

## 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 <sup>1</sup> 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” <sup>2</sup> 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)<sup>3</sup>, 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.”<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

Davis<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> "The extent to which he actually collected these terms in Gaelic from performers as opposed to constructing them himself is not clear but Gailey<sup>8</sup> 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".<sup>9</sup>

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.<sup>10</sup>

Rieuwerts<sup>11</sup> 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".<sup>12</sup> 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".<sup>13</sup>

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 Boyse<sup>14</sup> 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,<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup>

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.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup>

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'Reilly<sup>19</sup> 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*.<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup>

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”<sup>22</sup> was not sustained. Gammon admires Lloyd’s seminal “Folk Song In England”<sup>23</sup> 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....”.<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup>

### ***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*.<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup>

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 Bunting<sup>28</sup> through to Cecil sharp<sup>29</sup>, 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.<sup>30</sup> Although both he and Lomax pointed out that musical conventions were sometimes challenged by music collected from oral tradition.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup>

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.<sup>34</sup>

Ling<sup>35</sup> 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.<sup>36</sup> 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.<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup>

Brennan's description of the development of Irish dancing tradition provides a further example of this common cultural pool in action.<sup>39</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup> 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".<sup>41</sup>

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.<sup>42</sup> 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".<sup>43</sup> The BBC series *Folk Britannia*<sup>44</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> 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 aural transmission 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.<sup>46</sup>

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.<sup>47</sup> *My Grandfather Clock* appears as *My Grandfather's Ferret*<sup>48</sup> and *Camptown Races* is adapted as *Yogi Bear* to provide a bawdy rugby song.<sup>49</sup>

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.<sup>50</sup> The element of a "peoples protest", however, came as a result of Lady Astor's parliamentary dismissal of the British 8<sup>th</sup> 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 *Lili Marlene* which were eventually amalgamated as the song *The D Day Dodgers*.<sup>51</sup> 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.”<sup>52</sup>

### ***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.<sup>53</sup> In 1983, Hobsbawm and Ranger<sup>54</sup> 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”.<sup>55</sup> 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”.<sup>56</sup> 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<sup>57</sup> but it was an article entitled *May Cecil Sharp Be Praised?* in 1982,<sup>58</sup> and the publication of *Fakesong* in 1985,<sup>59</sup> 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.

Boyce 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.<sup>60</sup> This criticism of the early revivalists encouraged a vigorous response from some commentators such as Onderdonk<sup>61</sup>, Brocken<sup>62</sup> and Bearman<sup>63</sup> 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.”<sup>64</sup>

Bearman’s admission of defeat in finding a viable scientific and historical definition for the phenomena of folk<sup>65</sup> 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.<sup>66</sup>

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.<sup>67</sup>

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.<sup>68</sup>

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,<sup>69</sup> 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.<sup>70</sup> 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.<sup>71</sup>

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”.<sup>72</sup> 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.<sup>73</sup>

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.<sup>74</sup>

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.<sup>75</sup> 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 locations<sup>76</sup> but it has been subject to refining. In her study of the Kolomyika in 1992, Nahachewsky<sup>77</sup> 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.<sup>78</sup>

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.<sup>79</sup> 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.<sup>80</sup> 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.<sup>81</sup>

### **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”.<sup>82</sup> 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 Europeade<sup>83</sup>, 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.<sup>84</sup> 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.<sup>85</sup>

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 movement<sup>86</sup> which has its roots in the Celticism of Bunting, Macpherson, Renan and Arnold.<sup>87</sup> Although some of the songs recorded by Kennedy are distinctive to Cornwall in the form in which he collected them,<sup>88</sup> 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.<sup>89</sup>

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.<sup>90</sup> 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.<sup>91</sup>

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.<sup>92</sup> 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.<sup>93</sup> 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.<sup>94</sup>

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.<sup>95</sup> 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”.<sup>96</sup> Deacon developed this discussion to advocate the model of Critical Discourse Analysis devised by Fairclough<sup>97</sup> 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”.<sup>98</sup>

Stets and Burke<sup>99</sup> 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.<sup>100</sup> 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.<sup>101</sup>

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.<sup>102</sup>

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”.<sup>103</sup> 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.<sup>104</sup>

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”<sup>105</sup> 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”.<sup>106</sup> 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 Halliday<sup>107</sup> through to Payton<sup>108</sup>, Stoye<sup>109</sup> and Deacon<sup>110</sup> 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.<sup>111</sup> 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.<sup>112</sup> 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”.<sup>113</sup> 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 Hearthside Stories*<sup>114</sup>, 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.<sup>115</sup> 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”.<sup>116</sup>

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.<sup>117</sup> 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.<sup>118</sup> 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.<sup>119</sup> 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.<sup>120</sup> 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”.<sup>121</sup> 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.<sup>122</sup> 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.<sup>123</sup> 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.<sup>124</sup> 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.<sup>125</sup> 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.<sup>126</sup> 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 Nation<sup>127</sup>, 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.<sup>128</sup>

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.<sup>129</sup>

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 acolytes<sup>130</sup> to grass roots activists like Watson, Miners and Thomas.<sup>131</sup> Watson worked closely with Nance in collecting dialect words for use in a revived form of the Cornish language.<sup>132</sup> 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.<sup>133</sup> Watson left school at 13, worked as a gardener and was entirely self-educated, which reportedly resulted in him being ignored by Jenner.<sup>134</sup> 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.<sup>135</sup> Since that date a number a 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.”<sup>136</sup> By the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> 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.<sup>137</sup>

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,<sup>138</sup> 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 paper .....showed little wish to recognise Cornwall’s distinct position or the strength of its cultural identity.<sup>139</sup>

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"<sup>140</sup> 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.

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- <sup>1</sup> 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.
- <sup>2</sup> 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.
- <sup>3</sup> 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.
- <sup>4</sup> 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.
- <sup>5</sup> 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".
- <sup>6</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup> March 2010.
- <sup>7</sup> Edward Bunting, *The ancient music of Ireland*, (Dublin, Hodges and Smith, 1840), p.28.
- <sup>8</sup> Alan Gailey, "The Nature of Tradition", *Folklore*, 100(2) 1989: pp. 143-161.
- <sup>9</sup> 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.
- <sup>10</sup> Dairmuid Ó Giolláin, *Locating Irish folklore*, p. 94.

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- <sup>11</sup> 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.
- <sup>12</sup> 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.
- <sup>13</sup> Cecil J Sharp, *English folk-song : some conclusions*, (London, Simpkin & co, 1907) p. 4.
- <sup>14</sup> Georgina Boyse, *Imagined Village ,Culture, Ideology and the English Folk Revival*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press ,1993), p.15.
- <sup>15</sup> Georgina Boyes, "The lady that is with you" In *Step change: new views on traditional dance*. (London, Francis Boutle, 2001), p. 171.
- <sup>16</sup> 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.
- <sup>17</sup> Maude Karpeles, "Definition of Folk Music", pp. 6 -7.
- <sup>18</sup> 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).
- <sup>19</sup> 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
- <sup>20</sup> 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.
- <sup>21</sup> Michael Verrier, "Folk Club or Epic Theatre", in *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*, ed. Ian Russel and David Atkinson, pp. 108 – 114.
- <sup>22</sup> 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.
- <sup>23</sup> A.L. (Bert) Lloyd, *Folk Song In England*. (London, Lawrence and Wishart,1967)
- <sup>24</sup> Vic Gammon, "One Hundred Years Of The Folk Song Society", in *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*, p. 22.

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

<sup>26</sup> 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.

<sup>27</sup> 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.

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

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

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

<sup>31</sup> 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.

<sup>32</sup> 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).

<sup>33</sup> 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.

<sup>34</sup> 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, *Scot Dances, Troys, Furrys and Tea Treats: The Cornish Dance Tradition*, (London: Francis Boutle & Co, 2009), p. 132. In

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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.

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

<sup>36</sup> 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”<sup>1<sup>st</sup></sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> 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.

<sup>37</sup> 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.

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

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

<sup>40</sup> 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 – 25<sup>th</sup> October 2010

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

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

<sup>43</sup> 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).

<sup>44</sup> 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.

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<sup>45</sup> 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).

<sup>46</sup> “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.

<sup>47</sup> “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 20<sup>th</sup> January 2011. Has three archive audio recordings of this song

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

<sup>49</sup> 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](http://www.traditionalmusic.co.uk/folk-song-lyrics/Yogi_Bear_Song.htm) Accessed 28<sup>th</sup> Jan 2011.

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

<sup>51</sup> “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.

<sup>52</sup> "The Real D Day Dodgers" Ibid.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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<sup>61</sup> 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.

<sup>62</sup> 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).

<sup>63</sup> 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.

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>69</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup> Century France and discusses its probable origins in Rome or the Basque country.

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

<sup>71</sup> 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.

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

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

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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.

<sup>74</sup> Sabina B Magliocco, John Bishop. *Oss Tales*.

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

<sup>76</sup> 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.

<sup>77</sup> 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.

<sup>78</sup> 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.

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

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

<sup>81</sup> 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, 16<sup>th</sup> – 20<sup>th</sup> June 2008

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

<sup>83</sup> 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.

<sup>84</sup> Jan Ling, *A history of European folk music*. Ibid.

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

<sup>86</sup> 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.

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

<sup>88</sup> For example Boscastle Fair, Camborne Hill and Lamorna, see appendix 1.4.

<sup>89</sup> 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

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

<sup>91</sup> *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 Mummings 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.

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

<sup>93</sup> "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.

<sup>94</sup> Bernard Deacon, "Cornishness and Englishness: Nested Identities or Incompatible Ideologies?" *ibid*

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

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

<sup>97</sup> Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, (New York, Longman, 1995)

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

<sup>99</sup> 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>

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Accessed 13th November 2007.

<sup>100</sup> 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.

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

<sup>102</sup> 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, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition) ; Smith, A. *The Ethnic Origin of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986).

<sup>103</sup> 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.

<sup>104</sup> Kathleen A. Bolland. "Chaos Theory", p 370.

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>111</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> November 2007.

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- <sup>112</sup> Philip Payton, *Cornwall : A History*, p. 179.
- <sup>113</sup> Bernard Deacon, "A Concise History of Cornwall", p.124.
- <sup>114</sup> William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthsides Stories of West Cornwall*. (Penzance, Deare and Sons, 1873)
- <sup>115</sup> 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).
- <sup>116</sup> Bernard Deacon, "A Concise History of Cornwall", p.136.
- <sup>117</sup> 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.
- <sup>118</sup> 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) .
- <sup>119</sup> 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.
- <sup>120</sup> Philip Payton, *Cornwall : A History*, pp. 207 -236.
- <sup>121</sup> A dialect term for Cornish emigrants see glossary p. 479.
- <sup>122</sup> 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.
- <sup>123</sup> 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.
- <sup>124</sup> Bickford Holland Cohan Dickinson, *Sabine Baring-Gould: Squarson, Writer and Folklorist, 1834-1924*. (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1970).

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<sup>125</sup> Philip Payton, *Cornwall: A History* p.237 - 267

<sup>126</sup> Philip Payton, *Cornwall: A History*, *ibid.*

<sup>127</sup> 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).

<sup>128</sup> 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.

<sup>129</sup> 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.

<sup>130</sup> 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.

<sup>131</sup> 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.

<sup>132</sup> 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).

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

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

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

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

<sup>137</sup> 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 .

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

<sup>139</sup> Bernard Deacon, "A Concise History of Cornwall", p. 229.

<sup>140</sup> Kathleen A. Bolland. "Chaos Theory".