

## Section 2: Collectors and key players

### Chapter 3 Antiquarians folklorists and chapel culture

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

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

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

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

### Antiquarians

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

There is no evidence to suggest that Gilbert's purpose was to revive the material he recorded for popular usage, possibly even the contrary. Payton<sup>6</sup> suggests that Gilbert was the archetypal forward-looking Cornishman of his time, his world was utilitarian and technological and he sought to be unhindered by the trappings of what was perceived as archaic culture. Thus, his antiquarianism was an expression of curiosity and his mediation was framed in terms of rejoicing that an archaic culture was in demise and recorded it for posterity rather than revival. In his introduction to the second edition of *Some Ancient Christmas Carols* published in 1823 he expresses surprise at the interest aroused by this collection but his introduction to *Calvary* makes clear his position on the Cornish Language:

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

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

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

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

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

out. Gilbert was instrumental in ensuring that these carols remained in the popular domain and his collection, together with that of Sandys<sup>14</sup> formed the core of the *Oxford Book of Carols*<sup>15</sup> published 100 years later.

For Gilbert, the primary context of carol singing was in the home and among friends<sup>16</sup> and this tradition has continued in Cornwall to the present day with a good example being that of the custom in Padstow.<sup>17</sup> The carol is deeply embedded within the tradition of vernacular local composers in Cornwall, particularly well represented by Thomas Merrit, and warrants detailed study outside the scope of this study. Gilbert's 1823 edition contains four folk songs and two dances in addition to 20 carols, however, and these are of interest in terms of oral folk tradition in Cornwall. The dances included were the *Helston Foray* (sic) and *Joan Sanderson* or the *Cushion dance*. The four folk songs were *Jenifer Gentle /Three Sisters*, *The Three Knights*, *The Serving Man* and *the Husbandman*, and *The King Shall Have His Own Again*.

Apart from the fact that *Jenifer Gentle* was from his own recollection, Gilbert provides no information about his sources for these six items, except to explain that they were well known and popular in Cornwall. His explanation of the word "Furry" as "Foray" is more interesting in what it reveals about Gilbert than the traditional Furry dance. He would certainly have had access to Playford's version of *Joan Sanderson*<sup>18</sup> but provides a more detailed description which suggests another source or personal observation. What is interesting is that despite Gilbert's observation that these were relics of an ancient culture in decline, *Furry Dances* have a well recorded continuity through to the present day and *the Cushion Dance* was recorded at the West Looe May Fair as late as the 1920s<sup>19</sup> before being reintroduced again in 1966 by Gundry in *Canow Kernow*<sup>20</sup>. The four songs appear in subsequent collections in a variety of versions but Gilbert's are among the earliest published. It is also ironic that in recording this material out of antiquarian interest rather than any sense of revival, Gilbert's work should act as an inspiration for Gundry in his *Canow Kernow* (1966). It is also interesting that by the time of the RACCA project in the mid 1990s these six secular items should have returned to, or have continued to remain within, the domain of oral tradition

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

*Trenoodle* that he engages with Cornish secular folk traditions and his major work in this context was the publication of *Specimens of Cornish Provincial Dialect Selected and Arranged by Uncle Jan Trenoodle (1846)*<sup>22</sup>. Sandys may have had family roots in Cornwall<sup>23</sup> but contacts during his lifetime were provided by marriage and work. His wife, Harriet Hill, came from Carwythenack and he was employed as Commissioner of Affidavits for the Stannary Court of Cornwall.<sup>24</sup> He was born and educated in London and worked in the city as a solicitor until his death in 1874. Like Gilbert, he was an amateur antiquarian and also like Gilbert, his musical skills have been criticised<sup>25</sup> but he only produced one example of a musical score in *Specimens of Cornish Provincial Dialect* and our interest here is in the provenance of the material he published.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Folklorists**

If Gilbert represents the discourses of enlightenment and the confident forward looking Cornish of the early nineteenth century in relation to his approach to Cornish traditions then Sandys, Tregellas and Miles represent a link to the next group of antiquarian folklorists who found Cornwall to be fertile territory for the romanticism and nostalgia of the late nineteenth century. Three key players here are Robert Hunt (1807-1887), William Bottrell (1816 - 1881) and Margaret A Courtney (1834 - 1920). Their interpretation of oral folk tradition in Cornwall defined the genre and informed subsequent generations of folklore researchers and practitioners throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. They inspired both Robert Morton Nance and A K Hamilton Jenkin in their reconstruction of Guizing customs during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.<sup>32</sup> Deane and Shaw drew heavily upon these three people in their 1975 contribution to the *Folklore of the British Isle* series<sup>33</sup> and booklets on Cornish legends and fairy folk aimed at the tourist market also rely heavily on them for their content.<sup>34</sup> Hunt, Courtney and Bottrell continue to inform revivalists in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, a good example of which being the detailed citations on the Golowan and Montol festival web sites explaining the background to midsummer and midwinter customs in Penzance.

Hunt came from a Penzance family, his early schooling took place in Plymouth and Penzance and he moved to London at the age of 12 to further his educational opportunities. Ultimately, he became a chemist by profession with an interest in photography and worked variously in Penzance, Falmouth, Devonport and London throughout his life. In 1829, he spent 10 months in Cornwall convalescing after a serious illness (acquired when he fell into the Thames) and spent this time visiting ancient sites and collecting folk tales and customs.<sup>35</sup> Hunt enjoyed an increasingly academic career, he held office with the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society, and he worked for the mining record office and was involved in the formative years of the Camborne School of Mines. His precise relationship with Bottrell is unclear but he seems to have had correspondence with him and been inspired to collate and edit the stories and customs he originally collected in 1829 for publication in 1865.<sup>36</sup>



Bottrell has become almost an “industry standard” for people with an interest in Cornish folklore and custom and is frequently referenced by the later Celto-Cornish revivalists such as A. K. Hamilton Jenkin and Morton Nance who described him as the “The Old Celt”.<sup>37</sup> He did not have the high profile of Hunt and information about his life is less readily available. It is known that he came from St Levan and that he spent some time abroad before returning to live in Cornwall. His main sources of information seem to be his grandmother before 1837 and local miners after 1865.<sup>38</sup> Bottrell’s work lies in a series of articles published in local journals, which eventually formed the basis of *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall 1873*.<sup>39</sup>

Margaret Courtney’s family were educated, industrious and self-made. Her grandparents had originally moved to Falmouth from Ilfracombe to set up a school where her father, J S Courtney, had taught initially before moving to Penzance.<sup>40</sup> Her father worked in partnership in a Penzance store before entering into banking where he seems to have enjoyed a successful career. He was a musician and played the violin but in the context of the family sitting room rather than folk fiddle. He was also interested in local history, publishing a *Guide to Penzance and its Neighbourhood* in 1845<sup>41</sup> and updated this with the help of another daughter, Louise, in 1878.<sup>42</sup> Margaret Courtney remained in the family home at Alverton throughout her life and seems to have been of sufficiently independent means to indulge an interest in Cornish customs, dialect and folklore.<sup>43</sup>

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### ***Chapel Culture, Religion and Tea Treats***

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

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

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

To the proprietors of the Hobby Horse of Padstow

This is to give you notice that on or about the end of this month I shall offer you a bullock according to the promise; it is for you to consult against that time, whether you will give up your vain practice of the HOBBY for the rational amusement of eating ROAST BEEF

Padstow April 10 1845 - Thomas Tregaskis<sup>77</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Similar stories can be found for other traditions such as the Methodists who drew their curtains at Helston when the Furry Dance went past on Flora Day<sup>81</sup> and the publication of letters in the local press expressing disapproval of the St Ives Guize dancers and celebrating their demise.<sup>82</sup>

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

#### **Chorus**

And shall Trelawny live?  
Or shall Trelawny die?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Tea Treats* appear in the story line of novelists such as Salome Hocking<sup>98</sup> and Charles Lee<sup>99</sup> who set their novels in the early nineteenth and early twentieth centuries respectively. They were still to be found deeply embedded in cultural memory projects such as Corollyn in 1992<sup>100</sup> and the Rescorla Project in 2008.<sup>101</sup> However, where analysts such as Harvey and Brace focus on Tea Treats as the extension of a

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

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

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

*Western Antiquary 1881:*

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

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

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

*Cornish Magazine 1958:*

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

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

## **Conclusion**

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

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

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

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

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Richard Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall: And an Epistle Concerning the Excellencies of the English Tongue* (London: printed for Samuel Chapman; Daniel Brown jun.; and James Woodman, 1723), p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> Bernard Deacon, *A Concise History of Cornwall* Histories of Europe (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), pp. 123 -144, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Davies Gilbert, (1823). *Some Ancient Christmas Carols* (London, John Nichols And Son, 1823).

<sup>4</sup> Davies Gilbert, and John Keygwyn, *Mount Calvary : or history of the passion, death and resurrection, of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* ( London, Nichols, 1826). Based on William Jordan's manuscript 1611 of the Cornish Mystery Play *Gwreans and Bys* together with John Keigwins English translation.

<sup>5</sup> Davies Gilbert, Thomas Tonkin, et al. *The Parochial history of Cornwall, founded on the manuscript histories of Mr Hals and Mr Tonkin.* (London, J.B. Nichols, 1838).

<sup>6</sup> Philip Payton, "Paralysis and Revival: The Reconstruction of Celtic - Catholic Cornwall 1980 -1945". In *Cornwall: The Cultural Construction of Place*, Ed. Ella Westland. (Penzance, Patten Press, 1997), p. 29.

<sup>7</sup> Davies Gilbert, *Mount Calvary*, Introduction p.V.

<sup>8</sup>: Whitley-Stokes, *Gwreans an Bys: The Creation of the World, A Cornish Mystery Play* (London, Williams and Norgate, 1864), p.1.

<sup>9</sup> Richard McGrady, *Traces of Ancient Mystery: The Ballad Carols of Davies Gilbert and William Sandys*, Sources of Cornish History, Vol. 3, (Callington, Institute of Cornish Studies, 1993), p.15.

<sup>10</sup> Vic Gammon, "Reviews" *Folk Music Journal* Vol. 7, no.1(1995), pp. 90-92 Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4522516> Accessed: 21st April 2009.

<sup>11</sup> Davies Gilbert, *Some Ancient Christmas Carols, with the Tunes to Which They Were Formerly Sung in the West of England. Together with Two Ancient Ballads, a Dialogue*, second ed. (London, Nichols and Son, 1823), pp. 65 -67. See also Appendix 2.9.

<sup>12</sup> Richard L. Greene, "The Traditional Survival of Two Medieval Carols. ELH journal vol. 7, n. 3, (3): (John Hopkins University Press 1940), p. 234: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2871493> Accessed: 21<sup>st</sup> April 2009. Manuscript books sent to Gilbert by a John Paynter of Boskenna in 1824 now held by Harvard Library.



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Also Inglis Gundry, *Now Carol We*, (Redruth Dyllansow Truran, 1980) . A collection of carols sent to Gilbert by Hutchens to late for inclusion in *Some Ancient Christmas Carols*.

<sup>13</sup> Mike O'Connor. *Echoes of Old Kea : Extracts from the musical notebook of John Giddy, Gentleman*, (Wadebridge, Lyngham House.2001), introduction.

<sup>14</sup> William Sandys, *Christmas Carols, Ancient And Modern : including the most popular in the West of England, and the airs to which they are sung*, (London,Beckley,1833).

<sup>15</sup> Percy Dearmer, Ralph Vaughan Williams, et al. *The Oxford Book of Carols*. (London, Oxford University Press, H. Milford. 1928).

<sup>16</sup> Richard McGrady *Traces Of Ancient Mystery*, p. vii.

<sup>17</sup> John Worden, *Strike Sound: a collection of Padstow carols*. (Padstow, Lodenek Press, 1971).

<sup>18</sup> John Playford *The Dancing Master, or, Directions for dancing country dances, with the tunes to each dance for the treble-violin*. (London, printed by J.P. and sold by John Playford 1686).

<sup>19</sup> Shapcote, "Some Looe Customs", *Old Cornwall*, vol. 1, no. 11, Summer 1930, p. 24.

<sup>20</sup> Inglis Gundry, *Canow Kernow : songs and dances from Cornwall*. (St. Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies 1966), p. 5.

<sup>21</sup> William Sandys, *Christmas Carols*.

<sup>22</sup> William Sandys, *Specimens of Cornish Provincial Dialect Selected And Arranged By Uncle Jan Trenoodle*, (London,J R Smith 1846).

<sup>23</sup> Richard McGrady, *Traces of Ancient Mystery*,: p. vii.

<sup>24</sup> Henry Davey, Sandys, William (1792–1874). In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (London, Oxford University Press,.2004) < <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.lib.exeter.ac.uk:60700/view/article/24654> accessed 4th April 2009.

<sup>25</sup> Richard Terry, ed. *Gilbert and Sandys' Christmas Carols with six collateral tunes*. (London, Burns Oates and Washbourne Ltd. 1931), pp. vi –vii.

<sup>26</sup> Ralph Dunstan, *The Cornish Song Book, Lyver Canow Kernewek*. (London, Reid Bros Ltd. 1929), p. 48. Quoting J.C Tregarthen, *John Penrose*, p. 96.

<sup>27</sup> William Chappell, *The ballad literature and popular music of the olden time, a history of the ancient songs, ballad, and of the dance tunes of England, with numerous anecdotes and entire ballads. Also a short account of the minstrels*. (London,Chappell,1800).

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- <sup>28</sup> Thomas Evans, *Old ballads, historical and narrative: with some of modern date* (London, Printed for T Evans in the Strand 1777).
- <sup>29</sup> Ralph Dunstan, *The Cornish Song Book*, p. 32.
- <sup>30</sup> Walter H Tregellas, and Sibella E. H. Miles, *Original Cornish ballads: chiefly founded on stories humorously told by Mr. Tregellas in his popular lectures on "Peculiarities" : to which are appended some drafts of kindred character from the portfolio of the editress : the whole prefixed by an introductory essay on the peculiar characteristics of the Cornish peasantry.* (London Simpkin, Marshall, 1846), p. 58.
- <sup>31</sup> Walter H Tregellas and Sibella E. H. Miles, *Original Cornish Ballads 1846*, p. iii, prefatory remarks.
- <sup>32</sup> Peter W Thomas, and Derek R. Williams. *Setting Cornwall on Its Feet: Robert Morton Nance 1873-1959*, (London: Francis Boutle Publishers, 2007).
- <sup>33</sup> Tony Deane and Tony Shaw, *The Folklore of Cornwall*, (London, B.T.Batsford Ltd, 1975).
- <sup>34</sup> For example: *Cornish Fairies* (Redruth: Tor Mark Press. 1995); *Cornish Folklore* (Redruth: Tor Mark Press,1997); *Cornish Legends* (Redruth: Tor Mark Press. 1997); *Classic Folk Tales from the Lands End* (Redruth: Tor Mark Press. 2000).
- <sup>35</sup> Alan Pearson, *Hunt, Robert (1807–1887)*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, (London, Oxford University Press, 2004), <  
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14203>> [accessed 26 April 2009]
- <sup>36</sup> Robert Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England: or, The drolls, traditions and superstitions of old Cornwall.* (London, John Camden Hotten,1865).
- <sup>37</sup> Robert Morton-Nance, "Cornish Culture" *Cornish Review*, Spring edition, 1949, p.11.
- <sup>38</sup> Mike O'Connor, *Ilow Kernow 4 : Cornish Instrumental Tradition : The Resource*, (Wadebridge, Lyngham House, 2007), p.89.
- <sup>39</sup> William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*, (Penzance, Deare and Son,1873).
- <sup>40</sup> G.P. Gooche, *Life of Lord Courtney*, (London, Macmillan and Co, Ltd, 1920), pp.1–19.
- <sup>41</sup> John Sampson Courtney, *A guide to Penzance and its neighbourhood : including the islands of Scilly : with an appendix containing the natural history of Western Cornwall, etc.* ( Penzance, E. Rowe, 1845).
- <sup>42</sup> Louise d'Este Courtney, *Half a Century of Penzance (1825–1875):from notes by J. S. Courtney*, (Penzance, Beare & Son,1878).

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<sup>43</sup> The Peerage.com, *A genealogical survey of the peerage of Britain as well as the royal families of Europe*, <http://thepeerage.com/p23222.htm#i232218>, Accessed 26th April 2009 p23222 . citing: L,G,Pine, *The New Extinct Peerage 1884-1971: Containing Extinct, Abeyant, Dormant and Suspended Peerages With Genealogies and Arms*. (London, Heraldry Today,1972.).

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

<sup>45</sup> G.P.Gooche *Life of Lord Courtney*, p.618.

<sup>46</sup> Margaret Ann Courtney, *Cornish Folk-Lore. Part 2“ (Continued).”* The Folk-Lore Journal Vol. 5, no. 2 (1887), p. 85.

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

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

<sup>49</sup> William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall* (Penzance, Deare and Sons 1873), p. 1.

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

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

<sup>52</sup> Robert Hunt, R *Popular Romances*, p. 181.

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

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

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

<sup>54</sup> Robert Hunt , *Popular Romances* :p152.

<sup>55</sup> Robert Hunt ,*Popular Romances* :p192.

<sup>56</sup> William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*, p.10.

<sup>57</sup> William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*, p.16.

<sup>58</sup> William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*, p.194.

<sup>59</sup> William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*, p.195.

<sup>60</sup> William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*, p.148.

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- <sup>61</sup> William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*, p.151.
- <sup>62</sup> A number of versions of the The Frog and the mouse were contributed to Old Cornwall, 1939, Vol 3, number 5 p195, The Cherry Tree Carol continues popularity today see appendix 2.4, and the Streams of Lovely Nancy remains a popular pub session song and session tune and was included in Racca (Calstock, Racca project, 1997).
- <sup>63</sup> William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*, p.238.
- <sup>64</sup> Margaret Ann Courtney, *Cornish Folk-Lore*, part II, p. 101.
- <sup>65</sup> Margaret Ann Courtney and Thomas Quiller-Couch, *Glossary of words in use in Cornwall*.
- <sup>66</sup> Margaret Ann Courtney, *Cornish Feasts And Folk-Lore. Revised and reprinted from the Folk-Lore Society journals, 1886-87.* ( Penzance.1890 reprinted: Totowa, N.J., Rowman and Littlefield, 1973).
- <sup>67</sup> Margaret Ann Courtney, *Cornish feasts and folk-lore*, p. 190.
- <sup>68</sup> Margaret Ann Courtney, *Cornish Folk-Lore, part 1*, p.101.
- <sup>69</sup> William H Paynter: *The History of the Borough of Iiskeard – John Allen*. Edited and revised 1967. (Original Version John Allen 1856), p. 140.
- <sup>70</sup> G P Gooche, *Life Of Lord Courtney*, p.43.
- <sup>71</sup> Brenda Wootton. "Folk In Cornwall", *Cornish Review*, Spring, 1972, p.33.
- <sup>72</sup> Participatory action research undertaken with the Rescorla Project, see appendix 4.2 identified harvest dances, step dances and social dances that were an integral part of Tea Treat tradition.
- <sup>73</sup> David Harvey, Catherine Brace, et al. "Parading the Cornish subject: Methodist Sunday schools in west Cornwall, c. 1830-1930.", *Journal of Historical Geography* vol 1(2007), pp. 24-44.
- <sup>74</sup>David Luker, "Revivalism in theory and practice: the case of Cornish Methodism", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 37 (1986), pp. 603-619. cited in David Harvey , Catherine Brace , et al. *Parading the Cornish subject*.
- <sup>75</sup>David Luker, "Cornish Methodism, Revivalism and popular belief, c.1780-1870", (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1987), p.408. Cited in Bernard W Deacon, "The reformulation of territorial identity: Cornwall in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" (Unpublished doctoral thesis. Faculty of Social Sciences, Open University,2001), p.285.
- <sup>76</sup> Sabrina Magliocco, John Bishop, *Oss Tales. Media-Generation*, 2007. DVD / CDrom format. Observation by author 1<sup>st</sup> May 2005 -2010.

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- <sup>77</sup> Thomas Shaw, *A History of Cornish Methodism*, (Truro D Bradford Barton, 1967), p.93.
- <sup>78</sup> Donald Rawe, *Padstow's Obby Oss and May Day Festivities : A Study in Folklore and Tradition*. (Padstow, Lodenek Press,1982), p. 17.
- <sup>79</sup> John Buckingham, interview with author 23 March 2006.  
Participatory Action Research: Conversations during festival with Ray Delf 1<sup>st</sup> May 2006 and Dave Eddy 1<sup>st</sup> May 2007. Sabrina Maggliooco, John Bishop:, *Oss tales*. (Portland, Oregon, Media-Generation,2007), DVD format, interviews with Mayers
- <sup>80</sup> Merv Davey, "Guizing: Ancient Traditions And Modern Sensitivities." *Cornish Studies* 14: (Exeter, Exeter University Press, 2006), pp. 229 – 244.
- <sup>81</sup> Thomas Shaw *A History of Methodism in Cornwall*.(Truro: D Bradford Barton Ltd, 1967), p.101.
- <sup>82</sup> S.T.Rowe, "Guise Dancing at St Ives", *St Ives Weekly Summary*, January 6, 1900, p.5, column 1.
- <sup>83</sup> John Rowe, *Cornwall in the Age of the Industrial Revolution*. (St Austell: Cornish Hillside Publications, 1993), pp. 261.1 - 261.48.
- <sup>84</sup> Ralph Dunstan, *Lyver Canow Kernow /The Cornish Song Book*, (London, Reid Bros 1929), p.12.
- <sup>85</sup> The table in appendix 3.1 lists the events observed and participated in as research for this thesis. Some events such as the Old Cornwall society meetings made a point of standing for Trelawny, in other events such as the Cape Cornwall Singers session in the bar at the Lowender Peran festival the emphasis was on the dramatic power in the voices.
- <sup>86</sup> Robert Stephen Hawker, *Ecclesia*,(Oxford, T Combe,1840), pp. 91 -93.
- <sup>87</sup> Robert Stephen Hawker, *Ecclesia*, *ibid*.
- <sup>88</sup> Robert Morton Nance, "The Reason Why". *Old Cornwall*, April 1927, Vol 1 no 6 (St Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1927), p.38.
- <sup>89</sup> Lucy Broadwood, "Songs Connected With Customs" *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, Vol. 5, No. 19, Jun., 1915, p. 219.
- <sup>90</sup> St Columb Old Cornwall Society Song sheet distributed during Mid Summer Bonfire celebration at Castle An Dinas 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2005.
- <sup>91</sup> Royal Cornwall Gazette, 13 Jan 1910. Cited in Garry Tregidga, "Politics of the Celto-Cornish Revival 1886-1939", in *Cornish studies* 5, ed. Philip Payton, (Exeter, University of Exeter Press. 1997), p.130.

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<sup>92</sup> Guldize is a dialect version of the Cornish “Gooldheys” the feast or celebration of the corn see appendix 5 glossary of terms.

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

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

<sup>95</sup> David Harvey, Catherine. Brace, et al. *Parading the Cornish subject. Ibid.*

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

<sup>97</sup> David Harvey, Catherine Brace *Parading the Cornish Subject*, p. 11.

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>104</sup> Rescorla Project 2008.

<sup>105</sup> The Cornish Guardian, 4 July 1902, p.2.

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

<sup>107</sup> W.C.Wad, *Western Antiquary* 1881.

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

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