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

Celticity is an inescapable element of contemporary Cornish Studies. This chapter shows that the impact it has had on the canon of musical material described as folk and on the process of oral folk tradition in Cornwall is as varied and debated as the very term Celtic itself. Cornwall has belonged to the Celtic imaginary throughout the evolution of the term since its genesis denoting a linguistic family in Lluyd's *Archaeologica Britannica* 1707. Cornwall was represented at the first Celtic conference in St Brieuc, Brittany in 1867.[1] Following a campaign by Cowethas Kelto-Kernuak, the Pan Celtic Congress accepted Cornwall as a member in 1904. This campaign culminated in the presentation of a paper by Henry Jenner to the Congress.[2] This paper sought to demonstrate that the Cornish Language was not extinct and therefore Cornwall met the criteria for membership i.e. it had a living Celtic Language. In twenty first century Cornwall, Celticity finds articulation in an increasing variety of forms from the politics of cultural identity, through archaeology to mysticism and spirituality as shown by Hale and Payton.[3] This is also illustrated by the programme of papers presented at a symposium entitled "Celticity and Cornwall" held during the Lowender Peran festival in October 2009.[4]

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

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

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

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

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

Fakelore and the Celtic Imaginary

American folklorist, Richard Dorson coined the term "fakelore" in the 1950s and used this to separate "traditional" folklore from commercialized and ideological fakelore or folklorismus"[9]. Alan Dundes[10] uses this concept of fakelore to show that emergent nationalities in early modern Europe employed just such a "creation of tradition" to support their nationalist ideology. Particular examples given were the ballads of *Kalevala* for Finland (1835), the work of the Brothers Grimm in Germany (1812 / 1818) and in Scotland, Macpherson's *Poems of Ossian* (1761 /1765). Iolo Morgannwg (Edward Williams) has been described as the Welsh equivalent of Macpherson.[11] Between 1792 and 1826 he instituted the Welsh Eisteddfod and a Gorsedd based on what some commentators see as a fairly creative interpretation of history and folklore.[12] The *Poems of Ossian* and Williams' Gorsedd provided the cornerstones for the expression of Celtic identity in mainland Britain and substance for the critiques of Celticity discussed above. Both Morgannwg and Macpherson tapped into oral tradition and manuscript sources. The extent to which they were creative with these sources has been the subject of debate and criticism. Marion Löffler shows this "legacy of invention" was a positive force in that both "the success and the critique of [Morganwg's] theoretical history were part of the process through which the Welsh discovered and recorded a national historical narrative".[13]

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

authentic".[14] In 1778 the Highland Society was inaugurated (in London) and by 1822 Sir Walter Scott was masterminding "Scottish ceremonies" for the visits of Hanovarian monarchs. By 1843 the Sobieski-Stuart brothers had "compiled" a definitive list of clans and tartans and laid the foundations for the global cultural industry based around the iconography of kilts, bagpipes and tartans witnessed at the end of the twentieth century[15]. The Highland Games and the Scottish Mòd are two products of Roper's "artificial creations" which can be shown to have interacted positively and reflexively with the process of oral folk tradition. Flett identifies the Highland Games, first introduced by the Highland Society in Falkirk in 1781, as an important vehicle for the development of piping and solo dancing traditions in Scotland.[16] The games consolidated the disparate step dances taught by the Dancing Masters of Scotland by establishing them as competition pieces. The oral traditions of the "Piobreached" (classical bagpipe music) were treated in a similar way.[17] Löffler shows that, An Comunn Gaidhealach (The Gaelic Society) and the Scottish Mòd first held in Oban in 1892 were based on Morgannwg's Eisteddfod. [18] The Mòd placed its emphasis on Gaelic singing and the music associated with fiddle orchestras and the clarsach. The 2009 programme shows that this continues today with a full complement of fringe events such as ceilidhs and sessions.[19]

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

Polig Montjarret (1920 – 2003) was a key figure in the revival of the Breton Sonneurs and the establishment of Bodadeg Ar Sonerion (The Society of Pipers) in 1948.[24] Initially he does not seem to have been so directly inspired by the Celtic revival

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

The tensions associated with the Act of Union of Ireland with the Kingdom of Great Britain in 1800 created a much more complex, politicised environment and makes comparison with the emergence of Celtic consciousness elsewhere difficult. Gailey nevertheless shows that parallel constructions around identity were taking place during this same time period in Ireland, the most obvious inventions being that of the traditions associated with the Orange Order Marches in Ulster.[28] Another example he gives is that of a mummers play from Wexford. When first recorded it was a simple variant of the mummers plays found throughout Britain and Ireland with a Turkish knight et al. At some stage after the 1820s, the original characters were gradually replaced by figures from Irish history and the story identified with the Irish rebellion of 1798.[29] These examples, however, are an expression of Irish identities arising out of political tensions and not the Celtic Imaginary.

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

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

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

A common element within this Celtic Imaginary is the notion of a Golden Age placed at some time in the distant past which is echoed in oral folk tradition and can be re-created using the ballads, stories, music, dance and other folk arts embedded in that tradition. Not only do these traditions serve to inform and inspire the expression of contemporary identity they are also used to provide a sense of authenticity. Dundes makes the case that these "forces of romanticism and nationalism were so powerful that what the people believed was more important than what was true .... It is only scholarly folklorists who are concerned with oral pedigrees".[37] These "forces" were evident elsewhere in the Celtic regions so what of Cornwall? Although Borlase (1696 – 1772) engages in similar territory to Macpherson and Williams in some of the essays included in "Antiquities" (1758),[38] he does not make the same leap into Celtic mythology despite his interest in Druidic superstitions and customs. He is nevertheless clear about what we would now term Cornwall's linguistic Celticity and close historic and cultural ties with Brittany[39]. There was certainly mythological material supporting a distinctive Cornish identity available at the time, especially Arthuriana, and John of Cornwall's *Prophecy of Merlin* in particular.[40] We have also seen that antiquarians

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Link to thesis website

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

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

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

Revival

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

language in his twenties and by the time he retired to Cornwall in 1909, he had published the definitive *Handbook of the Cornish Language*[55] and successfully led the campaign for Cornwall's membership of the Pan Celtic Congress. Although he is now celebrated as the father of the Cornish Language revival[56] his wide antiquarian interests are evidenced by the correspondence and notes bequeathed to the Royal Institution of Cornwall.[57] He corresponded with both Cecil Sharp and Baring Gould with respect to folk tradition and was a friend of Lady Mary Trefusis, president of the English Folk Dance Society and founder of the Cornish branch. As Lady Lygon, she had been an enthusiastic supporter of Sharp in the formative years of English Folk Song Society and became its first president in 1913. On marrying Lord Trefusis, she brought this enthusiasm to Cornwall and organised Sharp's summer school for dance teachers at Plymouth[58]. A letter from Morton Nance dated 24th July 1926 regarding the John Knill Ceremony due to take place that year includes the following passage which seems to capture the atmosphere of their relationship

Dear Mr Jenner

> .... I am glad you are turning up for the "Knillian Games" on Monday, I shall be there and probably join in one or two of the folk dances myself. I expect we shall see you leading off with Lady May (Mary) [sic] in the Furry dances.
>
> Yours sincerely R Morton Nance [59]

Jenner's relationship with Lady Mary Trefusis and the Cornish branch of the English Dance Society is intriguing and paradoxical bearing in mind the extent of his activities within the pan Celtic movement; their emphasis on using folklore, including dance, to underpin Celtic national identities; and his insistence elsewhere that Cornwall was historically and culturally distinct from England. Lady Mary Trefusis formed the Cornish Branch of the English Folk Dance Society in 1920[60], they held their first festival in Penzance in June of that year[61] and Jenner seems to have been involved with the organisation. Schools were represented from as far up as St Austell and the children were taught dances in preparation for the event. There were taught eighteen country-dances, five Morris dances and a sword dance. The Helston Furry was included as a country-dance, although choreographically and folkloristically it is closer to the Tideswell Processional, which was included in the same programme as a Morris dance. There were no other dances from Cornwall in the programme which considering

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

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

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

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

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

Twelve songs were included, nine of which were reprinted from Baring-Gould's collection courtesy of his publishers. Of these one was *Widdicombe Fair*, a variant of which, *Helston Fair* was collected in Cornwall in 1878. This predates Baring Gould's publication in *Songs And Ballads Of The West* and allows for the case to be made for a parallel Cornish evolution of this song to the Devon one. It seems that Jenner was unaware of the Helston version and does not attempt to link *Widdicombe Fair* to Cornwall for all one might argue Celtic influence in the personal and place names. Not only was this a song strongly identified across the border with Devon but also the very song that convinced Baring-Gould that there must be more and better material out there to collect.[70] This is in stark contrast to *The Streams Of Lovely Nancy* which is open to Arthurian allusion[71] and *The Keenly Lode* which is rich in Cornish dialect and Celtic words like *bal* (mine).

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

glimpse of world of the “Celtic Right” described by Lowenna[73] and supports the notion that Jenner valued his class connections at the expense of any serious study of folk tradition that formed an integral part of the Celtic Imaginary elsewhere.

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

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

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

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

During his time at Nancledra, Nance collected dialect, traditional stories and ideas and incorporated these into the script, music, songs and dances of what became known as *The Cledry Plays* but also included what he termed "Christmas Guize Dance Drolls".[82] Although three plays were eventually published in 1956[83] and articles with Cledry play material were occasionally included in the Old Cornwall Society Magazines, the bulk of extant material concerning these plays now lies within the Nance manuscripts held by the Courtney Library.[84] This comprises of a large number of lyric drafts and play scripts together with roughed out ideas in music score, which are subsequently compiled as fair copies ready for printing or duplication to provide a script for performance. Eight distinct plays are identifiable: *Duffy and the Devil*; *Sally's Shiners*; *The Kite In The Castle*; *Pliskan Pot*; *Change-about*; *The Devil May Play / Pay;*[85] *The Humours of Jan and Doll*; and *The Christmas Play of St George*. The first five plays have the tunes associated with them set out ready for a publisher in a music manuscript book. Sometimes there are just a few bars to be sung as part of the text and sometimes the music is identified with a distinct song or dance.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Cornish Song Book accommodates Celto-Cornish expectations of Arthurian mythology with three items: Nance's *Arta Ef a-Dhe* (He, i.e. King Arthur, Shall Come Again) in Cornish; *Merlin the Diviner,* an English translation from Barzazh Breizh; and Jenner's *The Story of St Just (son of King Geraint)* in Latin. A further classical Cornish allusion is provided by *The Pool of Pilate* translated from two verses of the Ordinalia arranged to be sung to a "melody based on an Old Cornish Folk-tune". The slightly more "Great Western Railway" model of Cornish identity suggested by Payton[98] also materialises in the form of *John Sturtridge and the Piskies* with the footnote: " A Cornish Song Book without the Piskies would be incomplete... ..... John Sturtridge is adapted from 'Piskie Laden' by the late Rev John Isabell of Padstow"[99]. In much the same vein are *A Cornish Smuggler's Song* (to the tune of the Lincolnshire Poacher) and *The Mermaid* the lyrics of both of which were composed jointly by Dunstan and J.

C. Tregarthen[100]. Hawker's *Featherstones Doom* is set to music by Dunstan and completes the GWR model by providing reference to Wreckers. However well rooted these story lines are in Cornwall's mythology and Celticity what is striking is that they all had to be specially composed, none were obtained from oral tradition and arguably none have since entered oral tradition with the possible exception of the tune to *Featherstone's Doom*.[101]

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

Survival

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

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

being drawn from dialect, folklore and Cornish historical themes. Dunstan seems to have collected sufficient material for a further publication in this series but died before he could do so and his manuscripts for this work were not preserved[104]. There are no songs in the Cornish language and Cornishness is expressed through the dialect and context of the songs and their narratives. There are contributions from RJ Noal, R Morton Nance, Jim Thomas and Tregonning-Hooper, all of whom were active members of the Old Cornwall Society and part of the evolving Celto-Cornish movement. Dunstan was not only recording from contemporary oral tradition and feeding back into the tradition reflectively, he was also mediating this material as an expression of Cornish identity. More than eighty years later a large part of this material remains within the canon of Cornish oral folk tradition.

Between them, the *Cornish Song Book* and *Cornish Dialect and Folk Song* contain 186 songs, tunes and carols of which 73 are collected from oral tradition. Dunstan is rarely recognised or cited outside of Cornish Studies yet in the context of Cornwall this places him well within the league of Baring-Gould as a collector. As an oral historian, he is interesting in that for all his musical training and professional career he was a product of the very musical tradition he was recording. He was born at Feock, engaged with local band culture from an early age and frequent references in *The Cornish Song Book* show him to have been familiar with the Tea Treat and regatta music of late nineteenth century Cornwall. What is also significant is the relationship he records with his informants, which was that of a shared culture and equality rather than collector/ informant. These two publications inspired a series of subsequent collections which drew on material collected from oral folk tradition in Cornwall for example: *Canow Kernow* (1966) edited by Gundry[105]; *Hengan* (1983) edited by Davey[106]; and *Ilow Kernow* (2000) edited by O'Connor.[107]

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bard, and not the hierarchic structure of Bards, Ovates and Druids adopted by the Welsh and Breton Gorsedds. This egalitarianism may not have been universal in everything he did and does seem at odds to his fairly autocratic approach to the Cornish Language and his own unified version[109]. Similarly, it could be argued that Nance's management of the Cornish Language in for example the *Old Cornwall* magazine was far from egalitarian. He was not the only editor, however, and apart from articles in or about the Cornish Language and dialect, seems to have limited editorial involvement to the occasional interpretive footnote. For example, there are a series of notes in the 1926 – 1927 issues concerning the song *Heligan / Lankyloo*, the Manx connection of which clearly appealed to Nance's sense of Celticity but he provides additional discussion about the song and its provenance rather than exercising any editorial control over the material originally submitted.

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

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

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

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

Norman Mannell, Grampound

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

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

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

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

The *Hal An Tow* provides a case study which illustrates the impact of the Celto-Cornish movement in Cornwall. It is a Guize Dance performance which takes place during the course of the Helston Flora Day celebrations which had all but died out towards the end of the nineteenth century and was re-instated by the Helston Old Cornwall Society in 1930[121]. They used information provided by older Helstonians and an observational trip to the Padstow May Day celebrations in 1929 to provide a Guize Dance Play which was performed by boys from the Helston Grammar School. Howard Curnow, Helston Town Crier[122], has described the evolution of *Hal An Tow* since then with the tradition being inherited by the Helston Community School in the 1960s and opened out to involve the wider community by 2000. Observed in 2006, 2007 and 2008 the *Hal An Tow* continued to show the influence of the Celto-Cornish revivalists with its opening welcome in English and Cornish to "friends from overseas and our English neighbours",[123] Cornish Language banners and the addition of St Piran to the characters portrayed. In 2008 observers and participants are left in little doubt as to the Cornish identity being expressed and it is interesting to see *Green Man* imagery evolve in the banners which perhaps reflects an element of New Age Celticity rather than a linguistic model. The play nevertheless remains a Guize dance in its original location and recognisable from any nineteenth century description of the custom.

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[7] Two examples of this:

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

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

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

Link to thesis website

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[20] Stephen D Winnick "Breton Folk Music, Breton Identity, and Alan Stivell's Again" *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 108, No. 429 (Summer, 1995), pp. 334-354. Published by: American Folklore Society Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/541889 Accessed: 25/03/2009. Barzaz Breizh and discussion concerning authenticity featured in the first Celtic Congress held in St Brieuc in 1867.

[21]Stephen D. Winnick "Breton Folk Music".

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

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

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

[25] Polig Montjerret *Toniòu Breizh Izel*, (Brest, Bodadeg Ar Sonerion, 1984). Also conversations between author and Polig Montjarret at the Pan Celtic Festival in Killarney in May 1980 and the Festival Interceltic in Lorient in August 1980. Polig was a member of both organising committees at that time and was instrumental in inviting a dance group to represent Cornwall in Lorient. Montjarret also contributed to a workshop on Bagpipes at the Lowender Peran Festival in Perranporth 1985.

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

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

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

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

[29] Alan Gailey, “The Nature of Tradition”, p154.

[30]The Chieftains. Chieftains 2. Claddagh Records Ltd (1969), LP.
The Chieftains were formed in 1962. Their second album features the first recorded work by 17th/18th century composer Turlough O' Carolan, one of the harpers from the tradition identified by Bunting.

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

[32] Gailey, “The Nature of Tradition”, p. 154.

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

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

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

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

[37] Dundes, "Nationalistic Inferiority Complexes”. p.10.

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

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

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

[41] Dundes ,"Nationalistic Inferiority Complexes ...”, p.11.

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

[43] John Rowe, *Cornwall in the age of the Industrial Revolution*. (St Austell, Cornish Hillside Press, 1993), p. 127.

[44] Bernard Deacon, "The Hollow Jarring of the Distant Steam Engines: Images of Cornwall between West Barbary and Delectable Duchy.", in *Cornwall, the Cultural Construction of Place*, ed. Ella Westland, (Penzance, Patten Press, 1997).

[45] Gilbert, Davies. *Some Ancient Christmas Carols* Second ed. (London: John Nichols And Son, , 1823), Th Helston Forey – a Specimen of Celtick Music.

[46] Philip Payton. "Paralysis and Revival: The reconstruction of Celtic -Catholic Cornwall 1880 -1945." in *Cornwall: The Cultural Construction Of Place*, ed. Ella Westland, (Penzance, Patten Press, 1997), pp. 25-39.

[47] Bernard Deacon, "The reformulation of territorial identity: Cornwall in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" (unpublished PhD Thesis, Faculty of Social Sciences, Open University.2001), p. 316.

[48] Amy Hale, "Genesis of the Celto-Cornish Revival", p100.

[49] Lesley Stevenson, "Scotland the Real: The Representation of Traditional Music in Scottish Tourism." (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Glasgow University, 2004), p.22. For example, shows the impact of Herders construction of "folk music" on the development of Scottish identity and tourism.

[50] Amy Hale, "Genesis of the Celto-Cornish Revival", p.107. Citing *Celtia* September 1902.

[51] Philip Payton "The Great Western Railway and the Cornish-Celtic Revival " in *Cornish Studies, **3***, ed. Philip Payton, (Exeter, Exeter University Press,1995), pp. 83 - 99.

[52] For example, appendix 1.1 lists 639 items of folk phenomena collected from oral tradition in Cornwall. Neither Merlin, King Arthur nor Piskies are referred to in any of the titles and there are just two references to smugglers and two to pasties.

[53] Chapman, *The Celts,* p.138.

[54] For example, in the Padstow traditions of Winter Mumming and May day, the tourists are seen as outsiders and not part of the event, at the same time they are essential to the atmosphere of both festivals.

[55] Henry Jenner. *A handbook of the Cornish language, chiefly in its latest stages, with some account of its history and literature*. (London, D. Nutt. 1904)

[56] Derek Williams (ed.), *Henry and Katherine Jenner: A celebration of Cornwall's Culture, Language and Identity*. (London, Francis Boutle 2004).

[57] Courtney Library, Royal Institution of Cornwall, Jenner Manuscript Boxes.

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[58] "The Late Lady Mary Trefusis." *The Journal of the English Folk Dance Society*.1 (1927), pp. 46-47.

[59] Courtney Library, Jenner Manuscripts Box 24, packet 24.

[60] Courtney Library, Jenner Manuscripts Box 7 packet 1: notice of Committee meeting 20th Feb 1920

[61] Courtney Library, Jenner Manuscripts Box 7 packet 11: Folk Dancing Festival Penzance – Programme Sat 26th June 1920.

[62] Gwen Masters, interviewed by Alison Davey 12th July 1997, (An Daras Project Audio Archive, 120797-1) described a well established scoot dancing tradition taking place in the farmhouse kitchens in and around Blisland when she was a teenager in the inter-war years. This is interesting as contact address for the Launceston Folk Dance Festival 1929 was given as Blisland. Either the festival organiser had little contact with local people, judged that these dances were not suitable for this festival, or was not in a position to change an established programme of folk dances. For further discussion of fold dance activity in Cornwall at this time see Merv Davey,et al. *Scoot Dances, Troyls, Furrys and Tea Treats: The Cornish Dance Tradition*. (London, Francis Boutle & Co, 2009), pp. 17-56.

[63] Henry Jenner, "The Renaissance of Merry England: Presidential address, September 1920", *Journal of Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society* (Falmouth),1922, pp. 51 – 61.

[64] Henry Jenner, *The Renaissance of Merry England,* footnote p. 60.

[65] Henry Jenner, *The Renaissance of Merry England,* footnote p. 51.

[66] Alfred Percival Graves,*The Celtic song book : being representative folk songs of the six Celtic nations.* (London, E. Benn. 1928).

[67] Gwavas manuscript ,1698, (British Museum MSS 28554) p135- item 9, see appendix 2.1.

[68] William Pryce, *Archaeologia Cornu-Britannica,* (Sherborne, 1790) p. 245, see appendix 2.1.

[69] Ralph Dunstan, Ed. *The Cornish Song Book, Lyver Canow Kernewek,* (London, Reid Bros Ltd 1929).

[70] Sabine Baring-Gould, *Further Reminiscenes,* (London, John Lane The Bodley Head Ltd, 1925). p. 184.

[71] G, Gilchrist. "Come All You Little Streamers.", *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* 1913 Vol 4, no17, pp. 312- 4.

[72] Alfred Percival Graves, *The Celtic song book,* p 256.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[88] Charles Lee. *Dorinda's Birthday : A Cornish Idyll.* (London; New York: J.M. Dent; E.P. Dutton, 1911).

[89] Tom Miners, “The Mummers Play In West Cornwall” *Old Cornwall* (St Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1928) Vol 1, no 8, pp. 4 – 16.

[90] Ralph Dunstan, Ed. *The Cornish Song Book*, p. 73.

[91] Gundry, *Canow Kernow,* p. 33.

[92] Gundry, *Canow Kernow,* p. 50.

[93] Courtney Library, Jenner Manuscripts

[94] Obituary: "Ralph Dunstan." *Musical Times* (London The Musical Times Publications Ltd, 1933) Vol 74, Issue 1084.

[95] Graves, *The Celtic song book.*

[96] Ralph Dunstan “The Cornish Song Book: Lyver Canow Kernewek” *Old Cornwall* (St Ives, Federation Of Old Cornwall Societies,1929) Vol1, No 9, p. 35.

[97] Dunstan,*The Cornish Song Book,* p.4.

[98] Philip Payton, and P Thornton, “The Great Western Railway and the Cornish-Celtic Revival”, in *Cornish Studies 3, ed. Philip Payton,* (Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 1995), p. 83.

[99] Dunstan, *The Cornish Song Book.* p. 29.

[100] Dunstan, *The Cornish Song Book,* pp. 62 and 66.

[101] Frances Bennet et al, eds, *Racca 2: Cornish Tunes for Cornish Sessions*, (Calstock, Racca Project, 1997), p. 238.

[102] Ralph Dunstan, *A Second book of carols sixty six traditional and Tudor carols.* (London, Reid Bros.1925)

[103] Dundes, "Nationalistic Inferiority Complexes and the Fabrication of Fakelore”, pp. 5-18.

[104] Inglis Gundry: interview with author 26th Oct 1987. Gundry had contacted Dunstan’s family when researching Canow Kernow, he had kept his papers in the garden gazebo whre he had worked and these had been irreparably damaged by the damp.

[105] Gundry, *Canow Kernow.*

[106] Merv Davey, *Hengan : traditional folk songs, dances and broadside ballads collected in Cornwall.* (Redruth, Dyllansow Truran, 1983).

[107] Mike O'Connor, *Ilow Kernow: The Traditional Instrumental Music of Cornwall.* (Wadebridge, Lyngham House, 2000).

[108] Robert Morton Nance, “What We Stand For”, *Old Cornwall ,* (St Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, April 1925) Vol. 1, No 1, pp. 3-45.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[121] Merv Davey *Scoot Dances,* p. 33.

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

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

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

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

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

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