

## Chapter 6 Competing speech communities

The final chapter of this section focuses on the evolution of folk tradition, and the new spaces created for performance, within the Celto-Cornish movement through the latter half of the twentieth century to the current era of festival culture and Pan-Celticism. It makes the case that the Celto-Cornish movement and the folk revival that arrived in Cornwall in the sixties represent different speech communities, which competed for ownership of oral folk tradition and the authenticity it represented. It must be also be recognised that there is a third speech community with a stake in the celebration of tradition, the local community within which it takes place. One outcome of these competing speech communities is the way in which the same folk phenomena will be used to express quite different identities. The Padstow May Day festivities for example are a celebration that firstly represents a sense of the towns community<sup>1</sup> and secondly a Celto-Cornish tradition<sup>2</sup> but at the same time is used as an icon by the English Folk Dance And Song Society.<sup>3</sup> Underlying this discussion, however, must be the recognition that identity is chaotically unique for each individual and each group of individuals, all of which are at the centre of a “complex web of being”.<sup>4</sup> In order to pursue this argument it is first necessary to revisit and examine more closely what is meant by a speech community and how this might affect performance and meaning within oral folk tradition.

### *Speech Communities*

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

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

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

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

Thus from the perspective of the Celto-Cornish movement this is a shared imaginary of people who identify themselves with a notion of being Cornish and distinct from the people across the border in Devon and England. This is an emotive rather than cognitive sense of being and illustrated by Jenner's response to the question "Why Learn Cornish?", "The question is a fair one, the answer is a simple. Because they are Cornishmen".<sup>7</sup> A century later Cornish Grand Bard, Mick Paynter, responded to the question of what makes someone Cornish with "People are Cornish by birth, parentage or *inclination*".<sup>8</sup> A sense of Cornish distinctiveness is also illustrated by the Helston town criers introduction to the performance of the Hal an Tow which welcomes all, including "Our English neighbours".<sup>9</sup> Similar sentiments are also expressed at another folk tradition setting at Padstow. During the May Day celebrations, one of the Masters of Ceremony engages the crowd waiting for the Old Oss shortly before it exits the Golden Lion at 11 am by welcoming "our visitors" and teaching them to sing the May Song<sup>10</sup>. Thus making it clear that they are outsiders but at the same time welcome to join in the celebrations. In Padstow, as Magliocco shows in *Oss Tales*<sup>11</sup> there is also a strong sense of locality and identification with long standing families in the town. The term "visitor" is typically used to denote tourist in North Cornwall so the Master of Ceremonies here is acknowledging both the Padstow families / outsider identities and the Cornish local / visitor identities.

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

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

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

Linguistic Relativity or the Sapir-Whorfe Hypothesis<sup>18</sup> and the extent to which language and thinking inter-relate spirals into a complex debate about the power of language over thinking on the one hand,<sup>19</sup> and the extent to which thinking takes place outside of language on the other.<sup>20</sup> i.e. how much is thought governed by language and how much can thought exist outside of language Taken at the micro level, however, the significance and meaning ascribed to certain terms by speech communities helps to define those communities. O'Neil used the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis to examine the impact of language difference in his study of Native American communities. His summarisation might equally well apply to different speech communities in Cornwall: "We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way, an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified

in the patterns of our language.”<sup>21</sup> Whilst the symbolic use of both Cornish and Cornu-English provides a marker for a speech community sharing the Celtic imaginary in Cornwall, what is also important is the meaning and significance ascribed to terms in everyday English usage. The very word “Celtic” used by one speech community carries a significance that relates it to the six surviving Celtic languages. Another community, however, could describe Morris dancing as Celtic on the basis that they believe it to have roots in customs that date back to a time when the whole of Britain was “Celtic” and before Anglo Saxon influences.<sup>22</sup> We have seen the very term folk vary in meaning and connotation. For the early Old Cornwall Societies, folk tradition in Cornwall was synonymous with the Celtic but for Sharp, the folk songs and dance of romanticised rurality were quintessentially English.

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

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

Just as identity is multi-faceted and complex, so these speech communities cannot be seen as separate homogenous groups and some individuals may at different times and in different contexts engage with folk tradition from the perspective of more than one.<sup>28</sup> What all these speech communities have in common is a stake in the folk phenomena in question. At one level this is simply the opportunity for socialising and pleasure in a community event or as McCarthy described the Padstow Mummers day “it is just an excuse for a bit of fun all I want to do is drink a lot and have a bloody good time”<sup>29</sup>. At another it provides an opportunity for a shared expression of identity as we have seen with the Hal an Tow and Padstow May traditions. Where communities compete, however, is where these traditions are used to express and authenticate opposing identities such as being Cornish, in the sense understood by the Celto-Cornish movement or being English in the way understood by Sharp and the successive English Folk Revivals.

### ***Celtitude and Festivals***

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

The pan-Celtic movement in Cornwall emphasised the Cornish language at the expense of other vehicles of Cornish Celtic identity during the first half of the nineteenth century. This changed after the war, however, and by the time of the 1950 Celtic Congress, the Celto-Cornish movement had increased its stake in folk tradition with a Cornish and Celtic Dance School forming in Truro and an Inter-Celtic festival in St Ives in 1949.<sup>32</sup> Denys Val Baker articulated the Celtic Imaginary of Cornwall when he described the 1949 Festival in the Cornish Review:

The aim of the St Ives festival will be to recapture the national culture of the Celtic people; the preservation and teaching of Celtic languages; the popularisation of the music dances, games and industries of the Celt; and the promotion of greater unity between the Celtic nations. Competitions will be held in Celtic Music, literature, languages, Dancing, and games. .... The festival culminates in an all-Celtic Ceilidhe, with teams of visiting dancers, and the famous Helston Furry Dancers are performing the traditional Cornish Dance.<sup>33</sup>

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

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

The Cornish Fest Noz: Two nights ago I saw the most amazing thing -- I went to a Cornish Fest Noz. The first hour was a teach-in for newcomers, and a warm-up for the masses. A group of determined and talented teenage girls got on stage and took over. They formed us up in a big ring, linking arms, and then they started playing. ....  
..... One dance would be pure Breton. Then the next would be one modelled on a Breton dance but a wild Cornish exuberance was now being

given free rein. The circles widened, spun faster, there were wild whoops of joy, like in some of the Scottish dances, there were new steps, partners were swung around.<sup>36</sup>

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

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

The Festival Interceltique held in Lorient provides a case study showing how Pan Celtic festival culture increased the Celto-Cornish movement’s stake in folk tradition and impacted upon interpretation and performance in Cornwall. In the current form it came into being in 1970 but was based around an older bagpipe festival organised by Bodadeg ar Sonerion the Breton Bagpipe society. It quickly became one of the largest festivals of its kind in Europe with a multi-million pound turnover (and a head office in Paris). Bagpipes remain an integral part of the festival’s showcase and for this reason it was perhaps inevitable that the original Six Nations concept of the Pan Celtic Movement should be stretched to incorporate Asturias and Galicia in Northern Spain both of which had thriving marching pipe band traditions. The Festival Interceltique did

not limit itself to folk song and dance tradition and embraced a much wider culture of the Celtic imaginary with choir concerts, military pipe bands, popular, rock and orchestral music concerts, arts and crafts and inter-Celtic sports such as Breton / Cornish Wrestling .<sup>37</sup> In short, it was (and is), a large popular music and cultural festival using the Celtic imaginary as a marketable commodity. Matheson's study of the Glasgow Celtic Connections Festival, which started more recently but is of a similar size and structure, suggests such commoditisation of culture does not necessarily detract from the authenticity of experience for participants. She shows that Celtic Connections "is a festival for the Scottish peoples and acts as a means of identity" it also "remains infused with sufficient interaction to suggest that the authenticity of the experience or, indeed, the object have not been destroyed by the commoditisation process".<sup>38</sup>

### ***Celtic Critique***

Of the voices of Celtic critique it is Chapman who scrutinises the festival scene and describes the Festival Interceltique in Lorient in very different terms:

The fete Inter-Celtique gathers 'Celts' from all the 'Celtic nations'. Self styled, highly educated, intellectual and youthful 'Celts' (many of them studious language learners) come to share their identity, to drink, dance, play music, listen to music, deplore oppression, fight nuclear power, oppose colonialism, lament militarism, buy craftwork and so on..... It would be easy from a superficial, temporary and enthusiastic view of an event like this ..... to represent what was going on as a genuine popular festival of transnational solidarity embedded in its Celtic location.<sup>39</sup>

There is little evidence to support this statement from the events and performers programmed during the festival in the eighties and early nineties<sup>40</sup>, although nationalist tensions in Ireland and Brittany were sometimes the subject of material included by performers like Stivell.<sup>41</sup> Contrarily, the pipe band spectacles, which have been a feature of the festival since its inception, are clearly inspired by the military tattoo such as that performed annually at Edinburgh castle.

Chapman's description was circulated to groups who attended from Cornwall in 2009 and the broad response was to emphasise the scale and spectacle of the festival

together with the opportunities to meet with people sharing a taste for the music, dance and craftwork being promoted:

I was struck by the sheer size of this festival: some 650,000 visitors (more than the whole population of Cornwall!), 4,000 performers, huge media coverage across Brittany, France & the rest of the world, hundreds of stalls selling everything and anything linked with the Celtic world.....<sup>42</sup>

Festival is an amazing opportunity to meet new people, learn about different traditions and make friends from all over the world. The festival draws together a combination of music, dancing and singing and is enjoyed immensely by both performers and observers. The light hearted festival is looked forward to by thousands ever year, and never fails to disappoint. .... A gathering of the most bizarre, and probably the coolest people in the celtic (whole?) world, drinking, dancing and generally having a good time. In an evening I bumped into a Viking called Manix, an Asturian who looked like Mr.Bean, and a Scotsman in traditional costume - and converse sneakers.<sup>43</sup>

Correspondents recognised the opportunity to share identity from Chapman's description but not the "studious language learner". Nor was there any reference to events or activities around the politics of "oppression", "colonialism", "militarism" or "nuclear power". Although this seems to be another example of the dislocation between academic and practitioner in Celtic studies Chapman's warning about presuming transnational solidarity in a Celtic location does need to be examined more closely. For all its size, the Festival Interceltique is a manifestation of the pan-Celtic movement and does not necessarily represent the wider populations of the regions from which it is drawn. To extend Chapman's argument, it is unlikely that a random sample of people on the streets of Dublin, Cardiff, Truro, Brest, or, in the particular example cited by him, Lorient, would identify strongly with the notion of a trans-national pan-Celtic community. There are no comparative studies currently available here so it is difficult to argue against this point.

It must nevertheless be recognised that the people of Lorient are exposed for several weeks of the year to extensive publicity around the festival and the Celtic identity it celebrates. If this attracts their attention at all then they will have some sense

of transnational Celticism. A comparable event in Ireland is the Fèile Pan Cheilteach, held in a different part of the country each year. Again, the publicity around this festival, particularly the images and logo used<sup>44</sup> would draw attention to wider Celtic links. A phenomena parallel to these festivals that draws attention to pan-Celticism is the specialist record industry around Celtic music. This is much more global than the festivals held at specific geographic locations. High street record stores are invited to use the category “Celtic” and under this category browsers will see albums included from across the Celtic regions and albums which have tracks of music from more than one Celtic region. Good examples from the era in which Chapman is writing would be the Chieftains and Alan Stivell, both of whom included arrangements of music from other Celtic regions in addition to their native traditions. Current examples are Mabon<sup>45</sup> a contemporary folk rock band from Wales and in contrast the more traditional St Lawrence O’Toole Pipe Band<sup>46</sup> where again, a broad range of music from the Celtic regions is represented. Record browsers and fans of these groups will frequently be exposed to the notion of a transnational Celticity.

In her study of the “Celtic Connections” festival, Matheson<sup>47</sup> shows that the term “Celtic” is used to denote the musical culture of Ireland and Scotland to the exclusion of Wales, Cornwall and the Isle of Man.<sup>48</sup> In a sense this is another speech community that identifies Celticity with Irish and Scottish music and a cross over between the two. In Cornwall, however, expressions of Cornish identity frequently connect with pan-Celticism. The description of the Cornish Language on the Cornwall Council web site<sup>49</sup>, for example, emphasises its place as part of the family of Celtic languages and the article is supported by an image of the St Piran’s Day procession on Perran sands which celebrates the arrival of St Piran from Ireland. Likewise, the annual Cornish Gorsedh welcomes representative from Wales and Brittany as an integral part of the ceremony. Furthermore, festivals like Lowender Peran and Aberfest have specifically evolved around a Cornish pan-Celtic identity. This may suggest that the Celto-Cornish movement perceives a need to draw on the wider recognition and strength of pan-Celtic identity but nevertheless shows that it is important factor influencing the way that oral folk tradition is interpreted in Cornwall.

### ***Expressing the Celtic Imaginary***

By staging the artefacts of oral folk tradition within the Celtic Imaginary alongside such icons as the choirs, pipe bands, wrestling and neo druidism these artefacts connect with and became part of the expression of Celticity. The French word

“Celtitude” refers to a sense of belonging to Celtic culture and is used in Brittany to draw attention to its distinctive cultural identity. Wilkinson expands on the term to show that this connection can be as much about experience as ethnicity:

For me the twin concepts of Bretonnitude and Celtitude imply a psychosocial construct, a set of assumed though constantly debated – attitudes and attributes . I suggest that precisely because these terms are imprecise and abstract, they constitute a useful and non-exclusive way of describing the cultural reality under discussion here. Bretonnitude and Celtitude imply less a statement of ethnic belonging and more to ways of experiencing or participating in cultural world shaped in Brittany ..... by a pan-Celtic imagescape.<sup>50</sup>

Wilkinson relates this experience to cultural activities that appear in the later twentieth century :

Celtitude can thus encompass a whole range of cultural expression ranging from obscure Druidic rituals to business strategies.... During the last three decades of the twentieth century, there has been a new fusion of the building blocks of music, mythology history, and politics in Brittany to give contemporary meaning and form to Celtitude. Though one might continue to view them through the lens of some well known critiques that point to the constructed and by implication artificial nature of the Celtic imaginary ..... they give shape to a definable and tangible social reality, which demands to be treated as such, whether one accepts the given logic of its pedigree or not.<sup>51</sup>

This provides an interesting comparison to the evolution of Celticity in Cornwall which can boast a similar range of cultural expression of Celticity.<sup>52</sup>

The impact upon Cornwall has been to provide an international platform for Cornish performers and an expectation that performance would represent Cornwall’s Celtic Imaginary. One of the first performers to become involved was Brenda Wootton<sup>53</sup> in 1970 who subsequently described this as the launch of her professional career. Although locally well known, her activity until this date had largely been limited to events at the Minack Theatre, and the folk club circuit. After her appearance at the

Lorient Festival she attracted large audiences on the continent and became known by the name “Pamplmouse”.<sup>54</sup> Brenda’s daughter, Sue Luxton, was acting as her manager and took on the co-ordination of Cornish representation at the festival. This representation was wide ranging and by no means did oral folk tradition provide the only performance material, the punk rock band Bates Motel, for example, regularly represented Cornwall. Dance groups were also in demand as the spectacle provided by dance displays had much to offer a festival like this with large outdoor events.

Chapter five shows that oral folk tradition provided a sense of authenticity for the Pan Celtic movement. This was particularly significant for dance where, unlike song lyrics, choreography could not so easily express Celticity through language or narrative. The opportunity for travel and large audiences encouraged the formation of dance teams along the lines of the Breton Cercle Celtique and the Welsh Dawnsyr Werin but the pressure was also on them to research Cornish dance traditions in order to establish a repertoire that could be understood as authentic. In this they were fortunate in that antiquarian interest in the nineteenth century, and the Old Cornwall Society Movement from the 1920s, had already laid down the foundations for the music and dance which might be used for this. Cornish Scoot (step) dancing which lends itself well to choreographic arrangement for display, continued within oral tradition well into this period with practitioners from oral tradition who were able to teach the formative dance groups.<sup>55</sup> This in turn broadened the domain of the Celto-Cornish movement extending the range of activities seen as Celtic in Cornwall and added to the vocabulary of the speech community. Dance brought with it words from oral folk tradition like Troyl, the Cornish equivalent for a Fest Noz or Ceilidh and Scoot a term for step dancing. It also introduced words from Cornish into wider English usage within the Celto-Cornish movement and beyond in that the dance groups identified themselves by Cornish names following the lead of their Breton and Welsh counterparts. For example Cam Kernewek - Cornish Step; Ros Kelttek – Celtic Circle; Myrghes an Vro – Daughters of the Land (Women’s Institute dancers); and Bagas Byghan – Little Group.<sup>56</sup>

The importance here is that the pan-Celtic festival culture created (and creates) a more dynamic cultural environment for traditional dance and its associated music due to its more participative nature.<sup>57</sup> The more dynamic environment created an interest and demand for material not satisfied by the publications and collections to date. This resulted in a number of booklets and song sheets produced by individual performers

and organisations it also encouraged two major collection projects, which effectively continue the sequence of collection described in chapters four five and six through to the end of the twentieth century. *Corollyn: Cornish Dances*<sup>58</sup> and *Racca: Cornish Tunes For Cornish Sessions*<sup>59</sup> were both projects articulating Cornwall's Celticity and expressed the shared sense of identity, language and collective memory of the Celto-Cornish speech community.

*Corollyn* (Cornish – let us dance) was a collaborative project between the various Cornish dance groups and the University of Plymouth College of Art and Design. The latter used the project to enable final year students to submit an entry to the newly formed Celtic Film Festival taking place in Brittany in the summer of 1992. Forty four dances were included of which twenty had been collected directly from oral tradition by members of the groups. The remainder were drawn from Old Cornwall Society publications and antiquarian sources as well as Dunstan and Gundry. The project published the dances as a book with accompanying audiocassette of tunes together with a video, which provided a documentary style history and demonstration of Cornish dance. The sound track was recorded in Cornish as well as English so that the University could enter it for the Cornish language section of the Celtic Film festival.

*Racca* was also a collaborative project which adopted the following rationale and objectives:

The notion of a Cornish tune book evolved during the "Tune Swap day" held at Fowey in February 1995. There had long been a demand for a book of Cornish dance music but an interest in collecting together a common repertoire of session tunes was also expressed. A small working group drawn from the participants of the Tune Swap day were 'volunteered!' to take on this project. The aim was to collect the following: old and new Cornish tunes currently in vogue amongst traditional musicians and groups in Cornwall, and lesser known tunes that warrant an airing in the common repertoire."<sup>60</sup>

In the event the first edition contained some 165 tunes, the majority of which were sourced from oral tradition, a further 75 tunes were added in 1997 but a much greater proportion of these were newly composed. For the purposes of this thesis newly composed material has not been included in the database in appendix 1. The

database shows that much of the material included in *Racca* had also been recorded in earlier collections. In some instances this represents continuity, especially when associated with an original location, for example *Tom Bawcock's Eve*, *Hal An Tow* and *Bodmin Riding*. Others such as Dunstan's tea treat marches and *Joan Sanderson* seem more likely to have been re-introduced by the Celto-Cornish movement who used Dunstan<sup>61</sup>, Gundry<sup>62</sup> and other collectors as their source. The tunes in the *Racca* project nevertheless show varying degrees of change from the original source which illustrate both the process of oral tradition as a model adopted by this thesis and the importance of continuity and re-introduction as vectors within this process. The tune to the dance of Harvey Darvey provides a good example of the way in which these vectors can merge. R J Noall described the dance and tune at a meeting of the St Ives Old Cornwall Society in 1927<sup>63</sup> and it was subsequently published in *Old Cornwall*. Groups found no examples of this within oral tradition during the nineteen eighties although the dance is defined by its step patterns rather than moves, which are very simple, and these steps were similar to those collected for the broom dances<sup>64</sup>. By the time *Racca* was published in 1995 there were four variations of this tune identified.

What both the *Corollyn* and the *Racca* projects do is provide a snapshot of the traditional material in vogue during the mid nineteen nineties. What it is also important to recognise is that both projects were community based and that ownership remained within that community much as the material recorded by the Old Cornwall Societies remained in the ownership of the source. This community ownership addresses some of the criticism of folk song collecting voiced by Boyse<sup>65</sup> and Harker<sup>66</sup> who felt that popular folk culture had been appropriated as an agency for middle class values. The issue here is not so much the socio economic status of those involved as the fact that it was the original performers and participants who were recording this material in order to share with each other rather than the material being collected by an outside agency for its own purposes.

The *Corollyn* and *Racca* projects also serve to show how language is used within the Celto-Cornish speech community as an expression of the Celtic imaginary in Cornish folk tradition. In *Racca*, 99 out of the 251 tunes included use Cornish language or dialect as the principle or alternative title. Likewise, *Corollyn* provides Cornish / dialect titles for 23 out of the 38 dances included. The Lowender Peran Festival Anniversary Programme of 2008 listed 31 dance bands and display groups that had performed at the festival over the previous twenty years. Of these 20 had Cornish

language names and 8 names based on dialect expressions. Both the *Corollyn* and *Racca* projects together with earlier published collections of songs such as *Hengan*<sup>67</sup>, *Canow Kernow*<sup>68</sup> and *Cornish Dialect and Folk Song*<sup>69</sup> make use of Cornish / Dialect terms used in connection with folk song and dance not typically used in the English / British folk dance and song movement. The glossary in appendix 5 provides a detailed list of specialist and dialect terms but examples of this would be a “Crawdy Crawn”, a form of hand drum; “Racca”, a music session; and “Droll teller”, story teller.

### ***Orthodoxy and Eclecticism***

The Celto-Cornish movement and its engagement with oral folk tradition in the wider community in Cornwall steadily grew throughout the inter-war years and on to the festival culture of the seventies. As well as sponsoring Dunstan's *Cornish Song Book – Lyver Canow Kernow* and Gundry's *Canow Kernow* the movement was directly involved with promoting traditions such as the *Hal An Tow*<sup>70</sup> and *Crying the Neck*<sup>71</sup>. Cornwall may have parallels with other Celtic regions here but in England the folk movement lost its impetus with the death of major players such as Sharp and Baring Gould in the nineteen twenties. In the early fifties Ewan MacColl and A.L. (Bert) Lloyd spearheaded what is arguably the Second English Folk Revival. Gammon rejects that this was simply a continuation of the first revival suggesting that there were a number of differences.<sup>72</sup> He points out that it was located in different social and physical spaces, there was a wider ranging and less affluent group of people involved and performance was more likely to take place in a pub than polite society drawing room.

Initially, at any rate, there was little involvement in dance and it was musically very different drawing upon contemporary composition as much as oral folk tradition. There is also a sense here in which folk became a genre of popular music rather than a definition of musical origin or process. Indeed the International Folk Music Council's emphasis on the term “tradition” rather than “folk” at the Sao Paulo conference in 1955 was a reflection of this change.

Livingstone's description of music revivals as “middle class phenomena which play an important role in the formulation and maintenance of a class-based identity of subgroups of individuals disaffected with aspects of contemporary life”,<sup>73</sup> accords well with the rural imaginary of Sharp and the English Folk Dance And Song Society of Edwardian times. The folk song revival of MacColl and Lloyd with its politically charged

repertoire of protest songs, however, is better suited to the Gramscian definition used by Portelli:

The expression “folk song” implies at least two factors: a source located outside the culture of the ruling elites (Antonio Gramsci’s terms’ outside the hegemonic culture); and a form of transmission based in orality. These conditions, in turn, imply the social context of a community or a chain of interrelated communities, conceived to be essentially homogenous, based on face to face contact, circumscribed by space and stable in time, and endowed with specific and shared forms of expression. The concepts of non-hegemonic source, oral transmission, community and shared forms are the cornerstone of the standard definition of a folk song.<sup>74</sup>

MacColl and Lloyd were both members of the Communist party and the “Workers Music Association” sponsored much of their work, including Lloyds definitive “Folk Song in England” published in 1967. Lloyd sees folk song as an instrument of empowerment in the working class struggle and “one of the most intimate, reassuring and embellishing possessions of the poor”.<sup>75</sup>

The English folk revival of Lloyd is contradictory in a number of ways, it is a mixture of Sharp’s orthodoxy with a much more eclectic approach as to what folk tradition means and represents. In *Folk Song In England* Lloyd presents the revival as an internationalist movement of working people whilst at the same time identifying the movement with Sharp and middle class English nationalism. He also recognises the incorporation into the folk repertoire of protest songs such as Dylan’s song *Blowing in the Wind* which expresses the sentiments of the intelligentsia rather than the working class. This “Second English Folk Revival” was an urban phenomenon in that it was located in the social and physical space of towns and cities rather than the villages and countryside of Sharp’s rural idyll. One of the outcomes of this was the encouragement of industrial songs and songs expressing unionist sentiments like the *Blackleg Miner* and social commentary like MacColl’s *Dirty Old Town* which recollected his own youth in Salford.

There is no evidence, however, that the folk club, which acted as a performance platform for both singers and songs, was ever a working class space. As a venue for a particular popular music genre it could be seen as classless but there is still a suggestion here of the intelligentsia using folk song to enter into the world of working

class life by proxy. This incongruity may not be so very different from the Edwardian gentlefolk entering into the world of the farm labourer by means of society drawing rooms and Sharp's pianoforte arrangements of country songs. It may be that Lloyd recognised and sought to address this incongruity when he promoted a culture of only singing material from one's own region or ethnic culture in the folk clubs.

Whilst accepting that the "Second English Folk Revival" contrasted in many ways with the "first" Atkinson shows that continuity (and possibly in their eyes authenticity) was provided by adopting into the revival canon material from the Child Ballads even though many of these songs were not strictly English<sup>76</sup>. Child was a professor of English at Harvard University and collected some 305 ballad texts dating from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries using extant manuscript sources in Britain and America. He published these in five volumes between 1882 and 1898.<sup>77</sup> Atkins suggests that there were two reasons for placing the Child ballads at the heart of the revival. Firstly, their publication together with associated tunes by Bronson in 1953 made them very accessible.<sup>78</sup> Secondly, their antiquity made them too remote to be the property of any particular social group and, intentionally or otherwise, this helped to avoid the incongruity of one social class singing about the experiences of another as discussed above.

There is, however, one major difference between the two revivals as Atkinson points out, "Whereas the first revival was predominantly the activity of a comparatively small number of enthusiasts, the second was (and is), relatively speaking, a mass cultural movement which has continued, changed, but unabated, for half a century or more."<sup>79</sup> The Count House at Bottalack hosted the first club in Cornwall in the early sixties followed by The Pipers at St Buryan and the Folk Cottage at Mitchell. These clubs became associated with a number of folk performers who subsequently became well established, including Ralph McTell, Wizz Jones, Pete Berryman, Michael Chapman and Brenda Wootton.<sup>80</sup> Pete Berryman described the folk scene in Cornwall as "a series of circles or families with the immediate local family based around the clubs in St Buryan and Mitchell and a larger, overlapping, family involving performers on the wider British club circuit".<sup>81</sup> He explained that there was no sense of Cornish identity within this community but there was a shared sense of belonging to a group of performers and patrons with an interest in exploring the musical opportunities offered by the folk / blues scene.

There have been cycles of popularity but the culture of folk clubs has continued to the present day with six clubs currently listed as active in the Cornish folk broadsheet.<sup>82</sup> To place this in chronological context with the Pan Celtic movement, the Festival Interceltique in Lorient, and the Feile Pan Cheilteach in Killarney, were first held in 1970 and 1971 respectively. It is fair to say that folk club patrons and performers would probably describe themselves in terms of the folk scene rather than a community and clubs such as the Folk Cottage at Mitchell owed more to the counter culture of the sixties than the folk revivalist movement of Baring-Gould or Sharp.<sup>83</sup> There was nevertheless a shared sense of belonging to an alternative lifestyle and a shared language associated with a genre of music, which changed and grew as a cultural movement.

Collective memory and shared history may not be so well defined as that of the “Right” and “Left” in Gildea’s France but folk club poet balladeers like Wizz Jones articulated a shared world view that the academic community, if not the folk scene, would describe as post modernist. An example of this is the chorus of a song from Wizz Jones’ repertoire, *Put a little label on it*:

Put a little label on it, no one will know,  
Just what it was, that frightened us so.  
Put a little label on it, give it a name,  
Everything can carry on just the same.<sup>84</sup>

Or *Sunshine Gal* from Clive Palmer and Cornwall’s own Famous Jug Band:

My little sunshine gal,  
Living in her maker’s arms,  
Doesn’t need an explanation,  
Of what makes the world go round.<sup>85</sup>

The Bodmin Folk Club started in 1969, it was affiliated to and sponsored by the English Folk Dance And Song Society and had a reputation for being more traditionally orientated. It nevertheless marks a merging of the English Folk Dance And Song Society orthodoxy with the more contemporary, art house folk style of the earlier clubs in Cornwall. The advent of folk rock and British bands like Steeleye Span encouraged a wider audience into the folk scene and their use of material from the Child Ballads served to bring this canon of music into a broader public domain. There was (and is) a

certain amount of debate as to whether a “Folk, Bass and Drums” style of performance does justice to traditional music and some clubs in Cornwall polarised around this issue. In the mid nineteen seventies the Falmouth Folk club and in particular their resident band, Fal Folk, drew much of their material from folk rock in contrast to Bodmin which portrayed itself as very traditional and identified with the unaccompanied singer. There is a risk here that “common sense” would support the latter as a more authentic and justified heritage. It is argued here that a seventeenth century street or fair singer purveying *The Poacher* would find both the folk club and the folk rock performance style equally alien. Although he or she may have found the theatre of folk rock more sympathetic to the drama of the narrative which ends in a hanging and more in keeping with the robust theatre of the street or fair.<sup>86</sup>

The relationship between folk club and the process of oral tradition is a complex and contradictory one. The typical folk club programme structure is that of a significant, probably paid, performer supported by spots from the audience or organisers. It is an art house performance in the sense that it is expected to have some depth, it is largely independent of commercial interests and aimed at a niche audience. Performance is in front of discerning peers and contact maintained with them before, during and after the performance. This offers the opportunity for feedback and reflection as well as encouraging creativity and the search for new material. All of which points to art music and individual ownership at the opposite end of the spectrum from oral folk tradition.

At the same time, the folk club offers an additional social space for the performance and transmission of material from oral folk tradition. There is a culture of memorising lyrics and music rather than sight-reading. This encourages memory as an active process of change, actualising, re-experiencing and modifying in the way described by Le Goff,<sup>87</sup> rather than a passive recall process. The structure of performance in a folk club is such as to encourage audience participation in refrains, choruses and community singing, which lie closer to the domain of oral folk tradition than art music. Thus, the folk club provides both an intellectualised art music venue and an environment conducive to the process of oral tradition, which would normally be seen as mutually exclusive phenomena.

### ***Competition for space to sing in***

Brenda Wootton was a native of Newlyn and a leading light of the Sixties folk club scene in West Cornwall. Her discography shows that between 1968 and 1973 she

incorporated at least eighteen songs from Cornish oral tradition into her regular repertoire. Some were community songs like *Lamorna* and *Camborne Hill* and some ballads like *Maggie May* and *The Ringers of Egloshayle*. In 1973 she released *Crowdy Crawn*<sup>88</sup> with Richard Gendall and a large number of tracks translated by him into Cornish which anticipated Peter Kennedy's Cornish section in *Folk Songs Of Britain and Ireland* by two years. This was at the beginning of her professional career and marks a move from material sourced from oral tradition to a more art house style of performance, which we have seen was much in vogue in folk club culture. In the sixties and seventies recording an LP was an expensive business and beyond the pocket of most folk club performers so it is now difficult to measure the extent to which the canon of songs from oral folk tradition in Cornwall enjoyed popularity in the clubs. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that material from oral folk tradition in Cornwall, which was by this time largely community singing orientated, was ever more than an occasional audience participation item in a folk club evening's programme. Wootton was one of the few Celto-Cornish performers to have been fully embraced by folk club culture and that may be because she led the clubs concerned. Furthermore, she seems to have moved on from the folk club circuit by the time she was presenting as the voice of Celtic Cornwall.

Members of the Fal Folk Club in Falmouth did make a connection with the Celto-Cornish movement in 1978. They were encouraged by Brenda Wootton to form a group and enter the Pan Celtic Singing competition held in Killarney that year. They used the name Kemysk, meaning a mixture. The competition required one traditional song and a new composition. The group entered *Delyow Syvy*<sup>89</sup> as the traditional entry and were provided with a song called *An Mystry* by Gendall for the new composition and coached by him to sing it in Cornish. They were successful in the competition and became the first Cornish group to win. They were a once off project band, however, who went their separate ways after the competition and did not provide a sustained Celto-Cornish presence within the folk club circuit.

Before parting company, the Fal Folk released an album called *Folk at the Dock And Railway*.<sup>90</sup> The choice of material included in this album illustrates three, broad, locations which can be identified with the performance of folk music in Cornwall. Some songs were drawn from the folk club revival repertoire such as Cyril Tawney's *Oggie Man*<sup>91</sup> and can be seen as located within this setting as they were largely unknown in the wider community. Others songs, such as the *Cadgewith Anthem*, were from oral

tradition in pub sessions and enjoyed much wider popularity in Cornwall.<sup>92</sup> A third location is represented by the inclusion of songs in Cornish such as *An Vorvoren Senor* (The Mermaid of Zenor) which was an entry for the Gorsedh folk song competition in 1975 and a popular song with people learning the language. The subsequent story line of Fal Folk / Kemysk also illustrates the contrasting locations of folk music and dance in Cornwall. Part of the band reformed as Thunder and Lightening an English style barn dance band lead by Bob Rundle a contemporary and colleague of Peter Kennedy. Thunder and Lightening primarily formed as a dance band and were regularly booked for barn dances at festivals sponsored by the English Folk Dance And Song Society such as that at Wadebridge and Sidmouth. As a singing group they also continued to perform on the folk club circuit. Other members regrouped as Quylkyn Tew and Bucca and became located more firmly within the Celto-Cornish revival. Quylkyn Tew included two fluent Cornish language singers and focussed their attention on performance opportunities offered by events organised by the Celtic Congress and the Cornish Language organisations. Bucca followed Brenda Wootton into the Celtic festival scene to perform at the Festival Interceltique in Lorient and also Yn Chruinnaght in the Isle of Man and released an album<sup>93</sup> in 1983 shortly before they disbanded.

The publicity surrounding the success of Kemysk did stir some interest and controversy in the local press however.<sup>94</sup> Under the name “Celt” a contributor maintained that *Delyow Syvy* was the only Cornish Folk Song and there was no other traditional music to be found in Cornwall. The response from the band was to point out that there had been substantial collection of folk songs in Cornwall. “Celt” in turn challenged the band to identify any material that had not already been included in the major British collections. To which the band had responded that Baring- Gould was a major British collector but the songs he collected in Cornwall could be seen as Cornish. In the context of current understanding, both positions might be considered naive but this example does show how the Celto-Cornish Movement and the English Folk Revival were competing for authenticity. “Celt” transpired to be Rob Bartlett, erstwhile accompanist for Brenda Wootton and a regular professional performer on the folk club circuit.

This altercation voices English Folk Revival “common sense” that denies the existence and authenticity of a Cornish music tradition as distinct from the general canon of British / American folk music. According to Atkinson, however, the authenticity of the English Folk Revival might be denied on the same basis.<sup>95</sup> The Celto-Cornish

movement takes the position that if the folk phenomenon originates in Cornwall then it must be Cornish and Celtic. The phenomenon does not have an intrinsic authenticity, however, and Wilkinson shows that Celticity is a psychosocial construct based on interpretation and experiences.<sup>96</sup>

*Hengan*,<sup>97</sup> published in 1983, articulated the Cornish speech community's response to this criticism and significantly adding to the number of folk songs available in Cornish and including songs and tunes recently collected from oral tradition. The nineteen eighties saw an escalation in the material, available both in print and audio formats, which presented Cornish music as a distinct tradition. This raised the profile of Cornish folk tradition, but as O'Connor points out, also encouraged criticism from the English Folk Dance and Song Society establishment.<sup>98</sup>

The case being made in this study is that this material and the way it was interpreted may have been "newly identified" in the eyes of the recently arrived speech community of English Folk Dance and Song orthodoxy but it had a long pedigree in Cornwall. The ongoing work of the Old Cornwall Society recorders had established a large collection of folk performance material, which served to reinforce living tradition and encourage revival. Interest in folk songs in Cornish-English dialect dates back to the mid nineteenth century and the translation of songs into Cornish for performance has been a common practice since the nineteen twenties and arguably has its roots in the very beginnings of the Cornish Language revival. Nance, for example, argues that Edward Chirgwen originally translated *Delyow Syvy* into Cornish from English for performance purposes in or around 1698.<sup>99</sup> The articulation of Cornishness by *Hengan* and other folk song related publications since the nineteen eighties is the continuation of a process that can be traced back through Gundry, Dunstan and the early Celto-Cornish movement.

### ***Competition for space to dance in***

Folk dance in Britain has perhaps followed a slightly different trajectory to folk song in that it was not part of the mass cultural movement described by Atkinson but it remained within the public consciousness. In Scotland, social dance joined the step and sword dances of the Highland Games as part of the Celtic Imaginary when the Scottish Country Dance Society formed in 1923.<sup>100</sup> This organisation has grown steadily since this time and currently enjoys a membership of some 15,000 worldwide.<sup>101</sup> Cymdeithas Ddawns Werin Cymru, The Welsh Folk Dance Society

formed in 1949 but its origins lay in the research and revivalist activity of Hugh Mellor in 1922.<sup>102</sup> Like the Scottish Country Dance Society it has grown steadily since this time and currently has nineteen display teams.<sup>103</sup>

Just as Celtic festival culture encouraged the development of new space for the performance of folk dance so the Scottish and Welsh dance societies acted as Celtic role models for the Cornish groups who were using these new spaces. Costume provides one example of the way in which this happened. Costume is an essential feature in marking out the difference between a dance display for a passive audience and social dance for audience participation. Cornish groups initially involved in the Celtic festival scene either followed the Welsh model of using nineteenth century “folk” costume or, like the Scottish groups, used tartan, an increasing number of Cornish versions of which were becoming available. Also like the Welsh and Scottish groups the first Cornish display groups also biased their programmes towards social dances in sets rather than the scoot / step dances.

It is a core argument of this thesis that the influence of other Celtic folk cultures on the evolution of tradition in Cornwall is a natural part of the reflective / reflexive process within oral folk tradition. It is an expression of the Celtic imaginary rather than evidence of lack of indigenous folk culture, indeed Cornwall may have been abreast or even ahead of Celtic contemporaries in some folk practices. For example, the term “Barn Dance” seems to have arrived with American Square dancing after the war and there is little evidence of its use before this time. The term Ceili (Ceili in Irish Gaelic – Ceilidh in Scottish Gaelic) was first used in relation to dance at a London Gaelic Society event in Bloomsbury Square in October 1897 but was not used extensively for set dance events until the 1930s.<sup>104</sup> The root meaning of Ceili is simply a social event. It is interesting that Cornish dialect should have developed its own term for social dance, Troyl, as early as 1885.<sup>105</sup> The term Troyl comes from the Cornish for a reel, whirl or spiral.<sup>106</sup>

Another example is that of step dancing for which Cornish dialect had its own word, “Lapyor”. A term which appears in both feminine and masculine form in the twelfth century *Vocabularium Cornicum*<sup>107</sup> with the gloss “saltator / saltatrix” (dancer), was used in the context of step dancer as early as the seventeenth century<sup>108</sup> and makes a clear appearance in the folklore collected in the nineteenth century.<sup>109</sup> This is

certainly parallel to, if not ahead, of the step dancing recorded in the highland games of Scotland from 1750.<sup>110</sup>

In 1949 Douglas Kennedy wrote a review of the folk dance movement in England showing that there had been continuity from Sharp's time but an increasing influence from American Square dancing in the social dance repertoire since the war.<sup>111</sup> He points out that this encouraged the development of simplified dances based on Playford moves thus making folk dance more accessible. John Forrest's 1985 paper *Here We Come A-Fossiling*<sup>112</sup> and the subsequent debate,<sup>113</sup> critically examines the accuracy of Sharp's transcription of display dances such as the Morris. In doing so, he also shows that not only was there continuity from Sharp's time but that some dances had remained in oral tradition quite independently from Sharp and the English Folk Dance And Song Society. He also describes the reconstruction of Border Morris by John Kirkpatrick in 1975 from sources previously dismissed by Sharp as incomplete or degraded.

Kirkpatrick was (and continues to be) involved with Folk Rock Bands such as the Albion Country Dance Band and Steeleye Span. Kirkpatrick's career illustrates the way in which folk had developed as a genre to embrace both the contemporary and the traditional in folk music as well as drawing in the theatre of ritual dances and participation of community dances. Schofield's history of the Sidmouth Folk Festival shows that all of this had a symbiotic relationship with the developing folk festival culture.<sup>114</sup>

It is against this background of an existing indigenous folk dance culture and British folk revival that the first Morris team formed in Cornwall in 1971 from members of the Bodmin Folk club and took the name Trigg.<sup>115</sup> They drew their repertoire from the Cotswold dances noted down by Sharp and have remained an all male side. This is significant in that the tradition of all male sides for ritual or display dances is an English phenomenon not shared by the Celtic cultures and fiercely challenged by folk dance researchers such as Georgina Boyse.<sup>116</sup> Since then a number of other Morris teams have formed in Cornwall. In 2010 there were nine groups advertising themselves, three all male Cotswold dance sides, one mixed, three Border Morris sides and two ladies North West clog teams.

It is interesting that the emphasis here should be on the importation of dance traditions from England rather than exploring the possibilities offered by local Guize and Scoot Dance traditions. There was a well-documented Scoot Dance tradition in Boscastle at the time Trigg Morris was formed<sup>117</sup> and a little local research would have provided dancers with steps and moves that could have been interpreted to create a distinctive style of dance in the way that Kirkpatrick approached Border Morris. The Guize dancing tradition still extant in St Ives and with its history of cross dressing might also have provided inspiration for the development of a Dance Tradition along the lines of the revival of Molly dancing in East Anglia described by Elaine Brandke.<sup>118</sup>

The arrival of English Morris dancing in Cornwall thus resulted in competition for cultural space with indigenous folk dancing. The speech community of English Folk Dance and Song Society did not recognise a distinction between Cornish and English folk tradition so that presenting Cotswold or Border Morris dances as “authentic” folk tradition to represent Cornwall would not be seen as problematic. A practical outcome of this mindset, for example, would be that a twinning association wishing to organise an event representing their own local culture would be encouraged by this speech community to use a Morris side. For example, during the nineteen eighties the Wadebridge Folk Festival, who were at that time largely run by members of Trigg Morris and The Bodmin Folk Club, worked closely with the Town twinning association and used Morris teams as part of their exchange.

The Cornish Dance groups that developed out of the Celto-Cornish movement challenged this authenticity by presenting the dances they performed within an historical context in Cornwall. The tension between these two speech communities was articulated in the correspondence pages of the “Cornish Scene” in 1986.<sup>119</sup> Following a broad article on Cornish music which mentioned dances a letter was published challenging the authenticity of these dances and dismissing them as “spurious” products of “over-enthusiastic Cornishness”.<sup>120</sup> This prompted several letters defending their provenance and praising the groups involved. Whilst there was an inevitable descent into the semantics of authenticity, what is interesting is that Morris dancers in Cornwall were not subject to the same scrutiny as groups representing the Celto-Cornish movement. The speech community of English Folk Dance and Song Society orthodoxy was the more powerful and therefore represented “common sense” against which the claims of Cornishness were measured.

The mindset of the English Folk Dance And Song Society is also illustrated in a different way by the *Canow Kerrier Project* undertaken by Somerset based organisation Folk South West in the Redruth and Camborne areas in 1997.<sup>121</sup> The published aim of the project was to engage the local community and schools with the oral folk traditions of their area. Volunteers were recruited to research the material and develop presentation skills in order to work with children using a pack prepared by the project. The songs used for the pack were those from recognised collections such as Sharps identified as coming from the area. The dances, however, were introduced by a section entitled “Notes on Teaching English Country Dance”.<sup>122</sup> This section started by explaining the terms “country dancing”, “barn dancing” and ceilidh dancing” but made no mention of the Cornish equivalent “troyl”. Similarly, dance steps were introduced as “Rhythms within the British country dance tradition” but no mention was made of the steps associated with Cornish Furry dances.

Six dances were included in the pack, three generic dances and three sourced from but not credited to the Corollyn project.<sup>123</sup> Two of the generic dances were re-named *The Stithians Shuffle* and *The Camborne March*. Reference was made to “increasing interest in re-establishing a repertoire of Cornish dances in recent years”<sup>124</sup> but neither the Corollyn project nor earlier work by the Old Cornwall Societies was actually cited despite the project leader being provided with this information.<sup>125</sup> Cornish collections were not subject to any critique in the text, leading to the conclusion that they were excluded because they did not fit in with the project leader’s mindset rather that dismissed because of any inadequacy. This conclusion is supported by the fact that six other folk dance information and resource packs are mentioned in the text and in the bibliography but these are all either from the project leader’s own publications or from the English Folk Dance and Song Society.

There is a sense here in which the suggestion of an identity in Cornish folk dance as Celtic, rather than English, is part of a much wider threat to the homogeneity of English folk dance. If Cornish traditions are not English then what about the North East with its Rapper Sword Dancing, Border Morris and its Welsh connections or Molly dancing in East Anglia all of which contrast strongly with Cotswold traditions. Conversely how can traditions seen as quintessentially English by Sharp such as Morris dancing and the rapper sword traditions also appear in Wales<sup>126</sup>, Ireland<sup>127</sup> and the Isle of Man? <sup>128</sup> Is there in fact a distinctively English folk tradition? In 1936, Needham<sup>129</sup> analysed ceremonial folk dance in zones and proposed that they were

related to the areas of the Dane-law, Old Saxon Kingdoms of Mercia and Wessex, and the Celtic areas of Wales and Cornwall. Whilst Needham's proposal of such a direct geographic link with the early kingdoms of Britain and nineteenth century folk traditions have since been substantially revised<sup>130</sup> it nevertheless shows that folk dance traditions in England vary to such an extent that an explanation is invited. The English Folk Dance And Song Society, however, is the author of the English Folk Revival and clearly has a vested interest in this homogeneity. Despite the fact that the "Englishness" of the five star Rapper sword configuration and the Padstow Obby Oss are contested both are used extensively by the society as icons of English folk tradition.

### **Conclusions**

This chapter argues that the Celto-Cornish movement and its links with folk song and dance were well established before the arrival of the English Folk Revival in the nineteen sixties. The movement had engaged reflexively and reflectively in folk music and dance in its original location and provided new locations for its performance. The agenda for the Celto-Cornish movement was that in order to assert its Celticity Cornwall needed to have a distinctive oral folk tradition from England, one recognised in the same way as that of Brittany, Wales, Scotland Ireland and the Isle of Man. Furthermore, in the spirit of building Nance's "New Cornwall",<sup>131</sup> it also promoted / promotes new folk dances and songs within a culture expressing sentiments of Cornish distinctiveness.

When the English Folk Revival arrived in Cornwall in the sixties and seventies it came packaged with its own imaginary concerning what was authentic and appropriate in folk tradition, which did not fit with the mindset of the Celto-Cornish movement. This chapter makes the case that the English Folk Revival had a stake in Cornwall being part of the English imaginary. For Cornwall to be Celtic rather than English challenged the notion of Cornwall's Englishness. This was especially problematic for folk dance, and Morris sides in particular, as they would have no authenticity as a traditional activity of Cornwall. They would become a dance activity in Cornwall like Scottish Country dancing or Line Dancing rather than having the authenticity of being a native tradition of Cornwall as part of England.

The Celto-Cornish movement and the English Folk Dance and Song revival can therefore be understood as two speech communities that use the same folk material as

currency but interpret it in different ways and use it to express identities that potentially conflict. The English Folk Dance and Song movement is a powerful one, however. It has a large number of people investing in its identity, it has commercial backing, a large media presence and recognition within the school curriculum dating from the time of Sharp and the early publications for schools. The implications for the Cornish are that the mindset of this more powerful speech community risk becoming “received wisdom” and “common sense” despite the lack of any evidence to favour this position against any other. The outcome for Cornish cultural identity of such “common sense” is that indigenous folk culture risks losing out in the competition for social and performance space.

## Notes

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- <sup>1</sup> Sabina Magliocco, John Bishop. *Oss Tales*, (Berkeley, Media-Generation, 2007), DVD / DVD.rom format.
- <sup>2</sup> Donald Rawe, *Padstow's Obby Oss and May Day Festivities : A Study in Folklore and Tradition*. (Padstow, Lodenek Press, 1982): Alison Davey et al *Scot Dances, Troys, Furrys and Tea Treats: The Cornish Dance Tradition*. (London: Francis Boutle & Co, 2009).
- <sup>3</sup> The English Folk Dance And Song Society headquarters at Cecil Sharp House makes use of two particular symbols to represent folk tradition in static displays in the building and in publications: the image of five crossed swords of the Rapper Dances from the North East / Isle of Man; and the image of Padstow's Obby Oss.
- <sup>4</sup> Kathleen A. Bolland and Charles A. Atherton, "Chaos Theory: an alternative approach to Social Work practice and research" *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Sciences* (1999), pp. 367- 373.
- <sup>5</sup> Kathleen A Bolland, *ibid*.
- <sup>6</sup> John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism* (London, Continuum,1991), p. 81
- <sup>7</sup> Henry Jenner, *A Handbook of the Cornish Language* (London, David Nutt, 1904), p.xi.
- <sup>8</sup> Mick Paynter, speaking at a reception held by the Chair and Chief Executive of Cornwall council for Cornish bards who were members or staff. Chairman's Office, New County Hall Truro, 6<sup>th</sup> May 2010.
- <sup>9</sup> Hal An Tow, field recording. 8<sup>th</sup> May 2008, Howard Curnow. Interview with author 20<sup>th</sup> May 2008. Howard Curnow – Helston Town Crier.
- <sup>10</sup> Old Oss, Padstow, field recordings 1<sup>st</sup> May 2008 and 2009.
- <sup>11</sup> Magliocco, *Oss Tales*.
- <sup>12</sup> 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.
- <sup>13</sup> Georgina Boyes, *The imagined village : culture, ideology, and the English folk revival*. (Manchester; Manchester University Press 1993), p. 24.
- <sup>14</sup> A.L (Bert) Lloyd, *Folk Song In England*, (London, Laurence & Wishart Ltd in association with The Workers Music Association, 1967), pp, 39 -148.
- <sup>15</sup> Georgina Boyes, *The imagined village* .

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<sup>16</sup> Georgina Boyes, ed. *Step Change: New Views on Traditional Dance*, (London, Francis Boutle, 2001).

<sup>17</sup> *The Imagined Village*. S.Emmerson, S. Chandra, et al. The Imaginary Village Project (Wiltshire, UK, Real World, 2007) CD.

<sup>18</sup> John A. Lucy, "Linguistic Relativity", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 26 (1997), pp. 291-312 Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2952524>, accessed: 13/04/2010. Describes the Linguistic Relativity Hypothesis as the proposal that the particular language we speak influences the way we think about reality. This influence can be divided into three elements: immediate perception and attention; personal and social-cultural systems of classification, inference, and memory; aesthetic judgment and creativity. Language embodies an interpretation of reality and language can influence thought about that reality. Linguistic Relativity is also known as the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis as it draws on their work: Edward Sapir: D G Mandelbaum ed. 1949. *The Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture, and Personality*. (Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press 1949) and Benjamin Whorf : J.B.Carroll JB, ed. *Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press 1956).

<sup>19</sup> Fatemeh Khosroshahi "Penguins Don't Care, but Women Do: A Social Identity Analysis of a Whorfian Problem", *Language in Society*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Dec., 1989), pp. 505-525. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4168079>, accessed 10th April 2010. Shows the power of language to promote masculine or feminine images quite irrespective of the subject in hand.

<sup>20</sup> Paul Kay and Willett Kempton, "What Is the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis?": *American Anthropologist, New Series*, Vol. 86, No. 1 (Mar., 1984), pp. 65-79 Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/679389>, accessed: 13/04/2010. Ingrid Björk, "Relativizing linguistic relativity. Investigating underlying assumptions about language in the neo-Whorfian literature", (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Uppsalla, Sweden 2008), pp. 59 -81.

<sup>21</sup> Sean O'Neill, "Mythic and Poetic Dimensions of Speech in Northwestern California: From Cultural Vocabulary to Linguistic Relativity." *Anthropological Linguistics*, 2006 , **48**(4): 305-334.p 307 citing John B Carroll, *Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*. (Cambridge, Mass. MIT Press, 1956), p. 213.

<sup>22</sup> Joseph Needham, "The Geographical Distribution of English Ceremonial Dance Traditions." *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 3.1 (1936): pp. 1-45.

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<sup>23</sup> Robert Gildea, *The past in French history*. (New Haven, Yale University Press.1994) pp. 10-12.

<sup>24</sup> Robert Gildea, *The past in French history*, p. 14.

<sup>25</sup> Mark Stoye, *West Britons*, (Exeter, Exeter University Press, 2002) pp. 50 - 65.

<sup>26</sup> Mark Stoye, *West Britons*, p. 72 :Bodleian Library Broadside Collection, Douce Ballads 3 (8), Hardy Ballads, Johnson Ballads (Manchester, Shelmerdine, between 1800 and 1849). <http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/ballads/ballads.htm>, accessed 4th Feb 2010.

<sup>27</sup> See appendix 2.3

<sup>28</sup> Obby Oss Musicians, participant observation. Ring of Bells, St Issey, 20<sup>th</sup> / 21<sup>st</sup> March 2010. One of the traditions of Padstow is that the May Song and tune should not be played or sung outside of May Day and the practices and events leading up to it. Four musicians from the Old Oss were playing at a session of Cornish music at St Issey on 20<sup>th</sup> March 2010 and at midnight lead the session with the complete May Day Song and tune repertoire. They expressed the view that it was Cornish and therefore appropriate for the music of the session and also lay within the May Day tradition as it was within the practice period.

<sup>29</sup> Malcolm McCarthy, correspondence with the author, 6<sup>th</sup> April 2006.

<sup>30</sup> Robert Morton Nance, "Old Cornwall And The Celtic Congress", *Old Cornwall*, Vol. 2, no.1, p. 22.

<sup>31</sup> Robert Morton Nance, "Old Cornwall And The Celtic Congress", p. 25.

<sup>32</sup> Advert. *The Cornish Review*, First series no. 2, Summer 1949.

<sup>33</sup> Denys Val Baker, "Editorial" *The Cornish Review*, First Series, Spring 1949, no. 2, pp. 6 – 7.

<sup>34</sup> Denys Val Baker, "People" *The Cornish Review*, First Series, Winter 1951, no. 8, p. 67 .

<sup>35</sup> Helena Charles, "Drama in Cornwall" *The Cornish Review*, First Series, Winter 1951, no 8, pp. 51 – 56.

<sup>36</sup> Alan Trevarthen, *Cornish Fest Noz*:  
<http://archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/CORNISH/2001-01/0978917153>, date 08/01/2001, accessed 01/06/04.

<sup>37</sup> The Cornish Wrestling association have sent a team to the Lorient festival on a number of occasions and a major activity on the part of Cornwall is the staffing of a tourist / cultural stand. See appendix 4.10

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<sup>38</sup> Catherine M Matheson, "Products and Passions: Explorations of Authenticity within Celtic Music Festivities", (Unpublished PhD thesis Glasgow, Glasgow Caledonian University, 2004), p. 172.

<sup>39</sup> Malcolm Chapman, "The Celts: the construction of a myth". (London, St Martin's Press.1992), p 240.

<sup>40</sup> Festival Programmes 1983 and 1991, Festival Interceltique, Lorient.

<sup>41</sup> Alan Stivell, *A l'Olympia*, Fontana 1972, LP. Includes "The Wind of Keltia," which romanticises a return of the golden age of the Celts and a version of the "The Foggy Dew" which describes the British reaction to the declaration of independence in 1918; Also, Alan Stivell. *Live In Dublin*. Fontana 1975. LP: 9299 547. Includes a track called "Deliverance". During the live performance in Dublin Stivell encouraged the audience to join in chanting "freedom" in the six Celtic languages.

<sup>42</sup> Carmen Hunt, correspondence with author 10/11/2009.

<sup>43</sup> Members of Kekezza, correspondence with author 20/112009.

<sup>44</sup> Fèile Pan Ceilteach. <http://www.panceltic.ie/>, accessed 22<sup>nd</sup> April 2010. Publicity includes images of people in Cornish tartan and a logo which includes the flags of the "Six Celtic Nations" drawing together the familiar such as the Irish tricolour and Welsh Dragon with Cornwall's St Piran's flag and the Breton Flag.

<sup>45</sup> Official Mabon Website, <http://www.mabon.org/>, accessed 22 April 2010, Mabon are a contemporary Folk Rock Band, have included music from Ireland and Cornwall as well as Wales on their Albums.

<sup>46</sup> The St Lawrence O'Toole Pipe Band, "The Dawning of the Day", Monarch, 2005. CD. Includes Irish, Scottish and Galician music.

<sup>47</sup> Catherine M Matheson, "Products and Passions: Explorations of Authenticity within Celtic Music Festivities". (Unpublished PhD thesis, Glasgow Caledonian University, 2004).

<sup>48</sup> This is no longer the case as Manx groups King Chiaullee and Perree Tee have both since performed at the festival and in 2011 Dalla from Cornwall were booked for a major concert event and Mabon from Wales headlined another event.

<sup>49</sup> Maga: The Cornish Language Partnership, "About Cornish" <http://www.magakernow.org.uk/index.aspx?articleid=38569>, accessed 22<sup>nd</sup> April 2010.

<sup>50</sup> Desi Wilkinson, "The Fest Noz and Breton Dance Revival", in *Celtic modern : music at the global fringe*, eds. Martin Stokes and Philip. V. Bohlman, (Lanham, Scarecrow Press. 2003), p. 220.

<sup>51</sup> Desi Wilkinson, "The Fest Noz and Breton Dance Revival", p 226

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- <sup>52</sup> In relation to the specific examples of Druidic rituals and business given by Wilkinson: Druidic rituals are performed both within the more formal institution of the ceremonies of the Cornish Gorsedh and informality setting of the annual Pagan Festival held at Morwenstow. Bewnans Kernow, a cultural organisation sponsored by Cornwall Council, organised a conference in February 2011 entitled “Cornish Identity – Good For Business.
- <sup>53</sup> Brenda Wootton is easily identifiable because of an established professional career but there were other Cornish groups touring Brittany at the time for example “Tremenysy” lead by Cornish language bard, Tony Snell.
- <sup>54</sup> Brenda Wootton encouraged the use of her nickname “Pamplemouse” (Grapefruit) when performing in Brittany and France.
- <sup>55</sup> Merv Davey, et al. *Scout Dances, Troys, Furrys and Tea Treats: The Cornish Dance Tradition*. (London, Francis Boutle & Co, 2009), Section One.
- <sup>56</sup> Anniversary programme, Lowender Peran, 2008. This provides a list of all the Cornish groups to have performed at the event since 1978.
- <sup>57</sup> Catherine M. Matheson, “Products and Passions”, p.10.
- <sup>58</sup> Alison Davey, Editor, *Corollyn: Cornish Dances*, (Perranporth, Cam Kernewek / Plymouth University, 1992), book / CD / Video format.
- <sup>59</sup> Frances Bennett, et al Editors . *Racca: Cornish Tunes for Cornish Sessions*, (Calstock, published by RACCA, edition 1. 1995 and edition 2. 1997)
- <sup>60</sup> Frances Bennett, *Racca*, p. 1.
- <sup>61</sup> Ralph Dunstan, *Cornish Song Book*, (1929), *Cornish Dialect and Folk Song* (1932)
- <sup>62</sup> Inglis Gundry, *Canow Kernow* (1960)
- <sup>63</sup> R J Noall, Robert Morton Nance (St Ives Recorder) “Harvey Darvey” *Old Cornwall* (St Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies 1927), Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 36,
- <sup>64</sup> Merv Davey et al *Scouts Teat Treats and Troys* (2009), p. 75.
- <sup>65</sup> Georgina Boyse, *The imagined village*.
- <sup>66</sup> Dave Harker, *Fakesong : the manufacture of British "folksong" 1700 to the present day*, (Milton Keynes, Open University Press, 1985).
- <sup>67</sup> Merv Davey. *Hengan : Traditional Folk Songs, Dances and Broadside Ballads Collected in Cornwall*, (Redruth: Dyllansow Truran, 1983).
- <sup>68</sup> Inglis Gundry. *Canow Kernow : Songs and Dances from Cornwall*. (St. Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1966).
- <sup>69</sup> Ralph Dunstan. *Cornish Dialect and Folk Songs*, (Truro, Jordan's Bookshop, 1932).
- <sup>70</sup> Howard Curnow, interviewed by author 16<sup>th</sup> May 2008, see also appendix 4.4.

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- <sup>71</sup> The Old Cornwall Societies collected information about the “Crying the Neck” ceremony and in some cases enacted it themselves thus dovetailing with continuous living tradition see appendix 4.11.
- <sup>72</sup> Vic Gammon. “One Hundred Years Of The Folk Song Society”, *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*, eds. Ian Russel and David Atkinson, (Aberdeen, The Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, 2004), p. 21.
- <sup>73</sup> E T Livingstone, "Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory", *Ethnomusicology* 43 (No1 Winter 1999), pp, 66 – 85.
- <sup>74</sup> Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and other stories: Form and meaning in Oral History* (New York, State University of New York Press 1991), p. 161.
- <sup>75</sup> A.L. (Bert) Lloyd, *Folk Song In England*. (London, Lawrence & Wishart Ltd,1967), p. 19.
- <sup>76</sup> David Atkinson, "The English Revival Canon: Child Ballads and the Invention of Tradition." *The Journal of American Folklore* 2001, 114(453), pp. 370-380.
- <sup>77</sup> Francis, James Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (New York Dover Press,1882-1898), Vols. 1 – 5.
- <sup>78</sup> Bertram H Bronson, *The Traditional tunes of the child ballads with their texts, according to the extant records of Great Britain and America*. (Princeton, N.J., Princeton university press.1953).
- <sup>79</sup> David Atkinson, “Revival: Genuine or Spurious?” in *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*. eds. Ian Russel and David Atkinson,(Aberdeen, The Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen,2004), p 152.
- <sup>80</sup> Rupert White, “Interview with Martin Val-Baker”, *Art Cornwall Nov 2006*.  
<http://www.artcornwall.org/interview%20Martin%20Val%20Baker.htm> , Accessed 9<sup>th</sup> Feb 2010.
- <sup>81</sup> Pete Berryman, interview with author, St Blazey, 9<sup>th</sup> September 2010.
- <sup>82</sup> Folknews Kernow, Editor Chris Ridley (St Columb, Folknews Kernow, 2010) Jan, Feb March edition, p. 6.
- <sup>83</sup> Jens Lund, and R. Serge. Denisoff, "The Folk Music Revival and the Counter Culture: Contributions and Contradictions." *The Journal of American Folklore* 1971 84(334), pp. 394-405: Cited Theodore Roszak, *The making of a counter culture; reflections on the technocratic society and its youthful opposition*, (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday.1969), in constructing an evolutionary counter cultural model to describe the folk movement in the sixties.

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- <sup>84</sup> Wizz Jones. *The Legendary Me*, Alan Tunbridge, The Village Thing (1970), LP: VTS 4,
- <sup>85</sup> The Famous Jug Band. *Sunshine Possibilities*, Wooden Hill Recordings, (1969) LP: HILLCD25.
- <sup>86</sup> Steeleye Span, concert tour 1974, the performance at Brunel University involved a mock hanging.
- <sup>87</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory*, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1992) pp. 51-52.
- <sup>88</sup> Brenda Wootton and Richard Gendall. *Crowdy Crawn*. Sentinel records (1973), LP: SENS 1016.
- <sup>89</sup> The Cornish words for this song were apparently written or taken down in 1698 by Edwin Chirgwin, see appendix 2.1.
- <sup>90</sup> Fal Folk. *Folk at the Dock And Railway*. Fal Folk Club, Falmouth (1979). Cassette Tape.
- <sup>91</sup> Cyril Tawney, *Live at Holsteins (1981)*, CD: ADA 109CD. Sleeve notes: Tawney (1930 – 2005) was a revivalist singer/ songwriter who wrote the “Oggie Man” in 1959 to commemorate a Pasty Seller he remembered plying his trade in Plymouth Docks during the War.
- <sup>92</sup> This song was included in the Pub Song project see appendix 4.3, p.421.
- <sup>93</sup> Bucca. *The Hole in Harpers Head*. Plantlife. (1983), LP.
- <sup>94</sup> Falmouth Packet, correspondence, (Lakes Publishers), May – June 1978.
- <sup>95</sup> David Atkinson, *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*.
- <sup>96</sup> Desi Wilknon, “The Fest Noz and Breton Dance Revival”.
- <sup>97</sup> Merv Davey. *Hengan: Traditional Folk Songs, Dances and Broadside Ballads collected in Cornwall*, (Redruth, Dyllansow Truran, 1983).
- <sup>98</sup> Mike O’Connor *Ilow Kernow 5 : Cornish instrumental tradition : the resource*. (Wadebridge, Lyngham House, 2007), pp. 126-127.
- <sup>99</sup> Robert Morton Nance, “Edward Chirgwen’s Cornish Song”, *Old Cornwall Society Magazine* Vol 4 no 6 (1947), pp. 210-213.
- <sup>100</sup> Jean C Milligan, *The Scottish Country Dance*, (Glasgow, Paterson Sons, 1924).
- <sup>101</sup> History of Royal Scottish Country Dance Society. Royal Scottish Country Dance Society, <http://www.rscds.org/about-us.html>, accessed 29th April 2010.
- <sup>102</sup> Hugh Mellor, *Welsh Folk Dances; an Inquiry*. (London: Novello and company Ltd. 1935), p. 22.

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- <sup>103</sup>The Welsh Folk Dance Society. <http://www.welshfolkdance.org.uk/> accessed 29<sup>th</sup> April 2010.
- <sup>104</sup> John P Cullaine, *Encyclopaedia of Ireland*. (Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 2003), p. 176.
- <sup>105</sup> Merv Davey et al . *Scot Dances, Troyls, Furrys and Tea Treats: The Cornish Dance Tradition*. London: Francis Boutle & Co, 2009. pp.1 and 19.
- <sup>106</sup> Borlase, William. *Antiquities, Historical and Monumental of Cornwall*: (Oxford W. Jackson, 1758 - second enlarged edition 1769), p. 459. See also glossary.
- <sup>107</sup> *Vocabularium Cornicum*, Cottonian Library, Oxford.
- <sup>108</sup> William Pryce. *Minerologia Cornubensis (1778)* (Truro Bradford Barton, 1972, reprint), p.136: "The very first task which boys were given when they went to the mines at about the age of eight to nine years old) was picking or washing the ore... to aide separation the boys agitated the mixture with a heather broom or, in the early days , by standing ankle deep in the water and using their *feet*. Because of this,, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century they were called lappiors (dancers)".
- <sup>109</sup> Merv Davey, *Scot Dances.....* Page 29
- <sup>110</sup> Joan Flett, et al. *Traditional Step-Dancing in Scotland*. (Edinburgh: Scottish Cultural Press, 1996).
- <sup>111</sup> Douglas Kennedy, *England's Dances: Folk Dancing To-Day And Yesterday*. (London, G.Bell & Sons Ltd, 1949), p. 20.
- <sup>112</sup> John Forrest, "Here We Come A-Fossiling." *Dance Research Journal*, 1985,\_17(1), pp. 27-34.
- <sup>113</sup> Anthony G. Barrant, et al "Comments on John Forrest's "Here We Come A-Fossiling." *Dance Research Journal*.1985 17(1), pp. 34-42.
- <sup>114</sup> Derek Schofield, *The First Week In August - Fifty Years of the Sidmouth Festival*, (Sidmouth, Sidmouth International Festival Ltd, 2005). The festival in Sidmouth started in 1955 as a seaside holiday for dance teams organised by the English Folk Dance And Song Society. In 1962 it merged with the folk song revival to become *Sidmouth Folk Festival* and in 1987 it became managed professionally as *Sidmouth International Folk Festival*, reverting to a more modestly sized English Folk festival with visiting Celtic performers in 2004 as a result of financial pressures.
- <sup>115</sup> Trigg Morris, information sheet and venue list 2010. Although Pete Marlow explained that there had been a group in Falmouth called Kernow Morris which started before this, but had not become fully established (interviewed 19<sup>th</sup> April 2011).
- <sup>116</sup> Georgina Boyes, *The Imagined Village*, also Georgina Boyes, *Step Change*.

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- <sup>117</sup> Merv Davey, *Scot Dances.....*, 2009
- <sup>118</sup> Elaine Bradtke, "Molly Dancing: a Study of Discontinuity and Change" Georgina Boyes, in *Step change : new views on traditional dance*, ed. Georgina Boyes, (London, Francis. Boutle. 2001). p. 61 – 86.
- <sup>119</sup> Ian Marshall, "Recording Cornish Folk Songs" *Cornish Scene*; vol. 1, no. 5, February / March 1986, p. 49: "Letters to the Editor", *Cornish Scene*, vol. 1, no. 5, April / May 1986; vol. 2, no. 1, June / July 1986; vol. 2, no. 2, August / Sept 1986.
- <sup>120</sup> J Penlee, "Letters to the Editor", *Cornish Scene*; vol. 1, no. 5, April / May 1986, p.12.
- <sup>121</sup> Eddie Upton, *Canow Kerrier*, ( Montacute,Folk South West. 1997).
- <sup>122</sup> Eddie Upton, *Canow Kerrier (1997)*, p. 32.
- <sup>123</sup> Alison Davey. *Corollyn*.
- <sup>124</sup> Eddie Upton, *Canow Kerrier* .
- <sup>125</sup> Correspondence with author, 23<sup>rd</sup> Feb 1997: Provided a comprehensive list of Cornish folk song and dance publications plus details of songs collected in the area.
- <sup>126</sup> Lois Blake."The Morris in Wales". *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Dec., 1960), pp. 56- 57.
- <sup>127</sup> Alan Gailey. "The Nature Of Tradition" *Folklore*, Vol. 100, No. 2. (1989), pp. 143-161. p. 155. Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0015-587X%281989%29100%3A2%3C143%3ATNOT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-M>. accessed 25<sup>th</sup> Jan 2008.
- <sup>128</sup> Mona Douglas, "Manx Folk Dances: Their Notation and Revival" *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 1937; III(2), pp.110-16: The White Boys. *Lowender Peran 2007*. Tower Films 2008. DVD format. The Manx "White Boys" use "Swords " similar to those of Rapper sides to form a six point star. The same star that is used by the English Folk Song and Dance society as a logo.
- <sup>129</sup> Joseph Needham, "The Geographical Distribution of English Ceremonial Dance Traditions." *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 1936 , 3(1), pp. 1-45.
- <sup>130</sup> E. C. Cawte, Alex Helm, R. J. Marriott and N. Peacock. A Geographical Index of the Ceremonial Dance in Great Britain: Part One *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Dec., 1960), pp. ii +1-41.
- <sup>131</sup> Robert Morton Nance, "Introduction: What we stand for", *Old Cornwall Vol. 1, No. 1*, (St Ives, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1925), p. 3.

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