AND IVY.

[THE CHERRY TREE CAROL.]

Noted by T. MINERS and J. E. THOMAS.

SUNG BY MR. S. LANDRY,
June 11th, 1924.

Jo - seph and Ma - ry In the gar - den did walk, Where were
cher - ries and ber - ries And all kinds of fruit, Then
up be - spoke Ma - ry So meek and so mild, Pluck
me some cher - ries, Jo - seph, For I am with child. Then sing
O, the hol - ly, hol - ly O, And sing O, the hol - ly, But of
all the trees that's in the wood, It is the hol - ly.

Collected by Sharp from J E Thomas

4.—THE CHERRY TREE CAROL.

Noted by Cecil J. Sharp.

SUNG BY MR. J. THOMAS,
CAMBORNE, CORNWALL, MAY 9TH, 1913.

When Jo - seph was an old man, An old man was he, He
wed - ded our Ma - ry, The Queen of Ga - li - lee.

- 2 And when he had a-wedded her
And at home had her brought,
Mary proved to be with child ;
But Joseph knew her not.
- 3 Then Joseph and Mary
Was a-walking in the grove,
They saw cherries and berries
As red as any rose
- 4 When Joseph and Mary
Was in the garden green,
They saw cherries and berries
That was fit to be seen.
- 5 And Mary said to Joseph,
In words meek and mild :
" Pick me some cherries, Joseph,
For I am with child."
- 6 Then Joseph spoke to Mary,
In words so unkind :
" Let him pick thee cherries, Mary,
Who brought thee with child."
- 7 Then Jesus spoke unto the tree
From within his mother's womb :
" Bow down, sweet cherry tree,
For my mother to have some."
- 8 Then the highest branches bent as low
As Mother Mary's knee ;
And she picked of the cherries
By one, two, and three.
- 9 Then Mary had a young son
Which she dandled on her knee ;
And she said to her fair child :
" What will this world be ?"
- 10 " This world, he said, is no other
Than the stones in the street ;
But the sun, moon, and stars
Shall sail under thy feet."
- 13 " And I must not be rocked
In silver nor gold ;
But in a wood cradle
That rock on the ground,
- 12 " And I must not be clothed
In purple nor poll ;
But be clothed in fine linen,
The child is your own."

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Merv Davey Appendix 2.4: The Cherry Tree Carol

2.5 Uncle Pengerric / The Keenly Lode

Sources

Archival (Manuscript / Sound)

Wren Trust, Okehampton, Baring Gould Personal Copy Ms, Vol.3 Fiche 8, p.228, song 531.

Publications (Book / Album)

William Bentinck Forfar, "The Bal - Tis a Bra' Keenly Lode", (London, J Williams, ?1860).

Sabine Baring Gould, Ed C Sharp, *Songs of the West*, (London, Methuen, 1905), Song no. 46.

Alfred Percival Graves *The Celtic Song Book: Being representative of the 6 Celtic Nations*. (London, Ernest Benn, 1928).

Racca 2 (Calstock, Racca Project, 1997).

Notes

William Bentinck Forfar published a series of dialect stories between 1859 and 1871

e.g

Pentowan: Or, the Adventures of Gregory Goulden, Esq., and Tobias Penhale; a Cornish Story. (Helston, Unknown publisher, 1859)

The Wizard of West Penwith : A Tale of the Land's-End. (Penzance: The Library, 1871).

So it is likely that "Bra Keenly Lode" was published at about this time.

Baring Gould Personal Copy Ms, Vol3 Fiche 8, p228, song 531:

Sent by S Varcoe, innkeeper, The Lugger Polperro 1894 as sung by an old man in his Kitchen – words pasted into notebook .

Baring Gould, Ed C Sharp, Songs of the West: Methuen London 1905: Song no 46 Notes p 14

Mr Bussell and I spent a week in 1894 at the Lugger Inn, Fowey, collecting songs. We met there one day an old miner, who asked us if we knew" The Keenly Lode," and on our saying that we did not, he gave us a long song on mining, that, however, lacked point. I have therefore re-composed the song. The air is that employed for" The Crocodile," an extravagant ballad, which has been published by Miss Broadwood in her" County Songs." Her tune is

practically the same as ours, but there are some differences. "The Crocodile" is a very popular ballad among old song-men, but no one would care to sing it in a drawing-room or at a concert, because it is vastly silly." A Keenly Lode" is a lode that promises well. A "Ball" is a mine in Cornish. In Cornwall every old man is termed "Uncle." "We have taken down" The Meat Pie" to the same air.

Henry Jenner contributed a version to Graves Celtic Song Book , apparently provided by Baring Gould.

Lyrics and Music

As composed by Bentick Forfar circa 1860

THE BAL.

Andante.

If you'll lis-ten to me for a moment you shall Hear

all a-bout try...ing and work...ing a Bal; How the

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled "THE BAL." The score is written in 6/8 time and includes piano accompaniment and a vocal line. The tempo is marked "Andante." The lyrics are: "If you'll lis-ten to me for a moment you shall Hear all a-bout try...ing and work...ing a Bal; How the". The piano part consists of two staves, and the vocal part is on a single staff. The score is arranged in three systems, with the piano accompaniment and vocal line appearing together in each system.

22

lode is dis...co...verd by a small ha...zel twig, Carried
o...ver the ground by some know...ing old Prig, Who
knows when his dourzig has an...swerd its end; For where
e...ver the lode is the ha...zel will bend, But when these

The image shows a musical score for a song. It consists of four systems of music. Each system has a vocal line on a single treble clef staff and a piano accompaniment on a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The music is in a common time signature (C) and features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes in the vocal line, with block chords and moving bass lines in the piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: 'lode is dis...co...verd by a small ha...zel twig, Carried o...ver the ground by some know...ing old Prig, Who knows when his dourzig has an...swerd its end; For where e...ver the lode is the ha...zel will bend, But when these'.

mys...ti...cal rites are per...form'd in the night, The lode's

som...times dis...co...verd by a Phos...pho...ric light.

Aw! 'tis a Bra' Keenly lode. Aw! 'tis a Bra' Keenly

lode.

THE BIRD, TRANSFERRED FROM MURPHY'S STORE, &
PUBLISHED BY W. HULLMAN, 110 N. ST. JOHN STREET, CHICAGO, ILL.

Words collected by Baring Gould 1890

The Keenly Lode Transcription By Martin Graebe: Baring-Gould Ms. Ref. PC 3. 228 (531).

The Ball or Tis a Bra Keenly Load.

If you listen to me a moment you shall
Hear all about trying and working the Ball
How the load is discovered by a small hazel twig
Carried over the ground by some knowing old prig
Who knows when his Dowzing has answered its end
For wherever the Load is the hazel will bend
But when these mystical rites are performed in the night
The Lode's sometimes discovered by a phosphoric light.

Chorus. Ow tis a Bra Keenly load
 Ow tis a Bra Keenly load

When the knowing old Dowzer this discovery made
He marks out the spot and then calls his comrade
Saying, "Hallo Cozen Jan dee come long wi me
Tis the Keenlist gozen thee ever didst see
Wa my pick an my gad. I've ben working valnight
And a g'eat piece of mundic is gest heaved in sight
Aw if that is the caase then says Jan, I'll be bound
With a few hours work en the Load'll be found

Chorus. Ow tis a Bra Keenly Load
 Ow tis a Bra Keenly Load

When they came to the Load then the water came in
And they couldn't tell whether twas copper or tin
Come says Jan lev'es go to the kiddle e-wink
And set down, touch our pipes and ha sumthin to drink
And tomorrow will call upon Capⁿ Polglaze
And ax hes advice when ve laid forth ur caase
He do know some pick chaps up to Lunnon I'm towed
So he can promice our tin in exchange for their gowld

Chorus. Ow tis a Bra Keenly Load
 Ow tis a Bra Keenly Load.

Now Captain Polglaze was a person well known
Who quickly by mining a rich man had grown
So he sampled the ore which the two men brought him
And advised them by all means to put up a whim
And to fork out the water with a pump and a wheel
While he to his friends would instant appeal
And to London he'd go with a sample of ore
Loar' says Jan, I shud like to go with he plaise sure

Chorus. Ow tis a Bra Keenly Load
 Ow tis a Bra Keenly Load

They went up to Bristol by a steamer from Hayle
And proceeded from Bristol to London by rail
And having finished their business without much delay
They came back to Cornwall again the same way
And when they returned to their comrades again
They were look'd upon more like geat angels then men
They met that same night. Cousin Jack took the chair
And then his adventures he told to the pair.

Chorus. Ow tis a Bra Keenly Lode
 Ow tis a Bra Keenly Lode

P.S. some words are spelt as they are pronounced.

Sent me by S. Varcoe, innkeeper The Lugger, Padstow 1894 as sung by an old man in his kitchen.

Version 3 Racca 1997

The Keenly Lode

The musical score for "The Keenly Lode" is written in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It consists of four staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 4/4 time signature. The melody starts on G4 and proceeds through a series of eighth and quarter notes, including a repeat sign after the fourth measure. The second staff continues the melody with a mix of quarter and eighth notes, featuring a slur over the final two measures. The third staff continues the melodic line with similar rhythmic patterns. The fourth staff concludes the piece with a final cadence, ending on a whole note G4.

2.6 Crying the Neck

Sources

Publications

W.J.P. Burton, "Calling the neck" *Old Cornwall* 1929, Vol. 1, No.9, p. 27 -28.

Tom Miners, "Fragments that are left", *Old Cornwall* 1932 Vol 2 No. 4, p.12.

C A Collins , " Cutting the neck", *Old Cornwall* 1951 Vol. 5 No. 1, p. 20.

Michael Tangye, "Customs Remembered", *Old Cornwall* 1982, Vol. 9, No. 3, p. 309.

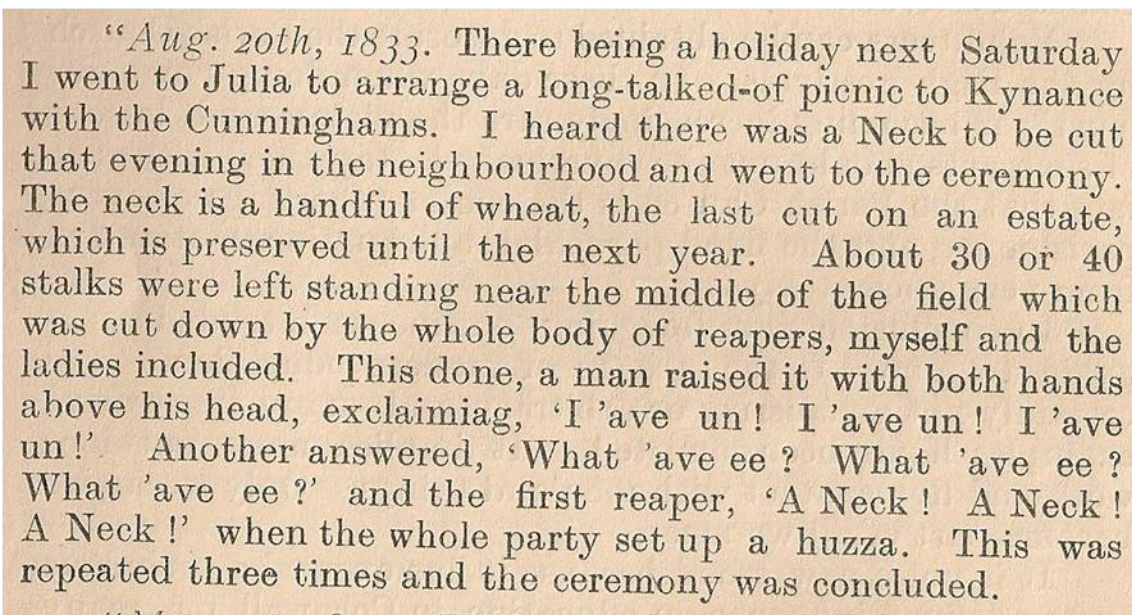
Observation

Withiel 14th September 2006.

Notes

From Diary of Rev C A Collins :

" Cutting the neck", *Old Cornwall* 1951 Vol. 5, No.1, p. 20.



"Aug. 20th, 1833. There being a holiday next Saturday I went to Julia to arrange a long-talked-of picnic to Kynance with the Cunninghams. I heard there was a Neck to be cut that evening in the neighbourhood and went to the ceremony. The neck is a handful of wheat, the last cut on an estate, which is preserved until the next year. About 30 or 40 stalks were left standing near the middle of the field which was cut down by the whole body of reapers, myself and the ladies included. This done, a man raised it with both hands above his head, exclaiming, 'I 'ave un! I 'ave un! I 'ave un!' Another answered, 'What 'ave ee? What 'ave ee? What 'ave ee?' and the first reaper, 'A Neck! A Neck! A Neck!' when the whole party set up a huzza. This was repeated three times and the ceremony was concluded.

Tom Miners, "Fragments that are left", Old Cornwall 1932, Vol. 2, No. 4, p.12.

In East Cornwall there was a formula for "Crying the Neck", "Three aw necks and one hurrah. The Three aw necks and two hurrahs. Three aw necks and three Hurrahs" An Old Farmer gave me the following chant on the putting in of the "Craw Sheaf":

The Craw Sheaf is in
Tis Time to Begin
To Drink Strong Beer
And we've got it here

This was followed by three cheers.

W.J.P. Burton, "Calling the neck" *Old Cornwall*, Vol. 1, No. 9, p. 27-28.

possible. The leader held the "neck" in his hand. This was a small sheaf of wheat made from the finest ears, specially selected. It was tied with bright coloured ribbons just underneath the ears, and the outside straws were woven into several plaits into which flowers were inserted. Each of these was arranged around the inner straws in a curved position, something like the handles of a loving-cup. The straws were then trimmed to a uniform length, and again tied with ribbons two or three inches from the bottom.

The leader stepped forward, and holding out the neck at full length, called out in stentorian tones "I hev'en!" three times. The next man thrice responded with "What hev'ee?" after which all the harvesters shouted "A nack!" also three times. All the spectators then joined in calling "Wooraw!" (Hurrah) and this also was repeated three times.

This concluded the ceremony, and the villagers went back to their homes. The harvesters were regaled with a hot supper in the Rectory kitchen, where the neck was hung from one of the rafters till the morning of the next Christmas Day, when it was given to the best dairy cow as a special tit-bit for her breakfast.

On several following summer evenings the sounds of the calling of the neck could be heard from the neighbouring farms, but that was the only occasion at which I was actually present. I was quite a small girl at the time, yet I can recall it as if it only took place this summer, and I think it is a great pity the quaint old custom is no longer observed.

Michael Tangye, "Customs Remembered", *Old Cornwall* 1982 Vol.9, No. 3, p.309.

HARVEST

The gathering of the harvest was once accompanied by great rejoicing and several customs marked each stage of the occasion. No doubt the celebrations were eagerly awaited and brought a little colour into an otherwise drab existence, and good food to empty stomachs.

First came the 'neck cutting.' One of the earliest references to this occurs in the Accounts of the Manor of Tehidy for 1771⁵ referring to harvesting on the farm attached to the Mansion. The reaping here, was done by women, who protected their hand, or hands, with 'harvest gloves,' and used 'crooks' to cut the wheat. the men did the 'binding and mowing' i.e. binding the sheafs and building them into mows. The Bassets "Paid for 3 doz. of bread for Cutting ye Neck of Wheat 3.0."

resembled that of 'cutting the neck.' An observer recorded this ceremony in 1867.

"Hurrahing at the neck cutting, and the pitching up of the crow sheaf are less frequent than formerly, what is termed cutting the neck is well known throughout the county but catching the crow sheaf only in the eastern part. It was the sheaf that was placed to complete the mow at one end; when the sheaf was thrown up, the person making the mow would call out, "I have it! I have it!" The person throwing up the sheaf enquiring "What have you? What have you?" The reply would be "A crow! A crow!" Then all being assembled in the mowhay, a hearty hurrah would be given which was frequently heard at a considerable distance."¹⁴

Stanley Opie recorded further details of this ceremony at St Wenn in the 1930's.

"The following ceremony is remembered at the putting in of the 'crow' or 'crow' sheaf, in the building of the rick. This would be well raised on poles (6 or 7 lengthways with cross poles) laid across the tops of the stone "keps and posses" (cap and posts).

The 'Mow stead,' or rick, was built up sheaf by sheaf and when it came to the putting in of the top corner sheaf, the following verse would be proclaimed so that it could be heard almost all over the parish:

"The crow sheaf is in,
Tis time to begin
To drink strong beer
An we've got it 'ere."

While one of them would lift the beer jar."¹⁵ This rhyme was also recorded at Withiel at the same period.¹⁶

In 1867 it was customary in East Cornwall at harvesting time of "presenting everyone employed, with a large cake every night after supper. While the party were draining the large bowls of milk punch, the farmer's wife or daughter would place the cake on the table. In the first quarter of the present century many farmers gave their labourers and tradesmen a feast at Christmas, called in the Eastern part of the county 'The Harvest Feast,' from the fact that all who had assisted in the harvest were invited this custom too is going or gone."¹⁷

Mr. E. Reynolds of Ruan Highlanes near St. Mawes, now 80 years old, worked on the Caerhayes Estate for 'Squire Williams' during the 1920's. He remembers the old farm labourers at that time always made two pheasants from the wheat and pinned one on each gable end of the corn rick, with a stick, when it was completed.

The custom was once widespread throughout Cornwall and in 1809 was witnessed by an observer one evening whilst travelling by horseback from Torpoint to Liskeard. A crowd of farm workers had gathered in a harvest field:

“The small remnant of corn that remained standing soon yielded to the sickle, when a blooming daughter of Ceres advanced in front of the party she displayed, in seeming triumph, a small bunch of wheat-ears, intermingled with flowers and bound together with ribbons. In a moment all was silence. She waved the trophy over her head — an honest rustic caught the sight, and instantly exclaimed in seeming rapture, “Anneck! Anneck! hurrow!” “I have it! I have it!” rejoined the damsel, upon which the whole company burst forth in a grand chorus of “Anneck! Anneck! hurrow!” And this they repeated three several times. In vain were all my enquiries for the meaning of this singular custom.”⁶

If this was accurately recorded it would appear to differ from the present ceremony. There must also arise the question as to whether ‘Anneck!’ ‘Horrow!’ are really ‘A neck!’ ‘Hurrah!’ or some long forgotten Celtic expression.

A correspondent in 1898 wondered if the correct version was “Us have’n! Us have’n! An eck! An eck!” Suggesting ‘eck’ derived from the Greek ‘Echo’ — ‘I have.’⁷

Jonathan Couch⁸ records that the ‘neck’ at Polperro, consisted of a miniature sheaf with projecting arms and bedecked with daisies and other flowers, perhaps representing some forgotten spirit or even a human sacrifice as a form of thanksgiving.

In 1888 Thomas Cragoe recalled ‘crying the neck’ at Old Kea on the Fal, when a boy, stating that his father stood “at the inner door, bottle in hand, and to every nut brown, toil bent labourer ... was proffered a gleaming glass of Jamaica. Master and men settled down to festive board, each man and woman taking home a neck cake.”⁹

This celebration was known in the 1930’s as the ‘neck cutting supper’.¹⁰ It was also recorded at the same period at Treen, Porthcurnow.

“It is still remembered that on Christmas Eve the ‘neck’ from the last harvest was given to the finest and fattest ox on the farm.”¹¹ This custom was also recorded at Withiel in East Cornwall¹² and at Polperro¹³ where it was given to the master ox in the stable.

Withiel 14th September 2006.

Master of Ceremonies – John Bennallack, St Wenn, (St Columb Old Cornwall Society
Cutting the Sheaf Mark Hawken, (Previously farmer at Whitehay Withiel)

Ceremony was held at the top field of Blackhay Farm and part returned to Withiel
Village hall for supper organized by the Old Cornwall Society and a singing session.

Audio file : Field Recording

140906-1: Introduction by John Bennallack

140906- 2: Cutting the Corn

140906-3: Pysadow – Prayer in Cornish

140906-4: Pen Yar – Crying the neck

140906-5: Pen Yar Crying the neck

140906-6: Hymn in English – We Plough The Fields and Scatter

Images:

Mark Hawken and
John Bennallack
Crying the Neck
Ceremony Withiel
14th September 2006



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2.7 Furry Dances in North Cornwall

Sources

Archives

Boscastle Archive, Village Hall, Boscastle.

Publications (Book / Album)

John Burton, "Bygone Days in Bodmin", The Cornish Guardian, 24th March 1905,
Pat Munn, Bodmin Riding and other similar Celtic Customs, (Bodmin, Bodmin Books
Ltd, 1975)

Alison and Merv Davey, eds. Corollyn: Cornish Dances,. (Perranporth: Cam Kernewek
/ Plymouth University, 1992), Book / CD / Video.

Alison Davey, et al, Scoots, Troyls and Tea Treats , (London, Francis Boutle, 2009).

Observation

First Saturday in July 2005 - 2010 the North Cornwall Furry observed danced through
Bodmin as part of the Bodmin Riding Celebrations.

5th March / St Piran's day 2005 - 2010 North Cornwall Furry observed danced through
Bodmin as part of St Pirans day celebrations.

Notes

North Cornwall Furry in Bodmin (Alison Davey, et al, Scoots, Troyls and Tea Treats)

Sheila Buse remembered doing this dance as a child in the 1930s in Bude,
She commented that it was still a progressive dance when she was a child
but has since lost this feature. Mary Davey also remembered doing this
dance at school between the wars and there is film footage of this dance
being done in Looe in the 1920s. This dance is an integral part of Bodmin's
Riding Day celebrations which now take place on the first Saturday in July
and it has also become a tradition to dance it through the towns streets on
St Piran's Day, March 5th.

Bodmin Riding is the tune used for the North Cornwall Furry when danced
as part of the Riding Day procession. Historically variations on the Helston
Furry were also used in North Cornwall.

North Cornwall Furry in Launceston

Letter from Mike Hartland 5th October 2010

MIKE HARTLAND
HILLSIDE
KEVERAL LANE
SEATON
CORNWALL.
5-10-10

MY RECOLLECTIONS OF
DANCING IN LAUNCESTON.
1953-1957

AS A PUPIL (BOARDER) AT LAUNCESTON COLLEGE BETWEEN 1953 AND 1957 I HAVE MANY MEMORIES OF THE VARIOUS MUSICAL AND MUSIC ASSOCIATED ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE COLLEGE AND THE TOWN.

THE COLLEGE ACTIVELY ENCOURAGED MUSIC AND WE HAD A 90 PIECE SCHOOL ORCHESTRA. THE HEADMASTER AT THE TIME WAS HENRY TOX AND THE MUSIC HEAD SAM SELF. ALL OF THE TEACHERS WERE ALSO EXPECTED TO PLAY! THE ORCHESTRA ITSELF PLAYED (PREDOMINATELY) CLASSICAL MUSIC, SOME OF US WERE LUCKY ENOUGH TO BE SECONDED TO THE TYWARDREATH YOUTH ORCHESTRA FOR A TRIP TO WOLFSBURG, WEST GERMANY.

ALSO ENCOURAGED WAS 'COUNTRY DANCING', WHERE WE WOULD GO TO THE GIRLS SCHOOL IN DUNHEVED ROAD FOR COUNTRY DANCING LESSONS. ALSO SATURDAY EVENINGS WE WOULD GO TO A HALL IN ST. STEPHENS AND GET GLENNIE WITH THE GIRLS IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOL. THE 'BAND' ON THESE OCCASIONS WERE PUPILS FROM THE SCHOOL ORCHESTRA.

ONCE A YEAR (CAN'T REMEMBER WHEN), THOSE OF US WHO WANTED TO WOULD DANCE THE 'NORTH CORNWALL FURRY' THROUGH LAUNCESTON'S STREETS, AT ONE POINT ENTERING THE 'WHITE HART' HOTEL THROUGH THE KITCHEN ENTRANCE AND EXITING THROUGH THE FRONT DOOR, FINALLY AROUND THE SQUARE TO FINISH. I AM FAIRLY SURE (90%) THE MUSIC WAS THE 'NORTH CORNWALL FURRY' AND WAS PLAYED BY THE TOWN'S SILVER BAND.

Mike Hartland

Furry / Flora Dance at Boscastle

Photographs courtesy of Boscastle Archive
11th August 1949

Outside the Wellington.



Down the main street



On the way to the Cobwebs pub

Furry / Flora Dance at Newquay (Alison Davey, et al, Scoots, Troys and Tea Treats)

During the inter-war period a furry dance was used in Newquay to celebrate the midsummer Golowan festival and the authors family recall a children's dance leading from the school in Crantock Street to Pentire Headland where the bonfires were lit. The version of the dance used was that now called North Cornwall Furry. After the war in 1946, the tradition was re-introduced and became one of the of the summer season tourist



attractions. In 1961 the organiser s of the event felt that Newquay should have its own furry dance and song. Mr H Whipps of St



Mawgan was commissioned to write the music along traditional lines. Nigel Tangye of Glendorgal, Porth, composed the words using local memories of older traditions in Newquay. Miss Rowland's class of nine year olds at Crantock Street School composed the dance using elements of traditional choreography.

North Cornwall Furry: music and dance description



Formation:

Processional dance for two couples in a line and as many sets as will.

Step:

The step is a 'One, two, three, hop'.

Bars

1–8 Couples take eight steps forward all moving in same direction.

9–12 All right hand star.

13– 16 All left hand star.

Repeat as often as wished.

Newquay Heva: music and dance description



Formation: Couples in a processional formation (two couples to each set).

Hold: Gentleman reaches behind the lady to hold her right hand in his right hand at shoulder

height. At the same time he holds her left hand in his left hand in front at waist height.

Step: 'One, two, three hop' step throughout.

Bars

1–4 All moving in the same direction take four steps forward. All turn to face in the opposite direction (without letting go of hands) on the final hop.

5–8 Continue to travel in the same direction taking four steps backwards. On the final hop face the other couple in the set (i.e. second couple in each set will turn).

9–12 Let go of hands. Take one step into the centre, clap, one step back and repeat.

13–16 Swing partners with arms crossed, right arms over left. By swinging in this way, it is possible for the man simply to lift his right hand over the lady's head, Again without couples needing to let go of hands.

Repeat as often as wished.

2.8 Jan Knuckey

Sources

Publications (Book / Album)

Sandys, William (as Uncle Jan Trenoodle), *Specimens of Cornish Provincial Dialect*, (London, John Russel Smith, 1846).

Dunstan, R, *Cornish Dialect and Folk Songs*,(London, Ascheberg, Hopwood & Crew Ltd, 1932), p.10.

Brenda Wootton. *Way Down to Lamorna*, Sentinel, SENS 1056, 1972.

Brenda Wootton *No Song To Sing*, with Robert Bartlett and "guest" Alex Atterson on piano - Sentinel, SENS 1021, 1974.

Pol Hodge and Mike O'Connor, *Sengen Fiddee: Songs in Cornish Dialect*, (Wadebridge, Lyngham House Press, 2003), p.15.

Notes

Dunstan, R, *Cornish Dialect and Folk Songs*,(London, Ascheberg, Hopwood & Crew Ltd, 1932), p.10: *The verse are based on a Cornish tale in Wm Sandy's Jan Trenoodle (1847). The chorus and its tune were communicated by Capt Thos .Collett of Polglaze, Perrancoombe, on Dec 25th 1929, as he heard them from a Penzance man in S Africa 1887.*

Observation

Sung occasionally at sessions in London Inn, Cornish Arms and Ring of Bells 2005 - 2011

Sung in Cornish singing session in Old Ale house 5th March 2011

Interview

Paul Holmes Telephone Interview 19th November 2010-11-19, following up conversation at Lowender Peran Festival in October 01209 842 292.

Jan Knuckey regular part of his repertoire since 1960s: Sang in pubs etc at 15, attended Count House 1964 -1965 (went to London in 1969, Sat in a circle about 20 of them, took in turns to sing – a sing around 2 or 3 songs each night. Used to sing at the Uxbridge Folk Club In 1974 Brenda came – he sang Jan Knuckey with her

Correspondence

Listed amongst possible tunes for “Prys Ton – Session tunes project” 2007

Lyrics and Music

Session Tunes Project 2007:

Jan Knuckey

Trad.

The image shows two staves of musical notation in G major, 2/4 time. The first staff contains the main melody with chords G, D, G, C, G indicated above it. The second staff shows a continuation of the melody with chords C, D, G indicated above it. The piece ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

Repeated with extemporised harmony.....

Sandys 1846

<p style="text-align: center;">JAN KNUCKEY AND GRAACEY.</p> <hr style="width: 20%; margin: auto;"/> <p>Jan Knuckey were a miner bould As ever was to Bâl, And cruel good cu'd wrastle too And thraw a tidy fall.</p> <p>When princk'd too en es Soonda' cloase He braave and proper seem'd, At Church too the base viol sraaped Until the great crowd scream'd.</p> <p>Now, up along to Church-town lived A fine and thoomping daame She were pure stout, as were her poorse, Aunt Graacey were her naame.</p> <p>Now Graacey had for many years A little shop like keep'd Where things for ould and childer too Promiskusly was keep'd.</p> <p>Tea, doat figs. and poldavy too Cloam buzzas on the planching, Scaal'd cream. and crocks, and conjer's end, And apples ripe for seranching.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">JAN KNUCKEY AND GRAACEY. 39</p> <p>'Baccy, with cowals for the chowters, Saalt pilchers, and some 'taties, Eggs, elidgy, traade, and hoganbags, Gowks, sparables, and lattice.</p> <p>Aunt Graacey had some mabjers too, A pig's-crow and a midden, And sometimes sould a fine fat fowl, Sometimes the piggy-whidden.</p> <p>Some cobshans she'd a saaved away ; Jan hadn't a got none ; Yet, thof she were a titch too ould, He thoft they might be one.</p> <p>But Graacey were a keen chap too, She were no drumbledrane ; And weth her fangings or herself, To part she dedu't a meane.</p> <p>Well Jan, he fetch'd es coorse one day To tell es mind to Graace, But when he got un ento doors She were not en the plaace.</p> <p>A kicklish fuss he heerd up stairs, And soon 'caase why he knew, The seeling being deaf was seat And Graace fell half way through.</p>
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Pol Hodge and Mike O'Connor, Sengen Fiddee: Songs in Cornish Dialect, (Wadebridge, Lyngham House Press, 2003) p15.

Aw Jon - nee will ee cum a long now? or
 Jon - nee will ee waet fer a wile? Than
 cum a long Jon weth yer big boots awn, Er
 Jon - nee will ee waet fer a wile?

Aw Jonnee will ee cum a long (cum a long) now?
 or Jonnee will ee waet fer a wile? (fer a wile?)
 Than cum a long Jon weth yer big boots awn,
 Er Jonnee will ee waet fer a wile?

Jan Knuckey waz a miner bold
 as ever woz t' Baal,
 An cruel good cud raassel too
 An thraw a tidy faall.

Now up along t' Churchtown livd
 a fine an thumpen daam.
 She woz pure stout – so was er purs
 Aant Graasee wer er naam.

Aant Graasee ad fer many ears
 a liddel shoap like keepd,
 Wer goods fer oald an chelern too
 wer oll together eepd.

Wae'll Jan ee fetchd es coos waun day
 ta tell es mind to Graas,
 But wen ee got enside tha dooer
 ee dedn av tha faas.

At laas sez ee "I do ee luv
 wen shall us be axed owt?
 lev me an you keep comnee"
 tha anser woz a clowt!

"Aw lev us av noa fuss" sez Jan
 "an doant ee taak t' amess.
 Ef that I ax afooer we part
 a liddel crum ov kess."

But Graasee's dander now woz up.
 She screechd an jawd be turns,
 an then she took un be tha scruff
 an foochd un thoo tha durns!

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2.9 Lovers Tasks / Jenefer Gentle / Whelyow Garyoryon

Sources

Archival (Manuscript / Sound)

- Sabine Baring Gould, Rough Copy Mss, Wren Trust, Fiche No. 3, Vol. 3, p. 21.
Sabine Baring Gould, Rough Copy Mss, Wren Trust, Fiche No.10, Vol. 9, p. 6.
Sabine Baring Gould, Rough Copy Mss, Wren Trust, Fiche No. 312, Vol. 10, p. 2.
Cecil Sharp Mss collection folk tune No. 219.
Cecil Sharp Mss Collection folk words No. 306.

Publications (Book / Album)

Davies Gilbert ---. *Some Ancient Christmas Carols, with the Tunes to Which They Were Formerly Sung in the West of England. Together with Two Ancient Ballads, a Dialogue, &C.* Second ed. (London, Nichols and Son, 1823), p. 65, as Jenifer, Gentle and Rosemarie,"

Baring-Gould, Rev. Sabine. and Rev. H. Fleetwood Shepherd. *Songs and Ballads of the West: A Collection Made from the Mouths of the People* (London, Methuen & Co, 1891), song no. 7.

The Journal of American Folklore, Vol. 7, No. 26. (Jul. - Sep., 1894), pp. 228-232.

Baring Gould, ed C Sharp, *Songs of the West*, Methuen London, 1905 song No. 48.

Henry Jenner, in Graves, Alfred Perceval, *The Celtic Song Book : Being Representative Folk Songs of the Six Celtic Nations.* (London, Benn, 1928), pp. 273-4

Davey, MR, *Hengan*, (Redruth, Dyllansow Truran, 1983).

Bennet, Frances. Coleman, Hilary. Crowhurst, Nick. Davey, Merv. Fierek. Rosie. Editors. *Racca 2: Cornish Tunes for Cornish Sessions.* (Calstock, RACCA project, 1997).

Notes

This is a version of the ubiquitous "Scarborough Fair" made famous by Simon and Garfunkle. Child includes this as part of the family of songs belonging to the "Elfin

Knight” and various versions collected in America are discussed in the *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 7, No. 26. (Jul. - Sep., 1894), pp. 228-232

Baring Gould, ed C Sharp, *Songs of the West*, Methuen London, 1905 song no 48

Notes page 14:

This very curious song belongs, as I was told in Cornwall, to a sort of play that was wont to be performed in farmhouses at Christmas. One performer, a male, left the room, and entered again singing the first part. A girl, seated on a chair, responded with the second part. The story was this. She had been engaged to a young man who died. His ghost returned to claim her. She demurred to this, and he said that he would waive his claim if she could perform a series of tasks he set her. To this she responded that he must, in the first place, accomplish a set of impossible tasks she would set him. Thus was he baffled. We took down the ballad and air from Philip Symonds of Jacobstow, Cornwall, also from John Hext, Two Bridges, and from James Dyer of Mawgan. The burden, "And every grove rings with a merry antine," is curious; antine is antienne-anthem.

Baring Gould Personal Copy Mss Wren Trust Microfiche Vol 2 fich 11 p 296– Seeds of Love - 8 bar melody taken down from (unclear) Mason, Langhane (Lanherne?)

Lyrics and Music

Gilberts Words sent to Sharp

Cecil Sharp MSS Folk Words no 306, sent to him by the Gilbert family in 1904.

O can you make me a cambric shirt,
Every leaf grows many a time
Without any needle or any fine work,
And you shall be a true lover of mine,

And wash it down in yonder well
There neither springs water nor rain ever fell.
And dry it off on yonder thorn
There there grew no leaf since Adam was born,

O can you buy me an acre of land
Betwixt the salt water and the sea sand,
And plough it all over with a snail's horn
And sow it throughout with one barleycorn,

Then gather the crop in a no-bottom sack
Every leaf grows many a time
And. send it to mill on on a butterfly's back.
And you shall be a true lover of mine,

Henry Jenner, in *Celtic Song book*

Graves, Alfred Perceval, *The Celtic Song Book : Being Representative Folk Songs of the Six Celtic Nations*. (London, Benn, 1928), pp 273/4

The Lover's Tasks

Moderato. *p*

O buy me, my la - dy, a
273 18

cam - bric shirt, Whilst ev' - ry grove rings with a
mer - ry an - tine, And stitch it with - out an - y
nee - die work, And thou shalt be a true lov - er of mine.

O thou must wash it in yonder well,
Whilst every grove rings with a merry antine,
Where never a drop of water in fell,
And thou shalt be a true lover of mine.

And thou must bleach it on yonder grass,
Whilst every grove rings with a merry antine,
Where never a foot or hoof did pass,
And thou shalt be a true lover of mine.

And thou must hang it upon a white thorn,
Whilst every grove rings with a merry antine,
That never blossom'd since Adam was born,
And thou shalt be a true lover of mine.

And when these works are finished and done,
Whilst every grove rings with a merry antine,
I'll take and marry thee under the sun,
And thou shalt be a true lover of mine.

- * SHE : Thou must buy for me an acre of land,
Whilst every grove rings with a merry antine,
Between the salt sea and the yellow sand,
And thou shalt be a true lover of mine.

* All the second part may be omitted.

Cornish Translation Ken George May 1982 – Whelyow Garyoryon

Davey, MR, *Hengan*, (Redruth, Dyllansow Truran, 1983) p44

Ef:	He:
A pren dhym, Arlodhes, crys sendal pur gan,	Oh buy me my lady, a cambric shirt,
Pan dhasson dyguth pup kelly a wyth,	Whilst every grove rings, with a merry antine;
Ha'y wryas hep gorra an nasweth y'n pan,	And stitch it without any needle work,
Ha dhymmo-vy cares wyr ty a vyth.	And thou shalt be a true lover of mine.
Y wolghy yu res dhys y'n fenten enos,	O thou must wash it in yonder dry well,
Pan	Whilst. . . .
Ma na godha dagren a dhowr a'y os.	Where never a drop of water fell;
Ha	And thou. . . .
War'n wels-na y'n cannyth mar wyn avel ergh,	And thou must bleach it on yonder grass
Pan	Whilst. . . .
Le na vedha bythqueth nag olow na lergth.	Where never a hoof or foot did pass,
Ha	And thou. . . .
Y gregy war dhrenen yn-hons yu res dhys,	And thou must hang it on yonder thorn,
Pan	Whilst. . . .
Re bu hep blejennow a dhalleth an bys.	That never blossomed since Adam was born,
Ha	And thou. . . .
Ha pan vo gorfennys an whelyow yn-cowl,	And when these works are finished and done,
Pan	Whilst. . . .
Y'th cafaf 'vel pryas yn-dan an howl.	I'll take and marry thee under the sun,
Ha	And thou. . . .

Hy:

Ow Arluth mar jentyl, dhym prena a wreth,
Pan dhasson dyguth pup kelly a wyth,

Un erow a dyr ynter hyly ha treth,

Ha dhymmo-vy carer gwyr ty a vyth.

Y aras gans com dyworth margh yu res
dhys,

Pan

Ha puber yu da avel has, my a grys.

Ha

Gans grommen a groghen y vyjy a wreth,

Pan

Gans plufen a bayon y gelmy ynweth.

Ha

Y worm yn tygen dhywoles res yu,

Pan

Ha'y dhegy dhe'n velyn war geyn tykky
Dew.

Ha

Ha pan vo gorfennys an whelyow yn-cowl,

Pan

Y'th cafaf 'vel pryas yn-dan an howl.

Ha

She:

Thou must buy for me an acre of land,
Whilst every grove rings with a merry
antine;

Between the salt water and the yellow
sand,

And thou shalt be a true lover of mine.

Thou must plough it o'er with a horses
horn,

Whilst.. ..

And sow it o'er with a peppercorn,

And thou

Thou must reap it too with a sickle of
leather,

Whilst

And bind it up with a peacocks feather,

And thou

Thou must take it up in a bottomless sack,

Whilst

And bear it to the mill on a butterfly's back

And thou. . . .

And when these works are finished and
done,

Whilst

I'll take and marry thee under the sun,

And thou. . . .

2.10 Lamorna

Sources

Archival (Manuscript / Sound)

Federation of Old Cornwall Societies Sound Archive, Royal Institution of Cornwall, Bolitho Archive, London Inn circa 1985.

Federation of Old Cornwall Societies Sound Archive, Royal Institution of Cornwall, Trev Lawrence and Phil Knight – Lamorna in Cornish 1983.

Peter Kennedy Folk Tracks Archive : FTX-010 - Camborne Hill :Songs & Customs from Cornwall , recorded 1951 - 1975

Publications (Book / Album)

Brenda Wootton, *More Singing at the Count House*, recorded on 11 November 1965 and produced and distributed by The Count House Folk Music Club, Botallack, St Just, Cornwall.

Brenda Wootton *Pasties & Cream* with John the Fish, *Sentinel Records*, SENS 1006, 1971.

Brenda Wootton *Way Down to Lamorna*, *Sentinel*, SENS 1056, 1972.

Quylkyn Tew, on *Fal Folk Album* recorded live at Fal Folk, Dock and Railway , Falmouth 1977 in Cornish.

Merv Davey, *Hengan*, (Redruth, Dyllansow Truran, 1983) p16 (Cornish version Ken George 1978).

Kanow Tavern, *Cornish Pub Songs* (Bodmin, An Daras Folk Arts Project, 2007).

Correspondence

Anne Kennedy Truscott [kennedytruscott@btinternet.com], **Sent:** 25 June 2006 (Cornish Pub Song Project)
Mike O'Connor 12th Sep 2008.

Observation

Regularly sung at Cornish Arms, London Inn and Ring Of Bells Session 2005 – 2011.

Notes

Davey, M, Hengan, Dyllansow Truran, Redruth, 1983:

Noted from living tradition circa 1980: "Like the white Rose (Rosen Wyn) and Little Lize, Lamorna enjoys considerable popularity in Cornwall at the present time and it is with some trepidation that I include them here as most singers will have a "correct version" which differs from the one I have given (and from each others) . These songs are all being subject to the "folk process" of oral transmission at the present time and the version I have used will hopefully provide interesting comparison fro traditional music enthusiasts in the distant future.

The English and Cornish words were provided by Ken George of Torpoint in 1980. The tune is as near as I can manage to the way it was sung in the Sailors Arms in Newquay after the silver gig race in 1974. I have not been able to testablish any firm origins for the song . It seems unlikely to be very old and hearsay makes it out to be a musical hall song before it was embraced by the fisherfolk of Newlyn and Penzance." (p.11)

Correspondence with Mike O'Connor 12/09/08

It is possible that this was written or adapted by Charles Lee, he was an associate of various members of the Newlyn Art School in the late 19th Century one of whom from Manchester may have communicated the Music Hall Song "Down to Pomorna" [Bodleian Library Ballads Catalogue: Harding B 11-(65)] or used it for a concert party with which Lee was involved. In a conversation with Brenda Wooton in May 1993 Mike was told that she had met a person in the early fifties who claimed to have written it some fifty years earlier and Mike surmised that this may have been Lee that she met. It might have course have gone the other way and been the inspiration for a Music Hall song but this is unlikely ever to be knowable and the fact remains that Lamorna is now embedded in Cornish tradition and has a good case for music hall roots.

Authors note

Charles Lee stayed in Cornwall on a number of occasions for quite long periods of time, possibly for his health but also to collect inspiration for his novels - See Ken

Phillips, *The Cornish Journal of Charles Lee 1892 – 1908*, (Padstow Tabb House, 1995).

Lyrics and Music

Cornish Pub song project 2007 :Anne Kennedy Truscott: 25 June 2006

So now I'll sing to you Its a - bout a mai - den fair, I
 Y kan - av lem - myn dhywgh, Yn kev - er mow - es teg; Y'n
 met the o - ther evening at the cor - ner of the square, she'd a
 plen y fet - is gen - si, Pan en vy heb ow gwreg: Dew -
 dark and ro - ving eye, and her hair was cov - ered o - ver, we
 - la - gas tewl dhe - dhi, Ha hud - el hi ow kwand - ra, Dres
 rowed all night in the pale moon - light way down to la - mor - na.
 oll an nos, Y hwren ni mos, A - lem - ma dhe Lam - om - a.

Chorus:
*Twas down in Albert Square
 I never shall forget
 Her eyes did shine like diamonds
 And the evening it was wet, wet,
 wet,
 And her hair hung down in curls
 She was a charming rover
 We rode all night
 in the pale moonlight
 Away down to Lamorna*

Burdhen:
*Plen Albert o an le,
 Ankevi bydh ny wrav
 Dewlagas ow terlen tri
 Ha 'n gorthugher glyb yn Hav,
 Hav, Hav,
 Oll krollys o hy blew,
 Ha hudel hi ow kwandra,
 Dres oll and nos
 Y hwren ni mos
 Alemma dhe Lamorna.*

As we got in the cab
 I asked her for her name
 And when she gave it me
 For with mine it was the same
 So I lifted up her veil
 For her face was covered over
 To my surprise,
 it was my wife,
 I took down to Lamorna

Dervynn hy hanow hi
 A wrug, pan eth y'n karr:
 Pa'n ros hi dhymmo vy,
 Ogh, dhe'm hanow 'th o an par!
 'Trehevis vy hy vayl,
 Hy thremynn kel re bia,
 Marth genev o,
 Ow gwreg yth o
 A worren dhe Lamorna !

Chorus:
 Twas

Burdhen:
 Plen

She said I know you know
 I knew you all along
 I new you in the dark
 but I did it for a lark
 and for that lark you'll pay
 For the taking of your donna
 You'll pay the fare,
 for I declare
 Away down to Lamorna

Yn-medh hi: "My a woer,
 Dha aswonn my a wrug,
 Y'n tew! my a'th aswonnis,
 Mes avel pratt my a'n gwreg:
 Rag henna ty a be,
 Rag doen dhe-ves dha Dhona:
 An gober pe
 A wredh, re'm fay,
 Alemma dhe Lamorna.

Treylys - Ken George

Pomona:

Bodlien Ballads Catalogue- Harding B 11- 65 no date – 19th Century Broadside Ballad

DOWN TO POMONA.

Now I'm going to sing,
 A nice young lady fair,
 I met some time ago.
 At the corner of Albert Square
 She had a lovely jet-black eye.
 I thought I should like to own her,
 For in a voice so sweet she asked of me,
 The way down to Pomona

Chorus

We met in Albert Square,
 And I never shall forget,
 Her eyes shone like the stars,
 Though the evening it was wet.
 The hair it hung in curls,
 Of this lovely little Donah,
 As we drove that night in great delight,
 Away down to Pomona.

My heart beat like a drum,
 As I answered her with pride,
 Yes, and if you have no objections,
 I will take you there beside.
 She blushed and answered yes,
 Then I felt in love all over,
 For a cab I sent and off we went,
 Away down to Pomona.

We'd scarce got in the cab,
 When she ask'd me for my name,
 I gave it to her then,
 And ask'd of her the same.
 When she lifted up the fall,
 Which her face had covered over,
 Upon my life she was my wife,
 I was taking down to Pomona.

She said, sir, you know me now,
 That we're not in the dark.
 I said, yes love, before now,
 But I thought I would have a lark.
 Then for your larking you shall pay,
 And forgetting your lovely Donah,
 You shall have it to say, you have had to pay
 For your wife into Pomona.

2.11 Maggie May

Sources

Archival (Manuscript / Sound)

Sabine Baring Gould, Killerton Note Book Mss, Wren Trust, Fiche 1 page 11, song 7

Bolitho Archive, Federation Of Old Cornwall Societies Sound Archive, Courtney Library, Royal Institution of Cornwall, Truro.

Publications (Book / Album)

Charles W. Blamphin, (Chicago, Root & Cady, 1870), Sheet Music

Library of Congress URL:

[http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collid=mussm&fileName=sm/sm1870/03300/03380/mussm03380.db&recNum=4&itemLink=h?ammem/mussm:@field\(NUMBER+@band\(sm1870+03380\)\)&linkText=0](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collid=mussm&fileName=sm/sm1870/03300/03380/mussm03380.db&recNum=4&itemLink=h?ammem/mussm:@field(NUMBER+@band(sm1870+03380))&linkText=0) Accessed 25th November 2010.

G W More and Charles Blamphin (Erie, Penna. E.D. Ziegler, circa 1870?) Sheet Music
The Lester Levy Collection of Sheet Music, John Hopkins University, Call No.: Box: 175
Item: 074 URL <http://levysheetmusic.mse.jhu.edu/levy-cgi/condisp.cgi?id=175.074>
Accessed 25th November 2010.

Dunstan, R. *Cornish Dialect and Folk Songs*, (London, Ascherberg, Hopwood and crew Ltd 1932) , p.43.

Brenda Wootton, with Robert Bartlett, *Pamplemousse*, Barclay (French label), 1973.
Vinyl /LP format.

Brenda Wootton, with Robert Bartlett, *Starry Gazey Pie*, Sentinel, SENS 1031, 1975,
Vinyl /LP format.

Tommy Morrissey and Charlie Pitman, *Pass Around the Grog*, (Veteran VT 122,1990),
Audiocassette format.

John Bolitho, *Bolitho Sings*, An Daras Project, 2011 (Cornish version) CD Format.

Notes

It is interesting that Dunstan's source dates it to 1870 which is about the time it was apparently composed in America. Its introduction to Cornwall is attributed to Charlie Bate by many folk singers who use the song but in fact, he sung Dunstan's version.

Sabine Baring Gould, circa 1890- 1905

Killerton Notebook, (Wren Trust Fiche 1) page 11 song 7

Attributed to R Hand of South Brent no date or music but the words are close to Blamphin's song and the structure of three, eight line, stanzas each followed by a four line chorus is the same.

Ralph Dunstan, 1930

Cornish Dialect and Folk Songs, Ascherberg, Hopwood and crew Ltd 1932

Dunstan's "conjectural restoration" is structured as four, four line, stanzas each followed by a four line chorus. The first verse follows the original reasonably closely but as Dunstan points out the remaining verses are composed by him:

This pleasing little song was communicated by Capt T Collett, of Polglaze, Perrancoombe, who heard it at St Mabyn about 1870. I rather fancy it is of American origin but have never come across any other record of it. Verses 2,3,and 4 are a conjectural restoration. [Ralph Dunstan January 24 1930].
(p43)

John Bolitho, 1979

Bolitho Sings, An Daras Project, 2011 – CD

Maggie May was a feature of John Bolitho's repertoire, he sung a version in Cornish for the 1979 Pan Celtic Competitions in Killarney.

Tommy Morrissey and Charlie Pitman 1980 / 1990 .

Pass Around the Grog, (Veteran VT 122), 1990

Tommy Morrissey and Charlie sing Dunstan's version with slight variation on the lyrics.

Little Maggie May was written in America in 1869 by G.W. Moore with music by Charles W. Blamphin. It was published in 'Songs of the Sunny South' (1929) which included, folk songs, spirituals, minstrel and Stephen Foster songs. In more recent years this song has become popular in Padstow through the singing of Charlie Bate, to who Tommy credited the song. (Song notes - John Howson)

Lyrics and music

Kanow Tavern – Pub Song Project 2007

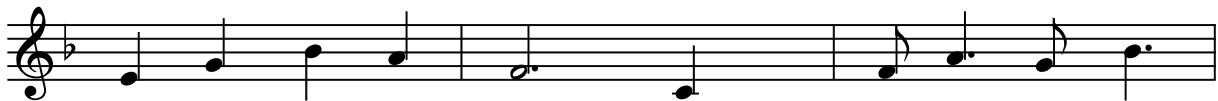
The English words are the same as those given by Dunstan and the tune is nearly identical.



The spring had come the flow-ers bloom, The birds say out their
Gwen - ton yth o Y hwrus-sa dos Mar las war woen ha



lay, Down by a li - ttle run - ning stream I
bre Og - as dhe'n go - ver down yn koes Y



first saw Magg - ie May My little witch - ing
hwel - is Mag - gie May Maggie May mar



Magg-ie Sing-ing all the day Oh, how I loved her
vu - nys Ogh kar-is re be Fa - tell y's kerys, Ny



none can tell My li-ttle Magg-ie May
woer den-vyth Ker - es-ik Mag-gie May

The spring had come
The flowers bloom
The birds say out their lay
Down by a little running stream
I first saw Maggie May

*My little witching Maggie
Singing all the day
Oh, how I loved her
None can tell
My little Maggie may*

Her hair was gold
Her eyes were blue
And shining like the day
Her heart was pure and ever true
My little Maggie May

And oh, her voice
was sweet and low
And like an Angels lay
I hear it now wher-e'er I go
The voice of Maggie May

The years have flown
My eyes are dim
My hair is scant and grey
Yet never shall I cease to love
My long lost Maggie may

Gwenton yth o
Y hwrussa dos
Mar las war woen ha bre
Ogas dhe'n gover down yn koes
Y hwelis Maggie May

Maggie May mar vunys
Ogh karis re be
Fatell y's kerys,
Ny woer denyth
Keresik Maggie May

Dewlagas glas
ha mel hy blew
Dre wyns oll yn deray
Lowen o hi nefra gans gew
Pan whelis Maggie May

Gans lev mar whek
y kanas hi
Yn lowen dres oll an dy'
hwath an son 'ma genev vy
Keryas Maggie May

An blydhynyow,
oll re fias
Mes kov ny wra lehe
Gylls y hy lemmyn ellas
Ow hares Maggie May

Treylys – Merv Davey

Charles Blamphin, (Erie, Penna. E.D. Ziegler, circa 1870?)

Verse 1.
Verse 2.

The spring had come, the flow'rs in bloom, The birds sung out their lay, Down
 Though years roll'd on, yet still I lov'd With heart so light and gay, And
 by a lit - - tle running brook, I first saw Maggie May; She
 nev - er will this heart de - ceive, My own dear Maggie May; When
 had a rogu - ish jet black eye, Was singing all the day..... And
 oth - ers thought that life was gone, And death would take a - way..... Still
 how I lov'd her none can tell, My lit - tle Maggie May.....
 by my side did lin - ger one, And that was Maggie May.....

CHORUS.

Chorus

pp
 My lit - tle witching Maggie, Maggie singing all the day, Oh!
 how I love her none can tell, My lit - tle Maggie May....

Verse 3.

May heav'n pro - tect me for her sake, I pray both night and
 day, That I ere long may call her mine, My
 own dear Maggie May, For she is all the
 world to me Al - tho' I'm far a - way; I
 oft - times think of the running brook, And my lit - tle Maggie May.

Blank Page

2.12: Little Lise / Little Eyes / Doulagas Vighan

Sources

Archival (Manuscript / Sound)

Bolitho Archive, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies Sound Archive, Courtney Library, Royal Institution of Cornwall, Truro.

Publications (Book / Album)

Deep River Boys, "Deep River", HMV POP 263 -78rpm (1950s),

Deep River Boys "London Harmony", CD Format (2004), re-mastered from original tracks recorded between 1950 -1955 2 CD set. This definitive set contains many of the recordings made in the UK by Harry Douglas and The Deep River Boys.

Brenda Wootton, with John the Fish *Pasties & Cream*, Sentinel Records, SENS 1006, 1971, Vinyl /LP format.

Merv Davey, *Hengan*, (Redruth, Dyllansow Truran, 1983), p.21.

Participatory Action Research

Kanow Tavern: Cornish Pub Song Project, 2007.

Notes

Deep River Boys 1950

Deep River Boys "London Harmony", CD Format (2004), re-mastered from original tracks recorded between 1950 -1955 2 CD set. This definitive set contains many of the recordings made in the UK by Harry Douglas and The Deep River Boys.

Gareth Horner / Newquay Rowing Club 1974

Merv Davey, *Hengan*, Dyllansow Truran, Redruth, 1983.

Radio Cornwall March 1983

Following interview on Radio Cornwall March 1983 Stan Hoskin of camborne contacted the station to say that he and his group, The Joy Boys, had introduced the song to Cornwall Circa 1955. They obtained it from a contemporary 78 record HMV POP 263 by the Deep River Boys, a close Harmony group. It was known as *Honey, Honey*, and was B side to a hit single *Deep River*.

Neil Plummer: St Stythyans, / Falmouth, St Budock / St Keverne 1983

Merv Davey, Hengan, Dyllansow Truran, Redruth, 1983,

Notes :

Informant: Gareth Horner, (b. 1956), August 1974 as sung by fishing fraternity and rowing club sailors Arms Newquay.

Informant: Neil Plummer, verses sung in St Stythyans, 1983 Falmouth, St Budock, and St Keverne.

Little lize is a quite remarkable example of the way in which a song can be adopted into the traditional repertoire of a community. In the form of "Honey, Honey, it was the B side to Deep River a hit single brought out by a close harmony group called the Deep River Boys in the Mid Fifties. (HMV POP 263 - 78 rpm) . A Cornish close harmony group called the Joy boys from the Camborne Redruth area used this song and it was subsequently taken up by the community as a whole. It is interesting that of all the music popularised by the mass media which must have been used by local groups over the last 30 years , this particular song should have been taken up by the Cornish Community . It certainly shows how selective a community can be despite what sometimes seems to be the overpowering influence of Radio and Television. The natural harmony of the song would of course have natural appeal to the Cornishman . The twentieth century Barber shop quartet style of singing much favoured in Cornwall has its roots in the `three mens songs` of Elizabethan times."

Lyrics

Kanow Tavern – Pub Song Project 2007

The o - ther night I had a dream the funniest dream of all, I
 Nans yw unn nos, y'm beu hun-ros, An koynta 'veu a'y oes; Yth
 dreamt that I was kissing you be - hind the gar-den wall, And he said
 esa hi owth am - ma dhymm, En - os a-dryv an fos! Yn-medh hi:
 little eyes I love you (hon - ey), little eyes I love you, I
 Dew - lag - as vy - ghan (meld - er), Dew - lag - as vy - ghan, War
 love you in the spring time and the fall, Little eyes I love you,
 all an nar-vys nyns eus hwath dha bar; Dew - lag - as vy - ghan,
 little eyes I love you, I love you the best of all.
 Dew - lag - as vy - ghan, Bys vyk-ken my a'th kar

The other night I had a dream,
 The funniest dream of all;
 I dreamt that I was kissing you.
 Behind the garden wall!

And she said
 Little eyes I love you (honey)
 Little eyes I love you,
 I love you in the spring time and the fall;
 (honey, honey)
 Little eyes I love you
 Little eyes I love you
 I love you the best of all
 (honey, honey, honey)

Oh tell me honey tell me do,
 Who is your turtle dove?
 Oh tell me honey tell me do,
 Who is the one you love?
 And she said

I took my honey home last night,
 Beneath the spreading pine;
 I placed my arms around her waist,
 And pressed her lips on mine.
 And she said

Nans yw unn nos, y'm beu hunros,
 An koynta 'veu a'y oes;
 Yth esa hi owth amma dhymm,
 Enos a-dryv an fos !
 Yn-medh hi:
 Dewlagas vyghan (melder),
 Dewlagas vyghan,
 War oll an norvys nyns eus hwath dha bar;
 (melder, melder)
 Dewlagas vyghan,
 Dewlagas vyghan,
 Bys vykken my a'th kar
 (melder, melder, melder)

A lavar dhymm, A lavar gwir,
 Piw yw dha duren deg ?
 A lavar dhymm ha lavar gwir,
 Piw'n moyha dhis a bleg ?
 Yn-medh hi

Nyhewer y's kemmeris tre,
 Yn-dann an spemenn wynn;
 A-dro dh'y kres, 'hworris ow breg,
 Ha'y synsi strothys tynn.
 Yn-medh hi....

Merv Davey, Hengan, (Redruth, Dyllansow Truran, 1983)

Verse Variations recorded 1974 – 1983

(Newquay and St Keverne- Gareth Horner 1974, Neil Plummer 1983)

The other night I had a dream,
The strangest dream of all;
I dreamt I saw a great big man,
Behind the garden wall.

I went around to her back door,
To see my turtle dove;
Oh tell me honey tell me do,
What is this thing called love?

(North Cornwall- Gareth Horner 1974)

Oh kiss me honey kiss me do,
You are my turtle dove;
Oh kiss me honey kiss me do,
You are the one I love.

It was not you that I did see,
Behind the garden wall;
It was my wife looking at me,
She looked so big and tall.

(St Stythyans /Falmouth/Budock – Neil Plummer 1983)

I took my honey down a shady lane,
Beneath the spreading pine;
I placed my arms around her waist,
And pressed her lips to mine.

The other night I had a dream,
Her bulldog flew at me;
And bit me by the old back door,
Right by the maple tree.

I loved her in the Summer time,
I loved her in the fall;
But my darling between these sheets,
I love you the best of all.

Appendix 3: Summary of participatory action research

3.1 PAR: Projects and events in which the author was involved as observer / participant observer / action researcher

Event or Project	Folk Phenomenon						PAR Method				PAR Record		Time Frame							Location			Action Research Outcomes		
	Guizing and Mummings Customs	Furys / Feasts	Song / Ballad	Com. Singing	Airs / Tunes	Scoot/ Demo Dance	Social Dance	Field Observation	Participant Observer	Interview	Dialogue	PAR Notes	Audio Recording	Image Recording	Correspondence	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011		Wes Cornwall	Mid Cornwall
Allentide / Celtic New Year				√				√			√	√	√					√	√	√	√			√	Information Gathering
Bagas Porthia Dance Band Gigs					√		√	√			√	√			√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√			Information Gathering
Bodmin Mummings	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√	√				√	Guizing Workshop for Festival
Cornish Arms Session				√	√						√				√	√								√	Kanow Tavern - Cornish Pub Songs Booklet
Crying the Neck	√						√					√	√					√						√	Information Gathering
Dartmoor Step Dance Competition							√				√				√							0	0	0	Information Gathering
Dartmoor May Ceremony	√							√			√	√	√		√							0	0	0	Information Gathering
Europeade Festival						√	√				√	√	√		√	√				√		0	0	0	Information Gathering
Giant Bolster St Agnes	√						√				√	√	√		√							√			Guizing Workshop for Festival
Golowan Midsummer Bonfire				√		√	√	√			√	√	√				√	√	√	√	√	√	√		Information Gathering
Hand Fasting	√						√				√								√	√		√	√		Information Gathering
Helston Furry / Hal An Tow	√	√		√	√		√	√			√	√	√		√			√				√			Guizing Workshop for Festival
John Knill Ceremony		√					√				√	√			√							√			"Scoots" -Book of Cornish Dance
Kings Arms Session				√			√				√								√	√			√		Pris Ton - Cornish Session Tunes Booklet
Launceston Pirans Feast			√				√						√		√	√								√	Kanow Tavern - Cornish Pub Songs Booklet
Lowender Peran	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√			√	√			√	√	√	√	√	√	√				Information Gathering
Molesworth Arms Session				√	√		√				√								√					√	Information Gathering
Montol - Penzance	√			√	√	√	√	√			√		√						√			√			Guizing Workshop for Festival
North Cornwall Ceili Band Dance Gigs					√		√	√			√	√			√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	Information Gathering
Padstow Mayday	√			√			√		√		√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√	√				√	"Scoots" -Book of Cornish Dance
Padstow Mummings	√			√	√		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√				√	Paper: Cornish Studies

Event or Project	Folk Phenomenon							PAR Method				PAR Record				Time Frame							Location			Action Research Outcomes
	Guizing and Mummiming Customs	Furys / Feasts	Song / Ballad	Com Singing	Airs / Tunes	Scoot/ Demo Dance	Social Dance	Field Observation	Participant Observer	Interview	Dialogue	PAR Notes	Audio Recording	Image Recording	Correspondence	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	West Cornwall	Mid Cornwall	North and East Cornwall	
Pagan Federation Festival		√						√							√	√	√	√	√	√	√			√	Guizing Workshop for Festival And dance events	
Polperro Mock Mayor	√				√			√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√			√	Workshop: Guizing Traditions	
Pub Song Project				√				√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	Know Tavern - Cornish Pub Songs Booklet	
Rescorla Project				√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	Clay Country Customs Book / CD Pack Workshops for SIEF Conference 2008	
Ring Of Bells Session			√	√	√			√			√	√				6	5	5						√	Publication: Know Tavern - Cornish Pub Songs	
Ship Inn Session				√	√			√			√	√			√	√	√	√	√	√	√			√	Know Tavern - Cornish Pub Songs Booklet	
St Ives Feast		√						√			√	√			√	√	√					√			"Scoots" -Book of Cornish Dance	
St Ives Guizers	√		√	√	√	√		√	√		√	√				√		√				√			Guizing Workshop for Festival	
St Ives May Feast	√							√			√							√				√			Information Gathering	
St Pirans Day Bodmin		√					√					√			√	√	√	√	√	√	√			√	"Scoots" -Book of Cornish Dance	
St Pirans Day Truro		√					√					√			√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√		"Scoots" -Book of Cornish Dance	
St Pirans Play Perran Sands	√						√					√			√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√		Information Gathering	
Tea Treat – Newlyn East		√			√		√				√						√	√				√			Information Gathering	
Teat Treat - Rescorla		√			√						√	√				√	√	√	√	√			√		Clay Country Customs Pack	
Upper Deck Session				√			√				√												√		Pris Ton - Cornish Session Tunes Booklet	
Yn Chruinnaght Isle Of Man						√	√				√	√			√							0	0	0	Information Gathering	
Cornish Dance Society Survey					√	√	√	√	√				√			√	√					√	√	√	Information Gathering	
Workshops	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	Information exchange

3.2 PAR: Index of recorded interviews

Name	Place	Date	Key Words	Audio file number
Buckingham, John	Padstow	20/03/06	Padstow Mummers Day	200306-1
Dunstan, Anita	Polruan	31/10/09	Polruan Furry Dance	311009-1
Constance, Andrew	Bodmin	09/02/06	Padstow Mummers Day Darkie Day	090206-1
Curnow, Howard	St Hilary	16/05/08	Discussion about Origins of Hal An Tow and recent History	160508-1
Millet, Gwen	Withiel	14/04/08	Snail Creep, Furry Dances and Tea treats	140408-1
Fahy, Ash. Davey, Jowdy	Padstow	26/12/05	Reflective peer discussion following field recording and participatory action research Padstow Mummers Day Darkie Day	261205-1
Lawrence, Trev	Penzance	20/01/06	Tom Bawcock's Mazey Day Golowan	200106-1
Mannel, Norman	Grampound	12/11/09	Grampound furry and changes after Second World War	121109-1
Lobb, Dave	Withiel	20/07/06	Guizing, StIves	200706-1
Berryman, Pete	St Blazey	15/09/10	Reflective peer discussion: Nature of tradition and Cornish music Cornish folk clubs and the 60s folk revival	150910-1
O Connor, Mike	St Ervan	28/01/06	Reflective peer discussion : Definitions of Cornish Music Medieval origins Two Folk "Scenes" Newly discovered Mss Baring Gould, Sharp	280106-1
Marlow, Peter	Bodmin	19/04/11	Bodmin Wassail, Trigg Morris	190411-1
ST Ives Old Cornwall Society Members: William Barber, Mary Quick and Dee Brotherton	St Ives	30/10/09	St Ives Guizing Cross dressing Moving out of the Digey	301009-1

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3.3 Interviewee consent form

INFORMATION FOR INTERVIEWEES

Thank you for helping me with this project. In order for me to be able to use the information you have given me you must sign a consent form. I have provided some information about the project, plus a consent form, below.

Project Title: Cornish identity, cultural distinctiveness and performance based folk arts:

Folk dance, music, song, costume, story telling and related customs

Purpose

To explore the relationship between folk traditions and Cornish identity, to understand the provenance of the revival in Cornwall and its relationship with, and relevance to, ongoing community traditions. An essential part of this project is to record folk traditions as they are remembered from the past and also to describe the living traditions of today together with the views of the people involved.

Contact Details

For further information about my research visit: www.cornishfolk.co.uk
or contact me: Merv Davey, Meneghyjy, Withiel, Bodmin Cornwall, PL30 5NN
Tel 01208 831 642 mrd203@exeter.ac.uk

If you have concerns/questions about the research you would like to discuss with someone independent, please contact:

Dr. Phillip Payton, Institute of Cornish Studies, CUC, Tremough Campus,
Treliever Rd, Penryn TR10 9EZ Tel 01326 370400

How will the information be used

This information will be used to support my work towards a PhD and will take the form of audio file appendices, which will be summarised and referred to in the main body of the thesis. Information gained about folk customs in Cornwall will also be shared with other people through the Cornish Folk Arts Project “An Daras” either in book form, CD or on the website: www.an-daras.com.

Credits and Copyright

People who provide information have a right under the 1988 Copyright Act to be named As authors and will be credited by name but contact details will not be given out. If you do not wish your name to be disclosed please indicate below.

Interview Consent Form	
I voluntarily agree to participate and to the use of the information I give and views I express for the purposes specified above. As owner of the copyright I consent to the content of the recorded interview being made available in print, audio, video or website formats and understand that no payment is due for this assignment.	
I do /* do not wish my name to be disclosed (* please delete as appropriate)	
Name	Signature.....
Email/phone:.....	
Date.....	

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3.4 Index of field recordings

Event	Place	Date	Key Words	Audio file number
Bolster	St Agnes	3/04/06	Procession down Hillside	310406-1
Bolster	St Agnes	3/04/06	Procession along Valley	310406-2
Bolster	St Agnes	3/04/06	Finale	310406-3
Crying the Neck,	Withiel	04/09/06	Introduction – John Bernalack	040906-1
Crying the Neck,	Withiel	04/09/06	Cutting the Corn	040906-2
Crying the Neck,	Withiel	04/09/06	Pysadow	040906-3
Crying the Neck,	Withiel	04/09/06	Crying the Neck	040906-4
Crying the Neck,	Withiel	04/09/06	Pen Yar 1	040906-5
Crying the Neck,	Withiel	04/09/06	Pen Yar 2	040906-6
Crying the Neck,	Withiel	04/09/06	Plough The Fields and Scatter	040906-7
Hal An Tow	Helston	08/05/08	Procession Arrives	080508-1
Hal An Tow	Helston	08/05/08	Guize Play	080508-2
Hal An Tow	Helston	08/05/08	Procession away	080508-3
Hal An Tow	Helston	08/05/08	Procession in Distance	080508-4
Helston Furry	Helston	08/05/08	Helston Band	080508-5
Helston Furry	Helston	08/05/08	Gweek Band	080508-6
Knill	St Ives	25/07/06	Intro , Explanation	250706-1
Knill	St Ives	25/07/06	Intro to dancers	250706-2
Knill	St Ives	25/07/06	Fiddler , Dancers	250706-3
Knill	St Ives	25/07/06	Fiddler Finishes	250706-4
Knill	St Ives	25/07/06	Old Hundred	250706-5
Knill	St Ives	25/07/06	Finish	250706-6
Padstow Mummers	Padstow	26/12/05	Music Warm up in Social Club	261205-2
Padstow Mummers	Padstow	26/12/06	procession through Padstow	261206-1
Padstow May Day	Padstow	31/05/06	Night Singing	310406-1
Padstow May Day	Padstow	01/05/06	Blue Oss	010506-1
Padstow May Day	Padstow	01/05/06	Red Oss Practice	010506-2
Padstow May Day	Padstow	01/05/06	Red Oss	010506-3
Padstow May Day	Padstow	01/05/06	Blue Oss	010506-4
Bagas Porthia	St Ives	19/10/07	Nos Lowen	191007-1
Rescorla Project	Withiel	17/09/07	Conversations	170907-1
Rescorla Project	Withiel	17/09/07	Music – Snail Creep Band	170907-2
Social Dance	Looe	19/0/07	Troyl / Barn Dance with Troyl and Error – Dehwelans Festival	060908-1
Social Dance	Perranporth	19/10/07	Nos Lowen with Bagas Porthia – Lowender Peran Festival	191007-1
Social Dance	Penzance	17/07/09	Nos Lowen at Acorn	170709-1
Social Dance	Port Isaac	18/07/09	Troyl / Barn Dance with North Cornwall Ceili Band	180709-1

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3.5 Index of Correspondence

Correspondent	Date	Key Words
Berg	06/09/07	Alaskan Morris and Cornish Dance
Buckingham, John	20/03/06	Padstow Mummers
Chapman, John	05/06/08	Turkey Rhubarb Words
Davey, Merv		Letter to Diane Abbot – Darkie Day
Delf, Ray	11/01/05	Pencarrow Hunt
	16/12/05	Padstow Mummers
Dungey, Mark	10/11/09	Festival Interceltique, Lorient
Easton, Karin	11/05/09	Tom Bawcocks Eve
Fahy, Alex	22/05/06	Padstow Mummers and Racial Equality Legislation
Greabe, Martin	24/07/06	Baring Gould and Sam Gilbert
Hawkins, Hamilton	03/06/06	May Custopms, St Ewe, Grampound and Hayle
Helps, Caroline	10/11/09	Festival Interceltique, Lorient
Hunt, Carmen	10/11/09	Festival Interceltique, Lorient
Hodge, Pol	11/07/10	Faddy Dance
Hogg, Rob	09/11/09	Festival Interceltique, Lorient
Hosken, Lowenna	12/11/09	Festival Interceltique, Lorient
Lewis, Richard	12/11/09	Bacup Coconut Dancers and Cornwall
McCarthy, Malcolm	06/04/06	Padstow Mummers
O'Connor, Mike	23/05/04	Guize Dancing
	27/12.05	Minstrels in Cornwall
	28/09/06	John The Bone - Fish Riots
	23/03/07	Musicology and Cornish Music – modality and phrase lengths
Pengelly, Jim		Padstow Darkie Day
Redmond, Terry	18/03/05	Padstow Mummers
Roberts, Colin / Ray Chubb / Mick Paynter	04/08/09	Morris Dancing In Cornwall
Trevarthen, Alan	21/08/08	Mal Treloare /

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4.1 Padstow Mummers

Participatory action research

Background

Following a complaint, the source of which remained unidentified, the police attended the event on Boxing Day 2004 and collected video evidence for submission to the Crown Prosecution Service. The Cornwall Racial Equality Council denied making the complaint but confirmed that concerns had been expressed to the Police previously.¹ This was again picked up by both the local and the national press² and followed by interest in the correspondence columns mostly directed at “political correctness gone mad” and the “Nanny State”. In the event the Crown Prosecution Service decided that no offences had been committed and Devon and Cornwall Police responded with the offer “*Looking ahead to the 2005-06 celebrations, the police would welcome working with organisers of the celebrations and partners in order to continue the positive steps taken already.*”³

Devon and Cornwall Police

Discussion with Devon and Cornwall Police Diversity Officer during cultural diversity conference 23/09/05. The issues were seen as fairly straightforward in that concerns centred on: the use of the name “Darkie” which might have been acceptable 30 years ago but now had connotations that people might find offensive; Costume that could be seen as insulting such as joke shop afro wigs. It was understood that there had been some dialogue with the organisers who had responded positively to this.

Legal Position

The main body of legislation here lies in the 1976 Race Relations Act and the Public Order Act 1986 with some amendments resulting from the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. Section 17 of the public Order Act defines Racial Hatred as “hatred against a group of persons defined by reference to colour, race, nationality (including citizenship) or ethnic or national origins”. With regard to public performance section 20 describes as an offence the use of threatening, abusive or insulting words or behaviour with an intention to stir up racial hatred. The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report (Home Office Website www.homeoffice.gov.uk, accessed 27/03/06) defines a racist incident as any incident which is perceived to be racist by the victim, or any other person. By these definitions any observer perceiving the blackened faces of the Padstow Mummers as demeaning of black people, and therefore racist, turns it into a “racist incident” whatever the intentions of the mummers themselves. Conversely, if no one is offended by the dress or behaviour then no offence had been committed. This defined both my legal and moral position as a researcher in that if I judged the costume or behaviour to be offensive to anyone, or anyone appeared to be offended then I should disengage with the activity and make clear my reasons for this.

1. Alastair Wreford, *Cornish Guardian* 3rd March 2005

2. De Bruxelles, Simon, *The Times* 25/02/05; Savill, Richard, *The Telegraph* 25/02/05; Allen, Peter, *The Daily Mail* 25/02/05, also local press: *Cornish Guardian* 30/12/04, 3/3/05, *Western Morning News* 15/03/05

3. Story from BBC NEWS: <http://news.bbc.co.uk> Published: 2005/03/10 16:39:58 GMT

Participatory action research

- Invitation to join the Padstow mummers on 26/12/05 accepted.
- Two additional researchers involved on 26/12/05 who did not participate but followed the procession observed, took photographs and audio recordings.
- After the event discussion recorded of observations, impressions and experiences.
- A paper was published (Merv Davey, "Guizing: Ancient Traditions And Modern Sensitivities." *Cornish Studies* (2006) **14**: 229 – 244) which was circulated to stakeholders.
- Triangulated with recollections of previous involvement with event 26/12/1983
- Triangulated with Correspondence / interviews / dialogues were held with stakeholders 2005 – 2006.

Boxing Day 2005

Participation – contemporaneous written notes

Met up at the Padstow Social Club at 10.30. Small number of people present, three blacked up in Dinner Jackets and top or Bowler hats, to whom I was introduced. Some informal discussion – I commented on the Police presence last year accepted the police advice and need to be careful the term “darkie” not to be used, nor wigs as it could get out of hand. Talked about experiences of previous years, this was Padstow’s event and nothing to do with outsiders, it is just harmless fun nothing racist about it except what other people make of it. Actually collecting for a Charity, usually this is local but possibly for Children in Africa this time. If there is going to be hassle then we will just lie low until it all blows over and then carry on. I felt there was an undercurrent of anger or tension with this.

As more people arrived in various costume, mostly blacked up some older people in DJs, Top hats and tails number of younger people – waistcoats quite a lot of jeans and T shirts. Mostly bedecked in tinsel and trappings of Christmas. I had previously decided that, notwithstanding the blackening faces, I would accept the invitation to join the musicians that provided there was no evidence of racism in either dress or behaviour. There was no evidence of any kind so blacked up in the same style as other people - circular black face and unpacked my banjo.

A couple of ladies Black faces, Top hats and tails, came over – “trying to recognise you, who is this handsome young man with a moustache” I have a ginger moustache which I did not Black up so I did rather stand out. I was introduced with explanation that was from Newquay and played in some of the music sessions in Padstow. All

quite cheerful and welcoming from my perspective, but I felt there was an element of checking out the stranger. As I joined the musicians I was acknowledged by some I knew and greeted by others it was quite a crush.

People gradually arrived up until about midday when there were 40 – 50 people in the club. Instruments May drums, side drums and accordions plus jingle sticks. Young accordionist lead the music shouting either the key or the name of the next song a few bars ahead. Variety of tunes repeated initially including “She’ll be coming around the mountain”, “Trelawney”, “Alabama”, Golden Slippers.

Procession lead off – by same young musician who identified tunes changes and direction. First off to the Church, through Church Yard and then on to Golden Lion where we stayed for 30 – 40 minutes leading singing. Quite a large group of people by now perhaps 50 – 60 actually in some form of costume identifying them as part of the activity and 20 – 30 others either on-looking or joining in.

My attention was drawn to two ladies blacked up with scarves turban style reminiscent of the lady minstrels I have seen in 30s films such as the Marx Brothers or the Black House keeper or maid who occasionally made an appearance in the Tom and Jerry cartoons. This did make me uncomfortable as I felt this was identifying a clear racial stereo type – politically incorrect rather than racist but nevertheless unfortunate in view of concerns expressed by people about the custom.

I took a break – cup of tea with a family of my acquaintance. Interestingly the conversation did run to justification of Padstow’s boxing day / New years day customs or at least criticism that “they” were making an issue of nothing knew a black person living in Padstow who thought it was quite funny and knew we (local people) did not mean any harm by it.

Procession left Golden Lion and proceeded through the town and around the key to the harbour Inn where the customers were serenaded. There were a few exceptions but the majority of the people in the bar were clearly enjoying the music and joining in. I feel there would have been a similar number of exceptions in any similar event. It was increasingly difficult to pick out individual tunes / songs but I could see that people might have been in the same key thanks to the volume of the accordions but they were not necessarily singing the same song. I think that Camptown races, Little brown jug and Polly Wolly Doodle came up. The last is the only song I know to have had an official version of words that would today be felt to be in poor taste I have no idea if those words were sung but I certainly had no evidence that they were.

I joined the procession on a little further and then bade my farewells at about 2pm.

Audio file 261205-2

The music, driven by massed accordions and May Day drums could only be described as “Padstowesque”, a big sound that enabled one to sing along with little fear of being out of tune and still less of not knowing the words. At the point at which I realised the event was underway the band were playing multiple harmonies of “Trelawney” and for the rest of the day they ranged through a wide repertoire of community songs which included “She’ll becoming round the mountain”, “Scotland the Brave”, “Alabama” and “Camptown Races”, all to the same driving May Day rhythm.

Reflective discussion with other researchers (Audio file 261205-1)

I witnessed nothing that might bring people into conflict with anti-racist legislation nor that could be described as demeaning a racial minority group. I cannot guarantee the language or content of the words sung to any of the music but assuming you were able to hear the words you were singing yourself clearly you were unlikely to pick up much beyond those of your immediate neighbours.

It is, however, the experience of one’s own reactions that provide the action researcher’s insight into activities such as this and provide the lead for greater understanding. For me it was the very ambiguity of feelings that added to their power and started to answer the “why” of traditions such as the Padstow Boxing festivities. My foremost and clearest reaction to the event is that I felt I was being drawn into an expression of community identity and the desire to belong. My self-consciousness at being an outsider, a gatecrasher even, made the welcome I received and the feeling of being part of the event all the more powerful. It is true that I was “checked out” by two, more senior, ladies but it was quite unthreatening and comfortably set the scene. The feeling of identity was strongly augmented by the scattered Cornish symbolism of rugby shirts, flags and tartan.

The instinctive human desire for continuity in a transient world was encouraged by the setting amongst Padstow’s narrow streets and the comfort of a tradition that seemingly reached back across the generations to a distant past. The contradiction represented by people’s uncertainty about the origins together with some quite modern innovations around the costume and music served only to increase both the sense of mystery and robustness of the tradition.

Dressing up is something that not all of us grow out of, as a few minutes of channel jumping across the digital television entertainment networks will show. However we might rationalise this activity, it is difficult to avoid the sense of the “other” and the escape this provides us from the restrictions of our normal persona. There was a clear presence of “Carnival” at Padstow on Boxing Day and an escape from the midwinter gloom by means of colourful disguise, cheerful music and high calorific intake from a variety of sources.

As well as taking some photographs and tape recordings the two other researchers followed the procession and engaged in conversation with visitors, locals and shopkeepers alike. They felt that at various times there were 60 to 100 people involved but the general festive attire made it difficult to identify how many of these were casual observers and how many true participants.

Their initial reaction to the blacking up of faces was inevitably ambivalent and sensitised them to concerns about racism and the justification expressed for the event. Despite these misgivings, however, they found nothing malicious or malevolent in the actions, language or singing of the people involved. Notwithstanding blackened faces, only two participants were observed in dress that might be associated with caricatures of mid 19th Century Black Americans, two ladies wearing bright coloured headscarves. Like me, they saw no evidence of anything that could be described as “inciting racial hatred” within the meaning of the act.

There was, however, a distinct feeling that media attention had encouraged people, the denizens of the tourist and craft shops in particular, to emphasise justification of the event. Comments made directly to them and the general conversation broadly followed certain themes:

This is a local tradition that has gone on for a long time

The custom has merged with other things over the years and any offensive language associated with minstrel songs has been removed.

It's just face painting and dressing up in funny costume

It is a fertility rite for midwinter.

It is something to do with miners or people black with coal dust from the cargo ships

A slave ship was wrecked off Padstow and the villagers blacked up to confuse the slavers and help the slaves escape.

There was also a deep sense that the people of Padstow were claiming back their own territory from the realm of tourists and second homers. In a way this might be interpreted as exclusivity, but if so it was directed at “outsiders” and at worst the “English majority over the Tamar” rather than any specific ethnic minority group.

Boxing Day 1983: Comparison and Triangulation

I attended Darkie Day during the Christmas of 1983 at which point it was a much more

modest event than that witnessed above. I was there at the invitation of friends and without any kind of research agenda but I can recall the broad details.

There were no more than 15 or 20 people involved and the costume was less extravagant, with a tendency towards waistcoats rather than dinner jackets but the same principle of random festive decoration with ribbons and tinsel applied. Some faces were roughly blacked with burnt cork and some people had taken advantage of grease paint to emulate the BBC's Black and White minstrels. The music was driven by May Day style percussion and massed accordions playing with some songs that I could not identify and some that I would associate with Minstrel Music.

Social mores and views about what language is and is not acceptable have changed substantially in 23 years but if one discounts the act of blacking up faces, I can recall no behaviour that would be seen as inciting racial hatred and nothing intentionally demeaning of another race by today's standards let alone those of 1983.

The outstanding insight which I now clearly recall was gained from a conversation with one reveller who clearly perceived "Minstrel Music" as derived from the culture of black people and something to be engaged with and enjoyed carnival fashion. The link between minstrel music and African American culture is complex to say the least and a distance is now, quite understandably maintained by modern Black culture. The important issue for me, however, is that for this person the event was about enjoying and celebrating a genre of music, not mocking it or the culture he believed it to have come from.

Interview notes: John Buckingham 20/03/06 audio file 200306-1

Now seventy, remembers having faced "blacked" with burnt cork or something and being sent to sing a song to granny when 10 years old. Putting Darkie day back to at least 1940s. Established tradition then so at least a generation back – 1910s? earlier than that you are really relying on links to May Day. Small event – local party – not an occasion for media attention

Words recalled were a mix of bits from a variety of songs "Old Daddy Fox" "Uncle Ned" Sawnee River Written by Stephen Collin Foster. Sung the Padstow Ram – The Derby Ram - considered a "Darkie Song" did not know of "Begone from the Window" (Described as a Darkie Day song in the Old Cornwall Society Magazines)

Darkie day and May day mixed up. The Bible Christians – Trevaskis family – wished to discourage the beast (Obby Oss) and intemperance. Description of Migrants on boat out of Padstow to America suddenly celebrating May Day part way across the Atlantic. Blacking faces and smudging girls faces part of tradition

Padstow museum: posters and pictures of Minstrels – Mississippi Minstrels, early 1900s picture in National Paper not necessarily of Darkie Day but of one of these concert parties. Actually some doubt that any of these early pictures are of Darkie Day, perhaps some of the same people, perhaps some cross influence of music.

Research on Web also produced Zwart Piet – Dutch Black Peter. A Santa Claus with a black face. Bacup Cocunut dancers – quite a long description with story about Miners bring the tradition with them from Cornwall but local census does not support

this.

Memory of 1980s – a small group of people – maybe a dozen people involved. Yes this is how it probably always was. The May day was regularly mentioned in the local papers because this was a renowned event – Darkie day was much smaller (until recently) thus the lack of coverage – just a few people taking part in Christmas activities.

Feeling that North Americans more sensitive to this than other cultures e.g. Jamaican.

Feeling of the vulnerability of Padstonians who do not have the experience or insight to appreciate the impact of what they are doing – the variety in the costume – the difference between a Bow tie and the black mama head scarves.

The student film crew that came into conflict with the locals- took confrontational approach – prodding people in chest until they responded angrily - not seen film but expect it to present in a poor light.

Done some research on the Padstow mummers play – The Turkish knight – life , death and resurrection only fragments no real connection with Darkie Day. Also aware of Wassail but only fragments left in Padstow.

Charlie Bate, of Colonel Bate family, started out on melodeon and then piano accordion, came to attention of Peter Kennedy and some recordings – pass around the grog Veteran Music -; Sing Christmas The Alan Lomax Collection. Pictures of Charlie Bate with a group of people some of whom blacked up at Christmas circa 1950s - one person carrying a board for step dancing. Charlie Bates – Blue Oss. Influenced by Folk Song revivalist – some left wing –

Charlie Bate was into a Carnival atmosphere lots of noise and atmosphere it also seems likely that this was the aim in earlier times playing with tin pans and triangles you cannot play a tune with a Triangle just make a noise.

Correspondence: Dan Rogerson MP ref DR/SAS/Dave001, 27/01/06

[Davey : Diane Abbot](#)

Letter to Diane Abbot MP

Houses of Parliament

Westminster

London

Dear Ms Abbot

Re Padstow Mummers Day

I am currently working towards a PhD in Cornish Studies at Exeter University with specific reference to folk traditions and their relevance to modern society. I attended the above event as part of my research and note the concerns you have expressed through the media recently. I hope that I may be able to provide some insight and background that will help to inform discussion in what is a very sensitive area.

It is the nature of folk traditions to modify with time, reflecting a communities cultural experience as part of natural evolution. Various interpretations of the meaning of the tradition are also accumulated by much the same process.

Padstow mummers day is a custom dating back to medieval times where people blacked up their faces as a form of disguise thus the term darking / darkie.

There were probably always class tensions but at some stage in the late 19th century top hats, bowlers and dress suits became part of the traditional disguise enabling revellers to mock the "gentry" and beg for money food or drink whilst remaining anonymous.

Minstrel music was globally popular in the first half of the 20th century and it was perhaps inevitable that some of the songs would be adopted as part of this tradition along with other popular tunes and community songs.

When I attended the event on 26th December there were 50 to 60 people involved in the informal procession around the town most of whom were dressed as I describe above together with a variety of tinsel and Christmas decorations.

The music was provided by Drums and accordions playing a variety of popular songs and tunes from "Scotland the Brave" to "Trelawney". There were some songs like "Camptown Races" which have Minstrel origins but these are hard to distinguish from others like "Coming around the Mountain".

There is little formal organisation but talking to people as they gathered it was clear that there had been some discussion with the Diversity Officer of Devon and Cornwall Police and advice about changing the name and taking care not to offend people with the costume was by and large being respected.

The police observed the event in 2004 and would seem to have found nothing that contravened the Race Relations legislation.

The overwhelming impact of the event is provided by the volume of drums and accor-dions in narrow streets and confined areas but taken out of context I can understand why some people might identify a “minstrels” feel about the event. If so, my experi-ence of the event would suggest that this lies in the realm of naiveté and political cor-rectness rather than deliberate intention to offend.

My research is primarily about how folk traditions are perceived and why, in this con-text I would also be grateful if you could clarify something for me. Traditions of this kind take place all over the U.K. and I am curious to know why you have focussed on this particularly event and how you would respond to criticism that in selecting Padstow you were guilty of “provincial” stereotyping?

Thank you for taking the time to read this and I hope that I have provided at last some new information.

Yours Sincerely

Mervyn Davey

Cc Daniel Rogerson MP North Cornwall

(Response to copy of letter sent to Diane Abbott MP which received no reply)

Dear Merv

Thank you for your letter on the subject of Mummers Day

I completely agree with what you have to say and was pleased to air my displeasure that Ms Abbott chose to criticise local people without taking the trouble to investigate the reality.

Sadly this issue will be periodically raised by someone in search of publicity no doubt.

Dan Rogerson

Correspondence: Malcolm McCarthy: MMcM 06/04/2006Taclowcoth@aol.com

Hi Merv

I believe the origins to be from the mummers plays. I have the words of the play and the people who played various characters written down. I believe that the mummers went from house to house performing their play and got fed up with the same old lines and tried out the new at that time foster music hall songs. This was enjoyed and response probably favourable and the tradition took off in place of the mumming. The time of the year is right. This is only a suggestion I put forward I don't know if truly honest. There is definitely NO connection to slavery as we only ever had one slave ship come in to Padstow. The Sally, and only because she was damaged. I have copies of the paper work and the slaves would have been in no condition to sing and dance no matter how happy they were!!!

The early photo you have seen, which I own, is NOT a troupe of travelling minstrels as on the mount of the photo are the names of the people and they are local people. Treator where the photo is taken is one of the main places the Obby Oss went to on May Day at that time though we no longer go out there. It seems feasible that the same route would have been taken. I have newspaper cuttings of minstrel groups playing at Padstow in the 1930's but not at this time of year and indoors.

I am 48, and I remember as a boy the children of my age being dressed in pyjamas and blacked up by Mrs Mary Magor who ran the shop at the top of Glynn Road, she then took the children darkying. I was not one of those children. I believe this helped revive the custom My niece who is now about 26 was taught the darky songs at Padstow school, I still have the zeroxed sheet with her name on it. How times change. I have a picture with my grt gran blacked up with the Mummers in 1936 for the coronation celebrations. I also have a photo of the darkies in the 1940's or 50's

I have some pictures of locals blacked up to an extreme in the 20's or 30's though I don't know the occasion or time of year

To me and my children it is keeping a tradition going that the family has been involved in. When you look at the darkies many are related to me from one branch of the family. I don't know if you are aware of the families but Marlene Freeman, Alecia Humphries, Brenda Picton, Susan Williams, my two boys Chris and Greg and various of the above grandchildren and nieces take part. All of the above are descended from Susan Rawlings Hicks my grt grt grandmother. I have no idea if she participated. I have NO racial feelings about the day I just go out and have a great day with my family and try and raise a bit of cash for a local charity. No one thought about the implications that the songs or costumes may have had on immigrant communities, why they cannot just come to our country and integrate and their naturalised offspring embrace our customs is beyond me, its part of our culture. I have no problem with immigrants, but I wouldn't dream of emigrating to another country and then complain about their customs being offensive. Live and let live I say. We as a group are not going out to intimidate or offend anyone. I personally, if I see a coloured person go and speak to them to put them at ease, not that they seem worried, and have never had any problems or complaints. It seems the complaints come from people that have not attended. and don't understand the good spirits that the festival is conducted in. You

have seen it, it is just a happy festival where we all have a lot to drink and a bloody good time. Long may it continue.

Cheers

Malcolm Mc Carthy

Correspondence Ray Delf RD16/12/05:Padstow Mummers

From: RayDelf@flq.co.uk Sent: 16 December 2005 03:47 To: Merv Davey

As you know, Padstow's traditions are only a part of the traditions of Cornwall as a whole, and not exclusively 'Our' property, although we feel very strong ownership. If Helston, Newlyn, Liskeard and other towns were as blinkered as some, then we would not have saved what we have from the past. What we have needs to be explained, and recorded, for the future - What if our critics manage to kill our traditions? where is our record? simply having a "folk memory" is not enough should a future revivalist wish to reconstruct that which we might lose.

On the basis of the overall aspect of Cornish traditions, then of course I will give whatever help I am able to give you. Apart from a questionnaire, would a written deposition from me, quoting what I learnt of things local at my mother's / Grandmother's knee? along with the odd items that I have learnt from various local "folk memories", most of the people that I learnt from are now dead and gone, so unfortunately there is no background support, but my mother is still alive, and I may be able to persuade some of the older inhabitants to talk to you as well.

The quotes given in the paper were all from the same source / family for the greater part, a family that I believe has "got it totally wrong" and has possibly done more harm than good. They were, I believe trying to justify their tradition because it was under threat, but having no knowledge of overall traditions they did it in the only way they could, only having the folk memory to support them, which could not be substantiated.

I am sure that with the right research, certain elements can be brought to light to substantiate the beliefs and understanding that I personally hold about our traditions, so if you are willing to have me not only give you personal knowledge / beliefs, but personal help with research also then you shall have it. After all, some solid background can only be helpful to the people of Padstow.

As a result of your query, I have also come up with the idea that for political purposes, and to show that there is nothing racial in our make-up, it may well be an idea for the "Darkies" to collect, not for local charities as they do, but for the starving children of Africa, and to have the monies raised reported in the media, being handed over to some relevant celebrity on conclusion. I shall have to put it to everyone to see what the overall consensus is, but think that they may go along with the idea. But I suppose that it could still be misconstrued as 'propaganda' by those who wish to cause us problems. It still needs further thought

Rgds. Ray

Correspondence with Jim Pengelly 18/03/06

1 What do you understand to be the origins of Darkie Day in Padstow?

As with any custom, it becomes associated with many myths and there is rarely any real knowledge about how, or when, it may have started. What is certain, is that there is a strong tradition in Padstow of community music whether this is the singing of the Padstow Carols, May Day, or the existence of enthusiastic groups like the Melody Makers and which have existed over the years in their many guises. Darkie Day, in my opinion, is part of this same evolving tradition.

Without the benefit of hindsight, or any proper detailed analysis of whatever historical reference material there might be, the fixed link with the time of the year must have a bearing on its origins and a link to that of guising. My opinion is that there was at some point folk memory, or knowledge, of guising for which the specific details (or historic context) may not have been known, other than the tendency to blacken the faces. The allusion to 'Darkies' may well suggest an attempted revival (or deliberate change) of this custom at a time coincidental with the slave trade. There can be no doubt that this 'coincidence' is a sympathetic identification with these victims of man's inhumanity to man. At no time over the years have I ever seen anything to suggest otherwise. The decision to refer to it as 'Mummers' may not be correct because this is usually associated with acting out a play,

Over the years there has been no attempt by me to think about its origins. It was something that just happened. I have only ever participated in it a small number of occasions (I am not one for dressing (or blacking) up!) but I do feel that latterly a greater emphasis on the sophistication of the 'dressing-up' may have been a bit OTT and overstated what it was all about. Consequently, it drew the wrong sort of attention to the whole proceedings and the even more grotesquely OTT reaction to it.

2 What is your earliest recollection of the event in Padstow?

As I have said above it was something that was there and happened and no identifiable point of suddenly being aware of its existence

3 What do you think this tradition means to people who participate today?

I would like to think that there was some symbolism still attached to the tradition but in the absence of any symbolic gestures, possibly it is doing things because they have always been done. Possibly overtaken a bit by the desire 'to party'?

4 Do you feel it is important for this tradition to continue today, if so why? Whether we know of the origins or not, and others may be more qualified and better informed than myself on this, its continuation is important for the very same reasons that it is done today and why it was done in the past. I would suggest that this, taken with all the other similar activities, is a part of what makes Padstow such a unique place.

Lowena dhys

Jim Pengelly

Saturday 18th March 2006

Padstow Mummers Day Images 2005 / 2006



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4.2 Clay Country Customs (Rescorla Festival)

Participatory action research project

A participatory action research project exploring the folk –dance customs of the Clay Country - the open cast clay mining area in Mid Cornwall. It was commissioned by the Rescorla Festival. The core work took place between April 2007 and June 2008 and comprised a series of presentations to local organisations and open workshops. The outcome of these events was the identification of six folk dance items that were recalled as popular in the Clay Country area in the 1930s / 1940s together with some musicians who could remember some of the music associated with this. The information obtained was triangulated with other folk dance research undertaken in this area and photographic archives. A series of performances were set up as part of the festival, where possible using musicians who were involved in, or remembered their parents being involved in these dances, in particular the Snail Creep. A CD / Booklet pack describing these customs was published both for the festival and to support a continuing programme of workshops for schools and adult interest groups such as the Women’s Institutes and Old Cornwall Societies. This activity fed this research back into the community and resulted in still further information, anecdotes and recollections about these customs coming to light.



Tea Treats

These were remembered by all the people interviewed and recalled in all discussions at workshop events as key social events in the village or chapel calendar. The tea treats involved processions, music, dances, games and refreshments in the form of tea, cakes and featured large saffron buns.



Sunday School Treat Mount Charles.



Charlestown Sunday School Banner.



Bugle Sunday School Procession.



St Stephens Tea Treat.

Snail Creep

Mrs Gwen Millet of Withiel was interviewed on 5th August 2007 and described her recollections of the Snail Creep and tea treats:

“I can remember the Snail Creep when I was at School and as a teenager and we finished off each festivity with this, and Mr Brewer used to grab a branch from the tree and grab a lady and start marching and all the young folk used to follow on with partnerslead by a brass band. We used to have hospital fetes and things like that then and a nursing association – St Wenn and Withiel and one year it would be at St Wenn and the next Withiel and they’d have sports for everybody, sheaf pitching and things like that and then this was the final bit there was masses of people anybody older than me had boyfriends even perhaps married people..... they just grabbed it and away you’d go..... anywhere there was room like as if there were tables you would get between the tables ..well it made fun of it really...” Mrs Gwen Millet Interview no 050807-1

“During my boyhood, feast days were great events. These were well arranged so as not to take place on the same day—this enabled people to travel from one village to another. It was the one great event of the year, sometimes there would be a competition between various places in matter of teas games and other amusements. Weather permitting tables would be lavishly spread in the open air consisting of splits and cream, home baked bread and saffron cakes. In the fading light the fife and drum band could be heard in the distance . Presently it would march on to the field and this was the summons for all young people to choose a member of the opposite sex. Then linking arms the stage was set for the ‘Creep’” REL Collins,. “An Old Cornish Custom—The Snail Creep”. Cornish Magazine August 1958.



Mollinnis Fife and Drum Band.

When the dance was performed at the Wheal Martyn Visitors Centre Mike Jenkins lead the processional band. He could recall his father playing for the Rescorla Snail Creep in the 1930s and using "Tavern in the Town" as an additional tune to the original Snail Creep.

Mike Jenkin



Snail Creep at Wheal Martyn 19/09/07.

The Snail Creep Tune

3 As remembered by Jean Harris

Cock in Britches / Weedin Paddle



'Crying the Neck' is a custom that takes place when the last crop of corn has been harvested.

Observed at Withiel 14th September 2007: The harvester cries "I ave'm, I ave'm, I ave'm," which was answered by "what ave ee, what ave ee, what ave ee?" , harvester responded " 'a neck, a neck, a neck'." (Audio file 140906-4). The neck was a corn dolly made from the last of the corn to be harvested. It was kept until the following year as a fertility symbol to encourage the next year's crops.

A solo dance called the "Weedin' Paddle" was recalled by people involved in the Clay Country customs project. A version of this dance had been collected complete by the author from a Mrs Rowse some years previously. Mrs Alberta Rowse, Treesmill was interviewed in December 1983 when she was 92. Mrs Rowse had lived in the area all of her life. She explained that although the 'Cock in Britches' dance was often performed on festive occasions, it was essentially associated with the Goldheys (Harvest Festival) and the ceremony of 'Crying the Neck'. The name 'Cock in Britches' alludes to the fact that if you do not keep the weeds down they will handicap the corn, much as a winning fighting cock might be handicapped by wearing a special hobble to even the odds.

"They danced it an t Crying the neck and any little little festivities the old woman do come to dance if it ad been my birthday and she would come down to dance Old Jane would come down and dance the Cock in Britches well if you did'nt have the sickle or a weedin paddle you'd use the yard broom

There was swing to the left and swing to the right and two backwards and two forwards then swing im round the paddle and after you-v'e doen the weedin paddle you have to do the thrashelthe wind do blow and the dowst do go so keep the thrashel goin.....no more barley bread and gertie grey". Mrs Alberta Rowse, Treesmill in December 1983



Snake or Serpent Dance

The snake dance was well known at tea treats and village parties in the Clay Country from the latter part of the 19th century through until the 1940s and remains a popular dance to finish off the evening at Cornish Troys / barn dances. It has its origin in a medieval dance called the Farandole and whilst it is a very simple dance in form it becomes hypnotic and exciting when large numbers of people are involved and constantly passing each other in convoluted spirals .

Broom Dance

Broom Dances are well remembered tradition in the Clay Country, at a presentation by the authors to the St Dennis WI as part of the Rescorla Project, for example, several members could remember people dancing over the broom and Noreen Hewett recalled that her uncle, George Truscott of Drummers Hill, Ruddle Moor was still performing this in the 1970s. The clearest description we have is from Mrs Bill Glanville of St Columb following a meeting of the local Old Cornwall Society. She remembers her mother dancing the broom dance to the tune of 'The Cats Got the Measles' describing, "...the broom laid on the ground, dancing over the handle and head and returning, picking up the broom and passing it beneath the knees". Broom dances mark the overlap between a game and a competitive dance with performers trying to outdo each other.

Millers Dance

Gwen Millet (Audio File 140408-1) remembered a dance game called the Miller's Song. Andrew Chapman of Belowda and founder member of the Cornish Dance group "Cam Kernewek" recorded this dance in 1984. Together with the accompanying song, it had been described to him by his Uncle and Aunt who could remember doing it at Sunday School treats some sixty years before. During the course of the Rescorla Project 2007 / 2008 this dance was also recalled by the members of Withiel WI as having been done in the Parish Tea Treats of the 1930s.

Furry Dances

Although the most celebrated Furry Dance is that performed at Helston on 8th May other furry dances are recorded throughout Cornwall. For example Cecil Sharp collected information about the Grampound Furry during his visit to Cornwall in May 1913. His informants were a Mr Phillip Luke (82) his son, and a lady called Mary



Goodman (86). They described the dance much as it was done in Helston except that couples held hands across when they danced forward. They also explained that the procession would stop every so often and the dancers would reform in a ring, going first clockwise then anticlockwise around the circle. Furry Dances were and are popular at feast days in the Clay Country and a new dance was composed as recently as the 1980s by Oscar Yelland to celebrate St Austell's White Gold Festival

Norman Mannel had a picture of himself playing in the band for the furry aged 11 in 1935

"The main day of the year was Whit Tuesday..... all the school children and I suppose the councillors and people like that attended this thing – they all accumulated at Hillside which was the home of Mr Croggan who owned the tannery. We all played games and had little races and in the end they were given this big saffron bun the furry was done at the end of the day. We had another day – the peace day which was done after the first world war – that's when danced the furry, more so that on Whit Tuesday, from the recreation field right up through the village and down again....."

Norman Mannel (Audio file no 121009-1)

Anita Dunstan (Nee Richards) recalled the Furry which she called the Flora

"I was a Polruan maid In Polruan we always did the Flora dance for our bank holiday – which was the end of August that was our day and we always had a flora dance up and down the village we started up West Street and down Fore street cos no-one could dance up Fore Street, too steep. This was probably why when we danced we danced sideways because if you danced forwards you'd go so bloomin

fast. But when we did the circle bit I always remember going around twice and then back again and then sideways again. I suppose I was 16 or 17 when I last seen it done, well after the war, I was born 1945" Anita Dunstan
(Audio file no 030109-1)



Carrie' of St Blazey

From an old postcard dated 1905.

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4.3 Pub Song Project / Kanow Tavern:

Participatory action research project

Sources:

Observed singing sessions at Cornish Arms, St Merryn and Ship Inn, Wadebridge Jan – June 2006.

Correspondence:

From: Anne Kennedy Truscott [kennedytruscott@btinternet.com]

Sent: 25 June 2006 04:22

To: Merv Davey

Subject: RE: Cornish Pub songs

Cornish Lads

The Miner's Anthemboth written by Roger Bryant

Pleasant and Delightful

Lamorna

Going Up Camborne Hill

The Sweet Nightingale

Trelawney

Cadgewith Anthem

Little Liza

Maggie May

Bro Coth

Roll The Old Chariots

In A Cornish Kitchen

The Tesco Pastie Song.....by the late Bryan Webb

The White Rose

Morvah Fair

George the Magic Chough?????

If I can think of any more, I'll send an additional list, but thats all that comes to mind at the minute !! Good luck with the enterprise.

Rgds,

Anne XX

From: Robert Strike [robstrike@cornishandproudoft.freemove.co.uk]

Sent: 17 June 2006 19:48

To: Merv Davey

Subject: Re: Cornish Pub songs

The ones we tend to sing are:

Little Eyes

Johnny Bucca

The Pasty Song

Camborne Hill

Trelawny

Cadgwith Anthem

Lamorna

The White Rose

Cornish Boys

The Old Grey Duck

... sometimes others but they'll come to me!

Yeghes da

Rob S

From: Plummer Neil CC [nplummer@cornwall.gov.uk]

Sent: 19 June 2006 14:24

To: 'Merv Davey'

Subject: RE: Cornish Pub songs

The little group I am singing with currently sing.

The lily of the valley

.The white rose.but just the 1st verse and the first the chorus twice !!

Hail to the homeland.but just the first verse sung again after the last.

Trelawney but just the chorus in Cornish once

The old grey duck

Camborne Hill

The sea shanty festival at Falmouth produced a nice little booklet last weekend.

Neil

From: Trevor & Jacki [mailto:trevor@thegreenhouse.telinco.co.uk] 19th July 2006

Cas kindly gave me a copy of *Kanow Tavern* and I've had one or two initial thoughts about it, although I must admit I've not had time to have a thorough look. It's a great idea though. Surely it should be Johnny Bucca, then it's Bucca or Bugger according to the audience? Also, as Cas pointed out some of the lines would be easier to sing if they were on the corresponding lines of the Sawsnek words. Where is the repetition 'wet, wet, wet' in Lamorna? 'Ha'n gorthugher glyb yn Hav' doesn't seem quite right. Old Grey Duck - V2 'Pub heyjik heb kollenki [ny neuvya] o' ?? [hard to scan] Some of the Sawsnek words in some of the songs seem a little different to what I've heard - regional variation? I do like the Maggie May translation. There are some translations made which are projected onto a screen for group singing at the penseythuns but I don't know who has them. You may know that already. I'm certainly no expert on the Kernewek and am probably way off the mark so
oll an gwella Trevor

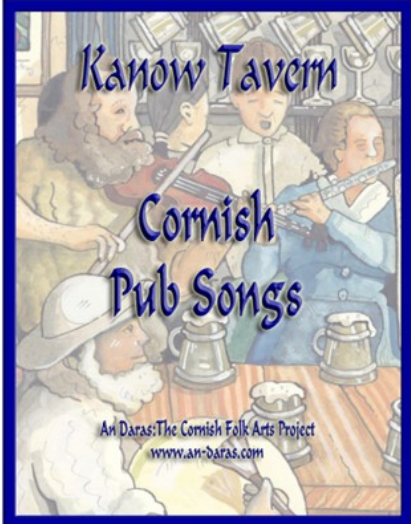

Book cover with songs listed

Kanow Tavern Cornish Pub Songs	
Contents:	
Cadgewith Anthem	1
Camborne Hill / Bre Gambronn	2
George the Magic Chough / Jory An Balores	4
Lamorna	6
Little Eyes / Dewlagas Byghan	8
Maggie May	10
Old Grey Duck / An Hos Loes Koth	12
The Pasty Song / An Gan Basti	14
Roll the Old Chariots / Goes Nelson	16
Sweet Nightingale / Eos Wheg	18
White Rose / An Rosenn Wynn	20
Johnny Buggar / Jonni Boekka	22

Visit the An Daras Cornish Folk Arts Project web site www.an-daras.com for more Cornish songs in English, Kernewek and Dialect plus dances, tunes and information about associated traditions. The web site includes an on line shop with a large range of books, CDs and DVDs on Cornish music dance and costume.

Published in 2007 by An Daras
Meneghyjy, Withiel, Bodmin, Kernow, PL30 5NN, UK
www.an-daras.com info@an-daras.com
Tel 01208 831 642

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Appendix 4.4 Hal An Tow

Observation:

08/05/06 and 08/05/08

Interview

Howard Curnow 16/05/08

Field Recording:

8th May 2006 .

Summary

The Hal An Tow is part of the Flora Day celebrations at Helston held annually on 8th May, or Saturday immediately before if this falls on a Sunday. The first performance takes place at St Johns Bridge at approximately 8am and is followed by a series of promenade performances around the town finishing up at the top of



Meneague Street later in the Morning, a little before the 12 noon furry dance sets off. Observed in 2006 and 2008, a small crowd waited at St Johns and each of the subsequent venues where a performance area was temporarily roped off. The atmosphere is set by the approaching sound of the Hal An Tow "Shallal" band which comprises of miscellaneous percussion with some accordions and fiddles but is dominated by the sound of May whistles, some the traditional article made from hollowed out elder twigs but mostly sports whistles. The shrill of

the whistles is punctuated by raucous shouts of "Oggie Oggie Oggie".

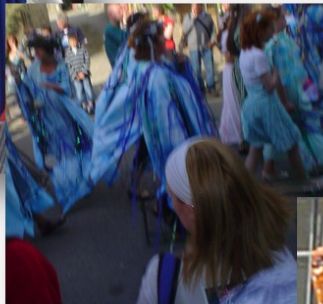


The costume was a mixture of mock medieval and hippy green with a generous sprinkling of recently cut greenery and occasional glimpses of Cornish Tartan.

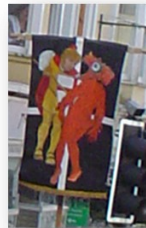




The key players were the Town Crier, St George, St Michael and St Piran accompanied by their respective dragons, plus dancers defined by blue dresses, girls bedecked in sycamore representing hedges, singers, banner bearers and musicians.



The banners followed two themes:
a Cornish one defined by the St Pirans Flag and slogans in Cornish



and one depicting various versions of the green man.



Interviewed on 16th May 2008 Howard Curnow (Audio file160508-1) described the history of the revival of the Hal An Tow. Initially it was initially revived by the Helston Old Cornwall Society in the 1930s after a gap of some 40 or 50 years. By the 1960s the initiative had been taken up by Helston School and was lead by one of the teachers, Richard Jenkin, (a member of the Old Cornwall Society, am active member of Mebyon Kernow and later elected to Grand Bard of the Cornish Gorseth). Howard Curnow also taught at the School in the 1970s and was active with the organisation, performance and development of the Hal An Tow subsequent to this and continues in role of Town Crier.

He explained that there had always been some tension between the “Anglo-centric” organisation of the formal Furry dance and the Hal An Tow and pleased at the way that more “Cornwall centric” elements had been introduced to the performance including the recent arrival of St Piran.

Howard described the symbolism of each verse as he understood it:

- In the first verse, Robin Hood and Little John personify the coming of the spring and the “greenwood” and the fertility associations of the Buck chasing the doe.
- The second verse alludes to the story of the Spanish attack on Mounts bay and the goose feathers represent the arrows they were greeted with.
- In the third verse St George represents the universal fight between good and evil
- The fourth verse is a reminder that Helston also has its story of the successful fight against evil in the form of St Michael and his arial dual with a fiend above the town.
- In the last verse Aunt Mary Moses is a personification of mother nature.



Howard Curnow in lower right of photograph leading the Hal An Tow procession in role as Town Crier

Hal An Tow as sung May 2008

As sung May 2008

Hal An Tow

legato

Chorus

Chorus

Hal-an Tow, jolly rumble oh
 For we are up as soon as any day oh
 And for to fetch the Summer home
 The Summer and the May, oh,
 For Summer is a come, oh,
 And Winter is a gone, oh.

As for that Good Knight, St George,
 St George he was a Knight oh,
 Of all the Knights in Christendom
 St George he is the right, oh,
 In every land, oh, the land were ere we go
 The land where e'er we go.

Chorus

Robin Hood and Little John
 They both are gone to Fair oh,
 And we will to the merry green wood
 To see what they do there, oh,
 And for to chase, oh,
 To chase the buck and doe.

But to a greater than St George,
 Our Helston has a right, oh,
 St Michael with his wings outspread
 The Archangel so bright, oh,
 Who fought the fiend, oh,
 Of all mankind the foe.

Chorus

Chorus

Where are those Spaniards
 That makes so great a boast, oh?
 For they shall eat the grey goose feather
 And we shall eat the roast, oh,
 In every land, oh,
 The Land where e'er we go.

God bless Aunt Mary Moses
 And all her power and might, oh,
 And send the peace in merry Cornwall
 Both day and night, oh,
 And send us peace in Merry Cornwall
 Both now and evermore, oh.

Chorus

Appendix 4.5 Padstow May Day

Observation

1st May 2005 – 2010

Interview

John Buckingham: 20/03/06

Photographs

Courtesy of the Padstow Archive

Field Recordings:

Night Singing 31/05/06,

Red and Blue Oss Processions 01/05/06,

Red and Blue Oss processions 01/05/10

Summary

Padstow May day is held on the 1st May Annually unless this falls on a Sunday in which case it is the following Monday. The festivities start at midnight on the evening before May day with the “night singing” outside of the Golden Lion beneath the Clock Tower. The Blue Oss comes out from the Institute at 10am and the Red Oss from the Golden Lion at 11am. They process around the town accompanied by a band of accordions and drums and a procession of mayers some of whom dance an approximate version of the teasers dance. The teaser accompanies the Osses and a master of ceremonies leads the whole procession. The May Day song is sung throughout along but when the Osses “die” this is done unaccompanied by the musicians until the point of resurrection marked by the beginning of a drum beat.



There are two principle routes for the Mayers, one that goes through the Church and on to Prideaux House to the North of the town, and one that leads around the Harbour area up to the housing estates to the south of the town and back via the Social Club. At some stage in each route the Osses dance around the Maypole in the centre of the town.



Notes on Observations, Conversations and reflections 01/05/2010 :

Red Oss – 11 am Procession went up to Prideaux place through churchyard – stopped at graves of past Mayers.

Blue Oss – 1pm – up to Prideaux Place via church. Went through church which had been cleared of chairs in readiness.

Red Oss 2pm Up to the estates to south of town. Once immediate environs of the town were left there were 20 to 30 Mayers and perhaps 10 onlookers – division not so clear – I played accordion for a bit. Oss stopped at the homes of past Mayers went up to door and danced with them. Elderly lady with walking frame helped to dance as teaser. Oss very accessible, young children – anyone - introduced to it and shown how it works

- Conversations: Comments made that song very weak this year for both Osses. Also comments about restriction of mayers as musicians – more local people less open invitation to outsiders. Numbers previously felt to be getting unmanageable. Phil Cunningham did play for blue Oss for a short time in the town.

- Conversation: John Buckingham –town centre very crowded but not elsewhere- ham commented that once the accommodation was full and the car parks full there was a limit to number of people in Padstow even if this was a Saturday.



- Conversation: Ray Delf expressed concerns the future of May Day in Padstow. Where he lives on a housing estate to the south on the Camel banks very “desirable residences” but majority are second homes. Active Mayers tend to be exiled Padstonians returning to stay with parents and families but these residents are getting older and eventually there will be no family left for exiles to stay with or they become second third generation etc. The value of housing in Padstow itself has shot up – his parents house is probably worth £800,000 – it is only a small cottage but in centre of town and highly desirable. Neither he nor sister are likely to be able to afford death duties so they will eventually be forced to sell. This is a story repeated elsewhere in Padstow. Eventually Mayers will all be ex patriot and how will this affect th tradition or will it be taken over by the downsizers and second homers who increasingly dominate Central Padstow housing?

- Observed Singing sessions in Golden Lion and in London Inn. London inn a small pub with strong local clientel. Songs various but mostly Cornish. There was a group of people from Wadebridge who were regular singers in Padstow pubs and also the Ring of Bells at St

Issey etc. They were not in Padstow not in whites. They sang an identifiable Cornish repertoire - Little Lize – Lamorna – Maggie May . Interrupted by Mayer “You should not be singing here this day is for Padstow people and May Day, you can sing any time of the year but not today, it is for locals”. Singers upset – some have been coming to



Padstow fro May Day singing sessions all their adult lives. Stephanie Noorgard identified continuous “tradition“ of singing Cornish songs at Padstow since sixties – especially the London Inn. Reassured to find singing elsewhere. There was some discussion of why the individual concerned was prompted to make this comment. Other Mayers thought that if he was concerned about the tradition then he should have been in the procession supporting the Oss and not in a pub.

Reflection:

High level of alcohol consumption, individual later needed help from son and wife to be helped to car and taken home. But something triggered this. Was it a previous conversation that he then responded to out of context. Singing he interrupted was ostentatiously Cornish – did he realise that. Was he responding to earlier singers’ pop songs who were literally drinking gin and tonics and



of



ostentatiously leaving to catch the ferry back to

Rock – which would have identified them very clearly as foreigners. Was he responding to them or to what her perceived as the “folkie element”. The folk enthusiast outsiders who seem to take over ownership of the festival . “There was an incident in the golden lion where a well know folk singer had found himself singing the cho-

rus of “Englands Glory” alone in the Golden Lion the previous year. There is a paradoxical resentment of “ownership”

from outside folkies. Some people become part of the fabric of the festival – Doc Rowe – some Mayers are attracted by celebrity culture and make a fuss of well know performers from the folk scene . These are not necessarily people well known to the ordinary Mayer. In conclusion this



incident was likely to reflect either resentment at intrusion of folk enthusiasts or outsiders from Rock’s community of the wealthy downsizer / second home owner. In either case, and quite interestingly, the incident was misplaced as the singers were geographically local people who did not belong to either category.

Appendix 4.6 Penzance Guizing and Montol Festival

Participant Observation

21st December 2008 and 2010

Photos Courtesy of Montol Organisers

Summary

The Lord of Misrule is chosen by casting lots (in the form of beans) at the steps of St Johns at 5.45 pm approximately. Dress is vaguely mock posh with as much black as possible and Venetian style masks, many of which were made at an earlier workshop.

The Lord of Misrule then leads the procession leads from St Johns Hall to Lescudjack Hill Fort at 6pm. A beacon is lit followed by a dance lead by the Turkey Rhubarb Guizers.



The guizing parties return to the area around Chapel Street, some performances take place in the pubs and some outside.



At about 10pm Pen Glas is brought out on to Chapel street and processes down to the Harbour side accompanied by Bagas Torchen the torch bearers to complete the event with a circular "candle" dance.

Conversation with Simon Reed one of the event organisers 21st Dec 2010

Montol is the Cornish word for the Midwinter Solstice. According to Edward Lhuyd in his 1700 also translates Montol as "balance". To the organisers of the festival both interpretations are important: firstly the Montol festival is a balance to the ever popular

Golowan festival, secondly it is also the celebration of the Cornish Midwinter and revival of its ancient customs.



The Lord of Misrule has a special costume and mask made for the occasion disguising the features of the occupant of the office completely. Montol has had 3 Lords of Misrule in its history 2 ladies and one man. During the festival you will see the Lord of Misrule lighting the beacons, leading the processions and taking part of the ceremonies. This role is

similar in some ways to the Mock Mayors of Cornish tradition but different in that the Lord of Misrule is chosen completely by random by the casting of lots, in this case coloured beans. The Lord of Misrule has many titles, including the Abbot of Unreason and the King of the Bean.



To be considered for the honour of Lord of Misrule you must be dressed in full Montol Costume (see costume guide) and mask. Present yourself to the Master of Revels at 5.45pm on the evening of Montol Eve at St John's Hall steps. Take a bean from the Master of Revels if it is red you will have the honour of serving as lead guiser for the nights celebrations. We will never reveal your identity.

Appendix 4.7 Polperro Mock Mayor

Participant observation:

3rd Saturday in June 2005 – 2010

Summary

The author accepted an invitation to accompany the Mock Mayoral procession as “town piper”. The procession involves the Mock Mayor sitting on an improvised throne on a cart that is pushed and accompanied by the Merry Men and a Green Man. The mayor dressed in mock finery and the merry men in fishing smocks and black hats decorated with Cornish flags.



At 2pm The Mayor from the previous year is processed down from the top of the Polperro to what is described as the village green—an open area in the centre. Here the new mayor is introduced having been selected by the organisers secretly before hand. The Mayor makes a speech usually guaranteeing fine weather and free beer and the party then proceeds to visit each pub in the village. On entering the premises the party ceremonially test and approve the beer give, out free money especially printed for the occasion and



then proceed to the next venue. By approximately 4pm the tour is complete and the party proceed to the outer harbour where the mayor is tipped in to the sea.

Notes 17/06/06

Ted Pilchur (mock mayor 2005, owner of local gift store), conversation with author; Ted explained that the tourist industry in Polperro held a very precarious position in terms of the weather and it was hoped that festival would bring more consistent trade into the village. He felt it was important to retain some Cornish identity with the event through the Mock Mayor as much of the rest of the festival was Morris dancing and general entertainment that was not particularly linked to Cornwall. Ted Pilchur explained that this was why he had purposely booked a Cornish piper and Cornish dancers when he was Festival organiser in 2000. The piper was expressly to play Cornish music for the procession



Notes 16/06/07

Some tension but entered into in reasonably good spirit between the Mock Mayor procession and the Morris teams providing displays in the streets on the route. The Merry Men felt that they had right of “ownership” and should not wait for the dance displays.



The musician was

encouraged to continue leading the procession on through the Morris teams display by the Lord Mayor and Merry Men but asked to wait until the performance had finished by the festival organiser responsible for booking the Morris sides. There was a clear distinction between the activities and ownership of the Mock Mayoral procession who were mostly local fishermen and the visiting dance teams who were seen as outsiders.

Notes 21/06/08

Polperro Mock Mayor 2008, the route of the procession avoided a particular pub because it had declined to take part in a money raising event earlier in the year. This had been alluded to in the mayors speech but the implication was not apparent until the change in route was commented upon by the author and an explanation provided by one of the “Merry Men”. An interesting example of natural local politics embedded in a folk custom.

19/06/09 Polperro Mock Mayor

Marked change in Merry Men personnel this year and a largely tee-total event as most of them were fishermen due to sail out on the evening tide. The offending pub of the previous year was visited but only cursorily.



Festival Website

(<http://www.polperrofestivalsandlights.co.uk/about.html> accessed 20th June 2010)

Quotes from the Histories of Polperro by the Couch family:

Jonathon Couch, *An Historical Account of the Village of Polperro in Cornwall and Its Neighbourhood 1815*, (Truro, Lake, unidentified date 1815?)

"In days gone by, Polperro held its festival on the 10th July to celebrate its Patron Saint, St Peter; this was known as 'Peter's-tide'. On the eve of the festival a bonfire was built on the beach and amid much cheering from the assembled throng the men and boys would dance around it, waiting for the fire to burn low enough for them to leap through. A very dangerous thing to do! This was the Solstice fire, originally held on mid-summers night, but changed when the calendar was altered in 1751.

For the next few days a fair took place, followed by the mayor-choosing; which was never any great honour for the person chosen as he was generally some half-wit or drunk. Clothed in some mock finery, he then chose his companions who wheeled him from pub to pub in a cart decked out in greenery. At each pub, as he judged the ale, he would make a fine speech promising full employment, better wages, free beer and all the good things in life. He was then taken to the harbour to 'meet the tide'.

To bring this tradition up to date, the mayor is now a well-known local character of village life, rather than the inebriate of old!"

Couch, Jonathan, and Thomas Q. Couch. *The History of Polperro, a Fishing Town on the South Coast of Cornwall; Being a Description of the Place, Its People, Their Manners, Customs, Modes of Industry, &C.* (Truro: Lake, 1871).

"On the eve of the fair is the prefatory ceremony of a bonfire. The young fishermen go from house to house and beg money to defray expenses. At night -fall a large pile of faggots and tar-barrels is built on the beach, and amid cheers of a congregated crowd, the pile is lighted. Men and boys dance merrily around it, till the fire burns low enough, then they venturously leap through the flames."

"The next day the fair begins; Stalls, laden with fairings, sweetmeats and toys, line the lower part of Lansallos street, near the strand. There are besides, strolling thespians; fellows who draw unwary youths into games of hazard; ballad singers; penny-peep men, who show and describe to wondering boys the most horrid scenes of the latest murder; jugglers and tumblers to display their skill."

"The second day is much livelier than the first, and has for its great event a wrestling match on the strand, or perhaps a boat race."

On the third day we have the mayor-choosing, never a valid ceremony, but a broad burlesque. The person chosen to this post of mimic dignity is generally some half-witted or drunken fellow who, tricked out in tinsel finery is wheeled through the town, stopping at each inn. He then demands a quart of the landlord's ale, which is gauged with mock ceremony. His attendants often made some facetious end to the pageant by wheeling the mayor with some impetus into the tide."

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Appendix 4.8: St Ives Guizing

Participatory Action Research:

1st Sunday in February 2007, 2009, 2010

Interviews:

Dave Lobb, 26/07/06 (Audio file 200306-1)

William Barber, Mary Quick 30/10/09 (Audio file 31109-1)

Photographs

Dave Lobb: 1979—1980s

Bagas Porthia: 2007—2010

St Ives Archive

St Ives Times, January 1901 and 1921

St Ives Times January 1929: Successful Revival of Ancient Custom

St Ives Times January 4th 1957 Cyril Noall, "Guize Dancing At St IvesSt Ives Feast",
"What's on listings", *Cornish Life*, Feb 1984,;

4th Feb, Dressing of St Ives Well, Porthmeor Beach in the afternoon. Guize
Dancing 7.30pm,

5th Feb, Green Morris men from several parts of the country will dance,

6th Feb, Parade of Guizers to Guildhall at 9 am. Hurling of the Silver Ball at
10.45,

The St Ives Times and Echo and Hayle times, February 3rd 1989 :Mary Quick,
"Guizing through the ages",

Background

6th February 2006, conversations with Pauline McKeon and Dee Brotherton. Pauline was a member of the guizers who came to St Ives in the seventies and eighties. Discussed use of Guize dancing previously. It was revived in the sixties and seventies by an ex pat Cornishman living in London called Dave Lobb. He brought down a group of Guising enthusiasts who stayed at local spa and danced through the town over the feast weekend. Dee was now involved with the musicians for the St Ives Feast and also the St Ives Band "Bagas Porthia". Felt that it would now be possible to revive the Guizers fully for St Ives Feast 2007. The St Ives archives were researched for information and newspaper articles on guizing and an interview was set with Dave Lobb.

Research

At the beginning of the twentieth century Guize dance seems to have been popular but not well received by all parts of the community: "I learn with greatest satisfaction that the worthy Mayor of St Ives, Mr Edward Hain has prohibited Gees Dancing for the year 1900. In this I feel he has the support of every man and woman having any pretensions to moral refinement in the parish.people parade the principle streets many being "dressed up" , shouting, singing, dancing, and an indulgence in a rough kind of play, which sometimes ends in broken heads, broken glass and belabouring one another with anything handy in the form of a cudgel. Some masquerade as animals, some as kings and queens but what seems to create the greatest fun, and is the most enjoyed by the crowd, are men dressed as women and women dressed as men, girls as boys and boys as girls, some of whom under the influence of drink, perform sundry antics which, for vulgarity, would be hard to beat (S. T. Rowe, "Guise *St Ives Weekly Summary*, January 6, 1900)

Guize dancing is occasionally reported in the St Ives Times over the next 20 years but popularity would seem to have waned until its revival by the St Ives Old Cornwall Society in 1925. It was then framed as "the revival of an ancient custom" and the "sundry antics" were replaced by a more sober "parade of Guizers". In the immediate post-war period children were encouraged to take part and William Barber describes how they enjoyed the novelty of cross dressing. By 1957 the popularity of guizing and New Year edition of the St Ives times carries an article going into some detail about the customs chequered history and comments that the streets of St Ives are "quiet enough now , television, radio and cinema having replaced older and more vigorous entertainments" .

In 1979 the custom enjoyed a new lease of life at the instigation of the Mayor, Keith Slocomb with the help of Dave Lobb, a Morris dance enthusiast whose father took part in earlier guize dancing.



Dave Lobb Leading the St Ives Guizers Circa 1979



For the practical reason that it was a quieter time of year for dance enthusiasts, the guizing date was moved from Christmas to the St Ives Feast Day celebrations.



It now took the form of a series of masked processions through the town and adopted greenery in the style of the “green man”. ..



By 1989, guizing was less well supported and the numbers of participants and audience reducing. It is interesting to note that a correspondent in the local paper comments that this was “not surprising as guize dancing

should be a spontaneous activity and was never traditionally associated with the feast”. Participants felt that there was an issue about guizers coming from outside of St Ives and Cornwall and Dave Lobb felt that they had been a bit too rowdy for the people of St Ives who were a bit reserved. Participant observation, however, did not find any evidence to support this, and Will Barber was quite enthusiastic about the guizers of the 1980s, e “they were out to have a bit of fun, it was quite a good thing really we all liked it.” Even if there is little evidence to support any ambivalence in St Ives towards the guizers it is interesting that they were conscious that this might be an issue. It shows that there was an expectation of being perceived as the “other” from outside of St Ives. In practice, encouraged by the influence of an artist’s colony and a high level of commitment to the tourist industry St Ives had an arguably positive relationship with the “other”. Both William Barber and Mary Quick. described being brought up in the “Digey” on Teetotal Street, they witnessed change but neither expressed resentment nor a feeling that St Ives was losing its identity. The demand for properties in the “Digey” encouraged residents to sell up and move to modern, and more comfortable housing, on the outskirts of St Ives.

In 1990 mayor of St Ives invited a local Cornish dance group, Ros Kelttek, to become involved with and lead a Furry dance for the Well procession held on the Feast day. It is significant that the selection and preference was for an expressly Cornish dance group as this is a statement of identity. Ros Kelttek acted as a core group and invited other Cornish dance groups and musicians to join them, especially people from St Ives. They did not use guize costume but elected to remain in the team costume they normally wore for dance displays. Within ten years this had become a largely local performance, with some support from musicians from elsewhere in Cornwall.



2007 Revival



In 2007 the St Ives a masked version of the guizers was introduced again drawing from musicians and dancers who had been taking part in the Well procession. The dancers dressed “mock posh”, much along the lines of Heaths description (Cornwall and its People A K Hamilton Jenkin, London, Dent and sons, 1945) and toured the streets and harbour side pubs with displays of scoot dancing on the eve of the Feast Day. In 2009 the activities of the Guizers were extended to Christmas events as they



had been at one time historically.

In September 2010 the Guizers, as Bagas Porthia, lead the local dignitaries procession for the Cornish Gorseth held in St Ives.

Appendix 4.9 Bodmin Play

Participant observation

1st Sat in July 2005 -2010

Photographs

Bodmin Riding and Heritage Day

Summary

The Author was invited to take part in the Bodmin play in 2005

The play is a revival of the Bodmin Mock Mayor custom translated into a modern mummings style. The Beast of Bodmin becomes the spirit of Cornwall who is hunted, captured and tried by a jury of Bodmin dignitaries (The Ragadasiw – forefathers) lead by Justice Jan Tregeagle, for crimes against the (English) establishment. Witnesses are summoned in the form of historical figures such as Flamank and Angove (leaders of the 1497 rebellion) and contemporary characters such as Miss Minx a television personality with a second home.

The outcome, with the support of a vociferous campaign on the part of Bodmin children to “free the beast”, is the exoneration of Cornwall’s spirit in the form of the beast and the castigation of the establishment.

Although initially introduced with a detailed written script which was carefully rehearsed the play evolved over the six years to date to become much more communal in authorship with a series of improvised sketches within the framework of the original narrative. These improvised sketches can incorporate contemporary issues. For example when the local MP, Dan Rogerson, took part in the play in 2009 against a background of news coverage around MPs expenses his lines involved an assurance that his character would not be claiming expenses. Local people have grown into the characters and the social context of the play is also enhanced by the action of the Helliers, the hunters, played by young people whose task it is to chase the beast around the town with much shouting but little to rehearse. Despite this modern interpretive creativity and vision of a future Cornwall, the play nevertheless has continuity with the traditions of the past and uses these as a medium for comment. In particular the use of masks, bizarre costume and the creation of large hairy pantomime “beast” are anchored firmly in Cornish guizing tradition.



Cast / Ragadaziow

worthies of the Borough:

Justice Jan Tregeagle - wants eradicate beastliness

Timmy Clark /Black Hunter - meek and mild/transforms to 'devil'

Tommy Trewartha - everyman, drunkard, wise fool

Alf N Safety - jumped-up paper-pusher

King Henry English - King Athelstan/
Henry etc combined

An Gof and Flamank - Cornish Heroes

Sir Anthony Kingston -reprisal-monger

Oliver Crapwell - roundhead

Isabard Grimly Cunard—capitalist

Doctor Lazar St Lawrence - analyse this

Ms Meeja Minx - celebrity bimbo

St Petroc - our man



Ragadaziow Piper



Helliers, Beast and Casket for St
Petrock's Bones

Synopsis

10:00 Mt Folly Procession of Petroc's bones enters space (including Ragadaziow) Tregeagle creates alarm; The Beast has been sighted Ragadaziow send out the Helliers to hunt the Beast (promise beer as reward) Helliers hunt Beast around the town

10.30 - 3.30 Trial enacted at various locations in Bodmin using puppet beast while the full size one pub crawls with the Helliers. Tregeagle delivers damning accusation Ragadaziow (the Jury) don masks to take part Black Hunter defends the Beast by showing scenes from the past The Beast is Attacked by King Henry, has its tongue ripped out, by Kingston is gelded by Cromwell and put to work by Cunard Helped by St Petroc (splinter out of eye) Black Hunter sums up Judgement is made Black Hunter demands due payment (Tregeagle's soul) Tregeagle is pursued instead Beast is 'freed'

4pm Mount folly Trial repeated with the full sized beast

Cornish Guardian report 9th July 2009

beast is tried on Mount Folly.

■ The trial over, Bodmin beast's helliers Lee Jones and Andrew Parkin.

More pictures: Page 18

BODMIN'S schoolchildren were the saviours of Festing and Heritage Day when the annual event proved to be one of the wettest yet.

Despite the near torrential rain, pupils from the town's four junior schools turned out in force to smile and dance through the streets and cheer up shoppers and the brave souls who had come to enjoy the entertainment.

There were several people dressed in medieval costumes, although those in tights must have particularly suffered from the rain.

And the beast too, along with its captors, looked wet and bedraggled as they brought it to be tried by the elders of the town, watched by a crowd of around 100 people on Mount Folly.

But despite the weather, organisers were pleased with the way the day passed out.

Organising committee chairman Maggie Little said: "We thought with all

the rain throughout the day that it might have been a wash out, but thanks to the people of Bodmin and especially the children, we had a successful day.

Committee member Anne Kerbridge added: "It was the worst weather I can ever remember on Heritage Day. However, despite the downpours, there were many positives.

"The craft fair was a success, the beast went into every nook and cranny of the town and the children of Bodmin did us proud."

Robartes Junior School won first prize, but because of their sterling efforts, all the schools were awarded prizes on the day.

On Sunday, the weather was much kinder for the procession of St Petroc's bones, and organisers say this will continue to be held the day after Heritage Day in future years.

By OSCAR MORSE
oscar@tdc-dm.co.uk

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Appendix 4.10 Festival Interceltique in Lorient

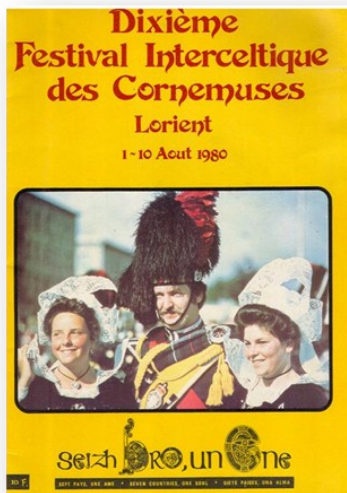
Participant observation and correspondence

The author first attended this festival in 1980 at the invitation of Polig Montjerrat, then a festival director . He witnessed a workshop on Cornish dance in the 1979 Pan Celtic festival in Cill Airne and encouraged the presenters to put together a display team in order to represent Cornwall at Lorient the following year. The author has attended this festival on a number of occasions since as both performer and ticket holder. The most recent years have been 2000 when I took a Cornish youth dance group to perform, 2002 as a ticket holder and 2010 as a performer in an adult dance group.

1980—2010

These programme covers illustrate how the festival has changed and developed in the way that it has been presented: bagpipe festival > emphasis on folk traditions and costume >Celtic Iconography

1980



1985



1994



2010



Correspondence

The Email below was sent to people who performed at Lorient in the early nineties, around the date of Malcolm Chapman's published his description of the festival in *The Celts : The Construction of a Myth*, (London: St Martin's Press, 1992) and also to people who attended in 2009. It was neither practical nor necessary to undertake grounded research here but it was useful to test out some reactions to Chapman's comments in the light of the authors own, very different, experience of the festival.

Sent: Tuesday, November 10, 2009 10:27 AM

Subject: Interesting Festival Descriptions Help!

In the course of my research I came across I came across the description of the Lorient Festival below in an academic publication - this is not a description of the festival that I have been to!

The Festival Inter-celtique in Lorient gathers 'Celts 'from all the 'Celtic nations'. Self styled, highly educated, intellectual and youthful 'Celts'(many of them studious language learners) come to share their identity, to drink, dance , play music, listen to music, deplore oppression, fight nuclear power, oppose colonialism, lament militarism, buy craftwork and so on. "

My recollections involve Rock bands, Spectacular "Nuit Magiques" and an awful lot of very drunken pipe bands. As I write up my thesis I want to show that below is not a real experience of Lorient but I need to be able to quote other people's experiences rather than my own - any chance of a couple of lines agreeing or disagreeing with below?

Many Thanks Merv

1990s Attendee - Cornwall

Hi Merv,

The Lorient Festival that I remember was one where there were pipe bands everywhere. The city even had a P.A. system around the Centre Ville that pumped out bagpipe music. It was the only Celtic festival that I have been to that had a 7th Celtic Country! Gaelicia.

It was great from a participants point of view. In the early days we had the all important festival passes that got you free into 3 meals a day in the Pala de Congress (Not sure if that's spelt right) It also let you use the bendy bus all around town and even as far as a beach 12 kilometers to the north.

Of course the accommodation was free as well, in the form of school dormitories. We saw Alan Stivell's keyboards setup in the football stadium which occupied a large area of one side of the stadium seating. Then there was all those Bretons doing their version of a dance we had just discovered in Cornwall (Turkey Rhubarb) There was al-

ways one free day in the festival for you to relax and look around the place. There was also massed Breton dancing in the Celtic Village. I also remember seeing and listening to another Breton group called Tri Yann.

The only negative bits that I remember was Radio Cornwall reporters who were always looking for the bad news. They were not interested that this was a festival of Celts getting together and sharing their music and dance.

There was also a great language moment when Julian Drew from Penzance who speaks Cornish but not French got in conversation with a Breton who spoke no English but did speak Breton. They seem to understand the majority of what they were both saying.

Yes we did enjoy some wine at the various bars along the street to one side of the central gardens. We also enjoyed performing music and dance and listening, watching and joining in with the other Celts do the same. We made some new friends from different Celtic Countries. We looked forward to coming back on a future occasion. So I would agree with that part of the statement below but not the rest.

Best regards,

Mark

1990s Attendee – Isle of Man

Dear Merv,

LORIENT Although I quite agree with your recollections of Lorient I don't think that the example quoted is necessarily wrong. I think the Lorient you find is the one that you seek and that there are many young people who attend the lectures and workshops and take away with them a very different experience to the one that we found. (And are very happy with.)

I have passed a copy of your email onto Carol Hayes (Perree bane's dance leader) who has a degree in Manx Studies and who has attended Lorient over many years and asked her to send you her views as well. Let me know if you want me to poke her with a sharp stick !! All the best to you and yours.

Lhiats Caroline

1990s and 2009 attendee

From: Hevva [mailto:info@hevva.co.uk] Sent: 09 November 2009 21:58

Hi Merv,

This apparent figment of imagination does not describe the festival that I have recently experienced, although there is a truth that can be extracted from it:-

"The Festival Inter-celtique in Lorient gathers Celts from all the Celtic nations who come to share their identity, to drink, dance, play music and listen to music."

The highly educated and intellectual contingent must have been keeping themselves to themselves, as I didn't come across them. Yes, many of those there could accurately be described as youthful, and I'm sure that many of the others like me wish they could be too! I don't believe I witnessed any of the words 'oppression', 'nuclear',

'colonialism' or 'militarism' over the whole of the ten day festival. However, there was plenty of craftwork available to buy. Oh, and the only Celtic nation I spotted promoting its language was Cornwall! Oll an gwella, Rob Hogg Secretary, Hevva

2009 Attendee: Cornwall

Hi, Merv,

I'd have to agree with both statements ... bearing in mind, of course, that drinking reduced significantly when Spingo and Guinness were taken off-limits due to health reasons for both of us!

My recollection some 15 years ago, as I travelled through Lorient to check out this festival, was a field full of bagpipers tuning up, a strange bagpipe competition in a huge stadium, and discovering the "Port de Peche", with stage after stage next to each other, and huge crowds watching a famous Breton maritime duo, and a group of curly-headed young Irish dancers at the next stage ... a festival to go back to someday.

This year, anticipating finding a field full of bagpipers tuning up & stage after stage at the Port de Peche, I was struck by the sheer size of this festival: some 650,000 visitors (more than the whole population of Cornwall!), 4,000 performers, huge media coverage across Brittany, France & the rest of the world, hundreds of stalls selling everything and anything linked with the celtic world, from instruments to jewelry, shirts, carpets and incredibly fine artwork, dozens of crepe stalls, marquees for each celtic nation, ranging from the huge Galicien marquee, with food, net-making and a stage with free music running daily, the Acadian marquee, with the t-shirt printing machine & free black & gold pens from the respective tourist board, to the tiny Cornish marquee with Spingo, pastys, saffron cake, Cornish language books and literature (in English) from the Cornish Tourist Board, and pictures taken from the calendar and stuck on the walls.

It's like Glastonbury 4 times over (or the Royal Cornwall Show 5 times over, except without the tractors & animals!) in a city, centred around the harbour, with more stages in the city squares, and the nightly "Nuit Magique" showcasing a few of the celtic nations, with pipe bands, rock bands and dance troupes who are as fit as footballers and the most amazing fireworks! Lorient resonates almost 24-7 with the sound of bombardes, and sample songs of each nation through the loudspeaker system, the smell of crepes & smoked fish, and the sheer quality and volume of celtic music, art & culture in the Palais, marquees, the stages outside each pub, the paths and open spaces. It's incredible, and you'd need to spend the full week to experience everything the festival has to offer! This is a place to taste some of the very best in culture from each celtic nation, speak French, Spanish, Italian and maybe a spot of Cornish, eat plenty of fish, crepes & frites, drink Asturien cidre, and to showcase whatever your celtic nation has to offer (and even have an economic benefit to your local tourist industry!).

Hope that helps you! See you soon! Oll an gwella,

Carmen

2009 Attendee – Cornwall

Kekezza

Here's a couple of things from the girls.

From Jade (wtf!!!!!!)

- 'Lorient Festival is an amazing opportunity to meet new people, learn about different traditions and make friends from all over the world. The festival draws together a combination of music, dancing and singing and is enjoyed immensely by both performers and observers. The lighthearted festival is looked forward to by thousands every year, and never fails to disappoint.'

From Ellen, I'd say more like,

- 'A gathering of the most bizarre, and probably the coolest people in the Celtic (whole?) world, drinking, dancing and generally having a good time. In an evening I bumped into a Viking called Manix, an Asturian who looked like Mr. Bean, and a Scotsman in traditional costume.... and converse sneakers. '

There's also a couple of accounts from Ellen and Lauren on our website about the last two years. Hope that's ok as a start.

Lowenna

Festival Impressions 2010

The flags of the "Celtic Nations" included Australia and Nova Scotia. There was an element here of the Celtic Diaspora and a recognition of migration to the Americas and Australasia



Palais de Congrès, Lorient, which serves as festival office and information point for the festival

Festou Noz

Celtic Flags at the Fest Noz Venue were more representative of the “1980s” eight Celtic Nations which added Galicia and Asturia from Northern Spain to the conventional linguistic six of Scotland, Ireland, Isle of Man, Wales Cornwall and Brittany.



The New Brunswick /Acadian Marquee represented their own Celticity as one nested in a mixture of France and Scotland. With a mixture of Breton, French and New Brunswick flags and a stage which featured Acadian bands playing music in their own style but with tunes recognisably derived from Scottish and Irish traditions such as Drowsy Maggie.



The information stand provided a series of images promoting tourism as below but when asked about Breton Language and music influences in Nova Scotia and Cap Breton they showed little understanding of either.



The archway to the Quai de la Bretagne marked the entrance to craft stalls, food stalls and bars focussing on Breton Culture. A large marquee at the end of this are staged a continuous programme of mostly Breton music and dance but with representation from the other Celtic nations at various points in the programme.



A meeting with the festival director, Lisardo Lombardia provided insight into the current aims of the festival. Whilst there was a desire to continue to celebrate the links between the Celtic communities there was also a commitment to providing a professional format with high performance standards. Lisardo is an Asturian and had some understanding of Cornwall and the Celto– Cornish movement as he played bagpipes with a group called Belena who attended the Lowender Peran festival in the 1980s.

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Appendix 4.11 Cornish Dance Society Survey: participatory action research

This Survey undertaken in partnership with the Cornish Dance Society September 2007 to August 2008. The Purpose of the survey was to provide a clear picture of Cornish dance activity which had been requested by the Cultural partnerships group within Cornwall Council

Surveys Sent out: 8

Responses 7

Time Period Covered Sep-07 Aug-08

	Displays		Social Dances		Workshops		Club Nights		Festivals	
	No	Audience	No	Audience	No	Audience	No	Audience	No	Audience
Tros ha Tres	16	600	2	59	0	0	0		2	
Bolingey Troyl	2	280	5	500	0	0	10		0	
Ros Keltek	9	2050	6	860	2	97	40		0	
Tan Ha Dowr	7	350	0	0	0	0	20		0	
Pyba	5	250	11	1000	18	400	10		3	
Hevva	16	650	9	500	2	100	0		3	
Kekezza	3	740	0	0	2	250	2		3	
Totals	58	4920	32	2960	24	847	80		11	

Notes.

- Believed to be all groups extant in Cornwall during this time period that regularly engage in the five activities listed and present their performance as Cornish.
- Does not include bands not associated with displays e.g.Dalla, Penntorr, Bagas Porthia, Bagas Degol.

Discussion and Review of survey 10th November 2008 with representatives from the groups surveyed

Discussed the importance of identifying the extent of Cornish dance activity as this is overlooked in the wider performing arts picture in Cornwall and the representations made to Cornwall Council for recognition as part of the cultural activity taking place as much as issues around funding. Private bookings still represented major cultural activity but they were invisible despite representing a very large audience (2960 + people). "Public" events organised by CDS members and other dance bands had a high profile in terms of advertising and media coverage but there was no evidence that anything like the same number of people were involved.

General feeling of groups was that they were in such great demand that this put a pressure on them to accept bookings every weekend. For many members the groups were a social activity and there was reluctance to commit such a disproportionate amount of their leisure time to this. Weddings were a major source of bookings, for example, but this was paid work rather than a leisure activity depending on the circumstances. The split or demise of several groups in recent history was attributed to this pressure. The Cornish dance movement was in some respects a victim of it's own success.

One of the reason for the popularity of folk dancing generally was that it was very accessible for a wide range of people, and a good mixer and relatively inexpensive . Organisers liked being able to discuss the dances proposed with the dance group and ensure that they were at a level that people could manage and be taught or called through easily. Another issue was that the dance groups came packaged with a caller to act as master of ceremonies and a sound system.

Appendix 4.12: Social Dance Bands – Participant Observation

Between 2005 and 2010 the author regularly played with two social dance bands who advertised themselves as Cornish and used Cornish material extensively in their repertoire:

Bagas Porthia

Based in St Ives performed at a variety of private events such as weddings and parties, some open events such as in poster also festivals including St Ives September Festival, Golowan, Mousel and Lowender Peran.

An evening of Cornish music and dance
with
Bagas Porthia



Praa Sands Village Hall
Saturday **21st February 2009**
at **7.30pm**

*Gwreugh dos dhe Nos Lowen;
cleweugh ha donsya gans Bagas Porthia*

**i.e. come to a Happy Night;
listen and dance to St Ives Band**

"just like a ceilidh without the complications"

BYO drinks

Tickets £4
from Pip (01736 763766)
or Dee (01736 799305)
or on the door.

www.bagasporthia.co.uk
directions: www.praasands.info/villagehall

2009 Lowender Peran Festival Programme: "Bagas Porthia has been quietly building up a strong following with their unique take on Cornish and Celtic music. Traditional and contemporary tunes and songs, including some exciting new original material, combine with rich Celtic instrumentation to produce a mellow yet energetic sound. We can also include easy to follow Cornish dances - just like a ceilidh without the complications! It's great fun and suitable for all ages to join in."

North Cornwall Ceili Band

North Cornwall Ceili Band is an acoustic three-piece band plus caller who expand to form a folk rock line up including bass, drums electric guitar and accordion, typically booked for parties, weddings and events such as Parent Teacher Association evenings for schools. Festivals performances include Cwlwmn Celtiadd, Lowender Peran and Europeade festivals in Bromley and Mayo.

Band Flyer:



Ceilidhs / Troyls / Barn Dances

The ultimate party for all ages with a caller to talk you through or lead dances which can be tailored to meet any ability. Whilst our core repertoire are dances from our native Cornwall we draw our material from a variety of European and American traditions.

We work as a trio: *North Cornwall Ceili Band*

But expand with a full folk rock sound with *Troyl and Error*

Troyl is a Cornish word for a reel, whirl or a spiral and thus its use for a barn dance or ceilidh



Contact Alison Davey: 01208 831 642, email Alison@lowenderperan.co.uk

www.pyba.co.uk

Repertoire Snapshots

Bagas Porthia for Nos Lowen Acornn Penzance 17/07/09

Dance	Dance Tunes	Song Selection from general play list
Nth Cwll Furry	Fer Lyskeris/St Keverne	Towl Ros
Old Hand In Hand	Mummers/Jack in the Box	Down in Lafayette
Improvised Furry	Quay Fair/Bodmin Riding	Whiskey in the Jar
Newlyn Reel	Newlyn Reel	Maguire & Patterson
Serpent	Duncan Hunkin	Say You Love Me
Bolingey Furry	Falmouth Polka / Bolingey Furry / Plethen a Dry	Yankee Clipper
Mr Martins Reel	Nine Brave Boys / Schottische Pencarrow / Ker Syllan	California/Jim Stacey
Boscastle Furry	Boscastle Breakdown	Cousin Jack
Waltze	Cornish Waltzes	Black Velvet Band
Waltze	Margaret's Waltz/Dark Island	County Down/Out on the Ocean
Schottische (French)	Saltash / Dunkin Hunkin	Wild Mountain Thyme
Bouree (French)	Cock in Britches / Up on the Carn	Midnight on the Water
		Galway Girl
		Sixteen Fishermen

Repertoire Snapshot

North Cornwall Ceili Band, Port Isaac Village Hall 18/07/09

<i>Dance</i>	<i>Dance Tunes</i>	<i>Instrumental</i>
<i>Newlyn Reel</i>	<i>Newlyn Reel / An Awhesyth</i>	<i>Cornish Hornpipes</i>
<i>Venton Gimps Reel</i>	<i>Cornish Quickstep / Allens</i>	<i>Cornish Jig Set</i>
<i>Bolingey Furry</i>	<i>Bolingey Furry</i>	<i>Scottish Reels</i>
<i>Cornish Express</i>	<i>Cornish Express / Old One and All / St Just Cock Dance</i>	<i>Sliabh Luachra Polkas</i> <i>Bastringue</i>
<i>Millers Dance</i>	<i>Millers Dance</i>	
<i>Turkey Rhubarb</i>	<i>Turkey Rhubarb</i>	
<i>Mating Dance</i>	<i>Cats got The Measles</i>	
<i>Annie Askee</i>	<i>Thre Hand Reel / Harvey Darvey</i>	
<i>Old Hand in Hand</i>	<i>Truro Agricultural Show / An Marrak</i>	
<i>Heva</i>	<i>Heva</i>	
<i>Strip the Willow</i> <i>Hop Tu Naa (Manx)</i> <i>Heel Toe Polka (Irish)</i> <i>Delyn (Welsh)</i> <i>Gay Gordons</i>		

Appendix 4.13 Performers at Lowender Peran: Observation

Performer Summary 1978 – 2008

Cornish Identity	Number of Performers
Cornish Name	52
English Name Identifying as Cornish	12
Identification with Cornish Place	16
Personal Name	25
No Obvious Cornish Connection	18

Type of Performance	Number of Performers
Instrumental	48
Songs	71
Story Telling	13
Theatre	17
Dance Display	16
Social Dance Band	15

Performer List 1978 – 2008

	Total	Cornish Name	English name identifying as Cornish	Identification with Cornwall By Place	Personal Name	No Obvious Cornish Connection	Instrumental	Songs	Story Telling	Theatre	Dance Display	Social Dance Band
Asleveryn,	1						1				1	1
A39 Theatre,	1									1		
Ahanan,	1							1				
Alan Woolard,	1								1			
An Tryskell,	1							1				
Anao Atao,	1						1					
Angus and Des,	1							1				
Aveladen n,	1						1					
Bagas Byghan,	1										1	1
Bagas Crowd,	1						1					
Bagas Porthia,	1						1	1				1
Bedlam,	1									1		
Berdh Arnowydh Kernewek,	1								1			
Bert Bisco,	1							1	1			
BIM,	1						1					
Bbs som the Clown,	1									1		
Blue Ticket,	1						1	1				
Bodmin Childrens Choir,	1							1				
Bolingey Troyl Band,	1						1	1			1	1
Breder Richards,	1							1				
Brenda Wooton,	1							1				
Brian Webb,	1							1				
Bucca,	1						1	1				
Cals took Singers,	1							1				
Cam Kernewek,	1						1	1	1	1	1	1
Camelford Friends Playford Group,	1										1	
Can an E then,	1							1				
Cape Cornwall Singers,	1							1				
Captain Kernow and the Jack and Jenny Band,	1											1
Caracana,	1						1	1				
Cannon Vale Choir,	1							1				
Celtic Pipe Band,	1						1					
Chris and MaryHumphries,	1						1					
Clay Players ,	1									1		
Cornwall Fiddle Orchestra,	1						1					
Cornwall Songwriters,	1							1		1		
Cowetha,	1							1				
Dalla,	1						1	1				
Davey/Webb,	1						1					
Dee and Dave Brotherton,	1							1				
Dew Varth,	1								1			
Ebren Vras ,	1							1				
Ele,	1							1				
Fal Folk	1						1	1				
Four Lanes Choir,	1							1				

Performer List 1978 – 2008

	Total	Corrib Name	English name identifying as Corrib	Identification with Cornwall by Place	Personal Name	No Obvious Corrib Connection	Instrumental	Songs	Story Telling	Theatre	Dance Display	Social Dance Band
Free Fall,	1						1	1				
Gaja,	1							1				
Geof Tiedlnick,	1							1				
Goonvea Choir,	1							1				
Graham Sandercock and James Hawken,	1							1				
Gwayoyon,	1									1		
Gwesper,	1							1				
Gwydh Donsya	1									1		
Hedra,	1						1					
Heva,	1							1				
Homers,	1						1					
Hubbadilla,	1						1	1		1		
John and Frances Webb,	1						1					
John Bolitho,	1							1				
Jon Mills,	1							1				
Joy Stephenson,	1								1			
Juggins Luggar,	1							1				
Julie Elwin,	1							1				
Kana Kara,	1							1				
Kekezza,	1										1	1
Kemysk,	1						1	1				
Kenysy Kemow,	1							1				
Kerens,	1						1			1		
Kerensa,	1						1	1				
Kescanna,	1						1	1				
Knee High Theatre,	1									1		
Konteth Kamek,	1							1		1		
Kienna,	1							1				
Lapyor Tom,	1						1				1	1
Last Orders,	1						1	1				
Laura Dvail	1								1			
Loveny Choir,	1							1				
LowenderPeran Dancers,	1										1	
Mike O'Connor,	1						1	1	1			
Mo and Ern Keast,	1							1				
Mordros,	1							1				
Mudansa,	1									1		
Myrghes an Vrb,	1										1	
Myrghes Lowena Vythyan,	1										1	1
Myrghes Morwenna,	1										1	
Naked Feet,	1						1	1				
Newquay Band,	1						1					
Otta Nye Moaz,	1										1	
Penglas,	1						1					
Pengulzeis,	1									1	1	
Pentorr,	1						1	1				

Performer List1978 – 2008

	Total	Cornish Name	English name identifying as Cornish	Identification with Cornwall By Place	Personal Name	No Obvious Cornish Connection	Instrumental	Songs	Story Telling	Theatre	Dance Display	Social Dance Band
Pentorr	1						1	1				
Gaja,	1							1				
Geof Tredinnick,	1							1				
Goonvrea Choir,	1							1				
Graham Sandercock and James Hawken,	1							1				
Gwaryoryon,	1									1		
Gwesper,	1							1				
Gwydh Donsya	1									1		
Hedra,	1						1					
Heva,	1							1				
Horners,	1						1					
Hubb dilla,	1						1	1		1		
John and Frances Webb,	1						1					
John Bolitho,	1							1				
Jon Mills,	1							1				
Joy Stephenson,	1								1			
Juggins Luggar,	1							1				
Julie Elwin,	1							1				
Kana Kara,	1							1				
Kekezza,	1										1	1
Kemysk,	1						1	1				
Kenys y Kemow,	1							1				
Kerens,	1						1			1		
Kerensa,	1						1	1				
Kescanna,	1						1	1				
Knee High Theatre,	1									1		
Konteth Karrek,	1							1		1		
Kreenna,	1							1				
Lapyor Tom,	1						1				1	1
Last Orders,	1						1	1				
Laura Divall,	1								1			
Loveny Choir,	1							1				
Lowender Peran Dancers,	1										1	
Mike O'Connor,	1						1	1	1			
Mo and Ern Keast,	1							1				
Mordros,	1							1				
Mudansa,	1									1		
Myrghes an Vro,	1										1	
Myrghes Lowen a Vythyan,	1										1	1
Myrghes Morwenna,	1										1	
Naked Feet,	1						1	1				
Newquay Band,	1						1					
Otta Nye Moaz,	1										1	
Penglas,	1						1					
Penguizes,	1									1	1	
Pentorr,	1						1	1				

Performer List 1978 – 2008

	Total	Cornish Name	English name identifying as Cornish	Identification with Cornwall By Place	Personal Name	No Obvious Cornish Connection	Instrumental	Songs	Story Telling	Theatre	Dance Display	Social Dance Band
Penguizers,	1									1	1	
Pentorr,	1						1	1				
Perriners	1							1				
Peswar Den,	1							1				
Pete Berryman,	1						1	1				
Poll Pri,	1							1				
Port Isaac Singers,	1							1				
Pyba,	1						1	1				
Quylkyn Tew,	1						1	1				
Ragamuffin,	1						1	1				
Ray and Becky Delf,	1						1					
Red Army,	1							1				
Riff Raff,	1							1				
Ros Keltak,	1									1	1	1
Rosie Fierek,	1						1	1	1			
Ryb an Gwella ,	1											1
Samba Celtica,	1						1					
Scarlets Well,	1							1	1			
Soot,	1						1					
Skwardya,	1							1				
Sowena,	1						1	1				1
Spyt,	1							1				
Stampede,	1						1					
Sue Allen,	1									1		
Tamar Troyers,	1						1	1	1	1		
Tan Ha Dowr,	1										1	1
Tregajorran Troyers,	1						1	1				1
Trev and Jack i Lawrence,	1								1			
Trev Lawrence,	1								1			
Tros An Treys,	1										1	
Troyland Error,	1											1
We Be,	1						1	1				
White Noise,	1						1					
Zabuloe,	1						1	1				

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Appendix 4.14: Lowender Peran Participant Profile 2006

In October 2006 a survey was undertaken by to festival to inform future planning. Included in the questionnaire were questions aimed at creating a profile of participants. These are summarised below.

Are you visiting the festival as a performer/participant

- 30 % Performers
- 58% Participants
- 12% Void

Is this the first time you have been to the festival?

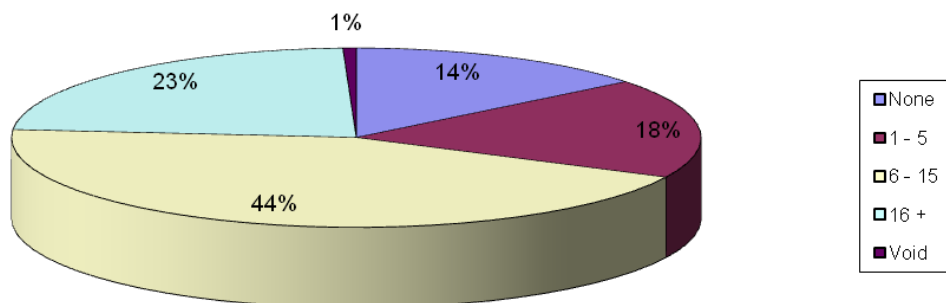
- 14% Yes
- 85% No
- 1% Void

Do you think you will visit the festival again? (Question for first time visitors)

- 100% Yes
- 0% No

How Many times have you visited Lowender Peran before?

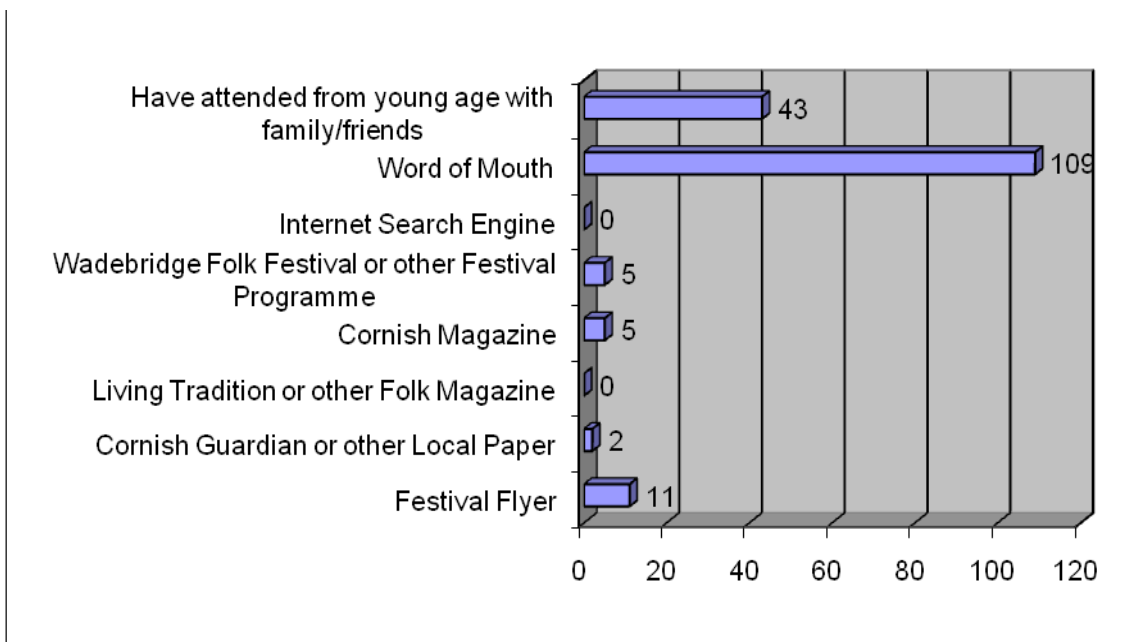
- Non
- 1 -5 times
- 6-15 times
- 16 + times



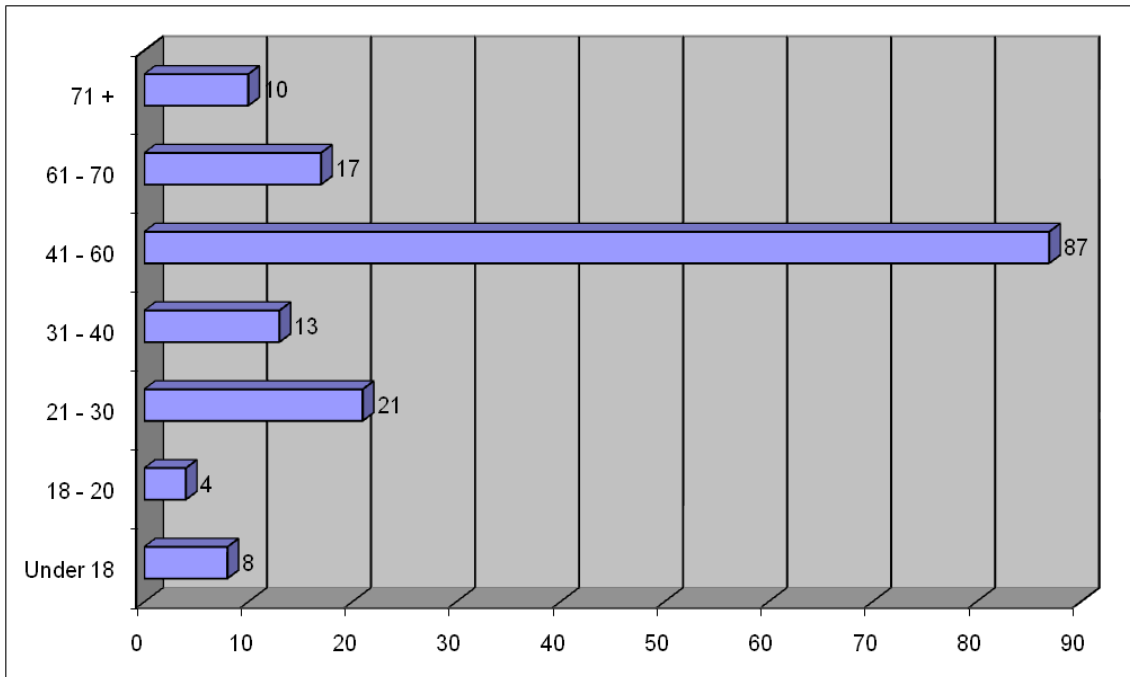
Where did you hear about the festival?

Of those who visited for the first time:

- 9% Festival Flyer
- 4% Cornish Guardian or other Local Paper
- 4% Wadebridge Folk Festival or other Folk Festival Programme
- 35% Word of Mouth



What is your age



Gender

60% Female

38% Male

2% Void

How would you describe your ethnic group?

94% White

6% Mixed

Made up in the following way:

33% White British

37% White Cornish

3% White Irish

21% White Other

1% Mixed British

3% Mixed Cornish

2% Mixed Other

What is Your Current Occupation?

51%	Managerial, administrative or professional Supervisory or clerical and junior managerial, administrative, Skilled manual workers
17%	Semi and unskilled manual workers State pensioners or widows (no other earner), casual or lowest grade workers
32%	Void

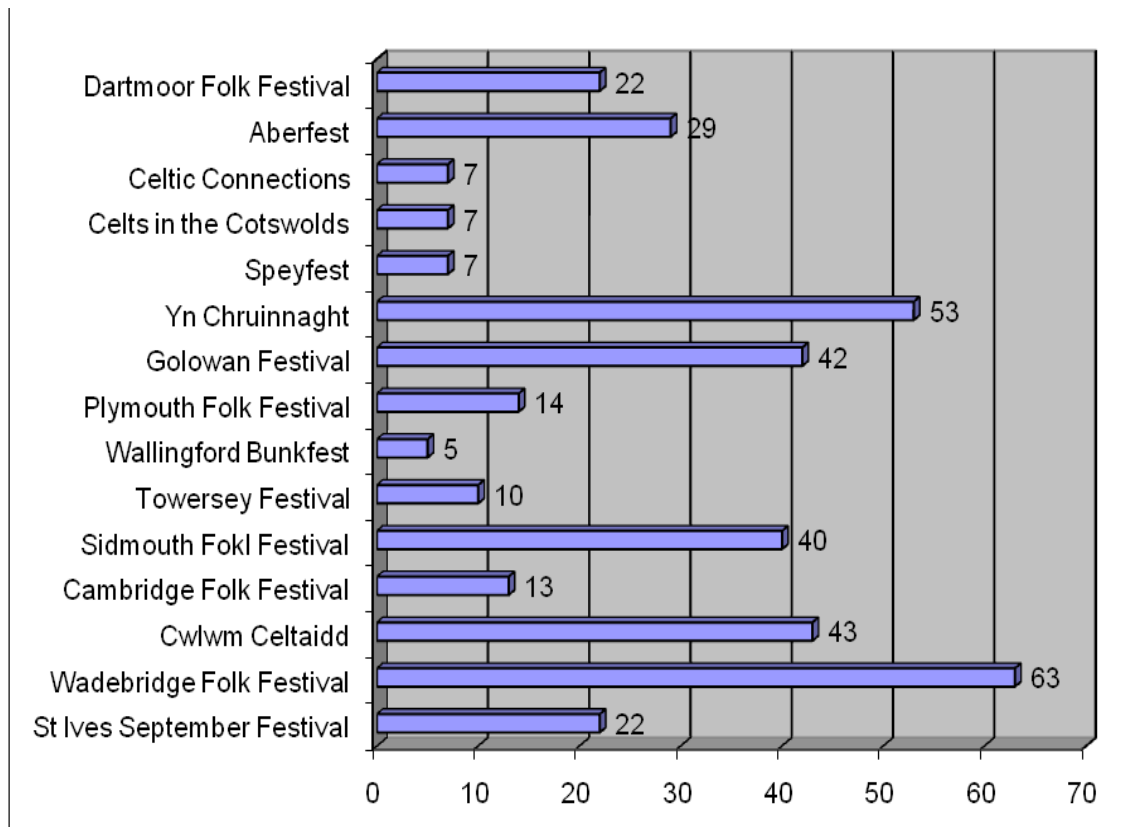
Is this the first time you have been to a folk event?

5% Yes

91% No

4% Void

Have you ever visited any of the following folk events?



Appendix 4.15 Cornish dance display costume

Some 19th Century Inspirations



Newlyn School of Artists:
Sharing Fish:
Thomas Cooper Gotch

*The Shawls are depicted with
check / tartan designs*

Newlyn School of Artists
Girl Shelling Peas:
Albert Chevallier Tayer

*The girl is shown wearing a
"Gook"*



Mary Kelynack

From postcard circa 1900

*The Newlyn Fishwife who
walked to London to petition
Queen Victoria about the work-
-ing conditions of the fishing industry*

Bal Maidens at Dolcoath circa
1890

*Wearing gooks that were nick
named "Yard of Cardboard"*



Some 21st Century interpretations of traditional costume



Two members of **Hevva** with costume based on the 19th Century West Cornwall working costume depicted by the Newlyn School of Artists.

Publicity image 2005

Kekezza wearing Gooks
Lowender Peran Festival
October 2006



Ros Keltok, Elizabeth front facing left is wearing a “Yard of Cardboard”. Lowender Peran Festival October 2005

Lowena Hoskyn dancing Cock in Britches at the Rescorla Festival June 2010.



21st Century interpretations of Cornish "National" costume



Ros Kelttek wearing Cornish Hunting Tartan waistcoats

Dewhelans Festival, Looe September 2008



Asteveryn wearing
Cornish National
Tartan Shawls

*Royal Cornwall
Show June 2004*

Appendix 4.15 Cornish dance display group costume

Contemporary styles



Kekezza

Publicity Photos 2009



Tros Ha Treys

Publicity photos 2009



Contemporary styles



Kemysk

Dance displays at Lowender Peran
October 2010 (left)

and Festival Interceltique Lorient Au-
gust 2010 (Below)



Bolingey Troyl Band and Dancers

At Festival Interceltique Lorient August
2004 (Left)

At Lowender Peran October 2009 (Below)



Glossary of terms

This glossary provides an explanation of some of the dialect terms used in this thesis together with words commonly used within the Celto-Cornish speech community. It also includes terms commonly used within the English folk revivalist speech community, which provides a useful comparison.

Term	Gloss	Anglo Cornish Dialect	Celto-Cornish Movement	Folk Revival
Bagas	Group / Band – Cornish language ¹ e.g Bagas Degol (Feast Day Band), Bagas Porthia (St Ives Band), Bagas Crowd (Fiddle Band)		✓	
Bal	Mine – Dialect and Cornish language ²	✓	✓	
Bal Maiden	Woman surface worker employed to dress ore in significant for their independent earnings.	✓		
Ballad	The term used by Child ³ and folk song collectors to describe a narrative song.		✓	✓
Barn Dance	Social dance: introduced from America in 1950s as term for informal folk dancing with a caller			✓
Bodhran	Hand Drum – see Crawdy Crawn		✓	✓
Ceili / Ceilidh	Social dance: derived from Gaelic term for a social gathering became strongly associated with dance in early twentieth century. Normally associated with a caller but some organisations simply put up a list of dances at the beginning of the evening in the expectation that people with either know the dance or “sit it out”. ⁴ Sometimes there is an expectation that there will be spots during the ceili for singers or dance displays.		✓	✓
Chain	1 Long line of people linked hand in hand 2 Figure in a dance - a form of reel for three or more people where hands are grasped left then right as people pass each other ⁵			✓

Term	Gloss	Anglo Cornish Dialect	Celto-Cornish Movement	Folk Revival
Christmas Play	The guize dance traditions were strongly associated with Christmas and sometimes referred to in dialect, especially Old Cornwall Society references as “the Christmas Play”. ⁶	√		
Clog Dance	Dance performed in wooden shoes which make a characteristic percussive sound. Styles are associated with specific areas e.g. Lancashire ⁷			√
Cloaze	Clothes - Dialect ⁸	√	√	
Come All Ye	A singing event where anyone is invited to take a turn.			√
Cotswold Morris	A group of ritual dances for men, each dance originating from a specific village in the English Costwolds.			√
Country Dance	Except where coined for a particular style of dance such as “The Scottish Country Dance Society” this is largely interchangeable with “folk dance”			√
Cousin Jack / Jinny	Cornish person living abroad	√	√	
Crowdy Crawn / Croder Croghen	Skin stretched over a circular frame to make a simple drum – doubles up as a receptacle for odds and ends	√	√	
Crowd	A Fiddle ⁹	√	√	
De Gol ./ Degol / Duggle	A feast day ¹⁰	√	√	
Dialect	Cornish dialect of English which includes Cornish language words and expressions using Cornish grammar or word order.	√	√	
Dialect Reader	Someone who reads a dialect story from a prepared text (in contrast to a droll or story teller whose performance is based on memory and improvisation).	√	√	

Term	Gloss	Anglo Cornish Dialect	Celto-Cornish Movement	Folk Revival
Display Team	Literally a group of people who rehearse a dance performance. In Cornwall this is significantly in contrast to the English tradition of describing a display team as a “side”		√	
Dosi - Do	“Face your partner across the set and change places with them passing right shoulder to right shoulder. Go backwards into your place passing left shoulder to left shoulder.” ¹¹			√
Droll / Droll Teller	Story Teller ¹²	√	√	
Durns	Door posts ¹³	√		
English / British Folk Revival	Although what constitutes a folk “revival” has been the subject of some debate it is the convention to talk in terms of the first revival in terms of the relatively select group of enthusiasts during the first half of the 20 th Century and the second revival as a much wider movement in the second. The extent to which this is an English or a British revival is debatable.			√
Faddy	Old term for Furry – processional dance ¹⁴	√		
Fish Jouster / Fish wife	Women who sold fish, popular as images for the Newlyn School of artists and stylised with fish basket, black bonnet shaped to help carry the basket with a band across the forehead and a scarlet red or tartan cloak.	√	√	
Flora / Floral	Flora Day at Helston. Flora and Floral often used instead of Furry	√	√	
Fooche	To Throw out / to shove ¹⁵	√	√	
Fool	A introducer or interrupter in a Morris dance or mummings play			√

Term	Gloss	Anglo Cornish Dialect	Celto-Cornish Movement	Folk Revival
Foot Dancing	Alternative dialect term for scoot dancing ¹⁶⁾	√		
Furry	Processional Dance ¹⁷	√	√	
Gaukum	A fool or a clown, derived from Cornish “Goky” meaning fool. ¹⁸	√	√	
Geysor	Fool / Jester possible antecedent for Guizer In Nance’s dictionary ¹⁹ Ges and Gesyor are jest and jester, Gys is fashion, custom guise See “Guizer” below.		√	
Gook	Kind of Sun Bonnet featuring in photographs of Bal Maidens but also used in other industries such as farming. Courtney spells as Gowk ²⁰	√	√	
Gorsedh (Cornish) Gorseth (alternative spelling)	A college of bards affiliated to the Gorsedds of Wales and Brittany which has the broad aim of promoting Cornwall’s language, culture and Celtic identity.		√	
Guize Dance / Geeze Dance / Guizer / Goosey dance	Dancers who disguise themselves covering faces in soot or blacking, wearing a veil or wearing a mask who process from venue to venue where they sing, perform a dance, or perform a play Guisers are a universal custom and an obvious descriptive for any custom where people dress up or disguise themselves. In Cornish dialect this becomes Guize, Geeze or Goosey dancing and there may be an etymological relationship with the Cornish for Fool as Jago suggested: “Guise Dance: A kind of comical or Bal masque at Christmas. Polwhele calls is the guise or disguise dance, for so the Cornish pronounce guise (geeze). This dance answers to the mummers of Devon, and the Morrice dancers of Oxfordshire &c. In Celtic Cornish ges, means mockery, a jest.” ²¹	√	√	

Term	Gloss	Anglo Cornish Dialect	Celto-Cornish Movement	Folk Revival
Hay	A Reel, a figure of eight shape in a dance			√
Hobby Horse	Mock horse costume / shape worn by a mummer or Morris dancer			√
Jan	John – Dialect eg. Uncle Jan Trenoodle	√	√	
Keenly Lode	A promising lode of ore ²²	√	√	
Kernewek	Cornish Language		√	
Lancers	Country Dance – part of quadrilles – “sets”			√
Lapyor	Step Dancer in dialect, Lappior and Lappiores appear with the Latin gloss Saltator and Saltatrix respectively in the Vocabularium Cornicum ²³ ,	√	√	
Lattapouch	A specific step dance recalled by Edward Veale as danced in 1895 ²⁴ . Known to Courtney as “an old Cornish dance” and spelt as Letterpooch ²⁵			
Lowender	Festival ²⁶ e.g. Lowender Peran		√	
Mayer	Those taking part in the May Day Processions at Padstow	√	√	√
Mazey Day	The Saturday of Penzance’s Golowan festival of music and dance - Mazed is bewildered ²⁷ and Maze Monday was notoriously the day after the miners pay day when they were hung-over.	√	√	
Mock Mayor	A mock mayor elected to preside over Misrule on a feast day, sometimes part of a mock court. ²⁸		√	√
Mouth Music / lyricising / diddling	Singing for dancing with either nonsense words or just sounds.		√	√

Term	Gloss	Anglo Cornish Dialect	Celto-Cornish Movement	Folk Revival
Mummers Play	An improvised folk play where characters like St George, Dragons, Robin hood, and “The doctor” act out a death and resurrection scenario usually drawing on contemporary issues or gossip shared with the audience.		√	√
Nos Lowen / Noswyth Lowen	Night / night time festival, literally happy night borrowed by Nance from the Welsh <i>Noswaith Llawen</i> and the Breton <i>Fest Noz</i> ²⁹		√	
Obby Oss	The Hobby Horse featured in Padstow’s May Day Festivities.	√	√	√
Pen Glas /Glaz	Horses Skull on a pole used in the Penzance area historically ³⁰ and revived by Cornish Dance display groups in 1980s and the Golowan festival in 1990s.	√	√	
Polka	A style of dance in 2/2 time which originated in Bohemia c. 1830 and quickly spread across Europe. It features couples and fairly fast movement.		√	√
Processional Dance	A dance formation with dancers in pairs, one pair behind each other, in Cornwall this is classically the Furry dance.		√	√
Quadrille Set	A quadrille is a style of dance popular in the nineteenth century country houses based on a figure of four couples in a square.			√
Racca	Meal time entertainment, appears with the Latin gloss <i>comedia</i> in as the <i>Vocubularium Cornicum</i> . ³¹	√	√	
Rapper	A Style of dance from the North East of England each dancer has two “Sword” blades with swivel handles at either end with the other end held by another dancer. Involves elaborate hard shoe footwork and is seen as industrial in origin.			√

Term	Gloss	Anglo Cornish Dialect	Celto-Cornish Movement	Folk Revival
Recorder (Old Cornwall)	In addition to the usual offices of Chairmen, secretary and treasurer each Old Cornwall Society has a “recorder” whose task it is to make records of folklore, dialect and and historical matters relating to their area.		√	
Reel / Three hand reel– type of dance in Cornwall	In Cornwall a Scoot dance with more than one person is often referred to as a reel or three hand reel, regardless of the choreography, number of dancers or the type of music played. Mr Martins reel for example is a circular dance to a hornpipe rhythm.	√	√	
Reel – dance term	A figure of eight movement by dancers.		√	√
Right / Left hand Star	Alison Davey et al. <i>Scoot Dances, Troyls, Furrys and Tea Treats: The Cornish Dance Tradition</i> . (London: Francis Boutle & Co, 2009) p 59 “For a right hand star, dancers place right hands together at shoulder height and dance clockwise. This is often followed by the left hand star, where dancers take left hands and turn anti-clockwise”.			√
Scoot dance / scoots	Hard shoe step dance from Cornwall defined by the footwear. Scoots are the metal plates fixed to the heel and toe of shoes to make them longer lasting. They make a satisfying clack which can be used to provide rhythmic accompaniment to a melody. Appears as “Scute” in Jago’s dictionary. ³²	√	√	
Serpent	The serpent dance featured in Tea Treats ³³	√	√	
Session	Music or singing session typically in a pub, festival or party.		√	√
Sets	Generally referring to Irish set dancing involving a quadrille formation of dancers, four couples in a square “set”.			√

Term	Gloss	Anglo Cornish Dialect	Celto-Cornish Movement	Folk Revival
Shallal	A processional band playing improvised percussion instruments – historically an “infernal band” that sets out to serenade victims. – a serenade of pots and kettles. ³⁴	√	√	
Shout	Contemporary term for a (pub) singing session .		√	
Side	Term for a Dance display team.			√
Step Dance	Dance with emphasis on rhythms provided by feet – some cross over with tap dancing. ³⁵		√	√
Story Teller	Genre of folk entertainer telling stories.		√	√
Tea Treat	Party / feast held during summer months, organised by village, local chapel or church.	√	√	
Troyl / Troil / Troyll	An informal folk dance, barn dance or literally a fish cellar dance in late Victorian and Edwardian Newquay. ³⁶ Term is rooted in the Cornish for a reel, a turn or a spiral. ³⁷	√	√	
Troylie	Dialect variation of troyl used to describe dancing games “we’m off to troylie” (Joy Stephenson).	√	√	
Wrestle	Wrestle – Dialect	√	√	

Notes

¹ Robert Morton Nance, *Cornish-English Dictionary*. (Marazion, Worden, 1955).

² Robert Morton Nance, *Cornish-English Dictionary* .

³ Francis James Child, *English and Scottish Ballads*, (Boston, Little, Brown and Co / Moore Wiltach, Keys and Co,1857).

⁴ John P Cullaine, *Encyclopaedia of Ireland*, (Dublin Gill and Macmillan. 2003), p. 176.

⁵ Alison Davey et al. *Scot Dances, Troyls, Furrys and Tea Treats: The Cornish Dance Tradition*, (London: Francis Boutle & Co, 2009), p. 59.

⁶ Eg “Newlyn Christmas Play”, *Old Cornwall*, 1953, vol. 5, no. 4, p. 156.

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- ⁷ Caroline Radcliffe, "The Ladies Clog Dancing Contest of 1898", in *Step Change : New Views on Traditional Dance*. Ed Georgina Boyse, (London: Francis Boutle, 2001).
- ⁸ Fred W. P. Jago, "Glossary" *The Ancient Language and the Dialect of Cornwall* (Truro, Netherton and Worth, 1882).
- ⁹ Jago's Glossary.
- ¹⁰ Jago's Glossary,
- ¹¹ Alison Davey et al. *Scoot Dances*, p. 58.
- ¹² Jago's Glossary.
- ¹³ Ken Phillips, *A Glossary of Cornish Dialect*, Padstow, Tabb House, 1998).
- ¹⁴ Polwhele, Richard. *The History of Cornwall*. (London, Cadell and Davies, 1803), p. 138, also Jago's Glossary.
- ¹⁵ Jago's Glossary.
- ¹⁶ Michael Tangy, Redruth Old Cornwall Society Recorder, collected from fishermen in 1974, correspondence with author, 22/07/10.
- ¹⁷ Jago's Glossary.
- ¹⁸ William Sandys *Specimens of Cornish Provincial Dialect Selected and Arranged by Uncle Jan Trenoodle*. (London: J.R. Smith, 1846).
- ¹⁹ Robert Morton Nance, *Cornish-English Dictionary*.
- ²⁰ Margaret Ann Courtney, and Thomas Q Couch, *Glossary of Words in Use in Cornwall: West Cornwall by Miss M.A. Courtney: East Cornwall by Thomas Q. Couch*, English Dialect Society, (London, Trübner & Co, 1880).
Also in Jago's Glossary.
- ²¹ Jago's Glossary.
- ²² Margaret Courtney *Glossary of Words in Use in Cornwall* .
- ²³ Jago's Glossary, *The Ancient Language* ibid , also Vocabularium Cornicum.
- ²⁴ Edward Veale , *The Notebook Of Edward Veale*, Newquay Old Cornwall Society Museum, Councils Offices, Marcus Hill, Newquay.
- ²⁵ Margaret Courtney *Glossary of Words in Use in Cornwall*;
Also in Jago's Glossary.
- ²⁶ Robert Morton Nance, *Cornish-English Dictionary*.
- ²⁷ Margaret Courtney *Glossary of Words in Use in Cornwall*.
- ²⁸ W T Martin, "Mock Mayors in Cornwall", *Old Cornwall*, Vol 1, no 3, 1926. Also participant observation Polperro Mock Mayor, 3rd Saturday in June 2005 – 2010.
- ²⁹ Robert Morton Nance, *Cornish-English Dictionary*.
- ³⁰ Richard Edmonds, *The Land's End District : Its Antiquities, Natural History, Natural Phenomena and Scenery*, (Penzance, John Russell Smith, 1862).
- ³¹ Vocabularium Cornicum, Cottonian Library, Oxford.

³² Jago's Glossary.

³³ Alison and Merv Davey, *Clay Country Customs*, (St Austell, Rescorla festival project 2008).

³⁴ Jago's Glossary.

³⁵ Caroline Radcliffe, "The Ladies Clog Dancing Contest of 1898".

³⁶ Teague - Husband, S. *Old Newquay*. (Newquay, F E Williams, 1923), p. 20.

M Haigh, M and D Woolgrove, (Newquay, G.J. Publications, 1974), p. 15, Edward Veale , *The Notebook*.

³⁷ William Borlase, *Antiquities, Historical and Monumental of Cornwall*, (Oxford W. Jackson, 1758 - second enlarged edition 1769), p. 459.

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