Chapter 10: Digi-Folk and Cyber-Celts: *the demise of the folk process or a new location*?

In considering contemporary locations for oral folk tradition in Cornwall, the impact of new communication technologies and the development of the internet invite examination. Do the digital worlds of easy access to recording and recording technology, global communication and the advent of the "Network Society" represent a new location for the folk process or its demise?

Commentators such as Jones[1], Barney[2] and Robins[3] observe that although the internet and associated information technologies are hailed as the information revolution, the cultural and technological foundation for this are embedded in the past. This chapter takes the position that the internet, although characterised by a novel interactivity, is part of a process of developing communications, which can be traced back through analogue recording technologies, television, the radio to the invention of the printing press and ultimately the written text. For much of the twentieth century folk tradition was embraced by a counter cultural, counter technological discourse, it is argued here, however, that information technology was, and is, an essential ingredient that fuelled the actual process of oral folk tradition. The folk process is thus a social phenomenon that will be encouraged rather than made obsolescent by the multiplex and interactive communication opportunities offered by the internet.

This chapter considers the impact of new information technologies on folk tradition. It looks at whether increased interconnectivity has changed communities and the way in which they engage with the process of folk tradition.

Communication Technology

The relationship between (communication) technology and oral folk tradition is a strange one, for much of the formative years of folk song, dance and custom research the two were seen as inimical. This was certainly the position taken by Sharp[4] in 1907, and as late as the 1990s Lind[5] firmly linked folk music to peasant society rather than a modern, technological, environment. Yet the evidence points to a position where folk process has thrived on and fed off the opportunities provided by new technologies. Atkinson[6], for example, shows that the printed word in formal publications may have kept a fossilised record of folk songs but the broadside ballads were an integral part of transmission and change. Radio and television brought folk tradition to a wider audience and encouraged the development of a specific genre of popular music from it.

Verrier describes the influence of the BBC "Radio Ballads" broadcast in the 1950s on the evolution of performance style in the folk clubs, which in turn contributed to and encouraged the process of oral folk tradition. [7] Vinyl, cassette tapes and CDs, may fossilise performance at a given point in time but there is no evidence that this has inhibited the process of oral folk tradition. Consider the examples within Cornish tradition of, *Maggie May* and *Little Lize*. *Maggie May* originates from American popular music culture as a composition by Charles Blamphin. [8] It was first published as sheet music in Chicago in 1870 and found its way to Cornwall that same year. [9] It was reconstructed by Dunstan in 1932 from the partial memory of one of his singers [10] and eventually found its way into the repertoire of Cornish singers such as John Bolitho of Bude [11] and Charlie Pitman of Padstow [12]. *Little Lize* followed a similar trajectory, starting out as part of American popular music culture in the repertoire of a Gospel Group called the Deep Rover Boys but in this case, it arrived in Cornwall via a vinyl LP rather than in print. [13] Both songs are now regularly sung at sessions, appear on song sheets and have Cornish translations. The information "revolution" does have an impact on our understanding of this process, however. In 1980 it took a radio broadcast and an interview with a respondent to track down the origin of *Little Lize* but in 2010 this information is readily available using an internet search engine.

There is also a sense in which technology and performance within folk tradition can be hybridised, for example when recorded music is used for folk dancing. Here there is interaction between a fixed element of performance i.e. the recorded music, and a living form that has the potential to vary according to the reflexive and reflective influences of the moment i.e. the dance. There is no relationship between the two groups of performers so that dancers and musicians cannot influence each other with respect to the speed, rhythm and length of the dance and an element of the folk process is thus lost. This issue can be explored by examining three case studies that progressively increase dependence upon technology:

> *Case Study 1* (Participant observation 16/10/2009)
> During the Lowender Peran festival 2009 the Christine Wilson Highland Dancers temporarily discarded their resident piper, Ben Gibbs and collaborated with Mabon, a folk rock band, for a dance display. They choreographed traditional steps and rehearsed their performance using a CD of the band in question but their live performance with the band had all the elements of continuity, change,

reflectivity and reflexivity associated with folk tradition as a process. The dancers used steps and moves from highland dancing tradition, but adapted them reflectively to suit music that was more folk rock in style than the solo bagpipes normally used. Their arrangement was reflexive in that the desire to present a display in this way was influenced by contemporary dance styles associated with popular music and productions such as "River Dance".

Case Study 2 (Participant observation 30/05/10)

At the International Folk Dance Festival in Bromley in May 2010 the Fiona Ray School of Highland Dancing provided a display of a traditional Scottish hornpipe together with some original dance choreographed by members of the group. For the hornpipe they used a CD recorded by Ben Gibbs (as above) and for the choreographed piece a CD by Samba Celtica. Although there was a pipe band and pipers available at the festival this was understandable, in the first place, Gibbs' level of playing was exceptionally high and in the second they were able to rehearse their performance to synchronise with every last grace note on the pipes. Similarly, as far as Samba Celtic was concerned, there was no possibility of this youth dance group being able to commission or pay for a band to play at this level for their performance. There is a sense here where tradition and live music may have lost out to art house and commercial performance but at the same time continuity of a tradition is supported in that a group with a different expectation of music and dance have incorporated one with the other.

Case Study 3 (Participant observation 16/02/10)

During a break in rehearsals, some members of Cornish youth dance display group, Tan Ha Dowr, placed a mobile phone on the floor and set it up to play an MP3 track from a favourite "boy band". They then proceeded to adapt steps they had just learned to this music and choreographed a dance around the mobile phone. Their teacher / choreographer was struck by the parallels between this and lattapouch, a traditional dance / game that was performed around an old shoe.[14] It was also seen as an opportunity to challenge orthodoxy and engage these young people with Cornish folk dance tradition in a way that was relevant to them. This is an example of

reflexivity on the part of the dancers and reflectivity on the part of the
teacher who saw creative choreographic opportunities arising from
their idea.

In all three examples, young people have engaged in folk tradition and have
presented it in a creative way relevant to their contemporary cultural experience.
McLaughlin and McLoone describe this as hybridity and give the example of Horslips, a
1970s dance band who incorporated traditional elements in order to make the music
easier to dance to:

> On one hand there were audiences composed of (largely
> middle-class) 'hippies', interested in the psychedelic aspects of the
> music and performance and who came along to watch, to listen and
> to be impressed. On the other hand, traditionalists were drawn to the
> jigs and reels (and frequently complained when the band did not play
> enough of these). Added to this, the Horslips hybrid certainly
> offended folk 'purists' who were not only angered by the apparent
> dilution of traditional form but also by the hedonistic and excessive
> elements that were now being attached to folk modes.[15]

Using the process model of folk tradition two features can be understood about
these examples Firstly, that the centre of gravity of the performance has moved away
from a second existence location of tradition towards one that is more art / popular
music orientated. Secondly, it shows us that the reason it moves away from tradition is
not due to the style of music being Folk Rock or Samba but to the fact that the music
has become fixed. In the case of Mabon and Horslips the dancers and musicians still
had the opportunity to interact and change regardless of the art / popular music
influences.

When the band was replaced by a recording, however, this opportunity for
interaction and change was lost. Karaoke, where a singer is provided with the written
words to a song and a pre-recorded backing track is recognisably quite distanced from
the folk process and it can be argued that dancing to pre-recorded music is heading in
this direction.   Mclaughlin and McLoone's example shows that hybridity in live music is
also subject to criticism from some quarters.   In each of these examples, however, the
purpose of the exercise was to draw upon folk tradition to provide a positive experience

for both the performers and the audience and any measure of value or criticism would need to be made against these criteria.

We have seen in the history of "Little Lize" above an example of new material being introduced to the traditional repertoire by means of a vinyl recording. Another dimension of recorded music as part of the folk process is its role in transmitting material already within traditional repertoire music from one performer to another. Portelli[16] shows us the importance of understanding text as a form of mediation governed by relationships and language. He also explains that oral material recorded mechanically can be considered as text in the same way as that recorded in writing. When text is recorded mechanically an important element of mediation is the recorders decision about who and what to record. To understand the influence of recorded music on folk tradition it is therefore necessary to consider the nature of mediation that takes place. In the early stages of recording technology it was relatively expensive and cumbersome and not practical as a way of capturing an informal singing or instrumental session. As it progressed through cassette players, recordable CDs and IPods to the point where the mobile phone that many people carry as a matter of course will also provide an audiovisual recording so the form of mediation changed.

Initially mediation took place in the form of the recorder's decision about who and what to record or the performer choosing what material to record in order to transmit to another person. The latter in particular fits in well with the second existence / reflective model of folk tradition. A good example of this is a cassette tape recorded by Tony Snell in 1978 and circulated to friends interested in Cornish traditional music.[17] Here he mediates by suggesting suitable material for Cornish folk music performers and recording this music on the cassette. This continues to be common practice among traditional performers who prefer this to music score.[18]

Mediation passes into the hands of the recipient with the use of IPod and mobile phone technology, which is likely to carried habitually by the user as a matter so that the decision to record something is much more spontaneous. Technology has another impact on the folk process here in that a person would normally need to be exposed to a song or a tune on a number of occasions at different sessions in order to acquire it as a repertoire item but with instant recording opportunities the music can immediately be taken home to learn. It is thus argued that, apart from a brief digital existence, the tune or song remains within oral tradition and continues to be subject to the same processes of memory and variation. If recording technology has extended the opportunity for

experiential learning within the folk process then internet technology extends this still further.

Homo Interneticus[19]

The theme of contemporary commentary on the developing information technologies polarises between their commercial and controlling role in contrast to the anarchy and freedom of information aspired to by early enthusiasts.[20] For some, as Barney suggests, "the advent and the spread of network technology brings with it the promise of rejuvenation of community engagement and solidarity, a promise denied by preceding technologies of mass communication such as print and television, which lacked the capacity for multiplex, interactive communication provided by the internet."[21] Critics such as Webster express concern about unequal access to, and control over information resources and their relationship to "social forms of organisation, their centrality to structures of political power, and their role in the cultural logic of consumer capitalism."[22] For Folk tradition and the culture associated with it, however, there seems to be a relationship of synergy with internet technology. Perhaps the anarchy of information offered by the internet blends well with the chaotic way in which folk tradition draws down influences from the wider world.

One very specific way in which the internet supports traditional music making is through connectivity. For example; an instrumental music or singers sessions which do not have any formal organisation except that it becomes known via an informal network that on a certain date people are likely to turn up for a session. With the aid of the internet devices such as emailing lists and social networking sites the extent of this network can be increased considerably.[23] Web sites are also a source of information connecting people to events for example the number of "hits" on the An Daras web site listing of St Piran's Tide events increases significantly in the weeks immediately prior to the festival.[24]

Just as recording technology enables singers and musicians to transmit their material beyond immediate audience contact so the internet amplifies and personalises this ability. Here the internet offers a spectrum of engagement ranging from webcasts[25] and downloadable music,[26] which extends the medium of traditional publishing, to file sharing and discussion websites[27] where music and experience is shared in a more individual way. The www.youtube.com site provides a good example of how experiences can be shared and what the impact is for the folk process. This site facilitates the uploading of video clips to the internet and links with search engines so

that typing an event or band name will provide viewing of any relevant material that has been uploaded. This has an interesting impact upon music techniques as an enthusiast is able to record footage of a particular musician's technique and share this quickly with anyone who is interested in learning from this. This contrasts with video footage mediated for popular entertainment, which would not find such a narrow focus commercially viable.

The accessibility and immediacy of a medium like this becomes apparent with an example like the video footage taken of the *Snail Creep* and the Cornish Dance Group "Tan Ha Dowr" at the Rescorla Festival in June 2009. Footage of this was uploaded by the evening of the performance[28] with the result that it was immediately available to anyone with an internet connection who typed in key words to the www.youtube.com search engine.

The interactivity offered by developing technologies has also introduced a new dimension to discussion of what constitutes identity and community. Writers such as Turkle[29] saw the internet as providing an opportunity for alternative realities. She suggested that games based around multi-user domains were an example of the realisation of the post modernism of Foucalt and Lacan, where "...the self is multiple, fluid, and constituted in interaction with machine connections; it is made and transformed by language..".[30] The point being that the internet would provide users with an opportunity to create multiple on line identities for themselves. Fifteen years later, however, with reference to the commercial games industry, she felt that "we have not been nourished by what we created but rather consumed by it".[31] Fanning, perhaps predictably as his Napster web project was closed due to copyright problems, also voiced concerns that "the lack of rules and regulations means that those with the most resources can enforce their authority".[32]

Shirkey takes the impact of the internet on identity a stage further by drawing a parallel with the invention of the printing press.[33] He suggests that both were expected to impart mediated information from the top down as a form of control but in practice promoted creativity, mass interaction and diversity. Importantly, Shirky emphasises the productive and participative nature of the internet in contrast to the passive and consumptive nature of immediate post-industrial leisure activities such as the cinema and television.

Within the paradigm of discursivity, it can be seen that this "participative nature" of the internet will support the expansion of a speech community such as the Celto-Cornish movement. Likewise the internet provides a readily accessible medium through which the narratives of oral history can be expressed. Indeed an earlier book by Shirkey has the title "Here Comes Everybody: the power of organising without organisations" and a subtext that suggest that history no longer belongs to the hegemonic few. [34] But what of memory, does the fact that a fixed text is easily referenced and returned to, counter memory as an active process and a vector of change within the folk process? The ease of access does not alter the fact that internet publications are text in the same way that broadside ballads were two hundred years previously and we have seen that these supported rather than restricted the process of change. Furthermore, if the internet is referenced for the words or tune for a folk phenomenon then the likelihood is that a number of variants will become available to select from.[35]

In terms of "speech communities", the interesting question here is not whether memory is overridden by the internet but whether cultural memory can be located on the internet? It may be that this question is premature and in his conclusion about the social impact of the network society, Barney refers to Hegel in suggesting that "historical change can only be expressed theoretically after the change has run its course".[36] So far, however, the answer appears to be no. For example, as far as Cornish folk tradition is concerned there is a large amount of information available on the internet[37] but this requires informed and focussed searching and there is nothing to suggest that this is more than an extension of publishing books magazines and leaflets, albeit a very flexible way of doing so. The advent of social networking sites such as My-Space (2004), Face-book (2004) and Twitter (2006) provided a different, personalised and potentially faster way of exchanging and networking texts and narratives but it remains ephemeral and there is little evidence that it is becoming a repository for memory.

It is also tempting to consider predictive software processes designed to make the internet more intuitive such as caching pages, favourites, histories and sub programmes that predict interest, as a form of mediation but it is difficult to find evidence to support this. The search engines that provide a base line entry use a simple key word systems[38] which are very wide ranging and do not appear to point the user towards with any discursive bias. For example using the Google.co.uk search

engine to find "Cornish Folk Song" came up with 29,400 results which means that this exact phrase occurred somewhere in the text of this number of web pages. The search engine automatically refines the results and prioritises according to the hierarchy initially of where it occurs in headings and subsequently where it occurs elsewhere in the page or site. A brief analysis of the first twenty results provides a pen picture of the sites most likely to be visited as a result of such a search:

- Commercial Advertising: 6 entries
- Personal Interest / Cornish: 4 entries
- You tube: 2 entries
- Wikipedia: 2 entries
- Face Book: 2 entries (saved as space but no entries)
- Discussion Forum: 1 entry
- Town Website: 1 entry
- Old Cornwall Society: 1 entry
- Performer / Promotional: 1 entry.

Although some of these entries will lead on to pages with more songs and information, the songs (and tunes) that are immediately identified are: *I love my Love*: *The White Rose*; *Trelawny*; *Fer Lyskerys*; *Heva Dance*; *Bodmin Riding*; *There's Something About a Pasty*; and *The Sweet Nightingale*. These accord with the database supporting this thesis and represent a reasonable dip into the repertoire of the canon of folk tradition in Cornwall.

The vicarious nature of the information provided by these searches is demonstrated by the fact that the very first entry for "Cornish Folk Songs" is a link to the "You Tube" site and a video from a Brenda Wootton Concert in 1978 which features her guitarist, Chris Newman, playing a guitar solo of *O'Carolan's Concerto*.[39] Furthermore a web "surfer" on "You Tube" would find adjacent this a further item under the heading "Cornish Folk Songs" and entitled "Traditional Music at the Cornish Arms, St Merryn May 2006". In actual fact the musicians were seasonal visitors rather than session regulars[40] and the video is of them singing *The Black Velvet Band* popularised by the Dubliners. The personal interest, promotional and Old Cornwall Society sites might be seen as representing the Celto-Cornish movement and the way material is framed as Cornish / not English does reflect the discursivity of this speech community.

It is therefore argued that the internet extends the opportunities for mediation rather than acts as an agent of mediation in itself.

Cyber Celts and Digital Communities

Neither surfing the internet nor participatory action research provides any evidence of major on-line communities, unconnected with a physical presence, that define themselves as Cornish or for that matter Celtic. One possible candidate would be the USA based New World Celts [41] who have a face book group listing 617 members spread across the Asian, Australasian and American continents. Another would be the Cornish based Celtic Link[42] who have a face book group listing 3,970 members and a membership drawn largely from the British Isles, Ireland and North America. Both, however, are essentially promotional, informational and discussion group tools of organisations that exist in the material rather than virtual world. The Celtic Link, for example, is comprised of performers and patrons of the inter-Celtic festival circuit and most will meet physically at some stage on this circuit, even if it is no more than a performer / audience / promoter relationship.

Watson describes a debate about whether interconnectivity, represented for example by on-line forums, results in the formation of recognisable communities. [43] He addresses this by questioning the usefulness of the term "virtual community" and suggesting that a more valuable focus would be on communication and representation. If this is extended to include the sharing of experience, ideas and meanings, then Boland's definition of identity as a complex web of interconnections [44] and the use of the term "speech community" in this thesis to refer to a thread of shared experience, ideas and meanings does support the notion of the internet as community location. If it is seen as place where Tomlinson's community of the shared imaginary[45] is clothed in a more tangible form of images and text, then it can argued that it is both an extension and a realisation of this community.

What the internet offers the Celto-Cornish speech community is just such an opportunity to reinforce, promote and expand the shared experiences, ideas and meanings. A "micro community" case example serves to illustrate the mechanics of this:

Case Study 4: Kemysk Cornish Dance Group

A small group of musicians / dancers were looking for opportunities to take a display of Cornish Scoot dancing[46] to a wider

audience at the inter-Celtic festival in Lorient. This was framed as a project and people known to be interested in Scoot Dancing were contacted, some via Email and some in person during events that arose within the Celto-Cornish movement such as St Piran's Day and the Cornish Dance Day. The next stage of the project was to set up communications by means of a Website[47] and a named group on the "Face Book" social network site.[48] The Website was the primary vehicle for communicating to the Festival about the nature of the performance and the social network site served to support the sometimes quite complex arrangements for rehearsals. Once the booking had been confirmed with the festival, then arrangements for travel, accommodation and festival passes were made partly on Face Book and partly through E-mail.

These were all tasks which replicated, albeit more efficiently, what would have been undertaken by telephone or writing without the internet. It is the subsequent networking and file sharing made possible by "Face Book" and "You Tube" respectively that shows how the internet can promote and expand the range of a group's activities in a way which is quite unprecedented. During the festival, photographs and video footage of performances were taken and posted up on "Face Book"[49] and "You Tube".[50] The social networking nature of both of these sites ensured that a large number of people shared this information and also gained individual and personalised insights into the group and its performance. This network of people embraced the inter-Celtic festival "Scene", as well as the immediate friends within Celto-Cornish movement. The outcome of this was that a number of other events and festivals issued the group invitations and the life of the project was thus extended quite considerably.

The mechanics of this example are therefore that the internet provided communication and networking tools in the form of a website, E-mail, social networking and file sharing which expedited the initial tasks of the project and enhanced the outcomes.

The project and its outcomes might arguably have been achieved by use of telephone and written correspondence in combination with printed promotional material. However, two major areas of difference result from the interconnectivity of

the internet. This first and most obvious is the convenience and speed with which the group shared its experiences with a large number of people. The second, and particularly interesting area, is that of mediation, choice and anarchy. Many of the images and texts were spontaneous in that they were uploaded by mobile phone within minutes of the event being recorded. Other images were uploaded from digital cameras via computer after the event and were therefore subject to some form of selection. Selectivity was governed by the interest of those who had the necessary technology rather than exercised by a leader with an eye to promotion. Furthermore, an extended "community" of people developed around Kemysk who participated temporarily with each event by contributing their own images and comments.

Digital Diaspora

The Cornish Diaspora is an essential part of the Cornish sense of being and captured in folklore by an allusion to mining in the expression "*At the bottom of every hole in the ground in the world there is a Cornishman"*. As "Cousin Jack" and "Cousin Jenny" Cornish dialect has developed specific terms to meet the linguistic need for identification of family connections across the globe and the notion of a Cornish Diaspora is embedded in cultural institutions such as the Cornish Gorsedh[51] and the Cornish Associations.[52] Schwartz points out that "Barely a year goes by without the publication of a new book or article somewhere in the world that reveals more about the epic story of Cornish migration".[53]

There is a very practical sense in which the information revolution and the development of the "global village" imaginary nourish the Cornish Diaspora. Information organisations such as the Cornwall Family History Society enable detailed research without the need to visit Cornwall in person and encourage the interest in ancestry. Cultural organisations such as the "International Gathering of the Cornish Cousins" in North America [54] and "Kernewek Lowender" in South Australia [55] were born out of the interest of Cornish descendants discovering their roots in the latter part of the twentieth century and represent the modern Cornish Diaspora. The extent of the Diaspora's engagement with the internet is witnessed both by the extent of referencing to URL pages in this chapter and in turn the large number of links to other Cornish Diaspora sites from these pages. It could be argued that the Dehwelans, the Diaspora festival held in Cornwall every four years since 2000 is also a product of the ease of contemporary communication and relatively inexpensive travel.

An interesting issue for the researcher is the apparent lack of folkloric engagement or ownership by the Cornish Diapora especially in terms of traditional music and dance. There is no Cornish equivalent to O'Neills collection of Irish dance music from Chicago[56] or Cape Breton's style of Scottish step dancing[57]. The Kernewek Lowender in Australia boasts a *Flora Dance* and a *Maypole dance*[58] but use of the term "Flora" rather than "Furry" suggests that it was adopted for the first festival in 1973 rather than travelling with the original migrants and Maypole dancing does not feature strongly in Cornish tradition.

Schwartz shows that the main period of migration was 1815 -1915.[59] We have seen that there was a strong folk culture in Cornwall during this period and it seems unlikely that this did not travel with them. [60] There are certainly examples to show that in some cases it did. Payton shows that the Cornish Carol tradition was transported to New South Wales[61] and Grass Valley, California, California has a documented history of Cornish choir and Carol singing as far back as the Gold Rush of 1849.[62] The Wisconsin archive has six items identified as collected from emigrant Cornish Communities, and the description of guising provided by one of their informants is similar to the narratives collected by the Old Cornwall Societies:

> We would disguise ourselves by turning our caps inside aout and our coats inside out and occasionally a cork face [i.e. blacking up faces] and go around one or two places. When we arrived at the door we would all sing
>
>> Oh we have come to your door to neither beg nor borrow,
>>
>> But we have come to your door to wash away your sorrows.
>>
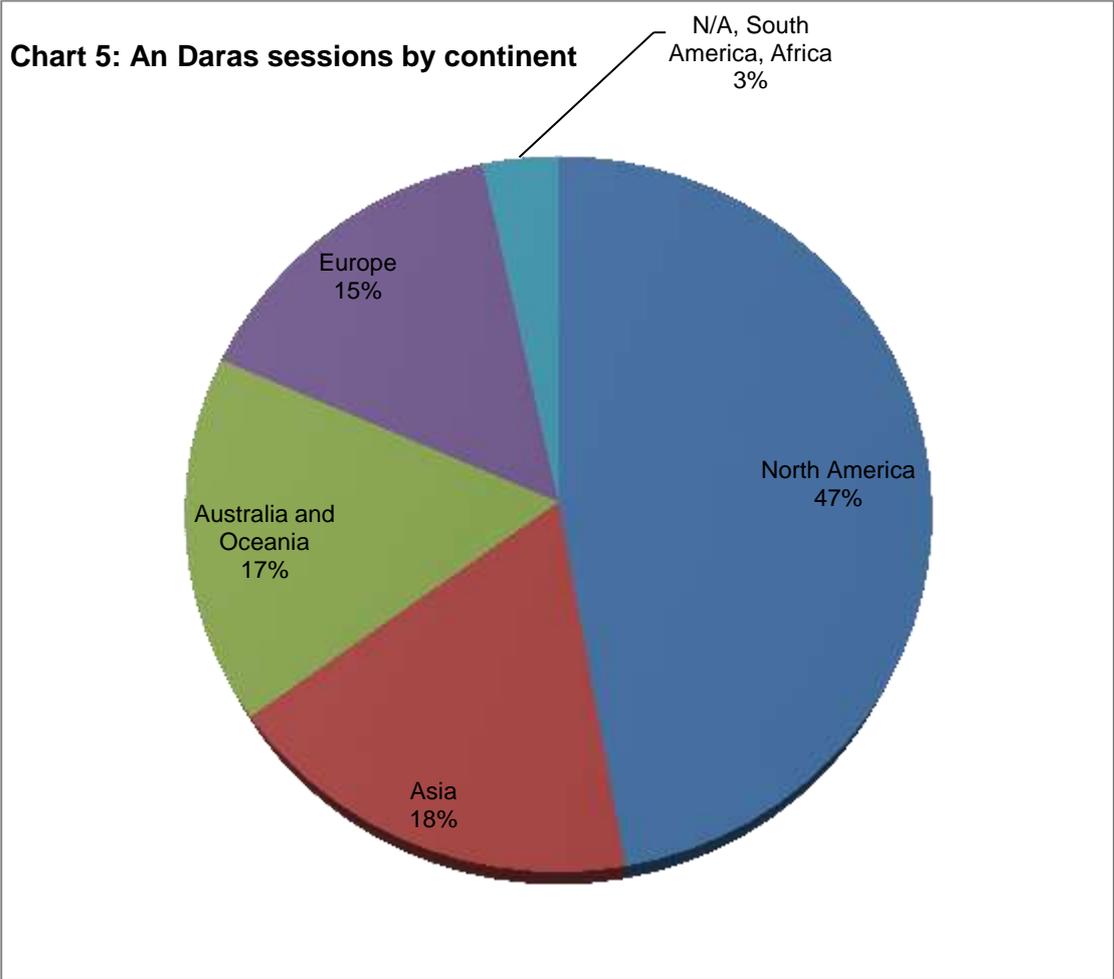>> For it's in the Christmas times
>>
>> We travel far and near,
>
> On being taken inside we be given some saffron cake cookies, some cider and perhaps some nuts or candy and we would take our leave and sing
>
>> We wish you a merry Christmas and a happy new year.
>>
>> We wish you a merry Christmas and a happy new year,
>>
>> With your pockets full of money and your cellars full of beer.
>>
>> As long as you live, Happy may you be,
>>
>> With a heart's content and you fortunes free.[63]

It may simply be that the agenda of the "home comers" is different. Ray shows that the "Celtic Imaginary" of American tourists who identified with a Scottish descent was quite different from the emerging twenty-first century Scotland with its new Parliament.[64] Certainly the programmes published for Cornish Diaspora festivals and events which have a much wider focus which includes genealogy and cuisine.[65]

The digital domain of the Cornish Diaspora is very new, however, and although the eventual effects of these new technologies may be, as Barney[66] points out, as yet unknowable, there are some examples of a greater interest and involvement in folk tradition and therefore a potential impact upon the folk process. The An Daras project provides information and sign posting regarding folk arts in Cornwall and data from the server gives some insights into interest in this area.

During the period July / August / September 2010 the monthly average of website hits was 61,000 and of these an average of 7580 resulted in extended sessions on the website with more than one page being opened. The analysis of these sessions by continent is interesting. It is not surprising that North America provided the most sessions taking into account population size and access to the internet but the similarity between Australasia and Asia is difficult to account for. It may simply be that the sheer number of internet users from Japan, Korea and China skews the results.

Chart 5: An Daras sessions by continent

N/A, South
America, Africa
3%

Europe
15%

Australia and
Oceania
17%

North America
47%

Asia
18%

The analysis of topic areas visited shows costume to be the most visited pages followed by music, and then dance. "Other" principally represents sign posting and information about performers and events. Data is not readily available from other informational sites and even if it were, it would be difficult to be sure that like was being compared to like. Whilst caution must be exercised in drawing to many conclusions from just one web site, it is reasonable to say that in this example at least, interest is is significant at 7,500 visits a month and it is also fairly global.

Chart 6: Analysis of session topic area
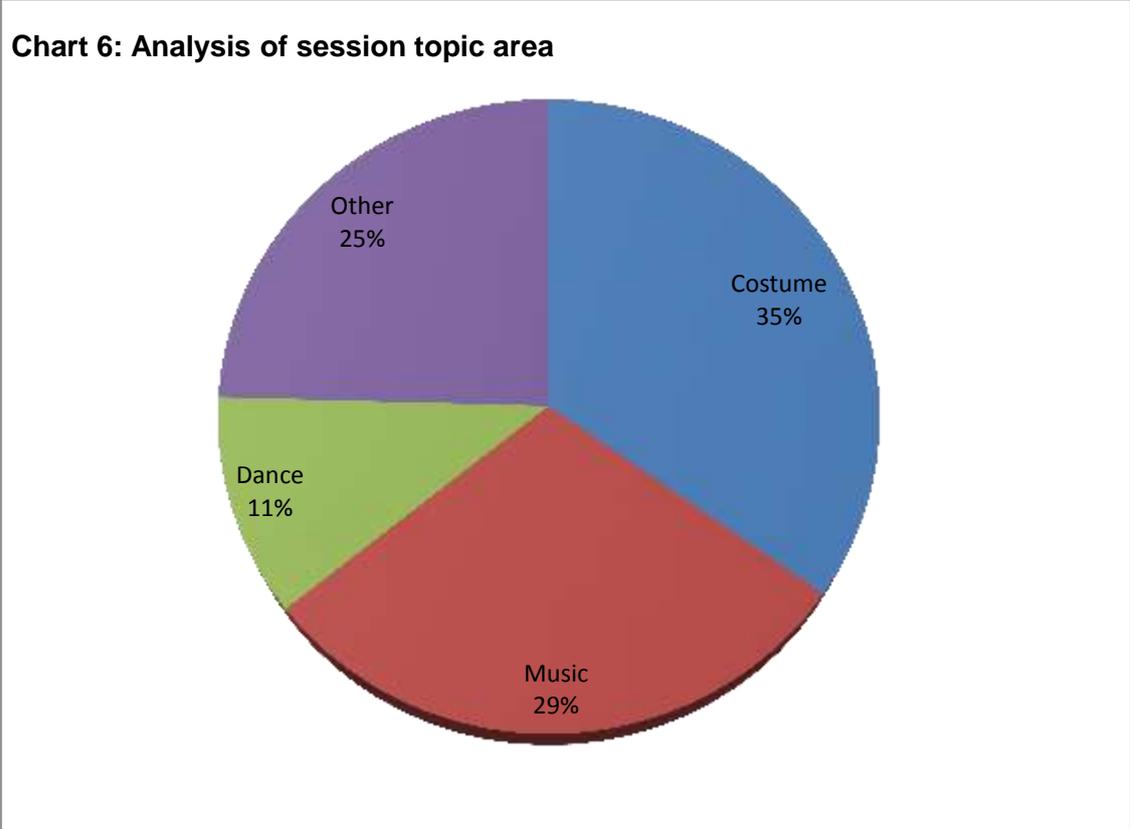
Whilst this data does not give any indication of the number of visits from people who would identify with the Cornish Diaspora it does show that information about Cornish folk tradition is readily available to those interested. If people are interested and draw from the information on sites such as this for performance, then this would be a good example of second existence folk tradition within the model adopted by this thesis and the sites concerned important players in the process of oral folk tradition.

An example of second existence folk tradition facilitated by the interconnectivity of new technology can be seen in the work of Jim Wearne a Cornish American folk singer from Illinois who has been a regular visitor to festivals like Lowender Peran and

Dehwelans in Cornwall as well as performing on the Cornish American festival circuit. His performances and recorded albums provide a mixture of material from the canon of acknowledged Cornish tradition together with songs composed or reconstructed by himself along a Cornish theme and are readily available in Cornwall as well as direct from him. He accompanies himself on guitar and his style is that of the solo folk club singer in the tradition of Burl Ives and Ewan McColl. A case example is provided by *The Hurling Song:*

> In 1958 the Old Cornwall Society recorded the words:
>> We roll the town or country ball along
>> We roll the town or country ball along
>> We roll the town or country ball along
>> And we wont'drag on behind
>> Hip, Hip Hooray! town or country ball[67]

By 1972 Rabey[68] had recorded some variations on the verse plus the tune but it remained largely unkown outside of the immediate tradition of Hurling at St Columb. In 2010 Wearne had decided that he would like to have a song celebrating this custom and in the process of writing it used the Bewnans Kernow Email network[69] to see if a song or words already existed. The network provided several references to the *Hurling Song*, which Wearne subsequently used to partly re-write the song for his purposes. It remains to be seen whether this will serve to introduce the song to a wider singer's session base but it is an example of global interconnectivity interacting with the folk process.

Conclusion

There is little evidence that the information revolution and global interconnectivity have created on-line communities that impact upon Cornish folk tradition but it is clear that they have extended the reach and encouraged existing communities. Furthermore, rather than destroying the process of folk tradition the new technologies have acted as an accelerant. Many of the informational web sites act in much the same way as the vernacular broadsheets with individual variations and nuances recorded without any reference to the hegemony of an outside authority. The difference being that the modern day equivalents are multi dimensional providing images and sound as well as the written text. There is no longer the need for tools which are open to mediation, such

as the orthodoxy of music score or commerciality of recording studios, in order to communication a song or tune, or for that matter dances. These can now be recorded by the average mobile phone as a video clip and uploaded to a web site, or more typically a social network site. As well as offering an exchange of material, the social networking opportunities of the internet facilitate real life activities regardless of geographic separation, a micro example being that of the Cornwall wide dance group Kemysk and a macro one, the global wide organisation of Dehwelans.

Notes

[1] Steven G Jones, *Virtual culture : identity and communication in cybersociety,* (London, Sage Publications. 1998), p.1.

[2] Darin D Barney, D. D. *The network society.* (Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA, Polity, 2004), p.108.

[3] Kevin Robins, "The Long History of the Information Revolution" in *The information society reader,* editors Webster, F. and R. Blom (London; New York, Routledge, 2004), p. 62.

[4] Cecil J. Sharp, *English folk-song : Some conclusions,* (London, Simpkin & co, 1907).

[5] Jan Lind, *A history of European folk music.* (Rochester, N.Y., University of Rochester Press, 1998).

[6] David Atkinson, *Folk Songs In Print: Text and Tradition,* Folk Music Journal, volume 8, Number 4, 2004. pp. 456-483.

[7] Michael Verrier, "Folk Club or Epic Theatre: Brecht's influence of the performance practice of Ewan MacColl", in *Folk Song:Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation.* eds. Ian Russel and David Atkinson. (Aberdeen, The Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, 2004), pp.108-113.

[8] Charles Blamphin, *Little Maggie May*, (Chicago: -Root & Cady, 1870) published online by Music Division, Library of Congress, stable URL: http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mussm&fileName=sm/sm1870/03300/03380/mussm03380.db&recNum=4&itemLink=h?ammem/mussm:@field(NUMBER+@band(sm1870+03380))&linkText=0, accessed 10th November 2010.

[9] Ralph Dunstan, *Cornish Dialect and Folk Song*, (Truro, Jordan's Bookshop, 1832), p.43.

[10] Ralph Dunstan, *Cornish Dialect and Folk Song.*

[11] "The Cobweb singing session 1990", Federation of Old Cornwall Societies Sound Archive, Courtney Library, Royal Institution of Cornwall, Truro.

[12] Charlie Pitman "Maggie May" *Pass Around the Grog* :*The songs of two Cornishmen*. Charlie Pitman and Tommy Morrisey. Recorded and produced by John Howson. Cassette, VT122 Veteran tapes,1992.

[13] "Honey Honey" Deep River Boys, *Deep River,* HMV POP 263 -78rpm (1950s), Deep River Boys "London Harmony", CD Format (2004), re-mastered from original tracks recorded between 1950 -1955.

[14] See appendix 1.8 Scoot Dances also Alison Davey, Merv Davey, and Jowdy Davey. *Scoot Dances, Troyls, Furrys and Tea Treats: The Cornish Dance Tradition*. (London: Francis Boutle & Co, 2009), p. 102.

[15] Noel McLaughlin and Martin McLoone, "Hybridity and national musics: the case of Irish rock music" *Popular Music*, Volume 19/2 (2000), (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 190.
See also *Horslips Discography*, URL: http://www.horslips.ie/discpage.html accessed 19th November 2010, provides a pen picture of the band's music.

[16] Alessandro Portelli, *The battle of Valle Giulia : oral history and the art of dialogue*. (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1997).

[17] "Tony Snell 1978", Federation of Old Cornwall Societies Sound Archive, Courtney Library, Royal Institution of Cornwall, Truro. Tony Snell is a Cornish speaker and folk performer. In the mid 1970s he toured Brittany with a Group called "Tremenysy" and in Easter 1975 presented a programme of traditional songs in Cornish and English as well as some instrumental music at a concert held by the Celtic Congress in St Austell,

[18] Participant observation: "practice" tapes/ CDs were used by Bagas Porthia, Troyl and Error and the North Cornwall Ceili band by author and other band members to communicate and learn music. See appendix 4.12

[19] "Homo Interneticus", Philip Smith, *The Virtual Revolution*. (United Kingdom, BBC, 2010). This was the title of the fourth programme in the BBC series presented by Aleks Krotoski broadcast Jan / Feb 2010.

[20] The great levelling? Progamme 1 *The Virtual Revolution.*

[21] Darin Barney, *The Network Society, (*Cambridge, Polity Press, 2004), p.159.

[22] Frank Webster, R. Blom, et al. *The Information Society Reader*. (London Routledge, 2004), p.77.

[23] Participatory action research – examples:

- The Singers Session held at the Ring of Bells, St Issy, information circulated by email

- The Cornish music session at the Seiners, Perranporth, information circulated by email and facebook

- The Annual Launceston St Piran's Session held on 19th November relies on email circulation.

See appendix 3.1 for summary of observer / participant observer events.

[24] Matrix Statistical Report: www.an-daras.com 1st – 29th Feb 2008. 671 hits were recorded for the St Piran's events page.

[25] For Example:

www.an-daras.com provides textual information in the form of downloadable text files, image files including music score and audio files.

[26]For Example:

www.kesson.com provides a catalogue of music that can be purchased either by postal order as a CD or a download as an mp3 file.

www.spotify.com which provides a subscription service to a range of music accommodating specialist interests.

[27] For example:

The Session:	http://www.thesession.org/tunes/
Nova Irish Session:	http://www.novasession.org/Bog%20Kit/bwindex.htm
The Mud Cat Cafe	http://mudcat.org/threads.cfm

[28] Sue Davey: www.youtube.com – Caresenevales – Rescorla June 2009.

[29] Sherry Turkle, *Life on the screen : identity in the age of the Internet.* (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1995).

[30] Sherry Turkle, *Life on the screen,* p.15.

[31] Sherry Turkle, interviewed by Dr Aleks Krotosky, *Virtual Revolution,* February 2010.

[32] Shaun Fanning, Interviewed by Dr Aleks Krotosky, *Virtual Revolution.*

[33] Clay Shirky, *Cognitive surplus : creativity and generosity in a connected age.* (New York, Penguin Press, 2010).

[34] Clay Shirky, *Here comes everybody : the power of organizing without organizations.* (New York, Penguin Press, 2008).

[35] For example typing in the name of a tune or a song into a search engine is likely to list sites such as *The Mudcat Cafe* (http://mudcat.org/) or Lyrics Domain (http://www.lyricsdomain.com), and link to both discussions of a songs origins and a variety of versions.

[36] Darin Barney, *The Network Society*, p. 177, with reference to Georg W.F.Hegel. *The philosophy of right : the philosophy of history*. (Chicago, Encyclopaedia Britannica. 1952)

[37] Taking sites such as www.an-daras.com and www.cornishculture.co.uk as starting points a number of sites can be found with information about Cornish Traditions, performers and events.

[38] "Google Search Basics" explains this process: http://www.google.com/support/websearch/bin/answer.py?hl=(hl)&answer=134479&rd=1, Accessed 2nd December 2010.

[39] "Carolan's Concerto (Fanny Power)", Derek Bell *Carolan's Reciept (Claddagh Records, 1975)* Turlough O'Carolan was a Seventeenth Century Irish Harper and composer, his music was introduced in the seventies to a wider folk world by The Chieftains and their harpist, Derek Bell.

[40] Participant observation: the Cornish Arms at St Merryn was managed By Chris Ivins in 2005 and 2006 before moving to the Ring of Bells at St Issey. He hosted a Cornish music and singing session on a monthly basis at both pubs.

[41] New World Celts

- Website URL: http://www.newworldcelts.org/
- Facebook:

http://www.facebook.com/home.php?#!/group.php?gid=45775475618

- Accessed 25th November 2010.
- Stated aims: "To promote awareness of the outstanding contributions and history of the Celtic Peoples in the formation and continuance of the New World"

[42] Celtic Link

- Website URLhttp://www.thecelticlink.com/
- Facebook:

http://www.facebook.com/home.php?#!/group.php?gid=127240167215

- Accessed 25th November 2010
- Stated aims "connecting Celts throughout the globe...........to build stronger links within the Celtic world both musically and culturally and to connect people and individuals alike from all corners of the globe".

[43] Nessim Watson, "Why We Argue About Virtual Community: A Case Study Of The Phis.Net Fan Community" in *Virtual culture : identity and communication in cybersociety,* ed by Steven G Jones, (London, Sage Publications. 1998), pp. 102 - 132.

[44] Kathleen A. Bolland and Charles A. Atherton "Chaos Theory: An Alternative Approach to Social Work Practice and Research", *Families in Society, The Journal of Contemporary Human Services* 80.(4), (1999), pp. 367-73. Also discussed in Chapter 6: Competing Speech Communities.

[45] John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism* (London, Continuum,1991), p. 81.

[46] Scoot Dancing – a form of Step dance relying on metal heels and toes pieces – see glossary.

[47] Kemysk: The Cornish Dance Project: www.kemysk.co.uk Accessed 26th November 2010.

[48] Kemysk Cornish Dancers, http://www.facebook.com/home.php?#!/pages/Kemysk-Cornish-Dancers/152741794742376, Accessed 26th November 2010

[49] Kemysk Cornish Dancers

[50] You Tube: Kemysk, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oNxG6i0hcKc, Accessed 26th November 2010.

[51] The Cornish Gorsedh regularly recognises the work done to promote Cornish identity and Culture overseas by awarding Bardships for "services to Cornwall overseas" and also has an "ambassadors shield" for services to the Cornish Diaspora.

[52] For Example: Cornish Association of Queensland, http://www.cornishqld.com/ (accessed 3rd Dec 2010): Toronto Cornish Association, http://www.torontocornishassociation.org/, accessed 3rd Dec 2010: Pennsylvania Cornish association, http://www.pacornish.org/, accessed 3rd Dec 2010.

[53] Sharron P Schwartz, "Cornish Migration Studies: An Epistemological And Paradigmatic Critique", in *Cornish Studies 10,* ed. Philip Payton, (Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 2002), p.136.

[54] International Gathering Of The Cornish Cousins, http://www.cornishfest.org/gathering-of-cornish-cousins.html, accessed 3rd December 2010.

[55] Kernewek Lowender : http://www.kernewek.org/History2.html , accessed 3rd Dec 2010.

[56] Francis O'Neill, and James O'Neill *The dance music of Ireland : 1001 gems : double jigs, single jigs, hop or slip jigs, reels, hornpipes, long dances, set dances, etc*. (Chicago, Lyon & Healy, 1907).

[57] Frank Rodes, "Step Dancing in Nova Scotia" in Joan Flett, et al. *Traditional step-dancing in Scotland.* (Edinburgh, Scottish Cultural Press, 1996), p.185.

[58] Tom Bowden, "Kernewek Lowender 20 years ago*", Cornwall 24 Magasine,* posted October 2010, http://www.cornwall24.net/magazine/kernewek-lowender-20-years-ago/, accessed 6th December 2010.

[59] Sharron P Schwartz, "Cornish Migration Studies, p.156.

[60] See Chapter 3 and the evidence provided by antiquarian writers.

[61] Philip Payton, *Cornish Carols From Australia,* (Redruth, Dyllansow Truran, 1984).

[62] Grass Valley Choir: http://gvmalevoicechoir.org/, accessed 3rd December 2010. also Downtown Grass Valley : http://www.downtowngrassvalley.com/grass-valley/st-pirans.html, accessed 3rd December 2010.

[63] *Wisconsin Folksong Collection, 1937-1946,* University Of Winsconsin Digital Collections, http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/WiscFolkSong/, Accessed 5th December 2010.

[64] Celeste Ray (University of the South, Tennessee) "Transatlantic Celts: Ancestral Tourism and Scottish Clanscapes*"* paper presented at *CAVA Conference 2006: '21st Century Celts',* 8-10 September, County Hall, Truro with reference to: Celeste Ray *Transatlantic Celts (*Alabama, University of Alabama Press, 2005)

[65] E.g. programme of events Gathering Of Cornish Cousins, Philladelphia August 1999. Author attended this festival with a Cornish Youth Dance Group: Mineral Point Cornish Festival 2010, http://www.cornishfest.org/gathering-of-cornish-cousins.html, accessed 6th Dec 2010: Kernewek Lowender: http://www.kernewek.org/, accessed 5th December 2010.

[66] Darin Barney, *The Network Society*, p. 177.

[67] H L Pearce "The Hurling Game at St Columb", *Old Cornwall*, 1958, vol. 5, no. 9, p. 368.

[68] Ivan Rabey, *Hurling at St Columb and in Cornwall: a study in history and tradition*. (Padstow, Lodennek Press, 1972).

[69] Participatory action research: author is a member of Bewnans Kernow, a cultural organisation set up in 2009 as forum for various Cornish organisations that would meet Cornwall Councils need to have a single point of contact for information about Cornish Cultural organisations. A spin off from this was the large email network that developed which could be used to circulate questions on practically any aspect of Cornish culture and elicit information and advice.

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