

Cornish Carols:
Heritage in California and South Australia



A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnomusicology

by Elizabeth K Neale

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Declarations

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Table of Contents

| | |
|---|------------|
| Declarations | iii |
| Acknowledgements..... | v |
| Table of Contents..... | vii |
| List of Figures..... | ix |
| List of Plates..... | x |
| List of Tables..... | xi |
| List of Examples..... | xii |
| List of Charts..... | xii |
| Conventions..... | xiii |
| Abstract..... | xv |
| Chapter 1: Carols, Cornwall and the Diaspora | 16 |
| 1.1: Introduction: The Neglect of Cornish Carols | 16 |
| 1.2: Cornwall, its History and Diaspora..... | 24 |
| 1.3: Cornish Carols: Ethnomusicological Contributions | 49 |
| Chapter 2: Cornish Carols: The Emergence of a Genre..... | 55 |
| Introduction..... | 55 |
| 2.1: Carols in Context: Genre, History, Development..... | 56 |
| 2.2: Carols in Cornwall: Fuging and Otherwise | 61 |
| 2.3: Carols in the USA..... | 88 |
| 2.4: Carols in Australia | 98 |
| Conclusions..... | 107 |
| Chapter 3: Carols as Heritage: Theory and Method..... | 110 |
| Introduction..... | 110 |
| 3.1: Defining Heritage and its Studies | 111 |
| 3.2: Heritage in Ethnomusicology | 122 |
| 3.3: Musical Heritage: Theoretical Approach..... | 135 |
| 3.4: Musical Heritage: Methodological Approaches | 142 |
| Conclusions..... | 160 |
| Section 1: Cornish Carols: Recovering Heritage Products..... | 162 |
| Introduction..... | 162 |
| Chapter 4: Grass Valley: Tracing Selection..... | 164 |
| Introduction..... | 164 |
| 4.1: Early References to Carolling: ‘The Old-Fashioned Way’ | 165 |
| 4.2: Manuscript and Print Collections | 171 |
| 4.3: Analysis: Development and Interactions | 192 |
| 4.4: Analysis: Development of Repertoire..... | 202 |
| Conclusions..... | 205 |
| Chapter 5: The Copper Triangle: Tracing Publication | 208 |
| Introduction..... | 208 |
| 5.1: Early References to Carolling: ‘The Ruling Passion’ | 208 |
| 5.2: Manuscript and Print Collections | 214 |
| 5.3: Analysis: Development and Interactions | 232 |
| 5.4: Analysis: Development of Repertoire..... | 241 |
| Conclusions..... | 244 |
| Section 1: Conclusions..... | 246 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| Section 2: Cornish Carols: Uncovering Heritage Processes | 250 |
| Introduction..... | 250 |
| Chapter 6: Grass Valley: English, Cornish, American? | 252 |
| Introduction..... | 252 |
| 6.1: English Heritage? Early Perspectives of the Carols | 253 |
| 6.2: Scripting Heritage? Radio Broadcasts | 257 |
| 6.3: Interpretation: Heritage and History | 265 |
| 6.4: Preserving Heritage? Scholarly Perspectives, Commercial Distribution | 275 |
| Conclusions..... | 288 |
| Chapter 7: The Copper Triangle: Colonial, Celtic, Cornish? | 292 |
| Introduction..... | 292 |
| 7.1: What Heritage? Early Perspectives on the Carols | 292 |
| 7.2: A National Heritage? | 305 |
| 7.3: Characterised or Caricaturised Heritage? | 314 |
| 7.4: Interpretation: Heritage and History | 322 |
| Conclusions..... | 328 |
| Section 2: Conclusions..... | 330 |
| Section 3: Contemporary Cornishness: Product and Process? | 334 |
| Introduction: Reconstructing Heritage..... | 334 |
| Chapter 8: Grass Valley and Cornish Christmas | 336 |
| Introduction..... | 336 |
| 8.1: Decline and Circumstances of the Revival..... | 336 |
| 8.2: Ethnography: Rehearsing ‘Cornish Christmas’ | 343 |
| 8.3: Reflection: Reviving Tradition, Repositioning Heritage..... | 350 |
| 8.4: The Carol Choir and Cornish Heritage in Grass Valley | 361 |
| Conclusions..... | 373 |
| Chapter 9: Moonta and ‘Carols By Candlelight’ | 376 |
| Introduction..... | 376 |
| 9.1: Cornish Carols: A Gradual Decline..... | 376 |
| 9.2: Ethnography: ‘Carols in the Square’ and the ‘Miners’ Re-enactment’ | 383 |
| 9.3: Reflection: Re-enacting Tradition, Restating Heritage..... | 394 |
| 9.4: Carols and Cornish Heritage in the Copper Triangle | 403 |
| Section 3: Conclusions..... | 417 |
| Chapter 10: Summing Analysis and Conclusions | 424 |
| Introduction..... | 424 |
| 10.1: Cornish Carols, Local Heritage | 425 |
| 10.2: Tradition and Heritage: An Alternative Approach | 434 |
| 10.3: Final Conclusions and Areas for Future Research..... | 439 |
| Bibliography | 444 |
| Appendices..... | 475 |
| Appendix A: Interview data..... | 475 |
| Appendix B: Abbreviations of Music Publications | 476 |
| Appendix C: Images of Original Scores | 477 |
| Appendix D: Covers of A Collection of Cornish Carols, Australia | 493 |

List of Figures

| | |
|---|-----|
| Figure 1.1: Map showing location of Cornwall..... | 25 |
| Figure 1.2: Detailed map of Cornwall | 26 |
| Figure 1.3: Map showing state of California, USA | 41 |
| Figure 1.4: Map showing location of Grass Valley, CA, USA..... | 41 |
| Figure 1.5: Map of Copper Triangle towns in South Australia | 45 |
| | |
| Figure 5.1: Advertisement for <i>The Christmas Welcome</i> | 220 |
| Figure 5.2: Map showing review locations of <i>The Christmas Welcome</i> | 228 |
| | |
| Figure 6.1: Map of NBC radio stations in 1937..... | 258 |
| Figure 6.2: Front cover of 1958 LP | 283 |
| | |
| Figure 7.1: Advert for Christmas night concert including carols in 1888 | 294 |
| Figure 7.2: The Moonta Harmony Choir performing in 1928..... | 302 |
| Figure 7.3: Advertisement for the CMS's first carol concert in 1890 | 309 |
| Figure 7.4: Oswald Pryor, cartoons of Cornish carollers in Moonta..... | 316 |
| Figure 7.5: Oswald Pryor, cartoon of Cornish miners singing carols by candlelight | 320 |
| | |
| Figure 8.1: Photo showing the Grass Valley Carol Choir | 356 |
| Figure 8.2: Carols in Grass Valley, <i>The San Francisco Call</i> , 24/12/1911, p. 18 | 357 |
| | |
| Figure 9.1: Advert for carol concert, 1945 | 380 |

List of Plates

| | |
|--|-----|
| Plate 4.1: Heath's <i>Cornish Carols Part 1</i> , Zachariah Williams collection..... | 173 |
| Plate 4.2: Merritt's <i>Christmas Carols - Second Set</i> , Zachariah Williams collection..... | 175 |
| Plate 4.3: Heath's <i>Cornish Carols Part 2</i> , Zachariah Williams collection..... | 176 |
| Plate 4.4: Book of carol words, Zachariah Williams collection | 177 |
| Plate 4.5: Heath's <i>Cornish Carols Part 1</i> , Richard Henry Champion collection | 180 |
| Plate 4.6: Closeup of printer's stamp in plate 4.5 | 180 |
| Plate 4.7: Merritt's <i>Six Christmas Carols</i> , Richard Henry Champion collection..... | 182 |
| Plate 4.8: Bond's <i>Old Methodist Hymn Tunes</i> , Richard Henry Champion collection | 183 |
| Plate 4.9: Front cover of the William Tremewan MSS, photocopy..... | 188 |
| Plate 4.10: Bars 24-28 of 'Luminary', John E. Thomas MSS | 194 |
| Plate 4.11: Bars 37-43 of 'Luminary', John E. Thomas MSS | 195 |
| Plate 4.12: Fugal section of 'Awake With Joy', William Tremewan MSS..... | 197 |
| Plate 4.13: Bars 4-5 of 'Resplendent Beauty', John E. Thomas MSS..... | 198 |
| Plate 4.14: Bars 6-10 of 'Resplendent Beauty', John E. Thomas MSS..... | 198 |
| | |
| Plate 5.1: Inside cover of Matthias Deacon Abbott manuscript | 214 |
| Plate 5.2: <i>The Christmas Welcome</i> (Moonta, S. Aust: Grummet, 1909)..... | 219 |
| Plate 5.3: 'Arise and Sing, Dispele Your Fears', Abbot MSS..... | 239 |
| | |
| Plate 6.1: The 1940 broadcast underground in the Idaho-Maryland Mine | 263 |
| Plate 6.2: Programme of carols sung by the Grass Valley Carol Choir (1)..... | 286 |
| Plate 6.3: Programme of carols sung by the Grass Valley Carol Choir (2)..... | 286 |
| | |
| Plate 8.1: The Grass Valley Carol Choir on the Union Steps, 2015 | 349 |
| Plate 8.2: Cornish items available for sale from Eleanor's stall | 369 |
| | |
| Plate 9.1: The final rehearsal in Moonta Uniting Church, 11 th of December 2015 ... | 387 |
| Plate 9.2: 'Carols By Candlelight', Queen Square Moonta, 13 th of December 2015 | 390 |
| Plate 9.3: The 'Miners' Re-enactment', Moonta, 13 th of December 2015 | 391 |
| Plate 9.4: Display of Cornish carol books and musical artefacts..... | 405 |
| Plate 9.5: 'Calm On The Listening Ear' display | 406 |
| Plate 9.6: Painting of Cornish miners singing | 407 |

List of Tables

| | |
|--|-----|
| Table 2.1: List of carol books published or printed in Cornwall | 78 |
| Table 3.1: Timeline of field and archival research | 151 |
| Table 4.1: Contents of Geo. F. Bond's <i>Old Methodist Hymn Tunes</i> , owned by Richard Henry Champion..... | 184 |
| Table 4.2: Suggested sources of repertoire for the Tremewan MSS | 189 |
| Table 4.3: Suggested sources for the Thomas MSS | 191 |
| Table 4.4: Contents of Nettel MSS | 192 |
| Table 4.5: Carols found in the Tremewan, Thomas and Nettel manuscripts..... | 202 |
| Table 5.1: Contents of Matthew Deacon Abbott manuscript, dated 1875..... | 216 |
| Table 5.2: Publication history of <i>The Christmas Welcome</i> | 218 |
| Table 5.3: Contents of 1895 edition of <i>The Christmas Welcome</i> | 221 |
| Table 5.4: 1897 version of <i>The Christmas Welcome</i> | 224 |
| Table 5.5: Contents of the 1902 edition of <i>The Christmas Welcome</i> | 226 |
| Table 5.6: Table of contents from 1909 version of <i>The Christmas Welcome</i> | 227 |
| Table 6.1: Carols recorded for Wayland Hand also appearing on the 1958 10" vinyl | 278 |
| Table 6.2: Contents of GVCC printed programme ca. 1958 | 285 |
| Table 8.1: List of music performed by the Grass Valley Carol Choir in 2015..... | 351 |

List of Examples

| | |
|---|-----|
| Example 2.1: ‘The Lord is Come’, Heath, <i>Cornish Carols Part 1</i> | 73 |
| Example 4.1: Bars 24-8 of ‘Luminary’, Warmington, <i>Part 1</i> | 194 |
| Example 4.2: Bars 37-43 of ‘Luminary’, Warmington, <i>Part 1</i> | 195 |
| Example 4.3: Fugal section, ‘Awake With Joy’, Merritt, <i>Six Christmas Carols</i> (<i>Second Set</i>) | 197 |
| Example 4.4: Bars 4-10 of ‘Resplendent Beauty’, Heath, <i>Part 2</i> | 199 |
| Example 5.1: Bars 1-5 of ‘Calm On The Listening Ear’, <i>The Christmas Welcome</i> .. | 233 |
| Example 5.2: ‘Awake Ye Nations’, Heath, <i>Part 2</i> , 1889 | 235 |
| Example 5.2: ‘Awake Ye Nations’, <i>The Christmas Welcome</i> , 1909 | 236 |
| Example 5.4: ‘Arise and Sing’, Heath, <i>Cornish Carols Part 1</i> | 239 |

List of Charts

| | |
|--|-----|
| Chart 7.1: Graph showing the number of times that ‘Cornish carol’ appears in South Australian digitised newspapers, 1870-1950 (Trove) | 312 |
|--|-----|

Conventions

I adopt the Modern Humanities Research Association (MHRA) style of citation. I divide my bibliography into types of sources for clarity, including separate sections for publications, musical publications, discography, webography, and archival sources. I also attach a short series of appendices.

At the first instance in each chapter, I give the full names of publications and groups, thereafter abbreviating for ease of reading. A list of these abbreviations is provided in the appendices. Similarly, where available, I give birth and death dates for main protagonists such as composers and singers in the first instance in each chapter. Locating publication data for some of the printed sources presented difficulties, so I have given estimates based on advertisements where available.

I draw on a large number of newspaper references from a variety of online and physical sources. Due to the quantity of such references, I do not provide a URL for each instance; I quote the newspaper name, date of publication and page number in a footnote. A full list of newspaper sources and their locations is given in the ‘Newspapers and Periodicals’ subsection of the bibliography. Unless otherwise noted, spellings and capitalisations are replicated from the original source. Except where credited to another source, all photographs (plates) are taken by myself and copyright.

There are occasional references to non-English language words and phrases which are italicised (except in cases where they are proper nouns), and after which I add the English translation: e.g., *Kernewek* (Eng.: Cornish).

Abstract

This thesis examines Christmas carols as heritage in the Cornish diaspora. Emerging from the same carolling tradition in Cornwall, labour migration during the 19th century resulted in the transfer and development of this musical practice in two key diasporic locations; namely, Grass Valley, California, and the Copper Triangle, in South Australia. Interest in the local performance of the repertoire is growing at a grass roots level in Cornwall, and the carols continue to be seen as part of Cornish (and other) heritage in these overseas communities. However, no academic study has yet attempted to trace or compare the diverging developments of the musical form, or the practices and cultural narratives associated with and emerging from its performance in these locations. I draw on heritage theory and ethnomusicological methodologies in order to provide a nuanced account of these diasporic Cornish carolling traditions, arguing that they offer a compelling case study of how heritage operates as a process that engenders cultural meanings and significances that shift in orientation and emphasis. The thesis comprises of three sections. The first examines the musical materials of Cornish carols, discussing the selection and development of repertoires particular to each location. The second explores the emergence of particular cultural narratives around the carols and their performers, as the traditions developed new performance practices, contexts and cultural significances. The final section explores contemporary perspectives of the carols as local and other heritages in their present day contexts of revival and re-enactment. Combining archival and ethnographic research, this thesis shows that the differing trajectories of the carol traditions in each location are ideal loci within which to examine how notions of heritage may emerge, shift, and develop over time within a musical context.

Chapter 1: Carols, Cornwall and the Diaspora

1.1: Introduction: The Neglect of Cornish Carols

Cornish carols are a repertoire of Christmas music that was transported with migrating Cornish miners as they sought work in new mineral concerns across the colonies and new worlds. They had a popularity overseas that surprised 20th century commentators in Cornwall:

It was these carols, the ‘curls’ composed by the miners themselves, which form a really valuable contribution to music. Unfortunately, they are seldom heard at all in Cornwall today and are more likely to be sung in Cornish centres overseas than in the county of their origin. [...] But some of the old music books may remain, and who knows what treasure may still turn up in Butte or Detroit, Johannesburg or Adelaide?¹

These carols were recognised as an important element of Cornish musical culture both at home and abroad. However, this repertoire has been almost entirely neglected in ethnomusicological scholarship.

This is partly due to the overall underrepresentation of Cornish music cultures in the scholarly record. However, it is also also because fusing psalmody, as the particular style of composition associated with Cornish carols, is itself an understudied repertoire of Christian religious music. In western music, the fugue is primarily

¹ John Penwith, ‘Cornwall’s Gift to Christmas’, in *Leaves from a Cornish Notebook* (Penzance: The Cornish Library, 1949), pp. 61-64 (pp. 63-64). ‘Curl’ or ‘curr’l’, and other variants, is a spelling of ‘carol’ intended to imply the Cornish accent or dialect; see ‘Cornish Christmas Carols – or Curls’, Cornwall Council website [Available at: <https://www.cornwall.gov.uk/community-and-living/records-archives-and-cornish-studies/research-guides/cornish-christmas-carols-or-curls/> Accessed: 6/8/2018 10:37]

characterised by a structure incorporating canonic imitation. However, the changing definitions, applications and structures of the fusing form since the 14th century have meant that while it is generally identified through the presence of some form of imitative counterpoint, in contemporary scholarship there is no real consensus on its formal structure.² Called ‘village carols’ elsewhere in the UK, Cornish carols are part of a broader genre of fusing psalmody that emerged in the UK in the late 17th century, flourished in the 18th century and declined in use during the 19th century.³ However, the form remained popular in rural and peripheral locations such as Cornwall well into the 19th century while its appeal had declined elsewhere. In some cases, its performance eventually became divorced from the sacred contexts of churches and chapels, and emerged in other contexts (such as house-visiting) as folk traditions, thereby becoming associated with particular locations and regions.⁴ As such, the fusing Christmas carol repertoire has been somewhat neglected since it falls between the often opposed worlds of folk music and art music.⁵

Within this, Cornish carols therefore constitute a small repertoire of music that, even within the small amount of work on Cornish music cultures more broadly, has attracted little investigation. As I explore in my second chapter, this lack of attention is particularly acute in relation to diasporic communities; other than one examination of the tradition in Grass Valley (California), there has been no significant academic study of Cornish carols relating to the musical materials, cultural narratives and social

² Paul M. Walker, ‘Fugue’, Grove Music Online website [Available at:

<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.51678> Accessed: 26/3/2018 10.35]

³ See for example, Ian Russell’s work on similar repertoire in villages surrounding Sheffield, UK in Ian Russell, ed., *The Sheffield Book of Village Carols* (Sheffield: Village Carols 2011).

⁴ See Nicholas Temperley, ‘The Origins of the Fusing Tune’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 17 (1981), pp. 1-32; Nicholas Temperley and Charles G. Manns, *Fusing Tunes in the Eighteenth Century* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, Inc 1983); Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). I give a detailed discussion of the form and its development in Cornwall in the following chapter.

⁵ Temperley, ‘The Origins of the Fusing Tune’, p. 1.

practices in diasporic locations. This is surprising since the enduring popularity of music in general, and carols in particular, is often recorded in non-musical studies of diasporic Cornish communities. While Cornish carols have been noted in various locations across Australia and the USA, and also further afield in other destinations such as South Africa, this study specifically focuses on traditions in the Copper Triangle (a group of three industrially interlinked towns) in South Australia, and Grass Valley in California. These locations were among the largest diasporic Cornish communities of the 19th and 20th centuries, and were strongly associated with Cornish carolling traditions during this time. Further, their contemporary communities continue to perform Cornish carols and celebrate their Cornish heritage, and I therefore consider that they are the most appropriate sites to conduct this study.

The Cornish communities I address in this thesis fit the rubric of a diasporic culture as defined in contemporary scholarship. As definitions of diaspora have broadened from forced migrations to include imperial, labour and other diasporas, so have the range of characteristics for their recognition as a diasporic culture.⁶ Thomas Turino and James Lea suggest the following criteria:

1) unification around the symbol of the homeland; 2) dispersion to multiple sites across state borders with a subjective consciousness of cultural connections and similarities between them, and often actual interchange; and 3) the maintenance of relative distinction from the host society for whatever reasons.⁷

⁶ Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, 2nd ed., (Oxford: Routledge, 2008), pp. 4-6.

⁷ Thomas Turino and James Lea, eds., *Identity and the Arts in Diaspora Communities* (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2004), p. 6.

It is clear that diasporic identities are articulated in relation to a concept of a homeland; as Tina K. Ramnarine suggests, for diasporic communities, ‘questions of identity are inextricable from the past and from [a] relationship to a former homeland’.⁸ This relationship may be problematic or traumatic, especially where migrations of people have been violently forced, the homeland has been transformed or destroyed, or the migrating community experiences ostracisation, persecution or cultural marginalisation. However, as I consider the traditions in this thesis reflect, diasporic music cultures often articulate a dialogue of identity that is engaged with constructing or negotiating a musical, social and cultural relationship with their destination culture.

Although diasporic communities form the context of my research, the theoretical thrust of my thesis concerns the development of heritage narratives. My initial point of departure for the broader analysis of this thesis concerned notions of identity. I was intrigued by the identifying premodifier in the genre title; what, specifically, makes these carols Cornish? How is this Cornishness defined and articulated? What resonance and importance did – and do – the carols have for diasporic communities performing them? As I progressed through the research process, I realised that this ‘Cornishness’, as a descriptor of identity, was mutable; representations of the carols and their performing communities not only differed subtly between the locations I was investigating, but also developed and were reoriented at different times during their respective histories, and also in their contemporary performance. As these issues became evident, I realised that more productive and pertinent questions concerned how these carols are positioned and oriented as heritage. While I retain my primary

⁸ See in particular, Tina K. Ramnarine, ed., *Musical Performance In The Diaspora* (UK: Routledge 2008).

aim of recovering and exploring what Cornish carol repertoire was transported – and developed – in diasporic locations, my supplementary research questions are: (1) what cultural narratives were developed around the musical materials and the performers?; (2) how have these narratives developed, changed and been reoriented over time?; (3) how do these changes impact upon the musical materials and performance practices of the traditions?; (4) how far do such narratives reflect – or not – contemporary perspectives of heritage in each location?

I therefore consider that framing these questions through heritage rather than through identity is the most productive and appropriate way to focus my analysis and interpretation. As I explore in my third chapter, which outlines my theoretical and methodological approach to my research, heritage theory and studies have been gaining presence in ethnomusicology through the development of UNESCO's 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage status to particular music cultures. However, I argue that heritagisation is not a finite process; that despite a nominative fixity in the notions of inheritance and preservation, heritage objects, practices and narratives are also constantly in the process of selection, development, and articulation.⁹ As I go on to show, even during the 19th century, the carols discussed in this thesis were regarded as important historical socio-musical cultures that were to be valued and promoted in the present. Further, I consider that the contemporary carolling practices I examine in each location are self-conscious displays of heritage and identity which depict highly selective interpretations of past they present. As such, I approach the Cornish carol traditions in the Copper Triangle

⁹ Described as 'verbal bramble', the term has been utilised over the past twenty years or so to acknowledge and describe the processes of ascribing heritage value to cultural artefacts; see T. C. Smout, review of *History, Nationhood and the Question of Britain* by Helen Brocklehurst and Robert Phillips, *The English Historical Review*, 119/484 (2004), pp. 1372-1374 (pp. 1372-1373).

and Grass Valley with a view to examining how heritage narratives represent the past over time, and how such narratives change and alter in order to reflect present needs.

To these ends, I undertook several research and fieldwork trips to both Australia and the USA during the course of my studies. I made three separate visits to the Copper Triangle in May-July and December 2015, and May-June 2017. I also visited Grass Valley in November 2015, and during February to June 2016 I undertook an AHRC Fellowship at the Library of Congress. During these visits I accessed a range of personal, local, regional and national archives, allowing me to access unique sources in both locations. In order to uncover perspectives of the carols as heritage in Moonta and Grass Valley in the present day, I also undertook more traditionally ethnographic work. My mid-year visits to South Australia in 2015 and 2017 were timed to coincide with Kernewek Lowender (Eng: Cornish happiness), the district's biennial festival of Cornish heritage. I further visited both Grass Valley and the Copper Triangle in November and December of 2015 respectively in order to observe the carolling practices themselves. During this time, I combined the archival research discussed above, with a range of modes of data collection, taking photographs, video and audio recordings, and collecting ephemera relating to Cornish heritage in the area. During these visits I interviewed a range of individuals regarding both the historical and contemporary aspects of the carolling traditions. I also was able to undertake participant observation of contemporary practice in each location, although as I discuss in my methodology, this occurred to different extents due to the different performing contexts I encountered.

Due to the dual sited nature of my research, I arrange my investigation in three sections, each of which contains a chapter dealing individually with each location, and closes with a summing analysis of my findings. These sections are designed to work both thematically and chronologically to explore how my research either confirms, subverts or otherwise problematises notions of heritage. In Section 1, I examine the musical materials of the carolling traditions, utilising a range of physical and digital archival resources to uncover what repertoire was available – or developed – within each location. Here I problematise music as intangible heritage, emphasising the need to resituate tangible elements of musical traditions within discourses of intangible heritage. In Section 2, I explore how heritage narratives were developed around these raw materials. Here, I discuss how and why particular portrayals of both the musical material and the performers were cultivated. In Section 3, I explore the contemporary performance of Cornish carols in each location, discussing my observations of events I attended and participated in at Grass Valley and Moonta in 2015. I utilise ethnographic methods to show how musical performance articulates and delivers heritage narratives, considering how the different contexts of revival and re-enactment differently perform perspectives of the past in the present. Having developed my analysis through these sections, I conclude the thesis by synthesising my findings in my closing chapter, which gestures towards avenues for future research and suggests an alternative view of the heritagisation of musical traditions.

At this point I recognise that since this thesis approaches notions of heritage in American and Australian contexts, the question might be asked why one would focus on the traditions and heritages of white settlers as opposed to indigenous peoples, whose cultures and populations were so profoundly damaged in the processes of

colonisation. It could be argued that positioning Cornish carolling as a heritage practice makes sense in a British context, but not in a colonial context. This thesis obviously does not seek to equate any part of the position of Cornish carolling tradition with the mode or level of violence meted out to the societies of indigenous peoples in the processes of colonisation; as I show in this chapter, the Cornish were not marginalised or persecuted in the diasporic setting. I do not wish to give any impression of ‘overlooking the memories of violence in the shaping of many diasporic sensibilities’.¹⁰ Indeed, given the vicissitudes of Cornwall’s history, one could position the Cornish as the colonised, who, at least in diasporic contexts, became colonizers.¹¹

With this in mind, here I address my position in relation to my research. My interest in Cornish carols is the result of coalescing personal and academic interests. Having been born and raised in Cornwall as the daughter of parents who had moved there to work, I had developed an interest in the musical history and lifeways of my immediate surroundings without automatically considering myself a cultural insider. Put simply, despite a deep familiarity and interest, I did not necessarily consider Cornish music to be my own personal heritage. Carolling traditions as an important element of Cornish and local heritage became evident while I was completing my MA dissertation regarding the carolling tradition of Padstow, a small town on the north coast of Cornwall with a specific repertoire and house-visiting custom. Hearing the leader of the group explain that the carols they performed were unique to Padstow, I was intrigued when my research revealed that similar repertoire could not only be

¹⁰ Tina K. Ramnarine, ‘Musical Performance in the Diaspora: Introduction’, *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 16/1 (2007), pp. 1-17.

¹¹ See Noel Ignatiev, *How The Irish Became White* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1995), which asks ‘how the Catholic Irish, an oppressed race in Ireland, became part of an oppressing race in America’ (p. 2).

found in other village carolling traditions elsewhere Cornwall and the UK, but also in a range of overseas locations that were widely scattered geographically, but linked through the presence of Cornish migrant communities. My interest piqued, I found little in the way of existing scholarly work regarding this transfer of musical culture. I thus consider that an exploration of Cornish carols in the diaspora is not only timely, but necessary in order to elucidate not only the transfer of Cornish culture and identity to diasporic contexts, but also their role in the development of Cornish heritage in those locations.

1.2: Cornwall, its History and Diaspora

Cornwall is a county and a duchy at the far south west of the United Kingdom, bounded on two sides by the sea, and its border with neighbouring county Devon mostly following the course of the River Tamar. Cornwall has a population of approximately 550,000 people spread across six electoral districts and the Isles of Scilly (a small archipelago of islands approximately 20 miles due south west of Land's End). In many cases Cornish place names are drawn from *Kernwewek* (Eng: Cornish language), which was an historically P-Celtic language closely related to Breton and Welsh.¹² In 2009 the language was classified as extinct by UNESCO, although it was reclassified the following year as 'critically endangered' and is in the process of revival.¹³ In 2014 the UK government granted the Cornish people national minority status under the European Framework Convention for the Recognition of

¹² In 2002 Cornish was recognised in the Council of Europe's Charter for Regional or Minority Languages; see 'Cornish Language Status', Cornwall Council website [Available at: <http://www.magakernow.org.uk/leisure-and-culture/the-cornish-language/cornish-language/cornish-language-office/cornish-language-status/> Accessed: 19/11/2017 12:00]

¹³ 'Cornish Language No Longer Extinct, Says UN', BBC News website [Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-cornwall-11935464> Accessed: 15/11/2017 17:11]

National Minorities, and in 2015 it was announced that devolved powers would be handed to Cornwall Council, covering several areas including heritage and culture.¹⁴



Figure 1.1: Map showing location of Cornwall¹⁵

¹⁴ ‘Cornish Granted National Minority Status, UK Government website, [Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/cornish-granted-minority-status-within-the-uk> Accessed: 15/11/2017 15:23]

¹⁵ Map of Cornwall [Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cornwall#/media/File:Cornwall_UK_locator_map_2010.svg Accessed: 22/11/2017 10:10]



Figure 1.2: Detailed map of Cornwall¹⁶

Some consider that Cornwall's peripheral location and socio-cultural history has resulted in an identity and culture distinct within England and the broader UK.¹⁷ However, this same peripheral location has in tandem led to a perceived lack of recognition and representation of Cornwall and the Cornish in broader cultural and scholarly fields. The establishment of the Institute of Cornish Studies at the University of Exeter in 1971 has gone some way to redressing this perceived imbalance.¹⁸ Much work on Cornish identity emerging in recent decades works to resituate Cornwall's social, cultural and historical experience within historical accounts of the broader UK. In the introduction to *The Making of Modern Cornwall*:

¹⁶ Map of Cornwall (detailed) [Available at: <http://www.mappery.com/map-of/Cornwall-Map> Accessed: 22/11/2017 10:09]

¹⁷ Philip Payton, *The Making of Modern Cornwall: Historical Experience and the Persistence of Difference* (Redruth: Dyllansow Truran, 1993), p. 7. In this thesis I call upon the work of established historian Professor Payton, whose work on Cornish history and the diaspora forms a considerable proportion of the scholarly attention to the areas I examine.

¹⁸ Initially focusing on linguistic and archaeological subject matter, in the past two decades diaspora and migration studies, oral history, cultural memory and political history have taken the foreground. The institute published the journal *Cornish Studies* from 1973 to 1988 and from 1993 to 2014, and has recently published the first two issues in its third series, now edited by Dr Garry Tregidga.

Historical Experience and the Persistence of Difference, Philip Payton suggests that the ‘concept of the “homogeneous state” was accepted by most historians, who frequently saw the history of the United Kingdom through English (and then essentially south-east English eyes), while social scientists were prepared to present the state as not only unitary and centralised but also centre-oriented (and therefore, homogeneous) in all its principal aspects’.¹⁹ Payton considers that an enduring sense of difference, specific to Cornwall, is the result of developing stages of peripheralism, utilising the model of the ‘older’ peripheralism of ‘territorial and cultural isolation’, leading to a ‘Second’ peripheralism of ‘economic and social marginality’ as identified by Sidney Tarrow, and going on to propose a contemporary ‘Third’ period of peripheralism that is defined by the politicisation of the Cornish Revival.²⁰

Alongside the notion of peripheralism, the conception of ‘Cornish distinctiveness’ has emerged as a central concept in scholarly work regarding Cornish history and culture. Payton’s *The Making of Modern Cornwall* was again key in this regard, positing that its peripheralisms have led to a social, cultural and historical context distinct from, and unique within, other parts of the British Isles. However, in his 2002 examination of *Tudor Cornwall*, historian John Chynoweth vehemently attacked the notion of distinctiveness, arguing that its key tenets were ‘either erroneous, or requires substantial qualification. The extent to which Cornwall was “different” from other rural counties in the Tudor period has been greatly exaggerated by proponents of the theory’.²¹ It is indeed difficult to redress a perceived dearth of attention to Cornwall without overstating its perceived ‘difference’; as historian Stephen Rippon states, ‘regional character is, however, a relative thing: was Cornwall more different from

¹⁹ Payton, *The Making of Modern Cornwall*, p. 7

²⁰ Payton, *The Making of Modern Cornwall*, p. 18, pp. 192-234.

²¹ John Chynoweth, *Tudor Cornwall* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing, 2002), p. 31.

Devon than Devon was from neighbouring Somerset, or Yorkshire from Lancashire?’²²

Cornish historian Bernard Deacon’s *Cornwall: A Concise History* has sought to balance what he terms these ‘kernowsceptic’ and ‘kernowcentric’ positions.²³ However, he considers that ‘those few academics who study Cornwall find it difficult to escape a dominant English nationalist discourse of the “discovery” of the periphery. Within this discourse Cornwall is either routinely dismissed and ignored or, in a violent lurch to the opposite extreme, drooled over as a fascinating “other”’.²⁴ Within this, he posits a general ‘under-awareness of the role of Cornish people in making their own past’.²⁵ While this thesis does not attempt to support or refute either perspective of Cornwall’s socio-cultural history with regard to either its peripherality or distinctiveness directly, it nevertheless does attempt to develop an awareness of the role of Cornish people – and others – in making their own heritage through musical performance in diasporic contexts.

An account of Cornish history is needed to put these perspectives of peripheralism and distinctiveness into context. Notions of Cornish distinctiveness are often informed by popular and academic accounts of its early history. Mesolithic, Neolithic, Beaker and early Bronze Age remains found in the county indicate that Cornwall was populated during these periods, leaving burial chambers, pottery, arrowheads and other artefacts across the county.²⁶ Antiquarian sources suggested that Cornwall was

²² Stephen Rippon, review of *Cornwall: A Concise History* by Bernard Deacon, *The English Historical Review*, 125/512 (2010), pp. 132-133 (p. 133).

²³ Bernard Deacon, *Cornwall: A Concise History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007).

²⁴ Deacon, *Cornwall: A Concise History*, p. 182.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

²⁶ Philip Payton, *Cornwall: A History*, 3rd edn., (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2017), pp. 1-18.

known in the ancient world through tin trade with the Phoenicians; Diodorus Siculus, referencing Pytheas, wrote that ‘the inhabitants of that part of Britain called Belerion (or Land’s End) from their intercourse with foreign merchants, are civilised in their manner of life. They prepare the tin, working very carefully the earth in which it is produced’.²⁷ However, subsequent archaeological work has sought to debunk the mythologised legacy of the Phoenicians in Cornwall.²⁸

During the Iron Age the south-west of Britain was populated by Celtic tribes speaking a common Brythonic language, which eventually split into distinct languages including Cornish and Welsh.²⁹ Cornwall does not appear to have been settled to any great extent by the Romans, remaining broadly populated by Celtic tribes, although in post-Roman Britain, it remained part of the Celtic-controlled region of Dumnonia that also incorporated Devon and areas of Somerset.³⁰ Deacon argues that this time was a ‘golden age’ during which ‘Dumnonia in practice meant greater Cornubia’.³¹ However, perspectives and promotions of Cornwall as a Celtic region are fraught with controversy, and indeed, the term ‘Celtic’ is itself inherently problematic. In his discussion of the Celts as the ‘construction of a myth’, Malcolm Chapman suggests that engagement with notions of Celticity is often borne of a social desire for cultural continuity in the face of ‘alien and intrusive cultural forms’.³² In this sense,

²⁷ F. E. Halliday, *A History of Cornwall* (London: Duckworth, 1959), p. 51.

²⁸ See R. D. Penhallurick, *Tin in Antiquity: Its Mining and Trade throughout the Ancient World with Particular Reference to Cornwall* (London: Institute of Metals, 1986); in particular ‘Chapter 21: The Phoenician Myth’, pp. 123-131.

²⁹ See Payton, *The Making of Modern Cornwall*, pp. 43-65; *Cornwall: A History*, pp. 19-36.

³⁰ However, recent discovery of Roman remains near St Austell indicates that there was some level of Roman presence within the region between the first and fifth centuries. See ‘Roman Fort Found in Cornwall “Rewrites History”’, BBC news website, [Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10372659> Accessed: 5/6/2018 13:33]

³¹ Bernard Deacon, *Cornwall’s First Golden Age: From Arthur To The Normans* (London: Francis Boutle Publishers, 2016), p. 48.

³² Malcolm Chapman, *The Celts: The Construction of a Myth* (Basingstoke: St Martin’s Press, 1992), p. 94.

Cornwall's peripheral location might be seen to reflect this paradigm aptly; the Cornish as 'fringe dwellers come to be seen as occupants of history, guardians of tradition, and so forth, with moral responsibility for the preservation of heritage'.³³

Such notions of Celticity were, and continue to be, key in promoting the Cornish as a historically and culturally distinct region within the broader UK. The Celtic revival in Cornwall occurred at the close of the 19th century, with the most prominent figure being Henry Jenner, whose work centred on a Celtic-Catholic vision of Cornish identity.³⁴ However, Cornwall was not officially accepted as part of the Pan Celtic Congress in 1901 because the Cornish language was considered to be extinct (although in 1904 it was accepted).³⁵ Modeled on the Welsh Gorsedd (Eng: meeting of bards) and inaugurated in 1928, the Cornish Gorsedh looks towards Celticity as a vehicle for defining and promoting Cornish difference to English culture. It continues to elect bards for varying services to Cornwall, with the broader aim of 'maintain[ing] and giv[ing] expression to the national spirit of Cornwall as a Celtic country'.³⁶ This is linked, although not affiliated, with local 'Old Cornwall Societies', which also promote an interest in the Cornish language alongside the aim to 'collect, record and publish information regarding Cornish history, topography, place-names, folk-lore, traditions, dialect, music, industries and similar subjects'.³⁷

³³ Chapman, *The Celts*, p. 97.

³⁴ Samantha Rayne, 'Henry Jenner and the Celtic Revival in Cornwall', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Exeter website [Available at: <https://ore.exeter.ac.uk/repository/bitstream/handle/10036/3685/RayneS.pdf?sequence=1> Accessed: 30/11/2017 14:25]

³⁵ 'Bangor Eisteddfod', *Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser*, 22/11/1902, p. 6.

³⁶ 'About', Cornish Gorsedh website [Available at: <https://gorsedhkernow.org.uk/about.html> Accessed: 15/11/2017 17:38]

³⁷ 'About Us', Federation of Old Cornwall Societies website [Available at: <http://www.n.net/about-us/4576024266> Accessed: 16/11/2017 11:42]

Contemporary difference through Celticity is also evinced in the emergence of Mebyon Kernow (Eng.: Sons of Cornwall) in 1951, a left of centre political party that campaigns for devolved government similar to the powers of the Welsh and Scottish assemblies. Mebyon Kernow considers Cornwall to be a Celtic nation, stating on its website that ‘the historic Nation of Cornwall has its own distinct identity, language and heritage. As one of the four nations inhabiting the British mainland, Cornwall has the same right to self-determination as England, Scotland and Wales’.³⁸ There is thus a clear appetite – both historic and contemporary – for allying Cornish difference with an ancient, non-English predecessor in order to gain recognition. This is despite academic deconstructions of the Celts such as Chapman’s, and further contemporary genetic research indicating that there was:

[...] no evidence of a general ‘Celtic’ population in non-Saxon parts of the UK. Instead there were many distinct genetic clusters in these regions [...] Further, the ancestry profile of *Cornwall* (perhaps expected to resemble other Celtic clusters) is quite different from that of the Welsh clusters, and much closer to that of *Devon*, and *Cent./S England*.³⁹

Nonetheless, notions of Celticity have been particularly important in performances and promotions of Cornish culture in diasporic settings, revealing intriguing perspectives of Cornish identity. Indeed, the cultural narratives developed around the carols have at different points been articulated in relation to notions of Celticity. As I explore in my second chapter, this is particularly interesting given the complete lack

³⁸ Homepage, Mebyon Kernow website [Available at: <https://www.mebyonkernow.org/> Accessed: 15/11/2017 16:48]

³⁹ See Stephen Leslie, Bruce Winney, Garrett Hellenthal et al, ‘The fine-scale genetic structure of the British population’, *Nature*, 519 (2015), pp. 309-314 (p. 314); NB the italics reflect cluster samples rather than the geographical region.

of relationship between notions of historic Celtic culture and Cornish carols as a musical genre.

However, historical and cultural foci of Cornish difference do not solely rely on notions of Celticity. As the Anglo-Saxon territory of Wessex expanded west in post-Roman Britain, P-Celtic speaking regions were gradually restricted. In the 10th century Athelstan evicted the Cornish from Exeter, fixing the boundary of Cornwall at the river Tamar. It is at this point that Payton argues that Cornwall was ‘firmly annexed to England and yet was not part of it, either ethnically or in terms of territorial absorption’.⁴⁰ Historian Mark Stoye considers that ‘Cornwall was the first part of the Celtic periphery to be incorporated within the English state, therefore, and a thousand years of political and cultural subordination’.⁴¹ Stoye avers that as a result of this ethnic and linguistic split, the Cornish speaking Celtic inhabitants of Cornwall continued to retreat into West Cornwall. As spoken Cornish declined, two institutions subsequently lauded as evidence of Cornish difference from other English counties were formed. The first was the Stannary court system, which Payton states ‘grew out of a body of ancient customary rights and privileges enjoyed by the tanners of Cornwall and Devon’.⁴² This court system essentially granted separate laws to miners, exempting them from being tried in the usual court system (except in serious cases) and instead in front of the Stannary court. Second, Edward III established Cornwall as a Duchy in 1337, positioning the heir to the throne as Duke of Cornwall and as a

⁴⁰ Payton, *The Making of Modern Cornwall*, p. 46.

⁴¹ Mark Stoye, ‘The Dissidence of Despair: Rebellion and Identity in Early Modern Cornwall’, *Journal of British Studies*, 38/4 (1999), pp. 423-444 (p. 424).

⁴² Payton, *The Making of Modern Cornwall*, p. 50.

‘quasi-sovereign within his Duchy’.⁴³ Payton suggests that these institutions ‘gave Cornwall a unique relationship with the Crown and afforded a special constitutional identity’.⁴⁴

Rebellions during the Tudor and Stuart periods have also suggested to some that the Cornish envisioned something of an independent destiny within the UK.⁴⁵ In 1497 two Cornish men led a rebellion spurred by the rejection of taxation for war with Scotland, although they were ultimately defeated at the battle of Deptford Bridge. Shortly after the destruction of Glasney and Crantock Colleges (seats of learning in mediaeval Cornwall) during the dissolution of the monasteries, in 1547 a rebellion erupted protesting that the Book of Common Prayer was not translated into Cornish.⁴⁶ Stoyle argues that not only did this contribute hugely to the decline of the language, but also that the rebellion signalled a broader Cornish opposition to English hegemony west of the Tamar.⁴⁷ However, linguist Stuart Dunmore takes a wider view, considering that ‘rather than a robust defence of Cornwall’s traditional ethnolinguistic identity therefore, the 1549 rebellion is best understood as an expression of popular resistance to religious reform’.⁴⁸ These different readings reveal the ongoing

⁴³ Payton, *The Making of Modern Cornwall*, p. 48, quoting The Duchy of Cornwall, *The Tidal Estuaries, Foreshore, and Under-Sea Minerals within and around the Coast of the County of Cornwall* (London, 1857), p. 58 (quoting Charter Roll 11, Edward III, n.55), Appendix L.

⁴⁴ Payton, *The Making of Modern Cornwall*, p. 47.

⁴⁵ Stoyle, ‘The Dissidence of Despair: Rebellion and Identity in Early Modern Cornwall’, p. 424.

⁴⁶ See Alan M. Kent, ‘Glasney College’, in John T. Koch, ed., *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO Inc, 2006), pp. 814-815. The Book of Common Prayer was however translated into Manx in 1610 by Bishop Phillips (see A. W. Moore and John Rhys, eds, *The Book of Common Prayer in Manx Gaelic. Being Translations made by Bishop Phillips in 1610, and by the Manx Clergy in 1765* (London: H. Froude, Oxford University Press, 1895), p. ix), and into Welsh in 1567 by Richard Davies and William Salesbury (see Robert Paterson, ‘The Church in Wales’, in Charles Hefling and Cynthia L. Shattuck, eds., *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 426-430).

⁴⁷ See Mark Stoyle, *West Britons: Cornish Identities and the Early Modern British State* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002).

⁴⁸ Stuart Dunmore, ‘Language Decline and the “Theory of Cornish Distinctiveness”’: The Historiography of Language and Identity in Early Modern Cornwall’, *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 31 (2011), pp. 91-105 (p. 101).

disparity between Kernow-centric and Kernow-sceptic perspectives of the county's history.

The county's religious history has also contributed to notions of Cornish difference. Royalist in the otherwise predominantly Parliamentary south-western region, following the Reformation, Catholic worship in Cornwall decreased greatly with the majority of the population conforming to Anglican worship.⁴⁹ However, Methodism flourished in Cornwall as a result of John Wesley's numerous visits to Cornwall from 1743, following which various branches, including the Wesleyan, Primitive, Bible Christian, New Connexion and United Free Methodists, thrived over the following 150 years.⁵⁰ These denominations manifested with a strong revivalist element, characterised by emotional outpourings that caused contemporary consternation. William Haslam (a preacher at Baldhu in the mid-19th century), wrote that 'people had full liberty to sing, praise, and shout too, if they desired, to their hearts' content, and truly many availed themselves of the opportunity. In Cornwall, at the time I speak of (now twenty-nine years ago), Cornish folk did not think much of a meeting unless it was an exciting and noisy one'.⁵¹ In Cornwall as in the rest of the UK, music and in particular singing was an integral part of non-conformist worship, reflecting the 1933 Methodist hymnbook opening statement that Methodism was 'born in song'.⁵²

⁴⁹ Here the Cornish case is aligned with well-established Breton counter-revolutionary activity; see Donald Sutherland, 'Chouannerie and Popular Royalism: The Survival of the Counter-Revolutionary Tradition in Upper Brittany', *Social History*, 9/3 (1984), pp. 351-360.

⁵⁰ See Thomas Shaw, *The Bible Christians 1807-1907* (London: The Epworth Press, 1965), and *A History of Cornish Methodism* (Truro: D. Bradford Barton Ltd, 1967).

⁵¹ William Haslam, *From Death Into Life: Twenty Years of My Ministry* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1886), p. 67.

⁵² *The Methodist Hymnbook* (London: Methodist Conference Office, 1933), p. v.

Methodism was particularly successful in gaining adherents in industrialised centres of population. Now regarded as a predominantly rural county, during the 18th and early 19th centuries Cornwall was an industrial centre, with sites now protected by the Cornwall and West Devon World Heritage Site.⁵³ Already established as a centre of mining, the industrial revolution saw a number of technological advances that marked the local emergence of a skilled workforce, and the notions of ethno-occupational dominance that came to characterise later conceptions of the Cornish overseas. This was particularly connected to the development and widespread use of mechanical pumps to drain water from the mines in order to reach deeper levels of minerals. Initially the engines in common use were low pressure steam engines designed in 1712 by Thomas Newcomen.⁵⁴ However, in 1769 James Watt designed an alteration to the engine which drastically reduced fuel consumption, heralding its wide adoption in Cornwall where coal had to be brought from Wales at great expense.⁵⁵ Cornish mining districts were thus ‘the first to use the Watt engine, and tin and copper smelting became the basis for one of the most advanced engineering centres in the world’.⁵⁶ From the 18th century then, the Cornish mining industry birthed a skilled workforce, and an economic and management structure that was recognised well beyond the county.

Mining was of key significance in the waves of migration from Cornwall during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, in two key ways. First, the expertise of Cornish

⁵³ ‘Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape’, UNESCO website [Available at: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1215> Accessed: 16/11/2017 15:16]

⁵⁴ Alessandro Nuvolari, ‘Collective Invention during the British Industrial Revolution: The Case of the Cornish Pumping Engine’, *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 28/3 (2004), pp. 347-363 (pp. 251-253).

⁵⁵ Nuvolari, ‘Collective Invention during the British Industrial Revolution: The Case of the Cornish Pumping Engine’, p. 252.

⁵⁶ Maxine Berg, *The Age of Manufactures 1700-1820: Industry, Innovation and Invention in Britain* 2nd edn., (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 112.

miners was sought in the establishment of new mining concerns, and as such thousands migrated not only across Britain, but also internationally to the colonies and the new worlds. It has been estimated that ‘240,000 Cornish had gone overseas in the years 1840-1900 with a further 220,000-230,000 leaving Cornwall for England and Wales in the same period. [...] between 1860 and 1900 Cornwall as a whole lost no less than 10.5% of its male population overseas, with a further 7.0% to other counties’.⁵⁷ However, migration from Cornwall did occur earlier and for other reasons; Payton argues that prior to the 1850s family and kinship groups left the county largely as a result of famine and economic depression in the agricultural industry, and the increase in religious nonconformism. At this time he identifies ‘a growing radicalism in Cornwall’ that ‘began to question institutions of church and state, articulating the growing demand for religious freedom, social and economic mobility, and civil liberty’, leading to the dispersal of Cornish families across the USA, Canada and Australia.⁵⁸ This ‘culture of mobility’, already established, contributed to an environment within which migration was common across the county from the early 19th century; indeed, the *Royal Cornwall Gazette* commented on ‘the rage for emigration’ in 1819.⁵⁹

The emergence of international mineral markets during the 19th century provided both the financial incentive and destinations for the thousands of migrants who left Cornwall from the 1840s. The corporatisation and economic exploitation of new discoveries in many cases saw the employment of Cornish mine managers

⁵⁷ Philip Payton, *The Cornish Overseas: The Epic Story of the Great Migration* (Fowey: Cornwall Editions, 2005), p. 28.

⁵⁸ Payton, *The Cornish Overseas*, p. 57, pp. 54-89.

⁵⁹ Payton, quoting the *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, *The Cornish Overseas*, p. 55.

(called ‘captains’ following the terminology in use in Cornish mines) whose expertise was sought. These managers then imported the technology, skilled workforce, and economic structures familiar to them, thus developing overseas labour communities whose makeup, demographically and socially, retained many features common in Cornwall. These retained characteristics and social groupings coalesced in the ‘Cousin Jack’ nickname for Cornish people, particularly in diasporic locations.⁶⁰ As Bernard Deacon notes:

The reason the thousands who left Cornwall for the Americas were not irrecoverably lost in that melting pot was not because they were a culturally distinct Celtic people but because they made up an occupationally distinct group. [...] The vicissitudes of the mining industry structured the geography of Cornish settlement and concentrated sufficient Cornish folk in certain places to produce the Little Cornwalls that mimicked the mining communities of home.⁶¹

However, over time the Cornish were to an extent the victims of their own success; the profitability of overseas mines undercut the economic viability of Cornish mines.

The resultant crash of the international copper market in the 1860s was a particularly testing time, during which ‘emigration was seen as one solution to the problem of

⁶⁰ ‘Cousin Jack’ is an informal term for a Cornishman, apparently originating with regard to labour migration during the 19th century. Several theories as to its development exist, but the most popular suggests that upon gaining employment at a mine, Cornish miners would lobby the management for the employment of fellow Cornish miners, stating that a newcomer was his ‘cousin Jack’. The less well-known female equivalent is ‘Cousin Jenny/Jennie/Ginny’. See ‘Cousin Jack’, Merriam Webster Dictionary website [Available at: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/Cousin%20Jack> Accessed: 6/8/2018, 14:59]

⁶¹ Bernard Deacon, ‘Chameleon Celts: The Cornish in the Americas’, in Michael Newton, ed., *Celts in the Americas* (Sydney, Nova Scotia: Cape Breton University Press, 2013), pp. 39-55 (p. 43).

destitution'.⁶² Some of the earliest labour destinations were in Latin America. Arthur Cecil Todd's 1977 study focused on migration to Mexico, while more recently, Sharron Schwartz has examined the extent of Cornish migration across Mexico, Brazil, Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Cuba and Chile.⁶³ South Africa also attracted large numbers of Cornish miners following the gold and diamond discoveries from 1870. Here, Graham Dickason and Richard Dawe have contributed volumes, although further work is needed to understand South Africa as a significant destination for Cornish migrants at the turn of the 19th century more completely.⁶⁴ It was estimated that in 1905 over 7000 Cornish miners were working on the Rand in South Africa.⁶⁵ Canada was also a significant destination for early migrants, although little work has been focused on Canadian Cornish communities.⁶⁶

However, the volume and variety of opportunities available in the USA drew large numbers of Cornish migrants across a spread of regions.⁶⁷ Cornish communities in the USA received a considerable amount of attention from scholars working within the emergent field of Cornish Studies during the late 1960s. Arthur Cecil Todd first

⁶² Payton, *Cornwall: A History*, pp. 218-219.

⁶³ Arthur Cecil Todd, *The Search For Silver: Cornish Miners in Mexico 1824-1947* (Padstow: Lodenek Press, 1977), reprint, (St. Austell: Cornish Hillside Publications, 2000); Sharron Schwartz, *Mining A Shared Heritage: Mexico's 'Little Cornwall'*, (UK: Cornish-Mexican Cultural Society, 2011), *The Cornish in Latin America: 'Cousin Jack' and the New World* (Wicklow, Ireland: The Cornubian Press, 2016).

⁶⁴ Richard Dawe, *Cornish Pioneers in South Africa: Gold and Diamonds, Copper and Blood* (St Austell: Cornish Hillside Publications, 1998); Graham B. Dickason, *Cornish Immigrants to South Africa* (Cape Town: A. A. Balkema, 1978).

⁶⁵ Payton, *The Cornish Overseas*, p. 26.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 66-72.

⁶⁷ While the presence of Cornish migrants in the USA during the early modern period has received some attention (see Payton, *The Cornish Overseas*, p. 30-8), the bulk of migration occurred during the 19th century due to the development and expansion of mining concerns. However, allied to the economical factors in the attraction of the USA as a destination was a concern for greater social and religious freedom than was available in Cornwall; 'the yearning for greater freedom and independence, in the decade of Chartist agitation, along with the considerable nonconformist religious ferment within the ranks for Cornish Methodism, made the republican "land of the free" even more alluring' (see John Rowe, *The Hard Rock Men: Cornish Immigrants and the North American Mining Frontier* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1974), p. 63.

covered this in 1967, with *The Cornish Miner in America*.⁶⁸ Moving to Cornwall following the Second World War, he was surprised to find that:

[...] almost every Cornish family had relatives in America. Cornish students in my extra-mural classes would reveal quite casually some surprising information; one, who was a bus conductor, had worked in Detroit; another, a housewife, had been to school in Michigan; a third apologised for being absent for a term as she was returning to Idaho to see the silver camp where she was born; and a fourth claimed he was a cousin of Deadwood Dick. [...] One could talk to an old miner on a harbour wall and discover that he had never been to London but could describe quite clearly the streets and taverns of San Francisco. Some of the Cornish in the extreme West even spoke like Americans.⁶⁹

Through such contacts, Todd wrote to individuals both in Cornwall and the USA, asking for letters and information regarding their families.⁷⁰ This approach appears to have also been taken by Alfred Leslie Rowse, who in 1969 published *The Cornish In America*.⁷¹ John Rowe followed soon after with *The Hard Rock Men: Cornish Immigrants and the North American Mining Frontier* in 1974.⁷² These studies identify particular regions that attracted miners, and then discuss the mines, communities and individuals associated with them.

An early destination for Cornish miners included the lead mines at Mineral Point in Wisconsin; although here, as with other diasporic locations, many Cornish miners

⁶⁸ Arthur Cecil Todd, *The Cornish Miner in America* (Truro: Bradford Barton Ltd, 1967).

⁶⁹ Todd, *The Cornish Miner in America*, p. 9.

⁷⁰ Such correspondence may be found in the A. C. Todd Collection, Courtney Library, Royal Cornwall Museum, Truro, Cornwall, UK.

⁷¹ Alfred Leslie Rowse, *The Cornish In America* (London: Macmillan and Co Ltd, 1969).

⁷² John Rowe, *The Hard Rock Men: Cornish Immigrants and the North American Mining Frontier* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1974).

often opted to become farmers instead.⁷³ Rowe considered that ‘by 1850 there were nearly 6,000 Cornish people in the Wisconsin counties of Grant, Iowa, and Lafayette’.⁷⁴ Other northern mining areas included the copper and iron region of the Keweenaw Peninsula in Michigan from the 1840s, with the hugely productive Calumet and Hecla mines opening in 1866.⁷⁵ Another important destination was Butte in Montana, a mining town first established in the 1860s that throughout its lifetime worked gold, silver and copper.⁷⁶ However, the Californian gold-rush of 1849 drew migrants from both Cornwall and other American mining camps such as those discussed above. The initial rush saw many small, temporary settlements emerge as claims were discovered, which were either worked out or developed into permanent communities.



Figure 1.3: Map showing state of California, USA⁷⁷

⁷³ Todd, *The Cornish Miner in America*, p. 28.

⁷⁴ Rowe, *The Hard Rock Men*, p. 43.

⁷⁵ Rowe, *The Hard Rock Men*, p. 71; Todd, *The Cornish Miner in America*, p. 114; Horace J. Stephens, *The Copper Handbook: A Manual of the Copper Industry of the United States and Foreign Countries*, Vol. II (Houghton, MI: Horace J. Stephens, 1902), p. 14.

⁷⁶ Rowe, *The Hard Rock Men*, p. 238.

⁷⁷ Map of California, USA [Available at: <http://solomodirectory.com/city/sacramento/listing/the-state-of-california/> Accessed: 29/11/2017 13:40]



Figure 1.4: Map showing location of Grass Valley, CA, USA⁷⁸

It was in this way that Cornish miners migrated to Grass Valley, one of the two foci of this study, in the Sierra Nevada mountains of north-eastern California, following the 1849 gold rush. The town was established in 1851 following the discovery of gold in the area, although it was not officially incorporated until 1860. The town developed from a transient camp into a permanent settlement once attention turned to the skills and technology needed for industrial mining.⁷⁹ Here, Cornish mining technology had an immediate impact on the development of corporate mining practices and structures; McQuiston notes that ‘deep hard rock mining would have been impossible in the early days without the Cornish pump’.⁸⁰ This demand for skilled labour

⁷⁸ Map showing location of Grass Valley, CA, USA [Available at: <http://www.city-data.com/city/Grass-Valley-California.html> Accessed: 29/30/2017 13:41]

⁷⁹ Placer mining was the extraction of minerals from deposits in streambeds. See Lary M. Dilsaver, ‘After The Gold Rush’, *Geographical Review*, 75/1 (1985), pp. 1-18.

⁸⁰ F. W. McQuiston, Jr., *Gold: The Saga of the Empire Mine 1850-1956* (Nevada City: Blue Dolphin Publishing Inc., 1986), pp. 19-21. The Cornish pump referenced here is the engine for pumping water from the mines discussed earlier in this chapter. He goes on to note that ‘For their day these pumps

attracted Cornish miners, who were distinctive in both the labour force and the social life of the town from an early time. Gauging the precise numbers of Cornish migrants in Grass Valley is problematic, since census data does not account for regional origin within the UK. However, Payton suggests that ‘the 1860 Federal Census identified no fewer than 470 “English” miners among a total population of 3940 in Grass Valley. A decade later and the population of Cornish miners had risen to well beyond a thousand’.⁸¹ The contemporary population of the town is approximately 12,000 individuals.⁸²

The Cornish influence was not only evident in the technological and economic structure of the mines, but also in the everyday cultures associated with them. In his discussion of the town’s development, Ralph Mann states that ‘the Cornish picnic and games, featuring wrestling matches, which became an annual affair in Grass Valley, were first held in 1859. The size and organization of the gatherings signalled the importance of the Cornish group in the community’.⁸³ Further, local historian, Shirley Ewart considers that the arrival of the Cornish impacted the town’s culture in a much broader sense, discussing the transfer of foodstuffs, religious and social values, and other characteristics she recognises as Cornish.⁸⁴ Within this, music cultures were important; she particularly highlights ‘the choral music that was part of the Cornish

were marvels of innovative efficiency and reliability, but with the development of modern, submersible electric motors and improved pumps, these mechanical giants were phased out and by 1920 were extinct’.

⁸¹ Payton, *The Cornish Overseas*, pp. 213-214.

⁸² ‘Grass Valley city, California, United States Census Bureau website [Available at: https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/community_facts.xhtml] Accessed: 6/8/2018 12:09]

⁸³ Ralph Mann, ‘The Decade after the Gold Rush - Social Structure in Grass Valley and Nevada City, California, 1850-1860’, *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 41, No. 4, 1972, pp. 484-504 (p. 496); See also Ralph Mann, *After the Gold Rush: Society in Grass Valley and Nevada City, 1849-1870* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982).

⁸⁴ Shirley Ewart, *Highly Respectable Families: The Cornish of Grass Valley 1854-1954* (Grass Valley: Comstock Bonanza Press, 1998).

heritage'.⁸⁵ Ewart considers that there is 'an abiding interest in Cornish heritage and the values passed down from the first emigrants'.⁸⁶ Ewart further considers that certain aspects Cornish culture in Grass Valley remain important in the town's contemporary life, noting that 'the Methodist Church's biannual Cornish Fair, the ready availability of excellent Cornish pasties in stores, bars and restaurants, and the number of Cornish names still listed in the local telephone directory give testimony to the continuing Cornish presence in Nevada County'.⁸⁷ Here then, Grass Valley was, and remains, an important locus for Cornish identity within the USA.

Alongside the USA, Australia was an important destination for Cornish migrants during the 19th century. Here, Philip Payton has contributed the principal volumes relating to Cornish migration, suggesting that approximately 16,000 Cornish migrants settled in South Australia alone between 1836 (when the colony was founded) and 1886; around 8% of all immigrants.⁸⁸ The demographic make-up of South Australia was markedly different from other Australian colonies since:

[...] its founding and initial settlement had been planned by a group of Englishmen 'whose professed ideals were civil liberty, social opportunity and equality for all religions'. An attempt was made to survey the land before it was sold; its price was based on a social theory of allocation designed to optimize immigration, settlement, and the availability of labour. Moreover, South Australia was to be settled exclusively by

⁸⁵ Ewart, *Highly Respectable Families*, p. 57.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, back cover, p. 146.

⁸⁷ Ewart, *Highly Respectable Families*, p. 35.

⁸⁸ Payton, *The Making of Modern Cornwall*, p. 111. See also Philip Payton, *The Cornish Miner in Australia: Cousin Jack Down Under* (Trewirgie: Dyllansow Truran, 1984); *The Cornish Farmer in Australia* (Trewirgie: Dyllansow Truran, 1987); *Cornish Carols From Australia* (Trewirgie: Dyllansow Truran, 1984), *Making Moonta: The Invention of Australia's Little Cornwall* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2007); Jim Faull, *Cornish Heritage: A Miner's Story* (Jim Faull: Highbury, SA, 1980); *The Cornish in Australia* (Melbourne: Australian Ethnic Heritage Centre, 1983); Nancy Phelan, *Some Came Early, Some Came Late* (Macmillan: Melbourne, 1970).

volunteers, not convicts.⁸⁹

Noted as a 'Paradise of Dissent', South Australia attracted intellectual religious and political radicals as well as labourers.⁹⁰ This was skewed towards an 'overwhelmingly English' elite; in his article examining 19th century Irish migration to colonial South Australia, Eric Richards states that: 'From the beginning it was virtually a fragment of southern England, a Home Counties colony expressly designed for superior expatriates. It was also heavily advertised as a haven for Protestant dissenters'.⁹¹ Payton thus considers that the social and cultural factors at play in the founding and early development of South Australia were particularly ripe for attracting large numbers of dissenting Cornish migrants.

⁸⁹ Martin P. Shanahan, 'Personal Wealth in South Australia', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 32/1 (2001), pp. 55-80 (p. 55).

⁹⁰ See Douglas Pike, *Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829-1857* (London: Longmans, Green, 1957).

⁹¹ Eric Richards, 'Irish Life and Progress in Colonial South Australia', *Irish Historical Studies*, 27/107 (1991), pp. 216-236 (p. 216).



Figure 1.5: Map of Copper Triangle towns in South Australia⁹²

Although South Australia was initially an agricultural colony, increasing numbers of Cornish migrants began to arrive as a result of copper discoveries at Kapunda in 1843, Burra in 1845. While the gold-rush at Bendigo in the neighbouring state of Victoria during the 1850s drew many miners away from these ventures, the three Copper Triangle communities at the centre of this study became increasingly important during the 1860s. The towns of Moonta, Kadina and Wallaroo were established following the

⁹² Map of the Copper Triangle, Copper Coast District Council website [Available at: http://www.coppercoast.sa.gov.au/webdata/resources/files/Graphic_Map.JPG Accessed: 28/11/2017 10:31]

discovery of copper in 1859 at an area that subsequently became known as the Wallaroo Mines, although somewhat confusingly this district lies just to the south of the town of Kadina (shown in Figure 1.5 above). Kadina was established as a settlement and Wallaroo as a port town and smelters (both in 1861), while the discovery of copper at Moonta in 1861 resulted in a slightly later establishment in 1863. Although the discovery at Wallaroo Mines was earlier, the discovery at Moonta was richer, and as a result the mines at Moonta attracted large numbers of Cornish migrants from the 1860s onwards. While the contemporary populations of the towns are far less than at their industrial peak, their combined populations closely mirror Grass Valley, at approximately 14,000 people.⁹³

In both the popular and academic record, these towns have become the primary focus of Cornish identity and heritage in South Australia, although other towns such as Burra and Kapunda were also homes to mines and significant populations of Cornish miners. Collectively known as ‘the Copper Triangle’, Moonta in particular has become known – and today, marketed – as ‘Australia’s Little Cornwall’. In his most recent volume, *Making Moonta: The Invention of Australia’s Little Cornwall*, Philip Payton argues that there were ‘strong unifying characteristics that drew the northern Yorke Peninsula settlements together, lending them a common identity and making them out collectively as distinct from the rest of South Australia’.⁹⁴ Socially, he particularly suggests that Cornish were responsible for transferring a radical tradition and labour movement which became a significant element of South Australian political history, resulting in the world’s first social democratic Labour government in

⁹³ See for example, ‘Moonta’, Australian Bureau of Statistics website [Available at: http://stat.abs.gov.au/itt/r.jsp?RegionSummary®ion=405041125&dataset=ABS_REGIONAL_ASGS&geoconcept=REGION&datasetASGS=ABS_REGIONAL_ASGS&datasetLGA=ABS_REGIONAL_LGA®ionLGA=REGION®ionASGS=REGION Accessed: 6/8/2018 12:20]

⁹⁴ Payton, *Making Moonta*, pp. 60-61.

1910 when former Cornish miner John Verran was elected the state Premier.⁹⁵

However, more cultural characteristics included the various branches of Methodism and associated activities, Cornish wrestling matches, calendar holidays such as midsummer or St John's Eve, the use of Cornish dialect in mining terminology and stories published in local newspapers, and music cultures of carols, brass bands and male voice choirs.⁹⁶ This was recognised early; he suggests that 'by 1875 the Peninsula had become an "Australian Cornwall"'.⁹⁷ Here, Payton avers that:

[...] the transplantation and subsequent development, even metamorphosis, of Cornish cultural attributes was both conscious and unconscious: unconscious in that people were only doing what they had done at home; conscious in that on occasions individuals and organisations deliberately replicated behaviour or adopted 'Cornish' rhetoric as a means of asserting community or institutional identity in their new land.⁹⁸

The Copper Triangle towns became a locus for Cornish identity; not only within the state, but beyond – across the entire country and the Cornish diaspora at large.

It is difficult to assess the numbers of contemporary Cornish Australians and Cornish Americans since, without national recognition, this data is not clearly captured by census. In Australia, Charles Price's 1992 survey of Cornish surnames suggested that 'between 245,000 and 290,000 Australians were of significant Cornish descent', with the number likely to be much higher in the USA.⁹⁹ However, while Cornish migration scholars such as Deacon and Schwartz have approached Cornish diasporic

⁹⁵ See Payton, *One and All: Labor and the Radical Tradition in South Australia* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2016).

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 52-62.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁹⁹ Philip Payton, 'Re-inventing Celtic Australia', in Philip Payton and Amy Hale, eds., *New Directions in Celtic Studies* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), pp. 108-125, p. 120.

communities as forming transnational and translocal identities, little attention has been given to the Cornish as a migrating culture outside the field of Cornish Studies.¹⁰⁰ Exceptions include studies with foci that overlap with particular elements of Cornish migration, such as Jonathon Hyslop's treatment of race and unionised labour in South Africa.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, recent scholarship across a range of disciplines has begun to recognise the regions of the UK within the history of the British imperial project.¹⁰² These reveal valuable insights into the polyvalent histories and cultures of the British empire, and enable new discourses of identity to be explored within the British multi-nation state; in his article examining recent historiography of the British empire, John MacKenzie discusses how scholars are beginning to break away from the 'old woolliness around British and English as almost interchangeable terms'.¹⁰³ While this emerging willingness to engage with the migrations, destinations and contributions of Welsh, Irish and Scots migrants within the British imperial project is encouraging, the 'four-nation' approach continues to exclude the history of the Cornish within the British imperial project. This exclusion not only diminishes the visibility of a considerable migrant group which as discussed, was contemporaneously well known by specific labour, political and religious markers (mining, radicalism and non-conformism), but as I argue, also conceals the

¹⁰⁰ See Sharron Schwartz, 'Bridging "The Great Divide": The Evolution and Impact of Cornish Translocalism in Britain and the USA', *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 25/2 (2006), pp. 169-189; Bernard Deacon and Sharron Schwartz, 'Cornish Identities and Migration: A Multi-Scalar Approach', *Global Networks: A Journal of Transnational Affairs*, 7/3 (2007), pp. 289-306.

¹⁰¹ Jonathon Hyslop, 'The Imperial Working Class Makes Itself "White": White Labourism in Britain, Australia and South Africa before the First World War', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 12 (1999), 398-421.

¹⁰² See for example, Tom Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600-1815: The Origins of the Global Diaspora* (London: Penguin, 2004), *To The Ends of The Earth: Scotland's Global Diaspora 1750-2010* (London: Allen Lane, 2011); Gavin Edwards and Graham Summer, eds., *Welsh Studies Volume 4: The Historical and Cultural Connections and Parallels between Wales and Australia* (New York: The Edward Mellin Press Ltd, 1991); Keith Jeffries, ed., *'An Irish Empire'? Aspects of Ireland in the British Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996).

¹⁰³ John M. Mackenzie, 'Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English Worlds? A Four-Nation Approach to the History of the British Empire', *History Compass*, 6/5 (2008), pp. 1244-1263.

promotion of a distinct Cornish identity which perhaps was only possible within the diaspora.

1.3: Cornish Carols: Ethnomusicological Contributions

I consider that this thesis addresses significant gaps in the literature in both ethnomusicology and Cornish studies. While Cornish carols in Grass Valley and the Copper triangle have been discussed in passing by scholars from a range of disciplines, neither the repertoires, nor the traditions or cultural narratives associated with them have attracted attention from an ethnomusicologist. My research therefore examines a largely unaddressed music culture, bringing much-needed attention to its materials and associated performance practices. Developing a multi-sited ethnography in this manner has offered the opportunity to examine how a music culture drawn from a common root may develop differently in separate locations: the juxtaposition foregrounds and explores the concordances and discordances between the two traditions. In particular, I consider that it is the differing perspectives and performances of the carols as Cornish heritage between the two locations that shows that ethnomusicologists may productively engage with the diachronic development of musical traditions through heritage theory. My analysis further adds to Cornish migration studies by addressing the processes through which this particular musical culture became so firmly associated with Cornish identity in each location. In so doing, this thesis challenges notions of a monolithic transnational Cornish identity, and encourages attention toward the conceptualisation of identity formation through the development of localised heritage narratives around particular cultural materials.

In this way, I aim to avoid some of the pitfalls that have dogged other accounts of Cornish diasporic communities and culture. For example, in a review of Dickason's volume regarding Cornish migrants in South Africa, one historian wrote that 'like much Cornish historiography, [it] suffers both from a tendency to romanticize and from a fundamentally uncritical conservatism'.¹⁰⁴ Further, in my perspective, scholarship on the Cornish diaspora tends to try to balance two extremes of methodological approach and data collection. On the one hand, it is necessary to undertake the quantitative research necessary to elucidate the statistical and demographic analyses of numbers of migrants leaving or arriving at particular locations, and relate population movement and the development of identity to broader theoretical terrain in contingent disciplines of, for example, history, geography and sociology. On the other, it is necessary to balance such a broad view with an account of the social and cultural context, which is often achieved by elucidating the personal experiences of particular individuals and families.

Recent scholarship has recognised this, suggesting that 'studies of the Cornish overseas have veered from anecdotal and parochial [...] to more general social and economic studies, largely based on statistics, with little room for migrants and their experiences to be considered within a wider context'.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, earlier scholars, particularly Todd and Rowse, relied heavily on access to family archives to bring personal detail to broader narratives of migration.¹⁰⁶ This method of addressing the

¹⁰⁴ Peter Richardson, 'Northmen and Cornishmen in South Africa', review of *Scandinavians and South Africa. Their Impact on Cultural, Social and Economic Development before 1900* by Alan H. Winquist, and *Cornish Immigrants to South Africa. The Cousin Jacks' Contribution to the Development of Mining and Commerce, 1820–1920* by Graham B. Dickason, *The Journal of African History*, 22/1 (1981), pp. 113-114.

¹⁰⁵ Chloe R. Phillips, 'Letters from America: Exploring Cornwall's "Great Migration" through the Correspondence of One Family', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* (2012), pp. 27-44 (p. 28).

¹⁰⁶ In particular, evidence of Todd's contacts with overseas families may be seen in his correspondence, available in the A. C. Todd Collection, Courtney Library, Royal Cornwall Museum.

the lack of recognition of Cornish migration in broader academy was no doubt effective and necessary. However, by leveraging the pathos attached to the individual stories unearthed, it is perhaps inevitable that a certain level of filiopietism should manifest within the histories of particular individuals and their place in grander narratives of migration and adaptation. This is particularly evident in one of Todd's assessments of the Cornish miner in America; he considered that 'heroes and heroines [of the migration] are ordinary men and women who would be the first to admit that their individual lives have no special claim to be remembered or recorded. Yet from the family sagas emerge epics of bravery and fortitude'.¹⁰⁷

Chloe Phillips attempts to strike a balance between these grand and particular narratives in her recent article, 'Letters From America: Exploring Cornwall's "Great Migration" Through the Correspondence of One Family'. Positing that 'migrants' voices are often missing from their own histories', her examination of Cornish migrant Richard Scoble's letters sent home to Cornwall from America aims to restore his perspective, mapping his personal experiences into broader trends in Cornish migration studies, including the role of kinship networks, as well as the factors informing his decision to migrate and remain.¹⁰⁸ However, while such letters do indeed 'breathe life into the migrant experience', 'a subject that has become dehumanised by statistics', I suggest that overall they do little to uncover the processes through which broader identities and behaviours emerge, or their eventual – and ongoing – impacts.¹⁰⁹ I consider that a middle ground remains, within which focused analyses of the transportation of cultural material, and development of cultural narratives around particular relocated behaviours or customs remains

¹⁰⁷ Todd, *The Cornish Miner in America*, p. 26.

¹⁰⁸ Phillips, 'Letters from America', p. 43.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30, p. 43.

relatively unapproached. This is surprising since many of the sources referenced in this chapter have contended that such transported behaviours, traditions and traits coalesced in the retention of a Cornish identity however conceptualised; whether ethnic, occupational, Celtic, or transnational.

Combining historical ethnomusicological enquiry with ethnographic methodologies, in this thesis I therefore offer an investigation of the musical materials of Cornish carols in the diaspora, the cultural narratives developed around them, and their performance in the present day. Within this, I present a view of heritage in the context of musical traditions that seeks to accommodate and rationalise how and why notions of heritage change over time. I therefore consider that this thesis makes two principle contributions to ethnomusicological scholarship. First, my focus on the musical texts and cultural contexts of Cornish carols addresses a considerable gap in our knowledge of Cornish music cultures, and concomitantly contributes to discourses regarding migrant and minority musics. Second, my analysis of the production of heritage narratives around the musical material, and their development over time, offers a perspective of musical cultures that actively seeks to foreground the mutability of heritage values. Ethnomusicological scholarship has perhaps tended towards the investigation of traditional music without necessarily discussing why and how, as conceptual domains, ‘tradition’ and ‘heritage’ may, and often do, overlap and intersect. Here, I consider that ethnomusicologists – whether working in historical, contemporary or applied domains – may benefit from more thorough engagement with heritage theory in order to elucidate the ways in which music cultures perform particular cultural narratives about the past, present and future.

This chapter has thus introduced the thesis and its scope, contextualising my research questions within an account of Cornwall, its social and cultural history, and the transfer of Cornish communities and culture to new locations across the globe. The county's simultaneous peripheralism within the UK sits in contrast to its position as a hub for the numerous diasporic communities that appeared across the world over the course of the 19th and early twentieth centuries. However, I consider that notions of Cornish distinctiveness remain both contested and constructed, both within the academy and in the historic and living cultures such work attempts to address. The following chapter aims to give the same context to the musical material at the centre of this thesis.

Chapter 2: Cornish Carols: The Emergence of a Genre

Introduction

Christmas carols are familiar to many through their ubiquity within the range of Christmas holiday traditions widespread across Western and post-colonial nations. Within this however, ‘Cornish carols’ are to many an unfamiliar genre. What makes a Cornish carol, or a carol Cornish? Is it the musical material style or provenance, their performance contexts, or a regional association? While the overall aim of this thesis is to address this association with regard to the development of heritage, this chapter provides initial answers to these questions, first giving an overview of Christmas carolling in general, before examining the emergence and characteristics of the style that became particularly associated with Cornish carols. I discuss the genre’s development within the county, before exploring what attention Cornish carols have received in the two locations of this study, discussing the extent to which the carolling traditions are represented in the work of Cornish diaspora scholars, but also the folk music collections within the USA and Australia respectively.

Despite attention from both Cornish scholars, folklorists and local historians, there has been no ethnomusicological examination of the development of Cornish carols as a genre, either relating to the musical materials or to the social practices associated with them in diasporic locations. This is surprising since as I demonstrate, non-musical studies of the Cornish diaspora have often noted the prominence of music making, and carolling in particular, in overseas Cornish communities. As such, the chapter concludes by summarising how my research fills several important lacunae in the extant literature.

2.1: Carols in Context: Genre, History, Development

Carols as a musical genre are notoriously hard to define; in 1904 Percy Dearmer gave a ‘provocative’ description of carols as ‘songs with religious impulse that are simple, hilarious, popular and modern’, but this belies the breadth of the repertoire.¹ Carols usually refer to religious songs associated with the Christian festivals surrounding the birth of Jesus (although carols pertaining to other feasts do exist). In their introduction to *The New Oxford Books of Carols*, Hugh Keyte and Andrew Parrott consider that for inclusion within the volume, ‘the content must be narrative, contemplative, or celebratory, the spirit must be simple, the form normally strophic’.² Early accounts of carols date from the 14th century, and the breadth of musical cultures across the geographic regions where Christianity is the dominant religion results in a vast carol genre with a range of musical styles and associated practices which may be attached to ‘lyrics differing widely in date, form and spirit’.³ Further, ‘carols’ and ‘carolling’ may signify different musical materials and practices in different cultural contexts, and at different points within their histories.

Carols and musical Christmas traditions may be found across the world due to the widespread adoption of Christianity. However, relatively few carol genres, styles and traditions have received ethnomusicological attention. Some traditions are the result of colonial expansion; for example, the *aguinaldo* (Eng.: New Year’s gift) genre in Puerto Rico is closely related to Spanish *villancicos* (Eng.: carols) and incorporates

¹ Erik Routley, *The English Carol* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1958), p. 26, quoting Percy Dearmer, preface, in Percy Dearmer, Ralph Vaughan Williams and Martin Shaw, *The Oxford Book of Carols* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928), p. v.

² Hugh Keyte and Andrew Parrott, ‘Introduction’, in Hugh Keyte and Andrew Parrott, eds, *The New Oxford Book of Carols* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. xii.

³ Richard Leighton Green, *The Early English Carols*, 2nd edn., (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1977), p. xxiii-xxviii, p. xxii.

house-visiting customs.⁴ Other work positions carols as a site at which the relationship between the past and the present is mediated. These include Tim Rice's discussion of Bulgarian *koleda* (Eng.: carols), a Christmas and New Year's carolling practice with a specific genre performed only by men and boys.⁵ He explores how both the materials and practices of singing *koleda* during 'luck-visits' link how the 'seasonal cycle of work and ritual is wedded to a cycle of courtship and marriage'.⁶ Further, Jerzy Bartmiński's investigation of Christmas carols in Poland predominantly approaches the carols as a site at which multiple opposing states or boundaries collide; particularly, a site of fusion of Christianity and Polish folklore.⁷ For Bartmiński, carols and their associated practices are also clearly linked with the notion of history; he considered that 'the carol is a legacy of a culture of past ages, a powerful link between the present and the past'.⁸ More recently, David Hebert, Alexis Anja Kallio and Albi Odendaal have discussed Christmas music in Helsinki.⁹ Stating in their abstract that 'Christmas music events in Finnish society [...] have a powerfully affective connection to cultural heritage', they explore how *joulumusiikki* (Eng.: 'Christmas music') events 'mediate traditions with the transformations of contemporary society'.¹⁰

Britain's religious history has meant that carolling fell in and out of favour to extreme extents, with considerable impact on the genre. In mediaeval Britain, Christmas carols

⁴ Orlando Laureano, 'Aguinaldo', in *Bloomsbury Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World: Volume 9*, (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), (pp. 14-18).

⁵ Tim Rice, *May It Fill Your Soul: Experiencing Bulgarian Music* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁷ Jerzy Bartmiński, 'Polish Christmas Carols and Their Cultural Context', *The Slavic and East European Journal*, 34/1 (1990), pp. 83-97.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁹ David Hebert, Alexis Anja Kallio and Albi Odendaal, 'Not So Silent Night: Tradition, Transformation and Cultural Understandings of Christmas Music Events in Helsinki, Finland', *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 21/3 (2012), pp. 402-423.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 402, p. 405.

were linked with celebration and dancing. However, during the Commonwealth carols were pronounced ‘illegal, and morally and physically injurious’.¹¹ While customs associated with the feast of St Nicholas were not completely discontinued, the impact of Puritan restrictions lingered; Dennis Libby states that ‘the art carol of aristocratic or courtly circles did not revive after the Restoration, but the popular tradition continued, with carols, like ballads, circulating orally or in broadsheets with carol texts and decorative woodcuts’.¹² Further, the dissolution of the monasteries and the destruction of much musical and scholarly literature during the Reformation resulted in a slow revival of carolling as a genre.¹³

During the Restoration, rural churches were often unable to replace organs that had been removed immediately. As a result, during the 18th century many country choirs employed local musicians, who were often housed in a gallery at the western side of the church, to provide the accompaniment for singing.¹⁴ This style, now called West Gallery music, was ‘elaborate and flamboyant’, incorporating heterophonic structures and imitative vocal entries.¹⁵ However, musical reform gradually rendered the style unsuitable, and in tandem harmoniums and organs began to displace such musical ensembles, which in some cases continued to perform their repertoire outside of

¹¹ Douglas Brice, *The Folk-Carol of England* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967), p. 105.

¹² Dennis Libby, ‘The Post-Reformation Carol’, in ‘Carol’, Grove Music Online website [Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.04974> Accessed: 10/4/2018 16:24]

¹³ Brice, *The Folk-Carol of England*, p. 107.

¹⁴ Harry Woodhouse, *Face The Music: Church and Chapel Bands in Cornwall* (St Austell: Cornish Hillside Publications, 1997), p. 3.

¹⁵ Vic Gammon, ‘The Performance Style of West Gallery Music’, in Christopher Turner, ed., *The Gallery Tradition: Aspects of Georgian Psalmody* (Corby Glen: SG Publishing in association with Anglia Polytechnic University, 1997), pp. 43-51. The West Gallery style underwent a period of revival in the 1980s and is contemporarily performed across the UK by enthusiasts; see The West Gallery Music Association [Available at: <http://www.wgma.org.uk/> Accessed: 25/4/2018 10:10]

churches, often incorporating house-visiting customs.¹⁶ Folk music scholar Steve Roud considers that contemporary village carol traditions are more likely to be descendants of choral societies than the supplanted West Gallery choirs themselves, although he does recognise that the tradition of house-visiting often associated with this repertoire ‘suggests a West Gallery connection’.¹⁷ Further, he notes that the style persisted in rural and peripheral locations, and in particular the West Country.¹⁸

It is worth noting that the carols I discuss here are sung in English, rather than in Cornish or Latin. As discussed in Chapter 1, the Cornish language had largely disappeared from common use prior to the emergence of the repertoire I examine. However, carols in other historically Celtic regions do appear in Celtic languages; for example, the Welsh *plygain* (Eng: cock-crow) tradition incorporates a morning carol service, within which carols are sung in Welsh by different carol parties (often family groups).¹⁹ These *plygain* traditions have undergone something of a revival during the 20th century.²⁰ Elsewhere in the Isle of Man, *l’oiel verrey* (Eng: ‘eve of the feast of St Mary’ and also written as *ilvary*) traditions take a similar form, with a church service incorporating carol singing.²¹ A. Stanley Davies’ 1950 examination of carolling practices firmly aligns what he considered the ‘ancient’ characteristics of such

¹⁶ Shaw, *A History of Cornish Methodism*, p. 102; Vic Gammon, ‘Problems in the Performance and Historiography of English Popular Church Music’, *Radical Musicology*, 1 (2006) [Available at: <http://www.radical-musicology.org.uk> Accessed: 25/4/2018 9:15]

¹⁷ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 525-6.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 526-7.

¹⁹ See Phyllis Kinney, ‘Carols, Ballads and the Anterliwt’, *Welsh Traditional Music* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), pp. 105-126; ‘Christmas Customs: Plygain Singing’, National Museum of Wales website [Available at: <https://museum.wales/articles/2014-06-14/Christmas-customs-Plygain-Singing/> Accessed: 25/4/2018 9:25]; D. Roy Saer, ‘A Midnight Plygain at Llanymawddwy Church’, *Folk Life*, 22/1 (1983), pp. 99-106.

²⁰ See ‘Geraint Vaughan-Jones: Obituary’ *The Telegraph* website [Available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1421093/Canon-Geraint-Vaughan-Jones.html> Accessed: 23/4/2018 13:52]

²¹ P. W. Caine, ‘Manx Carols and Their Writers’, *Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society: Proceedings*, 2 (1920); republished *Manx Notes: Folkways and Language*, 170 (2013), pp. 1-10.

practices to the retention of Celtic language.²² However, analogous Scottish carol traditions appear to be less well examined; Margo Todd's survey suggests that a variety of carolling practices were widespread in Scotland during the early modern period, but other studies of Scottish traditional music make scant mention of these customs.²³ In Ireland, Diarmuid Ó Muirithe and Seóirse Bodley have examined the Wexford carols in particular, showing how a particular community has maintained a tradition of carol singing that can be traced to the 18th century.²⁴ Carolling practices across Celtic regions in both their historical and revived forms are therefore disparate in both style and substance.

Regardless, a broader British cultural re-engagement with Christmas emerged during the 19th century which was particularly supported by Prince Albert's introduction of German Christmas customs, and Charles Dickens's 1843 publication of *A Christmas Carol*. In their appraisal of the carol revival, William Studwell and Dorothy Jones consider that these and other events set 'the groundwork for cultural reversal'.²⁵

However, the type of repertoire discussed in this thesis was seemingly of relatively little interest to British folk music collectors such as Sharpe, Baring Gould and others in comparison to other genres. While some carols were captured in amongst other material, carols do not appear to have been prioritised in their collection activities.

This is possibly because, as I discuss shortly, the form was seen as both too modern and formal to be classed as 'folk' music. As a result, Studwell and Jones have

²² A. Stanley Davies, *The Christmas Morn Carol Service of Celtic Countries* (Iver Heath: A. Stanley Davies, 1950), p. 21.

²³ See Margo Todd, 'Profane Pastimes and the Reformed Community: The Persistence of Popular Festivities in Early Modern Scotland', *The Journal of British Studies*, 39/2 (2000), pp. 123-156; John Purser, *Scotland's Music* (Edinburgh and London: Mainstream Publishing Company Edinburgh Ltd, 1992), and David Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972).

²⁴ Diarmuid Ó Muirithe and Seóirse Bodley, *The Wexford Carols* (Dublin: Dolmen Press, 1982).

²⁵ William E. Studwell and Dorothy Jones 'William Sandys, Author of Christmas Carols, Ancient and Modern', *Music Reference Services Quarterly*, 6/4 (1998), pp. 11-14 (p. 12).

commented that carols were ‘treated as minor cultural phenomena and therefore were pushed toward the back of the priority line’.²⁶ Indeed, composer and carol historian Edmondstoune Duncan, writing a history of the carol form in 1911, considered that ‘large numbers are of late origin. [...] the form is old and cannot be revived. Modern pieces of the kind there are, but they resemble the new wine in old bottles’.²⁷

Carolling traditions are thus under-represented in ethnomusicological study. This may be as a result of both the general increasing secularisation of global society, and their diminutive stature as a musical genre and practice. However, I consider that carols in the context of the Cornish diaspora offer a particularly rich locus for an ethnomusicological examination of heritage. As a distinct repertoire performed at a specific time of year, carols as a genre are conceptually aligned with notions of tradition, memory and inheritance. I consider that this is particularly important when linked with the retention of a cultural practice by a particular migrant group in the diaspora, and especially interesting when approached in a diachronic manner. As such, I now turn to the emergence of the ‘Cornish carol’ itself, and its appearance in Grass Valley and the Copper Triangle.

2.2: Carols in Cornwall: Fuging and Otherwise

The emergence of the ‘Cornish carol’ as a particular style is intriguing, and has not been fully addressed in the extant literature. Cornwall played an important part in the revival of carolling in Britain; noting its peripheral location and Royalist

²⁶ William E. Studwell and Dorothy E. Jones, eds, *Publishing Glad Tidings: Essays on Christmas Music* (Birmingham, N.Y: Haworth Press, 1998), p. 3.

²⁷ William Edmondstoune Duncan, *The Story of the Carol*, (London: The Walter Scott Publishing Co. 1911), p. 106.

conservatism, Keyte remarks that ‘a richer soil for the growth and retentions of folk customs could hardly be imagined, and Cornwall has been beyond doubt the prime British source of folk carols’.²⁸ This was primarily the result of two pioneering collections that were published in the early 19th century by Davies Gilbert and William Sandys, both of whom lived in, or had links to Cornwall. Both sought to capture and record material in danger of disappearing; Gilbert felt ‘desirous of preserving them ... as specimens of of times now passed away’²⁹, while Sandys noted that ‘the practice has declined, and many old customs have been gradually becoming obsolete’.³⁰ Their publication reflected broader cultural currents and trends, emerging in a climate of increasing antiquarian interest; an early indication of 19th century Romanticism. The predominantly Cornish and south western collections of Gilbert and Sandys did much to renew interest in Christmas carols; indeed, ‘the classifications “from Gilbert” or “from Sandys” are the commonest feature of every modern carol book’.³¹

However, Gilbert and Sandys were more concerned with capturing material that was considerably older than the carols I focus on in this thesis. Cornish music historian Richard McGrady describes a distinction between older, ‘ballad’ carols that in some cases were drawn from medieval sources, and newer ‘carol hymns’ that were the results of developments in psalmody during the 18th century. Two stylistic distinctions separate the two genres. Erik Routley identifies a difference in textual

²⁸ Hugh Keyte, ‘Davies Gilbert, William Sandys and the Revival of the English Folk Carol’, Appendix 4, *The New Oxford Book of Carols*, p. 680

²⁹ Davies Gilbert, *Some Ancient Christmas Carols, with the Tunes to which they were Formerly Sung in the West of England* (London: John Nichols and Son, 1822).

³⁰ William Sandys, *Christmas Carols, Ancient and Modern; Including the Most Popular in the West of England, and the Airs to which they are Sung; Also Specimens of French Provincial Carols* (London: Richard Beckley, 1833).

³¹ Hugh Keyte, ‘Davies Gilbert, William Sandys, and the Revival of the English Folk Carol’, Appendix 4, *The New Oxford Book of Carols*, p. 679.

content, suggesting that ‘where a ballad is narrative, a hymn is dogmatic. Where a ballad is picturesque, a hymn is ecstatic. Where in a ballad the dialogue may be between Mary and Joseph, or between a carnal and a crane, in a hymn it is between Christ and the human soul’.³² Further, McGrady considers that the ballad carols show a preponderance toward the use of minor keys that referenced the modal harmonies of medieval church music. However, the early 19th century saw an overlap of the styles; as McGrady notes, ‘while it is true that signs of the new Christmas hymnody begin to make their appearance in both Gilbert and Sandys, they are both really concerned with the older ballad traditions’.³³

While the older, ballad carols were of more immediate interest to music and revival scholars and antiquarians across the UK, folk music scholars did encounter more modern carols in Cornwall during their collecting activities. Sabine Baring Gould collected predominantly in Devon and Cornwall, encountering carols amongst songs regarding love and courtship, soldiers and sailors, bawdy and other contemporary songs.³⁴ Cecil Sharp paid particular attention to this type of carol, noting:

In several parts of England I have found carols which are peculiar to certain villages, by the inhabitants of which they are regarded as private possessions of great value, to be jealously guarded and retained for their own use. These are not traditional or folk carols but the elementary compositions of simple musicians, very possibly of those who in the old days were members of the Church bands.

³² Routley, *The English Carol*, p. 146.

³³ Richard McGrady, *Traces of Ancient Mystery: The Ballad Carols of Davies Gilbert and William Sandys* (Callington: Institute of Cornish Studies, 1993), p. ix.

³⁴ See in particular, Martin Graebe, *As I Walked Out: Sabine Baring Gould and the Search for the Folk Songs of Devon and Cornwall* (Oxford: Signal Books, 2017).

They are easily distinguished from the popular carol by the formal nature of the music and words, and that many of them are written in parts.³⁵

However, Roud suggests that ‘many of the modern carols were treated with disdain by both the folk-song collectors and the musical establishment’.³⁶

This disdain does appear to be evident in some of the later writing about carols; in 1914, Edmondstone Duncan noted that ‘Cornwall and the west of England were prolific of carols, though if Chope’s record is to be taken as trustworthy, few were of the highest quality’.³⁷ Russell further suggests that the English folksong collectors of the early 20th century revival encountered, although did not record such repertoire:

Unlike fieldworkers in the USA (notably Jackson 1933; Jackson 1937), the English folksong collectors could not accept group performance and the singing in parts as admissible to their folksong canon. Moreover, they believed that folk song should be anonymous and in the case of many of these vernacular carols, this was demonstrably not the case.³⁸

While this may indeed be the case (with the exception of Sharp’s volume), Keyte considers that ‘without such processing, few of the raw melodies and rough texts of eighteenth century Cornwall would ever have crossed the cultural divide that

³⁵ Cecil Sharp, preface, *English Folk-Carols: With Pianoforte Accompaniment and an Introduction and Notes* (London: Novello and Co., 1911), p. xii.

³⁶ Steve Roud, *Folk Song in England* (London: Faber and Faber, 2017), p. 527.

³⁷ William Edmondstone Duncan, ‘Christmas Carols’, *The Musical Times*, 55/862 (1914), pp. 687-691 (p. 689).

³⁸ Ian Russell, ‘The Performance Roles and Dynamics of a Christmas Carolling Tradition in the English Pennines’, *European Voices III: The Instrumentation and Instrumentalization of Sound Local Multipart Music Practices in Europe* (Böhlau Verlag, 2017), pp. 65-86 (p. 67).

separated the gallery bands and choirs of the rural west from the upright piano in the Victorian drawing room or the surpliced choir in the echoing chancel'.³⁹

At this point it is important to note that I approach Cornish carols as a predominantly literate tradition, rather than an oral or aural one. The sheer volume of musical manuscripts discussed here and in more detail in Chapters 4 and 5 indicate that there was a healthy appetite and audience for printed copies of Cornish carols both within Cornwall itself and in diasporic centres. However, the prevalence of printed or written music does not imply that all those who engaged with the tradition were musically literate; indeed, as I have discussed, these carols fell between folk tradition and art music. As I go on to show, the contrapuntal four-part structure was complex enough to be likely to require a musically literate singing leader to teach a larger group, but not so complex that the carols could not be learned by rote by non-musically literate singers thereafter.

However, musical literacy was relatively widespread amongst British working class during the 19th century. Increasing emphasis on the availability of education for working class children during the course of the century (through the 1833 Factory Act and the 1880 Education Act), coupled with what Jonathon Rose considers to be a working class tradition of autodidacticism, broadened the ability to read and write in the general population.⁴⁰ Within this, he suggests that 'a working-class culture of

³⁹ Hugh Keyte, 'Davies Gilbert, William Sandys and the Revival of the English Folk Carol', Appendix 4, *The New Oxford Book of Carols*, pp. 682-683.

⁴⁰ Jonathon Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 12.

classical music had long flourished in the same regions and trades where the autodidact tradition was strong’ and that ‘for most working people, only the Sunday schools offered opportunities for serious musical education, performance and composition, via hymns and oratorios’.⁴¹

However, brass and silver band traditions were equally key institutions responsible for the spread of musical literacy during the 19th century.⁴² In Trevor Herbert’s edited volume *British Brass Bands: A Musical and Social History*, Vic and Sheila Gammon consider that such bands were ‘the most important agent’ in a ‘musical revolution’ occurring in the first third of the 19th century, which saw the music cultures of the labouring poor transformed from dominantly aural to dominantly literate modes of learning and performance.⁴³ Emerging from military band traditions, and adapted into church and parish groups before becoming commonly associated with labour traditions in industrialised areas, their repertoires included military music, but also adaptations of operatic and orchestral repertoires, which required the ability to read music. This is not to suggest that all musicians engaged in banding or carolling traditions during the 19th century were musically literate; Gammon and Gammon suggest that aural modes of transmission remained predominant, and that ‘in a dominantly aural but partly literate musical culture, written music can

⁴¹ Jonathon Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 196

⁴² See in particular, Trevor Herbert, *The British Brass Band: A Musical and Social History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Trevor Herbert, ‘Victorian Brass Bands: The Establishment of a “Working Class Musical Tradition”’, *Historic Brass Society Journal*, 4, (1992), pp. 1-11;

⁴³ Vic and Sheila Gammon, ‘The Musical Revolution of the Mid-Nineteenth Century: From “Repeat and Twiddle” to “Precision and Snap”’, in Herbert, *The British Brass Band: A Musical and Social History*, pp. 122-154, p. 133.

have the effect of stabilizing a repertory, of transmitting music from past to present without stopping processes of elaboration, decoration and variation'.⁴⁴ Here, musically literate music leaders could organise and teach non-literate musicians in bands, choirs and other community-based performing groups.

Widening access to music participation was closely related to the agenda of self-improvement for the British working classes. Arguing that the industrialisation of the 18th and 19th centuries had brought modest disposable income and leisure time to significant sections of the labouring classes, Herbert suggests that 'social order was seen as best achieved through the encouragement of activities which were intellectually and spiritually nourishing', and that within this, music was 'perceived as a harmless and unambiguously "good" example of self-improvement, perhaps due to the spirit of co-operation which is promoted by collective music making'.⁴⁵ Such bands became common as part of labour workforces, and were often supported by religious and benevolent organisations, employers and industrial entrepreneurs.⁴⁶

These strands leading towards high levels of musical literacy within labouring communities coalesced in Cornwall; a heavily industrialised area with a strong banding tradition that had been equally impacted by

⁴⁴ Gammon and Gammon, 'The Musical Revolution of the Mid-Nineteenth Century: From "Repeat and Twiddle" to "Precision and Snap"', in Herbert, *The British Brass Band: A Musical and Social History*, p. 133.

⁴⁵ Herbert, 'Victorian Brass Bands: The Establishment of a "Working Class Musical Tradition"', pp. 2-3.

⁴⁶ Herbert, 'Victorian Brass Bands: The Establishment of a "Working Class Musical Tradition"', p. 3.

Methodism and its associated social agenda of self-improvement.⁴⁷ One excellent example of this intersection between the working class, musical literacy and self-improvement in the Cornish context was the life of Joseph Glasson (1855-1938), whose work I discuss further in Chapter 4. Born to a mining family in Carbis Bay, Cornwall, Glasson became one of the foremost Cornish carol composers in South Australia. He reflected on his youth in a newspaper interview towards the end of his life, which is worth quoting at length:

“[...] I worked with my father. Those were the times. Work! I have known a boy of 12 years to bring his younger brother of seven on his back in winter time to work. Yes, I could tell you some tales of those days tales you would scarcely credit. And never a day’s schooling did those boys get.” Asked how the facilities of those days compared with the educational system of today, Mr. Glasson described the contrast as acute. “People nowadays have no idea what those poor children suffered. Only those who have passed through a like experience can realise the folly and criminality of that age in dealing with the child mind,” he remarked. “But let us leave this rather gloomy side of those early ‘good old days.’” continued Mr. Glasson. “Our solace was music. I was always fond of it, inheriting a love of melody and mechanics from my father’s side of the family, but without a possible chance of learning either. However, the hand of Providence intervened. A boy friend, who had a treasure in Hamilton’s ‘Catechism of Music’ became doubly dear, and we

⁴⁷ Charles Thomas, ‘Methodism and Self-Improvement in Nineteenth Century Cornwall’, (Cornwall: *The Cornish Methodist Historical Association*, Occasional Publication No. 9, 1965).

used to study it and ask each other questions when we ought to have been working at tin-dressing”.⁴⁸

Aged 15, he was engaged at £2 a year to play the harmonium in a neighbouring chapel at Chyangweal, and later at £1 a quarter to play at his own chapel in Carbis Bay alongside his work in the mines; and yet being self-taught, only received his first music lesson aged 18. However, aged 21 ‘nothing remained [...] but to follow one of the great streams of emigration overseas to the colonies’.⁴⁹ Although he immediately went to work in the Kurilla Mine in Kadina, he soon left to take on music teaching, conducting and and composing as his main occupation: ‘I had made up my mind to compose carols when I was quite a child, this form of music being most familiar to me [...] I had scarcely arrived at Kadina when I borrowed £1 from an old friend I had known in Cornwall. With the money I bought a manuscript music book. I have been buying paper of that description ever since’.⁵⁰

As I show in Chapter 5, the carols Glasson composed during his life in Australia certainly aimed to reproduce a particularly Cornish style, which he encouraged his Cornish-South Australian contemporaries and audiences to engage with. Writing a review of a carol concert in Adelaide in 1934, he cautioned:

Let us be careful in our search for new carols, that we be not led away by pretty tunes, of even part-songs; but select only those which retain as much as possible the characteristics and idiom of the Cornish carol. If we do not, then carol singing as we know it, is

⁴⁸ ‘Cornish Carols – Mr Glasson Composer – Kadina Veteran’, *News*, 27/12/1927, p. 8.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

doomed. A Cornish carol is not simply a Christmas-hymn, it has a character of its own.⁵¹

This ‘character’ was commonly (if not exclusively) identified by certain musical structures. In 1928, Ralph Dunstan, a Cornish composer and music collector whom I discuss shortly, described the Cornish carols in a manner that was often echoed by later writers:

[...] the chief characteristics of the tunes are (a) a more or less florid ‘air’ (or treble, though often sung by men) [...] (b) a good ‘rolling’ bass; (c) a ‘counter-tenor’ [...] (d) frequent ‘points of imitation’, one part after another imitating a short phrase or theme proposed by the air, counter or bass.⁵²

Dunstan’s ‘points of imitation’ refer to the fugue, a musical structure within which different voices or parts ‘enter successively in imitation of each other’, creating an overlapping and interweaving of different parts.⁵³

Following Dunstan, many Cornish commentators note this recurring feature of local carol music without actually identifying it as part of a wider genre. Thus recognised however, the Cornish carols that form the focus of this study are part of a broader genre of post-reformation fusing psalmody (as opposed to the fugue as a compositional structure) that dates from the 18th century – although it is important to

⁵¹ Joseph Glasson, ‘Fine Carol Singing – Moonta Choir in Adelaide’, *The Kadina and Wallaroo Times*, 3/1/1934, p. 3.

⁵² Ralph Dunstan, ‘Cornish Christmas Carols’, *Tre, Pol and Pen: The Cornish Annual 1928* (Truro: J. B. Dodsworth, 1928), pp. 87-91 (p. 88).

⁵³ ‘Fugue’, Paul M. Walker, Grove Music Online website [Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.51678> Accessed: 26/3/2018 10.35]

note that while many of the carols examined in this study do feature a fugging structure, not all do so. As a minor style of church music, the fugging style was thus ‘long considered beneath serious notice’.⁵⁴ However, historical musicologist and church music scholar Nicholas Temperley has provided the most thorough examination of the fugging form, developing an account of its origins and forming a census of fugging tunes published before 1800. Although the fugue itself has a long history in Western art music, Temperley and Charles Manns state that fugging church music first emerged as part of a period of elaboration in psalm tune writing around 1750.⁵⁵ To quantify the definition of what qualifies as a ‘fugging’ tune, Temperley and Manns state that ‘a tune is fugging if, in at least one phrase, two or more voice parts enter non-simultaneously, with rests preceding at least one entry, in such a way as to produce overlap of text’.⁵⁶

Earlier scholars had initially believed that the style was American in origin; however, Temperley and Manns show that in fact the style developed in ‘Anglican parish churches that lacked organs, and from there it spread across Baptist and Congregational churches in England and America’.⁵⁷ Temperley suggests that the first examples may be found in printed collections as early as the late 1600s, with the full imitative four-part fugging style becoming popular by the 1740s.⁵⁸ Its popularity within the Methodist congregations of Cornwall is incongruous, since John Wesley was vehemently opposed to the use of the fugging form, since it obscured the words of the

⁵⁴ Nicholas Temperley and Charles G. Manns, *Fugging Tunes in the Eighteenth Century* (Detroit: Information Coordinators Inc., 1983), p. vii.

⁵⁵ Temperley, ‘The Origins of the Fugging Tune’, p. 1.

⁵⁶ Temperley and Manns, *Fugging Tunes in the Eighteenth Century*, p. x.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. vii.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7; Temperley, ‘The Origins of the Fugging Tune’, pp. 1-32.

hymns, transforming worship into performance.⁵⁹ However, Keyte suggests that the form began to appear in Methodist hymnals after Wesley's death in 1791, and from then enjoyed 'an Indian summer' until approximately 1830 before being gradually displaced by other forms, and gallery choirs that sang such music began to be replaced by harmoniums and organs.⁶⁰ Temperley suggests that the popularity of fugal tunes began a little earlier, stating that while there was a 'rage for fugal tunes in the 1760s and 1770s [...] by the end of the 18th century, though found in many collections, they were clearly on the decline' and 'all but dropped out of use during the 19th century when their style became unacceptable'.⁶¹

However, as evidenced from the dates of publications discussed in this chapter, the style would appear to have remained popular in Cornwall long after its appeal had faded elsewhere. This is exhibited in the example below, taken from a Cornish carol book published in 1889:

⁵⁹ Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, Vol. 1, p. 176. See also Carlton R. Young, 'The Musical Settings of Charles Wesley's Hymns', in Nicholas Temperley and Stephen Banfield, eds, *Music and the Wesleys*, (Urbana, Chicago and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2010), pp. 103-118 (p. 109).

⁶⁰ Hugh Keyte, 'The English "Gallery" and American "Primitive" Traditions', Appendix 3, *The New Oxford Book of Carols*, p. 671.

⁶¹ Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, Vol. 1, p. 176.

16. THE LORD IS COME

W. Eade.

1. The Lord is come the Heav'n's pro-claim, The
 Lord is come, the Heav'n's pro-claim His birth the nat-tions
 learn his name. As un-known star dir-ects the
 road of east-ern sa-ges to their God. Of
 east-ern sa-ges to their. Of east-ern sa-ges to their
 God, to their God, to their God. Of east-ern sa-ges
 to their God, to their God. Of east-ern sa-ges to their
 God, to their God. Of eastern sages to thier God, Of
 east-ern sa-ges to their God.

Example 2.1: 'The Lord is Come', Heath, *Cornish Carols Part 1*⁶²

⁶² Robert Hainsworth Heath, *Cornish Carols: Part 1* (Redruth: Robert Hainsworth Heath, 1889), p. 23. Original provided in Appendix C1.

In the above setting of 'The Lord is Come' above, the fugue structure appears in the upbeat to bar 19, where the basses offer a theme which is successively taken up by the tenors, altos and sopranos at intervals of a fifth and an octave. As Temperley and Manns describe, rests are given before each successive entry resulting in an overlap of the texts between the different voices. Keyte's suggestion that 'a typical four-line verse would set lines 1/2 and 3/4 as distinct halves, each half with one line fugging and one line homophonic; the second half was normally repeated' is not reflected in this instance.⁶³ Indeed, as we will see in the discussion of the carols found and composed in Grass Valley and the Copper Triangle in Section 1, the fugue may appear in different lines in the stroph.

With regard to texts, in Cornwall the fugging style was used to set carol texts from both obscure writers and well-known authors. In the example above, the text of 'The Lord is Come' was written by Isaac Watts, first published in 1719. Other texts by well known writers were popular; for example, Nahum Tate's ubiquitous 'While Shepherds', Charles Wesley's 'Hail, Ever Hail', and 'It Came Upon the Midnight Clear' by Edmund Hamilton Sears; as well as material from contemporarily lesser known or unidentified and perhaps local writers, such as James Montgomery. The tunes that are used to set this repertoire appear to be drawn from a variety of sources. Some compilers, such as Heath and Warmington, included their own compositions alongside material they transcribed from recovered manuscripts. However, other material was clearly drawn from sources beyond Cornwall. For example, 'The Star of Bethlehem', attributed to W. B. Williams in Heath's *Part 2* (presumably a local composer), is actually the tune written by Samuel Stanleys in Birmingham between

⁶³ Hugh Keyte, 'The English "Gallery" and American "Primitive" Traditions', Appendix 3, *The New Oxford Book of Carols*, p. 671.

1802-1805.⁶⁴ One must therefore be wary of accepting that the bulk of material was composed by 19th century Cornish hymn writers; and as such considerable further work is needed to understand the work and lives of these local writers and composers.

The performance of this repertoire by vocalists and instrumentalists is also related to ‘West Gallery’ music, so well described by Thomas Hardy in *Under The Greenwood Tree*.⁶⁵ The following description of carolling customs in 19th century Cornwall is worth quoting at length:

Around 1860 the men and boys of Mousehole choir set out from the village at midnight on Christmas Eve, and sang their way to Paul Churchtown and other places near by; Richard Barnes led the trebles with a violin, his father – George Barnes – and the basses with a bass-viol, James Harvey the tenors with a violin, and Mr. Bond of Newlyn, the altos with a flute. Perhaps they travelled as far as the Hellesveor choir, which, in 1874, took their instruments, cornet, clarinet, ophecleide, etc., and sang carols on a tour which lasted through the night.⁶⁶

It is important to note here that the carol repertoire I discuss was not solely vocal; as described by Shaw, various portable stringed and woodwind instruments commonly accompanied travelling carolling ensembles, and parts for ‘symphonies’ are often found in manuscripts.⁶⁷ As such, the house-visiting customs associated with carolling

⁶⁴ Ian Russell, liner notes, ‘English Village Carols: Traditional Christmas Carolling from the Southern Pennines’, Smithsonian Folkways SFW CD 40476 [CD] (1999), p. 20.

⁶⁵ Thomas Hardy, *Under The Greenwood Tree* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1872).

⁶⁶ Shaw, *A History of Cornish Methodism*, p. 102.

⁶⁷ Russell, *The Sheffield Book of Village Carols*, p. 2, pp. 7-9.

traditions align the practice with other seasonal celebratory groups, such as waits and to a lesser extent, mummers.⁶⁸

Further work is needed to elucidate how, why, and from what sources fusing tunes initially took such a strong hold in Cornwall, and how they became particularly associated with Christmas carols. This may be due to Cornwall's peripheral location; a hypothesis that is concurrent with the retention of the form in rural areas proposed by Temperley. He and Keyte both suggest that country music teachers and itinerant musicians working in parish churches adopted and developed the style during the 18th century, which became very popular across rural England.⁶⁹ This is also discussed in Stephen Banfield's book *Music in the Westcountry*, within which he states that 'carolling became one of the mainstays of psalmody bands after they had been ousted from the Church, and because the psalmody style survived much later in local carols than in other forms of music'.⁷⁰ The form has also endured in other parts of the UK as part of similar village carolling customs, most extensively documented by Ian Russell in the village carolling traditions of the villages around Sheffield in the north of England.⁷¹ However, other than Russell, very little contemporary attention has been paid to such practices; a fact which Temperley suggests is due to the tradition's position 'on the borderline of art music: the musicians who developed it were obscure country singers without professional training; but at the same time it does not fall

⁶⁸ 'Waits' contemporarily signify a type of medieval nightwatchman who patrolled with instruments, although Richard Rastall has problematised the development of this definition – see 'The Early History of the Town Waits' [Available at http://www.townwaits.org.uk/richardrastall/richard_rastall_17chapter8.pdf Accessed: 6/8/2018 15:54]. See Eddie Cass and Steve Roud, *Room, Room Ladies and Gentlemen: An Introduction to the English Mummer's Play* (London: The English Folk Dance and Song Society in association with The Folklore Society, 2002).

⁶⁹ Temperley and Manns, *Fusing Tunes in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 4-5.

⁷⁰ Stephen Banfield, *Music in the Westcountry: Social and Cultural History Across an English Region* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2018), pp. 80-99 (p. 80).

⁷¹ See Russell, *The Sheffield Book of Village Carols; The Derbyshire Book of Village Carols* (Sheffield: Village Carols, 2012).

within the definition of “folk music” that we have inherited from the Cecil Sharp era, for it is written music designed for rehearsed performance’.⁷²

Russell considers that this new type of hymnody, and its rural performance contexts, were neglected in many 19th century collections of Christmas carol material and the subsequent folk revival of the early twentieth century. Taking the carolling traditions of the English Pennines as his focus, he suggests that popular published collections, such as those of Chope and Husk, did much to ‘hide’ the repertoire of rural and village customs from scholarly recognition, stating that they:

[...] elevated the discourse on Christmas carols to an elitist level that ignored evidence from the grassroots and was not based on ethnographic data. This situation had been consolidated by the publication of a series of ‘authoritative’ collections of Christmas carols in the late 19th century, which restricted their contents to reflect this position.⁷³

For example, the carol text discussed earlier in this segment, ‘The Lord Is Come’ appeared, with the music described as ‘traditional’ and ‘Cornish’, in Richard R. Chope’s *Carols for Use In Church during Christmas and Epiphany* (1875).⁷⁴ However, the fusing form attached to it in Heath is absent, and instead it is homophonic with some moving parts.

⁷² Temperley, ‘The Origins of the Fuging Tune’, p. 1.

⁷³ Russell, ‘The Performance Roles and Dynamics of a Christmas Carolling Tradition in the English Pennines’, p. 66-68. See also, Ian Russell, Benjamin Botkin Lecture, American Folklife Center, 1/7/2014 [Available at: http://www.loc.gov/today/cyberlc/feature_wdesc.php?rec=6270 Accessed: 20/11/2017 18:08]

⁷⁴ Richard R. Chope, *Carols for Use In Church during Christmas and Epiphany* (London: Metzler and Co, Novello, Ewer and Co., 1875).

| Composer/Compiler | Title | Date Published |
|--|--|-----------------------|
| Robert Hainsworth Heath | <i>Cornish Carols Part 1</i> | 1889 ⁷⁵ |
| Robert Hainsworth Heath | <i>Cornish Carols Part 2</i> | 1889 |
| Thomas Merritt | <i>Six Christmas Carols</i> | 1891 ⁷⁶ |
| Thomas Merritt | <i>Six Christmas Carols (Second Set)</i> | 1899 ⁷⁷ |
| Joseph Leese | <i>Old Cornish Carols</i> | 1899 ⁷⁸ |
| Stephen Nicholas | ' <i>The Star of Jacob</i> ', ' <i>What Heavenly Music</i> ' | 1909 ⁷⁹ |
| Stephen Nicholas | ' <i>Hark The Christmas Bells</i> ', ' <i>The Star of Bethlehem</i> ' | 1909 |
| T. N. Warmington | <i>A Selection of Old Christmas Carols and Anthems Part 1</i> | 1912 |
| T. N. Warmington | <i>A Selection of Old Christmas Carols and Anthems Part 2</i> | 1912 |
| Benjamin Barnicoat | <i>Old Cornish Carols</i> | 1927 |
| Ralph Dunstan | <i>The Cornish Songbook</i> | 1929 |
| Inglis Gundry | <i>Now Carol We</i> | 1966 |
| John Worden | <i>Strike Sound! Padstow Carols</i> | 1971 |
| Leonard Truran | <i>Thomas Merritt: Twelve Cornish Carols</i> | 1981 |
| Kenneth Pelmeur | <i>Carols of Cornwall</i> | 1982 |
| Philip Payton | <i>Cornish Carols from Australia</i> | 1984 |
| Federation of Old Cornwall Societies | <i>Victorian Carols</i> [reprint of Heath's <i>Cornish Carols Part 1</i> , 1889] | 2010 |
| Michael Richardson, Federation of Old Cornwall Societies | <i>Carols of the Stratton Hundred</i> | 2011 |
| Federation of Old Cornwall Societies | <i>Strike Sound! Padstow Carols</i> [reprint of 1971] | 2017 |
| Hilary Coleman and Sally Burley | <i>Hark! The Glad Sound of Cornish Carols</i> | 2017 |

Table 2.1: List of carol books published or printed in Cornwall⁸⁰

Nevertheless, it is possible to identify a culture of production and consumption of this 'new hymnody', continuing to feature the fusing structure, in Cornwall from at least the mid-19th century (see Table 2.1 above). Locally printed ballads and broadsides

⁷⁵ 'Cornish Carols', Advertisement, *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser*, 19/9/1889, p. 8.

⁷⁶ 'Six Christmas Carols', Advertisement, *The Cornubian and Redruth Times*, 7/8/1891, p. 4.

⁷⁷ 'Six Christmas Carols', Advertisement, *The Cornubian and Redruth Times*, 29/9/1899, p. 4.

⁷⁸ 'Old Cornish Carols', Advertisement, *The Cornubian and Redruth Times*, 10/11/1899, p. 1.

⁷⁹ 'Xmas Music', Advertisement, *The Cornubian and Redruth Times*, 16/12/1909, p. 4.

⁸⁰ This table reflects texts only containing both words and music of Cornish carols published in Cornwall. Publications originating in the diaspora are not included as they are discussed in Chapter 5.

containing carol texts were common, although as yet I have not uncovered any which contain any music or indication of tunes. Several printers in Cornwall published large sheets of carol words, described in 1927 by Ralph Dunstan, who wrote that:

I have often seen them attached to the walls of cottages in the neighbourhood of my home. They gave the words of the Cornish variants of the medieval carols; and as time went on they included such words as were available of the Redruth-Camborne carols. Later these broadsides were replaced by small penny carol-books, published by Doidge of Redruth; and all prospective carol-singers had one of these in his pocket for several weeks before Christmas.⁸¹

One such printer was John Olver Harris, and later his son, John Edwin Harris, who printed large broadsides of ‘Fifty Carols and Anthems For Christmas’, while another representative example was printed by R. Woolcock in Helston around the 1870s.⁸²

The Doidge referenced by Dunstan is John Sweet Doidge, who was a printer and bookseller active in Redruth during the late 19th century. Supporting Dunstan’s position, and indicating the overseas popularity of carols in Cornish communities, one of Doidge’s word books is found in the Cornish section of ethnomusicologist Helene Stratman-Thomas’s collection at the Mills Music Library at the University of Wisconsin.⁸³

⁸¹ Ralph Dunstan, *The Cornish Songbook* (London: Reid Bros, 1929), p. 83.

⁸² Held in ‘Street Ballads of Victorian England’ collection, Kent State University, [Available at: <https://www.library.kent.edu/special-collections-and-archives/street-ballads-victorian-england> Accessed: 22/11/2017 17:24]; BOD7411, Broadside Ballads Online, Bodleian Library website [Available at: <http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/view/edition/7411> Accessed: 20/11/2017 15:16]

⁸³ See Helene Stratman-Thomas Collection, University of Wisconsin Digital Collections [Available at: <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/wiarchives.uw-mus-mus001> Accessed: 11/4/2018 10:59]

While broadsides and word books containing material of this type can be found across the UK during the Victorian period and earlier, the close of the 19th century saw an upsurge of local publication that specifically positioned these carols as ‘Cornish’. Although I discuss these materials in more detail in my first analysis section, it is important to give an overview here in order to demonstrate the evident contemporary – and commercial – interest in Cornish carols. The first of these was published by Robert Hainsworth Heath (1843-1912), a Devon born musician, composer, conductor and teacher who lived in Redruth until the early 20th century before migrating to South Africa.⁸⁴ He published two collections of 33 Cornish carols, including both his own compositions and those he had collected from earlier local composers. However, there appears to have been some consternation regarding this initial publication; writing in 1917 regarding the history of Cornish carols, Redruth writer William Tangye noted that ‘not a single carol in the whole 33 bears any composer’s name. Soon after Part 1 was issued in 1899 [sic] there were complaints from those who knew the old carols that in the new issue there were additions and alterations’.⁸⁵ These were initially self-published, and then republished at a later date by local music warehouse and publishers Heard and Sons in Truro, Cornwall.

Following Heath, a clutch of publications appeared in the following decades. The most well-known of the Cornish carol composers, Thomas Merritt (approx. 1862-1908), published two sets of six Christmas carols which, although undated, may reliably be traced to around the turn of the 19th century. Advertisements for his first

⁸⁴ Dawe, *Cornish Pioneers in South Africa*, p. 259.

⁸⁵ Tangye, ‘Old Cornish Carols: Their Origin and Composers’, *The Cornubian Calendar*, 1917, no page number.

set appear in *The Cornishman* in 1891, and for the second set in 1899.⁸⁶ In the Grass Valley collections (discussed in Chapter 4), the phrase ‘author’s property’ is clearly visible on the frontispiece of each set, perhaps indicating that the publication was a limited run and not for general distribution. In 1899, Joseph Leese (dates unknown) published a similar collection, including an exhortation in the preface to preserve their performance: ‘the old carols are of interest, being not only genuine people’s music, but also people’s *part* music, which is a much rarer thing. It is earnestly to be hoped that the Cornishmen will not allow the custom of carol singing to die out. It is much too good to perish! Why not develope [sic] it?’⁸⁷ In 1912, T. N. Warmington (1874-1955), of Carbis Bay near St Ives, published two collections of *Old Christmas Carols and Anthems* in quick succession.⁸⁸ Similarly to Heath, his collections featured the work of previous composers and some of his own compositions. A fourth collection was published by Benjamin Barnicoat (dates unknown) in 1927, who published carols taken from a tunebook belonging to his grandfather. Even here, a consciousness that the the carols were old and were popular with migrating Cornish labourers is evident; Barnicoat notes in his preface that ‘the carols were practiced from MSS, and sung at Christmastide by choirs; mostly descendants of Cornishmen who, 60 or 70 years ago migrated north as pioneers in the iron ore mining industry. They introduced the carols into the northern counties’.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ The copies in the Grass Valley collections (see Chapter 4) were published by Doremi & Co in London. Little is known of this publishing company but in 1893 *The Musical Herald* suggested that they were a new firm of publishers; see ‘Echoes of the Month’ in *The Musical Herald* (London: J. Curwen and Sons, 1893), p. 53.

⁸⁷ Joseph Leese, *Old Cornish Carols* (Redruth: Richard Tayler, and London: Hart and Co., 1899). Advertised for sale as ‘Cornish Carols’, *Cornubian and Redruth Times*, 10/11/1899, p. 1.

⁸⁸ Thomas N. Warmington, *Old Christmas Carols and Anthems Part 1* (St Ives: James U. White, 1912); *Old Christmas Carols and Anthems Part 2* (St Ives: James U. White, 1912).

⁸⁹ Preface, Benjamin Barnicoat, *Old Cornish Carols* (Polperro: The Polperro Press, 1927).

The largest collection of Cornish carols was published shortly afterwards in 1929 by Ralph Dunstan (1857-1933), at the height of the Cornish Celtic revival. Strangely, Dunstan does not reference any of the aforementioned collections in his own work, although he does include some of the same carols in his own collection (often citing that they are sourced from unidentified manuscripts). He delineates the carols in his book into four types: the ‘variants of medieval carols, folk carols (not numerous), the Redruth Camborne carols; miscellaneous [...] and a few others of Celtic origin which are worthy of general acceptance’.⁹⁰ Again, a consciousness of their popularity with diasporic communities is evident; Dunstan considered the Redruth-Camborne carols the ‘true’ Cornish carol, stating that ‘it is this type of carol which was carried [...] by Cornish miners to every part of the world, and which is probably more sung at the present time in the “Cornish homes far away” than in most parts of Cornwall itself’.⁹¹ However, unlike Barnicoat, Dunstan certainly edited his collected work. With regard to ‘Rouse Rouse’, he states that ‘the refrain – I doubt if it originally belonged to this carol – had undergone much corruption, and I have replaced it by a reliable version from old MSS. in my possession’.⁹² Here then, rural carolling practices utilising the fugging form did persist in Cornwall into the 19th and early 20th centuries, while their popularity declined in more urban settings.

Indeed, the mid-twentieth century appears to have seen a comparative slump of interest in Cornish carols. One notable exception was the 60th anniversary of Merritt’s death in 1968, resulting in a memorial concert at Truro Cathedral conducted by

⁹⁰ Dunstan, *The Cornish Songbook*, p. 83. The Redruth and Camborne area was Cornwall’s chief mining district, hence Dunstan’s focus on this particular location.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 131.

British composer Sir Malcolm Arnold.⁹³ Further, Inglis Gundry (1905-2000), a musician and composer with a deep interest in Cornish music history, was involved in the publication of two books regarding Cornish carols. *Now Carol We*, published in 1966, focused on the reproduction of 19th century manuscripts that Davies Gilbert had received too late to be included in his original publication.⁹⁴ Gundry also edited the Padstow carol book *Strike Sound* in 1971, which compiler John Worden hoped would ‘hand on the lovely old tradition of Padstow singing, and to perpetuate a grand heritage’.⁹⁵ An impulse to foreground the historic – even ancient – nature of the repertoire appears to be evident. In his introduction to *Strike Sound*, he identified the repertoire as having its genesis in medieval music, stating that ‘in earlier centuries the carols would have been sung as Three Men’s Songs. The fourth part may have been an extra part inserted in the 19th century when carols came to be sung by mixed choirs’; while in *Now Carol We*, he argues that some of the material ‘can be traced to Purcell’s time, to the days of *Melismata* (1611) and even as far back as the golden age of the English carol in the 15th century’.⁹⁶ However, my research into the fusing form contradicts this; neither the Padstow carols nor the broader corpus of Cornish carols focused on in this thesis can be said to date from this period.

However, the Cornish cultural revival during the later 20th century saw the publication of several carol books which also emphasised the historic nature of the carols. These often involved the editing and republication of the late 19th century music discussed

⁹³ Leonard H. Truran, foreword, *Thomas Merritt: Twelve Cornish Carols* (Redruth: Dyllansow Truran, 1981), p. 1.

⁹⁴ Inglis Gundry, *Now Carol We: Twelve Carols from an Old Cornish Manuscript* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966).

⁹⁵ John Worden, Foreword, *Strike Sound: Padstow Carols* (Padstow: Lodenek Press, 1971), p. ii.

⁹⁶ Gundry, Introduction, *Strike Sound: Padstow Carols*, p. 2. Here, Gundry is presumably referencing Richard Carew’s reference to ‘Cornish three men’s songs, which are cunningly contrived for the ditty, and pleasantly for the note’, although no further detail is given see Richard Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall* (London: 1602), reissued (Launceston: Tamar Books, 2004), p. 84. Gundry, *Now Carol We: Twelve Carols from an Old Cornish Manuscript*, p. ii.

above, often in new volumes that in many cases did little to allude to the original publications. Here the carols were overtly positioned as an integral element of a Cornish cultural identity. For example, in his 1982 publication *Carols of Cornwall*, Kenneth Pelmeur wrote of ‘the Cornishman’s deep-rooted love for his native carols. Collectively, they are for him a heart-felt link with the past’.⁹⁷ For some there appeared to be a desire to form a conceptual bond between this music culture and the Celtic history of Cornwall; in his introduction to his re-publication of Merritt’s carols, Truran states that ‘the notes of Merritt’s music, rising to a climax each Christmas, continue to enshrine the ancient Christian and Celtic spirit of Cornwall’.⁹⁸

In practical terms however, Cornish carols initially took something of a background role in the Cornish cultural revival, which began in the 1980s with the emergence of a range of Cornish Celtic music groups and dance troupes. Dr. Mervyn Davey, a Cornish dancer and musician, was key in this revival both as a performer and a collector, publishing a variety of Cornish Celtic music he and his wife collected.⁹⁹ However, critiques of the materials, methods and messages of the Cornish Celtic revival have recently emerged; for example, Lea Hagmann’s doctoral thesis examines the revival period, exploring its materials and methods, and questioning the ways, and extent to which, Cornish music and dance were ‘Celticified’ in order to assert difference from what is perceived as an English cultural hegemony.¹⁰⁰ Further, (although only available in German) Malte Tschirschky problematises the notion of Cornwall as a

⁹⁷ Kenneth Pelmeur, foreword, *Carols of Cornwall* (Redruth: Dyllansow Truran, 1982), p. iv.

⁹⁸ Truran, foreword, *Thomas Merritt: Twelve Cornish Carols*, p. 1.

⁹⁹ As the contemporary grand bard of the Cornish Gorsedh, Davey has advocated for the recognition of Cornwall as a Celtic nation, and in 2011 completed his PhD which examined the relationship between Cornish identity and oral folk tradition; see Mervyn Davey, ‘As Is The Manner and the Custom: Folk Tradition and Identity in Cornwall’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2011 [Available at: <https://ore.exeter.ac.uk/repository/handle/10036/3377> Accessed: 2/2/2018 16:52]

¹⁰⁰ See Lea Hagmann, ‘Cornu-Copia. In Search of Celtic Roots in the Music and Dance Revival of Cornwall’, unpublished PhD thesis, Universität Bern, 2017.

Celtic nation, exploring the selection of national symbols as cultural texts and exploring inscriptions of meaning in them.¹⁰¹ Tschirschky considers that ‘the concept of Cornwall as a Celtic nation has not yet reached far enough beyond the cultural “elite” who have helped to create this Cornish national identity in the course of the last two centuries, and thus Cornwall is still a work in progress’.¹⁰²

However, it appears that in recent years attention has been gradually turning toward the carols as a relatively untapped repository of Cornish folk culture. The Federation of Old Cornwall Societies has republished Heath’s carols, *Strike Sound!* (the Padstow carol book), and published the carols of the Bude and Stratton district in North Cornwall for the first time.¹⁰³ However, interest is not just forthcoming from the Old Cornwall Societies; in 2012 the English Touring Opera worked with Cornish theatre company the Miracle Theatre to produce a play called ‘Tin’ which included a new carol, ‘Blaze of Glory’ composed for the production by Russell Pascoe (although it does not feature the fugging form).¹⁰⁴ Further, Cornish cultural activists Hilary Coleman and Sally Burley have recently compiled a volume that focuses on contemporary carolling traditions in Cornwall in order ‘to show how embedded these carols are in their communities’.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Malte Tschirsky, *Die Erfindung der keltischen Nation Cornwall: Kultur, Identität und ethnischer Nationalismus in der britischen Peripherie* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter GmbH Heidelberg, 2006).

¹⁰² Benjamin Bruch, review of *Die Erfindung der keltischen Nation Cornwall: Kultur, Identität und ethnischer Nationalismus in der britischen Peripherie* by Malte Tschirsky, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 58 (2011), pp. 342-346.

¹⁰³ See The Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, *Victorian Cornish Carols: Book 1. Redruth and St Agnes District* (St. Agnes: Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 2010); Michael J. Richardson, ed., *Carols of the Stratton Hundred* (St Agnes: Bude Stratton and District Old Cornwall Society, and Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 2011); Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, *Strike Sound: A Collection of Padstow Carols* (St. Agnes: Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 2017).

¹⁰⁴ ‘Tin’, English Touring Opera website [Available at: <http://englishtouringopera.org.uk/productions/tin12> Accessed: 5/12/2017 16:18]

¹⁰⁵ Hilary Coleman and Sally Burley, *Hark! The Glad Sound of Cornish Carols* (London: Francis Boutle, 2017). See my forthcoming review in the *Folk Music Journal*.

Against these backgrounds, defining a Cornish carol presents both challenges and opportunities. The challenge is to give credence to a geographically defined repertoire that, as I have shown, was not actually stylistically developed within the region. That Cornish carols were in some very clear ways ‘not Cornish’ has been understood, if not explored in detail, by collectors even at the early stages of carol collection in Cornwall; regarding the Gilbert and Sandys collections, McGrady states that ‘it is quite clear that the majority of the carols in both collections were not specifically or uniquely Cornish’.¹⁰⁶ Here, I hope that my examination of the fugging style, and its retention in particular areas of the UK, has elucidated the link between the broader 18th century form and its particular 19th century presentation in Cornwall; as we have seen, the flurry of publications at the close of the 19th century overtly characterised the carols as specifically Cornish, cementing the local concept of the genre as particularly characteristic of the area.

As such, the opportunity is to provide a definition that not only gives a clear indication of the predominant and popular elements of the style, but concomitantly highlights the repertoire’s historical origins, and gives weight to the genre’s contemporary position within narratives of Cornish heritage and identity. Materially, I would suggest that a historical Cornish carol would be well defined by a Nativity-themed text by a non-conformist psalmodist, paired with a four-part fugging structure; this would certainly encompass a significant majority of the carols discussed in this thesis.¹⁰⁷ This definition of an archetypical Cornish carol does not overly differ in musical or lyrical substance from those of Dunstan and others. Culturally however, I

¹⁰⁶ McGrady, *Traces of Ancient Mystery*, p. xxix.

¹⁰⁷ However, it is important to note that not all the carols discussed in this thesis feature the fugging form; several carols found in the publications discussed here and in Section 1 are homophonic throughout.

suggest that the composer's intent for the work to become part of, or otherwise align with, the wider corpus of Cornish carols would also now be a key requirement. This may appear tautologous in the sense that in the project of attempting to compose a Cornish carol, the composer has succeeded simply by trying; however, in order to conform to the historical roots identified in my definition, I would argue that that intent would have to be combined with sufficient of the above stylistic elements already discussed. This definition expands, and I hope supersedes, those offered by previous writers firstly by recognising the non-Cornish origins of the stylistic elements, and secondly and more importantly by identifying the genre's self-conscious promotion as particularly Cornish musical form. In this regard, my definition would also accommodate newly composed carols.

In any case, my definition firmly positions the Cornish carol tradition firmly within a broader British cultural continuum. Perhaps controversially, this conception actively works against the Cornish 'persistence of difference' proposed by Payton and championed by Cornish Celtic revivalists; indeed, Douglas Brice's perspective that 'the carol can only be described as something specifically English' would receive fierce criticism from both past and present Cornish cultural activists.¹⁰⁸ However, my definition largely aligns with Hagmann's appraisal of particular elements associated with Cornish Celtic music revival such as guise dancing and the ballad carols, which she considers 'must be interpreted as older forms of English culture that due to Cornwall's political loyalism survived better in Cornwall than in other places'.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ Brice, *The Folk Carol of England*, p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ Hagmann, 'Cornu-Copia. In Search of Celtic Roots in the Music and Dance Revival of Cornwall', p. 153.

In this sense, there is an argument for Cornish carols being an invented genre rather than an enduring local tradition, closely fitting Malcolm Chapman's insightful conception that 'slightly outmoded fashions gather together in the periphery, and there disguise themselves as native authenticity'.¹¹⁰ However useful though, I consider that Chapman's stance actively undercuts the lived experience and socio-cultural meanings attached to the performance of these carols; something that was particularly important in contexts of dislocation and community building such as the diaspora. With this in mind, I now turn to what is known of how Cornish migrants transported their carols to new peripheries.

2.3: Carols in the USA

Many of the accounts of Cornish communities in the diaspora discussed in Chapter 1 mention the appearance and importance of music cultures in Cornish communities, and often reference the presence of carolling traditions in particular. For example, in South Africa Dawe noted that Cornish newspapers had reported that it was 'well celebrated by the Cornish miners at Ferreira Deep mine, who spent Christmas morning at the mine singing T. Merritt's well known carols and in the afternoon in Johannesburg', and also that Robert Hainsworth Heath, before his death in 1912, had become the organist at St Mary's church in Johannesburg.¹¹¹ Dickason also states that 'the Cornish Choir would sing from the balcony of the Grand National Hotel, hundreds of Cornish people would flock into town to listen and participate'.¹¹² He also discusses the visit of Fanny Moody Manners and her husband, both opera singers, stating that: 'To a silent crowd she sang Cornish songs. And as she sang,

¹¹⁰ Chapman, *The Celts*, p. 118.

¹¹¹ Dawe, *Cornish Pioneers in South Africa*, pp. 258-9.

¹¹² Dickason, *Cornish Immigrants to South Africa*, p. 62.

these big men of Cornwall wept. They did not applaud, they hid their faces from each other and went quietly away when she had finished'.¹¹³ In Pachuca, Mexico, Schwartz states that on payday 'many [Cornish miners] liked to retire to the bar [...] to drink together and to sing Cornish songs and hymns'.¹¹⁴ However, perhaps because of the volume of migrants to, and the amount of scholarship focussing on these areas, carolling in Cornish communities of South Australia and the USA has received the most attention, and as such in this segment I discuss the extent of scholarly attention paid to Cornish carols in each location.

A range of folklorists and collectors in the USA captured Cornish carols as part of their activities during the mid-twentieth century. This was often in the course of collecting occupational songs and music cultures of particular immigrant groups. For example, Wayland D. Hand, who established UCLA's folklore department in 1940, collected a variety of materials from miners at Butte in south-eastern Montana in 1945 and 1948. Butte was formed as a mining camp and became a centre of copper mining in the late 19th century, attracting high numbers of Cornish miners. Hand was well aware of this:

It is difficult to overestimate the contribution of the Cornish miner to the development of hardrock mining in the United States, but great as has been this contribution, it has scarcely exceeded the rich legacy of mining lore and legend, the delightful humor and colorful speech and the customs and traditions that are part and parcel of the culture of the Cousin Jack everywhere in his adopted homeland.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-64, quoting uncited Johannesburg paper.

¹¹⁴ Schwartz, *Mining A Shared Heritage*, p. 52.

¹¹⁵ Wayland D. Hand, 'The Folklore, Customs, and Traditions of the Butte Miner (Concluded)', *California Folklore Quarterly*, 5/2 (1946), pp. 153-178 (p. 174).

Primarily a folklorist, Hand covered a wide variety of topics associated with the Cornish, including favourite foodstuffs and pastimes as well as superstitions about imp-like creatures in mines called tommyknockers.¹¹⁶ He returned to Butte in 1948 to collect songs associated with the mining industry, which however was already in decline. Hand was already turning to retired miners for material and advising others to do the same, stating that it was ‘too late’ to assess the true depth and breadth of music cultures associated with hard-rock mining, describing the collectors in the current field as in pursuit of the ‘the waifs and strays of the hardrocker’s song’.¹¹⁷ In terms of Cornish material, he only collected ‘Going Up Camborne Hill Coming Down’, stating that ‘this stirring piece has something of the status of the national song’ and that his source, Richard Guest, ‘spoke of the song as the “Cornish national anthem” in tribute to its popularity’.¹¹⁸

However, he does discuss carols as a repertoire relating specifically to Cornish and Welsh miners, stating that both groups ‘held a predilection for their own native music’.¹¹⁹ His description of carolling practices in Butte is very illuminating, and is worth quoting at length:

At the yule season they sang carols, not only in the mines but on the streets of Butte as well, and in hotels, theatres and wherever else people congregated. Many an old miner remembers the glories of carols resounding through the shafts and drifts as miners went to and from their

¹¹⁶ Wayland D. Hand, ‘The Folklore, Customs, and Traditions of the Butte Miner’, *California Folklore Quarterly*, 5/1 (1946), pp. 1-25 (p. 1).

¹¹⁷ Wayland D. Hand, Charles Cutts, Robert C. Wylder and Betty Wylder, ‘Songs of the Butte Miners’ *Western Folklore*, 9/1 (1950), pp. 1-49 (p. 3).

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

diggings. Samuel H. Treloar, a venerable Butte musician and nationally famous bandmaster, recalls an incident which took place in the Mountain View in the early 'nineties, when men going on shift sang in the cages while being lowered, and continued singing as they separated for their stations. Officials of the mine happened to hear the carols and caused the men to be reassembled for a real serenade. More than twenty years later in the same mine, John Varker, the Cornish foreman, made a practice at Christmas time of suggesting to the men standing at the collar of the shaft, 'Come on boys, let's 'ave a carol or two 'fore we go down'. Some of the favourite carols and older anthems of this early period were: 'Hark What Mean The Holy Voices', 'The Star of Hope', 'The Infant King', 'The Lights of Bethlehem', 'The Lord Is Come', 'The First Noel' and "The Plant of Renown"; while the more modern ones included: 'Angelic Host', 'Hail, Sacred Day', 'Awake, Awake The Lofty Song', 'Lo He Comes an Infant Stranger', 'Angels Proclaim The Happy Morn' and 'Angels From The Realms of Glory'.¹²⁰

Hand however noted that the practice of singing in the mines had 'pretty much died out', suggesting that it was a result of an order requiring permission from the police to sing carols in the street due to increased traffic, and that efforts to rekindle the tradition failed.¹²¹

Cornish miners and their music cultures were also present in Colorado, and were discussed by Caroline Bancroft, a folklorist who wrote on the history of Colorado and the gold-rush, and in particular the towns of Russell Gulch and Mountain City (predominantly populated by Welsh and Cornish immigrants respectively). Bancroft noted that 'among the Celts, the Cornish definitely predominated in setting the tone in

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹²¹ Hand and others, 'Songs of the Butte Miners', p. 3, p. 7.

sports and other activities. Wrestling matches, dog coursing, band playing, and carol singing were peculiarly Cornish'.¹²² A certain element of romanticisation appears in her accounts; she highlights the 'Celtic imaginations' of the Cornish, Welsh and Irish migrant groups, arguing that 'today they are not a distinct ethnic group in the district nor do they live segregated in the manner of former times. But they still preserve even in the second and third generations many racial characteristics'.¹²³ Her sources also reference a predilection for music in the Cornish mining communities. Lynn I. Perrigo, who interviewed a number of Cornish migrants while writing in 1937, noted the dominance of Methodist worship and noted part-singing as a popular pastime: 'because they liked to gather in groups and sing, it was not unusual in the evening to hear fifteen or twenty of them in a saloon blending their voices in the harmonious strains of "Trafalgar's Boy" or "The Wreck of the Arethusa"'.¹²⁴

Cornish carol material was also captured in Wisconsin by Helene Stratman Thomas, who recorded a wide variety of singers and instrumentalists for the Wisconsin Folk Music Project between 1937 and 1946 for the University of Wisconsin and the Library of Congress. Stratman-Thomas had a particular interest in Cornish material due to growing up with Cornish neighbours in Dodgeville.¹²⁵ Amongst the variety of ethnic music she collected, she collected from Cornish-American singers in the area in 1946, including John Persons, who sang several including a fragment of a carol

¹²² Caroline Bancroft, 'Folklore of the Central City District, Colorado', *California Folklore Quarterly*, 4/4 (1945), pp. 315-342.

¹²³ Caroline Bancroft, 'Cousin Jack Stories from Central City', *The Colorado Magazine*, 21/2 (1944), pp. 51-56 (p. 52).

¹²⁴ Lynn I. Perrigo, 'The Cornish Miners of Early Gilpin County,' *The Colorado Magazine*, 14/3 (1937), pp. 92-101 (p. 97).

¹²⁵ Erika Janik, 'Helene Stratman-Thomas: Wisconsin Songcatcher', *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 94/2 (2010), pp. 28-37 (p. 30).

recorded in the catalogue as ‘Ark Ark the Eavenly Angels Sing’.¹²⁶ It is a short fragment and further, only one of presumably four parts, and as such the recording is of limited use. However, Stratman-Thomas also collected a wide and important variety of print and manuscript materials relating to Cornish carols, which are now held at the Mills Music Library at the University of Madison and Wisconsin.¹²⁷

Cornish carols also appeared in Michigan. Folksong scholar and collector Harry B. Welliver collected music from several Cornish individuals and groups in Michigan in early 1949, writing to Duncan Emrich (an English professor at Columbia University prior to becoming Head of the National Folksong Archive between 1945 and 1956) that ‘the Cornish colony in the Upper Peninsula is relatively large and important’.¹²⁸ Welliver recorded Cornish carols sung by the ‘Cornish Singers’ in the Painesdale Methodist Church. His notes dictate that the choir was composed of fourteen voices, ‘sung by all male voices except 4 ladies singing alto, which is customarily done by boys’ voices’.¹²⁹ Welliver’s notes suggest that the repertoire was valued highly by the singers:

Carols have been sung for many years in this area and this particular group has been together for a long time. They were very proud, but humbly so, of their long associations in this annual festivity and seemed especially pleased to be making records for permanent preservation.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ See John Persons, ‘‘Ark ‘Ark the ‘eavenly angels sing’ [Available at:

<https://www.loc.gov/resource/afc9999005.13245.0> Accessed: 1/2/2018 11:35]

¹²⁷ See Helene Stratman-Thomas Collection, University of Wisconsin Digital Collections [Available at: <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/wiarchives.uw-mus-mus001> Accessed: 11/4/2018 10:59]

¹²⁸ Harry B. Welliver, correspondence with Duncan Emrich, November 8th 1948, AFC 1950/038, Folder 1 of 3, University of Michigan Recording Project, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, and University of Michigan Recording Project.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, Harry B. Welliver, Data Sheet regarding Painesdale Cornish Singers, Record No. XI-A.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

The choir recorded five carols with piano and organ accompaniment. Welliver utilized data sheets that were essentially short surveys or questionnaires that captured particular information about the performers. Of this group, Welliver noted that ‘The music was in print [...] but songs were learned by rote and are now sung from memory’.¹³¹ He also recorded the printed texts that were used to accompany the choir; Thomas Merritt’s first set of six Christmas carols, and Stephen Nicholas’s set of four carols.

Fortunately for Grass Valley, the American focus of this investigation, the collection of folksong and folklore in California appears to have been especially attractive, perhaps due to the legacy of the gold rush and the variety of migrant groups that were drawn to mining camps during the gold rush. Hand visited Grass Valley in the early 1940s, and his collections resulted in two articles focusing on miners’ folklore above and below ground.¹³² While not his central focus, he does discuss the music cultures of the miners, within which the Cornish figure predominantly. Hand even discusses carols specifically, remarking that ‘between Thanksgiving until after Christmas, carols claimed chief interest’ and mentioning the Grass Valley Carol Choir.¹³³ However, it appears that the tradition of carol singing at the actual mine site was in decline: ‘the old custom of singing carols underground on Christmas Eve, which once flourished, is now not widely known’.¹³⁴ Hand suggests that this was locally recognized and that choir leader Harold J. George was attempting to revive the

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² Wayland D. Hand, ‘California Miners’ Folklore: Above Ground’, *California Folklore Quarterly*, *California Folklore Quarterly*, 1/1 (1942), pp. 24-46, and ‘California Miners’ Folklore: Below Ground’, *California Folklore Quarterly*, 1/2 (1942), pp. 127-153.

¹³³ Hand, ‘California Miners’ Folklore: Below Ground’, p. 152.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

practice with national radio broadcasts (which I discuss at length in Chapter 6).¹³⁵

Noting that the ‘carol singing on the main streets of Grass Valley by Welsh and Cornish groups goes on today as it has since the ‘fifties’, he suggested that folk singing in the mines was ‘a subject deserving special study’.¹³⁶

Duncan Emrich also collected in Grass Valley. Emrich was predominantly involved with the University of Michigan recording project. As a result of the publicity surrounding the first radio broadcast, Emrich and his wife paused in Grass Valley on Christmas day in 1940 to hear the carol broadcast and spent ‘several hours with director Harold George and members of the choir’.¹³⁷ However, his particular interest in mining songs meant that the opportunity to collect the Cornish carols was missed at this time, although:

[...] it happened, moreover, to be Christmas Day and his thoughts and those of other Cousin Jacks in 1940 were turned to the dark clouds over England and ‘... Christmas in the old home’. A sentiment deeper than any to be found in a mining ballad gripped Grass Valley Cousin Jacks on that day.¹³⁸

Describing Grass Valley as ‘one of the few remaining strongholds of the Cousin Jacks’, Emrich did not collect the carols himself - although he clearly recognized that the music cultures of mining communities extended beyond occupational songs and

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

¹³⁷ ‘Couple Study Music of West Mining Camps’, *The Morning Union* (Grass Valley, CA), 25/12/1940, p. 3.

¹³⁸ Duncan Emrich, ‘Songs of the Western Miners’, *California Folklore Quarterly*, 1/3 (1942), pp. 213-232 (p. 221).

ballads, and called for further scrutiny.¹³⁹ Grass Valley's music cultures had therefore attracted attention from folklorists and folk music collectors during the late 1930s and 1940s. Within this, the music cultures of the Cornish had been of sufficient note to recognise that there were distinct bodies of material worthy of investigation.

However, Emrich's call for further investigation in 1942 was not immediately followed up, and as I discuss in detail in Chapter 6, it appears that more than fifteen years elapsed before the carols were recorded for the National Folksong Archive.

The Grass Valley Carol Choir also attracted incidental attention from scholars of Cornish migration, becoming a focus of Cornish identity in America largely as a result of its visibility through the radio broadcasts. John Rowe remarked that 'the Cornish had a great reputation for singing almost everywhere that they went, it was greatest in Grass Valley [...] Just as earlier British immigrants preserved folksongs in the Appalachians long after they had been forgotten in Britain, so the choirs of Grass Valley and the chapels of Butte kept alive Christmas carols that were rarely heard in Cornwall after the end of the 19th century'.¹⁴⁰ A. L. Rowse, in *The Cornish In America* noted that the choir had 'won nationwide recognition with its broadcast from the two-thousand foot level of the Idaho-Maryland Mine', dejectedly adding: 'It appears that the choir is now coming to an end – as everything interesting is'.¹⁴¹ Alan M. Kent, who used the work of these scholars as a 'routemap' in his narrative account of the contemporary Cornish in America, visited Grass Valley after the revival of the choir in 1990. However, as a personal memoir, his narrative is also suffused with nostalgia and essentialism, evident in his appreciation of the choir's 'inherent

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

¹⁴⁰ Rowe, *The Hard Rock Men*, p. 276.

¹⁴¹ Rowse, *The Cornish In America*, pp. 257-8.

Cornishness’, and stating that ‘traditionally, the carols (or “curls”) and songs [...] were learnt by rote and passed down from one generation to the next’.¹⁴²

However, the most focused work on the carolling tradition is *When Miners Sang: The Grass Valley Carol Choir*, published in 2001 by local historian Gage McKinney. This is currently the only work focused on the carolling tradition in Grass Valley, and as such I will be referring to it throughout the thesis.¹⁴³ McKinney’s link with the choir is through his grandfather, who was raised in Grass Valley and worked at the Idaho-Maryland Mine alongside some of the carol singers; recollecting his childhood memories of the carol choir, he wrote that ‘I understood that the choir represented the heritage of a mining town, and recognized dimly that the carols reflected who I was’.¹⁴⁴ McKinney uses the choir and its activities as a lens through which to view the history of Grass Valley and its residents. McKinney’s research took place from 1997 to 2001, after the revival of the carol choir in 1990.¹⁴⁵ He draws on a range of sources, including historic local newspaper articles and interviews with participants, descendants and other tradition bearers, to present the history of the choirs from their earliest manifestations in the late 19th century, documenting the death and revival of the tradition of the carol choir in 1990. The resulting work traces the formation and activities of the early choirs of the town, the roles of particular individuals within the choirs, and associated local events and traditions. However, while he collected, or

¹⁴² Alan M. Kent, *Travels in Cornish America: Cousin Jack’s Mouth Organ* (St Austell: Cornish Hillside Publications, 2004), pp. 208-10.

¹⁴³ Gage McKinney, *When Miners Sang: The Grass Valley Carol Choir* (Grass Valley: Comstock Bonanza Press, 2001). McKinney has completed several volumes on the history of Grass Valley and its surroundings; see Gage McKinney, *The 1930s: No Depression Here* (Grass Valley: Comstock Bonanza Press, 2009), and *A High and Holy Place: A Mining Camp Church at New Almaden* (New Almaden: New Almaden County Quicksilver Park Association, 1997).

¹⁴⁴ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, p. xv.

¹⁴⁵ This was a late enough date that many of the carollers of the pre-revival tradition were already aging. Unfortunately for my own research, even with a gap of only fifteen years, many of these original voices have passed away.

gained access to, a wide variety of printed and manuscript music associated with the choir, there is no extended or detailed interrogation and analysis of the actual musical material.

2.4: Carols in Australia

In sharp contrast to the American context, the search for existing collections and analysis of Cornish traditions in Australia is all but completely unproductive in terms of published output. No extended scholarly examinations of the Cornish music cultures – carolling or otherwise – appear to exist. A lone ethnomusicological undergraduate project regarding the Cornish carols was completed at the Elder Conservatorium of Music in 1971 under the supervision of ethnomusicologist Catherine Ellis. Now held at the Barr-Smith Library at the University of Adelaide, the author interviewed singers and analysed some of the musical material, gaining some interesting insights from one particular performer.¹⁴⁶ However, the sole bibliographic reference is Oswald Pryor’s book of recollections and cartoons titled *Australia’s Little Cornwall*.¹⁴⁷ Pryor was a cartoonist and writer born of Cornish parents in Moonta, who lived and worked as a draftsman in the mines and grew up in the predominantly Cornish communities of Moonta Mines. While I focus on specific elements of his work in Chapter 7, he foregrounds the area’s carolling tradition as an important part of community culture. Focusing a chapter on ‘Carols, Bands and Choirs’, he describes, albeit briefly, carol composers and concerts, singing in

¹⁴⁶ ‘Folk Music Collected in Adelaide’, Department of Music, University of Adelaide, 1971, pp. 1600-1623, held at Special Collections, Barr Smith Library, University of Adelaide. Unfortunately, because it has not been possible to obtain the author’s consent, due to copyright restrictions it is impossible to quote directly from this manuscript.

¹⁴⁷ Oswald Pryor, *Australia’s Little Cornwall* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1962, republished Edwardstown: National Trust, 1989)

Methodist worship and funerals and brass banding as important aspects of life in Moonta. While Pryor's perspective of the carols could also be said to fall into the realm of local or public history, Payton and others note that Pryor's motive was to nurture and propagate 'Moonta's myth'; a bastion of Cornish identity with a legacy capable of enduring after the mines had closed. As I discuss further in Chapter 7, Payton notes that Pryor's work was seen to be so authoritative that later writers and local stakeholders adopted a 'surprisingly uncritical' acceptance of Pryor's perspective of Moonta.¹⁴⁸

In his work on the Copper Triangle, Payton also highlights the carols as an important element of Cornish culture. Referencing *The Christmas Welcome*, a locally published compilation of carols (which I examine in detail in Section 1 of my analysis), Payton remarks on the carolling tradition in Moonta in particular, stating that the community in the town had:

[...] kept up the Cornish 'caroling' tradition, singing the Cornish carols they had known at home but also participating in the great upsurge of carol writing that swept the Cornish transnational world in the second half of the 19th century and beyond.¹⁴⁹

Earlier in his career, Payton had also published a re-issue of *The Christmas Welcome*, a carol book published in the Copper Triangle during the late 19th century that I focus on significantly in Chapter 5. Taken in the relatively recent context of Truran and Pelmeur's publications of Cornish carols in Cornwall, he states that 'a distinctly Cornish form emerged', referencing the characteristics of, but not identifying the

¹⁴⁸ Payton, *Making Moonta*, pp. 201-2.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-5.

origins of, the fusing form discussed in this chapter.¹⁵⁰ Taking information from Pryor and others, he discusses the practices and events associated with the carols, noting the outdoor concerts and housevisiting customs. He also gives further detail regarding some of the particular personalities and composers mentioned by Pryor, highlighting the prevalence of musical culture in Moonta and elsewhere in the Copper Triangle. However, approaching the tradition as an historian rather than an ethnomusicologist, his discussion of the musical material is limited.

Other than these few sparse references, no other collection or scholarship focusing on Cornish material in general, or carols in particular, appears to exist in Australia. I suggest that this distinction is in part the result of the very different development of folk music scholarship between the USA and Australia. Intriguingly, Cecil Sharp was resident in Adelaide from 1882 to 1893; exactly at the time of the Cornish Association of South Australia's formation and promotion of Cornish carols.¹⁵¹ However, academic appraisal and investigation of folk song and folklore began considerably later in Australia than in other countries; as Dennis Coelho noted, 'no Child arose to codify and canonize. No Sharpe appeared to rediscover and inspire'.¹⁵² Further, in her 1984 survey of Australian musicological research, ethnomusicologist Margaret Kartomi noted that while American music research had been 'invigorated by a wave of émigré European musicologists as a result of the development of Fascism and World War II, no musicologists emigrated to Australia in the late nineteen thirties

¹⁵⁰ Payton, Preface, *Cornish Carols from Australia*, p. v.

¹⁵¹ Cecil James Sharp, Australian Dictionary of Biography website [Available at: <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/sharp-cecil-james-8400> Accessed: 14/4/2018 16.29]

¹⁵² Dennis Coelho, 'Australian Folksong Scholarship: Some Problems', *Folklore Forum* (Department of Folklore and Ethnomusicology, Indiana University), 4 (1971), pp. 68-84 (p. 69).

and the ‘forties’.¹⁵³ She suggests that as a result of this, serious Australian musicological research did not begin until the late 1960s and 1970s. When research and scholarly programmes did emerge during the 1960s, the performance of Cornish carols had waned significantly, and at this time, more emphasis was placed on Aboriginal music cultures, and the ‘bush ballads’ which had become archetypal of Australian vernacular culture.¹⁵⁴

In a similar manner to America, Australian vernacular musics developed from the cultures that arrived with predominantly European migrants during the 19th century. However, rather than ‘folksong’, the materials of Australian vernacular music cultures were defined early in the twentieth century as ‘bush ballads’. The reason for this distinction is not clear. It is possible that the epithet ‘folksong’ implied an antiquity that was not regarded as applicable due to Australia’s recent settlement. The phrase ‘bush ballads’ appeared as early as the 1860s with a series of poetic verses published in *The Sydney Morning Herald* by an unknown writer under the pseudonym ‘Sadac’. In 1870 A. L. Gordon published a booklet of *Bush Ballads and Galloping Rhymes*, which brought the term to a national audience.¹⁵⁵ However these early bush ballads appear to be more an evocative title for poetry, rather than as a reflection of the type and style of verses which now make up the genre.

A dissection of the phrase ‘bush ballad’ and its definitions is in order. Described in Stewart and Keesing’s collection as ‘a simple story of action, swift and direct in its movement, having even in its humourous moments a certain weight of the soil’, the

¹⁵³ Margaret J. Kartomi, ‘Musicological Research in Australia, 1979-84’, *Acta Musicologica*, 56/2 (1984), pp. 109-145 (p. 110).

¹⁵⁴ Elizabeth May, ‘Report from Australia’, *Ethnomusicology*, 10/2 (1966), pp. 199-202 (p. 200).

¹⁵⁵ Adam. L. Gordon, *Bush Ballads and Galloping Rhymes* (Melbourne: Clarson, Marina, 1870).

bush ballad is defined against the lyric or comic narrative verse.¹⁵⁶ The corpus appears to be well drawn together through a thematic focus on frontier culture and distinctly Australian occupations and experiences, including tales of convicts, incarceration and transportation, goldrush and pioneerism, bushrangers and swagmen, and drovers, shearers and stockmen. These popular tropes appeared during the late 19th and early twentieth centuries in the work of poets and journalists such as A. B. ‘Banjo’ Paterson, Will Lawson, and others whose evocative, if sentimental writing captured the Australian landscape and experience and was brought to a receptive audience through publication in newspapers such as the *Bulletin*.¹⁵⁷ This coincided with the 1901 federation of Australia’s six independently governed British colonies into the states of the Commonwealth of Australia. Australians were therefore reassessing their constitutional status and pondering a new nation-wide identity.

Russel Ward suggested that Australian writers during this time:

[...] wrought mightily to create a native tradition. Naturally they sought, more or less consciously, those aspects of Australian life which differed most strikingly from the manners and mores in Britain; and inevitably they found them in the outback.¹⁵⁸

Clement Simmons, in his appraisal of Paterson’s legacy, states that ‘a cultural upheaval was taking place and it was as if the nation was thirsting after its own literature’.¹⁵⁹ As such, the turn of the 19th century saw the birth of an Australian

¹⁵⁶ Douglas Stewart and Nancy Keesing, eds., *Australian Bush Ballads* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1955).

¹⁵⁷ Paterson allegedly collected bush songs and published them alongside his own verse in collections such as *Old Bush Songs*. Further work is needed with regard to authenticity and construction of identity in Paterson’s work.

¹⁵⁸ Russel Ward, ‘Felons and Folksongs’, *Meanjin*, 3 (1956), pp. 282-300 (p. 299).

¹⁵⁹ Clement Semmler, ed., *A. B. ‘Banjo’ Paterson: Bush ballads, Poems, Stories and Journalism* (Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1992), p. xvi.

national consciousness and character that was at least partially articulated within bush ballads. Crucially this character was thematically, if not constitutionally, distinct from Britain.¹⁶⁰

However, the 1950s saw a lively period of publication and recording of Australian folk material that must be recognised. Vance Palmer and Margaret Sutherland's *Old Australian Bush Ballads* appeared in 1950, noting that these ballads were 'no self-conscious posturing for an audience overseas; no nostalgic hankering for a world left behind, but the voice of a people immersed in the work of a country'.¹⁶¹ American folklorist John Greenway credits the singer Burl Ives' visit to Australia in 1952 and subsequent recordings with this 'stirring of interest' in Australian folk song.¹⁶²

Alongside Ives, A. L. Lloyd, the British folk music collector, recorded a number of albums of Australian material from 1954, although his methodology and considerable editing of the material has been recently questioned.¹⁶³ Other early printed collections included John Meredith's *Bandicoot Ballads* (1953)¹⁶⁴, Hugh Anderson's *Colonial Ballads* (1955) and *Goldrush Songster* (1958)¹⁶⁵, and Ron G. Edwards' *The Overlander Songbook* (1956).¹⁶⁶ These authors published prolifically, and were followed in the 1960s with further collections such as Lionel Long and Graham Jenkin's *Favourite Australian Bush Songs* (1964), and John Lahey's collection of

¹⁶⁰ Neville Meaney, 'Britishness and Australian Identity: The Problem of Nationalism in Australian History and Historiography', *Australian Historical Studies*, 32/116 (2001), pp. 76-90.

¹⁶¹ Vance Palmer and Margaret Sutherland, *Old Australian Bush Ballads* (Melbourne: Allan and Co., 1950).

¹⁶² John Greenway, 'Sammelreferat: Australian Folk Song', *Western Folklore*, 19/4 (1960), pp. 294-298 (p. 294).

¹⁶³ Graham Seal, 'A. L. Lloyd in Australia: Some Conclusions', *Folk Music Journal* 9/1 (2006), pp. 56-71.

¹⁶⁴ John Meredith, *Bandicoot Ballads* (Fern Tree Gully: The Ram's Skull Press, 1953).

¹⁶⁵ Hugh Anderson, *The Story of Australian Folksong* (New York: Oak Publications, 1962) [First edition titled *Colonial Ballads*] (Fern Tree Gully: Rams Skull Press) 1955; Hugh Anderson, *The Goldrush Songster* (Fern Tree Gully: Rams Skull Press, 1958).

¹⁶⁶ Ron G. Edwards, *The Overlander Songbook* (Fern Tree Gully: Ram's Skull Press, 1956).

Australian ballads.¹⁶⁷ Later scholarship began to position the corpus in relation to broader folk traditions and scholarship, developing a more critical analysis of the texts, sources, and collections of the material. Ward also examined the origins of this corpus, uncovering literary and printed sources for several songs and ballads that had appeared in earlier collections.¹⁶⁸ Ward shows how texts popularly regarded as ‘bush ballads’ had passed into folk or oral tradition from a variety of literary Australian and British sources. However, J. S. Manifold called for a broader and musicological appraisal of the material, suggesting that Ward’s predominantly literary approach to the texts undercut the variety of versions afforded by variant tunes and the ‘communal re-creation’ process.¹⁶⁹ In the main though, these publications appear to the modern reader to be more of a resource for learning and teaching rather than serious scholarship. Generally focusing their content on the Australian themes and experiences discussed above, other than the provision of the title, verses and usually a single-line air, with some supplementary information regarding history of the song, sources of collection, or the texts’ subject matter, little citation is evident.

However, a number of British and American academics were sharply critical of the quality of Australian folksong scholarship. American folklorist John Greenway was an early critic, quickly attacking both Anderson’s and Edwards’ publications during the 1950s as ‘unscholarly’, and considered that Australian folk song scholarship suffered from three institutional, cultural and ideological impediments.¹⁷⁰ First, folksong had ‘absolutely no academic status in Australia’, attracting ‘debilitating

¹⁶⁷ John Lahey, *Australian Favourite Ballads: 61 Traditional Songs of Australia, with Guitar Chords Compiled by John Lahey* (New York: Oak Publications, 1965).

¹⁶⁸ Russel Ward, ‘Australian Folk Ballads and Singers’, *Meanjin*, 3 (1954), pp. 363-380.

¹⁶⁹ John S. Manifold, ‘The Sung Ballad’, *Meanjin*, 1 (1955), pp. 111-114.

¹⁷⁰ John Greenway, ‘The State of Australian Folklore’, *Western Folklore*, 17/3 (1958), pp. 186-191 (p. 187).

contempt' from universities and upper-class Australians alike.¹⁷¹ Second, Australia's consumption of American culture and entertainment was eroding interest in 'the old ways'. Finally, he suggested that 'folksong collecting and publishing today is in the hands of the Communists', who 'manipulated' their material, and suggested that 'folksong [was] rewritten as Communist whinges'.¹⁷² While his Australian peers dismissed his writing as polemical and confusing, other scholars echoed Greenway's concerns regarding the quality of Australian material.¹⁷³ In his review of the Folklore Council of Australia's *Australian Folksongs of the Land and its People*, James P. Leary decried the state of Australian folk song publication stating that 'none have measured up to scholarly standards' and that the Council's volume 'disregards any mention of historical, contextual or comparative data'.¹⁷⁴ In her review of Anderson's *Colonial Ballads* Margaret Dean-Smith stated that there was 'very little indication that the author (or possibly the libraries he has consulted) knows much of the literature of folksong'.¹⁷⁵ Similarly, Philip Bohlman's review of Meredith and Covell's *Folksongs of Australia and the Men and Women who Sang Them* stated that it was difficult to find 'awareness of modern folk music scholarship' in the volume.¹⁷⁶ This attack on Australian folksong scholarship can hardly have encouraged new students in the field, although the small group of writers continued to work on collecting and publishing bush ballads.

¹⁷¹ Greenway, 'The State of Australian Folklore', pp. 189-90.

¹⁷² John Greenway, review of *Speewa: The Journal of the Australian Folklore Society; Singabout. The Magazine of the Bush Music Club; Bushwhacker Broadsides; Wattle Records*, in *The Journal of American Folklore*, 71/280 (1958), pp. 183-185 (p. 185). See also, 'The State of Australian Folklore, *Western Folklore*, 17/3 (1958), pp. 186-191 (pp. 189-90).

¹⁷³ Keith McKenry, *More Than a Life: John Meredith and the Fight for Australian Tradition* (Dural: Rosenberg Publishing, 2014).

¹⁷⁴ James P. Leary, review of *Australian Folksongs of the Land and its People* by Folklore Council of Australia, *Folklore Forum*, 9/1 (1976), p. 51.

¹⁷⁵ Margaret Dean-Smith, review of *Colonial Ballads* by Hugh Anderson, *Folklore*, 67/4 (1956), pp. 251-252.

¹⁷⁶ Philip V. Bohlman, review of *Folk Songs of Australia and the Men and Women Who Sang Them. Vol. 2*, by John Meredith, Roger Covell, *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung*, 35 (1990), pp. 191-193 (p. 193).

However, perhaps because of this consistent focus on ‘bush ballads’, relatively little work has attempted to uncover historic migrant musics in Australia. This is in stark opposition to the American case, in which the origins of texts and musical materials were linked back to English, Scottish, Irish and Welsh and materials in the UK. Australian music scholar Graeme Smith’s account of country and folk music in Australia discusses the musical impact of white Anglo-Celtic settlers, making this distinct from his account of the musics of non-British immigrants of the 1950s onwards.¹⁷⁷ Considering the focus of Australian folk song scholarship on material relating to Australian themes and bush life, it is hardly likely that Cornish Christmas carols would have attracted much attention from scholars in the mid-twentieth century, even if the genre had retained the popularity it had enjoyed around the turn of the century. However, recent work on folk music in Australia has begun to place historical migrant music cultures within the broader Australian canon. For example, Almut Boehme’s exploratory work into the early dissemination of Scottish music in Australia has yielded interesting avenues of research that could be productively applied to many migrant music cultures.¹⁷⁸ Interest in the music cultures of the Copper Triangle received recent stimulus; in May 2017 the Cornish Association of South Australia focused their biennial seminar on ‘Music: Another Side to Cornish Life’, at which I was invited to give a keynote speech regarding Cornish carol publication and performance in South Australia. Other presentations discussed Methodist hymnody, brass bands and choral ensembles. As such, the lacuna in this area is not the result of a lack of subject matter.

¹⁷⁷ Graeme Smith, *Singing Australian: A History of Country and Folk Music* (Melbourne: Pluto Press Australia, 2005), pp. 143-164.

¹⁷⁸ Almut Boehme, ‘An Initial Investigation into the Early Dissemination of Scottish Music in Australia’, *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 55/2 (2008), pp. 274-296.

The presence of Cornish carols in the diaspora has thus been recognized in both the USA and Australia. However, they were collected to very different extents in each location. Scholarly interest in Cornish music in the USA in the mid-twentieth century was encompassed within the broader remit of folklore collectors. Cornish material was therefore encountered across a range of states, primarily in the context of collecting material associated with mining folklore. In Grass Valley, as elsewhere, collectors such as Hand and Emrich encountered Cornish musical materials, including carols, whilst on the hunt for other aspects of folk culture such as superstitions and ballads. However, in complete contrast to the American context, while Cornish carols have been recognised by Payton in his own treatment of Cornish migrants in South Australia, Cornish carols in Australia have received little scholarly attention from any academic field. It must be said that 20th century folksong scholars in both countries adopted a similar collecting stance: the capture of music associated with particular strands of national identity. However, migrant music appears to have been recognised as an important element in the USA, whereas in Australia, folksong scholarship appears to have focused on the identification of Australian, autochthonic folk material. In both cases however, beyond the recognition and collection I have discussed here, the carols as both musical materials and musical cultures have gone largely unexamined.

Conclusions

Within the broader genre of Christmas carols then, Cornish collectors and material occupied an important role in the initial documentation and revival of British carol

repertoires during the 19th century. However, I consider that the relatively late retention of the fugging form and house-visiting customs in Cornwall resulted in the maintenance of a carolling tradition that became Cornish by association, rather than through the separate development of a specifically Cornish tradition. This tenacity resulted in the transfer of these materials and practices to Cornish diasporic communities during the 19th century, which received stimulation due to the concomitant upsurge in publication discussed in this chapter. However, I consider that for Cornish migration scholars, and folklorists and collectors, it appears to have been enough to recognise and reference that carols and other cultural materials were transported to diasporic locations, presenting them as evidence of an enduring Cornish identity in diasporic communities without deeply addressing either the music itself of the socio-cultural narratives surrounding it.

As such, little targeted or in-depth investigation has addressed the identification and analysis of the carols as cultural phenomena evident in Cornish communities overseas. The carolling tradition of the Copper Triangle has not received any significant attention or analysis, while McKinney's account of the Grass Valley tradition, although painstakingly researched, does not investigate the musical materials in any depth, or apply a theoretical framework to aid an analysis of how the tradition deployment feeds into the notions of Cornish heritage that are celebrated in the town. With regard to this investigation then, a thorough engagement with heritage theory is necessary, and as such the following chapter examines the theoretical and methodological frameworks I employ to draw out the issues emerging in my analysis.

Chapter 3: Carols as Heritage: Theory and Method

Introduction

At the turn of the 19th century, carols were viewed as a niche yet valuable and disappearing musical form; in his collection of *English Folk Carols*, Sharp considered them ‘a national heritage of inestimable worth’.¹ Cornish composers and collectors such as Robert Hainsworth Heath were evidently desirous of ‘preserving’ and ‘developing’ what they saw as a locally popular but increasingly endangered repertoire that might ‘die out’ and be lost forever. This perspective appears to have been disseminated widely; in an article discussing ‘Old Cornish Carols: Their Origins and Composers’ in 1917, William Tangye of Redruth stated that:

The chords are Cornish, the peculiar style is Cornish, and the inner carol impression and charm are Cornish. It behoves all Cornish people, whether young or old, at home or abroad, never to let their ancient heritage lapse, but to mark every Christmas season by perpetuating the old custom of carol chanting, remembering also the old musicians whose joy it was to compose Christmas music to celebrate the wonderful advent of the Messiah and the Prince of Peace.²

During the 19th and early twentieth centuries then, Cornish carols were conceptualised as an historic inheritance from previous generations to be valued and preserved both at home and abroad. Here, I argue that these emerging themes of historicity, inheritance, value and identity coalesce in the concept of heritage.

¹ Sharp, *English Folk Carols*, p. xiv.

² Tangye, ‘Old Cornish Carols. Their Origin and Composers’, no page number.

As discussed in my opening chapter, I had initially thought that my thesis would address the construction of Cornish identity through carol performance, examining how the carols became Cornish, rather than other Cornish music cultures (such as brass bands or choral singing). However, I consider that that this diachronic inscription of identities through socio-cultural processes is more productively approached through engaging with the carolling traditions as products of heritage formation.

With this in mind, this chapter explores the concept of heritage, its position in ethnomusicological scholarship, its application in this thesis, and the methodologies I employ in my investigation. I first explore definitions of the term heritage, identifying tensions and contestations and distilling the key elements that coalesce in the concept. Next, I discuss notions of heritage in extant ethnomusicological scholarship. In particular, I examine perspectives of the distinction between heritage and traditional music, drawing out the conceptual overlap and difference between the two terms. Drawing on Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's essay 'Theorizing Heritage', I then set out how the concept of heritage as a process informs my theoretical stance in this thesis. Finally, I discuss the methodologies I employ in my enquiry to draw out these issues, showing how the varieties of field sites I examine require the analysis of different sources and materials.

3.1: Defining Heritage and its Studies

In order to interrogate and understand the Cornish carol tradition as an expression of heritage, an examination of what is meant by heritage and the ways in which it is

studied is necessary.³ Defining heritage however is a complex endeavour. Defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as ‘that which has been or may be inherited; any property, and esp. land, which devolves by right of inheritance’, heritage appears attached to a wide variety of premodifiers.⁴ As social and cultural actors, while at work or play, and as producers and consumers, we are likely to encounter cultural heritage, national heritage, regional heritage, local heritage, community heritage, industrial heritage, natural heritage, institutional heritage and brand heritage – to name but a few – on a daily basis. Our everyday familiarity with the term breeds, if not contempt, then complacency regarding the conceptual breadth and depth of the term, and belies the contradictions and contestations it covers. Historic England, the public body that administers and protects England’s historic environment, defines heritage as ‘all inherited resources which people value for reasons beyond mere utility’.⁵ This succinct and apt description covers the accessible but essentially surface level understanding that heritage describes elements of the past that people value in the present. However, it also highlights at the outset some of the broader issues at play in the concept of heritage: the notion of inheritance, types of resource, human engagement, the ascription and inscription of value, and the nature of those values.

Broadly speaking then, heritage is best understood as an abstract socio-cultural value or quality ascribed to cultural artefacts – whether physical or intangible – through human engagement over time. These artefacts are usually ‘inherited’ from the past,

³ Although I am aware that academic discourse regarding heritage is by no means restricted to English language scholarship, my own language proficiencies dictate that this chapter focuses on English language scholarship regarding heritage.

⁴ ‘Heritage, n.’, *OED Online*, Oxford University Press website [Available at: <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/86230?rskey=Bvq7Jj&result=1&isAdvanced=false> Accessed: 30/8/2016 12:19]

⁵ ‘Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance’, Heritage England website [Available at: <https://content.historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/conservation-principles-sustainable-management-historic-environment/conservationprinciplespoliciesguidanceapr08web.pdf/> Accessed: 26/9/2016 11:47]

‘valued’ in the present, and may be ‘preserved’ for the future. The study of heritage therefore concerns the presence, production and consumption of the past in the present. Heritage studies, like ethnomusicology, is thus interdisciplinary in nature due to the wide variety of forms a heritage artefact may take and the cognate academic fields it draws upon. However, while heritage is most closely linked with the study of history, the relationship between the two disciplines has been troubled. While the study of heritage itself may be traced back to 18th century antiquarianism and romantic nationalism, contemporary historians initially viewed the twentieth century growth of the heritage industry with suspicion and scepticism.⁶ For some historians, heritage was seen as ‘a consolatory myth, entropy in holiday dress; it was the tourist industry’s answer to secular economic decay’.⁷ The popularising of historical material for cultural consumption and, often, economic benefit, was not seen as a progressive or nuanced mode of cultural expression or academic enquiry; instead, it was seen as a commodification and sanitization of the past. Indeed, Robert Hewison described heritage as a ‘condition which afflicts us’ and contended that ‘the growth of heritage culture has led not only to a distortion of the past, but to a stifling of the culture of the present’.⁸

However, later commentators sought to counteract this pessimistic attitude and the elitism it reflected within the academy itself. Commentators such as Raphael Samuels called for a recognition that ‘history is the work of a thousand different hands’, resituating the ‘invisible hands’ and ‘unknown knowledge’ that construct our

⁶ Roger D. Abrahams, ‘Phantoms of Romantic Nationalism in Folkloristics’ *The Journal of American Folklore*, 106/419 (1993), pp. 3-37.

⁷ Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory, Vol. 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London: Verso, 1994), p. 362.

⁸ Robert Hewison, *The Heritage Industry* (London: Methuen, 1987), pp. 10-11.

knowledge and understanding of history.⁹ Others, such as David Lowenthal, felt that ‘history explores and explains pasts grown ever more opaque over time; heritage clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purposes’.¹⁰ More positively, Paul Sant Cassia suggests that ‘history as scholarly activity can be seen as the means of production of knowledge about the past, and heritage as celebratory activity can be seen as the means of consumption of that historical knowledge’.¹¹ This was part of a shift away from hegemonic discourses regarding national heritage and identity, and an increased focus on ‘vernacular’ heritage that gave voice to the range of experiences and identities not reflected at a national level. Contemporary scholarship in heritage studies is therefore moving further away from mid-twentieth century studies of conservation and visitor management, and has begun to question the narratives of nationalism and critically reflect on approaches to the study, consumption and production of heritage in order to better understand its uses and actions within social, cultural and political life.¹²

In any case, heritage remains a global growth industry, within which its dualistic position as both education and entertainment lies at the heart of the tension between heritage and history as academic disciplines and modes of enquiry. Malcolm Foley and Gayle McPherson address this in their challenge to the view of museums as places of education, arguing that they are also sites of recreation and leisure.¹³ They posit that in their early incarnations, ‘culture was not so much shared or learned, but

⁹ Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory, Vol. 1*, p. 18.

¹⁰ David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (UK: Viking, 1997), p. xi.

¹¹ Paul Sant Cassia, ‘Tradition, Tourism and Memory in Malta’, *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 5/2 (1999), pp. 247-263 (p. 260).

¹² Emma Waterton and Steve Watson, ‘Framing Theory: Towards a Critical Imagination in Heritage Studies’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19/6 (2013) pp. 546-561.

¹³ Malcolm Foley and Gayle McPherson, ‘Museums as Leisure’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 6/2 (2000), pp. 161-174.

initially used as a means of excluding the masses and later of imposing the cultural values of an hereditary aristocracy upon the working-class population'.¹⁴ However, as museums and heritage sites fight to attract visitors in order to justify their existence and financial support, they must take on the managerial and commercial responsibilities and policies necessary to do so.¹⁵ Here, issues of the operation of heritage in relation to authenticity, ownership and identity are crystallised.

The overriding association of heritage with economic leverage and tourism results in some of the anxiety around the manipulation and commercialisation of traditional materials in order to maximise economic benefit. In museum and other heritage settings, traditional materials or practices may be repositioned, recontextualized or manipulated in a manner that distorts their original purposes, thus calling into question the authenticity or legitimacy. This leads into a second issue, namely the contestations of ownership that may occur when tradition is reconceptualised as heritage. As I discuss, heritages of discourse have commonly been articulated from the top down, articulated through and for national frameworks utilising national or international legal bodies and instruments. However, this disenfranchises those who do not fit or subscribe to these national identities. Here, the perspectives of originating culture bearers may be eroded in presentations of national contexts, thus obscuring their claim to ownership or right to establish authenticity of cultural products that have been repositioned as heritage or within heritage contexts.

This major focus on national heritage has been in no small way encouraged and maintained by the development of international legal instruments to identify and

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 164-165.

protect heritage. During the post-war years, UNESCO developed the Hague Convention that was designed to protect cultural property in times of conflict.¹⁶ Further, Janet Blake suggests that during the 1970s, the convention ‘embodied an approach to cultural property that might be characterised as “nationalist” or “statist”, whereby the interest of the State of origin (often in the developing world) should be paramount’.¹⁷ However, as heritage tourism gained traction as a global growth industry, Nezar Alsayyad succinctly posits that nationalistic projects utilising heritage began to give way to economic ones:

In this global era, the consumption of tradition as a form of cultural demand, and the manufacture of heritage as a field of commercial supply are two sides of the same coin. And many countries are now actively inventing or recreating their own heritage, and using tourist revenues to do so. Their design agenda therefore has two components; one politically self-serving; the other economically sustaining.¹⁸

Heritage can therefore serve to locate an imagined community in a variety of senses; geographically, socially, culturally, and politically.¹⁹

How though, does heritage operate when the community in question, imagined or otherwise, exists at anything other than a national level? As we have seen, while dialogues of heritage were predominantly situated and articulated at national or international level during the twentieth century, as we move forward into the twenty-

¹⁶ Janet Blake, ‘On Defining The Cultural Heritage’, *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 49/1 (2000), pp. 61-85 (p. 61).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

¹⁸ Nezar Alsayyad, ‘Prologue’, in Alsayyad, ed., *Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism: Manufacturing Heritage, Consuming Tradition* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), pp. 1-33, p. 15.

¹⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (London: Verso, 1983).

first century, groups that exist at sub-, extra-, inter- or intra-national levels are increasingly asserting cultural identity through the recognition, protection and promotion of their heritage. These include those belonging to stateless nations, indigenous peoples in post-colonial nations, regional groups within nation states, ethnic and or other groups that exist across national borders, and diasporic communities that exist as minorities in destination cultures. Even smaller groups than these may assert their heritages; it is internationally common to see town 'heritage trails' that promote and display intensely local conceptions of heritage. This has enabled the recognition of groups who have been marginalised (for whatever reason; geographical, religious, social, political etc.) from broader socio-cultural groups, and the opening up of a conceptual space within which to consolidate and articulate their heritages. Indeed, one of the ways in which such groups may commonly experience marginalisation is through their invisibility in broader, national discourses and promotions of heritage.

To counteract this, Iain J. Robertson calls for an approach to 'heritage from below' in his edited volume of the same name.²⁰ He argues that groups such as those described above do engage in heritage processes and practices, that these may express counter-hegemonic projects and thoughts, and further, that recognition of these groups and processes in heritage studies is necessary to counteract 'the nationalist, top-down, commercial and tourism-focused perspectives of the mainstream manifestations of heritage that together constitute a hegemonic discourse'.²¹ Thus, examinations of heritage from below enable the contestation of what Laurajane Smith has called 'authorised heritage discourse' (AHD), which:

²⁰ Iain J. Robertson, ed., *Heritage From Below* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

²¹ Robertson, 'Introduction', *Heritage From Below*, p. 1.

[...] focuses attention on aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that current generations 'must' care for and revere so that they may be passed down to nebulous future generations for their 'education', and to forge a sense of common identity with the past.²²

Smith argues that the AHD defines expert, elite spokespersons for the past, reduces the ability of heritage to be utilised in present purposes and arenas, and undercuts sub-national, non-elite, marginal and subaltern heritages.²³ She contends that heritage must not only be approached as a socio-cultural process in which producers and consumers are active participants in inscription of meaning, but must also be interrogated as a hegemonic discourse that privileges Western, assimilationist perspectives and narratives and 'acts to constitute the way we think, talk and write about heritage'.²⁴ Smith's key challenge to monolithic conceptions of heritage therefore encourages further scholarly engagement with counter-hegemonic heritage practices and discourses, hopefully increasing the visibility of marginalised groups and their production and engagement with their past in their present.

Within Robertson's volume then, writers from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds address how unsanctioned, unfunded, problematic and unrecognised heritages are developed and performed. The chapters cover a wide range of geographical locations and conceptual spaces; from the student rites of Scottish universities, to the conflicting cultural perspectives of the dead body, to the issues surrounding the heritagization of the British slave trade. However, each confirms that discourses about

²² Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), p. 29.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-35.

heritage may emerge from the inhabitants of non-elite spaces and places. Notable here is Elisabeth Skinner, in her chapter titled ‘Intimate Knowledge: Defining Heritage from the Inside’ about the village of Sheepscombe in Gloucestershire.²⁵ Here, the village and its built and natural environments were filled with meaning not only for older and established members of the community, but also incoming residents who wished to engage with their location on its own terms. Such a tightly geographically focused concern with heritage at a local level clearly supports Robertson’s position that ‘it is in the local context that the relationship between heritage and identity establishment and maintenance has been most meaningful’.²⁶

This refocusing of attention is particularly important for diasporic communities, who are in many cases minority or marginal groups whose expressions of identity and culture must exist in relation to a dominant majority culture. It is at least partially due to its intangible nature and therefore ease of transportation that music is an important means of performing and asserting identity in diasporic contexts. Further, the cultural heritages of minority and migrant identities offer a counterpoint to the discourses focusing on hegemonic, national level top-down identities and heritages. In this sense, the diasporic setting of my research is particularly apt for interrogation through heritage theory. As I discussed in Chapter 1, in Grass Valley and Moonta, Cornish migrants settled in large enough numbers to transport Cornish cultural material to their new locations. However, in both contexts – British colonial Australia and the USA – they remained, as they were in their sending cultures, minorities.

²⁵ Elisabeth Skinner, ‘Intimate Knowledge: Defining Heritage from the Inside’, *Heritage From Below*, pp. 109-124 (p. 121).

²⁶ Robertson, ‘Introduction’, *Heritage From Below*, p. 6.

In their introduction to *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, Brian Graham and Peter Howard state that ‘global networks have diminished the importance of place and traditions, ruptured boundaries and created hybrid, inbetween places’.²⁷ However, an alternative perspective might be that within new socio-cultural contexts afforded in the destination culture, the assertion of identity and difference – whether through music culture, religion, or other socio-cultural phenomena – may become more important than ever. Further, new contexts may offer opportunities for this vocalisation that did not exist in sending cultures. As Robin S. Cohen has commented in relation to the British imperial labour diaspora:

Like other diasporic communities, exaggerated mannerisms and demonstrations of patriotism often made the British abroad more British than the British at home. The exaggeration of metropolitan manners, particularly in the case of the English, but not forgetting instances like the ‘kilt culture’ of the overseas Scots, derived directly from the imperial heritage – the heritage of the quasi-aristocratic rule over ‘the natives’.²⁸

As I go on to show in Chapters 6 and 7, while this was certainly the case for the Cornish in South Australia, it is observed to a much lesser extent in the USA. This discrepancy may be attributed to the different ways in which settler identities developed in each area. Roy Jones and Christina Birdsall-Jones discuss notions of heritage and identity within colonial and post-colonial contexts, stating that ‘The United States, famously, has for long based its settler nationalism in the struggle between Native Americans and white (cowboy) Americans. In Australia, settler

²⁷ Brian Graham and Peter Howard, ‘Introduction: Heritage and Identity’, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 7.

²⁸ Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, p. 77.

nationalism took no account of indigenous presence at all'.²⁹ Minority identities then, operate differently in different socio-cultural contexts, and indeed within post-colonial contexts, the cultural attributes of minorities may be particularly prone to contestation.

With these issues in mind, heritage is emerging as a priority area in both research funding and policy making in the UK and elsewhere.³⁰ In conjunction, perceptions, preservations, and policies relating to heritage are becoming more and more subject to academic critique and interrogation. Here, the developing discipline of 'critical heritage' aims to address the operations and challenges of heritage in the present and the future, going beyond the preservation and conservation of physical material and toward an engagement with the entangled social, cultural, economic and political impacts of heritage. Identifying this disjunction between the professional heritage sector and the academic discipline of heritage studies, sociologist Tim Winters is cautious that 'much of the work today being produced under the banner of critical heritage is about criticising professional practice and organisations'.³¹ Instead, he argues for a 'post-western perspective' that actively seeks to address the range of issues and arenas that heritage makes its presence known in.³² With this in mind, the perennial issues of tradition and continuity, combined with the geographical and cultural breadth of musical environments addressed by ethnomusicologists, would imply the likelihood of a productive engagement between critical heritage and

²⁹ Roy Jones and Christina Birdsall-Jones, 'The Contestation of Heritage: The Colonizer and the Colonized in Australia', *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, pp. 365-380 (p. 366).

³⁰ See 'Heritage Research', Arts and Humanities Research Council website [Available at: <https://ahrc.ukri.org/innovation/heritage-research/> Accessed: 4/6/2018 16:47]

³¹ Tim Winter, 'Clarifying the Political in Heritage Studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19/6 (2013), pp. 523-545 (p. 533).

³² *Ibid.*, p. 542.

ethnomusicology as disciplines. However, a census of members of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies indicated that music studies were not well represented in the cohort of scholars examining critical heritage.³³

Heritage is therefore an abstract value assigned to sites, objects and cultural practices, and is clearly subject to much conceptual and practical contestation. Its cross-disciplinary nature gives rise to the discussion of heritage not only across the arts and humanities spectrum, but also within developing fields such as dedicated heritage studies, and allied disciplines such as museology. With this in mind I now turn to the position of heritage in ethnomusicological scholarship, a discipline characterised by its focus on ‘traditional’ music.

3.2: Heritage in Ethnomusicology

Ethnomusicology, as an anthropology of music, has been characterised by its focus on traditional music cultures since its emergence from European comparative musicology in the early twentieth century. Collectors, composers and academics of this time, such as Béla Bartók, Curt Sachs, Ernest von Hornbostel, sought to capture, analyse and categorise the vernacular musics of European national and ethnic groups (amongst others), positing distinctions between groups of peoples and performers based on their music cultures as well as along linguistic or ethnic lines. In many cases, such folk or traditional musics were valorised in the national projects of the early twentieth century, and were positioned as a repository from which ‘pure’ forms of

³³ ‘What Is Critical Heritage Studies and How Does It Incorporate the Discipline of History?’, Conserving the Human Environment website, [Available at: <http://heritagestudies.org/index.php/2017/06/28/what-is-critical-heritage-studies-and-how-does-it-incorporate-the-discipline-of-history/> Accessed: 4/6/2018 12:04]

national cultures could be distilled.³⁴ As such, traditional musics were employed in nationalistic projects in order to validate a communally imagined ‘destiny and [...] heritage rooted in an immemorial past’.³⁵

However, there were both immediate and latent socio-cultural corollaries to this development. First, such essentialising narratives served to oversimplify and homogenise cultural groups; later commentators considered that this myopic focus on the comparison of musical structures between cultures was ‘both premature and dangerous’.³⁶ Second, the homogenizing dialogue of national heritage failed to account for heterogeneities within the nation itself; as Peter Wade argues, ‘the attempt to present the nation as a unified homogenous whole conflicts directly with the maintenance of hierarchies of class and structure’.³⁷ This latter consequence has resulted in the exclusion of non-national narratives from heritage presentations and discourse; as Ian Biddle and Vanessa Knights have argued, ‘the re-territorialization of local heterogeneous musics to nationalist ends has often signalled the death or near fatal displacement of regional identities’.³⁸ Ethno-musicology, coined by Jaap Kunst in 1950 as a replacement title for the discipline, sought to remedy these issues.³⁹

While issues of national identity are perennial, much contemporary ethnomusicological research examines music cultures that exist below, outside or

³⁴ See David Cooper, ‘Béla Bartók and the Question of Race Purity in Music’, in Harry White and Michael Murphy, eds, *Musical Constructions of Nationalism: Essays on the History and Ideology of European Musical Culture 1800-1945* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2001), pp. 16-32.

³⁵ Ana María Alonso, ‘The Politics of Space, Time and Substance: State Formation, Nationalism and Ethnicity’, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 23 (1994), pp. 379-405 (p. 387).

³⁶ Alan Merriam, ‘Definitions of “Comparative Musicology” and “Ethnomusicology”’: An Historical-Theoretical Perspective’, *Ethnomusicology*, 21/2 (1977), pp. 189-204 (p. 194).

³⁷ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 5, challenged by Peter Wade, *Music, Race and Nation: Música Tropical in Colombia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 5.

³⁸ Ian Biddle and Vanessa Knights, ‘Introduction’, in Ian Biddle and Vanessa Knights, eds, *Music, National Identity and the Politics of Location: Between the Global and the Local* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 12.

³⁹ See Jaap Kunst, *Musicologica: A Study of the Nature of Ethno-musicology, its Problems, Methods, and Representative Personalities* (Amsterdam: Indisch Instituut, 1950).

otherwise beyond national levels, including international, transnational, intra-national, regional, and other subaltern or marginal musics.⁴⁰

With this in mind, issues of ownership, identity and authenticity are all played out at the intersection between heritage and ethnomusicology. It is worth noting that despite an increasing interest in heritage from a musicological perspective, music has not received the same level of scrutiny in heritage studies. Some attention has been paid to the effect of music in museum settings by museologists; in his 1994 paper, Robert Webb examines the effect on the mood of museum visitors. Drawing on the techniques utilised by market researchers to analyse consumer behaviour, he avers that ‘music does its work regardless of whether the setting is a museum or a store. The task wherever it is used is the same, namely, to make the effect of the music contribute to the goal of the space, whether it is to sell trinkets or to communicate an important historical message’.⁴¹ This approach to music in heritage settings continues in contemporary scholarship.⁴² However, ethnomusicologists are now examining how music may act as an articulation of heritage itself, going beyond how music functions within a heritage setting. One emergent area of enquiry has been the heritage of popular music in relation to urban geography and identity.⁴³ Further, Barley Norton

⁴⁰ Carole Pegg, ‘Ethnomusicology’, Grove Music Online website [Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.52178> Accessed: 13/4/2018 10:34]

⁴¹ Robert Webb, ‘Music, Mood, and Museums: A Review of the Consumer Literature on Background Music’, *Visitor Studies*, 8/2 (1995), pp.15-29 (pp. 15-16).

⁴² See for example, Brianna Brenner, *Does Music Matter to Museum Visitors?*, Unpublished MA thesis, University of Washington, 2016.

⁴³ See for example, Sara Cohen, ‘Country at the Heart of the City: Music, Heritage, and Regeneration in Liverpool’, *Ethnomusicology*, 49/1 (2005), pp. 25-48, and Les Roberts and Sara Cohen, ‘Unauthorising Popular Music Heritage: Outline of a Critical Framework’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 20/3 (2013), pp. 241-261.

and Naomi Matsumoto's forthcoming edition of essays concerns historical and ethnographic perspectives on music and heritage.⁴⁴

However, many recent ethnomusicological examinations of music as heritage have approached music cultures as intangible cultural heritage. The concept of intangible heritage is clearly of great relevance to ethnomusicology due to the disembodied and transitory nature of musical performance, and scholars are therefore developing their focus on the ways in which music cultures become, or are regarded as intangible heritage. The position of music cultures as loci of heritage has been bolstered significantly in recent years by UNESCO's recognition of the need to protect intangible cultural heritages. Drafted in 2003 and implemented in 2006, the directive aims to recognise and protect elements of culture that are not physically embodied. Unlike monuments or landscapes which under favourable circumstances may endure without conservation or preservation, intangible heritages such as music depend on their continued use to survive, and are therefore more at risk of disappearing as cultures change and adapt. Such cultural artefacts include 'oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts'; significantly expanding UNESCO's remit from physical sites of cultural, scientific or historic interest.⁴⁵

Recently, Keith Howard's edited volume *Music as Intangible Cultural Heritage* addresses issues pertaining to intangible heritage in Asian contexts, suggesting that

⁴⁴ Barley Norton and Naomi Matsumoto, eds., *Music as Heritage: Historical and Ethnographic Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2017).

⁴⁵ 'What Is Intangible Cultural Heritage?', UNESCO website [Available at: <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003> Accessed: 14/4/2018 16:45]

‘top-down approaches have dominated the intangible cultural heritage discourse in East Asia’.⁴⁶ Howard addresses the scholarly activities of documenting and archiving and their ability to ‘shift ownership, thereby devaluing the economic and social stakes of the people who create or produce the intangible heritage’.⁴⁷ While this volume particularly concentrates on the institutional processes of recognising heritage, he emphasises that ‘harnessing local ownership and the enthusiasm of local consumers is to many folklorists considered an unassailable democratic principle’.⁴⁸ Further, Matthew Machin-Autenreith’s recent volume regarding the regionalisation of in Southern Spanish region of Andalusia explores how the genre’s institutionalisation as intangible cultural heritage impacts on geographically dispersed performing communities.⁴⁹

However, scholars are beginning to explore the relationship between tradition and heritage. The two terms are conceptually interrelated; as Owe Ronström notes, ‘both are produced from things past – memories, experiences, historical leftovers. Both promise things in danger of disappearing [...] They operate on the same markets and are rationalized and legitimized in much the same way’.⁵⁰ However, debate surrounding the two terms indicates that conceptually, ‘tradition’ and music ‘heritage’ may operate quite differently and within different contexts. Mark Slobin, in his book *Fiddler On The Move*, suggests that klezmer is heritage music, rather than traditional music, identifying a typology of heritage musics that covers national, exotic,

⁴⁶ Keith Howard, ‘Introduction’, in Keith Howard, ed., *Music as Intangible Cultural Heritage: Policy, Ideology and Practice in the Preservation of East Asian Traditions* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 6.

⁴⁷ Howard, ‘Introduction’, *Music as Intangible Cultural Heritage*, p. 5, quoting Ahmed Skounti, ‘The Authentic Illusion’ in Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, eds., *Intangible Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 74-92.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁴⁹ Matthew Machin-Autenreith, *Flamenco, Regionalism and Musical Heritage in Southern Spain* (London: Routledge, 2017).

⁵⁰ Owe Rondström, ‘Traditional Music, Heritage Music’, in Juniper Hill and Catherine Bithell, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Music Revival* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 43-59 (p. 52).

diasporic, postdiasporic/rediasporic, and traditional transnational categories.⁵¹ He examines the situation of klezmer within each category in order to draw out some of the historical, cultural, political and geographic issues at play in the broader genre. However, it is not initially clear whether he considers that there is any distinction to be made between heritage and traditional musics. Slobin suggests that heritage is ‘a convenient umbrella term’ that ‘replaces older terms now thought of as problematic’ suggesting that ‘a prominent victim is the word “traditional”’.⁵² Slobin regards the term ‘heritage’ as a crutch that ‘helps people avoid sensitive terms like ethnicity and minority, which overlap it’.⁵³ Here, Slobin predominantly positions heritage as ‘cultural currency’ that is largely deployed for economic gain in tourism contexts, although it can also be utilised as ‘an instant patina to brush onto any mundane category’.⁵⁴ However, I suggest that this definition of heritage music is rather shallow and that the terms ‘heritage’ and ‘traditional’ are not interchangeable.

In his discussion, Slobin quotes Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s conception of ‘heritage music’, within which it is clear that for her, heritage does not simply pick up where tradition leaves off. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s full quote is as follows: ‘I use the term “heritage music” to distinguish between music that is part and parcel of a way of life and music that has been singled out for preservation, protection, enshrinement and revival – in a word, heritage music’.⁵⁵ Here, the way in which heritage and tradition are distinguished is much more obvious: Kirshenblatt-Gimblett draws on Robert Cantwell’s argument that ‘many kinds of other musics that at other periods had been

⁵¹ Mark Slobin, *Fiddler on the Move: Exploring the Klezmer World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁵⁵ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, ‘Sounds of Sensibility’, *Judaism*, 47/1 (1998), pp. 49-78 (p. 51) (*my italics*).

commercially performed and recorded [...] came to be regarded as folk music and enjoyed a revival on that basis'.⁵⁶ For Cantwell and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett then, heritage in musical contexts is linked with musical revivals.

This position of heritage within music cultures has been recently examined in the *Oxford Handbook of Music Revivals*, edited by Catherine Bithell and Juniper Hill. Revivals offer a clear locus within which cultural actors engage with concepts of heritage lost, found (recovered or rediscovered) and in need of reinstatement. Musical revivals have seen considerable interest in ethnomusicology. In particular, Tamara E. Livingstone has theorized musical revivals as predominantly middle-class phenomena serving two main functions: '(1) to serve as cultural opposition and as an alternative to mainstream culture and, (2) to improve existing culture through the values based on historical value and authenticity expressed by revivalists'.⁵⁷ However, the examples Livingstone utilises to support her formulations are in general the broad, national revivals of genres and instrumental traditions: Sharp's impact on English folk, the Lomax and Seeger families in American folk, and Statman and Feldman in the klezmer scene. She posits that 'revivalist communities are non-territorial; their membership may span local and national boundaries, and they often bring together people whose paths might never have crossed outside the revival'.⁵⁸ Thus, Livingstone's model does not attempt to account for the revivals of geographically or socio-culturally specific traditions or events such as the Cornish carolling traditions in Grass Valley and Moonta.

⁵⁶ Robert Cantwell, 'When We Were Good: Class and Culture in the Folk Revival', in Neil Rosenberg, ed., *Transforming Tradition: Folk Music Revivals Considered* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), p. 36, cited in Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 'Sounds of Sensibility', p. 51.

⁵⁷ Tamara E. Livingstone, 'Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory', *Ethnomusicology*, 43/1 (1999), pp. 66-85 (p. 68), and 'An Expanded Theory For Revivals as Cosmopolitan Participatory Music Making', *The Oxford Handbook of Music Revivals*, pp. 60-72.

⁵⁸ Livingstone, 'Music Revivals', pp. 70-1, p. 72.

Neither does Livingston's approach engage with the difference between revivals and re-enactments. This is a crucial distinction in my own study, since as I show in Chapters 8 and 9, although contemporary carolling performances of Cornish carols in both locations are both self-conscious displays of heritage, when parsed at a theoretical level, they take very different forms and articulate very different perspectives of, and relationships with, the past practices they reference. Grass Valley's carolling tradition has been revived, whereas Moonta's carols are explicitly promoted as a re-enactment. Here, Niall MacKinnon's examination of the two concepts provides a useful examination of the distinctions between the two modes of performance.⁵⁹ He suggests that revival and re-enactment structure and perform the relationship between the present and the past in considerably different ways. Taking the performance of a Morris side (a team of dancers) as his point of departure, he examines the performance materials and contexts – i.e., the interfaces at which meanings are deployed and encoded – and explores the different ways in which the past is referenced and reproduced. Citing an instance in which a rubber glove is used in place of a pig's bladder, he suggests that the difference lies in the 'bounded' and 'non-bounded' authenticity. He argues that revivals offer a locus which 'allows continuity through a process of artistic evolution [...] composition within a revived genre is permitted and encouraged',⁶⁰ whereas in contrast, a re-enactment 'implies a suspension of the present, allowing the past to be entered into, but in a bounded sense'.⁶¹ As I demonstrate in my analysis, these different contexts have a profound

⁵⁹ Niall MacKinnon, 'Revival and Re-enaction', in *The British Folk Scene: Musical Performance and Social Identity* (Buckingham, UK and Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1993), pp. 60-9.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

difference on the way in which heritage is produced and consumed in both my field sites.

With these factors in mind, I do not consider that the differentiation between heritage music and traditional music is as simple as the re-orientation of a term (as Slobin suggests). Neither do I feel that traditional and heritage musics can be separately and respectively assigned to music cultures that are characterised by continuous usage, and those that have been revived (as proposed by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett). Here, I suggest that Owe Ronström offers the most nuanced discussion of the interrelationship of tradition and heritage. He recognises that the terms operate in very similar ways: they are ‘both produced from things past [...] both promise things in danger of disappearing [...] They operate on the same markets and are rationalized and legitimized in much the same way’.⁶² However, he suggests that their difference arises through their relation to, and deployment within different periods in history. Speaking in terms of mindscapes, which he describes as the mental and physical worlds of folk music in north-western Europe, his position is worth quoting here at length:

[...] the ‘tradition’ mindscape centers around the rural, the ‘old peasant society’ of the 17th to 19th centuries, and is mainly geared to production of locality and regionality. ‘Heritage’, on the other hand, is predominantly urban, even when located in the countryside, and is hearted to the international or transnational. Whereas ‘tradition’ tends to use time to produce ‘topos’ (place, distinct localities, interconnected into large cultural

⁶² Ronström, ‘Traditional Music, Heritage Music’, p. 52.

geographies), heritage tends to use place to produce ‘chronos’ (pasts more loosely rooted in place).⁶³

Ronström thus considers that while the focus on traditional culture was a response to the condition of modernity, the emergence of heritage is a response to the globalisation and post-modernism of the latter part of the twentieth century.

For Ronström then, heritage operates on more of a surface level than tradition. He states that heritage references ‘a much more generic past that you may pay a visit to without much obligation, nostalgia or grief’, which is ‘empty’ and may be ‘filled with all kinds of owners and inhabitants’.⁶⁴ This shallower level of engagement widens the field of potential consumers since:

[...] the production of heritage is centralized and produces something beyond the local and the regional, beyond the distinctive, the ethnic, the multicultural. It is everybody’s and therefore nobody’s.⁶⁵

In one sense, Ronström’s formulation of heritage is empowering for the cultural consumer; whereas one may be excluded from a traditional practice on the basis of outsider status, anyone and everyone is invited to be an insider in the consumption of heritage. In this formulation, as a conceptual space heritage is more open to general inclusion and engagement, whereas traditional practice is defined and bounded by insider and outsider status and connotes ‘ownership and traditional rights’.⁶⁶

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 52. Here Ronström is referencing Arjun Appadurai’s ‘scapes’; see Arjun Appadurai, ‘Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy’, *Theory Culture Society*, 7 (1990), pp. 295-310 (p. 296).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

However, in another sense, I suggest that he tends to position heritage in a fairly negative light; as a homogenising force that ‘resists local people’s claims for indigenous rights’.⁶⁷

Within Ronström’s argument then, the implication is that tradition is produced locally, whereas heritage operates on a level of ‘glocality’ where, ‘freed from former understandings of “local”, specific forms of traditional music are boiled down to a minimum of signs, a few distinctive and highly typified stylistic traits that become possible to download and stage everywhere’.⁶⁸ However, I do not agree that this latter position necessarily follows the first. I do agree that it is useful to approach heritage as an emerging ‘mindscape’ and mode of production that is responding to the post-modern condition and the advent of globalisation. However, no element of that formulation necessarily indicates that heritage cannot be produced at a local level. As Robertson’s volume demonstrates, the growth in approaches to heritage from below call into question Ronström’s position that ‘not everybody can have or appoint a heritage’.⁶⁹

It is interesting to note at this point the relevance of Turino’s concepts of ‘participatory’ and ‘presentational’ types of musical performance to heritage and traditional music making.⁷⁰ Turino defines ‘participatory performance’ as ‘artistic practice in which there are no artist-audience distinctions, only participants and potential participants performing different roles’, and ‘presentational performance’ as ‘situations where one group of people, the artists, prepare and provide music for

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁷⁰ Thomas Turino, *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2008), pp. 23-65.

another group of people, the audience, who do not participate in making the music or dancing'.⁷¹ While part of a much broader discussion that problematizes the nature of what we fundamentally consider music to be, Turino's conceptions of participatory and presentational music should be mentioned in the context of traditional and heritage musics since I consider that on a surface level, traditions are commonly associated with participatory practice, where the distanciations between performers and audiences are blurred through communal participation, while the display-oriented nature of heritage discussed here might equally reasonably indicate a more presentational mode of performance. However, as I go on to show (particularly in Section 3), musical performances popularly regarded traditions may be specifically oriented for display, constructing clearly defined barriers between performers and audiences; while on the other hand, musical events designated as heritage performances may equally be designed with as much participation from all present as possible in mind. In these scenarios, Turino's categories of participatory and presentational music intersect intriguingly with Ronström's perception of 'open' heritage and 'closed' traditional mindscapes, although further work is needed to explore the relationships between these concepts in more detail. For my own analysis, I retain the processual nature of heritage development and construction as my primary point of departure in order to maintain a focus on the changing perspectives and performances of the carols in each location.

Tradition and heritage are therefore both practically and conceptually entangled in ethnomusicology. Essentially Ronström argues that heritage, as a response to globalisation and postmodernity, is superseding tradition as a way of producing,

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

consuming and theorizing historical cultural practice. While I do agree with him in the sense that heritage operates as a process that alters the meanings generated through the production and consumption of cultural material, I do not consider that this proposed linear development fully acknowledges the agency of culture bearers and producers in the production and articulation of their heritage; i.e., ‘heritage from below’. Slobin on the other hand also suggests that heritage is replacing tradition, but not due to an evolving socio-cultural context; rather, because the academic terrain around the term ‘tradition’ has become crowded and problematic. Again, while I agree that this may be the case in some contexts, there is a productive area of enquiry in the relationship between the two concepts; particularly in terms of the processes, instruments and interfaces at work in each case.

At this point, I address how I utilise the word ‘tradition’ throughout this thesis. Much ethnomusicological literature has addressed the definitions and issues at play within the concept of tradition; a term David Coplan considers is now ‘just short of impossible to use without quarantine between quotation marks’.⁷² Historically, tradition was generally defined in opposition to modernity, described in naturalistic terms as ‘a core of traits handed down from one generation to the next’.⁷³ However, subsequent scholarship has recognised that ‘tradition changes continually’, and is better approached as ‘a meaningful process, rather than a bounded object’.⁷⁴ Also relevant here is Eric Hobsbawm’s distinction between ‘tradition’ and ‘custom’ in his seminal essay on the invention, in which he states that customs are cultural actions

⁷² David Coplan, ‘Ethnomusicology and the Meaning of Tradition’, in Stephen Blum, Philip V. Bohlman and Daniel M. Neuman, eds., *Ethnomusicology and Modern Music History* (Chigaco: University of Illinois Press, 1993), pp. 35-48 (p. 36).

⁷³ Richard Handler and Jocelyn Linnekin, ‘Tradition, Genuine or Spurious’, *The Journal of American Folklore*, 97/385 (1984), pp. 273-290 (p. 274).

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 274, p. 287.

which retain flexibility and adaptability, while traditions constitute the ‘formal paraphernalia and ritualised practices’ involved in their deployment.⁷⁵ I had considered the possibility of substituting the word ‘practice’ or ‘custom’ in the place of ‘tradition’ in order to avoid leaning too heavily on a term that I have problematized. However, I consider that avoiding the use of ‘tradition’ completely would be impractical; it is too well established a shorthand for encompassing both the materials and practices that I examine. As such I will continue to utilise the term ‘tradition’ to describe the carols and their associated practices. However, in my discussion of the relationships and interactions between tradition and heritage, I will make the distinctions between the two clear.

3.3: Musical Heritage: Theoretical Approach

This chapter has shown that discussions of heritage soon reach complex and contested theoretical terrain, in both its own and related disciplines. Nevertheless, I consider that the Cornish carol traditions of California and South Australia are productively approached as performances of heritage. In Section 1, I explore how the variety and dissemination of the musical materials indicates concern or drive towards preservation and propagation. In Section 2, I examine how the cultural narratives woven around the musical materials and performers orient particular identities. Finally, the contemporary practices I examine in Section 3 exhibit different and revealing engagements with past practice from which new products

As such, these diasporic music cultures are overtly pre-occupied with the production and consumption of the past. However, these music cultures differ from much of the

⁷⁵ Eric Hobsbawm, ‘Introduction: Inventing Traditions’, in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983; Canto edition 1992), pp. 1-14 (pp. 2-3).

current ethnomusicological discourse approaching ‘music-as-heritage’ because they have emerged from the communities themselves, without structural support or intervention from national or international levels (for example, such as national heritage listing or UNESCO recognition); an example of ‘heritage from below’, as discussed by Robertson.

Taken together, the social and cultural impact of the performance practices associated with Cornish carolling in each diasporic location construct an intensely local sense of belonging that makes reference to, but does not prioritise the overseas origin of the tradition. This vernacular heritage discourse is more actively ‘presentational’, per Turino, than the originating tradition in the UK, which is a more socially unconscious performing tradition.

However, it is clear that ‘despite a discourse of conservation, preservation, restoration, reclamation, recovery, recreation, recuperation, revitalization, and regeneration’, heritage objects and practices are not static articles rescued from the past, valued in the present and preserved for the future.⁷⁶ Rather, heritage products are subject to continual ongoing processes of identification, preservation, and display. Here, the concept of heritage as a process is key to my thesis since it is clear that the materials and modes of deployment of Cornish carols as heritage have changed and developed over the course of their history in each location. I show that in each location, heritagisation has operated in different ways and with different results. In order to examine heritage as both a process and as a product, I turn to Barbara

⁷⁶ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, ‘Theorizing Heritage’, *Ethnomusicology*, 39/3 (1995), pp. 367-380 (pp. 369).

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's seminal essay on 'Theorizing Heritage'. While I disagree that heritage musics are specifically those that have undergone revivals, she here offers a broader perspective of heritage that may be productively applied in my analysis. She argues that heritage explicitly constructed, actively 'produces something new in the present that has recourse to the past'.⁷⁷ She proposes five key formulations:

- (1) Heritage is a mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past.
- (2) Heritage is a 'value added' industry.
- (3) Heritage produces the local for export.
- (4) A hallmark of heritage is the problematic relationship of its objects to its instruments.
- (5) A key to heritage is its virtuality, whether in the presence or the absence of actualities.⁷⁸

First, I explore each formulation, before showing how these notions may be applied to my own study.

In her first point, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett suggests that heritage is not simply the revitalisation of the objects or practices of the past. Instead, she posits that heritage as a presentation of the past in the present creates something new. She clarifies that this is not to imply inauthenticity of heritage experiences, although this does of course occur. In her second point, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett foregrounds the position of heritage as an economically focused concept in her argument that 'heritage organizations ensure that places and practices in danger of disappearing because they are no longer

⁷⁷ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 'Theorizing Heritage', pp. 369-70.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 369.

occupied or functioning or valued will survive' by 'adding the value of pastness, exhibition, difference, and where possible, indigeneity'.⁷⁹ Here, she focuses on the role of display and the ways in which the heritage and tourist industries aim to maximise the economic value and viability of heritage products by emphasising distinctiveness. However, this nevertheless is bound within the standardization that 'is part and parcel of economies of scale that high volume tourism requires'.⁸⁰ Her third point extends this focus on tourism as the primary producer and consumer of heritage, since it 'imports visitors to consume goods and services locally'.⁸¹ Here, she focuses on how local elements are repositioned with a view to attracting non-local audiences and highlights how artefacts such as buildings or entire towns may exceed their original uses or capacities or uses in their new lives as heritage objects.

In her fourth point, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett problematizes the relationship of heritage objects or productions to their vehicles and contexts, positing that while 'heritage productions, like tourism generally, proclaim the foreignness of their objects to their contexts of presentation', the means of producing heritage for consumption are not foregrounded, 'as if the instruments for presenting [traditions] are invisible or inconsequential'.⁸² In her fifth and most extended point, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett further problematizes this realness, arguing that 'actuality and virtuality are different approaches to the production of realness'.⁸³ She shows that 'the production of hereness, in the absence of actualities, depends increasingly on virtualities'; that heritage sites show what cannot be seen through interpretative media forms in order to embed and immerse heritage consumers within a virtual historical land or

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 370.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 371.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 373.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 375.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 378.

mindscape.⁸⁴ Here, she questions the extent to which heritage producers utilise and reposition notions of authenticity in order to represent past forms and practices accurately.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's theories of heritage therefore allow a perspective of heritage productions and consumption as dynamic processes through which highly nuanced cultural narratives may be articulated. From my perspective, the most valuable element within Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's formulations is clearly the foregrounding of heritage as the production of something new in the present, rather than as the simple recovery or revitalisation of the past. Although she does not explicitly describe it, I read this 'newness' as being found in a variety of locations; within the material (tangible or intangible) of the heritage product, its producers, the context of its production, or the meanings associated with it by consumers.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett emphasises the need to examine the instruments and interfaces through which heritage is presented in order to recognise information that is 'encoded in the interface'.⁸⁵ With this in mind, I suggest that processes of 'heritagization' can be observed at all stages of my analysis. However, as a whole, I suggest that despite a clear focus on the premise that heritage operates in the present, each of the five theoretical formulations positions heritage predominantly as a lens for viewing the past. Clearly, a heritage object is referencing the past in one way or another.

However, if heritage produces something new in the present, this new thing should be approached as just as 'real' as the past thing or practice that it references. I suggest that key here is the agency of the interface or instrument for delivery of the heritage

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 376.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 374.

object or practice. While I agree that these ‘interfaces [...] are cultural forms in their own right and powerful engines of meaning’, I question the premise that ‘the call for “realness” requires that the interface, the means by which the representation is staged, be muted or concealed’.⁸⁶ From this position, the wholesale erasure of the ‘interface’ or the mode of delivery indicates that heritage producers consider that cultural consumers are not interested in – or perhaps should not be aware of – the mode of delivery or the way in which the interface shapes the engagement with heritage. Indeed, often when the objects or practices are focused on the past, it is the interfaces themselves that are the most relevant to the present. Here, I suggest that reducing heritage to the presentation of the past in the present undercuts the agency of heritage to act within and inform the present.

My concern with Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s undercutting of the agency of heritage within the present is related to the quiet centrality of the concept of the interface in her theories. She states that the interface has the ability to deliver ‘messages other than those of heritage’.⁸⁷ It is here then, at the interface, that the ‘newness’ of heritage is formed; the interface not only delivers, but also shapes and codes meaning. It is through interrogating the interface that it is possible to examine how heritage artefacts may be transformed, question why this may happen, and explore what this transformation may reveal about the artefact in question. As I show in this thesis, I argue that as cultural practices develop over time, the changes that occur within these processes may reveal much about both insider and outsider perspectives of that particular culture.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 375.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 374.

I suggest that these issues may stem from, and are reflected in Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's choice of examples, which reflect her perspective primarily as a museologist, focusing on the marketing and advertising of heritage tourism, and the ways in which interpretation materials of heritage sites engage and direct the experiences of tourists and other consumers. She discusses museums, tourist brochures, in-flight magazines and theme parks; all of which create narratives of heritage designed for broad appeal and whose primary use is marketing. Particularly, I disagree that cultural assets are necessarily dead and defunct before they may become regarded as heritage. Indeed, the perspective of 'heritage from below' would appear to work against this concept; a cultural artefact dead to one population may in fact be very much alive to another.

As I show throughout my analysis, the transformations evident in the Cornish carol traditions of each location reveal the developing needs, perspectives and self-identifications of the communities performing them. I therefore consider that Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's formulation of heritage as a process offers the most appropriate lens for approaching the development of heritage narratives throughout my analysis. However, my research indicated that Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's approach, while useful, is perhaps not adequate alone to appraise the heritagization of traditional, marginal practices such as those discussed in this thesis. Where productive then, I bring her formulations into conjunction with other relevant perspectives (for example, Ronström and MacKinnon), in order to draw out the issues of heritage formation with regard to both products and processes.

3.4: Musical Heritage: Methodological Approaches

My study aims to develop an understanding of Cornish carols as processes and products of heritage in South Australia and California over time. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the thesis is divided into three investigative sections which focus on different materials and time periods, working both chronologically and thematically to build a cumulative account of the position of Cornish carols as heritage in each section. To this end, Section 1 comprises a musical and textual analysis of the repertoire found in each area from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Section 2 gives an historical ethnography of performance practices in the 19th and 20th centuries, exploring the development of particular heritage narratives. Finally, Section 3 offers an account of present day revived and re-enacted practices. A variety of methodological approaches have therefore been required in order accommodate both the theoretical terrain described above, and the various field sites and sources I accessed during the course of my research.

In Section 1, I examine the musical materials themselves, identifying, recovering and exploring what Cornish carol repertoire was present in each in each location during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This research relied heavily on the examination of tangible, primary sources; i.e., printed and handwritten manuscripts. My approach to these materials therefore draws on methods of historical ethnomusicology. In their recent volume, Jonathon McCollum and David Herbert offer an account of the theories and methods of historical ethnomusicology, aiming to reconcile the ‘primacy of ethnography’ with the cross-disciplinary ‘historical turn’ of the recent decades.⁸⁸

Giving an overview of the various sources from which ethnomusicologists might

⁸⁸ Jonathon McCollum and David G. Herbert, ‘Chapter 1: Foundations of Historical Ethnomusicology’, in Jonathon McCollum and David G. Herbert, eds., *Theory and Method in Historical Ethnomusicology* (London: Lexington Books, 2014), pp. 1-34 (p. 3, pp. 5-9).

draw historical musical data, they suggest that ‘significant parts of the field can increasingly be brought to one’s own desk via the Internet, and that fieldwork may entail visits to archives and special library collections, as much as direct participation via observations of performances and interviews with musicians’.⁸⁹

This was certainly the case in my research into certain primary sources; i.e., musical manuscripts. In both South Australia and California, I visited a number of personal, local, regional and national museums and archives in order to access physical manuscripts. While the primary sources were useful, I found that they could only reveal so much information about the repertoire in use by the different communities. This was particularly evident in the South Australian context, where the presence of several different editions of one carol book across different archives indicated an extended period of republication. However, no editions of the book were dated, and as such they were of little use in any attempt to ascertain the total number of republications, or the timescale that they occurred in. Here, I found that utilising online newspaper databases in conjunction with these primary sources was invaluable. By searching for mentions of ‘The Christmas Welcome’ (the title of carol book) in South Australian newspapers, I was able to locate advertisements for new editions, allowing for a reconstruction of the publication history of a key primary source. Similarly, with regard to the Grass Valley material, searching advertisements in both UK and USA-based newspapers, I could estimate the dates of publication for printed material that appeared in the carollers’ collections. This then enabled me to suggest possible windows of transfer of musical material from Cornwall to Grass Valley.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

To this end, I utilised a variety of online databases of newspapers and periodicals to glean supplementary information regarding the primary musical data. These included ‘The British Newspaper Archive’, supported by the British Library, ‘Trove’, the National Library of Australia’s website, ‘Chronicling America’, the Library of Congress’s digitised newspaper archive, and the ‘California Digital Newspaper Collection’, supported by the University of California (Riverside).⁹⁰ Further, I was able to create personal accounts with some of these providers that enabled me to correct newspaper text that had been improperly recognised when it was scanned using optical recognition software. In this sense my research has made some of the material I accessed more useful to subsequent researchers.

In Section 2, I explored the cultural narratives developed around the musical materials discussed in Section 1. I considered that developing an understanding of the ways in which the musical materials were perceived and portrayed in the past would be key to the ways the carols were performed in the present; as Herbert and McCollum note, ‘triangulation of multiple data sources can be very helpful when seeking to develop an accurate account of what most likely actually happened in the past, which can then be compared with how understandings of the past are actively constructed through memory in the present’.⁹¹ At the outset of my project, I had intended to focus such a historical ethnography on audience receptions of mid-twentieth century practices in each area, utilising oral histories gleaned from individuals who had either performed or heard the carols during this time period. Oral histories, both published and unpublished, have been increasingly utilised in ethnomusicological research as a method of ‘in-depth biographical interviewing, typically of people who are excluded

⁹⁰ See ‘Newspapers’ section in bibliography for full details of these databases.

⁹¹ Herbert and McCollum, ‘Philosophy of History and Theory in Historical Ethnomusicology’, in *Theory and Method in Historical Ethnomusicology*, p. 94.

or marginalised within conventional historical accounts'.⁹² With this in mind I completed the standard ethics and consent form required by Cardiff University in preparation for this element of my field research.

This initially appeared to suit my research well, considering the relative lack of scholarly attention paid to Cornish carols in both Grass Valley and the Copper Triangle. I had hoped that recovering memories of performers and audiences would give me an insight into not only the ways in which the carols were performed and received, but also the narratives developed around them. Indeed, the relationship between music and memory has been a productive way for ethnomusicologists to approach the ways in which music may articulate narratives about the past. In particular, Kay Kaufman Shelemay's work on *pizmonim* (traditional Jewish religious songs) explores how Syrian Jews embed personal and cultural memories within song.⁹³ As reviewer John Fenn described, 'musical art forms are not necessarily end products to be studied but are rather processes of identity and community to be examined as important moments in the ongoing movement of people through time and space'.⁹⁴ Gathering data through oral memories and testimonies therefore initially appeared an appropriate method of uncovering twentieth century perspectives of the carols.

However, I found developing historical ethnographies primarily through oral history to be problematic. In my search for suitable interlocutors, I quickly found that gaining

⁹² Mahua Sarkar, 'Between Craft and Method: Meaning and Inter-subjectivity in Oral History Analysis', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 25/4 (2012), pp. 578-600.

⁹³ Kay Kaufman Shelemay, *Let The Jasmine Rain Down: Song and Remembrance Among Syrian Jews* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998).

⁹⁴ John Fenn, review of *Let The Jasmine Rain Down* by Kay Kaufman Shelemay, *Folklore Forum*, 32/1 (2001), pp. 110-111.

access to individuals who had experienced the carol traditions at the relevant period was not a simple task; considering the historical interval I was interested in spanned the 1940s-1970s, on reaching out to former performers, organisers and audience members, I found that many had passed on or moved away. Of the interviews that I did manage to secure with individuals who had attended or participated in carolling during the mid-twentieth century, in some cases I encountered the ‘common problems of memory lapses, self-serving interpretations of events, use of outdated slang terminology, and even deafness or related communication challenges’ noted by Herbert and McCollum.⁹⁵ Indeed, within the interviews that I did conduct – which often were with elderly individuals – as I wrote up my ethnographic field notes, I found that I was attempting to recover memories that were perhaps too far in the past, and concerned events that did not merit enough particular attention at the time in order to be recalled in detail perhaps sixty years later. Further, in some cases, I considered that due to age, some of my interviewees’ oral evidence could not be regarded as complete or reliable. Ethically then, I was concerned that building a historical ethnography based on the interview data I initially gathered would not be either adequate, reliable or ethically sound.

While I considered that an account of the cultural perceptions and receptions of the carols was a key element of my research, I began to question how appropriately or productively it could be approached utilising oral history as a primary method for the time frame in question. At this point, I was forced to reappraise my methodology. Utilising Spradley’s research cycles then, I returned to my research questions, querying how I could develop an appraisal of the carols as heritage during the mid-

⁹⁵ Herbert and McCollum, ‘Methodologies for Historical Ethnomusicology’, in *Theory and Method in Historical Ethnomusicology*, pp. 50-1.

twentieth century without relying on the use of oral history.⁹⁶ I subsequently reconsidered the role – and breadth – of archival material I had accessed during my research into the musical materials. I had accessed newspaper articles and reports of events, previous fieldwork, historic recordings and radio broadcasts: all of which contextualised the carols within particular historical and cultural narratives, and many of which were designed explicitly for public consumption.

On the one hand, in South Australia, heritage narratives were primarily developed through newspaper dissemination. Newspaper reports of speeches and advertisements show that Cornish carols were heavily promoted by the Cornish Association of South Australia (CASA), formed in 1890, as part of their construction of Cornish Celtic identity. Further, later in the twentieth century, the carols featured heavily in the newspaper and published output of Oswald Pryor, who promoted the Copper Triangle and Moonta in particular as ‘Australia’s Little Cornwall’. On the other, in Grass Valley both public perceptions about the carols and their performers were heavily influenced by their broadcast over national radio six times during the 1940s. Further, examination of historic recordings and correspondence showed how these public perceptions gradually permeated scholarly understandings of the choir and its material.

Considering the previous discussion regarding heritage as represented in publicly available narratives, I conceived that secondary sources such as newspapers that disseminated information about the carols and their performers were, and continue to be, responsible for not only reflecting, but also shaping public knowledge about the

⁹⁶ James Spradley, *Participant Observation*, (USA: Waveland Press, 2016 (1980)), p. 29.

carols and their performers. As Herbert and McCollum argue, ‘it is useful to examine the role of media in disseminating interpretations of current events that ultimately define how the present is historically constructed through the “reflexive process” of culture’.⁹⁷ Indeed, historical ethnomusicologists readily recognise the utility of such material in reconstructions of the past in the present. For example, John Morgan O’Connell’s work on the life of Turkish musician Münir Nurettin Selçuk (1899–1981) blends ethnographic enquiry (such as interviews with surviving family members and associates) with archival research, utilising secondary sources found in Selçuk’s personal archive (such as newspaper cuttings, concert reviews and programmes) to build an account of the interrelationship between musical style and broader socio-cultural developments and phenomena.⁹⁸ As I show in Chapters 6 and 7, in both locations highly specific and extremely well defined narratives were developed around the carols as a result of media dissemination. With this in mind, I considered that these secondary sources were in themselves a valuable data source within which an analysis of the development and promotion of heritage narratives around the carols could be undertaken.

Clearly, there are important mitigating factors to take into consideration when utilising media products as historical sources.⁹⁹ In particular, newspapers are commonly regarded as tangential to the research focus: ‘the newspaper typically is a secondary source that supplements, complements or contradicts primary sources’.¹⁰⁰

In particular, Baumgartner notes ‘the tendency of publishers and their editors to let

⁹⁷ Herbert and McCollum, ‘Philosophy of History and Theory in Historical Ethnomusicology’, *Theory and Method in Historical Musicology*, p. 95.

⁹⁸ John Morgan O’Connell, *Alaturka: Style in Turkish Music (1923–1938)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013).

⁹⁹ Joseph Baumgartner, ‘Newspapers as Historical Sources’, *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, 9/3 (1981), pp. 256–258.

¹⁰⁰ Shannon E. Martin and Kathleen A. Hansen, *Newspapers of Record in a Digital Age: From Hot Type to Hot Link* (Westport: Praeger, 1998), p. 82.

their personal biases and partisanship influence the decision of what to print and what not to print [...] whatever the cause of the bias, it may and often does lead to a serious distortion of the facts'.¹⁰¹ However, I considered that it was precisely the content and tone of these obvious biases, influences and distortions that could be productively interrogated as perspectives of heritage in my second analysis section. Similarly, the radio scripts I discuss were written not as reportage of historical facts, but constructed with advertising and entertainment as primary goals. I was also able to return to correspondence and ethnographic field data gathered by American folklorist and musicologist Wayland D. Hand during the 1940s and 1950s. Although the correspondence of course was not intended for public consumption, placing it in conjunction with the historic recordings of the choir enabled a reconstruction of the processes through which the carols were eventually released commercially, and the way in which their music was characterised.

In this regard, I considered that interrogating the media dissemination of the carols with an eye to the historical material I uncovered would not only indicate what narratives were encoded within them, but also reveal potential convergences and divergences from the historical record. Indeed, media such as newspapers and radio scripts, while secondary sources in themselves, may indicate primary perspectives and discussions. Further, as McCollum and Herbert note, 'such data may either corroborate or refute aspects of the "remembered past" encountered via ethnographic observations and oral accounts'.¹⁰² This disjuncture is a common thread in historical ethnomusicological enquiry; for example, O'Connell's recent volume regarding the music associated with the Gallipoli campaign utilises personal archives to explore

¹⁰¹ Baumgartner, 'Newspapers as Historical Sources', p. 256.

¹⁰² Herbert and McCollum, 'Methodologies for Historical Ethnomusicology in the Twenty-First Century', *Theory and Method in Historical Musicology*, p. 76.

how music may act as a vehicle for, and repository of memory in conflict.¹⁰³ Here, he considers how ‘music can be used to uncover an archaeology of memory by disclosing multiple strata of disremembered identities and disregarded ideologies’.¹⁰⁴ Adopting an interpretative stance towards these key promotions of the carolling traditions in each area has thus productively addressed key elements in the development and establishment of particular heritage narratives around these two traditions.

In my third section, I wanted to uncover the musical materials and cultural perspectives of the carols as heritage in Moonta and Grass Valley in the present day. I further wanted to examine the ways and extent to which the cultural narratives I uncovered in Section 2 had endured, developed and changed in the intervening years. Although oriented towards the spectacular choreographic representation of national identity in state folk dance companies, Anthony Shay’s assertion that ‘representation is a form of power’ is apt here.¹⁰⁵ Here, I undertook more traditionally ethnographic fieldwork in each site in order to understand the social and cultural contexts of contemporary carolling practices in each location. Fieldwork is central within much ethnomusicological study, and I was able to undertake a number of visits to complete research (as shown below).

¹⁰³ John Morgan O’Connell, *Commemorating Gallipoli Through Music: Remembering and Forgetting* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017).

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xxxi.

¹⁰⁵ Anthony Shay, *Choreographic Politics: State Folk Dance Companies, Representation and Power* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2002), p. 224.

| Date | Location | Activity |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| May-July 2015 | The Copper Triangle | Field research at Kernewek Lowender |
| May-July 2015 | Adelaide, South Australia | Archival research at State Library of South Australia, Migration Museum, University of Adelaide Barr Smith Library, Adelaide |
| November 2015 | Grass Valley, California, USA | Field research at ‘Cornish Christmas’ carol singing event |
| December 2015 | The Copper Triangle, South Australia | Field research at ‘The Miners’ Re-enactment’ carol singing event |
| February-June 2016 | Washington D.C., USA | Archival research at the Library of Congress |
| May-June 2017 | The Copper Triangle | Field research at Kernewek Lowender |
| May-June 2017 | Adelaide, South Australia | Archival research at State Library of South Australia |

Table 3.1: Timeline of field and archival research

The interviews I conducted regarding contemporary aspects of the carolling traditions were central within my fieldwork. My informants included a variety of stakeholders, including performers, audience members and organisers in order to ensure that I captured a range of perspectives of Cornish carolling in each area. I was interested to see if I would uncover a range of perspectives of the event, how these would compare with the historical material I had uncovered and the extent to which they reflected the cultural narratives disseminated by different media; as Anthony Seeger states, ‘events do not simply happen; they are interpreted and created’.¹⁰⁶ These interviews were semi-structured; while there were certain questions I wanted to ask in order to gain specific information, I also often let the conversation take a natural flow since my interlocutors would reveal other information or areas of interest that I had not anticipated. In this way, I was able to elicit a range of information and responses regarding the carolling tradition and notions of Cornish heritage in each area. While

¹⁰⁶ Anthony Seeger, ‘When Music Makes History’, *Ethnomusicology and Modern Music History*, pp. 23-34 (p. 23).

working with oral histories of the mid-twentieth century had proved to be less productive than I had hoped, in the contemporary context, oral histories of the carols were key, enabling me to identify and account for the shifts and changes I observed in present day performance.

Here, I considered the gap between local perspectives of the carols as heritage in each area – the ‘remembered past’ – and the historical information I uncovered to be particularly interesting, reflecting the work of Alessandro Portelli. His work on oral history foregrounded the necessity of shifting one’s focus from ascertaining whether such testimony is historically accurate, and instead towards the meanings behind the stories.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, in their volume regarding ethnomusicological fieldwork, Timothy J. Cooley and Gregory Barz consider that ‘music’s ephemeral nature predisposes ethnomusicologists to embrace multiple realities’.¹⁰⁸ I soon found that the realities – the narratives of heritage that were being performed and promoted in Grass Valley and the Copper Triangle – collided to varying degrees with what was implied by the historical evidence I had uncovered. This reflects Portelli’s own view that oral histories should not be approached with a view to ascertaining their veracity; from his own perspective, he considered the ‘narratives as narratives rather than as testimony. I was interested in narratives that were not factually true because it’s one of the ways through which you can get at the meaning and the subjectivity as well as the facts of

¹⁰⁷ See 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).

¹⁰⁸ Timothy J. Cooley and Gregory Barz, ‘Casting Shadows: Fieldwork is Dead! Long Live Fieldwork!’, in Gregory Barz and Timothy J. Cooley, eds., *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, 2nd ed (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 3-24 (p. 3).

what actually happened. The relationship between what happened and what it means'.¹⁰⁹

Given these concordances and discordances, I felt that undertaking participant observation as far as possible would open an important line of ethnographic enquiry to my analysis; that of understanding the carols as heritage as they were understood by my informants. Participant observation has been drawn from anthropological research as a method of engaging with a culture on its own terms: as James Spradley notes, 'rather than studying people, ethnography means learning from people'.¹¹⁰ Participant observation in ethnomusicological research therefore often involves becoming embedded in a music culture, for example by learning instruments or performance styles specific to that culture, in what Mantle Hood called 'bi-musicality'.¹¹¹ In this sense, the researcher may gain insights through becoming a part of the field, rather than a detached observer; indeed, 'fieldwork is no longer viewed principally as observing and collecting (although it surely involves that) not as experiencing and understanding music [...] The new fieldwork leads us to ask what it is like for a person (ourselves included) to make and to know music as a lived experience'.¹¹²

However, my ability to undertake participant observation differed considerably between Grass Valley and the Copper Triangle. Due to the time constrained nature of my research (i.e., that the carols were only performed at Christmas), and the difficulty

¹⁰⁹ Betsy Brinson and Alessandro Portelli, 'Crossing Cultures: An Interview with Alessandro Portelli', *The Oral History Review*, 28/1 (2001), pp. 87-113 (p. 108).

¹¹⁰ Spradley, *Participant Observation*, p. 3.

¹¹¹ John Baily, 'Learning to Perform as a Research Technique in Ethnomusicology', *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, 10/2 (2001), pp. 85-98.

¹¹² Jeff Todd Titon, 'Knowing Fieldwork', *Shadows In The Field*, pp. 25-41 (p. 25).

of essentially being in two places on two continents at once, my opportunities for participant observation were significantly limited. In preparation for my visit to Grass Valley in November 2015, I researched the choir's activities and found that it was open to new members. Therefore, prior to my visit I made contact with Eleanor Kenitzer, the choir's director, asking if I would be able to sing with the group to aid with my research. When she replied in the affirmative, I asked if she would mind forwarding the music that the choir would sing in order to be able to prepare it. However, I found that strategic action was required on my part to balance my effort between participating and observing; more focus on participating consequently meant less focus on observing, and vice versa. On the other hand, when I first visited the Copper Triangle in May 2015, I did not initially know that a re-enactment of miners singing Christmas carols had recently become part of the town's public Christmas concert. When I became aware of this, I arranged to return in December 2015 in order to attend the event. However, in the interim it became clear from my interviews and emails with performers that this re-enactment was something I would only be able to observe, rather than participate in. As I discuss in Chapters 8 and 9, I consider that these difference experiences were the direct result of the differing perspectives of heritage in each area, which I explore in detail in my analysis and interpretation of these events.

In the context of participant observation, I further found that I occupied an interestingly liminal position with regard to my field sites and informants. Due to my experience of singing with a carol choir in Cornwall, I am something of a cultural insider to the broader tradition of Cornish carolling practices within Cornwall itself; I am familiar with the genre and, in some cases, some of the carols performed in each

location, and the tradition's associated practices. However, my perspective of the carols in their diasporic contexts is unavoidably etic in nature. Tim Rice has interrogated the nature of emic (insider) and etic (outsider) positions with relation to his own experience of learning the *gaida* in Bulgaria, citing that the learning process resulted in a 'transformation of the self' that enabled him to transcend the emic/etic binary.¹¹³ However, I consider that I did not – and perhaps could not – experience this moment of transcendence. This is because Rice was embedding himself within an ethnographic present engaged with contemporary performance, whereas the traditions I was attempting to engage with were focused on the celebration of a past that I had no direct experience of, or indeed, claims to. In this sense, despite my Cornish connection I still could not feel a cultural insider. Here then, I consider that my case reflected Rice's position that 'outsiders are forever doomed to partial understandings compared to insiders'.¹¹⁴ However, I felt that this rather intriguing position has allowed me to juxtapose and balance the emic and etic perspectives I have of the research contexts, and further ensures I retain the critical distance needed to focus my analyses.

Indeed, my own position as a Cornish person, and my history of involvement with and study of a local carolling tradition in Cornwall has been key within this study.¹¹⁵ I certainly experienced elements of auto-ethnography throughout my data collection as through my encounters with diasporic Cornish culture and performances of identity, I

¹¹³ Tim Rice, 'Toward a Mediation between Field Methods and Field Experience in Ethnomusicology', *Shadows in the Field*, pp. 42-61.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹¹⁵ See Elizabeth K Neale, 'Sound Spaces: The Oral and the Aural in the Padstow Carols', unpublished MA dissertation, Cardiff University, 2011.

compared and questioned my own sense of Cornish identity.¹¹⁶ As noted in my introduction, while I was born and brought up in Cornwall, my parents are not of Cornish origin and as such although I have a knowledge of, and deep connection with Cornwall, I have never felt any level of ownership or inherent entitlement to participate in Cornish traditions or culture; I have not considered being Cornish as my personal birth-right, or heritage. However, during my fieldwork I often encountered Australian and American individuals who had, as it was often stated, Cornish ‘heritage’ or ancestry.¹¹⁷ This was often the starting point for their interest in Cornwall; in many cases their own research into their family history had spurred a broader interest in, and visits to, the places where their forbears had lived and worked. However, I found I had little to contribute to these discussions, which sometimes left me feeling slightly detached from my interlocutors. A further disconnect occurred, since in the majority of cases, my insider’s knowledge of Cornwall as a place and as a culture was necessarily deeper and broader than my interlocutors. Here then, I often found that my interlocutors and I would meet in a middle ground, although arriving from polarized experiences; I on the one hand, having been born and grown up in Cornwall, but not having any Cornish ancestry, in comparison to someone whose grandparents were Cornish migrants, but might never have visited the county themselves.

During my research I soon found that my own perspectives of the carols as heritage did not match those of my informants; and I therefore realised that I was

¹¹⁶ Carolyn Ellis, Tony E. Adams and Arthur P. Bochner, ‘Autoethnography: An Overview’, *Social Historical Research / Historische Sozialforschung*, 6/4 (2011), pp. 273-290.

¹¹⁷ Although this is not the place for an examination of heritage as it intersects with notions (and scientific appraisals of) ancestry, scholars across disciplines are questioning its problematic interrelationship with notions of race and ethnicity. See for example, Alyssa C. Bader and Ripan S. Malhi, ‘Case Study on Ancestry Estimation in an Alaskan Native Family: Identity and Safeguards against Reductionism’, *Human Biology*, 87/4 (2015), pp. 338-351.

unconsciously foregrounding my own notions of Cornish heritage into the data gathered at my research sites. I was therefore concerned that without adequate recognition and mitigation, my own perspectives were defining my research outcomes. However, Kenneth Gourlay emphasises the need to recognise the fallacy of objective accounts, stating that overzealous attempts to present an ‘objective’ perspective of events results in ‘omission of the ethnomusicologist, and by extension, of the performer’.¹¹⁸ I had initially approached the carols with a view to the material as a transnational Cornish heritage. However, I soon realised that the carols, as materials and events, represented very different notions of heritage within their own communities to me personally. Recognising this collision was key in encouraging me to think how and why values are inscribed in musical performance as cultural practice. Ellis, Adams and Bochner discuss this, stating that during the crisis of post-modernity in academia, scholars began to ‘consider what social sciences would become if they were closer to literature than to physics, if they proffered stories rather than theories, and if they were self-consciously value-centred rather than pretending to be value free’.¹¹⁹

However, there is an in-built tension within the academy as to the involvement and impact of academic endeavour within processes of heritagization. Juniper Hill and Catherine Bithell recognise the intertwined nature of revival scholarship and scholar-revivalists, and the subsequent impacts such academics have on their fields of study and their subsequent development.¹²⁰ Further, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett suggests that ‘as academics and public folklorists and ethnomusicologists, we are actively producing

¹¹⁸ Kenneth Gourlay, ‘Towards a Reassessment of the Ethnomusicologist’s Role in Research’, *Ethnomusicology*, 22/1 (1978), pp. 1-35 (p. 5).

¹¹⁹ Ellis, Adams and Bochner, ‘Autoethnography: An Overview’, p. 274.

¹²⁰ Juniper Hill and Caroline Bithell, ‘An Introduction to Music Revival as Concept, Cultural Process, and Medium of Change’, *The Oxford Handbook of Music Revival*, pp. 3-42 (p. 5).

heritage'.¹²¹ However, this is somewhat at odds with UNESCO's statement regarding the recognition of intangible cultural heritage; namely:

[...] intangible cultural heritage can only be heritage when it is recognized as such by the communities, groups or individuals that create, maintain and transmit it – without their recognition, nobody else can decide for them that a given expression or practice is their heritage.¹²²

At the time of beginning my study, the revived traditions were already evident in each community prior to my engagement with them. In this sense, I do not consider my study to have any influence or agency within the revival projects.

While I was enthusiastic and supportive of the efforts of the revivalists and re-enactors in my interactions with them, I consciously refrained from offering any value judgement on their performances, or suggesting further avenues for their development. However, as I discuss in Section 3, my presence in the communities was obviously noted. In Grass Valley, my presence in the choir was mentioned – albeit in passing, but relevant nonetheless – as adding to their 'authenticity'. On the other hand, in the Copper Triangle, I was surprised to find that my research was referenced in the speech opening the 'Carols in the Square' event that I had travelled to attend. I therefore recognise that to some extent I did have an impact on my field sites, although this was of course not my intention at any stage of my research.

Further, these methodologies necessarily meant that over my several research visits, I amassed a large amount of digital and physical data sources. My collection of

¹²¹ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 'Theorizing Heritage', p. 379.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 379

photographic, video, audio, ephemera, and interview data enabled me to build up a richly textured ‘thick description’ of the carol traditions over time.¹²³ However, I needed to consider the ethics of retaining and utilising such data in this study. Since my interviews were mostly formal, prior to beginning the recording I explained my research project and the context in which information would be used. In this way I obtained consent to record the conversation, and following its conclusion, I transcribed interviews (or segments thereof) that I felt would be useful to my project. These were duly mailed (or emailed) back to my informants in order for them to read over and check whether I had understood and transcribed them correctly, and give written consent for their words to be quoted in the thesis. They could further indicate whether there was anything they wished to change before I was able to quote them in my thesis. My interview files are securely stored on my computer, and are therefore not publicly available. In this way, I consider that I addressed the ethical concerns of data capture and storage with regard to living memory.

However, I also found in some circumstances I was given, or given privileged access to items in private archives. For example in South Australia, during a visit to a museum that is generally not open to the public, two of my informants gifted me four reel-to-reel tapes of Cornish carols that were recorded in the Moonta Mines church during the 1970s. They suggested I take the tapes back to the UK and have them digitised for my research. These are key artefacts since as far as I am aware, no other recording of Cornish carols sung in Australia exists. As such, I am in an ongoing dialogue with both the curators of the museum and the remaining members of the

¹²³ Clifford Geertz, ‘Thick Description: Towards an Interpretative Theory of Culture’, *The Interpretation of Culture: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 3-30.

choir in order to ensure that this important record of the choir and its material is placed in the appropriate archives.

My methodological approach has therefore necessarily accommodated a wide time frame, and range of resources. I have blended historical and contemporary ethnography in order to assess the changing role of Cornish carols as heritage in the Copper Triangle and Grass Valley. Research in a range of both digital and physical archives enabled me to trace the primary musical materials transported to and developed in each location, setting the basis for the repertoire utilised throughout the 20th century and into the present day. Next, specifically targeted archival research around particular events in the history of each tradition allowed me to interrogate key materials that developed and disseminated cultural narratives around these primary sources. Finally, participant and detached observation, interviews, writing an ethnographic diary, and the collection of ephemera has enabled me to build a richly textured ethnography of contemporary practice. These methodologies have enabled me to build a thick, ethnomusicological description of the carolling traditions as they have developed over time. In this way, I have been able to uncover not only the materials of the tradition that were previously unclear, but also the ways in which changing perspectives of the carols as heritage have evolved from their transfer to diasporic locations to the present day.

Conclusions

To conclude, heritage as an abstract value assigned to sites, objects and cultural practices, is subject to much conceptual, practical and disciplinary contestation. Far

from being a static item or practice that is inherited intact from the past and preserved in the same state for the future, heritage is an evolving, socially constructed value that changes not only over time, but also in each new moment of performance or observation. My theoretical approach seeks to accommodate and account for how this process may be observed in the case of a marginal, diasporic music culture.

Throughout my analysis, I examine what processes and products of heritagization may be observed in each section, and their ongoing impacts. In conjunction, my methodological approach has allowed me to build a richly textured account of the carolling traditions in each location. Close analyses of primary, secondary and ethnographic data has enabled me to develop a diachronic interpretation of both the musical materials, and heritage narratives articulated around them from the 19th century to their re-enacted and revived performances in the present day. With this in mind, the first section of my analysis recovers and examines the primary material around which these narratives are woven: the carols themselves.

Section 1: Cornish Carols: Recovering Heritage Products

‘[...] some of the old music books may remain, and who knows what treasure may still turn up in Butte or Detroit, Johannesburg or Adelaide?’¹

Introduction

Understanding the repertoire of Cornish carols present in Grass Valley and the Copper Triangle is essential to understanding their developing role as heritage. Despite the recognition of carol traditions within these Cornish communities from the 19th century onwards, no work has yet attempted to document what repertoire was transported to, and emerged within, either location. While actual historic performances of the carols are transient, intangible and therefore lost to ethnomusicological enquiry, an examination of the tangible, surviving print and manuscript collections enables the recovery of the repertoire in both locations as far as possible. Here, my approach to the carols as heritage seeks to identify the heritage products that underpin the traditions in order to set the basis for their subsequent development during the 20th and 21st centuries.

This section focuses on the musical materials of the Cornish carol traditions in the Copper Triangle and Grass Valley in the 19th and early 20th centuries, aiming to uncover the material available in each location. Dedicating a chapter to each location, I first discuss early references to Christmas carolling, discussing what was known of 19th century carolling repertoire and the contexts within which Cornish carols were performed. Next, I draw on my archival work in both locations to examine the musical materials found in each area, tracing the origin of musical material and texts

¹ Penwith, ‘Cornwall’s Gift to Christmas’, p. 64.

in both printed sources and handwritten manuscripts. I then address instances of interaction between these different sources, showing the transfer of material between locations and publications. I conclude this section by juxtaposing my analyses to contrast the ways in which breadth and use of the repertoire emerged and developed in each region. I show that in both locations, the carol repertoire reflected an inherited set of musical styles and practices that were not only preserved by performers in these Cornish diasporic communities, but whose development followed very different trajectories in South Australia and California.

Chapter 4: Grass Valley: Tracing Selection

Introduction

Gage McKinney's book *When Miners Sang* offers the most in-depth account of the Grass Valley Carol Choir, utilising the organisation and its members as lenses through which to focus on the social history of the town. However, while he collected or had access to elements of the choir's musical material, he does not explore the repertoire itself in great detail. These documents are held in his 'When Miners' Sang' research collection, which is held at the Searls Historical Library, and further material is held at the Doris Foley Library in Nevada City.² These collections comprise a variety of handwritten manuscripts and printed music that belonged to different members of the choir. Although relatively untapped by McKinney, these sources reveal a huge amount about the breadth of carol repertoire that was available to the choir. This chapter therefore opens with an overview of early accounts of carolling in Grass Valley, drawing attention to the development of different performing groups and their music. I then focus on the musical sources themselves, examining the breadth and provenance of the printed material, and analysing the handwritten manuscripts to uncover the sources of the material. My analysis of the interactions between these sources indicates not only the sustained transfer of material between Cornwall and Grass Valley, but also appear to confirm the transfer of Australian Cornish carol publications to Grass Valley.

² My great thanks are due to Mr. McKinney for his generosity in allowing me access to these materials and the freedom to reproduce images in this thesis, and Pat Chesnut and Brita Rozynski at the Searls Historical Library, Nevada City, California, for all their help and assistance during my visit.

4.1: Early References to Carolling: ‘The Old-Fashioned Way’

Although America’s settlement and development first as a colony and then as an independent nation occurred considerably earlier than Australia, the western frontier was still relatively new territory in the mid-19th century. The 1849 gold rush, which brought a massive influx of both skilled and unskilled miners to California, was key in the exploration and settlement of more remote areas in the state. This recent settlement pattern meant that ‘home’ was not distant in memory for many of Grass Valley’s settlers, and that there was a level of interest in ‘old world’ customs. In 1905 Grass Valley’s *Daily Morning Union* discussed forthcoming carol performances, stating that ‘wherever an English population is gathered in a foreign country the thought of ‘home’ comes with vividness during the season of Yuletide’.³

McKinney’s research indicates some uncertainty over the establishment of the carolling tradition in Grass Valley. The earliest account, cited by McKinney, are the reflections of F. J. Hooper who remembered his boyhood in Grass Valley in a column for *The Oakland Tribune* in 1947. Responding to the suggested genesis of carol tradition in 1872 from contemporary news reports, Hooper suggests that carols were customarily sung in Grass Valley every Yuletide during the 1850s and sixties, recalling the arrival and subsequent involvement of his father, uncles and their cousins in Grass Valley during those years. Although he does not clarify whether he is Cornish himself, he recalls Cornish migrants learning and performing the carols. His account is unique and compelling, and is worth quoting at length:

³ ‘Carols of Christmastide’, *Daily Morning Union*, 29/12/1905, p. 4.

Among the early arrivals were miners from widely separated sections of Cornwall and though they all sang carols and made use of similar wordings, the tunes were often entirely different. This was a handicap to group singing for often the tunes were passed down from father to son through the generations without musical transcription of any kind whatever. Hence the early carolers went from house to house or saloon to saloon in small groups, members of which were from the same town or village. By listening to another group singing in the distance, one could tell from what town or village the singers came. Such expressions as ‘They do be lads from Redouth’ or ‘they do ‘ail from hup Liskeave way’ were heard. There were chaps from Meragessey, San Austill (St Austell) Sanfust (St Just) and so on down the line of Cornish villages and towns. Gradually these groups got together and one group would drill the other and vice versa until the carols became ‘universal’. Strange to relate, this drilling and teaching of these deeply religious carols, expressing much beautiful sentiments, were frequently – yes, at first – mostly carried on in saloons, of which there were many, and in the barrooms of the breweries of which Grass Valley had four. The carolers would get in a huddle much like the football players of today, head to head, and when the spirits from without began to work on the spirits within, arms would go over each others shoulders and gently rocking in time with the music, the drilling would go on. It was surprising how quickly they would learn each other’s carols.⁴

Hooper’s account therefore indicates that during the first decades of Grass Valley’s settlement, numerous groups of Cornish men, usually differentiated by their point of origin in Cornwall, performed carols informally in a house (and bar) visiting custom that closely resembles contemporaneous accounts of the practice in Cornwall itself. It

⁴ McKinney includes the majority of the above quote but is unable to provide a full reference or date for the citation; I have identified it as ‘Those Grass Valley Carols’, The Knave Editorial, *The Oakland Tribune*, 19/1/1947, p. 43. NB: As noted by McKinney, ‘Redouth’ is likely to be Redruth, Liskeave to be Liskeard, and Meragessey to be Mevagsissey.

is also interesting that he highlights the appearance of printed material in Grass Valley; and as I go on to show, this material greatly informs our understanding of the repertoire.

McKinney's survey of local newspaper reports supports Hooper's account of multiple groups, quoting an article that noted 'the Cornish boys gave us their Christmas carols after the manner and in the memory of the old country. Some of these Cornish singing clubs have splendid and cultivated voices among them and their carols are executed in splendid manner'.⁵ Other, earlier, reports from further afield also indicate that carolling was known to be popular and associated with the Cornish miners in Grass Valley during this time; in 1869 *The Daily Evening Bulletin* in San Francisco noted in its summary of 'Affairs At Grass Valley' that 'the Cornish miners of the place gave their usual Christmas carols, as is customary with them in England, and many fine voices, and practiced ones at that, are to be found among our underground toilers'.⁶ Here then, the sources suggest that a specifically male tradition of carolling and house-visiting was emerging, utilising repertoire from Cornwall.

A more formal choir emerged from these informal practices during the late 19th century. McKinney uncovered two accounts of the choir's origins that suggest that this occurred during the 1870s. One account, written in 1926 and published much later by William Thomas, the son of a singer, suggested that a Cornish migrant called John Ferrell formed the choir in 1876, which 'was not a large group', following a popular performance of carols by a local silver band the previous year.⁷ A second

⁵ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, p. 52, citing *The Union*, 28/12/1896, reprinted 28/12/1915, p. 4, in Timeline, 'When Miners Sang' Collection, Searls Historical Library.

⁶ 'Affairs at Grass Valley', *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 28/12/1869, p. 1.

⁷ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, p. 53-54, citing *The Oakland Tribune*, 6/1/1957 (page unreferenced).

account written by William J. Michell (which is unfortunately not cited) suggests that in 1872 after a choir concert at the Methodist Episcopal church, ‘John Ferrell came through the congregation and said to a number of men singers: “Come and we will sing an English carol”’.⁸ McKinney suggests that ‘over the course of a generation [...] [the choir] established a tradition’, involving performances at the Methodist Episcopal church, and publicly in local streets. McKinney suggests that eventually Ferrell stepped down from the choir’s leadership, although he continued to sing with the group until his death in 1909. This group eventually became known as the Grass Valley Carol Choir, and was closely linked with the Methodist Episcopal church of the town.⁹

However, there is relatively little indication of the choir’s repertoire until the first decade of the 20th century. In 1906 the choir of twenty-eight, led by Harry Buddle and accompanied by organ and flute, accompanied the service at Grass Valley’s Methodist Episcopal Church. The programme included the carols ‘Joy To The World’, ‘Seraphic Minstrels’, ‘Infant King’, ‘Bethlehem’, ‘Star of Bethlehem’, ‘Angels’ Echo’, ‘Star of Jacob’, and ‘New Park’, and the anthems ‘Zion’s King’, ‘Strike, Seraphs, Strike’, ‘Seraphic Choir’ and ‘Arise, Shine’.¹⁰ The group gained greater recognition both for itself and for Grass Valley from 1906, due to the commencement of annual visits to Sacramento, the state capital, at which the choir performed ‘Bethlehem’, ‘Star of Jacob’, ‘Angelic Host’, ‘Universal Reign of Christ’, ‘Infant King’, ‘Angels Proclaim’, ‘Rejoice’, ‘See the Morning Fair and Bright’, ‘While Shepherds’ and ‘Prince of Life’.¹¹ Clearly there are a number of overlaps in

⁸ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, p. 54, (citing Michell, unreferenced).

⁹ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, p. 55.

¹⁰ ‘Carol Singers in M. E. Church’, *The Daily Union*, 22/12/1906, p. 2.

¹¹ ‘Carol Singers in Readiness’, *Sacramento Union*, 18/12/1906, p. 9.

the music performed at each performance, hinting at the popularity of particular numbers and the beginning of an established repertoire. Similar programmes, including many of the same titles, can be found in the following years.

In 1906 a second choir was formed under the name 'The Merritt Choir'. This group appears to have had slightly different personnel and repertoire:

What is known as the Merit [sic] Choral Choir, a recently organised body, sang on the streets on Sunday evening after church. They gave many of the famous old English carols, which were gladly listened to by the spectators. The choir is composed of Mr. W. Argall, James Watts, W. J. Argall, Thomas Broad, Alfred Phillips, William Broad, Simon Crase, John P. Mitchell, Harold Chaunce and Harold George.¹²

Presumably named after the Cornish composer Thomas Merritt, this choir appears to have performed more of Merritt's carols than the other choir. In 1907 the group assisted the church choir in the Christmas service at the Congregational Church in Nevada City, performing among other carols and anthems, three carol titles composed and published by Merritt: 'Await [sic] with Joy, Salute the Morn', 'Awake, wake the Lofty Song', 'Hail, Sacred Day'.¹³ The group also visited houses, particularly of aged residents, and by 1907 the choir's ranks had increased from ten to twenty-eight voices.¹⁴ According to local newspaper reports, the Merritt Choir was 'composed of younger singers'¹⁵ and included 'a number of lads who sing the soprano parts like

¹² 'Carol Singers Heard', *The Daily Union*, 18/12/1906, p. 8.

¹³ 'Church Services', *The Daily Union*, 22/12/1907, p. 5. I go on to examine Merritt's carols in more detail in the following section on manuscript sources.

¹⁴ 'To Sing in Nevada City', *The Daily Union*, 21/12/1907, p. 8.

¹⁵ 'Both Choirs Will Sing', *The Daily Union*, 17/12/1907, p. 8.

larks'.¹⁶ It is uncertain when the Merritt Choir ceased to perform on its own, although McKinney suggests that it was active until at least 1918.¹⁷ While both were active at the same time (albeit with different personnel, leaders and activities), contemporary newspaper reports indicated that the choirs did combine for performances, particularly for the annual new year's visit to Sacramento.¹⁸

Here then, reports and programmes printed in local newspapers show that some carol titles recurred across numerous performances, indicating the beginnings of a specific or popular repertoire. While these sources do little to elucidate the actual musical material performed by the choir, or its origin, the reports do indicate that written music was in use by the choirs. In 1907 for example, *The Daily Union* reported the Merritt Choir 'had the latest music of the kind', and while they were 'thoroughly acquainted with the music and words of each one, [...] no music will be in evidence while singing these favorites'.¹⁹ The close of Hooper's 1947 account of the genesis of carolling in Grass Valley corroborates the use of printed music:

In the [18]80s, some books containing the words and music of a lot of the famous carols arrived in Grass Valley. They were, and are today, a great help to the singers'.²⁰

Although, as I discuss in Chapter 6, the choir became known for singing without music, a considerable amount of this printed material survives in private and research collections. As such, in the following section I explore the variety of written musical

¹⁶ 'Choir of Rare Voices', *The Daily Union*, 31/12/1907, p. 8.

¹⁷ McKinney, Timeline, 'When Miners Sang' Collection, Searls Historical Library.

¹⁸ 'Carolers Sing Their Way Into City's Favour', *Sacramento Union*, 2/1/1910, p. 11.

¹⁹ 'To Sing in Nevada City', *The Daily Union*, 21/12/1907, p. 8, and 'Carols Announced', *Sacramento Union*, 24/12/1909, p. 12.

²⁰ 'Those Grass Valley Carols', The Knave Editorial, *The Oakland Tribune*, 19/1/1947, p. 43.

material available to the carol choirs of Grass Valley, which evidences a strong link to Cornwall and Cornish repertoire.

4.2: Manuscript and Print Collections

Grass Valley's carolling traditions therefore developed from informal practices into organized choirs who performed across a variety of local towns. While the name of one of these choirs, the Merritt Choir, references Thomas Merritt (1864-1908), the Cornish carol composer discussed in Chapter 2, other than titles of carols referenced in newspaper articles, there is little light shed on the repertoire performed by the choirs. However, during a field and archive research visit to Grass Valley in November/December 2015, I was able to access McKinney's 'When Miners Sang' collection. This collection comprises McKinney's notes, images, ephemera and other material relating to his book *When Miners Sang: The Grass Valley Cornish Carol Choir*. During his research, McKinney was either given or able to duplicate a number of collections of music belonging to various members of the choirs and their descendants. These include a mixture of printed sheet music and handwritten manuscripts. There are five main collections: those of Simon L. Crase, John. E. Nettel, John E. Thomas, William Tremewan, and finally, a family collection which appears to have spanned three generations, with the oldest material belonging to Zachariah Williams, his son-in-law Henry R. Champion and grandson Everett S. Champion.

The most extensive collection belonged to the Williams/Champion family. According to McKinney's roster of choir members, Zachariah Williams was born in England and

came to Grass Valley around 1870, working in the mines and later for the city, and eventually died in Grass Valley in 1917 aged 63.²¹ McKinney suggests that Williams took part in one of the first ever performances of carols in Grass Valley with John Ferrell. Described as a 'native of England' in the *Sacramento Union*'s death notice, it is not clear whether Zachariah was from Cornwall. However, his manuscript collection would imply that he at least had a particular interest in collecting Cornish repertoire. The following images show two printed scores that, from the signatures visible on each, were in his possession.

²¹ McKinney, Roster of Choir Members, 'When Miners Sang Collection', Searls Historical Library; 'Births, Marriages and Deaths', *Sacramento Union*, 13/2/1917, p. 5.

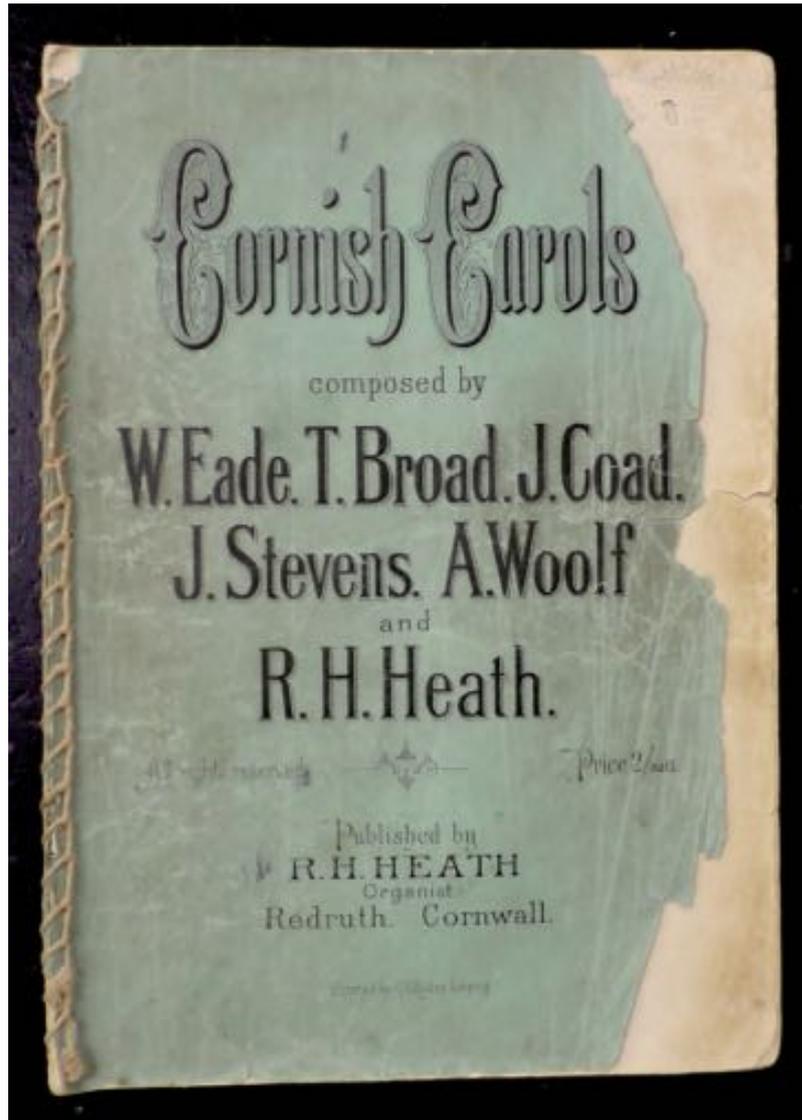


Plate 4.1: Heath's *Cornish Carols Part 1*, Zachariah Williams collection

The above plate shows Williams's copy of Robert Hainsworth Heath's *Cornish Carols Part 1*, first published in 1889 and printed in Leipzig by Carl Gottlieb Röder whose press specialised in music printing for publishers worldwide.²² Established in 1846, the firm was widely known during the late 19th century and was the first music printer to utilise a lithographic steam-powered press in 1863, enabling the cheap mass-production of printed music. Obviously well used, part of the cover has been

²² Robert Hainsworth Heath, *Cornish Carols Part 1* (Redruth: R. H. Heath, 1889); A. Hyatt King, 'C. G. Röder's Music-Printing Business in 1885', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 13/1 (1966), pp. 53-59.

torn away and the spine has been rebound by hand using a type of cord. What is of real interest here is the printers' stamp on the upper right corner of the first page. It was not immediately legible due to the discolouration around it, but closer inspection reveals that the stamp reads 'Hoblyn and Tayler – Booksellers and Printers – [?]4 Fore Street, Redruth' (located in Cornwall). This publication had therefore been published while Williams was resident in Grass Valley, and had been distributed locally via Hoblyn and Tayler before appearing in Williams' collection.

Williams also had in his possession Merritt's second set of Christmas carols, published in 1899. Again, this set of carols was published while Williams was in Grass Valley. The copy is similarly worn and the spine has been rebound twice by what appears to be a sewing machine. The phrase 'author's property' is printed on the frontispiece, perhaps indicating that this was a limited run and not for general distribution. Although it was published in London, the secondary seller's stamp adjacent to Williams's signature shows that this copy had also at some point come to Grass Valley from Cornwall. In this case, the seller is Thomas A. Kistler of 16 Fore Street, Redruth, who owned a music saloon and gallery.²³

²³ Cornwall Record Office, P197/2/95, T.A. Kistler, 16 Fore Street, Redruth.

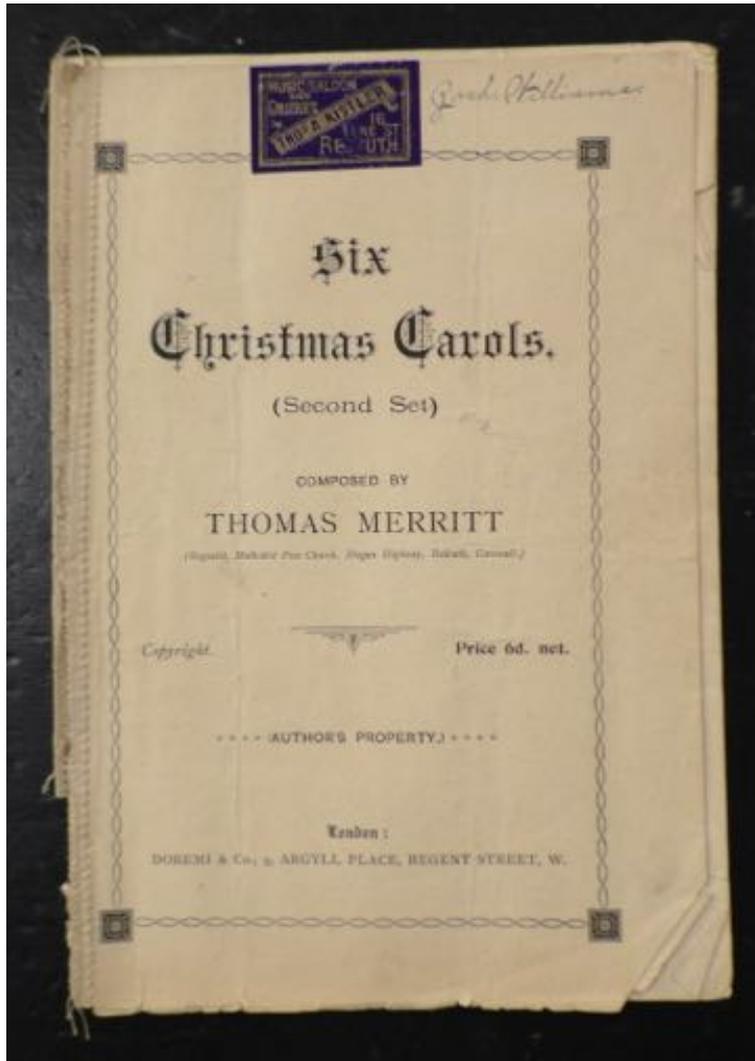


Plate 4.2: Merritt's *Christmas Carols - Second Set*, Zachariah Williams collection

It appears that Williams also owned *Part 2* of Heath's Cornish carols. This is held in a larger collection of printed material that belonged to Williams's grandson, Everett S. Champion (1912-2000). Williams's signature can be found on the inside cover.

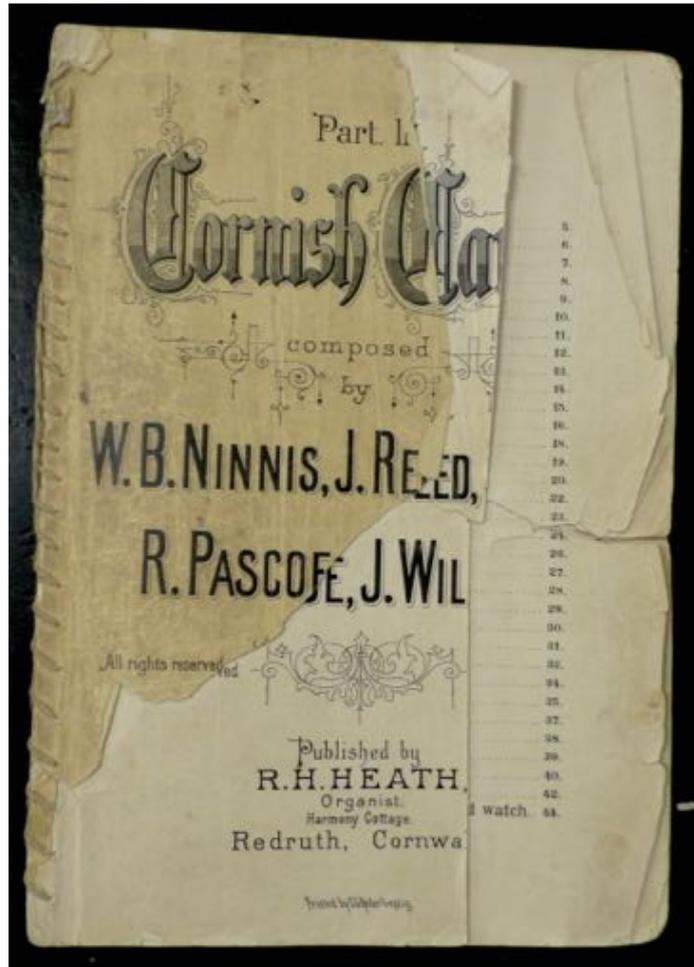


Plate 4.3: Heath's *Cornish Carols Part 2*, Zachariah Williams collection

Williams's copy of *Part 2* is similarly well worn and rebound with cord. Although it was also printed in Leipzig, most of the front and inside covers are missing and as such it is not clear which bookseller distributed this copy.

The final document in Williams's collection is a small book that, while not musical material, requires inclusion here since the overwhelming majority of the contents are carol texts. These are occasionally accompanied by directions for performance (such as 'trio', 'chorus' or 'duetto'), and it also contains short passages of prose that appear to be scriptural extracts. There is no musical material to accompany the text, and no suggestion of tunes that may be used to sing them, or any indication of meter. Due to

extensive use, the book is in an advanced state of disrepair with both the front and back covers torn away and several internal pages missing. It has also been rebound by hand with cord in a similar style to Williams's copies of the Heath collections. Fortunately, the alphabetical index of first lines at the front of the document has remained intact and shows that the book contained the words of 107 discrete texts, although some of the final pages are also missing.

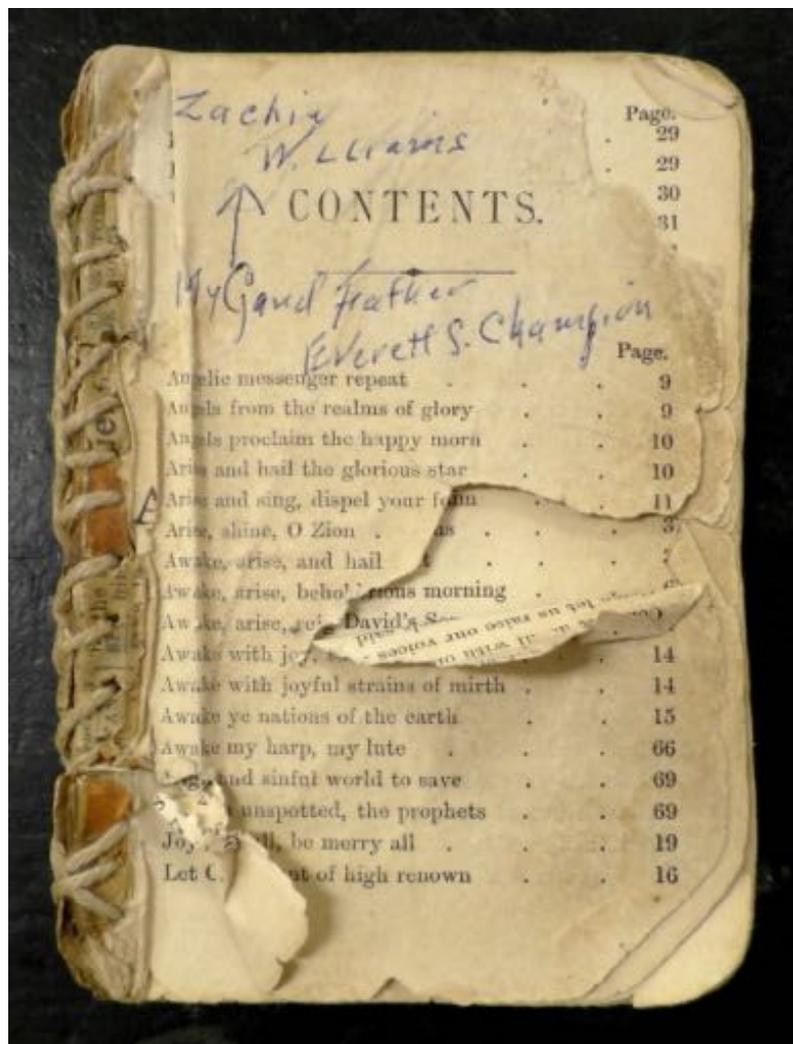


Plate 4.4: Book of carol words, Zachariah Williams collection

McKinney, presumably referring to Dunstan, suggests that it 'may be one of the

penny carol-books published in Redruth around the end of the 19th century'.²⁴ A closer examination reveals that while it was indeed sold for a penny, it is in fact *A Selection of Carols, Pieces, and Anthems, Suitable for Christmas* produced by Frederick Rodda of Penzance, Cornwall.²⁵ Although the copies themselves are undated, one of two digitized versions suggests that it was first published in 1860, and another source suggests 1870. A comparison of Williams's copy with two digitized versions reveals that the smallest edition contained 86 texts contained within 56 pages, another version contained 91 texts within 54 pages, and Williams's copy contained 107 texts within at least 66 pages. There were therefore at least three different editions, which is corroborated in Boase and Courtney's *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*.²⁶ In Vol. 2, Frederick Rodda's entry states that he had been a bookseller in Penzance since December 23rd 1869, and includes a reference to *A Selection of Carols, Pieces and Anthems*, suggesting a date of 1872 for the first edition of 56 pages, and a date of 1875 for the third edition of 69 pages. It is likely therefore that Williams' copy is the third and largest edition and dates from 1875. This raises the question of how Williams acquired his copy; if as McKinney suggests, he left Cornwall in 1870 it is unlikely that he obtained the book while he was in Cornwall.²⁷ However, an advertisement for the book as 'the largest and most complete collection of carols ever offered for one penny' in the *Royal Cornwall*

²⁴ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, p. 65, Ralph Dunstan, *The Cornish Song Book* (London: Reid Bros. Ltd, 1929).

²⁵ Frederick Rodda, *A Selection of Carols, Pieces and Anthems Suitable for Christmas* (London: W. Kent and Co., and Penzance: F. Rodda, Machine Printer, Market Place, 1860).

²⁶ George Clement Boase, and William Prideaux Courtney, *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis: A Catalogue of the Writings, both Manuscript and Printed, of Cornishmen, and of Works Relating to the County of Cornwall, with Biographical Memoranda and Copious Literary References* Vol. 2, P-Z (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1878), p. 583. While additional verification of the information found in these volumes is necessary, it is nevertheless an important source of information regarding printers, writers and others in Cornwall during the 19th century.

²⁷ According to *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*, in 1876 Rodda was in California with his wife. It is therefore not beyond the realms of possibility that copies were available in the USA, but I suggest it is far more likely that Williams obtained a copy either from Cornwall or from a migrant more recent than himself.

Gazette in October 1881 indicates that it continued to be available well beyond its original publication date, and as such it is possible that a copy made its way to Grass Valley at some time during the late 19th century.²⁸

The collection of Richard Henry Champion (1878-1936), Williams's son-in-law, was extensive. Born in Cornwall, Champion migrated to America in 1891, working in Nevada before arriving in Grass Valley in 1901 and marrying Williams's daughter.²⁹ Richard Champion also appears to have sung with the Grass Valley Carol choir; he held his own copies of Heath's collections, which had come from different sources in Cornwall. In the below figure, it is possible to see that the spine has been rebound and on a closer inspection of the book's contents, it is clear that while pages 1-12 are missing, the interior is actually the material of Heath's *Part 2* which has been bound inside the cover of *Part 1*.³⁰

²⁸ Advertisement, *The Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 28/10/1881, p. 1.

²⁹ McKinney, Roster of Choir Members, 'When Miners Sang Collection', Searls Historical Library.

³⁰ Robert Hainsworth Heath, *Cornish Carols Part 2* (Leipzig: R. H. Heath, 1889).

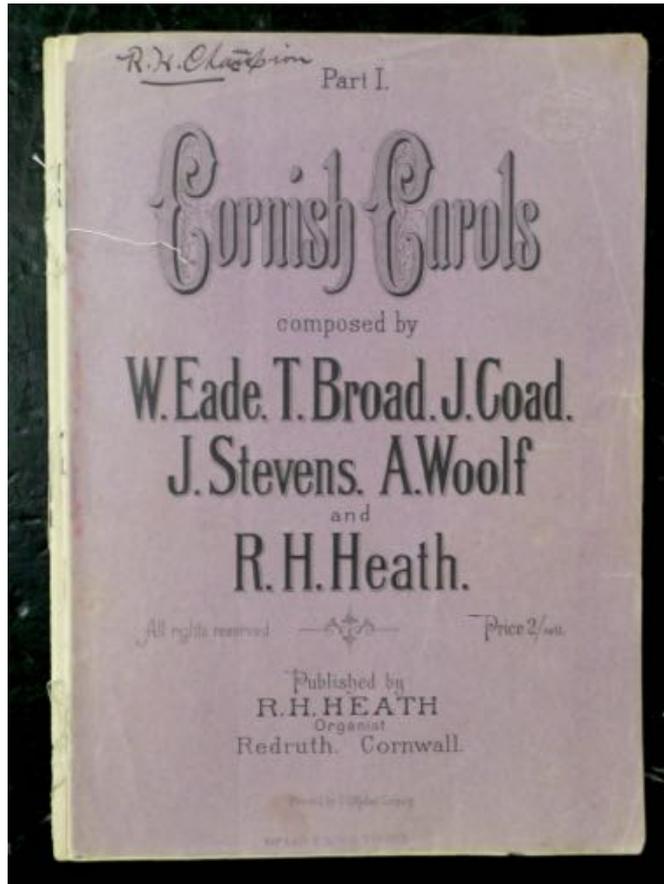


Plate 4.5: Heath's *Cornish Carols Part 1*, Richard Henry Champion collection

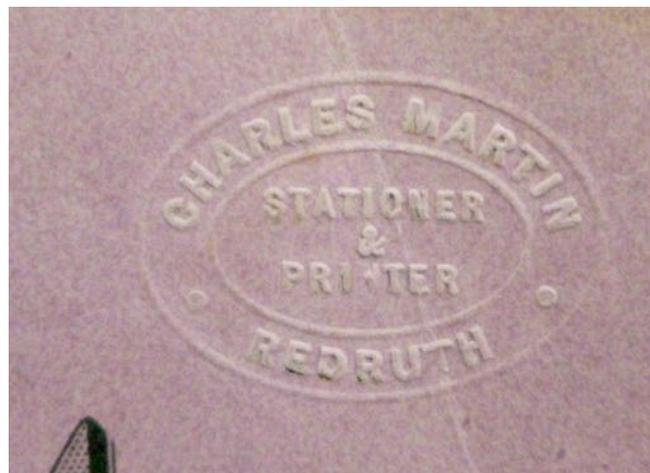


Plate 4.6: Closeup of printer's stamp in plate 4.5

The stamp reads 'Charles Martin, Stationer and Printer, Redruth', and although little is known of his business, extant sources suggest he was operating in the early 20th

century.³¹ However, in Plate 4.5, it is possible to make out that this copy also bears an ink-stamped imprint of ‘Heard and Sons, Truro’ at the bottom of the cover. Heard and Sons were publishers and printers operating in Truro throughout the 19th century. An indelible stamp from this establishment can be seen in Champion’s second copy of Heath’s *Part 1*. Heard and Sons were a long established printing and publication business in Truro which eventually became the ‘Cornwall Music Warehouse’, which continued to distribute music into the twentieth century.

Alongside Heath’s collections, Richard Henry Champion also had both sets of Thomas Merritt’s carols (both of which bear the Charles Martin stamp), as shown in the figures below.

³¹ Martin is mentioned as a stockist of *The Mining Journal Railway and Commercial Gazette* in issue 3668, 19/12/1905, p. 662.

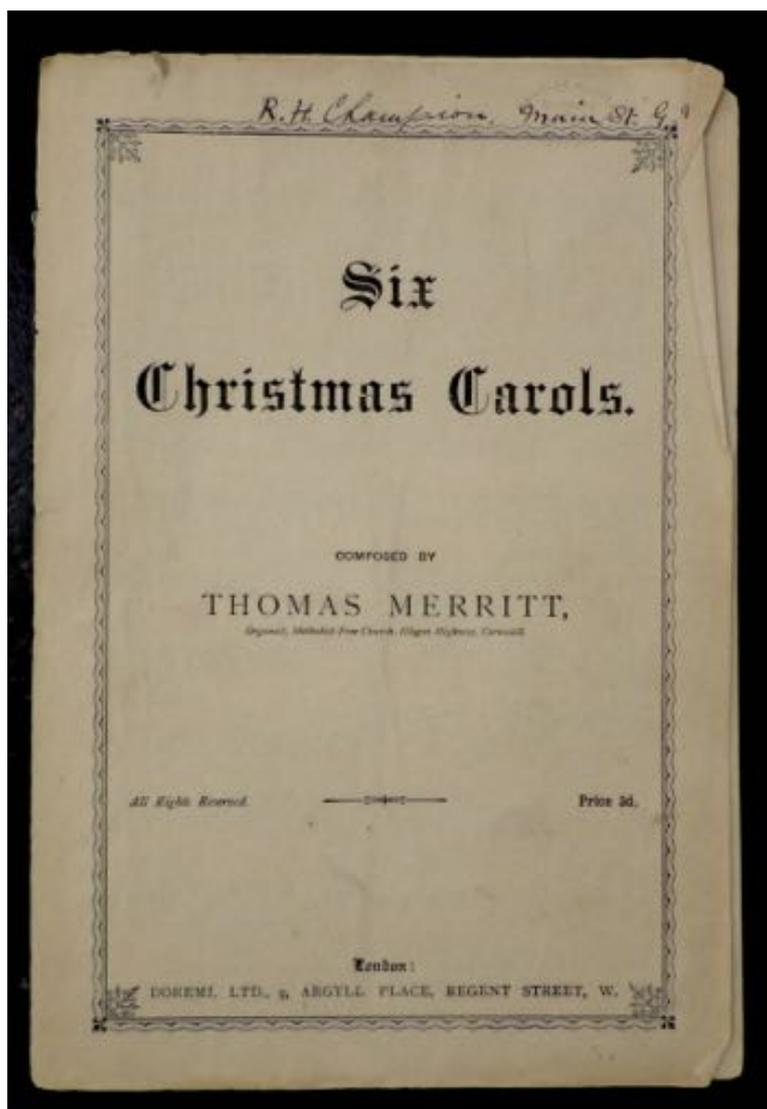


Plate 4.7: Merritt's *Six Christmas Carols*, Richard Henry Champion collection³²

Another printed item in Champion's possession is a new source of musical material from Cornwall that has not appeared in any other collection thus far. This is *Old Methodist Hymn Tunes Selected and Revised by Geo. F. Bond*, shown below:

³² Thomas Merritt, *Six Christmas Carols* (London: Doremi & Co., 1891).

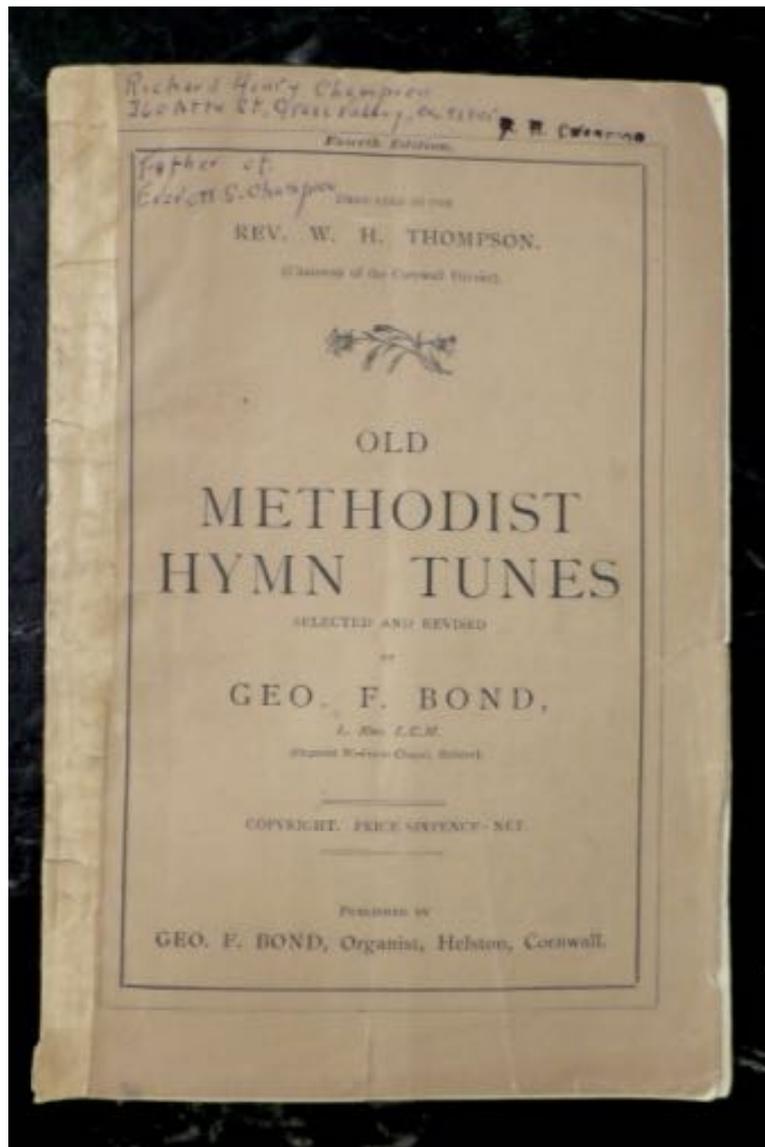


Plate 4.8: Bond's *Old Methodist Hymn Tunes*, Richard Henry Champion collection³³

The writing at the top is presumably Everett's handwriting, giving his father's address and stating their relationship. This publication does not bear a seller's stamp and as such it is unclear where it was sold. The publication is a collection of sixteen hymns, which are presented with their titles and meters, but without associated texts.

Although the document itself does not give any indication of publication date, it was nationally advertised for sale in *The Non-Conformist Musical Journal* in May 1896 as

³³ George F. Bond, *Old Methodist Hymn Tunes* (Hull: George F. Bond., c.1900).

‘revised from old manuscript music’.³⁴ The publication clearly reached a receptive audience since Champion’s copy is the fourth edition, and as such it is likely to be of a later date than 1896.

| No. | Title and Meter |
|-----|----------------------------|
| 1 | Arabia, C.M. |
| 2 | Faith, C.M. |
| 3 | Innocence, C.M. |
| 4 | Bridport, C.M. |
| 5 | Pisgah’s Mount, L.M. |
| 6 | Chatham, L.M. |
| 7 | Tranquillity, L.M. |
| 8 | Federal Street, L.M. |
| 9 | Sovereignty, 6.8s. |
| 10 | Haverhill, L.M. |
| 11 | Mount, S.M. |
| 12 | Salutation, 8.8.8.8.8.8. |
| 13 | Delight, L.M. |
| 14 | Recreation, 6.8s. |
| 15 | Gays, 6.8s. (second meter) |
| 16 | Diadem, C.M. |

Table 4.1: Bond’s *Old Methodist Hymn Tunes*, Richard Henry Champion collection³⁵

Some of the tunes may be identified; for example, ‘Diadem’ is James Ellor, written circa 1838, Federal Street appears in Lowell Mason’s *Boston Academy Collection of Church Music* (Boston: W. J. Wilkins and B. Carter) c1836) and Arabia is credited to W. Wilson in *Hymns of Grace and Truth* (New York: Loiseaux Brothers) 1903.³⁶

However, the composers and publications of many are as yet unclear and the ‘manuscript music’ Bond refers to may indeed be local handwritten manuscripts,

³⁴ *The Non-Conformist Music Journal*, No. 101, May 1896, p. 66.

³⁵ George F. Bond, *Old Methodist Hymn Tunes* (Hull: George F. Bond, c.1900). The meters given following the titles indicate the number of syllables to each line, with abbreviations such as ‘L.M.’ (‘long meter’) or ‘C.M.’ (‘common meter’) indicating standard metrical settings. ‘6.8s’ indicates six lines of eight syllables, as in ‘Salutation’ (No. 12). Capitalisation in all tables in this section has been standardised for ease of use. Throughout this thesis, where cited in the text, titles of carol titles will be included in single quotation marks. In tables however, they will be not enclosed in quotation marks for ease of reading.

³⁶ Lowell Mason, *Boston Academy Collection of Church Music* (Boston: W. J. Wilkins and B. Carter, c1836) and *Hymns of Grace and Truth* (New York: Loiseaux Brothers, 1903).

rather than published works. While published in Cornwall, the musical materials do not appear to be immediately relevant to the Grass Valley Carol Choir since they are not noted either as specifically Christmas music, or specifically Cornish. However, as I show in the following section, this music was key in developing carol repertoire specific to Grass Valley.

Photocopies of Simon L. Crase's music collection are also held in the Library. Crase was born in 1877 in Redruth and migrated with his family to Grass Valley aged nine.³⁷ He was heavily involved in the town's musical activities and was a member of many different choirs and musical organisations during his life, including the Grass Valley Carol Choir and Merritt Choir.³⁸ He also had copies of both of Heath's collections; *Part 2* was printed by Röder in Leipzig and sold by Charles Martin, while *Part 1* was printed and published by Heard and Sons. Crase also had a copy of Merritt's second set of Christmas carols with his name and address stamped on the cover. However, this is a different edition since it was published through Reid Bros rather than through Doremi & Co, and an oval stamp shows it was sold by 'Heard and Sons, Cornwall Music Warehouse, Truro'.

The final collection is William Tremewan's music collection. The Searls Historical Library holds photocopies rather than the originals of this collection, which remain with the Tremewan family.³⁹ There is some uncertainty as to Tremewan's identity – two William Tremewans are mentioned in McKinney's roster of choir singers, a Frederick William (Bill) Tremewan born in St Agnes in 1878 who arrived in Grass

³⁷ McKinney, Roster of Choir Members, 'When Miners Sang Collection', Searls Historical Library.

³⁸ McKinney, Roster of Choir Members, 'When Miners Sang Collection', Searls Historical Library.

³⁹ It is not clear whether there is some overlap of information between William Tremewan and Frederick William Tremewan in McKinney's Roster of Choir Members, 'When Miners Sang Collection', Searls Historical Library.

Valley around 1906-7, and the second William Tremewan is mentioned as master mechanic in Jamestown.⁴⁰ In 1906 a W. Tremewan was listed as a bass singer with the choir in the *Sacramento Union*.⁴¹ Tremewan also owned Heath's two collections, but his versions were printed and published by Heard and Sons' Cornwall Music Warehouse rather than published by Heath and printed by Röder.⁴² A stamp stating 'Grass Valley Carol Choir' and Tremewan's signature are clear on the front cover of each. However, also in Tremewan's possession was a copy of *The Christmas Welcome*, a collection of Cornish carols published in South Australia which I discuss in detail in the following chapter. Cross-referencing the contents confirms that the edition in the Tremewan collection was the final version published in 1909. There is a stamp on the front cover, which due to the quality of the photocopy is very unclear. Unfortunately even with digital manipulation it is not possible to make out the name of the seller, and as such it is uncertain which seller distributed Tremewan's copy, and whether it was sold in Australia, the USA, or Cornwall.

Lastly, it is appropriate to include the collection of William Provis Ralph, held by the Doris Foley Library in Nevada City. Ralph was born to Cornish parents in Placerville, California, in 1896 and lived in Grass Valley as a child where he sang with the carol choir before the family moved to Sacramento.⁴³ He then lived in Oakland in the San Francisco Bay area of California, where he died in 1997.⁴⁴ Ralph was very enthusiastic about the Grass Valley Carol Choir and acted as a concert organiser and publicist. Through an examination of his correspondence, McKinney states that 'people in Cornwall learned about the Oakland performances in *The Cornishman*,

⁴⁰ McKinney, Roster of Choir Members, 'When Miners Sang Collection', Searls Historical Library.

⁴¹ 'Christmas Carol Singers', *Sacramento Union*, 10/12/1906, p. 10.

⁴² William Tremewan music collection, 'When Miners Sang Collection', Searls Historical Library.

⁴³ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, p. 201.

⁴⁴ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, p. 201.

Western Independent, *West Briton*, and *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, and in other newspapers where his press releases appeared'.⁴⁵ In his own collection he had copies of Parts 1 and 2 of T. N. Warmington's *Old Christmas Carols and Anthems* that were published in 1912.⁴⁶ These publications may have been sent to Ralph from Cornwall, but Warmington spent time in America and had established outlets for his work there; in 1916 *The Cornishman* advertised his work, stating 'Our American readers should make a note of the fact that Mr Warmington has selling agents for his popular book of Christmas Carols ("real Cornish") in Montana and Michigan'.⁴⁷ Also in this collection is a modern reprint of Heath's *Part 2* which Ralph appears to have acquired towards the end of his life. Inside the cover is a note written in stating 'very similar to the books we used in the Grass Valley Carol Choir 1903-1911'.⁴⁸

From these different collections it is clear that a wide variety of printed sources of carol music and text, the majority of which were drawn from Cornwall, were available in Grass Valley around the turn of the 19th century. However, there were also a number of handwritten music manuscripts dating from the early twentieth century that are available in McKinney's collection. I first examine William Tremewan's manuscript book, which is part of a separate collection held at Grass Valley's North Star Powerhouse Mining Museum.⁴⁹ I was only able to access a photocopy of the manuscript and as such images are a little unclear. However, it would appear that the front cover (below) is dated '25th 11 '19'.

⁴⁵ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, p. 203. *The Cornishman*, *West Briton*, and *Royal Cornwall Gazette* were all Cornish newspapers.

⁴⁶ Thomas N. Warmington, *Old Christmas Carols and Anthems Part 1 and Part 2* (Carbis Bay, Cornwall: Warmington, 1912).

⁴⁷ 'St Ives', *The Cornishman*, 2/11/1916, p. 5.

⁴⁸ William Provis Ralph collection, Doris Foley Historical Library, Nevada City, California, USA.

⁴⁹ North Star Powerhouse Mining Museum, Grass Valley, California, USA. Photocopy of manuscript provided by Eleanor Kenitzer.



Plate 4.9: Front cover of the William Tremewan MSS, photocopy

The manuscript contains twenty Christmas carols, written out in four parts with words included beneath the staves. The following table gives the carol title and any additional information in brackets. Analyses of the tunes and texts show that many of the carols may be identified with the printed material discussed above, shown (abbreviated) in the second column.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ A table of these abbreviations is given in Appendix B.

| No. | Title | Suggested Source |
|-----|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | Arise and Sing. Christmas carol (By Wolf) | RHH P1, p. 19 |
| 2 | While Shepherds | TNW P2, p.3 |
| 3 | New Park | Unknown |
| 4 | Angelic Host | RHH P1, p. 14 |
| 5 | The Lord is Come | RHH P1, p. 23 |
| 6 | Prince of Life (By Coad) | TCW (any known edition), p. 10 |
| 7 | While Shepherds | RHH P2, p. 10 |
| 8 | Bethlehem (By Broad) | RHH P2, p. 24 |
| 9 | Come Let Us Raise Our Voices | Unknown |
| 10 | The Infant King (Let eastern tribes) | RHH P2, p. 7; TNW P2, p. 6 |
| 11 | Angels Proclaim | RHH P1, p. 31 |
| 12 | The Star of Jacob | RHH P1, p. 10 |
| 13 | Star of Bethlehem (Lo the eastern sages rise) | Unknown (common, Stanley's version) |
| 14 | Diadem (All hail the power of Jesus name or While shepherds watched their flocks by night) | GFB, OMH, p. 10 |
| 15 | Seraphic Minstrels | TNW P2, p. 16; RHH P2, p. 37 |
| 16 | Awake With Joy, Salute the Morn | TM 2, p. 6 |
| 17 | Hark What Music Fills Creation | RHH P1, p. 11; TNW, P1 p. 14 |
| 18 | Heavenly sounds (By Coad) | TCW (any known edition), p. 13 |
| 19 | Prince of Peace (By Coad) | RHH P2, p. 40 |
| 20 | Awake With Joyful Strains of Mirth | RHH P1, p.13 |

Table 4.2: Suggested sources of repertoire for the Tremewan MSS

Analysis of the musical material indicates that the overwhelming majority of the carols may be traced to the printed sources already discussed. Ten carols appear in Heath's collections, two appear in Warmington's collections, and two appear in *The Christmas Welcome* (an Australian publication I discuss in the next chapter). One, 'Salutation', is the carol text 'While Shepherds' set to the tune of the same name found in George F. Bond's *Old Methodist Hymn Tunes* (in Henry Richard Champion's collection). The sources for 'The Star of Bethlehem' (No. 13) 'New Park' (No. 3) and 'Come Let Us Raise Our Voices' (No. 9) are unknown, although the tune for 'The Star of Bethlehem' is common across various village carolling

traditions, written by Samuel Stanleys circa 1802-5 for the text ‘Lo! The Eastern Sages Rise’ written by Jehoaida Brewer, a dissenting Congregational minister.⁵¹ ‘New Park’ later appears in 1929 in Ralph Dunstan’s *Cornish Songbook*, and as yet I have not identified a source for No. 9, ‘Come Let Us Raise Our Voices High’ (although it also incorporates a fugging structure).⁵²

John E. Thomas’s handwritten manuscript book is held at the Searls Historical Library in the *When Miners Sang* collection. Thomas was born in 1874 in St Just, Cornwall, and migrated with his brother to work at a cyanide mill in Charter Towers in Queensland Australia before travelling to America and eventually Grass Valley in 1906.⁵³ He died in 1931. According to his family’s history, ‘although his vocation was as a miner, his avocation was as a musician’.⁵⁴ Although his manuscript is undated, the style of book appears to be the same as Tremewan’s. It is reasonable to assume that the material within it was transcribed during Thomas’s life in Grass Valley and reflects the repertoire of the carol choir in the early 20th century.

Thomas’s manuscript contains fifteen carols, one hymn, and one ballad (the latter appears to relate to the American civil war). As such the following table shows the full contents of the book in the same order as they are placed in the manuscript. As in Table 4.3, the third column shows the printed sources that I suggest that Thomas’s manuscript either copies or is related to.

⁵¹ Ian Russell, *English Village Carols: Traditional Christmas Carolling from the Southern Pennines* (CD liner notes), (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Folkways, 1999) [On CD: SFW CD 40476], p. 20.

⁵² Dunstan, *The Cornish Songbook*, p. 104.

⁵³ McKinney, Roster of Choir Members, ‘When Miners Sang Collection’, Searls Historical Library.

⁵⁴ John E. Thomas, family history, in John E. Thomas (baritone) folder, ‘When Miners Sang Collection’, Searls Historical Library.

| No. | Title | Suggested Source |
|------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 | Angelic Hosts (Merritt's) (old tune) | TM 1, No. 1 |
| 2 | Seraphic Minstrels | TNW P2, p. 16; RHH P2, p. 37 |
| 3 | Angels Proclaim | RHH P1, p. 31 |
| 4 | Prince of Life | TCW (any edition), p. 10 |
| 5 | Bethlehem | RHH P2, p. 24 |
| 6 | The Star of Jacob | RHH P1, p. 10 |
| 7 | Star of Bethlehem | RHH P2, p. 18 |
| 8 | Angels Proclaim | RHH P1, p. 31 |
| 9 | New Park | Unknown |
| 10 | The Lord is Come | RHH P1, p. 23 |
| 11 | The Infant King | RHH P2, p. 7; TNW P2, p. 6 |
| 12 | While Shepherds | RHH P2, p. 10 |
| 13 | Diadem | GFB, p. 10 |
| 14 | Luminary | TNW P1, p. 20 |
| 15 | With What Resplendant Beauty | RHH P1, p. 22 |
| 16 | We Are Going Down the Valley | Unknown |
| 17 | The Banner of Sixty-Two | Unknown |

Table 4.3: Suggested sources for the Thomas MSS

Although the majority of Thomas's tunes are unattributed, he does attribute 'Angelic Hosts' to Merritt, and give a composer for the civil war ballad.

Finally, John E. Nettel's manuscript book for B flat cornet confirms that at some point, the carol singing tradition was not exclusively choral and that the singers were accompanied by instrumentalists. This collection is also photocopied, the original manuscript remaining with Nettel's descendants. Again, the following table suggests the sources from which the musical material was drawn.

| No. | Title | Suggested Source |
|-----|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | Prince of Life | TCW (any edition), p. 10 |
| 2 | Awake With Joy, Salute The Morn | TM 2, No. 5 |
| 3 | Joy to the World (Antioch 107, Handel ⁵⁵) | Unknown (common) |
| 4 | Bethlehem | RHH P2, p. 24 |
| 5 | Hail, Sacred Day | TM 1, No. 2 |
| 6 | Lo! He Comes | TM 1, No. 3 |
| 7 | Come Let Us All With One Accord | TM 2, p. 1 |
| 8 | Angelic Hosts | TM 1, No. 1 |
| 9 | Hark, What Music | RHH P1 p.11; TNW P1, p. 14 |
| 10 | Salutation | GFB No. 12, |
| 11 | While Shepherds | RHH P2, p. 10 |
| 12 | Sound, Sound | TNW P2, p. 16; RHH P2, p. 37 |
| 13 | Lo The Eastern Sages Rise | Unknown (common, Stanley's version) |
| 13 | Diadem | Unknown (common, Ellor's version) |
| 14 | The Lord Is Come | RHH P1, p. 23 |

Table 4.4: Contents of Nettel MSS

In these tables I have not provided a column to indicate whether the material is fuging or not. However, as I now demonstrate, I consider that there are enough concordances between the manuscripts and printed sources to reliably indicate the printed sources of many of the carols.

4.3: Analysis: Development and Interactions

Clearly then, a wide variety of printed Cornish carol material appeared in Grass Valley at the turn of the 19th century. The overwhelming majority originated in Cornwall and were published between 1889 and 1912. The exception, Tremewan's edition of *The Christmas Welcome*, from South Australia, was published no earlier than 1909. These printed sources acted as a pool from which the carol choirs of the 19th and early twentieth centuries drew their material, which was transcribed into the manuscript books of individual singers such as Thomas, Tremewan and Nettel. These

⁵⁵ 'Antoich' is a tune title.

manuscripts are extremely interesting since an examination of the texts and musical materials suggests that choir members copied – and created – material from a wide range of the printed scores available. Here, I explore three examples that illustrate the different sources from which material in the handwritten manuscripts were drawn.

The first example is ‘Luminary’, for which only the bass line is included in pages 24-25 of Thomas’s manuscript. This text appears to be unique since as yet it is not found in any standard Christian hymnals or carol publications. Here, Thomas’s manuscript is a very close match to the version titled ‘A Luminary Bright’ published in Cornwall in 1912 by Warmington (and as discussed above, held by William Ralph). While Warmington does not give a composer for this carol, he does so for other carols in his collections (including his own compositions). I therefore suggest that he may have drawn or arranged this carol from another source that as yet has not been uncovered. This carol has a more complex structure than the majority of other carols discussed here. In Warmington’s publication it has three distinct parts: the first fifteen bars are in common time, and contain the first two lines of the text with the four parts moving homophonically. The third and fourth lines of the text make up the second section, which continues in common time but immediately introduces the fugal entries, which start in the soprano line and are imitated in the bass before the altos and the tenors enter in the following consecutive bars with their own figures before coming together in homophony. The third part contains the final two lines of the text and moves into 2/4. This begins with all parts moving together, but includes a second fugal section before returning to close with a homophonic structure. There are no additional verses or indication of a refrain.

A comparison of Thomas's bass part with T. N. Warmington's 1912 publication shows that it is similar but not identical to the printed source. The text itself, and the three part structure of the music is consistent, although in Thomas's manuscript the middle section is not repeated as Warmington's is. There are a number of small harmonic variations; for example, in bar 4 a C in Warmington's score is substituted for an E in Thomas's manuscript, and the reverse in bar 6. Further, in Thomas's manuscript the text has been rearranged slightly at bar 12 to repeat the word 'breaks' over the quaver run melisma, rather than the word 'gloom' in Warmington. However, there are many other indications that the two scores are related. For example, although Thomas places the stems on the wrong side of the note head, the more complex dotted rhythms in bars 25-27 are exactly copied note for note:

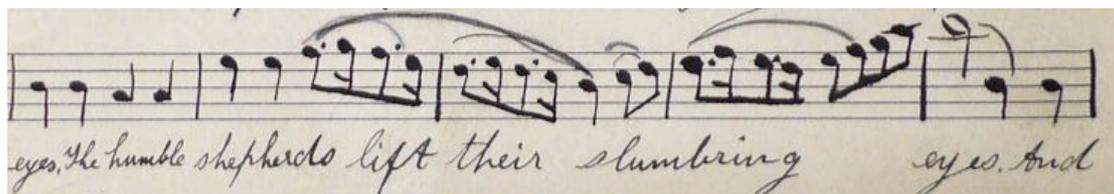


Plate 4.10: Bars 24-28 of 'Luminary', John E. Thomas MSS⁵⁶



Example 4.1: Bars 24-8 of 'Luminary', Warmington, *Part I*⁵⁷

Although the words in these examples do not match, the text is the same; there may have been some slippage in the transcription but without the other parts it is difficult

⁵⁶ For full score, see Appendix C.2.

⁵⁷ For full score, see Appendix C.3.

to tell whether this is replicated across the other voices. However, many of the phrasing marks over runs such as these are exactly the same. Other textual performance directions support a relationship between the scores; for example, in the 2/4 section, Thomas detaches his quavers in exactly the same manner as Warmington. The rest placements and styles (for example, the crotchet rests in bars 1 and 11 and the semiquaver rest in bar 38) are identical, and two of the pauses in the final section at bars 39 and 53.

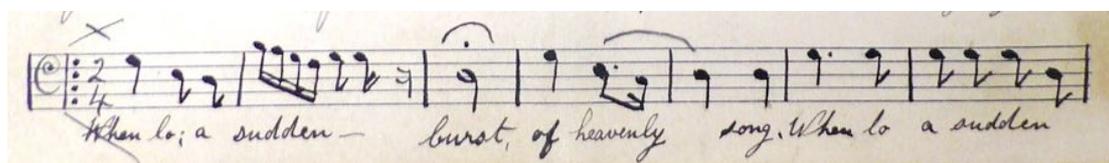
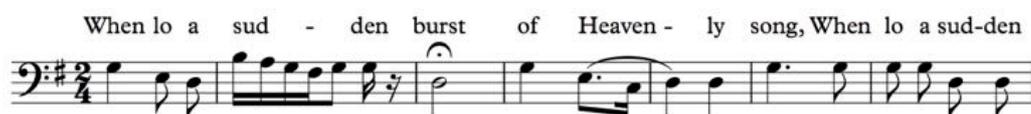


Plate 4.11: Bars 37-43 of 'Luminary', John E. Thomas MSS



Example 4.2: Bars 37-43 of 'Luminary', Warmington, *Part 1*

Here then, a strong relationship is indicated between Thomas's handwritten manuscript and a printed source that first appeared in 1912. While the unique text heavily implies that Warmington was the source for Thomas's transcription, it may be the case that other publications containing this text and tune exist which have not yet surfaced. However, I suggest that it is very likely that the Warmington text was present in Grass Valley during Thomas's membership of the carol choir as part of William Provis Ralph's collection. Nevertheless, the slight changes from the printed score in Thomas's manuscript indicate that some minor level of arrangement – or

development in performance – has taken place.

The second example is ‘Awake With Joy, Salute The Morn’, drawn from pages 17-18 of William Tremewan’s manuscript. Tremewan does not provide any text with this carol, which is copied out extremely neatly in four full parts. The text appears in Zachariah Williams’ word book, where the carol is three stanzas in long meter with a two line refrain.⁵⁸ However, the tune Tremewan uses is Thomas Merritt’s version, and appears to be a direct copy from the score; all four parts are clearly defined making comparison with Merritt’s score more fruitful. However, it has been transposed down a major second from B-flat major into A-flat major. This may have been a transcription out of choice; or, alternatively another version of Merritt’s carol may have been available in A-flat. However, several stylistic consistencies indicate that this was a copy from the manuscript. For example, the phrasing marks over the short melismatic runs are in many cases the same, and a number of the smaller phrasing marks connecting the dotted rhythms and crotchets have the same placement. Further, the style and placement of the crotchet and minim rests, which is particularly obvious in the fugal section in bars 37-9.

⁵⁸ This first stanza also appears attached to a hymn tune named ‘Hosanna’ in *The Cornubian Tune Book*, which likely predates Williams’ publication since it was published in 1870 by Richard Jones of Penzance; see Richard Jones, *The Cornubian Tune Book* (Penzance: William Cornish, 1870), pp. 188-9, later republished by Dunstan in *The Cornish Songbook*, p. 120.

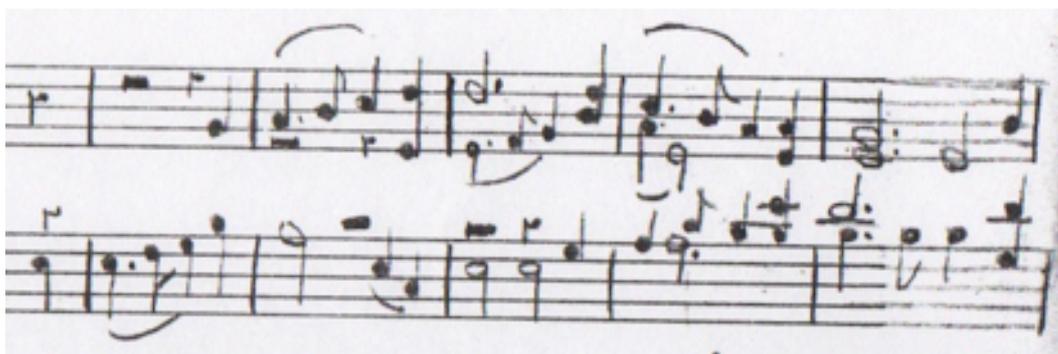


Plate 4.12: Fugal section, 'Awake With Joy', William Tremewan MSS⁵⁹

Ho san - na to the new - born King. He

Ho - san - na to the new - born King. He

Example 4.3: Fugal section, 'Awake With Joy', Merritt, *Six Christmas Carols (Second Set)*⁶⁰

What most clearly indicates a copy from the printed score is Tremewan's inclusion of performance directions such as the 'chorus ff' after the double bar-line, and the accompanying 'small notes for organ' in bars 21-22. However, Tremewan has added repeat marks at the chorus, indicating that the group he sang with was formulating their own way of performing this particular carol.

For the final example, I return to Thomas's manuscript, focusing on 'With What Resplendent Beauty Shone' on pages 26-27. This appears to have been copied directly

⁵⁹ For full score, see Appendix C.4.

⁶⁰ For full score, see Appendix C.5.

from the version attributed to M. Watts in Robert Hainsworth Heath's *Cornish Carols Part 1*. Again, I suggest the copy from Heath's publication is direct and exact. First, Thomas's version contains all four parts and includes more of notational architecture present in Heath's publication, including the system, bracket and key signature at the start of each line that had been missing from other numbers in his manuscript. Second, the phrasing brackets, repeats and rests are all copied in the same style and place as in the printed manuscript. Third, the text is exactly the same, with Thomas including two further verses of the six available in Heath. Both the words and music for the interlocking soprano/tenor and alto/bass parts and text in the section at bars 5-10 are copied exactly – word for word and note for note.

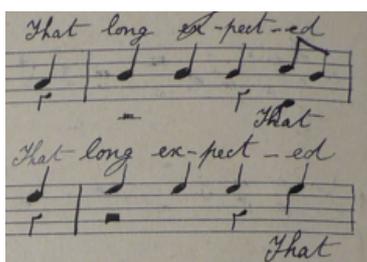


Plate 4.13: Bars 4-5 of 'Resplendent Beauty', John E. Thomas MSS

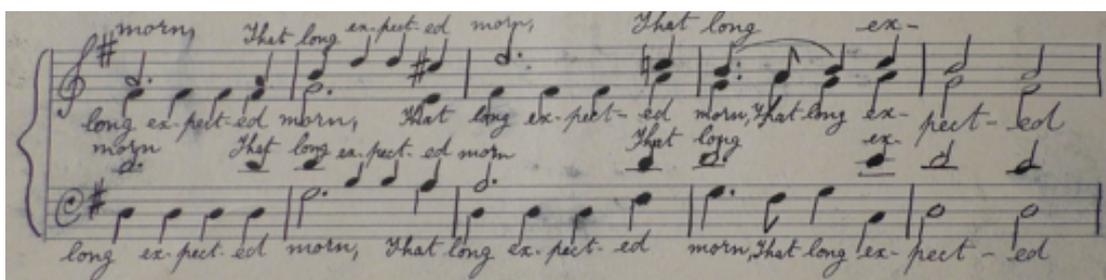


Plate 4.14: Bars 6-10 of 'Resplendent Beauty', John E. Thomas MSS⁶¹

⁶¹ For full score, see Appendix C.6.

different perspective of the repertoire in use by the choir. On the other hand, it may have been the case that either the individuals or the choirs themselves did not possess sufficient funds to acquire books for all members of the choir; equally, the memberships were transient and nebulous and therefore those that were most engaged with the practices acquired their own manuscript books in order to keep copies of the repertoire.

Further scrutiny of the manuscripts also reveals that there are several examples of contrafactum; instances where a metrical match has enabled the tune of one carol to be used to accompany the text of another. For example, each of the manuscripts features a version of 'While Shepherds Watched' that, cross-referencing between the printed material, appears to utilise William Eade's tune for 'What Melody' published in Heath's *Cornish Carols Part 2*. A second version of 'While Shepherds' in the Tremewan manuscript may be traced to Warmington's 'Usher In The Morn' in the second of his collections. Finally, the carol simply titled 'Salutation', found in Nettel's manuscript, may be traced to George F. Bond's 'Salutation' in his collection of *Old Methodist Hymn Tunes*. While no lyrics are attached to Nettel's manuscript, later recordings and performances of Grass Valley's carol choir (which I discuss in further detail in sections 2 and 3) demonstrate that the tune was used to accompany Charles Wesley's 'To Us A Child of Royal Birth'.⁶³ Here then, the Grass Valley carol choirs (or their directors) were active in their use of the printed material; rather than only choosing particular carols from the books, both texts and tunes were repurposed in order to create new repertoire that was perhaps specific to Grass Valley.

⁶³ 'To Us A Child of Royal Birth', Charles Wesley, in John Wesley, *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists* (London: John Mason, 1831), Hymn No. 605.

However, the manuscripts are not only intricately related to the printed scores, but also to each other. Of thirty one individual carols, seven carols are common to all three manuscripts, nine carols appear in two of the three manuscripts, and a further sixteen carols only appear once.⁶⁴ The table also indicates whether the tunes are fugging, and in how many parts.⁶⁵

| Occ. | Title | Fuging | Suggested Source |
|-------------|--|---------------|--|
| 3 | The Lord is Come | Y (3 parts)? | RHH P1, p. 23 |
| 3 | Prince of Life (By Coad) | Y (3 parts)? | TCW (any edition), p. 10 |
| 3 | While Shepherds | Y (3 parts)? | RHH P2, p. 10 |
| 3 | Bethlehem (By Broad) | N | RHH P2, p. 24 |
| 3 | Diadem (All hail the power of Jesus name or While shepherds watched their flocks by night) | N | Unknown (common, Ellor's version) |
| 3 | Seraphic Minstrels | Y (2 parts) | TNW P2, p. 16; RHH P2, p. 37 |
| 3 | Star of Bethlehem (Lo the eastern sages rise) | N | Unknown (common, Stanley's version) – also RHH P2, p. 18 |
| 2 | Awake With Joy Salute the Morn | Y (4 parts) | TM 2, p. 6 |
| 2 | Angelic Hosts | Y (3 parts)? | RHH P1, p. 14; TM 1, No. 1 |
| 2 | Hark, What Music | Y (4 parts) | RHH P1 p.11; TNW P1, p. 14 |
| 2 | The Infant King (Let Eastern Tribes) | Y (3 parts) | RHH P2 p. 7; TNW P2, p. 6 |
| 2 | Angels Proclaim | Y (3 parts)? | RHH P1 p. 31 |
| 2 | The Star of Jacob | Y (3 parts) | RHH P1 p. 10 |
| 2 | New Park | N | Unknown |
| 1 | Joy to the World (Antioch 107, Handel) | N | Unknown (common) |
| 1 | Hail Sacred Day | Y (4 parts) | TM 1, No. 2 |
| 1 | Lo! He Comes | N | TM 1, No. 4 |
| 1 | Come Let Us All With One Accord | Y (4 parts) | TM 2, p. 1 |
| 1 | Angelic Hosts | Y (4 parts) | TM 1, No. 1 |
| 1 | Salutation | N | GFB OMH, p. 7 |
| 1 | Arise and Sing. Christmas carol (By Wolf) | Y (4 parts) | RHH P1, p. 19 |
| 1 | While Shepherds | Y (4 parts) | TNW P2, p.3 |
| 1 | Come Let Us Raise Our Voices | Y (4 parts) | Unknown |

⁶⁴ This table does not include 'We Are Going Down The Valley' and 'The Banner of Sixty-Two' found in the Thomas manuscript since they are not Christmas carols.

⁶⁵ 'Y' indicates 'yes', 'N' indicates 'no'. Question marks have been added where it is not entirely clear (for example, when one voice appears to halt, the entry is not imitative, or the part is illegible).

| | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | Heavenly Sounds (By Coad) | Y (4 parts) | TCW (any known edition), p. 13 |
| 1 | Prince of Peace (By Coad) | Y (4 parts)? | RHH P2, p. 40 |
| 1 | Awake with Joyful Strains of Mirth | Y (4 parts) | RHH P1, p. 13 |
| 1 | Angels Proclaim | Y (4 parts)? | RHH P1, p. 31 |
| 1 | Luminary | Y (4 parts) | TNW P1, p. 20 |
| 1 | With What Resplendent Beauty | Y (3 parts) | RHH P1, p. 22 |

Table 4.5: Carols found in the Tremewan, Thomas and Nettel manuscripts⁶⁶

Table 4.5 shows that that the handwritten manuscripts drew on the publications of Heath, Warmington and Merritt, Grummet's *The Christmas Welcome*, and George F. Bond's *Old Methodist Hymn Tunes*, amongst other unidentified sources. With the carols selected from Heath's collections, William Eade's compositions appear to have been particularly popular. However, despite the use of his collections, Heath's own compositions appear to have been rejected as a body by the Grass Valley carollers. None of Heath's own compositions are included in the handwritten manuscripts, despite the fact that he had composed versions of carols that the choir did perform (which included 'Awake Ye Nations', 'Hark What Music' and 'Awake With Joyful Strains').

4.4: Analysis: Development of Repertoire

These analyses of the sources of carol repertoire available in Grass Valley in the late 19th and early twentieth centuries demonstrates that there was a sustained transfer of printed music from Cornwall to Grass Valley from a variety of music and booksellers during this period. The majority of these were Cornish publications such as Heath's, which were distributed from a variety of printers and booksellers within Cornwall

⁶⁶ Listed in order of most common to least common occurrence.

before appearing in Grass Valley. The earliest publication appearing in Grass Valley is the Rodda collection of carol texts, first published in 1875, while the Heath, Merritt and Bond sources were published after 1889. The combined publications present in Grass Valley collections amount to 149 individual carols with accompanying music, which does not take into account the hymn tune material in Bond's publication or the carol word-book belonging to Zachariah Williams. The handwritten manuscripts present in McKinney's 'When Miners Sang' collection confirm that these materials functioned as a pool from which individual members of the Grass Valley Carol Choir, and in all probability the Merritt Choir, selected material for rehearsal and regular use.

Within this emerging repertoire, the selection of carols evidenced in the three manuscript books shows a marked adherence to the fugging style that was particularly associated with Cornish carols. Of the 29 individual carols present across the three manuscripts, 21 exhibit variations of the fugging structure. While it is impossible to say whether the carols were selected on the basis of style, this certainly implies a continued popularity. However, seven carols are not fugging: 'Lo! He Comes', 'Salutation', and 'Bethlehem' are drawn from the Cornish sources already discussed, while 'Antioch' for 'Joy To The World', Stanley's 'Star of Bethlehem', and Ellor's 'Diadem', are broadly popular. 'New Park' (with the Montgomery's text 'Angels From The Realms of Glory'), which appears in the Thomas and Tremewan manuscripts, presents something of an anomaly; as yet I have been unable to locate a source other than Ralph Dunstan's *Cornish Songbook*, published in 1929, which simply gives the source as 'an old MS collection'.⁶⁷ It is possible that this tune was known, or the manuscript was in the possession of the carollers prior to its publication

⁶⁷ Dunstan, *The Cornish Songbook*, p. 104-105.

by Dunstan; the carol was programmed to be sung in Sacramento in 1910 during the choir's New Year visit.⁶⁸ Alternatively, we must consider that the manuscript books were works in progress and that the compilers were adding musical material to them over the course of a number of years. While Tremewan's manuscript appears to be dated to 1919, Dunstan's publication may have been available in Grass Valley following its publication and it may have been copied at that point.

Individuals such as Crase, Tremewan, Williams and Champion appear to have ascribed considerable value to their printed books and manuscript collections. The advanced state of disrepair of many of the items shows that the musical material was well used, to the point of actually being damaged and in need of conservation. However, the various attempts at basic preservation, such as rebinding and repairing damaged spines and covers, indicate that the books were not easily replaceable. These print and manuscript items were therefore not pieces of worthless or disposable ephemera; they were important repositories of cultural material that were used and safeguarded by their owners over a number of years – both in use, and thereafter as part of private collections. While sparse, the little marginalia available within the collections indicates that there was some level of official ownership of musical material; the rubber stamp denoting 'Grass Valley Carol Choir' on Simon L. Crase's copy of 'Music from the Upper Spheres' for example. Further, in 1917 the Merritt Choir appointed a librarian, presumably to administrate the musical material used by the singers.⁶⁹ Indeed, McKinney's recovery of so many manuscripts through contact with the descendants of early carol singers during his own research is also relevant. Certainly, the preservation and information written as marginalia in the

⁶⁸ 'Announce Full Programme for New Year's Jollity', *Sacramento Union*, 30/12/1909, p. 1.

⁶⁹ 'Grass Valley Singers Practicing', *Sacramento Union*, 14/11/1917, p. 5.

Williams/Champion collections by Everett S. Champion indicate that the material was of ongoing value, not just as Grass Valley or Cornish heritage, but also as a continuing family legacy embodied in the remaining musical manuscripts.

The above examination and analyses of the sources and musical material contained within them has uncovered processes of selection and interactions. The manuscripts clearly show that material was selected and copied directly from a variety of the printed sources into smaller repositories of musical material. The 14 carols that appear more than once across the manuscripts indicate popularity or consistency of use by the choirs, and, as I show in Chapter 6, formed the basis of a repertoire that was consistently used by the Grass Valley Carol Choirs during the following decades, and eventually, in its revival. However, the presence of the printed material did not denote that repertoire was fixed and static; rather, texts and tunes could be separated and repurposed. Carol and hymn tunes were used for different texts, such as Eade's 'What Melody' in Heath's *Part I*, and 'Salutation' in George F. Bond's publication both being utilised as a setting for 'While Shepherds'. These interactions demonstrate a dynamic involvement with the musical material.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have shown that carolling in Grass Valley was immediately associated with Cornish migrants, developing from a variety of informal singing groups that practised a house visiting custom during the 1860s and 1870s, to two separate choirs that continued performing both together and separately for a period of at least fifteen years. While repertoire of the 19th century choirs is at present only

recoverable through newspaper sources, access to McKinney's research and collections of the choir's print and manuscript collections has been key in uncovering the choirs' repertoire during the early 20th century. My interrogation of the musical manuscripts has uncovered sources, dates of publication and modes of interaction that reveal more about the repertoire's provenance and development than was previously known. The printed collections constitute a broad corpus of printed material that, with two exceptions ('Hark! From the Upper Spheres' and 'Pilgrim's Progress'), was entirely Cornish in origin. There does not appear to have been any direct composition of new carol tunes or texts in Grass Valley (although the instances of contrafacta heralded the development of unique repertoire): however, this may be a result of the apparent abundance of available printed material.

The above analyses demonstrate that while the choirs' repertoire was essentially fully rooted in printed sources, over time the broad range of available material was whittled down into a smaller selection, passing into handwritten manuscripts owned by individual singers during the early twentieth century. The selected materials were all (with the possible exception of 'New Park') taken from Cornish sources, and predominantly exhibited the fugging style popular in Cornwall. However, through consistent performance, I suggest that this repertoire became firmly associated with the choir itself, rather than with broader notions of Cornish identity, either in California or the USA in general. Here, the corollary of these processes of selection was that repertoire essentially moved out of print format and wider circulation, and into the custodianship of a very small number of performers. Concomitantly, as carollers left or passed away, their manuscripts were either lost or returned to family collections. McKinney's research indicates that the manuscripts eventually passed out

of circulation completely and the new choir members during the mid-20th century learned by rote, concomitantly developing and transforming the musical material.⁷⁰ This presented a challenge for choir revival in 1990, as I go on to discuss in Chapter 8.

⁷⁰ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, p. 63.

Chapter 5: The Copper Triangle: Tracing Publication

Introduction

In comparison to Grass Valley, Cornish carol repertoire in the Copper Triangle has remained almost completely overlooked in the scholarly record. As discussed, Payton and others have noted the presence of carols and their associated practices as a marker of Cornish identity and culture in the area, without undertaking a focused analysis of the musical materials themselves. In this chapter I remedy this, examining the Christmas carol repertoire performed and developed in the Copper Triangle area during the late 19th and early twentieth centuries. I first discuss early accounts of carolling practices in the Copper Triangle. I then focus in detail on manuscript and print sources of the carol repertoire found in the Copper Triangle, utilising information gleaned from digitised newspapers, and a variety of public and private archives and museums in South Australia. I then analyse the interactions and concordances between the various musical sources I encountered. My analysis therefore traces the development of a locally composed repertoire, indicating a very different trajectory of carol composition in South Australia to that uncovered in Grass Valley.

5.1: Early References to Carolling: ‘The Ruling Passion’

The earliest references to carolling practices in the Copper Triangle are observable soon after the establishment of the various towns. As discussed in Chapter 1, the population and development of the Copper Triangle area was directly linked to the

opening of the mines at Wallaroo and Moonta.¹ While the Wallaroo mine was the first to be opened in 1859, the copper discovered at Moonta in 1861 was of a much higher quality, and as a result, the Moonta mine workings were much larger and the town was laid out 1863. Advertisements in Cornwall attracted a large influx of Cornish miners who brought many social and cultural attributes with them from Cornwall.² At this early stage, references to carolling activities are only available from local newspapers such as *The Wallaroo Times and Mining Journal* and *The Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser*. Carolling practices appear to have emerged fairly swiftly following the establishment of the towns. Christmas celebrations during these early decades of the towns' development appear to have been confined to Christmas Eve and Christmas Day. The activities associated with Christmas were covered in the local papers, which often included accounts of how 'the holidays' were celebrated in Moonta and the surrounding settlements.

The earliest reference to carolling practices in the Copper Triangle occurs in 1865 in Wallaroo:

That time-honored custom of ushering in the natal day of our Saviour, by singing carols, was observed for the first time in this township on Christmas Eve. Through the enthusiastic exertions of a gentleman from Kadina, an efficient of choristers were in a short time got together, and these, on Sunday night, provided with lanterns of a unique description, circumambulated the township, stopping at intervals to carol a quaint old hymn commemorative of the "first Nowell that angels did say to three poor shepherds in the fields as they lay;" and the timely harmony breaking

¹ To clarify, the mine and township referred to as the 'Wallaroo Mines' are actually situated on the southern outskirts of Kadina. There are no mines in Wallaroo itself.

² Payton, *Making Moonta*, pp. 47-8.

through the stillness of the night aroused many pleasant memories of by-gone days, and carried the mind back to the wonderful scene attending the announcement of the birth of the Messiah.³

In Kadina the following year, a local writer reported that: ‘In passing through the mines of an evening I observe parties are already practising their Christmas carols, so that during the festive time we may expect to hear some really good singing’.⁴ In Wallaroo, the tradition of carolling was maintained and expanded the following year, with the report stating that: ‘One party was accompanied by a brass instrument or two, and sang a variety of anthems and sacred pieces very nicely. The others were the “original serenaders” of last year, and they sung two ancient Christmas carols. The singing was kept up until daybreak on Christmas morning’.⁵

As yet, the earliest reference to carolling in Moonta itself occurs in 1868, when *The Wallaroo Times and Mining Journal* published a short account of Christmas celebrations in Moonta. The festivities included what appears to be a mummer’s play, since it included characters such as St George, the Prince of Troy, the King of Egypt and Fair Zebra. The writer remarked that the ‘piece [...] is frequently given in Cornwall at this festive season, and was largely attended by the miners and others’, and that: ‘The bands and knots of songsters were parading the town and mine the greater part of the night, carolling forth songs commemorative of the ascension’.⁶

While in this instance the musical materials are not clarified as specifically Cornish, the early link with Cornish culture and transplantation of Cornish practices to Moonta is of note.

³ Editorial, *The Wallaroo Times and Mining Journal*, 27/12/1865, p. 2.

⁴ ‘Kadina’, *The Wallaroo Times and Mining Journal*, 21/11/1866, p. 3.

⁵ ‘Wallaroo’, *The Wallaroo Times and Mining Journal*, 26/12/1866, p. 4.

⁶ ‘Moonta’, *The Wallaroo Times and Mining Journal*, 26/12/1868, p. 5.

However, as time went on carolling practices, alongside other Christmas customs, began to be associated with Cornish inhabitants of the towns:

The time honored fashion of carol-singing was not discarded in our midst, our Cornish friends cling to the good old custom with tenacity. I presume it wakens us when [sic] memories of happy, meetings and joyous seasons at home. From Christmas eve till the succeeding morn the air resounded with sweet songs in memory of 'The happy night, That to the cottage and the crown, Brought tidings of salvation down'.⁷

Regarding performance practices, numerous reports throughout the 1870s and 1880s describe groups of singers (usually youths and young men), and occasionally instrumentalists, walking through the town and mining districts singing carols, starting late at night and continuing into Christmas morning. As early as 1872, the *Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser* inserted a short notice to record that:

Christmas carols have been the 'ruling passion' of this district for the last few days and some very excellent singing has been volunteered by itinerant carol singers. We believe there are few places which can boast of the strict observance of this form of celebrating Christmas-tide as the mining townships of the Peninsula; and, we may add, of so many good singers to sing them.⁸

There appear to have been so many individuals groups that in the 1880s a reporter stated that the town was 'overrun by carol singers good, bad, and indifferent (the

⁷ 'Kadina Jottings', *Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser and Miners' News*, 29/12/1874, p. 2.

⁸ Editorial, *Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser and Miners' News*, 27/12/1872, p. 2.

former being very much in the minority) which made it impossible for any but deaf people to obtain sleep'.⁹ Other reports noted the variety of musical ability in the performers, describing 'carol singing of every kind and degree, from the melodious music of well-trained voices to the shrieking and discordant howling of youngsters'.¹⁰

While informal carolling practices were clearly commonplace across the Copper Triangle towns from the 1860s, church choirs were also performing carols in the festive seasons; for example, in 1877 carols were given by the Primitive Methodist church choir at Wallaroo Mines.¹¹ It would appear that by the 1880s the towns of the Copper Triangle were known for celebrating Christmas with carol singing, as this extract concerning Christmas celebrations at Mallala (about 120 km from Moonta) of 1881 demonstrates:

The idea of carol singing is almost unknown in the district, there being only here and there one who has been brought to it, thus one coming from the higher end of Yorke's Peninsula feels a longing to be at home once again, for the purpose of joining in the song of gratitude.¹²

During the 1880s more formal musical groups were established, and the resultant public concerts included carol repertoire. Local newspaper reports of concert programmes at this time show that these bodies began to perform what were later to become known as Cornish carols.

⁹ 'Christmas Eve at Moonta', *Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser*, 29/12/1880, p. 3.

¹⁰ 'Halvans, Dredge and Bests', *Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser* 26/12/1889, p. 2.

¹¹ Editorial, *The Wallaroo Times and Mining Journal*, 29/12/1877, p. 2.

¹² 'Mallala', *Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser*, 14/1/1881, p. 3.

For example, in 1886 the Moonta Philharmonic Society gave a concert late that year which performed carols including ‘Awake, Arise, Rejoice and Sing’, ‘Awake With Joyful Strains of Mirth’ and ‘Sound Sound Your Instruments of Joy’, all of which subsequently appeared in *The Christmas Welcome* (a key publication which I discuss in detail in the following segment). However, their performance in the context of a classical concert appears to have been slightly incongruous to the reporter who wrote that the carols ‘which, being well rendered, afforded much pleasure to those of the audience who appreciate this class of music’.¹³ Here then, the implication is that the carols are not of the same class as the rest of the programme that, rather incongruously in this Methodist community, included selections from Mozart’s first Mass, a sacred cantata, and selections from *Messiah*.

Clearly then, Christmas carols were included in Christmas celebrations in the Copper Triangle towns swiftly after their settlement, and were well established in Moonta in particular by the 1880s. These developed from informal groups of singers and instrumentalists visiting houses across the different locations during the night into more organised groups and increasingly formalised contexts. While the repertoire was not initially signalled in predominant association with the Cornish residents of the towns, eventually the practice of carolling in general became associated with the Cornish residents of the Copper Triangle and the area itself became known as a strong locus of Christmas carolling. However, as I now show in an analysis of the musical materials found in the Copper Triangle, the emergence of new carol repertoire soon unequivocally associated the genre with the Cornish migrants.

¹³ ‘Moonta Philharmonic Society’s Sacred Concert’, *Yorke’s Peninsula Advertiser*, 31/12/1886, p. 3.

5.2: Manuscript and Print Collections

Carolling was evidently popular in the Copper Triangle area from the 1860s and developed into a tradition by the end of the 19th century. However, aside from the newspaper reports of concert programmes, there is little indication of what was actually performed by these groups or where it came from. During my first research trip to Australia (May-July 2015) I was able to access what is currently the only known carol manuscript surviving from this period, which is a handwritten music book held by the National Trust Museum of Moonta.¹⁴ The manuscript belonged to Cornish migrant Matthias Deacon Abbott (1847-1909) and contains a number of Christmas carols and other church music.

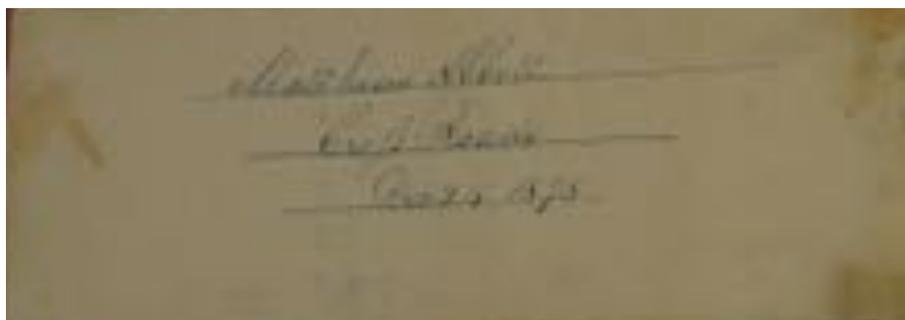


Plate 5.1: Inside cover of Matthias Deacon Abbott MSS¹⁵

Immigration and newspaper records show that Matthias Deacon Abbott, a miner from Pensilva, Cornwall, migrated to South Australia in 1865 and settled in Cross Roads (a small settlement situated a mile east of Moonta itself) where he died in 1907 aged

¹⁴ I thank the National Trust Moonta for their kind assistance in allowing me to photograph the Abbott manuscript.

¹⁵ Courtesy of the National Trust Museum, Moonta. The manuscript is part of a music display in the Moonta National Trust museum, and is housed in a cabinet alongside two wooden flutes that the interpretative material states Abbott brought from Cornwall in 1863. Abbott's daughter, Miss Olive Abbott, donated the items to the museum during the 1960s. She was a music teacher and organist in Cross Roads.

61.¹⁶ The manuscript is significant since it predates all known Cornish carol publications not only in the Copper Triangle area, but also those that were published in Cornwall itself (as discussed in Chapter 2). The manuscript contains carols that subsequently appeared in later Cornish carol publications, but are credited to other writers.

The manuscript is dated the 24th of December 1875 and contains an embossed stamp with the sellers' name; 'G. N. and W. H. Birks, Booksellers etc., Adelaide, Kadina, Moonta and Wallaroo'. This business was a booksellers and pharmacy in the district from the mid 1860s, and it is therefore likely that the musical material contained in the book was written in South Australia, rather than transported from Cornwall itself.¹⁷ The contents page only describes the hymn tunes, leaving the entries for the first 11 carols blank, while the pieces that appear at the end of the book are not listed. The different inks and slight variation in steadiness of the handwriting may indicate that the carols were transcribed at different times. This would appear to be supported by the appearance of 'Hush! Don't Wake the Baby' towards the back of the book, which appears to be written in pencil by a child's hand.¹⁸ The contents of the manuscript are as follows¹⁹:

¹⁶ 'Demise', *Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser*, 15/11/1907, p. 2.

¹⁷ 'Advertisement', *The Wallaroo Times and Mining Journal*, 13/1/1866, p. 7.

¹⁸ This song was written and copyrighted by American composer Harry Kennedy in 1888. See sheet music available through John Hopkins University [Available at: <http://levysheetmusic.mse.jhu.edu/catalog/levy:105.073> Accessed 22/2/2018 12:04]

¹⁹ Abbott's spelling has been retained, however capitalisation has been edited to conform to modern conventions. Any description within the title alongside the name – for example, indication of meter – has been included in the table.

| Order | Title | Fuging |
|-------|---------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | Let All Adore the Immortal King | Y (4 parts) |
| 2 | Arise and Sing and Dispele Your Fears | ? |
| 3 | Awake With Joy Salute The Morn | Y (4 parts) |
| 4 | The Heavenly Music | Y (2 parts) |
| 5 | The Star Of Bethlehem | N |
| 6 | Rejoice | ? |
| 7 | Awake Ye Nations Of The Earth | Y (3 and 2 parts) |
| 8 | Hail Source Of Living Light Divine | Y (4 parts) |
| 9 | Awake Arise | Y (4 parts) |
| 10 | While Shepherds | Y (varied) |
| 11 | Angelic Host | Y (4 parts) |
| 12 | Mount Zion - SM | N |
| 13 | Shoals - LM | N |
| 14 | Windsor Chapel - CM | N |
| 15 | Victor - P meter - 8 x 7 & 4 | N |
| 16 | Consolation 4 lines 7 | N |
| 17 | Invatation 10 x 11 | N |
| 18 | Chelsea - LM | N |
| 19 | Hebron - LM | N |
| 20 | Babylon - 6 lines 8 | N |
| 21 | Harmony 10 x 11 | N |
| 22 | Madrid six lines 8 | N |
| 23 | Hush Don't Wake The Baby | NA |
| 24 | Bright and Joyful | Y (4 parts) |

Table 5.1: Contents of Matthew Deacon Abbott manuscript, dated 1875

Intriguingly, the primary melody is written in the tenor line. This may reflect the historic dominance of the tenor line in vocal music; Nicholas Temperley describes how the primacy of the tenor voice in writing for psalmody was a vestige of the cantus firmus style. However, he notes that ‘as time went on, the practice of singing the tune in the tenor came more and more to seem primitive or provincial’, and that ‘in country churches the dominance of the tenor voice continued long after it had declined in art music’.²⁰ Alternatively, the shift of the melody to the tenor line may

²⁰ Temperley, *Music of The English Parish Church*, pp. 184-190, (p. 186, p. 184).

indicate that pieces originally set for SATB were written out for male choir, with the melody being taken by lead tenor singers (although Abbott's date is rather early for this). This also occurs in other handwritten Cornish carol manuscript books of this time; notably in the William Tremewan manuscript found in Grass Valley.

It is also important to note that there is an immediate distinction between the carol material and the remainder of the texts. With two exceptions, the carols all exhibit the fusing structure characteristic of Cornish carols, while the hymn tunes are in the main homophonic. The first exception is No. 5, 'The Star of Bethlehem', also present in the Grass Valley collections, and the other is No. 6, 'Rejoice', where it is not possible to ascertain whether its structure includes a fusing element as there is no further indication of what the title and missing alto and tenor lines are. Here then, there appears to be a significant stylistic difference between the carol material and other sacred music. As yet I have not managed to identify the origin of the psalm tunes aside from 'Madrid' which was composed by William Matthews in the early 19th century, and a variant of which appears to be published in *The Canadian Church Harmonist* in 1864.²¹

While there are no texts to accompany the carols, the titles are not completely open to interpretation since cross-referencing the musical material against extant printed collections has revealed which texts were likely to accompany the musical materials. Several of the carols can be found in *The Christmas Welcome: A Choice Collection of Cornish Carols*. This is a key text in this chapter; it is the earliest printed Australian

²¹ This was spotted by West Gallery Music scholar Chris Brown; see the West Gallery Music Association Forum website [Available at: <http://disc.yourwebapps.com/discussion.cgi?disc=221195;article=476> Accessed: 22/2/2018 12:08] ; see also *The Canadian Church Harmonist* (Toronto: Samuel Rose, Wesleyan Book Room, 1864), no. 171.

book of Cornish carols, consisting of a small booklet that appears to have been edited by John Henry Thomas (1855-1928), the son of Cornish migrants who arrived in Australia in 1856. As with Heath’s carol books, *The Christmas Welcome* was printed in Leipzig by C. G. Röder. Philip Payton takes Oswald Pryor’s date of publication as ‘circa 1893’ in his 1984 republication and introduction.²² However, through detailed examination of historical newspaper reports garnered through the National Library of Australia’s (NLA) website Trove, an online database of digitised historic newspapers, I have been able to reconstruct the book’s publication history. While no copies of the original edition have been located, subsequent editions (shown in the table below) were published by Adolph Grummet, a German migrant who owned and ran a stationers’ and booksellers’ shop in Moonta.²³ Grummet forwarded copies of *The Christmas Welcome* to newspaper offices and booksellers in Moonta and several other towns, likely in order to gain publicity for what he predicted or hoped would be a popular item.

| Year | Number of Carols |
|-------------|-------------------------|
| 1889 | 12 |
| 1895 | 20 |
| 1897 | 26 |
| 1902 | 31 |
| 1909 | 31 (6 new) |

Table 5.2: Publication history of *The Christmas Welcome*

²² Payton, *Cornish Carols From Australia*, p. v-vi.

²³ John H. Thomas, ed., *The Christmas Welcome: A Choice Collection of Cornish Carols Composed by J. H. Thomas, W. Holman, Jas. Richards, J. Coad, J. Hodge, T. Spargo and others* (Moonta, S. Aust: A Grummet, 1889-1909). Hereafter referred to as *The Christmas Welcome*.

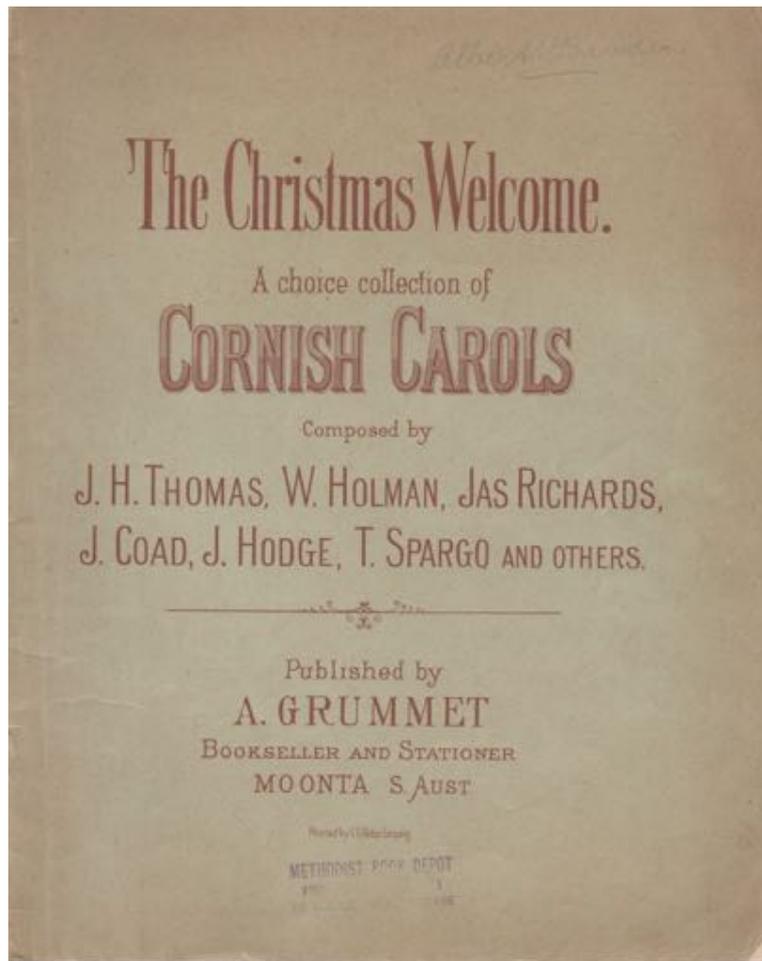


Plate 5.2: *The Christmas Welcome* (Moonta, S. Aust: Grummet) 1909²⁴

Incongruously, the first reference to *The Christmas Welcome* occurs in Burra, another mining centre about 150 km north east of Moonta, rather than within Moonta itself.

Burra was also a copper mining town with a high proportion of Cornish miners in the community.²⁵ This early edition indicates that the book contained twelve carols composed by John Henry Thomas and William Holman (also a Cornish migrant):

We have received from the local agent a copy of the 'Christmas Welcome', which contains a dozen new and choice Cornish carols, specially arranged for the Christmas season. Besides the music and organ

²⁴ Author's copy.

²⁵ Payton, *The Cornish Overseas*, pp. 166-8.

accompaniment, the words of each carol are nicely lithographed on good paper. The compilation is well got up, and no doubt will prove of interest to all lovers of music. The copies are sold at one shilling each, and may be had at Mr. T. W. Wilkinson's, Kooringa, as per advertisement in our business columns.²⁶



Figure 5.1: Advertisement for *The Christmas Welcome*²⁷

It is unclear why *The Christmas Welcome* was first advertised in Burra, although both Thomas and William Holman (also a Cornish migrant) had family connections in the town. There is no concrete indication that Grummet was involved at this earliest stage, although in the event that he was, he perhaps wanted to test the reception of the material before advertising in his hometown. The earliest reference to the first edition of *The Christmas Welcome* in the *Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser* appears the following year in 1890, with a front-page advertisement from Grummet, alongside other Christmas gifts. The advertisement indicates that the carols were available in single sheet form as well as bound in books. However, unfortunately no copies of this first edition containing twelve carols have yet been traced in any libraries, museums or archive collections.

²⁶ 'Current Topics', *The Burra Record*, 20/12/1889, p. 2.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2

However, it is possible to suggest what the contents of this first edition may have been by examining the second edition, published in 1895 and expanded to twenty carols.²⁸ It is impossible to unequivocally state which of the following carols were new, or whether any of the original carols had been discarded. Nevertheless, the table of contents shown below includes twelve carols by Thomas and Holman, with an additional eight from other composers, and one unattributed carol:

| No. | Title²⁹ | Attributed to: | Fuging |
|------------|---|-----------------------|---------------|
| 1 | Sound Sound Your Instruments of Joy | Arr. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 2 | Awake, Arise, Rejoice And Sing | Comp. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 3 | What Heavenly Music's This I hear? | Comp. Wm. Holman | Y (4 parts) |
| 4 | The King Of Glory | Comp. Jas. Richards | Y (4 parts) |
| 5 | Let All Adore Immortal King | Arr. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 6 | Hail, Ever Hail, the Auspicious m=Morn | Comp. Jas. Richards | Y (4 parts) |
| 7 | Awake with Joyful Strains of Mirth | Comp. Wm. Holman | Y (4 parts) |
| 8 | Calm on the Listening Ear of Night | Comp. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 9 | The New-born King | Arr. J. H. Thomas | N |
| 10 | The Prince of Life | Comp. J. Coad | Y (4 parts) |
| 11 | Joy To The World, The Lord Is Come | Comp. Wm. Holman | Y (4 parts) |
| 12 | Mortals Awake, Why Slumber So? | Comp. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 13 | Behold a Lucid Light Appears | Arr. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 14 | Arise and Hail The Happy Day | Comp. John Hodge | Y (4 parts) |
| 15 | Hark! Hark! What News The Angels Bring | Comp. Jas. Richards | N - contra |
| 16 | While Shepherds Watched Their Flocks By Night | Unattributed | Y (4 parts) |
| 17 | What Melody Is This I Hear | Comp. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 18 | Christians Awake | Comp. Jas. Richards | N |
| 19 | See Seraphic Throngs Descending | Comp. T. Spargo | N |
| 20 | Resplendent Beauty | Arr. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |

Table 5.3: Contents of 1895 edition of *The Christmas Welcome*

²⁸ I was able to collect and access a range of copies and editions of *The Christmas Welcome*; see 'Archive Collections' section of the bibliography.

²⁹ As in Chapter 4, titles of carols in have been capitalised in a standard manner.

Comparison of this edition with the Abbott manuscript shows that two carols in the latter appear in this first edition of *The Christmas Welcome*; ‘Let all adore Immortal King’ and ‘Awake, Arise’ (both attributed to J. H. Thomas).

Presumably in preparation for 1895’s pre-Christmas sales, Grummet had forwarded copies of the book to local newspapers including the *Yorke’s Peninsula Advertiser* and *The Kadina and Wallaroo Times*, but also further afield to Gawler (another mining town with a high complement of Cornish miners) and Adelaide itself. The *Yorke’s Peninsular Advertiser* praised Grummet for his enterprise in producing ‘the old favourites [...] written and arranged in purely in the old Cornish style [...] we can with confidence recommend it to all carol singers’.³⁰ *The Advertiser* describes ‘a book of melodious part-songs’ and that it was available at the Wesleyan Book Depot, a large book store on King William Street (one of Adelaide’s main streets).³¹ However, a writer at *The South Australian Register* reviewed the collection less favourably:

The publisher, Mr. A. Grummett [sic], of Moonta, has sent a small collection of original Christmas carols composed by Messrs. J. H. Thomas, W. Holman, T. Richards, J. Coad, J. Hodge, and T. Spargo. These are written in a pleasing vocal style, much after the fashion of the ‘Union Tunebook’, so popular in churches many years ago. It is unfortunate, however, that the writers did not engage the services of some competent musical man to revise and correct their harmonies, or, better still, obtain a knowledge of harmony and composition themselves, before publishing this little work, as the carols all contain serious grammatical errors which very much mar the many good qualities they possess. The writers show a strange predilection for common time in the key of F major, no less than

³⁰ Editorial, *Yorke’s Peninsula Advertiser*, 22/11/1895, p. 2.

³¹ ‘A Book of Cornish Carols’, *The Advertiser*, 27/11/1895, p. 6.

seventeen out of the twenty carols being written in this key and time. This unfortunately gives an effect of sameness to the whole collection which might have been avoided.³²

From this review, it is clear that the musical style was considered archaic for the time; the Union Tune Book was a collection of tunes written for devotional psalmody that contained fudging as well as homophonic material.³³ Originally published in 1837, it was reissued and expanded several times over the course of the 19th century. This review, which suggested that the quality of the compositions themselves was somewhat lacking, may have contributed to the narratives of home-spun, rough harmony that appear in later discussions of the Cornish carolling tradition in Australia (which I discuss in Chapter 7).

The 1895 version was quickly superseded, with a new version containing 26 carols published in 1897. Grummet again forwarded it to *The Kadina and Wallaroo Times*, who published a notice stating that it contained ‘some very beautiful compositions and should meet with a ready sale’.³⁴ From the table of contents shown below, carols 21-26 (marked with an asterisk) are new.

³² ‘New Music’, *South Australian Register*, 2/12/1895, p. 3.

³³ *The Union Tune Book. With Supplement. A Selection of Tunes and Chants Suitable For Use In Congregations and Sunday Schools. Eighth Edition* (London: Sunday School Union, Gresham Press, 1879).

³⁴ ‘Cornish Carols’, *The Kadina and Wallaroo Times*, 29/9/1897, p. 2.

| No. | Title | Attributed | Fuging |
|------------|---|---------------------|---------------|
| 1 | Sound, Sound Your Instruments of Joy | Arr. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 2 | Awake, Arise, Rejoice and Sing | Comp. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 3 | What Heav'nly Music's this I Hear? | Comp. Wm. Holman | Y (4 parts) |
| 4 | The King of Glory | Comp. Jos. Richards | Y (4 parts) |
| 5 | Let All Adore Immortal King | Arr. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 6 | Hail Ever Hail, the Auspicious Morn | Comp. Jos. Richards | Y (4 parts) |
| 7 | Awake with joyful Strains of Mirth | Comp. Wm. Holman | Y (4 parts) |
| 8 | Calm on the Listening Ear of Night | Comp. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 9 | The New-born King | Arr. J. H. Thomas | N |
| 10 | The Prince of Life | Comp. J. Coad | Y (4 parts) |
| 11 | Joy to the World, the Lord is Come | Comp. Wm. Holman | Y (4 parts) |
| 12 | Mortals Awake, Why Slumber So? | Comp. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 13 | Behold A Lucid Light Appears | Arr. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 14 | Arise and Hail the Happy Day | Comp. John Hodge | Y (4 parts) |
| 15 | Hark! Hark! What News the Angels Bring | Comp. Jos. Richards | N |
| 16 | While Shepherds Watched their Flocks by Night | Unknown | Y (4 parts) |
| 17 | What Melody Is This I Hear | Comp. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 18 | Christians, Awake | Comp. Jas. Richards | N |
| 19 | See Seraphic Throngs Descending | Comp. T. Spargo | N |
| 20 | Resplendent Beauty. | Arr. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| *21 | The Promised Child. | Comp. Thos. Spargo | Y (4 parts) |
| *22 | Bright and Joyful. | Comp. Wm. Andrew | Y (4 parts) |
| *23 | Seraphic Throngs | Comp. Jos. Glasson | Y (4 parts) |
| *24 | High Let Us Swell | Comp. Jos. Glasson | Y (4 parts) |
| *25 | Mortals Awake | Comp. Jos. Glasson | Y (varied) |
| *26 | Hark! What Mean Those Holy Voices | Comp. Jos. Glasson | Y (4 parts) |

Table 5.4: 1897 version of *The Christmas Welcome*

A second run of this expanded version appears to have been distributed after 1897, since the version utilised in Payton's 1984 reprint contains 'errata' corrections to the score that are not present in other available versions with the same contents.³⁵

³⁵ Personal communication from Noel Carthew, 15/01/2015.

In 1902 a fourth edition of *The Christmas Welcome* appeared; again, Grummet forwarded the new version containing 31 carols to *The Kadina and Wallaroo Times*, *The Advertiser* (Adelaide) and *The Bendigo Advertiser* in Victoria.³⁶ The reviewer at *The Bendigo Advertiser* calls them ‘English carols’, which is surprising since the cover clearly states they are Cornish and the Bendigo gold fields were well known as a popular destination for internal and international Cornish migrants due to the gold rush of 1851. In this expanded version, several carols have been discarded and new ones added:

| No. | Title | Attributed | Fuging |
|------------|---|---------------------|---------------|
| 1 | Sound, Sound Your Instruments of Joy | Arr. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 2 | Awake, Arise, Rejoice and Sing | Comp. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 3 | What Heav’nly Music’s This I Hear? | Comp. Wm. Holman | Y (4 parts) |
| 4 | The King of Glory | Comp. Jas. Richards | Y (4 parts) |
| 5 | Let All Adore Immortal King | Arr. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 6 | Hail Ever Hail, the Auspicious Morn | Comp. Jas. Richards | Y (4 parts) |
| 7 | Awake with Joyful Strains of Mirth | Comp. Wm. Holman | Y (4 parts) |
| 8 | Calm on the Listening Ear of Night | Comp. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 9 | The Newborn King | Arr. J. H. Thomas | N |
| 10 | The Prince of Life | Comp. J. Coad | Y (4 parts) |
| 11 | Joy to the World, The Lord is Come | Comp. Wm. Holman | Y (4 parts) |
| 12 | Mortals Awake, Why Slumber So? | Comp. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 13 | Behold A Lucid Light Appears | Arr. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 14 | Arise and Hail the Happy Day | Comp. John Hodge | Y (4 parts) |
| 15 | Hark! Hark! What News the Angels Bring | Comp. Jas. Richards | N - contra |
| 16 | While Shepherds Watched their Flocks by Night | Unknown | Y (4 parts) |
| 17 | What Melody is this I Hear | Comp. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 18 | Christians, Awake | Comp. Jas. Richards | N |
| 19 | See Seraphic Throngs Descending | Comp. T. Spargo | N |
| 20 | Resplendent Beauty | Arr. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 21 | The Promised Child | Comp. Thos. Spargo | Y (4 parts) |
| 22 | Bright and Joyful | Comp. Wm. Andrew | Y (4 parts) |
| *23 | Hosanna to the Prince of Light | Arr. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| *24 | While Choirs of Angels in the Sky | Comp. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| *25 | Hark! Hark! | Unknown | Y (2 parts) |
| 26 | Hark! What Mean Those Holy Voices | Comp. Jos. Glasson | Y (4 parts) |

³⁶ *The Kadina and Wallaroo Times*, 20/9/1902, p. 2.

| | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|------------------|--------------|
| *27 | Beauteous Feet | Arr. J. Glasson | Y (4 parts)v |
| *28 | Bright and Joyful is the Morn | Comp. J. Glasson | Y (4 parts) |
| *29 | Realms of Glory | Comp. J. Glasson | Y (4 parts) |
| *30 | Awake Ye Nations | Comp. T. Broad | Y (4 parts) |
| 31 | Mortals Awake. | Comp. J. Glasson | Y (4 parts)v |

Table 5.5: Contents of the 1902 edition of *The Christmas Welcome*

Seven new carols appear (marked with an asterisk), while two carols ('Seraphic Throngs' and 'High Let Us Swell' by Glasson) have been removed. The new carols include a four-part fusing structure.

The fifth and final version of *The Christmas Welcome* was published in 1909.

Grummet once again sent out copies to *The Chronicle* and *The Advertiser* in Adelaide, and *The Kadina and Wallaroo Times*, who published notices to advertise the new edition.³⁷ This edition contained the same number of carols but with six new pieces (marked with an asterisk):

| No. | Title | Attributed | Fusing |
|-----|---|---------------------|-------------|
| 1 | Sound, Sound Your Instruments of Joy | Arr. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 2 | Awake, Arise, Rejoice and Sing | Comp. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 3 | What Heav'nly Music's This I Hear? | Comp. Wm. Holman | Y (4 parts) |
| 4 | The King of Glory | Comp. Jas. Richards | Y (4 parts) |
| 5 | Let All Adore Immortal King | Arr. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| *6 | Joy to the World, the Lord is Come | Comp. E. E. Butson | Y (4 parts) |
| 7 | Awake With Joyful Strains of Mirth | Comp. Wm. Holman | Y (4 parts) |
| 8 | Calm on the Listening Ear of Night | Comp. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 9 | The Newborn King | Arr. J. H. Thomas | N |
| 10 | The Prince of Life | Comp. J. Coad | Y (4 parts) |
| *11 | Joy to the World, the Lord is Come | Comp. R. H. Paull | Y (4 parts) |
| 12 | Mortals Awake, Why Slumber So? | Comp. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 13 | Behold A Lucid Light Appears | Arr. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 14 | Arise and Hail the Happy Day | Comp. John Hodge | Y (4 parts) |
| 15 | Hark! Hark! What News the Angels Bring | Comp. Jas. Richards | N - contra |
| *16 | While Shepherds Watched their Flocks by | Arr. J. H. Thomas | Y (2 parts) |

³⁷ 'General News', *The Kadina and Wallaroo Times*, 18/9/1909, p. 2.

| | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|---------------------|-------------|
| | Night | | |
| *17 | High Let Us Swell Our Tuneful Notes | Comp. L. Davey | Y (4 parts) |
| 18 | Christians, Awake | Comp. Jas. Richards | N |
| *19 | See Seraphic Throngs Descending | Comp. L. Davey | N |
| 20 | Resplendent Beauty | Arr. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 21 | The Promised Child | Comp. Thos. Spargo | Y (4 parts) |
| 22 | Bright and Joyful | Comp. Wm. Andrew | Y (4 parts) |
| 23 | Hosanna to the Prince of Light | Arr. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 24 | While Choirs of Angels in the Sky | Comp. J. H. Thomas | Y (4 parts) |
| 25 | Hark! Hark! | Unknown | Y (2 parts) |
| 26 | Hark! What Mean Those Holy Voices | Comp. Jos. Glasson | Y (4 parts) |
| 27 | Beauteous Feet. | Arr. J. Glasson | Y (4 parts) |
| 28 | Bright and Joyful is the Morn | Comp. J. Glasson | Y (4 parts) |
| *29 | Veil Your Bright Heads | Comp. L. Davey | Y (2 parts) |
| 30 | Awake Ye Nations | Comp. T. Broad | Y (4 parts) |
| 31 | Mortals Awake | Comp. J. Glasson | Y (4 parts) |

Table 5.6: Table of contents from 1909 version of *The Christmas Welcome*

In this final version, five of the six new items feature a fusing section. E. E. Butson's version of 'Joy to the World' is new, while Holman's version (no. 11) of the same carol is replaced by one by R. H. Paull. An arrangement of 'While Shepherds' (no. 16) by J. H. Thomas replaces the unattributed version.³⁸ 'What Melody is this I hear' (no. 17) is replaced by L. Davey's 'High Let Us Swell'. An unattributed version of 'Hark! Hark!' is added, and 'Veil Your Bright Heads' by L. Davey. A version of 'Awake Ye Nations' (no. 30) attributed to T. Broad also appears.

Tracing the advertisement of *The Christmas Welcome* has therefore reconstructed the twenty year publication history of the book, denoting not only popular but commercial success. However, the choice of newspapers within which to advertise is

³⁸ The unattributed version of 'While Shepherds Watched' of 1897 is very similar to the version published in the Padstow carol book 'Strike Sound' in 1970, while the introduction of Thomas's is more similar to the 'Lyngham' version known across the UK.

unlikely to be coincidence. The figure below shows the geographical spread of Grummet’s advertisements:

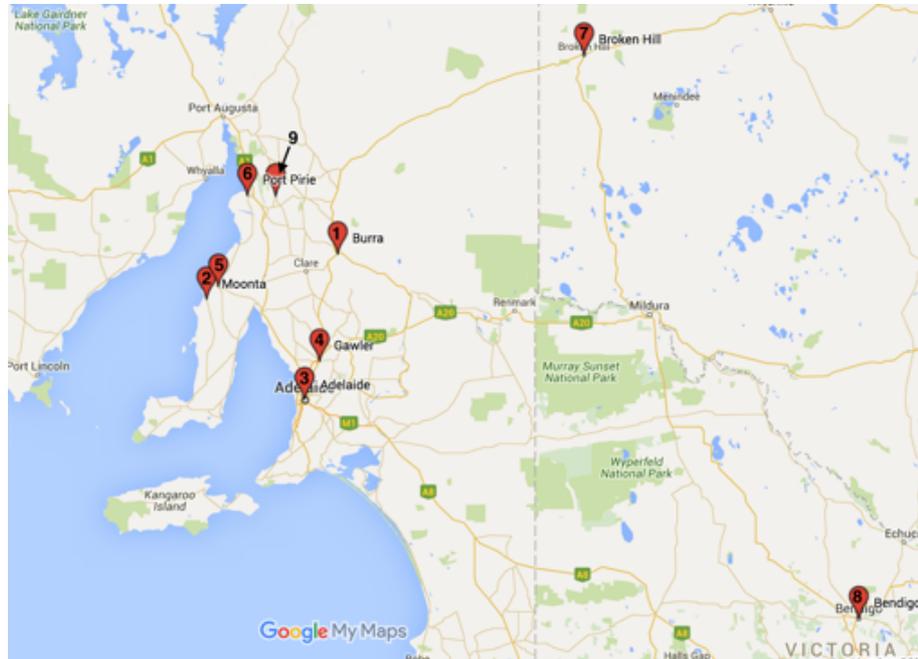


Figure 5.2: Map showing review locations of *The Christmas Welcome*³⁹

Key to Figure 5.3: Newspaper advertisements

| No. | Paper and location | Date |
|-----|--|------------|
| 1 | <i>The Burra Record</i> (Burra, SA), | 20/12/1889 |
| 2 | <i>Yorke’s Peninsula Advertiser</i> (Moonta, SA) | 21/11/1890 |
| 3 | <i>The Advertiser</i> (Adelaide, SA) | 27/11/1895 |
| 4 | <i>Bunyip</i> (Gawler, SA) | 20/12/1895 |
| 5 | <i>The Kadina and Wallaroo Times</i> (Kadina, SA) | 23/11/1895 |
| 6 | <i>The Port Pirie Recorder and North Western Mail</i> (Port Pirie, SA) | 19/11/1898 |
| 7 | <i>The Barrier Miner</i> (Broken Hill, NSW) | 30/11/1899 |
| 8 | <i>The Bendigo Advertiser</i> (Bendigo, VIC) | 10/10/1902 |
| 9 | <i>The Laura Standard</i> (Laura, SA) | 30/9/1909 |

The Christmas Welcome was therefore available across three states: South Australia

³⁹ Map showing dissemination of *The Christmas Welcome*, Google Maps Engine document utilising data drawn from digital newspapers on Trove [Available at: https://drive.google.com/open?id=1PJ75FzqxNWCOFXw_uHgsQAVggI8&usp=sharing Accessed: 3/7/2018]

and in mining towns of Bendigo (Victoria) and Broken Hill (New South Wales) between 1889 and 1909. Within this, Grummet may have specifically targeted mining towns that had high proportions of Cornish migrants, such as Gawler, Burra, Bendigo and Broken Hill.

However, *The Christmas Welcome* was not the only printed source of Cornish carol repertoire available in Australia during the late 19th and early twentieth centuries. Although I discuss the activities of the Cornish Association of South Australia in Chapter 7, it is necessary to highlight here that Robert Hainsworth Heath's books were being used by the Association's ancillary organisation, the Cornish Musical Society, for carol concerts in 1890, as the following extract confirms:

At the Wesleyan Book Depot the other day I happened upon a fine collection of all the old favorites, arranged by one R. H, Heath, a Redruth man, whose preface is shaky in its grammer [sic] - musical people always are shaky in that department! - but whose harmony-work is uncommonly well done. It is this book which the Cornish Association are going to use at Christmas, and as there were many Cornishmen in Kapunda in the old days, and as there surely must be some now, I mention this collection of carols in their interest.⁴⁰

Heath's books were therefore available in South Australia very shortly after their publication in 1889. However, there appears to have been some level of continued availability; both of Heath's collections were available alongside the newest edition of *The Christmas Welcome* at the Methodist Book Depot in Adelaide in 1902.⁴¹

⁴⁰ 'Scratchings In The City', *Kapunda Herald*, 4/11/1890, p. 3.

⁴¹ Advertising, *The Express and Evening Telegraph*, 28/11/1902, p. 3.

By the 1920s *The Christmas Welcome* was out of print, and there was a noted scarcity of second hand copies.⁴² In 1928, both John H. Thomas and Adolph Grummet, the key figures behind the publication of the books, died. This may have been the impetus behind the 1929 publications of collections by Joseph Glasson (1855-1938) and James Leslie Davey (1878-1928). Both had Cornish backgrounds and had lived in the Copper Triangle towns, and both were professional musicians whose compositions had featured in *The Christmas Welcome*. Joseph Glasson published *Twenty-Six Celebrated Cornish Carols*, with the following preface:

A Cornish carol is not simply a Christmas hymn, but is more like a species of folk-song, and, being set to music by comparatively untrained musicians it is a quaint, original and somewhat crude expression of the great Christmas tradition. During the middle of the last century many Cornish families migrated to Australia, and as new communities were formed, there also the Cornish carol appeared, as a bond between the old and the new.⁴³

Half were original compositions, and half were arrangements (although original composers are not mentioned). This was reissued in 1930 with the same number of carols.

The same year, James L. Davey edited *A Collection of Cornish Carols, Including the Most Popular Carols of 'The Christmas Welcome'*.⁴⁴ Davey's foreword indicates that this was part of a conscious effort to save the repertoire from obscurity:

⁴² 'Cornish Carols', *The Mail*, 12/10/1929, p. 14.

⁴³ Joseph Glasson, *Twenty-Six Celebrated Cornish Carols* (England: W. J. White, Kadina, 1929).

⁴⁴ James L. Davey, *A Collection of Cornish Carols, Including the Most Popular Carols of 'The Christmas Welcome'* (Adelaide: Cawthornes, 1929).

Some years ago, a book of Cornish carols, titled ‘The Christmas Welcome’, was compiled by Mr J. H. Thomas, and became very popular, especially among residents of the Peninsula mining towns and Broken Hill. A revised edition was later brought out by him, but the books are out of print, and have been unobtainable for some time. It would be a great pity if these Carols went out of use, and the work of Mr. Thomas and others lost to the public. At the request of a number of carol enthusiasts I have compiled this volume.⁴⁵

This was published by Cawthornes, a well established music and instrumental store in the centre of Adelaide in 1929. Publication in the state capital through a recognised establishment such as Cawthornes appears to have given this publication a wider sale. In 1930 Gus Cawthorne stated that his firm had sold 16,000 copies of Cornish carols during November alone.⁴⁶ The slightly different cover artwork on remaining copies available in archives and museums across South Australia show that there were three editions published by Cawthorne’s at steadily increasing prices following its original release (although as yet it has not been possible to uncover dates for these reissues).⁴⁷ However, a fourth and final edition was published by Allan’s, in 1959.⁴⁸

As yet, the only other collection of Cornish carols to appear in South Australia was a small booklet produced in 1945 for use by the Moonta Harmony Choir (see Chapter 7). It is a spirit-duplicated booklet that was compiled by the group’s conductor at that

⁴⁵ James L. Davey, foreword, *A Collection of Cornish Carols, Including the Most Popular of “The Christmas Welcome”*, p. 1.

⁴⁶ ‘Carol Singing Dates Back To Dawn of History: Revival In Adelaide: Cornish Songs Make Most Appeal’, *News*, 22/12/1930, p. 17.

⁴⁷ See Appendix D for these covers.

⁴⁸ Although I contacted the company that now runs Allan’s to ascertain whether their commercial archive might give more information about the publication of this book, there did not seem to be any further information available.

time, Les Penhall.⁴⁹ Presumably these were solely for the use of the choir, since each copy was numbered and contained the following preface:

I begin my life in this year of our Lord 1945. I am the property of the Moonta Harmony Choir, and am not for sale; nor am I to be taken away from the Choir without the permission of the President, Secretary or Conductor. I do not become the property of the member using me. My chief mission in life is to preserve to this generation, at least some of the Cornish Carols now out of print. Please take care of me.⁵⁰

Alongside carols drawn from *The Christmas Welcome*, the booklet included a version of 'It Came Upon The Midnight Clear' credited to Bert Rowe, a previous conductor, a version of 'O Come, All Ye Faithfull' selected from John Witty's cantata 'From Manger to Cross' (1908), 'Stille Nacht' taken from the Methodist Hymn Book, and a version of 'Flaming Seraphs'.⁵¹ It also appears to have been later supplemented by other numbers taken from the Methodist Hymnbook.

5.3: Analysis: Development and Interactions

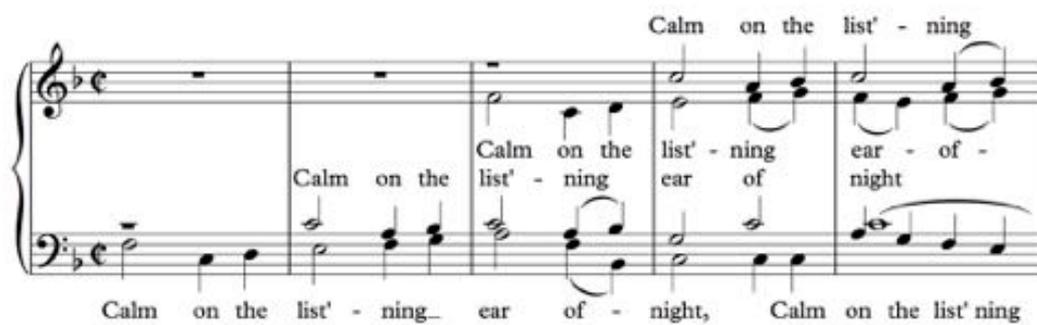
Investigation of these manuscripts and printed scores demonstrates interesting relationships and interactions between different textual and musical sources. Here I take three examples to explore the development of the carol repertoire.

⁴⁹ 'Cornishmen Love To Sing Carols', Brewster Jones, *The Mail*, 22/12/1945, p. 3.

⁵⁰ Moonta Harmony Choir, *More Cornish Carols and Some Christmas Hymns*, mimeographed booklet in possession of Noel Carthew, last accompanist of the Cornish Carol Choir.

⁵¹ 'Flaming Seraphs' is very similar to the version in Dunstan's *Cornish Songbook*, and another similar version also appears in Chope, *Carols For Use In Church During Christmas and Epiphany*, p. 53.

The first example, John H. Thomas's setting of 'Calm On The Listening Ear of Night', indicates that texts from non-Cornish sources were adapted to feature the fusing, and thus Cornish, style. The carol appears in the 1895 version of *The Christmas Welcome*, but it is likely to have featured in the 1889 edition since Thomas was the volume's editor, and newspaper reports indicate that it was being performed locally at least a year earlier than that.⁵² The text is in common meter, including three verses and no refrain. However, Thomas's setting includes not one, but two fusing sections, unusually opening with a fugue.



Example 5.1: Bars 1-5 of 'Calm On The Listening Ear', *The Christmas Welcome*⁵³

The bass voice takes the opening phrase, which is then imitated in consecutive bars by the tenors, altos and sopranos respectively. The entire first two lines involve contrapuntal movement before resolving in unison in bars 10-12. The second two lines are then sung in unison before the second fusing section repeats the structure of the first using the final line of the verse. Thomas's setting of this text shows that carols from non-Cornish sources could be set using the fusing form, which was

⁵² Advertising, *Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser*, 21/12/1888, p. 2.

⁵³ For full score, see Appendix C.7.

evidently seen as a particularly Cornish style. The text was written by American pastor and writer Edmund Hamilton Sears (1810-1876), author of the more widely known 'It Came Upon the Midnight Clear'. First published in 1834, 'Calm On The Listening Ear Of Night' appeared in many American and British Protestant, Baptist and Methodist hymnals during the 19th century, and was set to a variety of tunes, most popularly 'St. Agnes' by John B. Dykes. An examination of other tunes used for this text indicates that they were generally homophonic in texture.⁵⁴ However, the setting composed by John Henry Thomas became firmly associated with Cornish carol traditions in Moonta. Thomas's setting was evidently popular, since it was included in all subsequent versions of *The Christmas Welcome* in its original run. Thereafter, it was also included in all of the reissues originally published by Davey from 1929, up to and including the Allan's version of 1959. As I discuss in greater detail in Chapters 7 and 9, this carol and its composer became emblematic of the Cornish carol tradition in Moonta.

The second example indicates that material from extant Cornish collections was incorporated into *The Christmas Welcome*. A new carol titled 'Awake Ye Nations' attributed to T. Broad appeared in the 1902 version of the publication. Cross-checking across the extant publications indicates that this carol was likely drawn from Heath's *Cornish Carols Part 1*, which as discussed previously, first appeared in South Australia in 1890. Credited to T. Broad in both publications, initially the carols are very similar; the opening four bar phrase is identical in every respect, even down to the phrasing marks. Further, each version has the same two additional verses.

However, closer inspection reveals a number of harmonic and melodic differences,

⁵⁴ See 'Calm On The Listening Ear of Night', Hymnary website, https://hymnary.org/search?qu=textAuthNumber%3A%22%5Ecalm_on_the_listening_ear_of_night%24%22%20in%3Atunes&sort=matchingInstances Accessed: 7/6/2018 11:35]

and the fugging section, starting in at the end of bar 13, has undergone some significant changes. The version in Heath has the soprano entry imitated by the alto in the following bar, and in the bar after that, the tenor and bass enter together, rejoining the soprano voice in unison with the text to move against the text in the alto line. Heath's version does not really qualify as a fugue; rather, the soprano, tenor and bass lines work against the altos in bars 16-19. In the version given in *The Christmas Welcome*, the tenor, alto, soprano and bass enter imitatively and separately in consecutive bars, creating the overlaps of text (although at the end of bar 16 the bass and alto lines coincide). The change in the structure of the fugue alters the close of the piece; while the melodic contour remains similar in that both lines rise to the octave F, this is extended and therefore starts a bar earlier in *The Christmas Welcome*.

The image displays two systems of musical notation for the hymn 'Awake Ye Nations'. Each system consists of a Soprano line (treble clef) and a Bass line (bass clef), both in 4/4 time. The lyrics are written below the notes. The first system shows the Soprano line starting with 'On which the Sav - iour Christ was born, On' and the Bass line starting with 'On which the Sav - iour'. The second system shows the Soprano line with 'which the Sav - iour Christ was born,' and 'Christ was born, On which the Sav - iour Christ was born' and the Bass line with 'which the Sav - iour Christ was born,'.

Example 5.2: Bars 13-18 of 'Awake Ye Nations', Heath, *Part 2*, 1889⁵⁵

⁵⁵ For full score, see Appendix C.8.

The image displays two systems of musical notation for a vocal piece. The first system shows a vocal line with lyrics: "On which the Sa - viour On which the Sa - viour Christ was born, On". The second system continues the lyrics: "which the Sa - viour Christ was born, On" and "Christ was born, On which the Sa - viour Christ was born, On". The music is in 4/4 time and features a simple harmonic accompaniment in the bass line.

Example 5.3: Bars 12-17 of ‘Awake Ye Nations’, *The Christmas Welcome*, 1909⁵⁶

Despite the differences between the two publications, I suggest that there are enough concordances between the scores, alongside the attribution to T. Broad, to indicate that the musical material of the version in *The Christmas Welcome* was sourced from Heath’s *Cornish Carols Part 1*. Texts from those books certainly appear; for example, ‘Awake, Arise, Rejoice and Sing’, ‘Awake With Joyful Strains of Mirth’, ‘With What Resplendent Beauty Shone’ (*Cornish Carols Part 1*) and ‘Sound, Sound Your Instruments of Joy’ and ‘Mortals Awake, Why Slumber So’ (*Cornish Carols Part 2*). This implies that either Grummet or Thomas, as the main people responsible for the publication, had access to Robert Hainsworth Heath’s books; indeed, I was able to see a copy of Heath’s *Cornish Carols Part 2* which appears to have been sold by Grummet, as an incomplete stamp is visible on the cover.⁵⁷ An explanation for the

⁵⁶ For full score, see Appendix C.9.

⁵⁷ Drawn from the personal archive of John Roberts. Wallaroo Mines, South Australia. See Appendix D.

level of editing of the fugue may be that the original structure did not reflect the four-part fugal structure that is present in the overwhelming majority of carols in *The Christmas Welcome*. However, in the case of ‘Awake Ye Nations’ it is incongruous that there is no citation of arrangement, since the other carols in *The Christmas Welcome* are attributed as either original or arranged works.

This is not the only instance of ‘Awake Ye Nations’ occurring in Australia; an arrangement of the carol appears much later in Glasson’s *Twenty-Six Celebrated Cornish Carols* in 1929. While Glasson’s version is largely similar, he includes a four-part fugue involving a dotted rhythmic structure that differs from those in both Heath and Thomas. A further South Australian version of ‘Awake Ye Nations’ is found in the Abbott manuscript, written in 2/4 rather than 4/4 time and also in G rather than F major.⁵⁸ However, while Abbott’s melodic contour closely reflects those found in Heath, *The Christmas Welcome* and Glasson, the fugal section is completely different. Further cross-referencing reveals that Abbott’s version as a whole is closest to an unattributed version published in 1912 by Warmington.⁵⁹ My research has so far failed to uncover any of Warmington’s publications in Australia, which in any case were published around five years after Abbott’s death. The correlation between the fugues in Abbott’s and Warmington’s versions of ‘Awake Ye Nations’ may therefore indicate that there is likely to be another source of musical material for this carol that has not yet been uncovered.

Finally, I examine ‘Arise and Sing and Dispel Your Fears’, the second carol found in the Matthias Deacon Abbott manuscript. While this piece does not appear in any of

⁵⁸ For full score, see Appendix C.10.

⁵⁹ For full score, see Appendix C.11.

the subsequent Australian publications, I consider that its presence in the Abbott manuscript implies the existence of additional musical material – whether manuscript or print – that has not yet been uncovered. In Abbott’s manuscript there are no words to accompany the carol, and only the tenor and bass lines are filled in on the manuscript. However, although the soprano and alto lines are missing from Abbott’s stave, as with other carols in the manuscript, he places the melody line in the tenor part. Cross referencing this principal melody across other Cornish carol publications shows that a very similar version of it appears in Robert Hainsworth Heath’s *Cornish Carols Part 1*, attributed to A. Woolf. Almond Woolf was a musician and composer who lived in Redruth in the mid-19th century, and published numerous pieces of vocal church music (although as yet no manuscripts of his carols have been found).⁶⁰

There are several harmonic and melodic discrepancies between the two versions. For example, in bar 1 Abbot’s bass line moves from F to C and descends to B flat, while Heath’s moves from F to A and then up to B flat. The fugal section (bars 16-20) contains a discrepancy in the tenor line in bar 16 where the tenor line runs back up to F in the third and fourth beats, which sounds considerably different to the continuing descent in Heath’s version. A more substantial divergence occurs in bars 9-12 of the tenor part in Abbott’s manuscript, where, rather than continuing Heath’s soprano line, the tenors take the alto line. There are also some correspondences and discrepancies between the phrasing marks as indicated by slurs or the barring of quavers. For example, the melismatic quavers in bars 5-6 are barred (but not slurred) in the same way in both versions. Slurring marks are inconsistent and in some cases completely omitted in Abbott’s manuscript. Overall, these changes are relatively minor, and I

⁶⁰ For example, Almond Woolf, *An Original Set of Psalm and Hymn Tunes In Four Parts* (Redruth: Francis Symons, 1836).

consider that there can be no reasonable doubt that the two transcriptions are of the same piece.

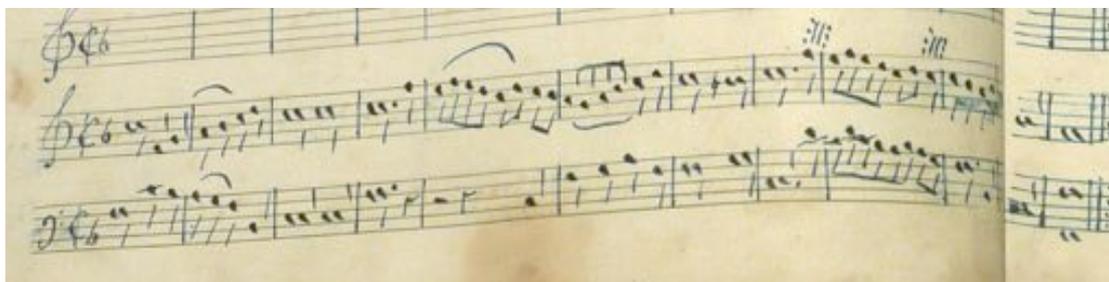


Plate 5.3: ‘Arise and Sing, Dispele Your Fears’, Abbot MSS⁶¹

Example 5.4: ‘Arise and Sing’, Heath, *Cornish Carols Part 1*⁶²

Due to the similarities between the musical materials and the presence of the titular first line in Abbott’s manuscript, it is reasonable to suggest that the text provided by

⁶¹ For full score, see Appendix C.12.

⁶² For full score, see Appendix C.13.

Heath would also have accompanied the version in Abbott's manuscript. Heath's publication includes three verses, which can be found in a broadside titled 'Fifty Carols and Anthems for Christmas' published by J. O. Harris.⁶³ It is also found in Rodda's *A Selection of Carols, Pieces and Anthems Suitable for Christmas*, published circa 1872 (both without music) and reprinted several times into the 1880s.⁶⁴ Further research has not indicated any earlier origins for this text, so it is possible that it was written in Cornwall during the 19th century and set to music by Woolf.

The presence of the date on the Abbott manuscript is not enough to state unequivocally that Abbott transcribed the carol in 1875; since Abbott lived until 1907 he could possibly have copied the music from Heath's collections, since they were available in South Australia from 1890. However, I suggest that there are enough harmonic, melodic and phrasing discrepancies between the two transcriptions of the carol to indicate that Abbott did not directly copy from Heath's printed version. Therefore, if the date of 1875 does reflect the date of Abbott's transcription, then this would imply that either Abbott knew the music for 'Arise and Sing' well enough to transcribe the melody and bass lines from memory, or that there was another source of the music – either published or in manuscript – which as yet has not been uncovered either in Australia or Cornwall. In either case, it would seem likely that the carol was either well known or readily available in order for Abbott, a miner from East Cornwall, to have come into contact with the work of Woolf, at least a generation older than him, from West Cornwall. Although this carol does not appear to have become popular in South Australia (it does not occur in any of the subsequent

⁶³ Harris's broadside is unfortunately undated, but Harris' printing business operated from Hayle, Cornwall, in the mid 19th century.

⁶⁴ J. O. Harris, 'Fifty Carols and Anthems for Christmas', Hayle (see Special Collections, Kent State University, OH, USA), and Rodda, *A Selection of Carols, Pieces and Anthems*.

publications already mentioned), it is of note that this musical and textual material appears in the Copper Triangle with Cornish miners, and further, that it may be traced back to both musical and textual material that appears to have originated in Cornwall.

5.4: Analysis: Development of Repertoire

A variety of printed sources of Cornish carol repertoire were available in South Australia. However, while the presence of Heath's Cornish carol collections in South Australia, Tasmania and Western Australia confirms that material was transported from Cornwall to Australia with an eye to an overseas market for Cornish carols, the majority of printed repertoire used in South Australia (and beyond) was composed and published in the Copper Triangle by Cornish migrants or their descendants.⁶⁵ However, the work of composers in South Australia appears to have been much more popular than material brought from Cornwall itself. The reconstruction of *The Christmas Welcome's* publication history, during which it was reprinted and expanded five times over the course of twenty years, is very significant since it indicates that the publication was not only a popular, but also a commercial success. The addition of carols across five editions, rather than publication of entirely new material, implies the enduring popularity of repeated material, rather than stagnation of interest in the existing repertoire. Further, the subsequent appearance of other publications, such as those of Glasson, Davey and Penhall over an extended period indicate an ongoing demand for the repertoire over a period of seventy years.

⁶⁵ 'Carol Concert', *The Zeehan and Dundas Herald*, 24/12/1894, p. 3; 'The Highgate Musical Society's Carols', *The West Australian*, 27/12/1894, p. 2.

These South Australian publications contained predominantly new compositions which were not from Cornwall but nevertheless advertised and promoted as ‘Cornish’. As such, we must question where and how the ‘Cornishness’ is located in this repertoire. An element of the answer is that the composers were in general either Cornish migrants or their descendants, living in communities that were well known for having a high proportion of Cornish migrants. However, as the tables charting the publication history of *The Christmas Welcome* show, the repertoire itself exhibits a very strong adherence to the fugging style. In the final 1909 edition, only four of the thirty-one carols did not exhibit fugging structures, and the remainder implemented the imitative fugging style, overwhelmingly in four parts. This style became a widely recognised characteristic of Cornish carols in South Australia; later commentators, such as Brewster Jones in 1935, wrote that ‘No Cornish carols would be complete without some fugal entries, or canonic imitations’.⁶⁶

Considerable personal value appears to have been invested in the Australian Cornish carol books. Although the copies of the publications are too numerous and too widely distributed to take a full account of the marginalia, through collecting and accessing the different editions I have found that such written additions may further our understanding of the repertoire and its use. In my own collection, I have copies of *The Christmas Welcome* that were used in the Adelaide suburbs, Perth, and Tasmania. Such inscriptions may also indicate interest in Cornish history or culture; for example, an inscription on the cover of a copy of Heath’s *Part 1* in my possession states that the owner lived in Tasmania in a house named ‘St Piran’ (Cornwall’s patron saint). Such marginalia also indicates that the material was bought in bulk for church choirs;

⁶⁶ Brewster Jones, ‘Midnight Carols of Christmas Joy’, *The Advertiser*, 21/12/1935, p. 11.

one copy of Davey's reissue of *The Christmas Welcome* indicates it was owned by the 'Sunnyvale Choir', attached to the chapel which no longer exists on the northern Yorke Peninsula not far from the Copper Triangle. In the Australian-published carol books I have not found the same level of dilapidation as in Grass Valley. In some cases, spines have been protected and reinforced with cloth, but the periodic publication of *The Christmas Welcome* at least would have meant that books could be replaced if necessary. These publications were likely to have been used in homes and churches, where wear and tear was less extreme than in Grass Valley, where a comparatively limited number of publications were available. I suggest that the value was therefore in the project of propagating the repertoire through publication, rather than invested within manuscripts themselves.

The composers of the Copper Triangle generated a broad repertoire of carols that were disseminated across Australia. My reconstruction of *The Christmas Welcome's* publication history demonstrates that the repertoire expanded over the course of the late 19th and early twentieth centuries. First, 'Calm On The Listening Ear Of Night' demonstrates that existing and well-known hymn texts were integrated into, and eventually became part of the Cornish carol tradition in South Australia. I suggest that Thomas's setting, which involved two fugging sections, enabled this text to be recast as a Cornish carol. On the other hand, 'Awake Ye Nations' confirms the co-option of Cornish carol repertoire transported to Australia into Australian collections. However, this does not appear to have taken place without a certain amount of editing in order to align Broad's version in Heath more closely with the four-part fugging structure common across the other carols in *The Christmas Welcome*. Finally, the presence of

‘Arise and Sing’ in Abbott’s manuscript implies that other musical or textual sources of Cornish carol repertoire may yet be uncovered.

Conclusions

Carolling was present in the communities of the Copper Triangle area of South Australia from the earliest days of their settlements. During the 1860s and 1870s, these materials and practices came to be associated with Cornish migrants within the community. While the date and material found in the Matthias Deacon Abbott manuscript may hint at previous publications of Cornish carol material that have not yet been uncovered, this cannot be verified until additional material surfaces.

Nevertheless, its existence heavily implies that carols utilising the fugging form were being performed in the Copper Triangle area prior to the publication of *The Christmas Welcome*. It is interesting to note that of the various contemporaneous carol publications available within Cornwall around the turn of the century from Merritt, Leese, Nicholas and others (see Chapter 2), as yet only Heath’s collections appear to have been available in South Australia.⁶⁷ In any case however, the new compositions of local composers of Cornish descent or connection such as Thomas, Glasson and Davey appear to have been more popular than those arriving from Cornwall itself. These new carols overwhelmingly utilised the fugging form, which came to be seen as a particularly Cornish idiom.

This process resulted in the development of a considerable pool of repertoire that was firmly associated with the Cornish in South Australia. However, this material gained

⁶⁷ There are references to Merritt’s carols being sung in Sheffield, Tasmania (‘Sheffield’, *The Advocate*, 30/12/1925, p. 4) and Melbourne, Victoria (Advertising, *Sunshine Advocate*, 19/12/1952, p. 10); however, these performances are much later than the publications discussed in this chapter.

recognition and exposure far beyond the Copper Triangle through Grummet's advertising across South Australia, Victoria and New South Wales in towns with high proportions of Cornish migrants. The appearance of the repertoire in print thus enabled wide dissemination across Australia, enabling the material to be used by choirs that were not necessarily of Cornish origin. The extended period of publication and re-publication of Cornish carol repertoire over a seventy-year period (1889-1959) indicates the repertoire's continuing popularity and commercial success. However, after the central figures in the tradition died and external socio-cultural and economic pressures caused social and cultural changes in the Copper Triangle, carolling practices struggled to continue in the same format. Eventually the repertoire was only performed in Moonta by the visiting Cornish Carol Choir, which had had to produce its own resources of carol repertoire.

Section 1: Conclusions

This section has demonstrated the clear transfer and development of Cornish carol repertoire between home and destination locations. Printed collections were transported from Cornwall to both the Copper Triangle and Grass Valley at the end of the 19th century, and in both locations, were strongly associated with Cornish migrants and migrant communities. However, the juxtaposition of their subsequent use in the two communities shows different processes of use, selection and development in each location.

I suggest that these printed books and manuscripts represent physical heritage products. The scale of print and handwritten manuscripts in each location indicates that there was a perceived value in the musical material itself. While the act of musical performance is itself intangible and irrecoverable, in this case the importance and endurance of the tangible material underpinning the performance is clear, and allows some reconstruction of the historic repertoire. For instance, the sheer range of printed material (and the effort manifest in its conservation through rebinding and copying into manuscript books) within the Grass Valley collections is evidence of its cultural and personal value. Equally, the continual republication of *The Christmas Welcome* and the subsequent volumes in South Australia indicate not only the ongoing popularity, but also the commercial viability of the material. In this sense, the transfer and development of these repertoires aptly reflect Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's notion that 'heritage produces the local for export'.⁶⁸ These products were designed with an awareness of, and intent to appeal to these overseas communities; indeed,

⁶⁸ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 'Theorising Heritage', p. 369.

Heath clearly understood the appeal of his books to overseas markets of Cornish communities. In both locations, the selection and development of the musical material adhered strongly, but not exclusively, to the fugging style particularly popular in Cornwall. In Grass Valley, the fugging style was retained in over seventy-five percent of the carols in the manuscript books I had access to (seven of the twenty-nine carols were homophonic). In the Copper Triangle, new music was overwhelmingly composed in the style; in the 1909 edition of *The Christmas Welcome*, twenty-seven of the thirty-one carols it contained featured a fugging element. In this sense, it is clear that composers such as Thomas, Glasson, Davey et al were composing new material – i.e., ‘a mode of cultural production in the present’, but with definite ‘recourse to the past’.⁶⁹

However, I consider it is also possible to identify different processes of heritagisation with regard to these printed books and handwritten manuscripts. The development of site-specific repertoires is particularly important; the processes of selection (as in Grass Valley) and development (as in the Copper Triangle) of particular music indicates that the repertoire reflected the specific desires of the different communities. In Grass Valley, the overwhelming majority of the contents in each of the handwritten manuscripts can be traced with a degree of certainty to a previously printed source transported to Grass Valley from Cornwall. There, the printed material transferred from Cornwall acted as a pool of repertoire from which specific items were selected for rehearsal and performance in the early twentieth century choirs. This resulted in the emergence of a specific repertoire of Cornish carols that was eventually associated with one particular group. Conversely, in the Copper Triangle, while Heath’s

⁶⁹ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, ‘Theorising Heritage’, p. 369.

collections were available in Adelaide, comparatively little material actually from Cornwall appears to have been commonly used by the communities in the Copper Triangle. Instead, new carols composed by Cornish migrants and their descendants was published over a period of four decades, enabling wide dissemination of the new South Australian repertoire. Cornish carols thus became well known across South Australia (and beyond), and were performed by a variety of choirs and groups that were not necessarily Cornish themselves. I consider that these diverging processes evident in the repertoire's selection and development had an inevitable effect on not only the ways in which the traditions developed, but also on the cultural narratives that were articulated around them in later years.

I argue that the preservation and development of these musical materials indicates that carolling was a legacy activity that, while not explicitly termed as heritage by contemporary composers and performers, occupied that conceptual space. Further, while the musical materials and accompanying traditions discussed in this chapter ostensibly sprang from the same root in Cornwall, their practical use in diasporic locations was already diverging in ways that would go on to impact the socio-cultural narratives surrounding the traditions, and more broadly, the Cornish they came to represent. These musical materials are the raw materials through and around which performances are enacted, and cultural dialogues are woven. I therefore now turn to the heritage narratives that were articulated around the carols, examining how these narratives represented the Cornish and their music, and how both were repositioned for audiences within their new social, cultural and historical contexts.

Section 2: Cornish Carols: Uncovering Heritage Processes

‘[...] because they’re Cornish, they love to sing! When they ain’t diggin’, they’re singin’ ... and when they ain’t singin’, they’re diggin’¹

Introduction

The transfer of Cornish carol traditions to California and South Australia did not simply result in the continued performance of a specific repertoire. Their transfer also resulted in the development and performance of socio-cultural narratives specific to each location. In this section, I focus on the emergence and content of these narratives, identifying and exploring particular instances within which I consider that Cornish carols and their performers were embedded and oriented within dialogues of heritage. Here, my approach seeks to uncover notions of heritage as a process, as the ongoing inscription and embedding of meaning around cultural practices. To best approach this, I follow Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s perspective of heritage as a ‘value added industry’, within which she suggests that the values of pastness, exhibition, difference and indigeneity are ‘added’ to particular cultural practices or artefacts.² I consider that particular values were linked to the carols and their performers, which gained positions of importance in the heritage narratives not only of their own communities, but also in broader, national notions of heritage.

To this end, in each chapter I first outline the early practices and perspectives in each location in order to give an overview of how carolling traditions occurred and were

¹ The Old Ranger, ‘Cornish Miners Christmas Carols’, ‘Death Valley Days’, 25/12/1942, DU 78809, Library of Congress Copyright Office Drama Deposits, 1901-1977, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, p. 5. Cited in text from here on.

² Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, ‘Theorizing Heritage’, p. 369.

perceived prior to the ascription and inscription of these heritage narratives. I then examine what I consider to be two key moments of inscription for each tradition. In each case, I interrogate archival sources in order to uncover the values linked to the carols and their performers. This interpretative approach seeks to accommodate, and account for, the distance between the historical record and past constructed around and through musical performance. I conclude the section by comparing the developments in each location, discussing some of the concordances and dissonances observable in these grand and particular narratives.

Chapter 6: Grass Valley: English, Cornish, American?

Introduction

The scope and breadth of printed and manuscript music evident in Grass Valley indicates that carolling was locally popular in Grass Valley from the late 19th century onwards. However, the repertoire reached a much wider audience when Cornish carols were performed on six dedicated national radio broadcasts during the 1940s.³ These broadcasts were pivotal for the choir, not only in terms of the broader dissemination of the carols themselves, but also the development of specific narratives and values around the performers. This chapter identifies and explores those narratives, and suggests that their impacts resonated long after the initial broadcasts. I first explore how the carols were described and discussed during the early days of the twentieth century. While initially labelled as ‘English’, the tradition eventually became associated with a Cornish identity through the activities of a professional singing group drawn from choir members. Next, I examine the radio scripts, discussing their genesis and the values highlighted within particular cultural and historic narratives. I then show that these narratives impacted upon scholarly perspectives of the choir and its carols by examining the circumstances surrounding the repertoire’s eventual preservation by the Library of Congress during the 1950s, and the subsequent production of two vinyl records. Utilising Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s conception of heritage as a ‘value added’ process, I then offer an interpretation of how particular values were articulated around, and embedded within, the carol traditions.

³ While no material is available from the initial broadcast in 1940, the scripts of the 1941-2 broadcast scripts are housed in the Library of Congress’s Manuscript Division, and recordings of the 1947-8 broadcasts in the Recorded Sound Division. The 1946 recording was not preserved by the Recorded Sound Division, but was locally recorded, and is commercially available on a CD accompanying McKinney’s *When Miners Sang*.

6.1: English Heritage? Early Perspectives of the Carols

As discussed in Chapter 4, both contemporary and later newspaper sources indicate that carolling was popular in Grass Valley soon after its establishment, and was swiftly and specifically associated with Cornish migrants. Initially the tradition was maintained by various informal groups defined by their point of origin in Cornwall, and performed repertoire particular to those locations. Gradual sharing of repertoire enabled the groups to amalgamate into one larger organisation that performed in and around Grass Valley. In the early 20th century the Merritt Choir emerged as an independent organisation for several years, before the two groups joined to form one choir that continued to perform until the 1960s. Performance contexts included public singing in streets, in Methodist Episcopal or Congregational churches, a local hospital, children's homes and for elderly shut-ins, and were therefore strongly linked with Grass Valley's community. Performances further afield gained the choir wider recognition for their continuation of the carolling tradition, which was seen as an old custom from the migrants' homeland that was not broadly maintained in the USA.

However, while in some quarters the performance of the carols in Grass Valley was reported in association with Cornish miners, in others, the actual practice of carolling itself appears to have been regarded as an English custom. When the Grass Valley choirs visited Sacramento in the early 20th century, local newspaper reports suggested that the carols would be 'a novelty and a delight to the valley people. While it is common enough in English communities, to residents of a cosmopolitan class nothing of this nature is ever heard'.⁴ This certainly appears to have been the case, as the Sacramento papers responded that:

⁴ 'Waiting for the Carolers: All Saramento Agog Over Event', *The Daily Union*, 12/28/1906, p. 8.

Grass Valley is one of the few places in the United States where Christmas is observed in the old-fashioned way, and where men gather on the street and sing the carols that were sung by their fathers and grandfathers in England many years ago.⁵

The subsequent newspaper reports, under headlines such as ‘Carolers Sing Their Way into City’s Favor: Immense Crowd Trails Sweet-Voiced Miners from Grass Valley’ described the carols as ‘vocal art that will long remain green in the treasure box of holiday remembrances’, with one listener remarking that ‘they came, they sang, they conquered’.⁶ In the early twentieth century then, the repertoire appears to have been regarded as old and historic, described as ‘old-time’ and an ‘old English custom’ by both the choir and its listeners.⁷ This may have contributed to the continuing popularity of the carol choirs, which by the 1920s, were joined by other choral performing groups such as the Grass Valley Glee Club.⁸

From their earliest incarnations, the choirs seem to have been specifically male choruses. Occasionally, women sang on the programme with men; for example, during the choir’s visits to Sacramento in 1906 and 1907 several women sang solos or as part of small groups with male singers.⁹ However, the rosters of performers published in local newspapers indicate that the full chorus that performed the carols involved men only. Interestingly, in such lists the choir’s voices were described respectively as sopranos, altos, tenors, and basses, indicating that the parts were

⁵ ‘Music for the Holidays’, *Sacramento Union*, 15/11/1906, p. 8.

⁶ ‘Carollers Sing Their Way into City’s Favour’, *Sacramento Union*, 2/1/1910, p. 11.

⁷ ‘A Letter from the Grass Valley Choir’, *Sacramento Union*, 10/1/1907, p. 5, and ‘English Carol Singers’, *Sacramento Union*, 25/11/1906, p. 12.

⁸ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, p. 181.

⁹ ‘Sacramento Capitulates to Grass Valley: Thousands Listen to Splendid Voices of Carolers Lifted in New Year Song’, *Sacramento Union*, 2/1/1907, p. 7.

defined by musical material written for SATB setting, rather than the TTBB parts standard for male chorus.¹⁰ However, McKinney writes that the ‘disruption’ of normal life following the conclusion of the First World War was evident in the fact that the carols had been sung by a mixed chorus in 1919.¹¹ The choir was often accompanied by an organist, and occasionally by small numbers of instrumentalists; in 1909 these included violin, cornet, flute, tenor horn, B-flat cornet and clarinet.¹²

Grass Valley’s carol choirs were not unique in their performance of carols at Christmas time. Many musical societies, church choirs and other groups in both Grass Valley itself and the surrounding communities performed carols as part of seasonal church services, and some, such as Vallejo’s Methodist Episcopal church, even performed Cornish repertoire.¹³ Other choirs were also active in carolling traditions; for example, in 1909 the Trinity Episcopal church choir of Sacramento, perhaps inspired by the success of the Grass Valley groups, initiated their own ‘reviv[al of] the ancient English custom of singing carols on Christmas Eve’, using cars to travel from place to place singing ‘carols of Merrie England’.¹⁴ Further, a group of ex-Grass Valley residents set up their own carol choir in San Francisco that performed during the 20th century.¹⁵

However, Grass Valley’s carol choirs appear to have retained some level of custodianship over the carol repertoire that was, by this time, associated with the town and its mining singers. The town’s association with mining was further cemented by

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹¹ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, p. 146, citing *The Union*, 21/12/1919, p. 8.

¹² ‘Names of Carol Singers Received’, *Sacramento Union*, 22/12/1909, p. 3.

¹³ ‘Music a Feature of M. E. Church Service’, *San Francisco Call*, 1/1/1911, p. 31.

¹⁴ ‘Singers To Revive Carols of Merrie England Tonight’, *Sacramento Union*, 24/12/1909, p. 12.

¹⁵ *The Union*, 27/12/1908, p. 2, in McKinney, Timeline, ‘When Miners Sang’ Collection, Searls Historical Library.

the emergence of Grass Valley's glee club, 'mostly Cornish miners' and many of whom also sang in the carol choirs.¹⁶ This group did not only perform carols; at a performance in 1924 the secretary of the group emphasised that 'the programme will be varied and in many respects quite out of the ordinary – complete with surprises, unique and novel features, and not to be confused with the ordinary vaudeville shows. The music to be rendered will all be of a high class order'.¹⁷ The mining connection was emphasised, with the group also calling themselves the 'Grass Valley Miners' Glee Club' and staging particular elements of their performance. For instance, at a celebration of seventy-five years since the rush of 1849, the group were particularly well received in Auburn, where they sang 'accoutered in the costumes of underground miners'.¹⁸ In Grass Valley, they performed at the Strand Theater, which was set 'in the representation of the underground workings of a gold mine, correct down to the finest detail'.¹⁹ Groups emerging after the glee club had several different titles over the years, including the 'California Cornish Gold Mining Singers' and the 'Gold Miners' Chorus'. McKinney notes that 'everyone who sang with them was a member of the carol choir, and yet the "Gold Miners' Chorus" was different because it included only the best voices'.²⁰

¹⁶ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, pp. 214-221; 'Unique Grass Valley Chorus to Sing at Fair', *San Francisco Chronicle*, 22/8/1921, p. 9. Glee clubs were important centres of community music making in the late 19th and early 20th centuries; see Rachele Barlow, 'The 'Land of Song': Gender and Identity in Welsh Choral Music, 1872–1918', unpublished PhD thesis, Cardiff University, 2015.

¹⁷ J. H. Carthew, 'Grass Valley Glee Club', *The Placer Herald*, 29/11/1924, p. 2.

¹⁸ 'Grass Valley Miners Please Audience', *Auburn Journal*, 2/10/1924, p. 1.

¹⁹ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, p. 216, citing undated newspaper clipping in private archive.

²⁰ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, p. 215.

6.2: Scripting Heritage? Radio Broadcasts

Both the carol choir and the group emerging from it came to national attention in the 1940s when the carol choir and California Cornish Gold Mining Singers combined to perform on six national radio broadcasts over the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) networks. The first three broadcasts took place between 1940-1942 and were transmitted from the 2000 foot level of the local Idaho-Maryland gold mine. The first appears to have been a stand-alone broadcast by the NBC, and was programmed to be broadcast over the Red network, which carried the company's more popular programmes and covered the Pacific states from the Canadian to the Mexican borders, and also the east coast.²¹ The second and third broadcasts were 'Death Valley Days' programmes, a series sponsored by the Pacific Coast Boraxo Company that related dramatised stories of the old west and was broadcast over CBS.²² These broadcasts were also aired and heard nationally, with the broadcast first on the east coast and mid-west stations, and then rebroadcast later on the west coast, enabling the carollers to hear their own performance.²³ The fourth, fifth and sixth broadcasts aired during consecutive Christmases over what had become the NBC Radio Network between 1946-1948.²⁴ These were non-dramatized and were given from the stage of the Del Oro Theatre in Grass Valley's town centre.²⁵ Each broadcast was half an hour long, with announcers

²¹ Stephen Lippmann, 'Rationalization, Standardization, or Market Diversity? Station Networks and Market Structure in U. S. Broadcasting, 1927-1950', *Social Science History*, 32/3 (2008), pp. 405-436 (p. 408); Jim Cox, *American Radio Networks: A History* (Jefferson, N.C: McFarland, 2009), pp. 21-22.

²² Jack French and David Siegel, eds., *Radio Rides the Range: A Reference Guide to Western Drama on the Air, 1929-1967* (Jefferson, NC, and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2014), pp. 42-49.

²³ 'Millions Will Hear Deep Mine Carol Program', *The Morning Union*, 25/12/1941, p. 3.

²⁴ In 1943 NBC was required to sell the Blue Network, and the carol broadcasts of 1946-8 were aired nationally over what became the NBC Radio Network. See Mike Mashon, 'National Broadcasting Company', pp. 498-501, and Herbert H. Howard, 'Blue Network', pp. 108-111, both in Christopher H. Sterling, ed., *The Concise Encyclopedia of American Radio*, concise edition, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010).

²⁵ The first broadcast was preserved on disc and released on CD in 2001 to accompany the publication of Gage McKinney's history of the choir, *When Miners Sang*. The remaining two broadcasts are

What we might understand but imperfectly is why this amateur choir from a small town in the California foothills should have elicited such a response, not only from those who wrote at the time of the national broadcasts, but from those who remembered years later. Even people who weren't alive to hear the choir over national radio, but had heard about those performances from their parents or grandparents, repeated what they had learned. They told their children how the miners' chorus sang to the nation from the depths of the mine. Especially they told it in Grass Valley.²⁷

The radio broadcasts were therefore recognized as decisive events, with an impact that endured long after the programmes were originally aired. However, the broadcasts did not simply make the carols available to a national radio audience. Rather, the musical material was encapsulated in descriptive material that articulated particular socio-cultural narratives about both the music and the performers. As I demonstrate in this segment, throughout all the broadcasts, the choir and their carols are contextualized within narratives of historicity, identity, inheritance and value; all of which I suggest coalesce in the concept of heritage. Although the term 'heritage' is not actually used in the broadcasts, I suggest that the broadcasts are an engagement with notions of heritage value.

While the carols were the centrepiece of the radio broadcasts, the radio scripts completely disregarded the musical characteristics of the carols and instead focused on the antiquity and transmission of the carols, framing them as a principally unwritten tradition passed down from father to son. It is important to state that this conception of the choir's repertoire was likely not an original development within the

²⁷ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, p. 5.

radio broadcasts discussed here; further evidence is needed to elucidate the exact origin of this narrative. However, it is linked to the promotion of the initial 1940 broadcast; one Californian newspaper noted that ‘much of the music will be centuries old songs that have never been published but have been handed down from generation to generation in manuscript form’.²⁸

Nevertheless, the subsequent broadcasts capitalised heavily on this notion. The script of the first ‘Death Valley Days’ programme swiftly suggested that the carols were ‘unwritten’, with the Old Ranger informing the audience that ‘they never use a note of music. In fact, many of the songs you’ll hear tonight have never been published, or even put down on paper’ (The Old Ranger, 1941, p. 8). The ‘unwritten’ nature of the carols remained a constant theme; the following broadcasts couched the concept of the carols as ‘ancient’ and ‘centuries old’ in increasingly romantic language. In 1946 announcer Dudley Manlove stated that ‘the songs they sing are unwritten, their composers have long since vanished, but the music lives on in the memories of these men’.²⁹ The concept of the carols as ‘unwritten’ is not entirely consistent; at the close of the second broadcast, the announcer implied that the music had existed in a written form of some kind, stating that listeners could ‘hear and enjoy these old traditional Cornish carols .. many still in manuscript form’.³⁰ However, subsequent scripts either reiterated that the music was unwritten, or described the manuscripts as lost. During the NBC broadcasts of 1946-8 announcer Dudley Manlove stated that the ‘origins of

²⁸ ‘Special Radio Programs Will Have Yule Theme’, *The Fresno Bee*, 24/12/1940, p. 3.

²⁹ Dudley Manlove, ‘The Grass Valley Cornish Choir’, 12/25/1946, included in McKinney, *When Miners Sang* (Comstock: Comstock Bonanza Press) 2001, CD1. Author’s transcription, cited in text from here on.

³⁰ Announcer, ‘Cornish Miners Christmas Carols’, ‘Death Valley Days’, 24/12/1942, DU 82893, Library of Congress Copyright Office Drama Deposits, 1901-1977, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, p. 5. Author’s transcription, cited in text from here on.

many of the songs [...] are lost in antiquity' (Manlove, 1946) and that 'the written music for these ancient carols has long since disappeared'.³¹

Alongside, and presumably as a result of, the perceived non-existence or loss of these manuscripts, the scripts emphasised the traditional transmission of the carols. Again, this was central from the outset, with 'The Old Ranger' describing the carols as 'truly traditional music, handed down from one generation of Cornishmen to the next' (The Old Ranger, 1941, p. 8). The same words and images were echoed in the later scripts, with the announcer in 1942 describing 'the glad carols that have been handed down ... father to son ... for generations' (Announcer, 1942, p. 10). In both 1946 and 1947 Manlove stated, 'the songs they sing are unwritten, their composers have long since vanished, but the music lives on in the memories of these men, handed down from generation to generation' (Manlove, 1946, 1947). Finally, in 1948, the script coalesced the images of unwritten songs, lost manuscripts and traditional transmission in effusive terms:

Ladies and gentlemen, much of this music you've heard has never been written, the composers of these songs are not recorded, some not known. But their spirit lives on in the melodies you've heard, handed down from father to son, and from that son to the next, brought to the new world from the old in California's gold rush days.³²

³¹ Dudley Manlove, 'The Grass Valley Cornish Choir', 25/12/1947, NBC preservation tape RAA 51173, Recorded Sound Division, Library of Congress. Author's transcription, cited in text from here on.

³² Dudley Manlove, 'Christmas music by the Grass Valley Cornish Choir', 25/12/1948, NBC preservation tape RWB 9158, Recorded Sound Division, Library of Congress. Author's transcription, cited in text from here on.

In this way, the radio scripts gave the impression that the carols were not only unusual in themselves, but also firmly in the cultural custodianship of a specific group of people.

While little attention is given to the geographic location of Cornwall other than 'southernmost' England, the scripts swiftly establish the Cornish as a distinct group with reference to particular cultural attributes. Specifically, the Cornish are characterised as having an ethno-occupational dominance in mining and an inbuilt ability and love of singing, with the announcer in 1941 stating, 'there are no better miners in all the world than Cornishmen. An' no better singers' (The Old Ranger, 1941, p. 4). This Cornish socio-cultural difference is enhanced through reference to 'old England', and mines that 'date back to Caesar's time' (Manlove, 1948). This antiquity is then enhanced with reference to the generational transmission of music from father to son, with the announcer commenting in 1941 that 'some of them have been singing here in Grass Valley for almost forty years. Their fathers sang the same carols before them ... and their grandfathers before that, back in England' (Announcer, 1941, p. 10).



Plate 6.1: The 1940 broadcast underground in the Idaho-Maryland Mine³³

This portrait of the Cornish as expert miners was inextricably linked with the history and locality of Grass Valley, which was described as ‘nested in the heart of the old gold mining camps [...] surrounded by other historical names such as “Rough and Ready”’ (Manlove, 1946). In order to explain the presence of the Cornish in Grass Valley, the scripts emphasise the labour migration of the Cornish, highlighting their ethno-occupational dominance and its direct impact on the development of mining in Grass Valley:

It all started when quartz mining was introduced to California. The ‘forty-niners had just been picking gold off the surface of the earth, you might say, and they needed someone to show them how to tunnel, sink shafts, and timber them. The men of Cornwall, long experienced in the art of

³³ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, frontispiece.

hard-rock mining, experience gained in the tin mines of southern-most England, were sought and they came here (Manlove, 1946).

The scripts unequivocally indicate that Cornish miners were key in the development of Grass Valley's gold mining industry, and that the town and community would not have developed the way they did without the presence of Cornish miners.

Here, the pioneer history of Grass Valley is set within the broader cultural legacy of the Californian gold rush, where 'the fabulous story of California gold was first told to the world in glamorous days of old' (Manlove, 1948). The focus on the geography and history of Grass Valley is filtered through a lens of gold rush legacy:

Grass Valley – a city rich in the lore of the gold rush, the days of '49, days of El Dorado and the Argonauts, days that live only now in these Christmas carols from the past, handed down from father to son in an old world tradition. From old England, from Cornwall, from miner father, to miner son, telling the most wonderful of stories in a dramatic new world scene. Tin miners from Cornwall, answering the call of gold, singing at Christmas – seraphic minstrels, with the rugged grandeur of the Sierra echoing their song (Manlove, 1948).

Positioning the Cornish of Grass Valley within the Californian gold rush thus integrates the Cornish within a broader American heritage, relatable to the vast majority of American listeners.

As organisers of the initial broadcast, the Chamber of Commerce in Grass Valley received many telegrams congratulating the town on the carol broadcasts, some of

which were published by *The Morning Union*, the local newspaper. Within these, an additional level of connection with the listeners is revealed across state borders. The broadcasts were meaningful for those who had lived in Grass Valley and had moved on. In a 1941 article headlined ‘Scores Commend Carol Broadcast From I-M Mine On Christmas Eve’, one representative letter was received from Richard Davies, who wrote from Seattle how the broadcast reminded him of his childhood in the town: ‘I was thrilled by the rendition of Cornish carols over the radio Christmas Eve. I sincerely hope that the carols from Grass Valley will have a place on the radio programmes hereafter. My father grew up in the town and sang carols there from 1858-1910’.³⁴ The broadcasts also resonated with other Cornish migrants within the USA, evoking memories of life in Cornwall. The following year similar letters were printed under the headline ‘Carol Broadcast Met Approbation of Radio Fans Over Entire Nation’, including a letter from Sam Poad, living in Butte in Montana. He wrote that ‘We sat around the radio last evening and heard your carol singing which we enjoyed very much. We are Cornish ourselves, from Stenalees Nr. St Austell and those old carols made us think of our old home and the time when we used to sing them’.³⁵

6.3: Interpretation: Heritage and History

Clearly then radio broadcasts had a significant impact on the town, the tradition, and many of their listeners. However, the scripts did not simply disseminate the musical material to their audience. Rather, the broadcasts articulated particular narratives of

³⁴ ‘I-M’ here refers to the Idaho-Maryland mine. ‘Scores Commend Carol Broadcast From I-M Mine On Xmas Eve’, *The Morning Union*, 8/1/1941, p. 3.

³⁵ ‘Carol Broadcast Met Approbation of Radio Fans Over Entire Nation’, *The Morning Union*, 4/1/1942, p. 8.

historicity, identity, inheritance and value; which I again argue easily coalesce in the concept of heritage. In particular, I suggest that adopting an interpretative stance to these materials enables the identification of Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's values of pastness, exhibition, indigeneity and difference in the scripts' presentation of the musical materials and their performers.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's value of pastness to the musical material emerges in the scripts' emphasis on the antiquity and transmission of the carols. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett posits that interfaces may act as time machines, which 'transport tourists [or in this case, listeners] from a now that signifies hereeness, to a then that signifies thereeness'.³⁶ Here, the carols are explicitly presented as a means of evoking the past in the present, with Manlove remarking, 'here in these century old Christmas carols, the past still lives. Let the old times return' (Manlove 1948). In emphasising this generational mode of transmission, the carols were described as traditional to a specific group of performers in a specific location, thus styling the Cornish as custodians of the musical material. The implication of orality in the assertion that the carols were transmitted in this manner further bolsters the alleged antiquity of the 'centuries old' carols (Manlove 1946), which is enhanced through being defined by a cultural legacy from 'old England'. This engenders an increasingly mythic presentation of the position of the carols, where 'these voices [...] echo old times and old ways' (Manlove 1948).

The scripts also enhance the value of the musical materials by underscoring their literal exhibition of the carols to the American public via radio broadcasts. The

³⁶ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 'Theorizing Heritage', p. 370.

announcer in the sponsors' advertisement in 1941 stated that 'the Pacific Coast Boraxo Company is happy to have had the opportunity of bringing you this unique broadcast on a coast-to-coast network so that millions of listeners would be able to hear and enjoy these old traditional Cornish carols' (Announcer, 1942, p. 5). Here, the 'unwritten' and traditionally transmitted carols gain value through their dissemination. In the final NBC broadcast, Manlove declared, 'We bring them on this morning as a Christmas gift to you, from the sons and the grandsons of men who came from old Cornwall in England long years ago to mine for the gold in California's rich fabled hills' (Manlove, 1948). In this manner, the values of pastness and exhibition coalesce in their dissemination via radio; the carols were transformed from an unwritten tradition maintained by the families of a specific migrant group, into a gift to millions.

However, the scripts' promotion of the carols' oral nature is destabilized in an examination of archival sources. The papers of Ruth Cornwall Woodman, staff writer for McCann Erickson (the New York-based advertising agency that produced 'Death Valley Days') are particularly revealing.³⁷ Woodman usually travelled to the Death Valley region to research the locations and people who were the subjects of the programmes.³⁸ Her papers indicate that she visited Grass Valley shortly before the first 'Death Valley Days' broadcast in December 1941. During her visit, she gathered information not only regarding the town and the mine, but also regarding the choir and their carols. Cross-referencing her notes with the scripts of the 1941 broadcast confirms that the information she gathered certainly informed the scripts that were

³⁷ AX 690, Ruth Cornwall Woodman Papers, Division of Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon, Oregon, USA.

³⁸ John Dunning, *On The Air: The Encyclopedia of Old Time Radio* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 195.

broadcast. She wrote that ‘many of the carols have been handed down from generation to generation’ [...] and that ‘it is a natural thing for the Cornish people to sing’.³⁹

However, in a section marked ‘Repertory of songs’, she provides a table of ten carols sung by the choir, including a title, description, and length in minutes and seconds. Of these, seven are described as ‘Traditional Cornish carol – Manuscript Form’, two as ‘Thomas Merritt – Cornwall – Reid Bro. London Publ’, and finally ‘Diadem’ as a ‘Traditional Hymn by James Ellor’. Of these, eight go on to feature in the broadcast, excluding two, ‘Come Let Us All’ and ‘Hail! Sacred Day’ (both published by Merritt). Woodman’s description implies that she had access to the material itself if she was able to note down the publication details of Merritt’s carols. Considering McKinney’s extensive archive of the choir’s repertoire, it is very likely that Woodman was able to access some of the printed and handwritten musical material owned by singers during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.⁴⁰ For example, the carol ‘Bethlehem’, mentioned specifically in several scripts as ‘never published’, can be found in the handwritten manuscript books of carol singers William Tremewan (dates unknown), John E. Thomas (1874-1931) and John E. Nettel (dates unknown) shown in Chapter 4. As discussed, an examination of these manuscripts confirms that it is, if not copied exactly, highly likely to be drawn from Heath’s 1889 *Cornish Carols Part 2*.⁴¹

³⁹ AX 690, Ruth Cornwall Woodman Papers, p. 2.

⁴⁰ McKinney, ‘When Miners Sang Collection’, Searls Historical Library.

⁴¹ Attributed to a J. Williams in Heath’s publication, in his manuscript Tremewan attributes it simply to ‘Broad’, another carol composer represented in Heath’s collections.

Here then, since Woodman's research indicated that all the carols performed by the choir had either been written down or published, the subsequent 'Death Valley Days' script therefore deliberately misrepresented the nature of the musical material sung by the choir. This had an ongoing impact, since the repetition of concepts, and also words and phrases, indicate that this initial 'Death Valley Days' script was a key source of information and inspiration for the tone and content of the following broadcasts. It is an interesting development, since 'Death Valley Days' advertised itself as 'true stories', and contemporary discussions of the show and its legacy state that 'the stories were all based on fact', and Woodman was recognised with many awards for her '30 years of truthful portrayal of the early days of the Golden West'.⁴² McKinney suggests that the manuscripts and printed collections had likely passed out of general use into family collections, and that by the 1940s the choir was to a large extent learning by rote (although the music was evidently not completely out of circulation, if Woodman could access it).⁴³ Indeed, in a photograph held in Woodman's files (above), the singers do appear to be performing without music. However, the broadcasts for the most part suggest that the choirs had never had music, which was evidently not the case.

This depiction of the Cornish carols as ancient and oral is striking, and reflects the contemporary interest in 'old time' culture. Interest in the 'old time' lifeways during the early 20th century reflected a broader socio-cultural concern with increasing modernisation and mechanisation. The 'passing of the frontier' as an idealised golden age was lamented as a sign of decay; indeed, some contemporary writers suggested that the frontier was 'the only remaining part of America which is all American.

⁴² Martin Grams Jr., *Radio Drama: American Programs 1932-1962* (Jefferson, NC, and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2000), pp. 124-5; French and Siegel, eds, *Radio Rides the Range*, p. 49.

⁴³ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, pp. 63-4, pp. 65-7.

There we may find trace of the Elizabethan age – idioms lost from English literature and American speech long ago. There we may see American home life as it went on more than a hundred years ago'.⁴⁴ Musically, this impulse manifested in folk music collections (particularly Sharp's collections in Appalachia), and also the development of 'old-time' bands and genres that sought to preserve older and ethnic music from being overwhelmed by popular culture. However, harking back to an imagined national past in this manner also provided fuel for ideologically-driven cultural agendas; for example, Henry Ford's racially motivated promotion of Anglo-Saxon music culture such as square-dancing.⁴⁵ This was also evident in the ongoing folkloric collection of ethnic American music from the early 20th century (which I address with regard to Grass Valley's carols in the final section of this chapter). Positioned as a literal inheritance then, passed from father to son and from Cornwall to California, the narrative of antiquity regarding the musical materials is inextricably linked with the identities of the singers themselves. I now turn to the way in which the broadcasts articulated the identities of the performers. In tandem with introducing the choir's repertoire, the broadcasts also had to establish the identities of the singers for their audience. A comparatively small region within the UK, most listeners would be unlikely to have had prior knowledge of the location, people, or culture of Cornwall, or understand their presence in Grass Valley.

I suggest that the scripts ascribed social, cultural and historical value to the performers by positing their simultaneous difference and indigeneity. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues that heritage material in the context of tourist attractions aims to

⁴⁴ Emerson Hough, *The Passing of the Frontier: A Chronicle of the Old West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918), pp. 4-5.

⁴⁵ James Leary, *Polkabilly: How the Goose Island Ramblers Redefined American Folk Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 28, pp. 170-1.

avoid ‘sameness’ in order to offset the inevitable standardisation of infrastructure.⁴⁶ In this sense, I consider that the scripts highlight particular aspects of the performers in order to emphasise their difference. The Cornish association with mining is most obvious. The scripts focus on the miners’ historic connection with ‘old England’, encouraging the listeners to visualise the group singing underground in their working clothes. However, the scripts also foregrounded cultural attributes that served to distance the performers from other ethnic or cultural groups, including the ‘Cousin Jack’ moniker and other cultural attributes such as Cornish slang. For example, in 1941 the announcer signalled the end of the broadcast by saying that a Cornishman would say it’s ‘tapering time’ (time to finish). Additionally, the scripts emphasised a love of singing innate in Cornish miners; in 1941 the ‘Old Ranger’ remarked ‘they’re all as Cornish as ... (CHUCKLES) saffron buns and pasties. An’ because they’re Cornish, they love to sing! When they ain’t diggin’, they’re singin’ ... and when they ain’t singin’, they’re diggin’” (Old Ranger, 1941, p. 5). In this sense, the scripts’ emphasis on the performers’ difference underscores the unique nature of the broadcasts and the musical material they disseminated; the Cornish are positioned as an occupationally, culturally and historically distinct group from ‘old England’ with a specific skill in mining and a love of singing, in direct comparison to the ‘forty-niners’ themselves.

Here, I argue that the scripts actively counteract this difference by positing an American indigeneity. While one element of their heritage is distinctively Cornish, through their central role in the development of Grass Valley’s mining industry the predecessors of the singers are positioned and valued as American pioneers.

⁴⁶ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, ‘Theorizing Heritage’, pp. 371-2.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett does not explore how indigeneity adds value to objects in heritage contexts, although it is broadly accepted that an object or practice gains significance and authenticity through having its origin in the place where it is contemporarily celebrated. With this in mind, the traditional and generational transmission of the carols discussed in the previous section does much to position the Cornish within a broader American cultural narrative, building a link between the present singers with both their Cornish and pioneering ancestors. Indeed, the scripts reference the contemporary choir as ‘everyday Americans’ (Announcer, 1942, p. 3) and ‘old timers’ (Manlove, 1948). The scripts therefore afford the Cornish carol choir a considerable degree of cultural capital, casting the Cornish of Grass Valley as a successful archetype of the American Dream, defined by James Truslow Adams as ‘that dream of a land in which life should be better and richer and fuller for everyone, opportunity for each according to his ability or achievement’.⁴⁷ The carol tradition thus was as equally distinctively Grass Valleean as it was distinctively Cornish; in 1946, Manlove noted that ‘though the years have passed, [...] the tradition of singing these carols each year at the Yule season has become an integral part of this community’ (Manlove, 1946). Here then, the scripts embed the performers within nested layers of identity that encompassed local (Grass Valley), national (American) and transnational (Cornish diaspora/ex-Grass Valley residents) identities.

I suggest that the scripts effectively construct a dual indigeneity in the performers. This perhaps appears incongruous when applied to a group so clearly characterised by their migratory experience. However, the broadcasts’ integration of the Cornish within broader narratives of American history and heritage reflects a wider trend of

⁴⁷ John Truslow Adams, *The Epic of America* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1931), p. 404.

public history making in the USA. Historian Philip Gleason suggests that in the years leading up to the Second World War, the integration of minorities within the American nation in light of the shifting social and political landscape in Europe was a cause for concern.⁴⁸ Such projects were particularly intertwined with radio programming. For example, the U.S. Department for Education commissioned a series of twenty-four radio broadcasts entitled ‘Americans All ... Immigrants All’, which aired in 1938-9, specifically ‘dealing with ethnic groups and their contributions to American life’.⁴⁹ Such ‘systematic efforts to promote intergroup understanding and national unity on the basis of tolerance and mutual respect’ continued during the war itself, during which time efforts were being made to showcase the bonds between the USA and the UK in the period before the American entry into the conflict.⁵⁰ Further, the ‘mythic West’ as represented by the broadcasts was an apt unifying theme for wartime radio broadcasts.⁵¹ Cultural historian Richard Aquila considers that ‘by tapping into shared memories of the alleged western experience, the mythic west provided solutions that might be applied to social problems, as well as wartime

⁴⁸ Particularly emblematic of this was American folklorist and collector Alan Lomax’s radio series ‘Transatlantic Call: People to People’, a collaborative venture between CBS and the BBC which ran from 1943 to 1945 and was explicitly designed to foster a friendly appreciation between listeners in the United States and the United Kingdom. See the author’s work on Lomax’s wartime radio work at the American Folklife Center at Library of Congress [Available at: https://www.loc.gov/today/cyberlc/feature_wdesc.php?rec=8135 Accessed: 3/7/2018]

⁴⁹ Philip Gleason, ‘Americans All: World War II and the Shaping of American Identity’, *The Review of Politics*, 43/4, (1981), pp. 483-518 (p. 500).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 500.

⁵¹ During wartime, conceptions of the mythic west crystallised American values and ideals. Robert Athearn suggests that as an idealised landscape it was one within which ‘a man [...] daily illustrated the realisation of the American dream by showing the world that with only a rifle and a saddle blanket, he could pit himself against a hostile environment and be sure of making a living’, while the gold rush itself has been described as ‘exposition of a distinctly “American” national character’; see Robert Athearn, *The Mythic West in Twentieth Century America* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986), pp. 12-3; Brian Roberts, *American Alchemy: The California Gold Rush and Middle-Class Culture* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), in footnote 16, p. 279.

enemies. It reminded Americans about their rugged individualism, their sense of mission, the need for action, and their just cause'.⁵²

Here then, I posit that the radio scripts emphasised and reiterated the values of pastness, exhibition, difference and indigeneity around both the musical material and the performers. Despite Woodman's evidence to the contrary, the musical material was repeatedly characterised as ancient and oral, underscoring the unique nature of material and the significance of its dissemination over the radio. The scripts further identified the simultaneous difference and indigeneity of the performers within nested identities, accommodating the migratory experience of the Cornish as a distinct group from 'old England' who, through the application of their mining expertise, gained an integral role in the development of Grass Valley during the Californian gold rush. Here, within the process of identifying the Cornish, the radio scripts referenced and interweaved Cornish, Grass Valleyan, and broader American identities in order to locate the performers within an identifiable – and evocative – socio-cultural and historical context. They also connected dispersed networks of Cornish migrants and Grass Valley residents across America who were identified and bonded by their recognition of the carols. Through introducing and reiterating these values over consecutive yearly broadcasts, the radio broadcasts thus produced a characterisation of the Cornish and their carols that had a lasting impression on the community.

⁵² Richard Aquila, ed., *Wanted Dead or Alive: The American West in Popular Culture* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), p. 196.

6.4: Preserving Heritage? Scholarly Perspectives, Commercial Distribution

The narratives espoused by the radio broadcasts were echoed and disseminated further by other sources; in 1947 *The Oakland Tribune* reported that ‘Most of their numbers are passed from one generation to another, as there is no manuscript available for many of their songs’.⁵³ In particular, it would appear that the narratives of historicity and orality regarding the repertoire were re-integrated into the choirs’ own history, and from there, influenced scholarly perspectives of the choir and its repertoire. As discussed in Chapter 2, the folklorist Wayland Hand had visited Grass Valley in 1941 while he was collecting miners’ songs, and although in his subsequent papers he mentioned the carols and the Cornish connection in the Grass Valley community, he did not record the carols. However, the American Folklife Center (AFC) holds a considerable quantity of Wayland Hand’s correspondence, which contains his communication with Rae Korson, who followed Duncan Emrich as head of the Archive between 1955 and 1969.⁵⁴ Hand was writing to Korson to inform her that he had been in contact with Harold J. George regarding ‘the possibility of recording for the Library of Congress the entire repertory of the Choir’, almost fifteen years after their initial contact.⁵⁵ He proposed that he would go to Grass Valley and record the choir himself, which would also be an opportunity to record mining songs for his proposed ‘Metal Miners’ album, since his efforts to gather material in Utah were ‘almost completely unavailing’.⁵⁶ A series of letters between Hand, Korson and George ensues. This correspondence is extremely revealing, since it not only includes

⁵³ ‘Music’, *The Oakland Tribune*, 29/12/1946, p. 11.

⁵⁴ This is primarily incoming correspondence with the different heads of the Archive, with ‘onion skin’ duplicates of their replies in many cases attached. Information on Korson’s position as Chief of the Archive in Peter T. Bartis, ‘A History of the Archive of Folk Song at the Library of Congress: The First Fifty Years’, PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1982, p. ix.

⁵⁵ Wayland D. Hand, correspondence with Rae Korson, 27/12/1957, Metal Miners LP folder, Correspondence collection, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., USA.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Wayland D. Hand, correspondence with Duncan Emrich, 26/11/1948.

new material and information about the choir, but it also indicates that the instigating factor in getting the repertoire recorded was focused on the perceived modes of musical transmission as much as the musical materials themselves.

Hand's initial letter to George confirms that they had already met when Hand had visited Grass Valley to collect California miners' folklore in 1941, and that Hand was already aware of the choir and its activities.⁵⁷ This renewal of contact with George was instigated when Hand received a copy of the program for the choir's 1955 concert in Grass Valley Methodist church from a friend who had recently visited the town. This programme gave a short history of the choir that expanded on what Hand already knew. This new information appears to have excited his interest, and he suggested to George that the choir's repertoire be brought to the attention of the Library of Congress's Music Division and Archive of Folk Song, 'lest this precious heritage of the old world be lost, that appropriate steps be taken to preserve it'.⁵⁸ Hand was at pains to assure George that once recorded, the material would be 'kept solely for its scientific interest, and for the light it throws on the ancient musical culture of Cornwall'.⁵⁹ George's reply was delayed by his focus on the rehearsals and performance in the 'traditional Christmas season', and was concerned that he should consult the choir before confirming that the recording could take place. However, he was enthusiastic about the idea:

When I told the choir how very much I was in favour of it they immediately voted in favour of doing whatever you would require in order

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Verifax copy of Wayland D. Hand, correspondence with Harold J. George, 28/10/1957.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

to make the recordings. We also wish to extend to you our appreciation of the interest you have shown in our work.⁶⁰

With George and the choir on board, Hand contacted Korson to suggest that he would undertake the recording and that the Library would receive the results.

Here, Hand's correspondence with Korson reveals the source of his excitement. Hand had re-established contact with George because he had recently received a programme for the choir's 1955 Christmas performances from a friend. The programme introduced the choir for unfamiliar audiences, echoed the broadcasts' narratives of the Cornish migratory experience, connection with mining both in Cornwall and in Grass Valley, and also the literal inheritance of the carols, indicating that 'these men from Cornwall were a music loving race'.⁶¹ However, Hand's interest was roused by one particular sentence at the close of the programme which stated unequivocally that the carols were passed down without music: 'the carols which the choir will use have been handed down from generation to generation and are unique in the fact there are no printed copies of score or words'.⁶² Hand indicated this to Korson:

I am particularly interested, as I know that you yourself will be, in the statement in the next to last paragraph of the program, where it says the material is traditionally handed down. In this connection it should be emphasized, I think, that although the singers themselves – many of them – are well-trained musicians, they nevertheless sing traditional materials going back many centuries.⁶³

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Verifax copy of Harold J. George, correspondence with Wayland Hand, unclear date.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Verifax copy of programme of the Grass Valley Carol Choir concert on 18/12/1955.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Wayland D. Hand, correspondence with Rae Korson, 27/12/1957.

In her reply, Korson agreed, replying that ‘since the material sung by the Grass Valley Carol Choir is traditionally handed down, I agree with you that it should be preserved for its scientific value’.⁶⁴ Korson then wrote to George to indicate the Library’s interest, stating that the ‘carols are qualified for preservation by virtue of the fact they have been handed down from generation to generation, making them traditional, even though they are sung by a trained choir’.⁶⁵ Hand was not able to visit the group for the recording in person, and instead arranged that the choir would record their repertoire with a local technician in the local church, using tapes sent to them from the Library.

| Number | Title |
|--------|----------------------------|
| 1 | Seraphic Minstrels |
| 2 | Lo! The Eastern Sages Rise |
| 3 | The Lord Is Come |
| 4 | Bethlehem |
| 5 | Salutation |
| 6 | The Prince Of Life |
| 7 | Hark What Music |
| 8 | Diadem |

Table 6.1: Carols recorded for Wayland Hand also appearing on the 1958 10” vinyl

These exchanges not only illuminate the history of the recording, but also give new insight into what key stakeholders at the Archive knew about the choir, and how their musical culture and material were regarded. It is pertinent that it was neither the carols’ actual musical material, nor their position as a specific repertoire associated with a particular migrant group that deemed them worthy of preservation; rather, it was the implication of antiquity within the perceived process of oral transmission. While Emrich and Hand were aware of the carol choir, their material and their

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Rae Korson, correspondence with Wayland D. Hand, 28/1/1958.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Rae Korson, correspondence with Harold T. George, 7/3/1958.

broadcasts during their visits to Grass Valley in 1940 and 1941 respectively their interest was chiefly in collecting mining folklore. Indeed, it appears that Emrich had ‘learned of the local singing through the widespread publicity given the carol choir broadcast’ and ‘stopped in Grass Valley [...] to hear the downtown broadcast [...] and to converse with the carol singers concerning their music and songs’.⁶⁶ Both folklorists met with choir leader Harold J. George, and Emrich met with singer Archie Tremewan during his visit.⁶⁷ As such, their lack of interest in recording the carols during these visits would imply that the narrative of the carols as unwritten and orally transmitted was not widespread or predominant during their visits at the beginning of the 1940s. This lends credence to the idea that the radio broadcasts were responsible for introducing this vision of the choir and their material.

Hand’s correspondence with George reveals his concern with the origin of the choir’s repertoire. In discussing how the recordings could be made and where, Hand encouraged George to contextualise the material on the tape, asking for information regarding each number’s ‘history, and anything else of interest that may be known about it’.⁶⁸ He also stated that ‘in all cases, reference should be made to the traditional character of the piece and anything else that would show its true place in living tradition’.⁶⁹ Hand further suggested that:

[...] after you have arranged the various numbers in their proper order, that you or some member of your group start the recordings off with a history of the Grass Valley Carol Choir. This should be read from a carefully

⁶⁶ ‘Couple Study Music of West Mining Camps’, *The Morning Union*, 25/12/1940, p. 3.

⁶⁷ Emrich spells Tremewan as ‘Tremuen’; see Emrich, ‘Songs of the Western Miners’, p. 218.

⁶⁸ Wayland D. Hand, correspondence with Harold J. George, 17/3/1958, Metal Miners LP folder, correspondence collection, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., USA.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Wayland D. Hand, correspondence with Harold J. George, 17/3/1958.

prepared manuscript, and recited at normal voice speed, with proper intonations and all. I should suggest also that preliminary to the recording of the individual numbers that someone likewise give the history of each number itself. These brief sketches should literally put down on tape all that is known about the piece, its origin and perpetuation on the one hand, and then something about the meaning of the number itself, historical allusions, and other matters that might deserve comment. Please explain any unusual words or phrases in the text, should there be any. For the best results this background material should likewise be read into the tape itself.⁷⁰

Hand was evidently keen to capture information that would elucidate the origins of the group and the musical materials. However, in light of these clear instructions, George's information regarding the carols themselves appears to be somewhat evasive.

George's opening statement echoes the vocabulary of the radio broadcasts, stating that 'the folk music carols, as sung by the Grass Valley Cornish Carol Singers, has been handed down from father to son for many generations'.⁷¹ He also immediately restates the link between Cornish people and music: 'the Cornish have always been a people in which music – singing as well as instrumental – has been a major factor'.⁷² Similarly, George's brief history of the choir positions the Cornish as key within the technological development of the gold rush and references the house-visiting customs of early groups, stating that the carols were 'sung on the streets and in the homes a

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Wayland D. Hand, correspondence with Harold J. George, 4/4/1958.

⁷¹ Transcript of GVCC on AFS 11861 LWO 3272 3B-2, held at American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., USA.

⁷² *Ibid.*

natural part of their traditional Christmas music'.⁷³ He then discusses the genesis of the Grass Valley Carol Choir, referencing its relationship to the two choirs that were active in the early years of the twentieth century. Here, his information is very similar to that given in the programme that Hand had access to. He also discusses the choir's history of making radio broadcasts in San Francisco and Oakland from the 1920s.

However, George eschews a detailed history of the choir's own repertoire in favour of broader – and vaguer – statements about Cornish carols as a genre; for example, he states that 'it is not definitely known when the first compositions of this type were used by the people of Cornwall'.⁷⁴ Very little supplementary information regarding the origin of the choir's repertoire is provided in the statements that Hand had suggested George included with each carol; George's discussion of the individual carols is largely a brief description of their musical features and structures, highlighting classic or unusual elements within the score. For example, George states that 'Sound Sound' is 'noted for its ascending bass run in the beginning', and that 'The Lord Is Come' is 'one of the few carols in which the tempo changes, opening with a smooth legato style in andante'.⁷⁵ Interestingly, George positions certain musical structures as the qualities that the Cornish found attractive in the musical material. For example, he states that "'Lo! The Eastern Sages Rise" is a favourite because of the duet by the tenors followed by a solo for all basses', while "'Salutation" is loved for its flowing bass effect'.⁷⁶ Further, 'Prince of Life' 'is requested by most Cornishmen as it retains a duet strain started by the first and second

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

tenors before being taken up by the altos and first tenors'.⁷⁷ Non-musical information is only volunteered in George's introduction to 'Hark What Music' and 'Diadem', in which he states that the former was composed by William Penglaze of Redruth, Cornwall, and that the latter 'has been used for many years to bring the choir's programmes to a close, the congregation usually joins the choir for the last verse'.⁷⁸

Contemporary newspaper reports indicate how important this institutional recognition was for the choir; advertising one of its Berkeley concerts in 1961, *The Oakland Tribune* stated that: 'The group is so highly regarded that the Library of Congress has had the group record the carols for posterity'.⁷⁹ However, an important post-script to this encounter between the choir and the Library is that the recordings for the Archive resulted in the first commercial recordings of the choir. In one of her letters to Harold George stating the Archive's interest, Rae Korson added that: 'Any commercial use which you feel might be made of the recordings would be entirely up to you and the Archive of Folk Song would have no objection'.⁸⁰ McKinney indicates that the 1958 recording was arranged between Harold George and his friend and recordist Art Rempel in Grass Valley. However, the link between the vinyl record and the AFC is clear; the AFC's recording of the choir matches that which was commercially released on 10" record in 1958 (shown below). Indeed, Rempel's involvement may have been instigated by Hand; his letters indicate that since he could not attend to record the choir himself, local facilities and personnel could be used and the tapes

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ 'Grass Valley Cornish Carol Singers to Present Program of English Music at Berkeley Church Sunday', *The Oakland Tribune*, 5/1/1961, p. 8.

⁸⁰ Rae Korson, correspondence with Harold J. George, 7/3/1958.

forwarded to him at a later date.⁸¹ As such, it would appear that the choir pragmatically utilised the recording made for Hand – perhaps even as a result of Korson’s suggestion – to create the first commercial recording of the choir.



Plate 6.2: Front cover of 1958 LP

It is not clear how the tapes were transferred onto the vinyl record that was sold in Grass Valley, although McKinney suggests that Art Rempel also completed this task.⁸² The audio on this record did not contain any of the spoken supplementary material present in the AFC recording, although the reverse of the cover included much of the history of the choir that George had provided at Hand’s request. However, the record marketed the carols utilising much of the same rhetoric evident in the radio broadcasts and the subsequent concert programmes; indeed, the cover

⁸¹ Wayland D. Hand, correspondence with Harold J. George, 17/3/1958, Wayland D. Hand, Correspondence collection, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., USA.

⁸² McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, p. 223.

states that the carols were: ‘The only carols ... handed down through generation after generation for hundreds of years ... by happy miners ... sung without written musical score or lyric’.⁸³

McKinney argues that this vinyl record, and the one that followed it, cemented the standard of performance, leading the carollers to become self-conscious and measure their abilities against these concrete examples.⁸⁴ However, I suggest that it is possible that as a result of the radio broadcasts, AFC tapes and LP recordings, the choir’s repertoire began to become restricted. As shown in Section 1, the early twentieth century saw a pool of over 100 pieces of music and texts available to them, a relatively small proportion of which were copied into performers’ manuscript books for regular use. Of these, a smaller proportion again were recorded for the AFC. However, the carol choir’s regular repertoire in the 1950s, and therefore perhaps earlier at the time of the 1940s broadcasts, appears to have been broader than just the carols featured on the AFC recording and the vinyl. The finding aid for Wayland Hand’s duplicated tapes at the AFC states ‘Grass Valley Carol Choir, directed by Harold J. George. Recorded by W. D. H. For contents, see separate printed programme’.⁸⁵ The programme gives the words for fourteen carols and is shown in the table and figures below:

| Number | Title |
|--------|------------------------------------|
| 1 | Diadem |
| 2 | Sound! Sound! (Seraphic Minstrels) |
| 3 | Angelic Hosts |
| 4 | Awake, Awake The Lofty Song |

⁸³ *Grass Valley Carol Singers* (Grass Valley: self-published, 1958) [10” vinyl]. Ellipses in the original.

⁸⁴ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, p. 225.

⁸⁵ Contents list, ‘Folk Music and Folklore Collected by Wayland Hand, D. K. Wilgus, and Students’, AFC 1961/002, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., USA.

| | |
|----|---------------------------------|
| 5 | Lo! He Comes |
| 6 | Awake With Joy, Salute The Morn |
| 7 | Prince of Life |
| 8 | Bethlehem |
| 9 | Salutation |
| 10 | Come Let Us All |
| 11 | The Lord Is Come |
| 12 | Lo! The Eastern Sages Rise |
| 13 | Hail, Sacred Day |
| 14 | Hark What Music |

Table 6.2: Contents of GVCC printed programme ca. 1958

Six of these carols do not appear on the AFC recording or the 10" record; 'Angelic Hosts', 'Awake, Awake The Lofty Song', 'Lo! He Comes', 'Awake With Joy, Salute The Morn', 'Come Let Us All' and 'Hail Sacred Day' are all omitted. However, cross-referencing these titles with the printed sources that were available in Grass Valley shows that these titles were all published in Thomas Merritt's two collections of Christmas carols. Although the carol titles alone are not the only basis on which to match the choir's repertoire against the proposed published sources, the texts provided in the printed programme offer a second point of comparison. Here, the first verses of each match those published by Merritt; 'Angelic Hosts', 'Hail Sacred Day', 'Awake, Awake the Lofty Song', and 'Lo! He Comes' are numbers 1, 2, 3 and 4 in Thomas Merritt's *Six Christmas Carols Part 1* respectively. Further, 'Come Let Us All' and 'Awake With Joy, Salute The Morn' are found in Merritt's *A Second Set of Christmas Carols*. It may therefore be the case that these carols were cut from the choir's usual set in a body because they were composed by Merritt, and therefore supposed to be more recent than the rest of the repertoire. This is supported somewhat since none of the remaining eight carols that appear on the disc were published by him.

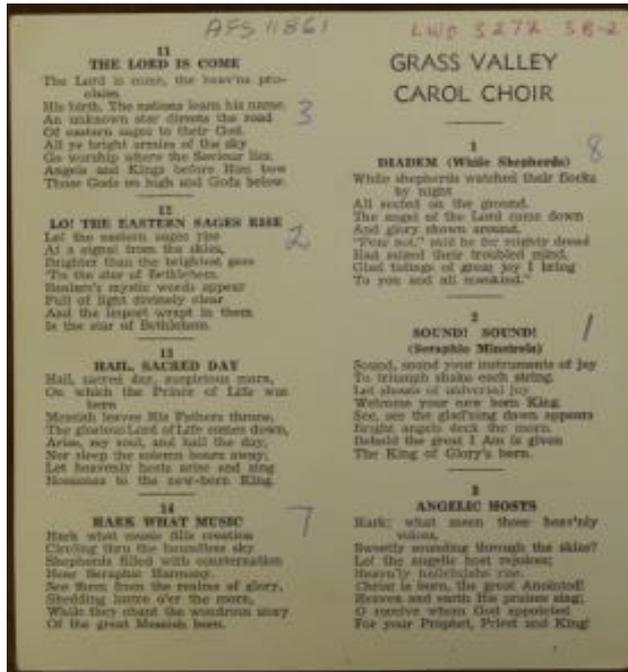


Plate 6.3: Programme of carols sung by the Grass Valley Carol Choir (1)

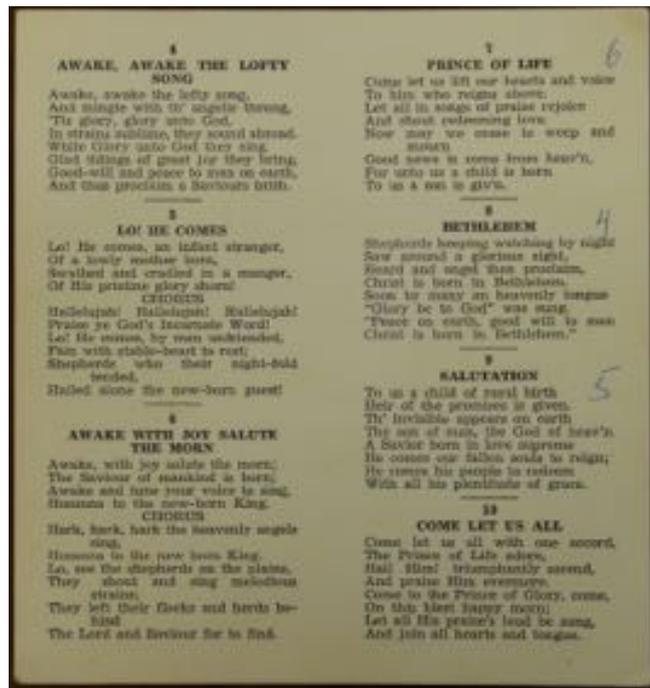


Plate 6.4: Programme of carols sung by the Grass Valley Carol Choir (2)

However, some of Merritt's carols were included on an expanded 12" LP containing 12 carols, which was locally produced in Grass Valley the following year in 1959.⁸⁶ The cover echoed the wording of the previous record, reiterating the strapline that the carols were 'sung without musical score or lyric', while the reverse included the lyrics of the first verse of each carol, and a history of the choir which restated much of the material that George had recorded for Hand and had also appeared on the previous record. Once again, the carols were described as a predominantly oral tradition; 'During the Christmas season groups would assemble to sing these old traditional carols, which in many cases had never been printed but were handed down by voice and ear from father to son'.⁸⁷ Similarly, the labour migration of the Cornish was repeated, with the jacket referencing the skills brought the Grass Valley in the '49'er days'.⁸⁸ The radio broadcasts also were referenced as a particularly important event in the group's history, and their recognition by Hand and Korson was also reiterated; 'Recently the singers have by invitation from the National Folklore Society and the Library of Congress had a tape recording made of the carols and history of the group as a permanent record of some of the activities of the early days of the gold country'.⁸⁹

These records were swiftly available for sale at the choir's concerts in the Shattuck Avenue Methodist Church in Berkeley (a regular venue for the choir's annual new year concerts).⁹⁰ In the year of its release, newspaper reports stated that the group 'can now be taken home in the form of an LP recording of eight of their unique Cornish

⁸⁶ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, p. 224-5.

⁸⁷ Grass Valley Cornish Carol Singers, *Grass Valley Cornish Carol Singers*, (Grass Valley: self-published, 1959) [12" vinyl]

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, pp. 199-201.

carols'.⁹¹ These records were also distributed much further afield than Grass Valley and its surrounding areas; with regard to the 1959 LP, McKinney states that Elmer Lewis 'recalled mailing copies to Cornwall, England, South Africa, and elsewhere around the world. He remembers shipping recordings all across America, and especially to mining districts where the Cornish settled'.⁹² In this way, the narratives espoused by the radio broadcasts continued to be physically disseminated long after the original transmissions. Further, newspaper reports advertising the choir's concerts in following years turned to the material given on the record jackets for information on the choir. For example, in 1960 an article promoting the choir's concert in Berkeley quoted the record sleeve almost word for word, stating that: 'These are the only carols handed down through generation after generation for hundreds of years by happy miners, sung without written musical score or lyric'.⁹³ Grass Valley's Cornish carols were thus firmly established as an integral element of the community's heritage.

Conclusions

This chapter has traced the emergence, institutional cementation, and commercial distribution of heritage narratives surrounding the Grass Valley Carol Choir and its repertoire. While the carols' association with mining had been apparent from the formation of the Grass Valley Miners' Glee Club in the 1920s, the two series of radio broadcasts during the 1940s brought much wider attention to the town and its tradition. My analysis of the available scripts indicates that, following Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's conception, the scripts emphasised particular values in relation to both the

⁹¹ 'Old Cornish Carols Here Next Sunday', *The Oakland Tribune*, 28/12/1958, p. 46; 'Cornish Carols; Mahler on New Label', *The Oakland Tribune*, 1/2/1959, p. 58.

⁹² McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, p. 225.

⁹³ 'Grass Valley Choir to Sing Here Sunday', *The Oakland Tribune*, 6/1/1960, p. 47.

repertoire and its performers. First, the presentation of the carols as an ancient oral tradition – in spite of the evidence presented in Woodman’s research – enhanced the value of the broadcasts’ exhibition of an otherwise highly inaccessible local tradition to a national radio audience. Second, the scripts developed narratives of indigeneity and difference around the performers themselves. By weaving Cornish difference into the development of Grass Valley, and subsequently Grass Valley’s local history into the national legacy of the gold rush, the scripts embedded the Cornish within broader American socio-cultural and historical narratives, increasing the carol performance’s relevancy to a national American audience. I further posit that the attention from Hand and the Archive of Folksong brought a level of institutional prestige to the tradition. Indeed, the fact that they were recorded in this way could have been seen by contemporary observers to validate the claims of antiquity and orality originally introduced in the radio broadcasts.

This chapter has therefore explored ‘heritagisation’ in progress, confirming that approaching heritage as an ongoing process enables the gradual uncovering of layers of meaning and narrative. In this examination of the radio scripts and folkloric and commercial recordings, I have demonstrated that particular values were inscribed in heritage practices, how these diverged from the historical evidence available, and how such narratives were widely disseminated and thus broadly accepted, becoming part of the choir’s own history. In this sense, I suggest that the radio scripts’ representation of the tradition certainly ‘produced something new’ in the present that had ‘recourse to the past’.⁹⁴ I now turn to how similarly developed, but differently articulated

⁹⁴ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, ‘Theorizing Heritage’, p. 369.

disjunctures between the carols' historical provenance and presentation as heritage may also be observed in South Australia.

Chapter 7: The Copper Triangle: Colonial, Celtic, Cornish?

Introduction

The transfer to, and ongoing composition of Cornish carols in the Copper Triangle and South Australia indicates that the repertoire was well established in the area from the late 19th century. However, similarly to Grass Valley, evocative and pervasive cultural narratives were articulated around both the musical material and its performers. In this chapter, I interrogate these narratives, showing how the materials and practices of the carolling traditions were differently oriented at different times. First, I give an overview of the different groups that performed the carols in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in order to indicate the breadth of contexts within which the carols were performed. I then move on to an examination of two specific promotions of the tradition that I consider articulated specific dialogues of heritage around the carols and their performers; first, the Cornish Association of South Australia (CASA)'s promotion of the carols in Adelaide during the late 19th century, and second, Oswald Pryor's representations of Cornish carolling in Moonta during the 1940s. Returning to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's conception of heritage as a 'value added' process, I then offer an interpretation of the values that were inscribed by these two instances.

7.1: What Heritage? Early Perspectives on the Carols

As discussed in Chapter 5, Christmas carolling practices were evident and popular in the predominantly Cornish communities of the Copper Triangle towns from the mid-1860s. House-visiting customs were widespread in the Copper Triangle area, and

were particularly prevalent in the Moonta and Wallaroo Mines districts. I suggest that the inversion of the seasons meant that house-visiting was much easier to carry out because the nights were both shorter and warmer, since Christmas season occurs shortly after the southern hemisphere's midsummer, as opposed to the northern hemisphere's midwinter. Newspaper reports from the late 19th century confirm that the repertoire being performed in the Copper Triangle at this time reflected the future content of the Cornish carol booklets published in 1889. For example, in 1886 the Moonta Philharmonic Society gave a concert later that year, performing carols including 'Awake, Arise, Rejoice and Sing', 'Awake With Joyful Strains of Mirth' and 'Sound Sound Your Instruments of Joy', all of which subsequently appeared in *The Christmas Welcome*.¹

¹ 'Philharmonic Society for Moonta', *Wallaroo Times*, 29/5/1886, p. 2; 'Moonta Philharmonic Society's Sacred Concert', *Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser*, 31/12/1886, p. 3.

Wesleyan Lecture Hall.
MOONTA.

CHRISTMAS NIGHT ! !

A GRAND
Entertainment

*Will be given in the above Hall, by members of
the Moonta Band of Hope. The Rev. T. Piper
will preside*

PROGRAMME.

| | | |
|---|---------------------------------|----------------|
| CAROL—"Let all adore," | | COMPANY |
| PRAYER— | | ... |
| ADDRESS— | | CHAIRMAN |
| CAROL—"Sound, sound your instruments of joy," | | COMPANY |
| RECITATION—"How Jane Conquest rang the Bell," | Mr. J. B. HARRIS | ... |
| DUET—"Flowers, Sweet Flowers," | MISSSES A. BREAKER & L. MICHELL | ... |
| DRAMA—"When I'm a Man," | | BY 10 BOYS |
| CAROL—"Awake, Arise," | | COMPANY |
| RECITATION—"Baltimore Greys," | | MR. W. JEFFERY |
| CAROL—"Awake with Joy," | | COMPANY |
| DIALOGUE—"The Two Dolls," | MISSSES F. RISBY & M. SEDUNARY | ... |
| SOLO—"The Lighthouse-keeper's Story," | | MR. J. BUTSON |
| RECITATION—"Santa Claus," | | MISS J. MARTIN |
| DUET & CHORUS—"The Prodigal Coming Home," | | COMPANY |
| DRAMA—"The Prodigal's Return," | | COMPANY |
| CAROL—"See the Morning fair and bright," | | COMPANY |
| RECITATION—"The Hero of the Slump," | | MR. F. MARTIN |
| CAROL—"Calm of the listening ear of Night," | | COMPANY |
| SOLO— | | ... |
| DRAMA—"How Tupper spent his wages," | | COMPANY |
| CAROL—"Angelic Host," | | COMPANY |

— God save the Queen. —

Doors open at 7.15 ; To commence at 7.45.

Figure 7.1: Advert for Christmas night concert including carols in 1888²

However, prior to 1889, the repertoire was not given any special promotion as Cornish material, and carolling itself does not appear to have been regarded as a particularly Cornish pastime. While contemporary writers noted the Cornish character of the Copper Triangle towns, local newspaper editorials during these early decades emphasised the continuation of Christmas traditions as English customs. The local paper's editorials often emphasised the disjunction between English and Australian Christmases; in 1883 the editor of the *Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser* wrote that: 'It makes little difference in what part of the world Anglo-Saxons may be found.

² Advertising, *Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser*, 21/12/1888, p. 2.

Christmas is to them a time of rejoicing and jubilancy',³ while a visitor in 1876 noted that 'Christmas day was observed in the old English way [...] the carol singing was not, in my opinion, of a very high order, but not being used to the Moonta style may account for any lack of taste'.⁴ Indeed, the practice of bringing greenery into the towns was more commonly regarded as a Cornish tradition than the performance of Christmas carols.⁵

Carolling in the Copper Triangle towns closely mirrored the contemporary practices evident in Cornwall and elsewhere in the UK, taking the form of church performances and informal street performances and house-visiting customs. In a newspaper report of carolling in the Wallaroo Mines in 1876, the writer remarked that 'every person appeared to be affected by the same spirit; all the choirs of the Mines churches rendered their assistance in carrying out the ancient custom of carol singing'. However, informal practices outside church were also prevalent. The writer continues:

[...] besides the choir there were (as usual) other parties, singing, in, I had almost said opposition to the trained choirs, and one of those parties came more particularly under my notice (to whom credit must be given for making very good music) who while singing at one particular place, when asked if they had practised together for the occasion, one of the party replied in broad Cornish, 'Noa; we

³ Editorial, *Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser*, 25/12/1883, p. 2.

⁴ 'Moonta Men and Moonta Manners: To The Editor of the Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser', *Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser and Miners' and Farmers' Journal*, 29/12/1876, p. 3.

⁵ 'Christmas Holidays', *The Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser and Miners' News*, 26/12/1873, p. 2.

are only a scraap-up party'. And, considering they were such; their achievements were not so bad.⁶

Although the performance of Cornish carols was most associated with the Methodist denominations prior to the Methodist Union of 1902 (and thereafter with the united Methodist Church), other churches supported the repertoire; for example, in Kadina the Church of Christ arranged a house visiting session in 1928.⁷

However, various instrumental accompanists, brass bands, and other musical societies also performed carols. At Wallaroo in 1917, the Cheer-Up Society sang carols throughout the night accompanied by a portable organ (likely a harmonium).⁸ During the 1890s, carol composer John Henry Thomas organised concerts to raise funds to erect a rotunda in Moonta's Victoria Park.⁹ This initiated an annual carol concert tradition at the rotunda that was well patronised by Moonta's townspeople, and was continued after Thomas's death in 1928 until the blackout restrictions in 1941 prevented night-time outside gatherings.¹⁰ As I discuss further in this chapter, these concerts became prominent in the nostalgic reminiscences of Moonta's 'old days' in the eyes of later writers. Following the conclusion of the war, the carol concerts were reinstated in Moonta's Queen's Square, although as time went on, it would appear that Cornish repertoire was gradually supplemented by other carols; for example in 1965 the Queen's Square concert included 'Joy To The World', 'Hark! The Herald

⁶ 'Wallaroo Mines Jottings', *The Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser and Miners' and Farmers' Journal*, 9/1/1877, p. 3.

⁷ 'Christmas Carols', *Kadina and Wallaroo Times*, 28/12/1928, p. 2.

⁸ 'Christmas Celebrations', *The Kadina and Wallaroo Times*, 29/12/1917, p. 2.

⁹ 'Tree Culture at Moonta', *The Kadina and Wallaroo Times*, 26/5/1894, p. 2.

¹⁰ 'Holiday Notes', *The People's Weekly*, 10/1/1942, p. 3.

Angels Sing’, ‘I Saw Three Ships’, ‘Clean As The Wind’, ‘O Come, All Ye Faithful’ and alongside the Cornish carol ‘The New-Born King’.¹¹

However, as early as the turn of the 19th century, the house-visiting element of the carol tradition was beginning to falter in the Copper Triangle. As early as 1899, observers were noticing that Australian-born children of Cornish migrants in the Copper Triangle were less engaged with the customs of their parents:

Miners and their families brought out their old manners and customs, and so long as the first generation lasts those habits will not pass away; but the patriarchs are gradually crossing the bar, and their children are forgetting and forsaking many of those traditions which were part and parcel of their fathers’ lives and beliefs.¹²

In 1906, Moonta’s local paper noted that ‘Carol singing parties did not this year arouse anyone out of bed for cake and swanky, and about the only places where one could hear the old Cornish carols were at the pubs’, although the following year another reported that ‘until after daybreak the sounds of the carol could be heard in every part of the town and the mines’.¹³ Following the closure of the district’s mines in 1923 and the subsequent dispersal of many workers from the town, the carol tradition again stuttered.¹⁴ Despite the return of many workers to their families during the Christmas holiday, the local paper noted that ‘the carol parties which usually

¹¹ ‘Hundred Listen To Carols’, *The People’s Weekly*, 23/12/1965, p. 1.

¹² ‘The Peninsula Mining Towns, No. III: Moonta – Its People and Institutions’, *Adelaide Observer*, 11/02/1899, p. 42.

¹³ Editorial, *The Plain Dealer*, 6/1/1906, p. 2; Editorial, *The People’s Weekly*, 28/12/1907, p. 2. Swanky is a dialect term for Cornish home-brewed beer made of ‘sugar, hops, ginger, wheat, malt and yeast’; Pryor, *Australia’s Little Cornwall*, p. 68.

¹⁴ See Payton, *Making Moonta*, pp. 186-188 for a discussion of the mines’ closure and the impact upon the Copper Triangle towns.

parade the town and suburbs after midnight were conspicuous by their absence on this occasion, and Christmas Day dawned unattended by the usual strains of the carol'.¹⁵

Concomitantly, in the early 20th century the carols began to appear in more formalised settings, even gaining something of an aspiring middle class component through their appearance in the Moonta Musical and Elocutionary Competitions. Organised by the Moonta Eight Hours Sports Club, the first competitions filled a week-long programme in November 1906, including competitions for bands, church choirs, instrumental and vocal solos, quartets, duets, junior competitions, humorous recitations and action songs for schoolchildren. The following year the competitions were expanded and took place over ten nights. The *Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser* noted that the programme also included a carol singing competition that 'attracted a big house'.¹⁶ The competing choirs were 'Mr. J. Glasson's Carol Company', and 'Mr. A. J. Jarrett's Carol Party' from Moonta. Glasson's party sang 'Sing! O Sing', which was reportedly composed by their conductor specifically for the event. Jarrett entered a male choir, who sang 'Hark! What Music Fills Creation', and one mixed choir, who sang 'While Choirs'.¹⁷ Glasson's party won the contest, after which the choirs combined under Glasson and 'rendered the well known carol, 'Hark What Mean Those Holy Voices', under Glasson's baton, with excellent effect'.¹⁸ The judge, Herr Ludwig Hopf (R.C.M.) was very complimentary stating in his remarks that 'I cannot refrain from expressing again my satisfaction in listening to your excellent chorus singing. I am quite sure that you are unsurpassable with your performances in South

¹⁵ 'The Holidays', *The People's Weekly*, 3/1/1925, p. 2.

¹⁶ 'The Moonta Musical Competitions', *The Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser*, 22/11/1907, p. 3.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Australia, and I should like to hear that combination of voices who could beat the winning party in the Southern Hemisphere'.¹⁹

This accolade would appear to have encouraged Glasson, since in the 1908 competitions he again entered his choir (now called the Mendelssohn Choir), against Jarrett's choir in both the carol singing and part singing competitions at Moonta.²⁰ For the carol singing contest, the unaccompanied choirs both sang 'Hark! What Mean Those Holy Voices' by Glasson and 'Awake, Arise, Rejoice and Sing' by Thomas. Glasson's choir won both contests, with the judge stating that:

[...] it was the first time he had listened to Cornish carol singing by Cornish people or their descendants, and he was pleasantly surprised at the accuracy, expression, and intonation displayed that evening by the choirs. Their singing had been a real treat to listen to.²¹

Here then, the carols were gaining recognition beyond the context of informal carol singing parties, with not only the choirs but also the compositions themselves being assessed for quality.

During this time, other bodies in the Copper Triangle performed Cornish carols drawn from *The Christmas Welcome* in other areas. One of these was the Moonta Carol Society, a group of twenty-five male singers from Moonta who visited Adelaide in 1897. According to reports from an Adelaide writer in the Moonta press, the purpose

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²⁰ It is unclear why the choir was named the Mendelssohn Choir, although perhaps Glasson had a particular admiration for the composer. Mendelssohn was famously associated with Leipzig, where Röder (whose press printed many of the Cornish carol books discussed in this thesis) – but as yet there I have not uncovered any other link between Glasson and either Mendelssohn or Leipzig.

²¹ 'Moonta Musical and Elocutionary Competitions', *The Register*, 13/11/1908, p. 6.

of this visit was to ‘revive the defunct Cornish association and also its musical society’.²² Given the later emphasis on carolling as a male activity and the strong association with male voice choirs, is important to note that the group was formed as a male voice choir:

Although the singing of the choir charmed us greatly, speaking candidly, most people were disappointed because the choir contained no ladies. A sprinkling of the fair sex would have greatly improved the singing, but the ladies were not down, and no good can now result from wishing that they were. I asked one member why a few ladies did not accompany the singers and he replied in a merry and suggestive Cornish chuckle, with the dialect thrown in, ‘Their mothers would not let ‘em come’, and that reply means a great deal.²³

Alongside ‘peregrinations around the city and its suburbs on Christmas Eve’, the group gave performances at various churches in the city and on Christmas night in the Victoria Hall, which was ‘uncomfortably crowded by persons anxious to hear the old Cornish carols rendered by Cornishmen’.²⁴ Their programme included carols drawn from *The Christmas Welcome* and Heath’s *Cornish Carols Part 1*. It is unclear whether the group were invited or whether they decided to perform in Adelaide independently, but the lack of performances elsewhere may indicate that the group was formed specifically for the occasion. Unfortunately, while the follow-up report noted that the party had been very well received, they did not manage to revive either society. A generation later, a group named the Moonta Cornish Carol Party which

²² ‘Echo’ (pseudonym, unknown), ‘City Reverberations’, *Yorke’s Peninsula Advertiser*, 24/12/1897, p. 3.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 3

²⁴ *Ibid.*; ‘Moonta Cornish Carol Society’, *The South Australian Register*, 27/12/1897, p. 6.

consisted of 18 ladies and gentlemen visited Port Pirie in 1925, singing to over 4000 people in the Memorial Park, and also to patients from the hospital lawn.²⁵

Cornish carols were also popular in Adelaide, which not only saw the performance of Cornish carols in churches, but also the development of a number of choirs who specifically performed Cornish carols. Such groups were often active for a year or two and then lapsed. While I discuss the activities of the Cornish Association of South Australia in the following section, the organisation appears to have regularly brought together enough singers to form temporary choirs for their annual carol concerts.²⁶ For example, a group comprised of ‘men and women of Cornish origin or descent’²⁷ formed the ‘Cornish Carol Choir’, active around 1909-10, which performed carols from the balcony of the F. C. Catt general store in central Adelaide.²⁸

Aside from specific groups such as this, after 1889 many country and Adelaide churches advertised that Cornish carols would be sung during their services. For example, in Yorketown in 1902 Cornish carols were performed at the Baptist church,²⁹ while in 1923 the Rose Park Methodist church in Adelaide advertised Cornish carols as part of its Christmas services.³⁰ In particular, Joseph Glasson, the Cornish migrant carol composer discussed in Chapter 5, retired to Adelaide in 1933 with his wife where he continued to promote Cornish carols until his death in 1938.³¹

²⁵ ‘Moonta Carol Singers at Pirie’, *The People’s Weekly*, 12/24/1925, p. 2.

²⁶ ‘Cornish Association’, *The Register*, 22/12/1919, p. 3.

²⁷ ‘Cornish Carol Choir’, *The Advertiser*, 27/10/1909, p. 8.

²⁸ Advertising, *The Advertiser*, 23/12/1909, p. 3.

²⁹ ‘Scraps of News’, *The Pioneer*, 20/12/1902, p. 3.

³⁰ Advertising, *The Register*, 22/12/1923, p. 6.

³¹ ‘Glasson’s Christmas Carols’, *The Kadina and Wallaroo Times*, 30/10/1937, p. 2.

However, the most important group to perform Cornish carols in South Australia was the Moonta Harmony Choir, formally organised in Adelaide in 1926 by ex-residents of Moonta who had moved to the city. The group was formed of both male and female singers and was immediately popular, selling out its earliest concerts.³² Although later commentators suggested that the overall aim of the choir was ‘to perpetuate the happy celebration of Christmas by the singing of Cornish carols’³³, the choir’s early performances raised funds for various community projects, including for example the erection of a hall for the Colonel Light’s Gardens West,³⁴ and the Semaphore Illuminated Carnival Funds.³⁵ As shown below, the group was mixed and performed wearing semi-formal attire and utilising written scores of some description.



Figure 7.2: The Moonta Harmony Choir performing in 1928³⁶

³² ‘Cornish Carols’, *News*, 20/12/1926, p. 6.

³³ Oswald Pryor, ‘Cornish “Curls” – by Candlelight’, Sunday Magazine, *The Mail*, 18/12/1948, p. 1.

³⁴ ‘Cornish Carol Choir: Great Concert for Semaphore Carnival’, *News*, 18/2/1929, p. 10.

³⁵ ‘Moonta Harmony Choir’, *Port Adelaide News*, 14/1/1927, p. 8.

³⁶ ‘Members of Moonta Harmony Choir Singing Outside Wards at Adelaide Hospital’, *News*, 18/12/1928, p. 10.

Interestingly, the group was initially independent of the CASA, formally uniting with the organisation in 1928, and performed at their reunions and Christmas concerts.³⁷

However, this partnership seems to have lapsed in following years when the choir appear to have returned to performing and organising independently. The group also performed on Adelaide radio stations 5CL from 1927, and 5AN from the late 1940s.³⁸

The group did however prioritise the repertoire composed and published in the Copper Triangle; as discussed in Chapter 5, copies of *The Christmas Welcome* were in short supply by the late 1920s, and by the mid-1940s so was its successor, *A Collection* (1929). In order to provide a resource for the group, in 1945 conductor Les Penhall created a small booklet titled *More Cornish Carols and Some Christmas Hymns* using a spirit duplicator.³⁹ In 1945 the choir had around 60 or 70 members;⁴⁰ however, shortly after this booklet was produced, the choir changed its name to the Cornish Carol Choir, ‘in order to supplement its membership’.⁴¹ The choir was invited to perform in Moonta in 1948, which generated a tradition of annual visits.⁴²

However, during the second half of the 20th century the choir’s numbers began to decline. This is reflected in the choir’s programmes during the 1980s and 1990s, during which it performed predominantly at aged care homes and churches in the Adelaide area.⁴³ The group remained active until its eventual disbandment in 1993, which was due to dwindling numbers, particularly of male voices. Following the

³⁷ ‘Moonta Harmony Choir Joins Cornish Association’, *News*, 29/5/1928, p. 11.

³⁸ ‘Broadcasting Features’, *The Register*, 3/12/1927, p. 7; ‘Bright Spots in Tonight’s Radio’, *News*, 17/12/1953, p. 34.

³⁹ H. Brewster Jones, ‘Cornishmen Love To Sing Carols’, *The Mail*, 22/12/1945, p. 3.

⁴⁰ Pryor, ‘Cornish “Curls” – by Candlelight’, p. 1,

⁴¹ ‘Cornish Carol Choir’, *The Kadina and Wallaroo Times*, 24/12/1948, p. 1.

⁴² ‘Visit of Cornish Carol Choir’, *The People’s Weekly*, 18/12/1948, p. 2.

⁴³ David C. Kitto, letter, 31/8/1993, State Library of South Australia, archive PRG 809/4.

organisation's 1993 AGM, secretary David Kitto wrote to members to inform them that:

It is with great sadness that I write to you and tell you that the Cornish Carol Choir has decided to go into recess for twelve months pending the improvement of the number of singers, particularly of male voices. At our Annual General Meeting there were only 14 members present, which included three men. With [...] the need of a strong male voice base to the singing of Cornish type carols, we are looking for many more men to join the choir.⁴⁴

Despite a follow-up meeting in 1994, the choir was not revived and remains inactive. Notwithstanding its long period of activity, the choir does not appear to have produced any commercial or other record of their repertoire.⁴⁵

In this section, I have shown that Cornish carols in the Copper Triangle and South Australia more broadly were performed by a variety of groups in a range of contexts during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. While the carols' popularisation was the result of the informal street performances and house-visiting customs evident in the Copper Triangle in the 1860s, specific traditions and performing groups emerged, moving the performance of the repertoire in particular directions. While street and house-visiting customs did not fade entirely, during the mid-twentieth century, the impromptu performances prevalent in the Copper Triangle's boom days increasingly gave way to formalised groups and choirs over the course of the 20th century.

⁴⁴ Assorted programmes, State Library of South Australia, archive PRG 809/5.

⁴⁵ However, I was able to access a privately recorded performance. The lack of commercial recording may be in part due to the development of the Australian record industry; prior to 1926, Australian recordings were often recorded and produced in the UK or America and imported to Australia; see Ross Laird, *Sound Beginnings: The Early Record Industry in Australia* (Sydney: Currency Press, 1999), pp. 23-4, pp. 53-88.

7.2: A National Heritage?

Carolling was therefore gradually, but firmly established as an element of Cornish culture in the Copper Triangle towns from the 19th century due to their particular demographic makeup. However, apparently independently of this, the Cornish Association of South Australia (CASA) developed a completely unequivocal presentation of the carols as part of Cornish identity in cosmopolitan Adelaide. Formed in 1890, the CASA was (and remains) a central point for the celebration and promotion of Cornish identity in South Australia. Although a number of previous associations had aimed to bring Cornish (and Devonian) migrants together for domestic and economic purposes, the CASA ‘was fundamentally a socio-cultural body, with strong romantic and nostalgic overtones’.⁴⁶ It did however introduce an element of cultural consciousness that had not been prioritised by previous organisations, demonstrated in its stated aims ‘to keep alive [...] an interest in Cornish customs [...] and to gather together a library of books relating to the history of the county’.⁴⁷ The speeches of the association promoted notions of Cornish identity and difference, discussing the county’s history and recounting notable achievements of Cornish people. This was particularly apparent at the inaugural banquet in February 1890, during which the Vice-President of the Association, John Langdon Bonython (1848-1939), argued that the Cornish had an ancient Celtic Christian past that set them racially, linguistically and culturally apart from their

⁴⁶ Payton, *The Cornish Miner in Australia*, p. 69.

⁴⁷ No title, *The Advertiser*, 5/6/1890, p. 4. For a discussion of previous societies bringing together Cornish migrants in South Australia, see Payton, *The Cornish Overseas*, pp. 180-1, and Payton, *Making Moonta*, p. 44.

Anglo-Saxon neighbours.⁴⁸ Such speeches reached a much broader audience than those physically present, since they were often printed in full in the *Adelaide Advertiser* (likely due to Bonython's part-proprietorship of the newspaper at this time), and from there, reprinted by other newspapers.

From the outset, the description of the Cornish as a Celtic race, explicitly in terms of genetic inheritance, was central within the Cornish Association's rhetoric. During the inaugural banquet, Bonython made a speech in which he described the Cornish as the descendants of the pre-Roman inhabitants of the United Kingdom, setting them racially, linguistically and culturally apart from their Anglo-Saxon – that is, English – neighbours:

They resisted the Romans, but parts of the country were nearly overrun by the hordes of Saxons. Nevertheless Cornishmen were still Cornishmen, Cornish names were still Cornish names, and the Cornish race was still the Cornish race, and by no means Sassenach.⁴⁹

This Celtic legacy was also invoked in the positioning of the Cornish as an integral element within the British imperial project, and through their mining expertise, key within the economic solvency of South Australia, stating that: 'It was the stock of those hardy Celts who were now assisting in building up this Greater Britain of the south'.⁵⁰ Here, the Cornish were portrayed as vocal British patriots in the colonial context, and Bonython even went so far as to retell the British imperial narrative in Cornish terms, referencing a Greater Cornwall overseas that existed wherever

⁴⁸ 'The Cornish Association – The Inaugural Banquet – An Enthusiastic Gathering', *The Advertiser*, 22/2/1890, p. 5.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

Cornishmen were:

Their monuments were in every continent, and no people had done more to build up the British Empire than the people of Cornwall. (Loud cheers) They talked about hands across the sea uniting the various portions of the British Empire, and making federation possible, but whose hands were they but the hands of Cornishmen, who in their pride of race never forgot that they were citizens of the British Empire.⁵¹

Visiting lecturers who spoke under the auspices of the Cornish Association echoed this; in the same year, travelling Cornish temperance lecturer Richard Coad gave a lecture titled ‘Cornishmen and their Characteristics’, stating that ‘The inhabitants were Celts — pure-bred ancient Britons, as distinct from the inhabitants of other parts of England, who were the result of the mingling of seven different nationalities’.⁵²

Affirming Chapman’s statements that: ‘The model of genetic continuity [...] predisposes us to imagine cultural continuities’, the CASA’s construction of Cornish Celtic heritage was soon accompanied by the musical performance of difference. Although the inaugural banquet was interspersed with musical selections and closed with a rendition of ‘Trelawney’, the CASA did not immediately foreground music as a particularly Cornish pastime. However, in the October of 1890, Heath’s book of Cornish carols appeared for sale in Adelaide’s Methodist Book Depot. This reached the attention of the CASA, who immediately called for the formation of a musical society in order to perform them:

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵² ‘Cornishmen and Their Characteristics’, *The Advertiser*, 29/8/1890, p. 7.

The Cornish Association purposes to form a musical society to render the historic Cornish carols during Christmastide. A collection consisting of 33 carols has been recently compiled by Mr. R. H. Heath, a well-known musician residing in Redruth, Cornwall, and from this selections will be made on the formation of the society. A meeting of those interested will be held this evening in the Y.M.C.A. boardroom.⁵³

Following the call for the formation of a musical society, an article likely to have been authored by Bonython appeared in the *Adelaide Advertiser* which described the carols as ‘indigenous’ and ‘native’ to Cornwall, and asserted that the ‘carols that were sung over a thousand years ago are to be heard there yet in much of their original form’.⁵⁴ Interest in the formation of a Cornish Musical Society (CMS) was evidently high, with the *Advertiser* among others reporting that the musical society was formed with ‘unanimous and enthusiastic resolution’ and that a number of prospective singers had indicated their interest, including ‘several ladies’.⁵⁵ The CMS subsequently gave their first performance, a carol service, on Christmas morning, and a concert at the YMCA hall on Gawler Place on the 30th of December 1890. An orchestra accompanied the mixed group of singers, and the carols were interspersed with other numbers from both male and female soloists.⁵⁶ The programme also included ‘Cornish readings’, which were presumably dialect rhymes and stories that were popular at this time.

⁵³ Editorial, *The Advertiser*, 31/10/1890, p. 4.

⁵⁴ ‘Cornish Christmas Carols’, *The Advertiser*, 1/11/1890, p. 5.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵⁶ ‘Cornish Carols’, *Evening Journal*, 6/1/1891, p. 4.



Figure 7.3: Advertisement for the CMS's first carol concert in 1890⁵⁷

However, the carols drew the most attention, with numerous reports commenting on the popularity of the 'quaint but tuneful Cornish carols and songs'.⁵⁸ The carols, repeatedly advertised as 'old' or 'ancient', were musically distinct enough to be significantly novel for Adelaide audiences; they were 'not the ordinary Christmas carols sung in Churches generally'.⁵⁹ The concert was clearly well received since the singers repeated the performance in the Port Adelaide town hall a week later.⁶⁰ However, they also particularly captured the imagination of their Cornish listeners in a way that other Christmas music did not. The Port Adelaide concert was chaired by Mr J. Cleave, a member of the Cornish Association, who said in his speech that:

'Curr'l' singing would remind many others, as it did him, of the old home in Cornwall, and many of the carols to be sung by the Society that evening

⁵⁷ Advertisement, *South Australian Register*, 24/12/1890, p. 2.

⁵⁸ 'Cornish Musical Society', *The Advertiser*, 31/12/1890, p. 4.

⁵⁹ 'The Cornish Association', *The South Australian Register*, Wednesday 31/12/1890, p. 7.

⁶⁰ 'Cornish Carols', *Port Adelaide News and Lefevre's Peninsula Advertiser*, 2/1/1891, p. 3.

were the same as used to be sung when they were children, and he was sure they would all be glad of the opportunity afforded of listening to them again.⁶¹

The carols were a profound reminder of the lives that Cornish migrants had left behind. However, the attraction of Cornish carols also extended to the descendants of migrants, with one report stating: ‘Although many of the vocalists were born Australians they seem to be imbued with the spirit which must have animated their elders who listened with rapture to the well-known songs of the old home’.⁶²

It would seem that the CASA saw an opportunity in this evident popularity, since the following Christmas the organisation put on a far larger, and more prominently advertised, carol concert titled the ‘Grand Cornish Musical Festival’. This involved a morning carol service, and an evening concert of sacred music. The programme was considerably expanded from the previous year, and included excerpts from Handel’s *Messiah* and Mendelssohn’s oratorios. Cross-checking the numbers of the carols given in the above programme shows that the carols sung were again drawn from Heath’s first collection of Cornish carols. Again, as Vice-President of the CASA, Bonython chaired the concert. His speech regarding the Cornish carols foregrounded Cornish identity and difference, this time with specific reference to the carol genre:

[...] it was a long retrospect to look through nineteen centuries back to the time when the first Christmas carol was heard on the plains of Bethlehem. But Cornish people should never forget that a hundred years had not elapsed before carols celebrating the Nativity were being sung in Cornwall

⁶¹ ‘Cornish Musical Society’, *Port Adelaide News and Lefevre’s Peninsula Advertiser*, 9/1/1891, p. 3.

⁶² ‘The Cornish Association’, *South Australian Register*, 31/12/1890, p. 7.

and that they had been sung there forever since. Passed down from generation to generation, the strains of these carols linked the present with the past and united the Cornish of today with the Cornish of the first century. It was no wonder that the people of Cornwall were carol singers, and that wherever they might be found they still sang at Christmastide the sweet songs of the old home.⁶³

Bonython clearly positions the carols as a musical link between Cornwall as the homeland and Australia as the ‘adopted home’. However, for Bonython, the carols not only linked distant peoples, but also the distant past. Positioning the carols as an ancient cultural inheritance buttressed the Celtic Christian Cornish identity he had outlined at the formation of the CASA, thus supporting a Cornish identity that was distinct from the English.

Although the CMS was fairly short-lived (by 1897 it was dormant), I suggest that their activities, which were well publicised by the CASA, helped develop an awareness of and audience for Cornish carols that had not been strong beforehand. This can be demonstrated through an examination of the mentions of the phrase ‘Cornish carols’ in South Australian newspapers from 1870-1950, shown below:

⁶³ ‘Cornish Musical Society: Christmas Carols’, *The Advertiser*, 28/12/1891, p. 6.

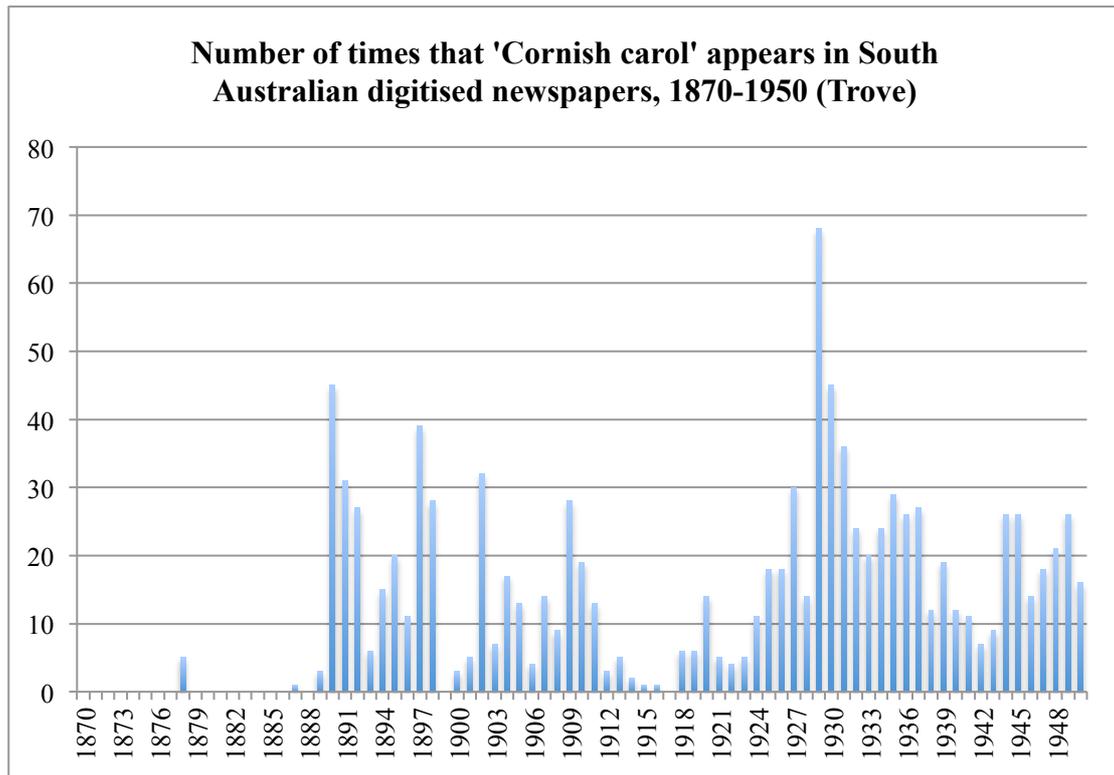


Chart 7.1: Graph showing the number of times that ‘Cornish carol’ appears in South Australian digitised newspapers, 1870-1950 (Trove)⁶⁴

The conjunction of the publication of *The Christmas Welcome*, and the performance and promotion of Heath’s Cornish carols by the CASA is certainly curious; as yet I have not uncovered any link bringing the two together, or any broader event that would have spurred the simultaneous publication of Cornish Christmas carols on opposite sides of the world. It is unfortunate in the sense that as a result of this coincidence, it is difficult to separate and gauge their individual impacts. However, as we have seen, while carols adhering to the Cornish type were known and performed

⁶⁴ Although these numbers will become obsolete as more newspapers are added to the National Library of Australia’s online database ‘Trove’, and as text corrections are made, the results are still striking. The large spike in mentions in 1890 is related to the promotion of Cornish carols through the CASA and the CMS, and the high points in 1895, 1897, 1902 and 1909 reflect new publications of *The Christmas Welcome*. The trough during the 1910s coincides with the first World War and the closure of the mines in the Copper Triangle district, while the peak in 1929 coincides with the publication of Glasson’s and Davey’s carol books.

in the predominantly Cornish communities of the Copper Triangle prior to 1890, the above graph indicates that Cornish carols were not at all well known as a named genre before the publication of *The Christmas Welcome* and the carol concerts promoted by the CASA. Certainly, specifically Cornish music was not publicly promoted and performed in South Australia before the formation of the CMS. However, after 1890, advertisements for concerts featuring specifically Cornish carols became more and more common across South Australia and beyond.

I argue that the efforts of the CASA and the CMS were not only key in bringing Cornish carols to a wider audience, but also in developing nascent heritage narratives around the carols themselves. The conditions for the emergence of the CMS had been developed by the recent and enthusiastic formation of the CASA itself, and the resultant promotion of a distinct Cornish identity. This identity found musical expression as a result of the arrival of Heath's collections of Cornish carols to the colony. Their popularity worked on two fronts: their archaic style was not only a tangible reminder of home for Cornish migrants, but also novel and subsequently attractive to new audiences. Within this, the opinion and media influence of Bonython is key. His rhetoric concerning the antiquity of Cornish carols, combined with his vehement promotion of the Cornish as a distinct element within the British colonial project, formed an evocative link between the music and the people. Further, his position within the *Adelaide Advertiser* ensured that this strong assertion of Cornish identity and link with carols reached a wide audience.

7.3: Characterised or Caricaturised Heritage?

While Bonython and the CASA positioned the Cornish carols within a vision of Cornish heritage centred on notions of an ancient Celtic legacy, a generation later Oswald Pryor (1881-1971) constructed a narrative around the Cornish carols whose focus was firmly trained on the Copper Triangle in general, and Moonta in particular. Pryor was the son of Cornish migrants, and worked as the surface manager at the Moonta mines under Captain Hancock from 1911 until the mines closed in 1923.⁶⁵ A gifted draftsman and writer, he became a cartoonist and journalist, contributing images and articles regularly to both South Australian and national newspapers. While he also tackled current political topics, he often looked to Moonta's Cornish characters for inspiration and became well-known for his 'Cousin Jack' cartoons. Pryor's depictions included hard-working and uneducated miners, their self-absorbed bosses or 'cappens', and their long-suffering wives and parsons, and were characterised by written Cornish dialect speech, which often amusingly frustrated the intended meaning. These 'Cousin Jack cartoons', which initially appeared in newspapers, were eventually collated into two published collections titled *Cornish Pasty* and *Cousin Jacks and Jennies*.⁶⁶ These characters became a Cornish stereotype recognised across South Australia and beyond during the mid-twentieth century.

Alongside his treatment of domestic, religious and mining life in Moonta, Pryor's cartoons often depicted music and musicians in a variety of settings. Subjects included church choirs and organists, brass bands, music lessons, and even particular musical personalities; for example, Pryor sketched John Henry Thomas (1854-1928),

⁶⁵ Oswald Pryor, Australian Dictionary of Biography website [Available at: <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/pryor-oswald-8127> Accessed: 30/4/2018 15:33]

⁶⁶ Oswald Pryor, *Cornish Pasty* (Rigby Ltd, 1961), and *Cousin Jacks and Jennies* (Rigby Ltd, 1966).

composer and editor of *The Christmas Welcome*.⁶⁷ Pryor developed an image of the Cornish as untutored (or patiently tutored) yet enthusiastic musicians who struggled to keep together in time, had trouble reading music, and developed idiosyncratic translations of performance directions; for example, one cartoon featured a choirmaster explaining the terminology to his choir thus: ‘Lissen while I explain – p.p. d’mean plenty power, f.f. is full force, an’ ‘con fuoco’ is Latin for give un lip’.⁶⁸

Within this, the Copper Triangle’s carol tradition became a particular focus of attention for Pryor, both in cartoon form and his newspaper writings. In 1925 he wrote an article on the history of carolling in the Copper Triangle towns, painting a nostalgic image of the town in its earlier days. He portrayed the carols as a direct continuation of traditional practice in Cornwall:

In Cornwall it was the custom on Christmas morning for the miners and their families to walk miles through cold and snow to the chapel to sing ‘curls’. The carolling began at 5 a.m. and continued to the point of exhaustion, so great was their enthusiasm. In the Moonta, Kadina, and Wallaroo districts – the Cornwall of Australia – throughout the whole of its 60 odd years of existence the same spirit of enthusiasm for ‘curl’ singing has pervaded the Yuletide.⁶⁹

He described the fugging structure and the accompanying house-visiting customs, stating that while particular residences were visited, ‘one was not surprised to hear the herald angels sing in any local bar’.⁷⁰ Following the successful concerts of the

⁶⁷ Pryor, *Australia’s Little Cornwall*, p. 33.

⁶⁸ Oswald Pryor, *Cousin Jack Cartoons* (Frank Johnson: Melbourne and Sydney, 1945).

⁶⁹ Oswald Pryor, ‘Cornish Carols: Christmas “Down Moonta Way”’, *News* 24/12/1925, p. 6.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Moonta Harmony Choir in 1928, Pryor sketched the ancestors of the Moonta Harmony Choir singers in Adelaide's *News*:

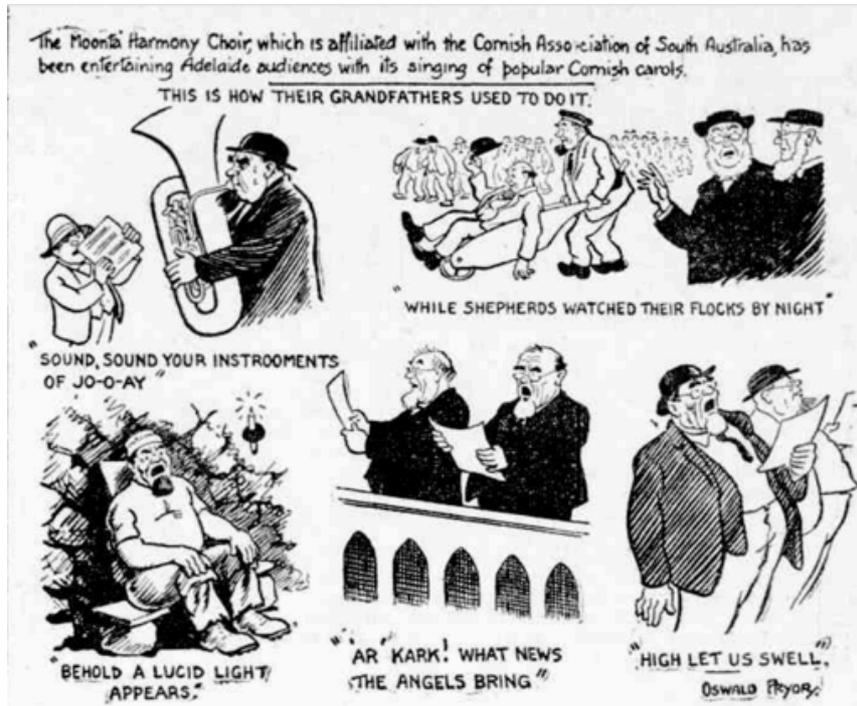


Figure 7.4: Oswald Pryor, cartoons of Cornish carollers in Moonta⁷¹

This was a period of reawakening interest in the carols; John Henry Thomas had died earlier in 1928, and the republication of his carols was being discussed in local newspapers the following year.⁷²

To an extent, Pryor repeated the racialised, essentialist language of Bonython and the CASA, stating that musicality was part of Cornish ‘nature’; he wrote that: ‘The

⁷¹ Oswald Pryor, ‘When The Spirit Moved the Carol Singers of Old’, *News*, 20/12/1928, p. 9.

⁷² ‘Cornish Carols: Yorke’s Peninsula In The Forefront’, *The Kadina and Wallaroo Times*, 6/5/1929, p. 4.

Cornish are a singing people – like the birds, they sing because they must'.⁷³ Within this, Pryor considered the carols to be part of Cornish folk life and culture:

The Cornishman does not go to the classics for his festive music. He makes up his own carols. They are in reality his folklore songs [...] there is something about Cornish carols when sung by Cornishmen which inspires, and to which a Cousin Jack will respond just as Irish, Scotch, and other kinsmen do to their folklore.⁷⁴

As in his cartoons, Pryor represented the carol tradition in particular contexts, emphasising the untutored nature of the singers and informality of the settings.

Discussing the rotunda concerts established by John Henry Thomas, Pryor wrote that:

'It was the kind of hearty singing the Cornish enjoy. "Like ee used to be before they moosic teachers spoilt singun," said an old-timer'.⁷⁵ In another dialect story, he wrote 'I once 'eard one o' they posh chapel choirs down 'ere to Adelaide sing "Ark Cark", an' lissen, if I dedden know what they was singun, I woulden a knawed wodda was. Twas offal, you'.⁷⁶ Pryor therefore positioned Christmas carols as an integral part of a distinctive Copper Triangle identity that was substantially Cornish; as he stated: 'Take away carols from a Cousin Jack and Christmas would be 'nawthin' t'all'.⁷⁷

However, following the conclusion of the Second World War, Pryor's depictions of local carolling practices were oriented in a new manner. Payton suggests that around this time, Pryor worried that 'the "real" Little Cornwall was slipping away' with the

⁷³ Oswald Pryor, 'Cornish "Curls" – by Candlelight', Sunday Magazine, *The Mail*, 18/12/1948, p. 1.

⁷⁴ Oswald Pryor, 'Cornish Carols: Christmas "Down Moonta Way"', *News* 24/12/1925, p. 6.

⁷⁵ Pryor, 'Cornish "Curls" – by Candlelight', p. 1.

⁷⁶ 'They Kursmus Curls: Tummas 'Enry Writes Homes To Moonta: Quaint Cornish Humour Expressed', *Recorder*, 17/12/1940, p. 3.

⁷⁷ Oswald Pryor, 'Cornish Carols: Christmas "Down Moonta Way"', *News* 24/12/1925, p. 6.

social changes wrought as a result of the closure of the mines and the onset of the war.⁷⁸ The wartime restrictions alluded to earlier in this chapter had a significant effect on the carolling tradition in Moonta. While a carol concert took place in the town's Queen Square in 1945, in 1946 a writer for *The People's Weekly* reported that:

No Christmas night concert was held this year. These annual concerts were traditional of Moonta, and efforts should be made to revive this time honoured event. The reason for its lapse may be attributed in a measure to the fact of the rotunda not having been reconstructed, following its dilapidated state owing to vandalism, and the difficulty in obtaining necessary materials, but it is hoped as condition in this respect improve, the rotunda will be reconstructed and the Christmas concerts revived.⁷⁹

The same year a visit from the Moonta Harmony Choir was mooted, but ultimately failed to be organised. The reporter noted that the Salvation Army was attempting to revive the house visiting custom, but had been rained off. Pryor had visited Moonta that year and subsequently wrote an article for *The People's Weekly* highlighting his shock: 'Moonta and no curls! It was unbelievable. One would have expected Judgement Day before that could happen'.⁸⁰

Pryor repositioned his conception of Cornish carols in the Copper Triangle within a national narrative by introducing an alternative account of the origin of Australia's 'Carols by Candlelight' tradition. 'Carols by Candlelight' is an Australia-wide tradition of outdoor public concerts of Christmas music, usually in municipal parks or gardens, and are today televised events drawing many thousands of attendees and

⁷⁸ Payton, *Making Moonta*, p. 199.

⁷⁹ 'Christmas', *The People's Weekly*, 28/12/1946, p. 3.

⁸⁰ Liz Coole, ed., *Writings of Oswald Pryor*, gleaned from *The People's Weekly*, January 1947.

viewers. Most sources agree that the genesis of the events occurred in Melbourne in 1938 at the instigation of radio broadcaster Norman Banks.⁸¹ However as the fledgling custom gained in popularity across Australia, Pryor highlighted the Copper Triangle's traditions as its predecessor in Moonta's local paper, *The People's Weekly*. In 1945, 'Old Timer' (which from the similarity to later reports may safely be assumed to be Pryor) wrote that 'Quite a lot has been heard lately about "Carols By Candlelight"'. It is not a new idea. We had it last century as far back as the sixties, when the miners sang "curls" in the flats underground by the light of their fat-jacks (tallow candles)'.⁸² This was repeated and expanded in the same paper two years later, when Pryor wrote:

In Melbourne 300,000 people turned out to listen to 'Carols by Candlelight', and crowds did the same in Adelaide. The idea is claimed as a novelty and boosted to the limit; yet 80 years ago the miners at Moonta sang carols by candlelight in the flats underground, and in the nineties Mr. Thomas organised the open-air concerts at Victoria Park, where carols composed by himself and other local musicians were sung by the light of candles in Chinese lanterns tied to the trees.⁸³

This theme was developed and amplified the following year, when the article was published on the front page of the Sunday Magazine of Adelaide's *Mail* under the title "Cornish Curls" – (by Candlelight):

At Christmas there'll be carols by candlelight ... Well, 80 years ago,
Moonta miners sang 'curls' by the light of fatjacks (tallow candles) stuck

⁸¹ Norman Banks, Australian Dictionary of Biography website [Available at: <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/banks-norman-tyrell-12170> Accessed 29/9/2017, 12:49]

⁸² 'Carols By Candlelight', *The People's Weekly*, 22/12/1945, p. 3.

⁸³ Coole, ed., *Writings of Oswald Pryor*, January 1947.

on their hats with wet clay. The shift on Christmas Eve was too short to do much work at the face. So, Ernie from Penzance and Johnnie from Camborne sat in the shaft-plot and ‘guv un lip’, while cap’n turned a blind eye, if not a deaf ear. The carols they sang were those their cock fighting smuggler grandfathers sang after they had ‘found grace’.⁸⁴

This piece was accompanied by a cartoon of miners singing underground:



Figure 7.5: Oswald Pryor, cartoon of Cornish miners singing carols by candlelight⁸⁵

Here, Pryor characterises the Cornish carols as a precursor of the broader national tradition of ‘Carols by Candlelight’. In these pieces, Pryor does not explicitly state that the Cornish of Moonta coined or otherwise invented Australia’s burgeoning national ‘Carols by Candlelight’ tradition. However, by arguing that the Copper

⁸⁴ Pryor, ‘Cornish “Curls” – by Candlelight’, p. 1.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

Triangle's Cornish carol tradition predated the national tradition, he inserted the Cornish carols within a burgeoning national narrative and tradition.

I suggest that Pryor's account of Moonta's Cornish heritage to an extent both succumbed to his own fondness and nostalgia, and played to the nostalgia of his readership. Written under the pseudonym 'Uncle Arr', if Pryor was not the author, his influence was clear in a Cornish dialect story that appeared in the *People's Weekly* in 1962 that reiterated the legacy of carolling in the town in the Cornish dialect style:

Well boayz, Cressmuss ez nigh 'pon, wance moor, 'n' wan time we'd av had the curl books out practussin' for 'un in October, like they do 'ome t' Cornwall, near England. I mind one time we was practussin' 'It Came Upon The Midnight Clear' when a ruddy great Kangaroo dog coomed in to wheer we was to, an' started howlin' like mad, 'n' we cudden' stop 'im until Billy Bilcock thraved ee's boot an 'un, with ez foot en un. Back 'long, when Johnny Thomas was runnin' they Cressmuss retunda concerts, we combined widdun to shaw there wadden no ill feelin'. Pully and Bath was on the big end, and Jack Tripp and Dicky Merrifield singed tenner. For two solid hours we guv-un-guts with a program of curls with the Allylooyer Chorus thraved in to make weight.

The piece ended on a somewhat plaintive note; 'Cressmuss edden like 'e used to be, but ef it do come to that, 'e never was'.⁸⁶ While Pryor's conception of the Cornish origins of 'Carols by Candlelight' does not appear to have permeated into the general national dialogues around tradition to any observable degree, as I discuss in Chapter

⁸⁶ 'Cressmuss Letter from Uncle Arr', *The People's Weekly*, 30/11/1962, p. 1.

9, Pryor's narrative has had a lasting impact, and become embedded in contemporary perspectives – and performances – of Moonta's heritage.

7.4: Interpretation: Heritage and History

These two promotions of Cornish carolling traditions in South Australia articulated significantly different narratives around both the material and the performers. I argue that Bonython, the CASA and Pryor each conceptualised the traditions in terms of a cultural legacy that was inherited from the past and preserved in the present: that is, as heritage. Again, I consider that these promotions may be productively interpreted utilising Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's conception of heritage as a 'value added' process. Identifying notions of indigeneity, past-ness, difference and exhibition within these narratives enables a reading of these promotions that reveals processes of heritagisation at work.

I suggest that Bonython and the CASA inscribed values of indigeneity and past-ness to the carols. Although they are of course intertwined, it is pertinent here to address them separately. I argue that the carols were unambiguously positioned as 'indigenous' to Cornwall. The speeches given at the meetings of the CASA, and particularly those of Bonython, overtly articulated Cornish identity in terms of 'blood' and 'race', describing cultural and behavioural characteristics in deterministic and essentialist terms. In one article promoting the Society's upcoming carol concert in 1890 (again, likely authored by Bonython), the Cornish were characterised as 'connected by ties of blood', with the carol concert aiming to 'stir native pride by

joining in rendering the native music'.⁸⁷ Within this context, the promotion of the carols as 'indigenous' is particularly interesting since, as discussed, the carols were essentially a broader British musical form that had remained popular in Cornwall, and in no way constituted even contemporary notions of a Celtic music culture.

This notion of indigeneity is bound up in notions of the past. In particular, Bonython's position that the Cornish race predated the English was a particularly powerful concept that served to elevate the Cornish within the imperial project, but was tempered by not only by declarations of unswerving allegiance, but through assertions of centrality within the imperial project. Here, the carols were positioned as a cultural counterpoint to match the perceived antiquity of the Celtic race:

There is probably no more antique form of the expression of religious praise than the quaint carols of the Cornish people; and considering that the inhabitants of the westernmost portion of England have maintained through centuries past with marvellous fidelity their ancient local characteristics, both religious and social, it is not surprising that the carols which were sung in Cornwall probably over a thousand years ago are to be heard there yet in much of their original form.⁸⁸

Through their archaic style, the carols themselves, repeatedly advertised as 'old' and 'ancient', were musically distinct enough to be novel for Adelaide audiences, thus servicing the notion of cultural difference the Cornish Association were so keen to project. Equally, they were still a Christian musical form employed at an important religious holiday, and since the carols did not voice any cultural or political

⁸⁷ 'Cornish Christmas Carols', *The Register*, 1/11/1890, p. 5.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

divergence to English and British Christian customs, their performance could not only be accommodated, but promoted and encouraged.

Here, the formation of the CASA and Bonython's focus on Cornish Celtic identity reflected contemporary bourgeoisie interest in the history and culture of Britain's Celtic fringe commonly known as the 'Celtic Twilight'. Analogous projects and societies included Edward Williams' revival of the Welsh Gorsedd in 1792, the establishment of the Cambrian Society in 1810, and the later emergence of the Gaelic league in Ireland, which was formed in 1893 to promote the Irish language as a reaction against the increasing Anglicisation of the country.⁸⁹ Further, Bonython's language highlights notions of race, evidently identifying racial difference within the British family of nations as a particularly powerful concept. At this time, the term was not only used to classify people physically and geographically; following Chapman's discussion of supposed genetic continuity with cultural continuity, the term commonly conflated physical classification and distinction with accompanying language and culture, and therefore music.⁹⁰ This also resonates with the broader 19th and early 20th century trend towards the use of folk or traditional culture in the process of nation building.

A generation later, I suggest Oswald Pryor also developed heritage narratives around the carols, albeit different ones to those of Bonython and the CASA. Firstly, Pryor consistently emphasised the Cornish 'difference' of the Copper Triangle communities, and Moonta in particular, in a number of ways through his cartoons and

⁸⁹ 'Cambrian Society', *The Cambro-Briton*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1819), pp. 71-74 (p. 72); Timothy G. McMahon, *Grand Opportunity: The Gaelic Revival and Irish Society, 1893-1910* (Syracuse University Press, 2008).

⁹⁰ Chapman, *The Celts*, pp. 94-119.

writings. Here, Pryor's vision of Cornish difference was most clearly rooted in the recurring theme of ethno-occupational dominance in mining. He also emphasised particular physical characteristics, developing recognisable Cornish tropes of short, broad, bearded men speaking in sometimes-indecipherable phonetic Cornish dialect. Here, rather than articulating what he perceived as Cornish 'difference' in terms of race and an ancient legacy of Celtic nationhood, he represented it by accentuating the every day speech and life experience of people who lived in the Copper Triangle themselves. Within this, Pryor's representation of the carol tradition also emphasised Cornish difference. However, while the style was positioned as a legacy from Cornwall, Pryor consistently referenced the specific personnel and local traditions of the Copper Triangle, thus framing the carol tradition very much as idiosyncratic of the Copper Triangle area itself, rather than directly as a result from Cornwall.

Secondly, Pryor's longstanding popularity and media platform facilitated the wide dissemination of his work, literally exhibiting the Cornish of the Copper Triangle (and particularly of Moonta) to a public that already knew and loved his work. Payton considers that Pryor's output 'established himself the undisputed arbiter of the life and times of Australia's Little Cornwall' to the extent that 'by the eve of the Second World War, it was his "composure" – his personal perception – of the history of the northern Yorke Peninsula that moulded popular perceptions of the region'.⁹¹ This culminated in his book *Australia's Little Cornwall*, which was published in 1962. Payton suggests that this book had a long lasting impact, and due to Pryor's authoritative tone and evident popularity, later writers were 'surprisingly uncritical, both in their reluctance to deconstruct or even explain Pryor's project, and in their

⁹¹ Payton, *Making Moonta*, p. 198.

willing acceptance of everything that he had to say about Peninsula life'.⁹² Here, Pryor again re-iterated the narrative that although 'the custom is supposed to have started in Melbourne in 1938 and spread to other centres of population, as far back as 1865 Cornish miners were singing carols by the light of fatjacks'.⁹³

This turn towards the development of Australian national traditions and identity reflects a post-war period of consolidation and expansion, resulting in an economic boom.⁹⁴ This was implemented at a governmental level, and featured the incentivisation of immigration and the development of a robust manufacturing base. Graeme Smith suggests that 'for many the late 1940s was a period to refocus life on the local and the nation, after the international traumas of war',⁹⁵ and that 'the war effort had inspired a new level of nationalist confidence and commitment to the economic and cultural work of nation-building'.⁹⁶ This corresponds with the cultural drive toward promoting and developing an Australian cultural history independent from Britain, particularly as evinced in the popularity of bush ballads as discussed in Chapter 2, and the emergence of the national 'Carols by Candlelight' tradition. As such, it is interesting that in the context of this modernisation and extant focus on identifying and developing a typically Australian culture, Pryor turned to the promotion of an overseas – and British – origin of a national tradition. However, as we have seen Pryor was echoing an established distanciation between Cornwall and England; in the foreword to the original publication of his *Cornish Pasty* cartoons, he wrote:

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 202.

⁹³ Pryor, *Australia's Little Cornwall*, p. 166.

⁹⁴ See Stuart MacIntyre, *Australia's Boldest Experiment: War and Reconstruction in the 1940s* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2015).

⁹⁵ Smith, *Singing Australian: A History of Folk and Country Music*, p. 20.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

‘Ere me deers, lemme tell ee ‘bout this yur book. Tez about the Penrawses and the Polmears and Puckinorns, ‘an all they wot cummed out from Cornwall near England to furrin parts abroord in Osstralia nigh ‘pon 80 ‘ear ago. [...] Osstralia edden Cornwall an’ we got to admit that things wha’s deffurnt edden the same. But we made sum parts av un mooar like Cornwall than what tez itself. [...] We built chapels, singed Crissmms curls, whitewashed our housen, and held revivals to whitewash our sawls.⁹⁷

This may also be seen as a reaction to the considerable cultural influence exerted by the USA in the post-war years; as discussed in this chapter, new forms of entertainment such as the cinema and social dances were competing with more established social practices.

My interpretation of Oswald Pryor’s portrayals of the Cornish carol traditions in the Copper Triangle shows the development of very different heritage narratives regarding Cornish carols to those deployed by the CASA. While elements of the essentialist narrative of the innate Cornish love of music remained, Pryor re-articulated them through his own Cornish characters and caricatures, embedding particular values within his representations of the ‘old days’ of the Copper Triangle and Moonta in particular. Here, Pryor’s narratives of Moonta’s Cornish distinctiveness, and continuation of the racial narrative of musicality ‘singing in the Cornish blood’ and ‘untrained musicians’ coalesce in his description of the singing miners. Further, Pryor’s existing popularity as a writer and cartoonist meant he had an

⁹⁷ ‘Cornish Pasty’, *The Mail*, 1/7/1950, p. 18.

established platform that he could utilise to bring the Copper Triangle's carol tradition to a wider audience. I argue that Pryor's work in this regard was particularly important since, as we have seen, while Cornish carols were performed by a variety of groups across South Australia (and beyond) and were even broadcast over radio from the 1920s, no enduring vinyl (or other audio) recordings of the carols were ever commercially released. Therefore, Pryor's representations of the Cornish carol tradition had the widest reach and most authority during the mid-twentieth century, and as Payton notes, Pryor's popularity and the verisimilitude of his accounts gave his work credence that would have an ongoing impact in both popular and academic accounts of life in the Copper Triangle.

Conclusions

This chapter has argued that notions of Cornish carols as heritage in South Australia emerged from two distinct sources: firstly from John Langdon Bonython through his involvement in the CASA and the CMS, and secondly from Oswald Pryor, through his stereotyped representations of the Cornish in the Copper Triangle. On one hand, through the CASA and the CMS, Bonython promoted Cornish carols as a cultural counterpoint that (at least initially) was intended to buttress a Cornish identity that, while firmly rooted within the British imperial project, claimed distinctiveness through its roots in an ancient and indigenously Celtic inheritance. Although the origins of the repertoire were heavily at odds with these narratives, through the CASA and CMS, the promotion of the carols supported the development of a Cornish identity that had not been prevalent beforehand. I argue that the efforts of the CMS,

through the CASA, were key in bringing the repertoire to a wider audience and cementing the style as particularly Cornish.

On the other, Oswald Pryor developed a narrative around the carols that cast the tradition as a key element of the Copper Triangle's cultural legacy, rather than a link with Cornwall itself. In promoting the carol tradition as part of the Copper Triangle's distinctive culture, Pryor's caricature of Cornish miners remained consistent by privileging a particularly male, working class vision of the carol tradition, despite the evidence showing that the repertoire was performed by mixed, trained choirs in various different contexts that he would no doubt have known in Moonta during his boyhood and, from the above analyses, was demonstrably aware of in Adelaide. Further, Pryor developed social, historical and cultural value in the Copper Triangle's Cornish carols by positioning them within a nationally popular tradition.

Section 2: Conclusions

This section has demonstrated how heritage values may be ascribed to, and embedded within cultural practices over time. Further, it has shown that widely disseminated and popularly accepted heritage narratives may diverge from the historical evidence available. In Grass Valley and in South Australia, individuals and organisations developed particular cultural narratives around both the repertoire and performers of Cornish carols.

Here, it is possible to identify the processes at work in the development of heritage value. Following Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's conception of heritage as a 'value added' industry has facilitated an interpretation of representations of these carol traditions that identifies how heritage narratives may conceptualise cultural material in terms of particular values. In Chapter 6, I showed that the scripts of the Grass Valley Carol Choir's war-time radio performances consistently posited the antiquity of the musical materials, citing their origin in 'old England', and in so doing highlighted the value in their exhibition over a national radio network. With regard to the singers themselves, the scripts foregrounded the simultaneous difference and indigeneity of the performers by highlighting the migratory experience of the Cornish who had constituted a large proportion of Grass Valley's early settlers. On the other hand, in Chapter 7, while the performance of Cornish carols in the Copper Triangle and South Australia more broadly was much more widespread than that of Grass Valley, specific narratives and representations of the tradition did emerge, with attendant values being aligned with the musical tradition. In the late 19th century, Bonython and the CASA promoted the carols as part of a Cornish identity that was rooted in an ancient Celtic

indigeneity. Later in the mid 20th century, Pryor foregrounded Cornish ‘difference’ as it was displayed in the Copper Triangle in general and Moonta in particular, rather than focusing overtly on Cornwall itself, or its history. Pryor’s conception of the carol traditions of the Copper Triangle became emblematic of an enduring Cornish cultural impact in South Australia.

Despite the different trajectories of these processes, similar elements emerge regarding carols’ orientation within broader narratives. Intriguingly, both traditions were to an observable extent embedded within extant national traditions and heritages. In Grass Valley, the performers attained new socio-cultural value as they were described as ‘old timers’ and pioneers of the gold-rush. In this way, Grass Valley’s Cornish carol tradition was positioned as a valuable link from the ‘old days’ of the mythic West to the contemporary present, and in the wartime context, served to indicate the common cultural ground between Americans and their British allies. Correspondingly, in South Australia, Bonython and the CASA positioned the carols as an ancient Celtic legacy that symbolically privileged the Cornish within the British imperial project. A generation later, Pryor similarly wove Moonta’s Cornish carol tradition into the fabric of national Australian heritage. In these ways, nested layers of identities were articulated around the carol traditions in each area.

By the middle of the twentieth century and in both locations, Cornish carols were beginning to be articulated explicitly in terms of heritage. In Grass Valley, the recognition brought to the tradition and the town by the broadcasts may have contributed to a more self-conscious celebration of local heritage. Regarding the Carol Choir’s performance at a neighbouring church, a reporter in 1951 noted that:

‘Everyone will enjoy witnessing the zeal and emotional ecstasy associated with the rendition of ancient carols taught by fathers to sons as their heritage’.⁹⁸ In the concert programme that so enthused Hand, the final paragraph states that: ‘We are proud to have this Grass Valley Carol Choir in our community which enjoys the rich culture and heritage of Cornwall, England’.⁹⁹ Similarly, in South Australia, writing in 1935, composer and performer Hooper Brewster Jones remarked that ‘Our not inconsiderable Cornish population of this State has introduced, preserved and bequeathed a heritage of carol singing for us’.¹⁰⁰ A few years later in 1952, a writer for *The Barrier Miner* noted that ‘The pioneers of Broken Hill had many Cornishmen among them, and they have left a heritage of Christmas music in the form of the Cornish carol’.¹⁰¹

However, this interpretation has also shown that these heritage narratives began to diverge from the historical evidence remaining from the traditions they sought to bring to broader attention. It has also hinted that the heritage narratives surrounding cultural materials and practices may be reshaped to fit and reflect present cultural needs. With this in mind, the following and final section examines the contemporary revived performance of Cornish carols in Grass Valley and the Copper Triangle, considering how they perform the past in the present.

⁹⁸ Olive Doelling, ‘Petaluma Church Offers Cornish Choir Program’, *The Press Democrat*, 13/1/1951, p. 8.

⁹⁹ Verifax copy of programme of the Grass Valley Carol Choir concert on 18/12/1955, Metal Miners LP folder, Wayland D. Hand correspondence Collection, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, Washington D. C.

¹⁰⁰ Hooper Brewster Jones, ‘Midnight Carols of Christmas Joy’, *The Advertiser*, 21/12/1935, p. 11.

¹⁰¹ ‘Candlelight Carol Plans’, *The Barrier Miner*, 12/12/1952, p. 3.

Section 3: Contemporary Cornishness: Product and Process?

‘[...] that’s what we say is the origin of ‘Carols by Candlelight’, was the miners coming out of the mine and singing by the light of their hard hats, so that’s why we try and be a little bit more authentic I suppose, and learn some Cornish carols’.¹

Introduction: Reconstructing Heritage

Despite the attention brought to the Cornish carols during the mid-20th century in Grass Valley and the Copper Triangle, in each area the traditions’ popularity declined significantly, ostensibly dying out of popular and communal activity. However, in the twenty-first century, Cornish carols are now performed again in both locations. In Grass Valley, the revived Cornish Carol Choir performs a set of carols as part of Cornish Christmas, a weekly holiday event and other occasions. Conversely, in Moonta, a ‘Miners’ Re-enactment’ takes place during the town’s annual outdoor Christmas concert in the public park. There are significant parallels and disjunctions between these performances, which offer intriguing perspectives of how the carols are performed as, and reflect, contemporary notions of heritage within the present day communities. The analyses of heritage products (musical materials) and processes (media representations) presented in the previous two sections set the basis for this final analysis section, within which I utilise Niall MacKinnon’s appraisal of the ways in which revival and re-enactment differently structure the present’s relationship with the past in order to explore what heritage narratives the carol performances currently articulate.

¹ Trevor Bowden, Interview with singing group, 11/12/2015.

In this sense, I suggest that the performances I observed may be viewed as both heritage products and processes; they are heritage products designed with specific audiences and aims in mind. However, the transformations I observed also indicate the result of ongoing processes of selection and development of particular musical and cultural symbols and narratives. With this in mind, I first give an overview of the instigation and circumstances of the decline and revivals that have taken place in Grass Valley and Moonta. I then give ethnographic accounts of contemporary practice, drawing on my daily journal, photographic documentation, interviews with tradition bearers and community stakeholders, and information gleaned from ephemera to support my appraisal. This ethnographic engagement was extremely valuable, and key in developing my understanding of the events in both locations as self-conscious heritage processes and products, and enabled me to parse the different registers of performance in each case. I then reflect upon each event, examining how the contemporary performances of Cornish carols differ from their historical source material, and problematizing the processes and remits of these contemporary performances. Finally, I consider the performance of the carols in light of each areas' broader heritage tourism and activities. I then conclude this section by addressing the events as performances of heritage, reflecting on how these revived and re-enacted traditions reflect the changing perspectives and needs of the contemporary communities.

Chapter 8: Grass Valley and Cornish Christmas

Introduction

Despite the exposure afforded the Grass Valley Carol Choir through the radio broadcasts and the popularity of the vinyl recordings, the group disbanded in the 1960s. However, the tradition's loss was evidently keenly felt, since the choir was revived in 1990. Based on fieldwork I completed in the town in November 2015, the contemporary choir exhibits several significant transformations when compared with the tradition it purports to have revived. In this chapter, I examine what heritage values the carols represent in the present day. I first discuss the carol choir's disbandment and eventual revival in 1990. The second segment gives an ethnographic account of the choir's first performances of the Christmas season in November 2015, employing the photographic, interview, journal, audio and video material collected during my visit. I then reflect on the transformations I observed in the revived choir's activities, again with specific attention to the repertoire itself, and the performance of class and gender. A final segment also explores the revived choir within broader promotions of Cornish heritage in Grass Valley, discussing the generation of the town's Cornish Christmas event, and the choir's performance at the Empire Mine State Heritage Park.

8.1: Decline and Circumstances of the Revival

The Grass Valley Carol Choir was a well-established performing group that had enjoyed a considerable degree of popularity in the local area from the early 20th century. It existed predominantly as a male group performing elements of the house-

visiting customs that had been prevalent in the late 19th century, but also at specific local events. While essentially an amateur choir, there was also a professional performing body drawn from it (although it usually had a female accompanist).¹ However, despite their success, several factors led to the group's gradual decline. During the First World War, many men were absent, leading to women joining the choir to make up the parts:

The disruption was evident in 1919 when the traditional carols were sung in Grass Valley by mixed voices: women took the parts of the altos and some of the tenors, and at the customary Methodist Church performance they joined in singing ten Cornish carols.²

However, the Depression of the 1930s that had had such an impact elsewhere in the USA was not so keenly felt in Grass Valley. Gage McKinney's recent book *The 1930s: No Depression Here* addresses this, recounting how at a time when much of the rest of the USA was plunged into economic uncertainty, the gold mines of Grass Valley ensured that its effects were not felt as sharply.

However, as discussed in the previous chapter, the Second World War had seen the closure of the mines due to a War Office ruling. McKinney states that many men were away from the town either in service or in defense plants, impacting on the numbers available to sing in the choir.³ However, although blackout restrictions were in place, the choir continued with its usual performances in Grass Valley.⁴ Ironically, the war period appears to have been one of the most active for the choir. Alongside the six

¹ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, pp. 207-10.

² *Ibid.*, p. 146, referencing *The Union*, 2/12/1919, p. 8, 21/12/1919, p. 8

³ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 185-6.

national radio broadcasts between 1940-8 discussed in Chapter 6, the choir performed on other radio broadcasts; in 1944 the group sang over the radio from Camp Beale, which was broadcast to Allied troops.⁵ They also sang at the Auburn DeWitt hospital for wounded and returned soldiers.⁶ However, the latent effects of the war left a considerable impact: ‘many who had migrated to better paying jobs in the defense plants didn’t come back, or didn’t come back until they were old enough to retire’.⁷

Further, the closure of the mines as a result of strike action in 1956 was a considerable blow to the community. While mining operations ceased in 1956, the site was not fully closed until 1961 while machinery and other elements were sold or otherwise disposed of.⁸ Grass Valley and towns like it suffered from this deindustrialisation in a variety of ways. Described by Rowse as ‘shadows of their former selves’, while they were not abandoned as some locations were, they were certainly altered socially, culturally and economically; ‘their appeal is the nostalgic one of the past’.⁹ Despite the interest from Hand and the Library of Congress and the subsequent production and sale of the vinyl records discussed in Chapter 6, the group struggled to find enough singers in its final years; attracting the boy altos to sing with the choir became increasingly difficult, as did retaining younger men who moved away to find work.¹⁰ In 1964 the director put out a plea for singers that stated ‘Anyone who has ever sung with the choir, or who knows the words – or thinks he knows the words, is invited to join the group in singing tomorrow’.¹¹

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 188-9.

⁸ F. W. McQuiston Jr, *Gold: The Saga of the Empire Mine 1850-1956* (Nevada City: Empire Mine Park Association/Blue Dolphin Publishing, 1986), p. 79.

⁹ Rowse, *The Cornish In America*, p. 248.

¹⁰ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, pp. 225-30.

¹¹ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, p. 234, referencing uncited item.

McKinney considers that part of the pressure on the group was the very historicity of the choir itself. Citing the accounts of surviving members during his research in the 1990s, he states that ‘the group conceived itself too narrowly. The history they acknowledged focused too minutely on local traditions at the expense of a broader musical heritage’.¹² As a part of this, and despite the attention brought to the choir and their carols by the records, McKinney suggests that these recordings actually contributed to the decline of the choir:

The recordings had an unexpected and unfortunate impact. For generations the carollers had sung with abandon, and for their own pleasure as much as for that of any audience; but now, having set a standard for their own performances, they began to fear they couldn’t measure up. The singers became self-conscious. Their anxiety increased as older singers died and younger men departed for college and careers in other cities.¹³

The group formally disbanded at a meeting held at the homes of one of the members in 1967, with one of those who made the decision stating: ‘It’s better to go down in history than fade into mediocrity’.¹⁴ McKinney maintains that ‘the voices were never stilled’; indeed, the carols were performed at the town’s new Cornish Christmas event inaugurated in 1969 (which I discuss later in this chapter) by local high school teacher music Don Baggett and his students.¹⁵ Further, in a 1986 a reunion of old singers was an enjoyable success; but did not result in the revival of the choir itself.¹⁶

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 234.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 246-7.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 245-51.

However, in 1990 the choir was successfully revived by Eleanor Kenitzer, a church musical director who had recently moved to Grass Valley with her husband. Eleanor had no prior knowledge of either the Cornish connection in Grass Valley, or of the history of the carol choir itself. However, she quickly embedded herself within the community, involving herself with local churches and musical ventures. McKinney suggests that interest in reviving the choir was growing within the community, although some of the remaining singers were unwilling to return to the ongoing struggle the original choir had faced to recruit singers.¹⁷ However, during Eleanor's first Christmas in Grass Valley, she was approached by Bill Peterson, a local businessman, when the conductor of a local concert was forced to withdraw at the last moment due to illness.¹⁸ Following the success of this concert, Peterson suggested that she revive and direct the carol choir. Again, while she had no knowledge of the previous choir or the tradition, she agreed, and was amazed by the high interest shown in the local media:

I got a call from The Union newspaper, saying they had a scheduled time to interview me and Bill Peterson about the beginnings of the Cornish choir, and I thought 'uh-oh' because why would the newspaper care what kind of choir we started? I just thought it was singing Christmas carols, you know?¹⁹

She quickly arranged a rehearsal and performance schedule for the coming Christmas season, and the choir has been performing ever since. In an interview, Eleanor described to me how at the time of the revival in 1990, there were too few men to

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

¹⁸ Eleanor Kenitzer, Interview, 29/11/2015, McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, p. 254.

¹⁹ Eleanor Kenitzer, Interview, 29/11/2015.

form a full group. She decided to open the choir up to women in order to fill the four parts. However, this was unpopular with a small number of original members who subsequently would not sing with the group.

The revival of the choir's musical material is particularly interesting. Although I discuss the makeup of the contemporary repertoire in more detail in a following segment, the processes of retrieval indicate the centrality of the previous choir's repertoire was to the tradition, and how important the events discussed in Section 2 were to its recovery. Considering that the music had been promoted as an oral tradition, it might be conjectured that recovery after a hiatus of a generation might be impossible. However, Eleanor explained:

I didn't have music, I didn't know – so I went to Harold George and said 'where's the music for all of this?' and he handed me a record. And I said 'but where's the printed music?' and he said 'no – we didn't have printed music, we learned it by rote, and you can do that, you can transcribe it off this record'.²⁰

At a later point Eleanor was given some physical copies of music by a local high school teacher, who had managed to recover some handwritten manuscripts and printed music in the years while the choir was defunct. However, this was not without issues; Eleanor clarified:

[...] later when I did find some printed music – 'well that may be how it's printed but that's not how we sang it'. And I'd say 'ok, you

²⁰ Eleanor Kenitzer, Interview, 29/11/2015.

sing it however you sang it, just you do what you want to. So – so they taught – the new people how to sing the way the old Cornish had done.²¹

Here then, the retrieval of the repertoire was laced with a negotiation of authenticity. Eleanor noted that singing the music as printed did not reflect the original choir's repertoire 'because those men kind of added their own little runs and their own things'.²² Blending the transcriptions she had made of the 1950s recordings with the remembered practice from surviving members of the choir, Eleanor and the choir recovered a repertoire that closely reflected that of the original choir.

As such, despite the attention that had been brought the choir during the 1940s and 1950s through the radio broadcasts and production of the vinyl records, the fact that the carol tradition was maintained by a single group of performers meant that it was particularly vulnerable to the impact of the war, and the deindustrialisation that affected Grass Valley over the course of the 20th century. Against this backdrop of slow decline, the actual circumstances of the death and revival of the Grass Valley Carol Choir were in both cases decisive; although a touching detail related to me by Eleanor showed that in spite of this, the carols remained important for the singers. Even though the carol choir had officially disbanded, Harold George continued the tradition in the years before its revival in a personal and private capacity; 'at midnight on Christmas Eve after the church service [Harold] would go and stand on the steps of the Union building all by himself, and he would sing "Lo He Comes" and he would sing "Diadem", every year, during the quiet years, because he didn't want the

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

tradition to die'.²³ Despite a hiatus of over twenty years, the existence of the carol choir was still strong enough in the memory of the community to make a revival viable. Through its continuing performances at Cornish Christmas, the revived choir has come into prominence in the community, welcoming new singers across its 27 years.

8.2: Ethnography: Rehearsing 'Cornish Christmas'

The Grass Valley Carol Choir's revival is therefore well established and its performances have become an integral part of the town's Cornish Christmas events. I had timed my visit to coincide with the first Cornish Christmas, a community event in the town that the choir always sings at. While I discuss Cornish Christmas in more detail in the closing segment of this chapter, I had known for some considerable time that the Grass Valley Carol Choir had been revived and performed in the town during the Christmas season. In order to maximise my opportunities for research and develop relationships with key figures in the tradition, I had made contact with Gage McKinney (author of *When Miners Sang*) and Eleanor before my visit to Grass Valley in 2015, which was timed to coincide with the group's first performance of the season.

I had made contact with Eleanor to make my interest and visit known and enquire as to whether I could perform with the choir during my visit. Eleanor was very happy for me to visit and learn about the choir, and agreed that I could sing with the choir at their events during my stay. She posted me copies of the music that the choir would

²³ *Ibid.*

be singing prior to my visit in order for me to practise, along with a CD of recordings of the choir.²⁴ She also advised me that the choir performs in Victorian dress, so if I could bring a long black skirt and a shirt and jacket, that would be adequate for the performances. Having organised my music and outfit, Eleanor offered to pick me up from Sacramento Airport when I arrived on the evening of Saturday the 21st of November. During the drive to Grass Valley Eleanor mentioned that the carol choir were also performing at a living history day at the Empire Mine State Historic Park on Saturday the 28th of November, which I was also welcome to attend and perform at.

My first introduction to the carol choir was at their final rehearsal in the Grass Valley United Methodist Church on Sunday the 22nd of November. The choir was mixed, following the standard SATB format, and the members ranged in age from young children to seniors. There were 28 attendees at the rehearsal, which was noted as a high turnout. The balance was slightly in favour of women. During the rehearsal Eleanor introduced me to the choir and I took the opportunity to ask if any of the members would object to me recording their performances at Cornish Christmas during the next week. With no negative answers, I found a spot with the alto section of the group and settled my music into a black folder that Eleanor had given me for the performance. The choir were seated in the choir loft at the back of the church, with Eleanor directing from the front. Similarly to the Padstow carollers, she used a circular pitch-pipe to give the basses their first note, rather than the tonic note of each carol. We were unaccompanied, and sang each carol through once without stopping. However this was with the exception of Lyngham (a tune which ‘While Shepherds’ is commonly sung to, in Cornwall and elsewhere), which Eleanor restarted because part

²⁴ The Grass Valley Cornish Carol Choir and the Grass Valley Male Voice Choir, *When Miners Sang* [CD], (2001, 2007).

way through, she felt that all four parts were diverging in terms of harmony.

Throughout the rehearsal Eleanor gave directions to the choir suggesting places where the singers could blend better, or improve intonation and timing. In discussing with a lady named Lucinda, who was singing alto beside me, she mentioned that only the first two verses of each carol are ever sung, with less if the weather is bad or if it is the second performance of the same carol.

The experience of rehearsing with the carollers was quite intriguing from my perspective as a scholar, but also moving on a personal level. Three of the carols included in their set overlapped with the set that I have sung with the Padstow carollers in Cornwall. These were Merritt's 'Lo! He Comes, an Infant Stranger', the traditional 'Lo! The Eastern Sages Rise', and 'While Shepherds' set to Jarman's Lyngham. However, the remainder I had never sung, and never heard sung, although they were familiar to me from my research. The lady I sat next to during the rehearsal, Lucinda, helped me by pointing out certain instances in the scores where the performance had diverged from what was printed, and noting small performance deviations such as pauses. The rehearsal lasted around 45 minutes, with many of the choir members leaving afterwards in order to allow a smaller number of singers to rehearse as part of a separate performing group. Due to the more formal nature of this rehearsal, I did not feel it would be appropriate to interrupt the proceedings by asking questions while the group practiced. However, in follow up interviews with Eleanor and other singers, I found that many had been part of the group for several years. Eleanor described the group thus:

[...] we've got Presbyterian, we've got Christian Science, we got Mormon, we've got – anybody, I mean – and that makes us even more community.

And some of them don't go to church. They just want to be a part of it, they love the carols. Mostly those are the ones who have been in the community and know what this means, and they love the carols.²⁵

I was also interested to hear about the overall level of musical literacy of the performers; Jack Pascoe, who sings tenor, stated that 'many of them, the great majority of people that sing with us, have sung in church choirs in the past, and so they have been exposed to singing in parts'.²⁶

I now give an ethnographic account of my experience as a participant observer within the choir at Cornish Christmas, which took place on Friday the 27th November.

Advertised in the promotional material on the Grass Valley Downtown Association's website, the carol choir's performances are an integral part of the event, with a web page stating that the choir performs 'traditional homeland Christmas carols. A long-standing Cornish tradition, some members are actually descendants of original Grass Valley Cornish Miners'.²⁷ The choir's performances are therefore key in embedding Cornish musical heritage within the broader historical narrative of Grass Valley.

My experience of participant observation at Cornish Christmas gave a real insight into the Cornish carols tradition in Grass Valley. In 2015, Cornish Christmas took place on the 27th of November, and the 4th, 11th and 18th of December. Due to time restrictions I was only able to attend the first event, which took place on the day after Thanksgiving. However I had been informed by a number of contacts that this would

²⁵ Eleanor Kenitzer, Interview, 29/11/2015.

²⁶ Jack Pascoe, Interview, 27/11/2015.

²⁷ 'Enjoy the 48th annual Grass Valley Cornish Christmas Celebration', Grass Valley Downtown Association website [Available at: <http://downtowngrassvalley.com/downtown-grass-valley-events/grass-valley-cornish-christmas/> Accessed: 6/1/2016 10:33]

be one of the busiest events since so many families were gathering together for the long weekend. The choir usually sings two sets of carols, one at 6.30 and the second at 7.30. Having been advised to approximate Victorian dress for the performance, I wore a long black skirt and formal shoes, a white shirt and black jacket, and a Cornish tartan scarf. Since the choir were due to sing at 6.30pm, I made my way to the steps of the Union building where the choir traditionally sing earlier so that I would have a chance to look around. The streets were decorated with Christmas wreaths and Cornish flags, and many stalls selling crafts and food and drink were set up along Mill Street, which had been closed off to traffic. I met Eleanor who had a stall just next to the Union Steps, which was selling gift items such as jewellery from St Justin (a Cornish company), Cornish flags and bags, badges and pins, keyrings, and CDs of the carol choir.

At around 6.20pm carollers and their audience began to gather in the street in preparation for the performance. All the carollers were wearing some kind of Victorian styled formal dress. This consisted of hats, blouses, shawls and long skirts for the women, and suits, bowlers, top hats and bow ties for the men. Some members of the choir were wearing items made from Cornish tartan.

The following is an extract from my daily journal:

At around 6.25, the singers started to form into parts on the steps of the building. I was stood about a third of the way up the steps on the left hand side (as I was facing). I was next to the wall and singing from my sheet music. The different parts were roughly organised into sections – I was singing with the altos, the sopranos were

down at the front, and the tenors and basses up at the back. Lots of people had lights in order to be able to see their words, which I hadn't known about – but I was fairly able to see what I was singing, and attempting to harmonise when I wasn't sure! Eleanor was at the front leading and occasionally singing. I didn't see whether she was using music or not. The first time through we sang straight through all the carols and didn't repeat or shorten any.

The street was filled with people – children at the front, people of all ages. I noticed a number of people in the crowd singing along. In the interval I went into Mill Street Clothing, a store Eleanor had discussed this with, to interview John Pascoe and Larry Skinner – both gentlemen who originally sang with the Grass Valley Male Voice Choir and now also sing with the carol choir. Then we performed a second set, skipping through some of the carols and only did one verse of one of them. One carol we had to restart as it wasn't clear which one we were doing. Eleanor had some banter with the crowd about this. The second time round it was a similar sized crowd – possibly slightly smaller, but there really wasn't much of a noticeable difference. Stayed around with Eleanor, Carol and her husband on the stall, talked to a number of people who came up to look at the merchandise. A lot of people wanted to know a bit about Cornwall and the flag, and the language. When I talked to Eleanor about this she said it's more for education than for actually selling merchandise.



Plate 8.1: The Grass Valley Carol Choir on the Union Steps, 2015²⁸

Before we had even started to sing, the street was filled with people gathered at the base of the steps. As a participant I was not able to photograph this. However, it was a marked difference to the carolling tradition in Padstow, in which the carollers travel to their audience rather than attract one. Eventually such a crowd gathered that it was not possible to walk in front of the choir due to the amount of listeners. I had set up my audio recorder next to the A-board which advertised the choir and the times of its performances. The first set of carols lasted around 25 minutes, and with the second set slightly shorter, lasting just under 20 minutes. The audience reacted with whoops and applause, which Eleanor acknowledged between each number.

²⁸ I am on the right hand edge of the photo. Photo © Laura Mahaffy, *The Union*. Gage McKinney, 'Carols From Afar Draw People to Grass Valley's Cornish Christmas' [Available at: <https://www.theunion.com/news/local-news/carols-from-afar-draw-people-from-afar-to-grass-valleys-cornish-christmas/> Accessed: 27/8/2018 15:21]

There was relatively little interaction between the choir and audience, apart from the occasional mention of the younger members of the choir.

8.3: Reflection: Reviving Tradition, Repositioning Heritage

The revived choir makes several clear nods to the activities of the original choir, conspicuously using repertoire and performance practices that, as I show, are also evidently transformed from the original source material. In this segment I explore how the contemporary composition and performance practices of the Grass Valley carol choir are sites of musical performances of heritage. I discuss three key areas: repertoire selection, and representations of class and gender. I examine these in turn before a broader discussion of how these elements combine to perform particular narratives of the past in the present.

The performance of original repertoire is central to the Grass Valley Carol Choir's revival. As discussed above, Eleanor liaised with surviving members of the earlier choir to recover the carols they had sung, through listening to and transcribing recordings, and accessing old manuscript collections. The music I received from Eleanor in order to practice prior to my visit revealed some of the sources and processes used to create the choir's current repertoire. The music consisted of photocopied A4 sheets, arranged in order of performance. Examining the typefaces and other information revealed that a number of different sources were represented, which I have detailed as far as possible in the following table:

| Title | Format | Suggested Source | Attributed to: |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| Sound Sound! | Handwritten | Unknown | NA |
| Salutation | Handwritten | Unknown | NA |
| The Prince of Life | Printed | TCW p. 10 | J. Coad |
| Sans Day Carol | Printed | Unknown | Unknown |
| Hail, Sacred Day, Auspicious Morn | Printed | Unknown | Thomas Merritt |
| Angelic Hosts | Printed | LHT TM p. 3 | Thomas Merritt |
| Bethlehem | Printed | RHH P2 p. 24 | J. Williams |
| Hark, What Music Fills Creation | Printed | Unknown (not Heath) | Thomas Broad |
| The Star of Bethlehem | Printed | RHH P2 p. 18 | W. B. Williams |
| While Shepherds (Lyngham) | Printed | Unknown | T. Jarman |
| Lo! He Comes, An Infant Stranger | Printed | LHT TM p. 6 | Thomas Merritt |
| While Shepherds (Diadem) | Handwritten | Unknown | J. Ellor |

Table 8.1: List of music performed by the Grass Valley Carol Choir in 2015

The contemporary repertoire closely matches what was performed on the radio broadcasts and was also present on the vinyl records. The choir's current repertoire has been selected from the material habitually performed by the original choir during the early and mid-20th centuries. However, Eleanor noted that performers do not always exactly match the text:

[...] as long as those men were singing in the choir, it was not my choir, it was their choir, and I was very happy with them telling me how it was done, and they could tell me later when I did find some printed music – ‘well that may be how it’s printed but that’s not how we sang it’. And I’d say ‘ok, you sing it however you sang it, just you do what you want to. So – so they taught the new people how to sing the way the old Cornish had done²⁹

²⁹ Eleanor Kenitzer, Interview, 29/11/2015.

Again then, a concern with producing an authentic performance for the contemporary choir necessitated that the recovery of the original musical material had to be negotiated with original members. Here, the learned performance practices from the mid-20th century outweighed the authority of the printed material.

The continued performance of the original choir's repertoire is therefore a powerful symbol of the past, musically signifying the renewal of the original tradition.

However, there is evidently room for development and innovation; of the twelve carols that we performed at Cornish Christmas in 2015, 'Lyngham' and the 'Sans Day Carol' were new additions that had not been sung by the original choir. When I asked Eleanor about this in our interview, she replied:

[...] we've added two that they didn't sing, which means that we don't sing some they did. But – Lyngham, Alan Morrish from Canada had sung that [Lyngham] as he was growing up, beautiful song – so we added that to our repertoire. And - then the Sans Day carol, simply because of the history of having Joe Day in the choir and that – again, a familiar enough song but I want people to understand it's Cornish. It's not English, it's not American, it's Cornish, have it properly identified here.³⁰

Lyngham's inclusion was the result of meeting Alan Morrish, a Cornish bard residing in Canada that she had met through the gathering of Cornish Cousins during the 1990s. The addition of the 'Sans Day Carol' is a link with original singer Joe Day's surname, and also takes its name from being collected in St Day in the early twentieth

³⁰ *Ibid.*

century.³¹ While still a relatively unusual carol in the canon of conventional Christmas music, I suggest that it is better known than much of the other Cornish repertoire performed by the choir. The newer numbers nevertheless have a link with Cornwall, either in style, origin or content. However, the selection of repertoire also varies according to the occasion. For example, the choir has occasionally been present at Gage McKinney's talks about the choir and Grass Valley's history. Eleanor said that the choir would sing a short extract, then Gage would talk, alternating between music and speech as appropriate to the lecture. However, on these occasions the choir wouldn't perform the recently added numbers such as the St Day Carol, as not one of the ones that the miners originally sang.

However, the performance of this repertoire gained a new dimension through the inclusion of women in the revived choir, which now utilises the standard SATB arrangement. As discussed in my examination of the revival process, the performance of repertoire itself was prioritised over retaining the all-male gender of the group; indeed, the inclusion of women occurred to facilitate the revival process. Eleanor described how, at the time of the revival, this change was 'not a popular thought with some of the men, and they wouldn't sing with us, because they weren't going to sing with women'.³² This was a very significant departure from the original tradition, with McKinney remarking that 'newspaper coverage in Grass Valley and Sacramento emphasised the shattering of the male singing tradition as much as it emphasised the restoration of the carols'.³³

³¹ 'Sans Day Carol', Percy Dearmer, R. Vaughan Williams, Martin Shaw, eds., *The Oxford Book of Carols* (London: Oxford University Press, 1928), p. 74-5.

³² Eleanor Kenitzer, Interview, 29/11/2015.

³³ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, p. 256.

Here then, while the choir's earlier form as an all-male group is indeed regarded as a symbol of the past, the group actively choose not to articulate it in the present.

McKinney's research indicating that women did perform with the choir during the war years led to a certain amount of justification through precedent; during our interview, Eleanor stated that those who opposed the inclusion of women 'just didn't know their own history'.³⁴ Notwithstanding the small amount of opposition that Eleanor did encounter with the inclusion of women in the choir, she stated:

[...] that was the attitude of most of the men coming in, they didn't care as long as they could sing the carols again, and the important – and to me that was the important issue, just – and if I was going to be the woman director then I was going to have women sing in there too, so you know, to me it – you just do what you need to do to keep the tradition going.³⁵

Indeed, Eleanor mentioned that there had been previous attempts to restart the choir that had been unsuccessful.

As such, I suggest that within the contemporary choir, the past is more consciously performed through costume than it is through gender. While there was no uniformed aspect, there seemed to be a generally accepted formula for the performers' dress in my own view. The women generally wore long black skirts with a white shirt, black jacket or shawl (in many cases fastened with a vintage style or antique brooch), and often a hat. The men commonly wore some form of evening dress, some including waistcoats, jackets, ties, bow ties and cravats, and sometimes bowler and top hats. Some performers also included Cornish tartan accents (such as brooches, badges,

³⁴ Eleanor Kenitzer, Interview, 29/11/2015.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

scarves and ties) to their costumes. This formal dress thus calls to mind a Victorian period and a middle, rather than working class image. The costuming of the current performers thus represents an important symbol of the past; although it is not a past that reflects the practice of the original choir.

This is intriguing since the original choir and the groups drawn from it had at different times employed particular dress codes and costumes. For example, photographs from the early 20th century show the group wearing formal dress, including jackets, hats, and ribbons that presumably identify them as members of the choir. However, in the mid-20th century the choir's association with mining was strong; as discussed in Chapter 6, the Glee Club and groups emerging from it had performed in underground miners' dress, and the radio broadcasts emphasised the working clothes, boots and helmets of the miners during their underground performances.³⁶ However, photographs of the choir's later performances during the 1950s and 1960s show that the group also appeared wearing formal menswear, such as below:

³⁶ McKinney, *When Miners Sang*, p. 214-9.



Figure 8.1: Photo showing the Grass Valley Carol Choir³⁷

However, Eleanor explained that the idea of costuming the performers had developed from a desire to reference the historic nature of the tradition. She also described how the costuming had developed:

[...] the first year we sang, you know, we wore black and white because we'd seen pictures of the old Cornish choir singing – well, a lot of them, but the original ones were the men in their suits standing in a circle at the centre of Mill and Main streets downtown and singing the carols in a circle with all the crowds, that probably early 1800s, and then through the years, pictures of the other – the men, in their black coats and hats, so – we just decided to look Victorian, and try to look Cornish, of the Victorian era, so thus we dress in costume and sing.³⁸

³⁷ 'Grass Valley Carol Choir Sings Here Next Sunday', *The Oakland Tribune*, 30/12/1956, p. 10.

³⁸ Eleanor Kenitzer, Interview, 29/11/2015.



Figure 8.2: Carols in Grass Valley, *The San Francisco Call*, 24/12/1911, p. 18

The choir therefore aims to emulate the formality of the singers seen in historic photographs. Here then, the visual signalling of the Cornish carols as associated within miners from a historic ethno-occupationally distinct group has been lost.

My observance of these transformations should not be taken to imply that the differences between the historic practices I discussed in Sections 1 and 2 disqualify the authenticity of contemporary performance. Eleanor and her singers are very aware of the group's difference from the earlier choir, particularly as a result of McKinney's research for *When Miners Sang*; which I consider not only serves to elucidate the history of the choir, but perhaps inevitably contributes to the recognition of the choir as part of Grass Valley's heritage. As implied by their involvement in Grass Valley's Christmas events, and prominence in the publicity material for Cornish Christmas, the

choir appears to be an important element of not only the town's past, but also the town's present. Eleanor described the reaction of the community in 1990:

[...] it was wonderful, that very first Christmas – I remember when I turned around to say thank you to people, [...] when I looked out there were so many of them who had tears in their – on their faces – because they said ‘we haven’t heard these carols in twenty years, and now, this is Christmas in Grass Valley again’. So it was a tradition that had been missed [...] I think there was a great swell of community pride in the fact that this was their tradition, that was starting up again, and I really never felt that anybody was angry about the fact that we had women in it, we had children in it too [...] most years we had somebody come as an entire family, and bring their children, and so again, then to me, the exact way we were supposed to be keeping this tradition alive, by teaching it to the next generation.³⁹

Here then, while the revived Grass Valley Carol Choir acts as a cultural space in which a specific narrative of the past is recognised and celebrated as local heritage, the group does not aim to rigidly perform that past. Rather, it acknowledges past practice whilst accommodating contemporary heritage narratives and its growing community.

To contextualise this within Niall MacKinnon's conception of revival then, the contemporary Grass Valley Carol Choir reflects his position that revivals offer an entry into the past that accommodates innovation. As I have shown, while the choir chooses to utilise symbols of the past in their performance, such as the repertoire

³⁹ *Ibid.*

performed, their performance practices, and their costumes, these symbols have undergone certain transformations and reorientations, resulting in a contemporary performance that diverges significantly from the male, working class associations of the original choir. However, the transformations of these symbols do not necessarily result in ‘intrusions of the present’; for example, the costumes the choir utilise are historic rather than contemporary, and a mixed choir is not necessarily a symbol of the present, even though it diverges from past practice.⁴⁰ Further, MacKinnon emphasises the organic, spontaneous manner of performance that he considers to be a significant distinction between revival and re-enactment.

In this sense, it is difficult to reconcile the overtly staged context of the choir’s performance at Cornish Christmas within the context of revival, and I address this further in my final conclusions. However, he considers that ‘we should look away from over-concentration on forms to their use, function and meaning’.⁴¹ In this sense, the function and meaning of the transformation of these visual symbols not only broadens the heritage narratives, intertwining a formal, Victorian aesthetic with the industrial legacy of 19th century Cornish migrants, but also serves to widen participation in the contemporary tradition. Eleanor and the choir therefore appear to have taken the activities of the original choir as a point of departure, rather than as a narrative to be adhered to or a practice to be faithfully re-enacted. Rather, the choir’s contemporary has taken stock of past practice and symbols, and regarded them as ‘formulae for re-creation, rather than in terms of formulaic re-enactment’.⁴² As such, I suggest the performances I observed and participated in reflect exactly this; an awareness and celebration of the past practice, while accommodating a

⁴⁰ MacKinnon, ‘Revival and Re-enaction’, p. 63.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 64.

responsiveness that enables the potential for growth and change as its new context demands.

I argue that this responsiveness and flexibility offers an open space within which the Grass Valley Carol Choir can respond to contemporary socio-cultural trends and needs. As a revived tradition however, I consider that the way in which it operates destabilises Ronström's position that tradition is a 'closed' space. Instead, I suggest that the transformations I witnessed – and indeed enabled my participation in their performances – very much reflect an 'open' space. Again, while a very clear celebration of heritage, the carol choir does not aim to reproduce the highly specific narratives of the past as described by the radio broadcasts or developed in the histories of the choir printed on the vinyl records; that of an orally transmitted repertoire passed down from generation to generation of miners. Rather, the choir prioritises the historic repertoire, but in adapting other symbols of the past, such as gender representation and costuming, it aims to facilitate community engagement and access to a tradition which itself struggled to continue at least in part because of its restricted nature. In this sense, the contemporary Grass Valley Carol Choir's ongoing existence may be so successful precisely because anyone can move into that space; thus reflecting Ronström's apt comment that 'there are revivals not because there has been a past, but because there is a future to come'.⁴³

To conclude this segment, I argue that the contemporary Grass Valley Carol Choir is a revived tradition that specifically aims to continue the performance of local carols associated with the town. However, the transformations of repertoire, and gender

⁴³ Ronström, 'Traditional Music, Heritage Music', p. 44.

discussed above necessarily represent innovations and divergences from the source material – both musical and social. These are the result of pragmatic choices that initially reflected concern with the initial success of the revival, but are now firmly embedded within its contemporary incarnation. However, while the group exists independently of the heritage settings they perform at, their performances are overtly oriented as celebrations of Grass Valley’s Cornish heritage. I now discuss the position of Cornish carols in the broader context of Cornish heritage in Grass Valley.

8.4: The Carol Choir and Cornish Heritage in Grass Valley

The revived Grass Valley carol choir has offered considerable opportunities for dialogue and visits between Cornwall. Both Grass Valley and Nevada City have institutional links with Cornwall, for example, in their respective twinings with the Cornish towns of Bodmin and Penzance. However, Grass Valley’s twinning with Bodmin was the result of the Grass Valley Carol Choir’s 1997 visit to Cornwall. During this visit, Eleanor took the opportunity to raise the issue with local council leaders at a reception held for the choir in Bodmin. She stated that:

[...] while we were in Bodmin, I happened to say to the Mayor, who was a very charming gentleman, and I said well while we’re here we’re kind of looking out for a place to twin with, and I didn’t have any authority to do that from the City council, nothing [...] the reception for us was in the Shire Hall in Bodmin, and it was about 15 minutes underway, I was summoned over to a group of people standing, and it turned out to be the town council, who were asking me questions about – how many people are in Grass Valley, what kind of industry do you have, you know, wanting to know all about us, and saying – well we might be interested in twinning with you.

While interaction between the towns appears to have waned slightly since the initial contact, the Grass Valley Chamber of Commerce has a 'Bodmin Room' which holds flags and other official items relating to the twinning of the towns.

As such, the Grass Valley Carol Choir, while referencing a highly specific historic practice, certainly acts as something of a conduit through which to articulate the area's broader heritage, which is also preserved and promoted by a variety of local museums and archives. Many such centres focus on the area's mining and industrial heritage. One example is the North Star Mine Powerhouse and the Pelton Wheel Museum, which are housed on the same site and preserve the industrial artefacts of local mines. However, this museum is only open from May to October, and as such I was not able to visit to see the range of exhibits, although it would appear to have housed material relevant to my study; the museum's website states that it:

[...] exists not only to preserve and protect our area's mining heritage but also educates and informs people not only about the mining process, but also about the impact the industry had upon the humanity of the people who built the mines and those who toiled there during their operation.⁴⁴

Indeed, Eleanor mentioned that some of the musical manuscripts that she had utilised in her recovery of the musical material for the revival were drawn from the Pelton Wheel Museum. However, conversations with her, and which I recorded a precis of in

⁴⁴ 'North Star Mining Museum and Pelton Wheel Exhibit', Nevada County Historical Society website [Available at: <https://www.nevadacountyhistory.org/mining-museum.html>] Accessed: 11/11/2016 14:56]

my daily journal, indicated that she and others were ‘concerned about the conditions in which the documents were being stored, as well as their overall safety’.⁴⁵ However, Gage McKinney’s research notes for *When Miners Sang*, including a variety of musical material, were held in excellent conditions at the Searls Historical Library on the outskirts of Nevada City, although this took more of the form of a record office and did not involve display or interpretative material.

However, during my visit to Grass Valley, I was able to participate and observe a set of performances which took place at a ‘Living History Day’ at the Empire Mine State Historic Park, a short drive outside of the Grass Valley township. The Park is the site of the Empire Mine, surrounding Grass Valley, open from 1850 to 1956, and aims to show contemporary visitors ‘what life was like in those days of gold, grit and glory’.⁴⁶ While some features of the mine workings are not accessible to the public because of the harmful chemical residues still active in the area, many of the administrative offices, residences and subsidiary buildings are open to the public and are utilised to give workshops and tours throughout the year. However, the ‘Living History Day’ was a special holiday event where tours and workshops were open to the public at no extra charge.⁴⁷ Advertised as ‘an old fashioned Christmas card come to life’ with live music, during my visit in 2015 the choir performed at three locations across the estate. These were fairly impromptu performances, with visitors passing by and stopping to listen before moving on.

⁴⁵ Fieldwork journal, 24/11/2015.

⁴⁶ ‘A High-Risk History of Vision, Innovation and Hard Work’, Empire Mine Park Association website [Available at: <http://www.empiremine.org/history-2> Accessed: 23/1/2018 18:05]

⁴⁷ ‘The 2017 Activities Calendar features a variety of tours and special events’, Empire Mine Park Association website [Available at: <http://www.empiremine.org/activities/activities-calendar> Accessed: 23/1/2018 17:56]

However, the most important event relating to Cornish heritage in Grass Valley is Cornish Christmas, the primary site for my fieldwork. As described in a previous segment, it takes place every Friday night between Thanksgiving and Christmas. The instigation of the event is worthy of note; it was instigated in 1968 by two local businessmen, Johnny George and Lou Ladel, with the intention of offering the community ‘an opportunity to come downtown and enjoy holiday music and food, while at the same time provide the merchants with a chance to let their customers see their holiday merchandise’.⁴⁸ The event was also explicitly designed to commemorate the Cornish heritage of Grass Valley, with the Grass Valley Downtown Association’s website indicating that it was set up ‘as a way to preserve Grass Valley’s Cornish heritage and holiday traditions’.⁴⁹

Tiny white lights outline buildings from the 1800’s transforming the small Gold Rush-era city of Grass Valley into a living Christmas card. Carolers are strolling the streets, the Grass Valley Cornish Choir is singing from the steps of the Union Building, and the smell of savory treats is wafting through the air. You are instantly transformed to an earlier bygone era.⁵⁰

There is considerable emphasis on local history; the local business association bills the event as a way to ‘recapture the spirit of Christmas past’.⁵¹ Indeed, the event’s publicity materials focus on the town’s gold-rush legacy, evoking ‘an historic gold rush town. Imagine life in another era where men and women worked hard, had little,

⁴⁸ ‘A History of Cornish Christmas’, unpublished leaflet produced by the Grass Valley Downtown Association, p. 1

⁴⁹ ‘Cornish Christmas’, Grass Valley Downtown Association website [Available at: <http://downtowngrassvalley.com/gvda-events/cornish-christmas/> Accessed: 8/11/2017 14:31]

⁵⁰ ‘A History of Cornish Christmas’, p. 1

⁵¹ Homepage, Grass Valley Downtown Association website [Available at: <http://downtowngrassvalley.com/> Accessed: 8/11/2017 15:00]

but cherished the simple pleasures of hearty food and drink, a good song, and a warm fire with family and friends'.⁵²

Within this, the Grass Valley Carol Choir's performances are now a well-established element of the event, serving to add a distinctive cultural contribution to the town's broader holiday season; and as such the choir's performances are marketed heavily. Although the choir are not introduced to the audience by an announcer or compere, they are well represented and publicised in the promotional material managed and distributed by the Grass Valley Downtown Association. For example, the webpage promoting the 2017 event encourages attendees to 'pause at the steps of the historic Union Building as the Cornish Carol Choir performs traditional homeland Christmas carols. A long-standing Cornish tradition, some members are actually descendants of original Grass Valley Cornish Miners'.⁵³ Other material references the history of the choir; for example, a leaflet available at the event describing the history of Cornish Christmas references the radio broadcasts discussed in Chapter 6: 'The Cornish formed choirs that sang their unique carols with a rough but heartfelt harmony. A Cornish Carol Choir, comprised of Cornish miners, sang underground in the Idaho-Maryland Mine for a nationwide radio audience during the World War II era'.⁵⁴

Cornish Christmas appears to be central in positioning the town's specifically Cornish connection at the forefront of the historical event. Diane Raymond (DR), a member of the Grass Valley Downtown Association, remarked in our interview that 'it's

⁵² 'Cornish Christmas', Grass Valley Downtown Association website [Available at: <http://downtowngrassvalley.com/gvda-events/cornish-christmas/> Accessed: 10/11/2017 15:38]

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Leaflet, 'A History of Cornish Christmas in Historic Downtown Grass Valley, California', Grass Valley Downtown Association, p. 4; excerpted from 'Cousin Jacks – The Miners of Grass Valley', *The Union* [Available at: <http://www.theunion.com/news/cousin-jacks-the-miners-of-grass-valley/> Accessed: 9/11/2017 14:14]

important for us, as an organisation, to do events that honour our traditions and our heritage, and benefit our members, which are the businesses downtown, and this is an event that managed to do both those things'.⁵⁵

KN: So it's attracting people from outside the local area?

DR: Yes, it is. So in that sense it's great for tourism for us, but you know it's part of, you know when you look at a downtown and you see well what's the story of that downtown's telling, that downtown is telling – amidst the things we talk about for downtown Grass Valley, this is one of the bigger things. This represents our history, because it does incorporate the Cornish influence, it is about the gold rush days, and that at the end of the day is what we're known for.

KN: Yeah, you have a quintessentially kind of American thing, the gold rush, the Californian gold rush, and then you have this kind of unusual connection with another place that's quite strong, so –

DR: Goes all the way back to England, and that makes it somewhat intriguing.⁵⁶

While Cornish Christmas is very much focused on local business and heritage, the event is also a prime opportunity to promote the town to outside visitors; Raymond noted that 'we promote this and market it outside of the area because people from Sacramento and Auburn, which is you know, 45 or so miles away, come in for this

⁵⁵ Diane Raymond, Libby Bonomolo, and Eleanor Kenitzer, Interview, 24/11/2015.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

event'.⁵⁷ Here then, Cornish Christmas certainly produces the local for export, capitalising on the Cornish heritage of the town to draw in visitors.

However, I suggest that the contemporary Grass Valley Carol Choir equally aligns itself with broader heritage narratives within the region. Set in the Sierra Nevada Mountains, Grass Valley and its neighbouring town Nevada City draw on their gold-rush histories to market the historic, pioneer and 'Old West' elements of their environment. Historically, Nevada City also had a considerable Cornish population, which emerges as a feature of its publicity material; the web page for the 2017 event stated that: 'Many of the town's residents are descendants of Gold Rush immigrants who arrived in Nevada City from Cornwall, bringing with them the tradition of lively street celebrations from Victorian England'.⁵⁸ However, Nevada City's holiday calendar includes Victorian Christmas, an event which has taken place since 1977. This functions in a very similar manner to Cornish Christmas; the streets are closed to traffic, and local and visiting businesses set up stalls, and both community members and visitors are encouraged to dress in historic costume in order to add to the atmosphere. Similar phraseology and imagery are deployed in the town's marketing materials:

Welcome the holiday season in style in historic Nevada City, a
quaint, Gold Rush town nestled in the foothills of the snow-capped
Sierra where each year the town's picturesque downtown
transforms into a genuine Christmas card come to life. It's a
magical setting of hilly streets outlined with twinkling white lights

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ 'Nevada City Victorian Christmas 2017', Nevada City Chamber of Commerce website [Available at: <https://www.nevadacitychamber.com/victorian-christmas-december-3rd-20th/> Accessed: 23/1/2018 10:10]

and authentic gas lamps, wandering minstrels and carolers dressed in Victorian attire, and a myriad of visitors sharing holiday cheer and good tidings.⁵⁹

While in other respects, the events are very similar, the Grass Valley Carol Choir does not perform at ‘Victorian Christmas’. Here then, the carol choir’s performance in Grass Valley serves as a point of distinction between the two towns.

However, despite this emphasis on Victorian Englishness in both towns’ promotions of their Christmas celebrations, the Grass Valley Carol Choir’s performance also incorporates very self-conscious promotions of Cornish Celticity. In an information leaflet about the choir titled ‘Grass Valley Sings Its Own Carols: The Cornish Carols; A Heritage From the Gold Mines’, the carols are described as ‘Celtic Folk Music’, with the text introducing the material as follows:

Cornish carols are folk songs indigenous to a Celtic land in the southwest corner of Britain known for mining since ancient times. [...] The carols found a permanent home in Grass Valley, where they became part of the town’s identity. As a folk tradition the carols compare to the music of Appalachia, the Mississippi Delta or the Hispanic Southwest.⁶⁰

Through her leadership of the choir, Eleanor takes the opportunity to promote not only the choir itself but also Cornish history and culture, with particular reference to Celtic history.

⁵⁹ ‘Victorian Christmas 2018’, Nevada City Chamber of Commerce website [Available at: <https://www.nevadacitychamber.com/nevada-city-events/victorian-christmas/> Accessed: 23/1/2018 10:09]

⁶⁰ Leaflet, ‘Grass Valley Sings Its Own Carols: The Cornish Carols; A Heritage From the Gold Mines’, Grass Valley Carol Choir.



Plate 8.2: Cornish items available for sale from Eleanor's stall⁶¹

The plate above shows the stall that accompanies the singers at Cornish Christmas and includes signs in the Cornish language, Celtic inspired jewellery and Cornish tartan, alongside CDs of the choir and other information. I asked Eleanor about this during our interview, and her response is worth quoting at length:

[...] we decided that there was nothing Cornish on the streets, I decided that there was nothing Cornish on the streets! And that we should do something – to educate people, I mean we've got the Cornish flags hanging out during Cornish Christmas, and the sister city committee bought those, and Grass Valley Downtown Association puts them out, and we have St Piran's day, and we raise the flags then, and fly them all downtown – but people will come still and say – 'what is that flag for, what is that?' – well, if we don't have any place to give out the information, they don't ever know. So we use the booth as a talking point, and as a place for people to stop and talk about Cornwall, and where is

⁶¹ These include Cornish tartan and Celtic-styled jewellery from Cornwall. The sign 'Nadelek Lowen' means 'Happy Christmas' in Cornish.

that, what is that, why do you do this, and we sell the flags and pins and so forth to help people identify with what this community is and to remind them that we're twinned with Bodmin, Nevada City's twinned with Penzance, and so – you know, it's all education.⁶²

Here, the Grass Valley Carol Choir's promotional material references elements of Cornish identity which very much echo contemporary presentations of Cornish culture by musical and cultural revivalists in Cornwall itself. This focus on contemporary Cornish identity may be due to Eleanor's – and the choir's – relatively recent cultural and social contact with Cornwall. As a result of her work reviving the choir, Eleanor was made a bard of the Cornish Gorsedh in 2000.⁶³ Further, she and the choir visited Cornwall in 1997, with the Grass Valley Male Voice Choir (whose formation was inspired by the male voice choirs the carol choir encountered during this visit) returning in 2000, 2002 and 2017. The reference to Celticity is a new strand within the heritage narrative developed around the choir; as yet, I have not uncovered any other promotions of the Cornish or their carols as Celtic, in either the radio broadcasts or subsequent discussion by Hand and other American folksong scholars discussed in Section 2. In this sense, the Cornish carols of Grass Valley have perhaps become more overtly 'Cornish' in their contemporary incarnation than they have been to date.

To conclude this segment, the Grass Valley Carol Choir is an important element of Grass Valley's broader heritage narratives. Through its performances at the Empire Mine State Park, it is clear that the choir's link with the town's mining history is an

⁶² Eleanor Kenitzer, Interview, 29/11/2015.

⁶³ 'Gorsedh Kernow: Byrth Noweth/New Bards 2000, Aberfal/Falmouth', Gorsedh Kernow website [Available at: <http://gorsedhkernow.org.uk/archivedsite/english/archives/newbards/bard2000.htm> Accessed: 30/4/2018 17:06]

important strand within its legacy. However, while the mining heritage that was so central in the radio broadcasts discussed in Section 2 is recognised, the costuming and performance practices of the choir indicate that the choir's industrial background is not the sole strand of importance. Broader narratives promoting a Victorian, 'old English' aspect of the choir reflect the driving factors of not only Grass Valley's, but Nevada City's tourist economies. Further, new strands to this narrative are being developed, as evidenced by the reference to Cornish Celticity, reflecting an ongoing dialogue with contemporary notions of Cornish distinctiveness and identity. However, regardless of either contemporary appeal to tourists and visitors, or ancestral links to Cornwall, Eleanor (EK) considers that the carol choir's position within the Grass Valley community is central:

KN: But for other members of the choir, where they don't have Cornish heritage, why do you think they like to sing them?

EK: Because they can then identify with the tradition of the community. And I used to always say – that we want newcomers to town, if you've nothing else to do this is a great place to come because you will experience this community like no other way, and the first rehearsal then, I explained to them, the importance of this, and how important it is that Grass Valley has kept this alive, while other communities haven't, and that – and they are living history.⁶⁴

While the choir intends to attract new singers, some indication of generational continuity remains; indeed, one of my interlocutors was the grandson of one of the singers, and sings with his young daughter in the choir. However, my interviews with

⁶⁴ Eleanor Kenitzer, Interview, 29/11/2015.

singers Jack Pascoe and Larry Skinner suggested that while the intent to continue is strong within the choir itself, the high average age of the members was a cause for concern:

JP: [...] we're asking ourselves these questions because we're facing this issue of the future of the choir. This town, this whole community, has an exceedingly high level of culture and music involved in – there are any number of choirs, and they're all different levels of choirs and many opportunities and so in some sense it's almost a competition as to who –

KN: Oh, who you can attract, and –

JP: Where you're going to sing, and not sing, and so on. So – we're not really certain how this is going to play out. But we do have a concern that we want to maintain the singing attitude and the singing opportunities, and in particular the Cornish aspect of the Cornish identity part of it.⁶⁵

It therefore remains to be seen whether, in future years, the Grass Valley Carol Choir will be able to continue performing; and if so, whether it will have to – or indeed be able to – adapt further in order to survive. The form that such future transformations take will indicate the next stage of the heritage process: that of determining how the past of the carol tradition is conceptualised in, and for, the present.

⁶⁵ Jack Pascoe, Interview, 27/11/2015.

Conclusions

The ongoing success of the revival of the Grass Valley Carol Choir since 1990 has been key in cementing the legacy of Cornish carolling as part of the town's heritage. The revival is overtly inspired by the early choir, taking on significant symbols of earlier practices; for example, the retention of the Cornish carol repertoire, and location of performance on the steps of the Union Building. However, the group has also developed and built on the past practice in such a way as to effect a range of transformations that present a very different vision of the historic practices that inspired the revival. In particular, the inclusion of women, the expansion of the repertoire, and the costuming of the performers coalesce to present a considerably different tradition to the historic practice it takes as its inspiration. Interestingly, the heritage narratives I discussed in Section 2 – those of the repertoire's oral transmission, and of male dominated performance practice – have not been replicated in the contemporary performance. Rather, I suggest the transformations are the result of the changing demographic in Grass Valley. While the impulse to revive the choir prior to 1990 was evident, a lack of male voices prevented the revival of the original format. In allowing women to perform in the choir, the revival was made accessible to the whole population of Grass Valley, rather than simply the men.⁶⁶

Here then, the Grass Valley Carol Choir's revival and ongoing involvement in Cornish Christmas are regarded as important elements of Grass Valley's heritage. This is not only Cornish heritage, but also local (Grass Valley history and community) and national (gold rush) histories and heritages. Through its performances, the choir plays an important role in leveraging the history of Grass

⁶⁶ As I go on to show in the following chapter, a reorientation of gender also occurs in Moonta, although with significantly different results, implying an intriguing avenue of further investigation.

Valley's de-industrialisation for contemporary gain, neatly reflecting Dilsaver's observation that 'in the tradition of adaptiveness displayed by such centres, that form is currently being applied to a new function: that of tourism'.⁶⁷ Further, the choir's performance negotiates between these layered heritages in new and interesting manners. For example, Eleanor's use of the choir to bring attention to Cornwall's contemporary fight for recognition in Britain further illustrates how supplementary information – and ideological standpoints – may be encoded into the 'interfaces' of heritage products and processes as described by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett. Here, I suggest that the transformations evident in contemporary practice have indeed produced something new in the present; although I would argue that the new, revived choir has its own, developing measure of authenticity. Indeed, my interviews with the local Downtown Association revealed a perspective that the choir brings a different kind of 'authenticity' to the town's Christmas celebrations:

[...] this event represents the antithesis of what 'Black Friday' is for Christmas shopping, if you think about it. Impersonal, big bucks stores, everybody trampling over everybody to get the best sale, the best deal – in some ways for some people it's become a kind of [IND] tradition, but – our event is the complete opposite. It's about history, it's about families, it's about celebrating what is, what we have here, not what comes from somewhere else [...] ⁶⁸

My experience of the choir rehearsal and as a participant observer during Cornish Christmas gave me a considerable insight into the tradition; while I consider the transformations evident in the contemporary performance moves to current practice in

⁶⁷ Dilsaver, 'After The Gold Rush', p. 18.

⁶⁸ Interview with Diane Raymond, Libby Bonomolo and Eleanor Kenitzer, 24/11/2015.

some senses a very long conceptual way from the tradition that they have revived, the openness and flexibility I observed would appear to bode well for the ongoing viability of the revival itself. Having lost the tradition once, it would seem that Eleanor, the choir, and the Grass Valley community are keen to ensure that it continues.

Chapter 9: Moonta and ‘Carols By Candlelight’

Introduction

Pryor’s promotion of the Copper Triangle’s Cornish carol tradition, while vehement and locally well received, failed to secure its longevity. However, while the custom gradually declined over the course of the 20th century, knowledge of it remained embedded in the town’s Cornish heritage, and the carols have recently made a reappearance at the town’s annual public Christmas concert in the form of a ‘Miners’ Re-enactment’. Drawing on fieldwork I undertook in the town in December 2015, this chapter explores the re-enactment and the ways present conceptions of the carols as heritage affect how they are musically performed. I first give a brief overview of the gradual demise of the house-visiting and outdoor concerts of the carol tradition in order to contextualise the eventual re-enactment. I then move onto ethnographic accounts and reflections of the ‘Miners’ Re-enactment’, drawing on ethnographic work primarily completed in December 2015. Finally, I place this event in the context of the broader conceptions of Cornish heritage in the area, referencing the development of Kernewek Lowender, the district’s biennial festival celebrating Cornish heritage that was inaugurated in 1972.

9.1: Cornish Carols: A Gradual Decline

The social and economic changes wrought in the Copper Triangle following the closure of the mines in 1923 were considerable.¹ Payton suggests that at this time ‘more than 3000 people left northern Yorke Peninsula for pastures new, some 85 per

¹ While the mines had been in decline for some time, Payton suggests that the demand for copper during the First World War masked its broader effects; see Payton, *Making Moonta*, p. 193.

cent of these migrants originating from the mineral lease settlements at Moonta Mines and Wallaroo Mines'.² Following Pryor and K. W. Thomson, Payton argues that it was primarily younger residents who left the area, leaving behind a predominantly aging demographic. This would likely have caused a significant break in generational transmission of Cornish culture in the town. However, at least in the years that immediately followed, the culture of Christmas carolling appears to have remained strong. For example, the following report noted that hundreds of miners returned to the district in the first Christmas after the closure of the mines, stating that the group sang carols on the train from Adelaide:

Great changes have taken place since last Christmas, as many of the miners have had to secure employment in other centres. Except for a few who are employed dismantling machinery and so forth, the old place is deserted, and the glow of electric lights is a thing of the past. The majority of the wives and families of the absent miners are still living in their old homes, and the hope lingers that something will occur which will enable the breadwinners to return. [...] Meanwhile the miners had formed a carol party, and a well-known Cornishman struck up one of Mr. J. H. Thomas's composition so well liked on the peninsula, namely, 'Sound Sound Your Instruments of Joy'. And these Moonta men did sing, and only those who have heard them sing the carols realize the beauty of the melody. The train rolled merrily on to the strains of 'Let All Adore', 'Calm On the Listening Ear', and other numbers of the famous Moonta composer.³

Further, a four-day 'Back to Moonta' celebration of 1927 aimed specifically to attract ex-residents back to the district for events such as a civic reception, pageants, football

² Payton, *Making Moonta*, p. 187.

³ 'Christmas in Copper Towns: A Big Homecoming', *The Register*, 31/12/1923, p. 9.

games, and even a 'Peeps Into The Past' competition. The nostalgic element of the event was evident, with one newspaper report declaring that 'the glories of the town will never be effaced from their [ex-residents] memories'.⁴ However, the pragmatic impetus of this event was also clear; the organisers aimed to capitalise on the strength of enduring socio-cultural connections to help fund the regeneration and improvement of the area. Indeed, the same report indicated that: 'The object of the movement is to raise money to provide improvements at Moonta Bay, which is the pleasure resort of the town and its surrounding districts, and a favourite holiday centre for people from Broken Hill and distant parts of this State'.⁵

If the impact of the First World War on the town was somewhat masked by the increased demand for copper, I suggest that the Second World War had a far greater overall effect on the carol traditions in the Copper Triangle.⁶ While the annual concerts persisted until 1940, blackout restrictions passed by the Australian government in 1941 prevented outside lighting and night-time outside gatherings. This was noted with disappointment in the local newspapers, since the regulations 'debarred the long night of shopping on Xmas Eve, a feature of Christmas'.⁷ In Moonta this had an immediate impact on the carol tradition, with the local newspaper reporting 'the annual Xmas concert at Victoria Park, which is a time-honoured event and was almost invariably well patronised, had to be abandoned for the same reason'.⁸ This effective prevention of outdoor gatherings was to the significant detriment of the carol tradition, since the Victoria Park rotunda itself fell into disuse and disrepair over the course of the war. Following the conclusion of the war in 1945, the rotunda

⁴ 'Back To Moonta: Big Movement Launched', *News*, 30/6/1917, p. 12.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁶ Payton, *Making Moonta*, p. 193.

⁷ 'Holiday Notes', *The People's Weekly*, 10/1/1942, p. 3.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

concerts could not be reinstated as a result of ‘its dilapidated state due to vandalism and to the difficulty in obtaining necessary materials’.⁹ Further, certain elements of the war-time regulations continued for many years after the war ended. For example, it was not until 1953 that shop owners in the district were permitted to open late on Christmas Eve, prompting reminiscences of Christmases past at Moonta:

[...] the present generation of children have never witnessed the shops and streets of Moonta packed with a moving mass of people, and it will certainly be an eye-opener to them. Going back, say, some 20 years, one can visualise the old town on Xmas Eve night, when the trams were running and carol singing was heard in the streets.¹⁰

The tradition’s hiatus would appear to have been keenly felt by the community, and in 1945 an advert appeared in the paper to advertise a carol concert (see Figure 9.1). Due to the poor state of the Victoria Park rotunda, the carol concert was organised in Queen’s Square, in the centre of Moonta.

⁹ ‘Christmas’, *The People’s Weekly*, 28/12/1946, p. 3.

¹⁰ ‘Shops to Open Xmas Eve’, *The People’s Weekly*, 18/12/1953, p. 3.

TOWN OF MOONTA.
QUEEN'S SQUARE,
Xmas Night CONCERT
December 25, 1945,
 at 8 p.m.

To celebrate the conclusion of the War, it has been decided to resuscitate the old custom of Christmas Carols, under the leadership of Mr Blair Cadd. Great interest is being evinced by the Combined Choirs of the town and district. All Singers and Instrumentalists invited to attend. Leading Vocalists are included on the program. Collection for Park Funds.

A. P. SNELL, Mayor.
 T. C. PRISK, Town Clerk.

Figure 9.1: Advert for carol concert, 1945¹¹

However, carol singing and concerts were now in competition with new forms of entertainment; cinema and dance parties began to draw attendees, as reported by *The People's Weekly*: 'those concerned in a revival of the old custom are to be commended in their efforts, the concert being well attended (in view of counter attractions)'.¹² However, despite this initial enthusiasm, the revival efforts faltered in the following year, with no public concert, a failed attempt to engage the Moonta Harmony Choir to visit from Adelaide, and the efforts of the Salvation Army to perpetuate the house-visiting carol singing custom being thwarted by rain.¹³ It is at this point that Oswald Pryor, as discussed in Chapter 7, noted with shock the lack of carol performance in Moonta and began to develop his conception of Moonta's carolling history as the precursor of the broader 'Carols by Candlelight' tradition.

¹¹ Advertising, *The People's Weekly*, 22/12/1945, p. 3.

¹² 'Christmas Night Concert', *The People's Weekly*, 5/1/1946, p. 3.

¹³ 'Christmas', *The People's Weekly*, 28/12/1946, p. 3.

However, the following year the Queen's Square concert was organised, which 'revived memories of when the Xmas night concerts, some years ago, were so popular with the general public'.¹⁴ In 1948 the newly renamed Cornish Carol Choir were successfully invited to the district for the first time to perform in the Kadina Town Hall and the Moonta Methodist church, indicating that the group were 'desirous of making the visit an annual one'.¹⁵

By 1949 the Queen's Square concerts appeared to be healthily established, and included many carols which, from the titles, were likely to have been drawn from *The Christmas Welcome*:

'Joy To The World, The Lord Is Come', 'Awake, Arise, Rejoice and Sing',
'Calm On The Listening Ear of Night', 'It Came Upon The Midnight
Clear', 'O Come, All Ye Faithful', 'To Us A Child Of Royal Birth',
'Mortals Awake, Why Slumber So?', 'Hark! The Herald Angels Sing',
'High Let Us Swell Our Tuneful Notes', 'While Shepherds Watched Their
Flocks By Night', 'The First Nowell', 'While Choirs of Angels In The
Sky', and 'Hark What Mean Those Holy Voices'.¹⁶

However, over the following decades the Cornish repertoire appears to have slowly declined in prominence (at least in Moonta). While the concerts themselves were well patronised, newspaper reports from this time appear to show that the repertoire performed at these concerts gradually began to shift from Cornish carols to more commonplace Christmas repertoire. For example, in 1965, of the following carols

¹⁴ 'Christmas Concert', *The People's Weekly*, 27/12/1947, p. 2.

¹⁵ 'Visit of Cornish Carol Choir', *The People's Weekly*, 18/12/1948, p. 2.

¹⁶ 'Carols Under Coloured Lights', *The People's Weekly*, 7/1/1950, p. 2.

mentioned, 'The Newborn King' is the only carol which may reliably be attributed to the locally produced carol books:

Under ideal weather conditions, [...] hundreds of people listened to Christmas Carols rendered from the steps of Queen Square on Sunday evening [...] The large organised choir sang 'Joy To The World, The Lord Is Come', 'Hark! The Herald Angels Sing', 'I Saw Three Ships', 'O Come All Ye Faithful', 'The Newborn King' and 'Clean As The Wind'.¹⁷

It is important to restate this period of decline coincided with Pryor's promotion of the Cornish carols as the progenitor of this national custom the 'Cousin Jack' cartoons and stories discussed in Chapter 7.

During this time the Cornish Carol Choir continued to visit from Adelaide, performing repertoire composed and published by the Copper Triangle composers. However, despite their popularity the repertoire did not attract full attendance at their concerts; in 1952 for example, a reporter noted that: 'One would have thought, considering all the churches of the circuit were closed for the occasion, that the Mines church would have been filled [...] Such was not the case'.¹⁸ Further, it seems that the reception of the carols began to shift from an element of worship or religious celebration into more of a performance; for instance, in 1955 a local reporter noted of the Choir's concert that: 'For the first time since the choir has been visiting Moonta the audience showed its appreciation with mild hand-clapping'.¹⁹ The choir continued its visits to Moonta during the mid-twentieth century, although they were not involved

¹⁷ 'Hundreds Listen to Carols', *The People's Weekly*, 23/12/1965, p. 1.

¹⁸ 'Cornish Carol Choir Again Visits Moonta', *The People's Weekly*, 19/12/1952, p. 2.

¹⁹ 'Annual Visit', *The People's Weekly*, 16/12/1955, p. 3.

with events such as Moonta's centenary celebrations, and actively avoided clashing with the Moonta Mines Methodist Church centenary.²⁰ Neither does the choir appear to have been part of the first Kernewek Lowender festival of local and Cornish history, culture and heritage in 1973.

From the early twentieth century then several factors were at play in the gradual decline of the carolling tradition in the Copper Triangle; predominantly the socio-cultural shifts resulting from deindustrialization, significant outward migration and the ongoing impact of wartime restrictions. Additionally, although more difficult to ascertain, is the effect of an increasingly secularised society and drop in church attendance, which meant that the familiarity with part-singing required for the performance of Cornish carols became less common. The locally composed repertoire and house-visiting customs gradually faded from the musical landscape of the Copper Triangle, even though ongoing visits from the Cornish Carol Choir indicated that the repertoire was recognised as part of the area's cultural legacy. This decline evidenced a nuanced shift from a widespread custom practiced by the broader community towards a specific repertoire performed in semi-staged settings by particular groups; an apt foreshadowing of the contemporary performance of these carols in Moonta.

9.2: Ethnography: 'Carols in the Square' and the 'Miners' Re-enactment'

Against this backdrop of gradual decline, and the narratives espoused by Pryor discussed in Chapter 7, the 'Miners' Re-enactment' presents a fascinating performance of contemporary perspectives of Moonta's history. I first became aware

²⁰ Advertising, *The People's Weekly*, 28/4/1961, p. 2; 'Cornish Carol Choir', *The People's Weekly*, 9/12/1965, p. 1.

of the re-enactment during my initial visit to the Copper Coast, which took place from May-June 2015 to coincide with Kernewek Lowender. Originally held over a bank holiday weekend but since moved to a different date, the festival focuses on the area's Cornish heritage and was initially conceived as a means of generating tourist revenue in the area in 1972.²¹ While I discuss this festival in the final section of this chapter, during this initial research visit I was informed that a re-enactment of Cornish miners singing carols had recently been incorporated into Moonta's annual Christmas pageant and carol evening. I discussed this with one of the organisers, Graham Sobey (GS):

GS: Paul Thomas [the Mayor of the Copper Coast district] and I were talking about the Christmas concerts, and we were talking about – I said we call it 'Carols in the Park' because I believe we're not allowed to call it 'Carols by Candlelight', and he said he believed that a Melbourne – someone in Melbourne registered the name 'Carols By Candlelight', and sort of - so you're not meant to ...

KN: Oh, like a trademark?

GS: Yeah like a trademark – and he said if I were you, I would ignore that, because 'Carols By Candlelight' started in Moonta, the miners at Christmas time coming home from work, would stand on the corners and sing carols – or 'curls' as they called them in those days – with their candles on their helmets, and he said really, 'Carols By Candlelight' started in Moonta. You should do something about that, you should do a

²¹ 'N. Y. P. Cornish Festival Committee Minutes, 1972', Kernewek Lowender website [Available at: <http://www.kernewek.org/images/NYP%20CORNISH%20FESTIVAL%20MEETINGS.pdf> Accessed: 2/11/2018 16:45]

re-enactment or use it as a theme for your Christmas concert and make use of that, because that is genuinely where it started.²²

Through my fieldwork in May and June 2015, I made contact with two of the singers at this event, Gordon Woods (GW) and Trevor Bowden (TB). In the intervening months, Trevor contacted me to let me know that the group were going to learn three Cornish carols to perform at the re-enactment in December 2015. The carols they had chosen to learn were ‘Calm On The Listening Ear Of Night’ and ‘While Shepherds’, composed and arranged respectively by Moonta composer John Henry Thomas, and they also intended to (although eventually did not) perform ‘Come and Worship’ by Joseph Glasson. I had already planned to visit Moonta to observe the event because the performance of miners singing carols – whether Cornish or not – was in itself pertinent to my focus on carol singing and the performance of Cornish heritage. As such, the information that Cornish carols would be included in the 2015 celebration was welcome and intriguing.

It must be noted here that while other Christmas events occurred at each of the three towns in the Copper Triangle district during my visit, ‘Carols in the Square’ and the ‘Miners’ Re-enactment’ are overt references to Cornish carol heritage, and for that reason, merit the focused analysis I give in this chapter. However, it is important to note that this re-enactment is not the only occasion at which Cornish carols were performed in South Australia during this research visit. On the same day as the ‘Carols in the Square’ event, I also attended a church service in the town’s Uniting Church at which a group of singers performed Cornish carols as a special item within a service. This group was linked with the ‘Miners’ Re-enactment’, featuring five of

²² Graham Sobey, Interview, 16/5/2017.

the same singers, and featuring the same carols. Introducing their segment, Anita Woods stated that they were going to sing ‘Calm On The Listening Ear of Night’ and ‘While Shepherds’ (respectively composed and arranged by John Henry Thomas). Anita stated that ‘it’s a few years since we’ve done that’, and that their repertoire was chosen since ‘he was the Moonta Cornish carol man’.²³ Interestingly, these items in the service were applauded, whereas the other hymns were not.²⁴ Further, the programme of the CASA’s Christmas concert in Adelaide also featured a set of Cornish carols performed by the Association’s choir.²⁵ However, due to its overtly staged nature, I choose to focus my analysis on the ‘Miners’ Re-enactment’ in order to more fully draw out the issues of heritage and representation evident in this performance. However, for reasons that will become apparent, my engagement with the ‘Miners’ Re-enactment’ in Moonta differed significantly from my interaction with the Grass Valley Carol Choir in that I was an observer only, rather than being able to engage as a participant.

I arrived in Moonta on the 4th of December, and during the first few days of my visit, my host had informed me that the carollers would have a final rehearsal in the Moonta Church on Friday the 11th of December before their performance. At the conclusion of a local business meeting which was attended by members of the group, I asked Trevor Bowden if I would be able to attend and record their rehearsal and talk to the singers about the re-enactment, to which he agreed. I arrived at the church at 7.30 and met the group of singers, most of whom were drawn from the Uniting Church’s congregation. There were seven men (one of the tenor singers was absent), and two women present:

²³ Anita Woods, Uniting Church Service, 13/12/2015. Video.

²⁴ Again, this reflects the carols as a performance, rather than as a normal part of worship or traditional practice.

²⁵ Unfortunately, this concert was scheduled simultaneously with ‘Carols in the Square’, and as such I was unable to attend both.

Gordon's wife Anita, and Coralyn Jones, the group's accompanist. Through their discussion I became aware that the group had decided to cut 'Come and Worship' from their programme, instead only performing the two carols by Thomas. Each singer had a photocopy of the carols taken from *The Christmas Welcome*, from which they were reading during the rehearsal. My host and local historian, Liz Coole, had given this to them. The choir spent 20 minutes rehearsing with the accompanist, with Gordon taking charge of the rehearsal and directing the group. They sang through each carol once in its entirety, then broke down and worked on individual parts with Coralyn. Gordon would periodically break away from the baritone part in order to sing alongside the alto or soprano parts to ensure that the different sections were following their line correctly. Gordon closed the rehearsal by suggesting how the group could dress themselves appropriately for the re-enactment, and I was able to ask the group a few questions about the re-enactment.



Plate 9.1: The final rehearsal in Moonta Uniting Church, 11th of December 2015

This was an extremely interesting rehearsal, and I was impressed that the group had taken on the task of learning Cornish carols for the performance. I enquired why they had chosen to learn new repertoire for the performance, and Trevor Bowden replied ‘we’ve sung carols before, and – just your normal sort of carols if there’s such a thing, but it was suggested by, I don’t know, probably one of our committee, I’m on the committee that organises the pageant, the markets in the square, the carol singing’.²⁶ While I return to this point in my next segment, my questioning revealed that the repertoire itself – the Cornish carols – was still fairly unfamiliar to some of the singers:

GW: [...] the old church choirs, particularly you know, here and other places, they sang these regularly but until about twenty years ago, they just ran out of steam.

Unknown: Well I’ve never heard them sung.

GW: No, there’s a lot of people here haven’t.²⁷

Further, although the choir had rehearsed several times to learn the music, some of the performers were unused to the practice of singing in parts. When I queried this, Craig Woodward, one of the basses, responded: ‘Trevor and I have done part singing on previous occasions when we’ve been– these other fellows, they’re learning!’. Gordon also noted that ‘Well of course, they’re not written for a men’s quartet really, so we’re making do’.²⁸ Gordon and Anita were familiar with their parts since both had sung the material before (for example, at the church service earlier in the day), and Craig

²⁶ Trevor Bowden, Interview with singing group, 11/12/2015.

²⁷ Gordon Woods (GW) and unidentified voice, Interview with singing group, 11/12/2015.

²⁸ Gordon Woods, Interview with singing group, 11/12/2015.

Woodward was a practised singer who sang with other choirs and therefore sounded confident with the material. As the rehearsal continued, it became clear that the men singing the upper parts were less secure than the lower voices. As a result of this, after a short discussion the group decided that Anita would stand behind the singers during the concert to support and guide the men singing the soprano line. During the rehearsal the accompanist noted that Anita's voice was not prominent to her ear; this was described as a good thing, in that while Anita could support the male voices singing the soprano line, her female voice would not be noticeable during the performance itself.

The performance itself occurred two days later. I arrived in Moonta at around 17.30 to find a good location from which to watch the pageant, which came down from the main road towards Queen Square, which was set up for 'Carols in the Square'. Eventually I found a spot outside the town hall to take video and observe. The streets were very busy and Liz and Paul (my hosts in Moonta) said that many people would move into Queen Square to find a seat for the carols once the pageant was over. The pageant featured floats from a mixture of schools, clubs, businesses and community groups, many of which were decked out in Christmas decorations. The top end of the park was filled with food stands and stalls selling merchandise and holiday gifts. There was a large open area so as to have room for people to sit or set up their picnic spots in front of the stage. Between the end of the pageant and the start of the carols at 19.30 there was a small musical entertainment for the young children, after which a number of young families went home. However, a large number of individuals, groups and families stayed for the music and community singing.



Plate 9.2: ‘Carols By Candlelight’, Queen Square Moonta, 13th of December 2015

The stage itself was an open semi-trailer set up adjacent to the park’s rotunda, which was where the KWM band had set up. The Moonta Uniting Church choir were seated in a bank of chairs in front of the stage, and were equipped with microphones in order to lead the community singing items. The stage contained a large mural depicting Cornish miners singing by candlelight as a backdrop, with a model of a winding engine placed in the centre of the stage. There was also a large board painted with ‘Carols by Candlelight’ and a large mural of two miners placed up against the stage. The amplification for the proceedings was provided by the Russack family business in Kadina. They provide the same services for a number of events at Kernewek Lowender, and gave me a line out for my audio recorder. Their audio desk was set up between the stage and the rotunda.



Plate 9.3: The ‘Miners’ Re-enactment’, Moonta, 13th of December 2015²⁹

The following excerpt from my daily journal gives an overview of the event:

I had originally set up my camera further back from the stage; however, as more room became available I could see that there would be room to set up directly in front of the stage but behind a tree so that I wouldn’t obscure the view of the audience. The KWM band (the Kadina Wallaroo and Moonta brass band) played carols and other Christmas music while we waited for the programme to start. The event was compered by two local women and was opened with a Christmas message from Mayor Paul Thomas. I was very surprised at his opening, which referenced me and my research! He said:

It’s great to be back in Moonta for our Christmas festivities and we probably don’t realise how important this is as part of our traditions of Christmas. It was during Kernewek Lowender that I was talking to a young

²⁹ Left to right: Craig Woodward, Geoff Bishop (basses), Gordon Woods (tenor), Trevor Bowden, Andrew Gardiner, Peter Joyce (altos), Anita Woods, Brian Cross, Malcolm Coleman (sopranos).

lady who was here from the United Kingdom doing some researching on carolling or Cornish songs, and I was talking to her about the traditions that we had here in the Copper Coast about Christmas, and particularly the part of the Christmas carolling in the mines that we'll see re-enacted later on. And it was great last Friday to find out that Kate came back to Australia to be part of our Christmas traditions so welcome back to Australia Kate, as we celebrate Christmas.

The programme got then got underway, with numbers from local schools and young performers interspersed with opportunities for community singing of well-known Christmas carols. Programmes were available with the words so that the attendees could join in with the community carols singing, which was led by the Uniting Church Choir and supported by the KWM Band. There was also a Christmas message from the Rev. McDougall of the local Anglican church.

The re-enactment was in the middle of the programme, and although the group only sang two carols, they provided a marked contrast to the other musical materials in the programme. The re-enactment was treated as an item, rather than as part of the community singing, and as such words were not provided in the programme for the audience to be able to join in. The group of miners (and Cousin Jenny!) were welcomed on stage by the comperes who talked about how 'Carols by Candlelight' had originated in Moonta during the 19th century. The group had dressed up in costume for the event, and wore shirts and waistcoats, jeans or working trousers and bowyangs.³⁰ The most obvious items of 'mining' attire were the bowler hats with small LED tea-light candles fixed to the front to approximate the 'fatjack' tallow

³⁰ Bowyangs are pieces of string, cord or leather tied around the leg above the calf muscle at the knee, although these are more commonly associated with agricultural workers than miners.

candles used by miners during the 19th century. Anita, as a 'Cousin Jenny', was wearing a long black skirt, shirt and shawl, and a bonnet. Gordon then gave a brief explanation of the text of 'Calm On The Listening Ear Of Night', since it might not be very obvious to an audience who had not heard it before. From an audience perspective, the keyboard was very loud and was on the verge of overpowering the singers – I was glad that I had the actual line in from Russack's audio desk. Unfortunately Brian, Malcolm and Anita did not have a microphone near them and were very faint. While the group tended to be slightly behind tempo and on occasions were not all together, they were well received with applause and thanks by the comperes. When they came off stage I ran round the back to the trailer to see if I could get a photograph of them in their miners' costumes, but many of them had already take the waistcoats and caps off. As the group exited the stage, compere Kaye Darling applauded the group, stating:

Can't you just picture, I can just picture them, just coming up from the pits of the mine, all coming up in, what, copper dust and whatever, singing as they're marching on their way home, that was absolutely beautiful, thank you fellows.³¹

The programme then continued for another thirty minutes, with more items from young individuals and groups, and further opportunities for community singing. One Australian Christmas carol was included, titled 'Welcome Christmas Morning', with lyrics by John Wheeler and music by William James. The event closed at around 21.00 with community singing of 'We Wish You A Merry Christmas', when all the performers came onto the stage to sing together. As the comperes thanked the

³¹ 'Carols in the Square', 13/12/2015.

performers and their sponsors and the KWM Band played Christmas music, the audience dispersed.

9.3: Reflection: Re-enacting Tradition, Restating Heritage

Although the re-enactment of ‘Carols by Candlelight’ was a relatively small part of the broader ‘Carols in the Square’ programme, it was an extremely significant moment for the tradition of Cornish carols in Moonta. I immediately noticed that the presentation of the carols closely reflected – and even directly quoted – the work of Oswald Pryor. In their introduction to the miners’ re-enactment, Sonia Kisliecki, one of the comperes, gave a brief history of carolling in Moonta, and restated the position that the ‘Carols by Candlelight’ tradition originated in Moonta. She stated:

The origins of ‘Carols by Candlelight’ can be traced back to about 1865 in Moonta when Cornish miners sang carols by the light of candles which were attached to their mining hard hats. Miners working the Christmas Eve shift would gather on the loading platforms to sing carols, and the mine captains would tend to ignore the fact that they were singing carols rather than working. The tradition of carol singing was at its best when concerts were held at the rotunda in Victoria Park. These concerts continued for about thirty years without a break. When the mines closed, the concerts were no longer held, but the carol singing continued. In 1927 the Moonta Harmony Choir was formed in Adelaide, its object being to perpetuate the happy celebration of Christmas by singing of carols.³²

³² Sonia Kisliecki, compere, ‘Carols in the Square’, 13/12/2015.

Certain sentences of this passage are drawn directly from Pryor's *Australia's Little Cornwall*. However, as previously discussed, there are several historical inaccuracies evident within this passage which indicate the extent to which the history of the carols in Moonta has been re-mythologised.

I consider that a central symbol of the past here is the choice of repertoire itself. As noted above, the group had performed what Trevor called 'conventional' carols in the previous two years. However, the suggestion that the group perform local Cornish carols in 2015 appears to have been taken up with enthusiasm. During the rehearsal I had asked how the group had chosen two Thomas carols from those available in *The Christmas Welcome* and other available Cornish carol resources. There were a variety of responses; while I suggested that it might have been due to his legacy as a Moonta composer, Craig responded 'trial and error', while Anita mentioned that his carols are 'a bit easier to sing', and as such were perhaps less problematic for the less experienced singers.³³ I also suggest that Pryor's focus on Thomas, and since then, his recognition in the Moonta National Trust Museum, would lead his name and work to be not only the most familiar of the Copper Triangle's carol composers, but most closely related and aligned with existing narratives of the carols as heritage in Moonta.

Here then, the choice of repertoire as symbolic of the past reflects a concern with an authentic performance, utilising local musical material that was historically sung in the area. Within the group there certainly appeared to be a consciousness that performing Cornish carols, rather than 'conventional' Christmas repertoire, would be

³³ Anita Woods, Interview with singing group, 11/12/2015.

more representative of the tradition that they were re-enacting. Trevor articulated this when I asked about the genesis of the re-enactment:

[...] we thought: we're going to do the re-enactment of 'Carols by Candlelight', that's what we say is the origin of 'Carols by Candlelight', was the miners coming out of the mine and singing by the light of their hard hats, so that's why we try and be a little bit more authentic I suppose, and learn some Cornish carols.³⁴

This notion of authenticity was also conveyed in Gordon's introduction to the audience during the performance itself, when he stated 'this is our third year of attempting this re-enactment, and it's the first time we've tried a couple of genuine Cornish carols, so we hope that you really enjoy them'.³⁵ The group's choice of repertoire in 2015 therefore celebrated the carols as part of a distinctive local heritage, and despite the challenges the material presented, the group were keen to perform the repertoire as part of the re-enactment.

However, it is intriguing that this notion of the Cornish carol repertoire as musical authenticity, prioritised for the first time in 2015, was less of an immediate concern for the performers than the other symbols of the past evident in their performance. Indeed, it appeared that the central theme and symbol of the past, within the re-enactment was the presentation of the miners themselves – regardless of what they were actually singing. Here, the re-enactment conforms very closely to Pryor's conception of 'Carols by Candlelight', discussed in Chapter 7. As shown in Plate 9.4, they wear an approximation of miners' dress; shirts and waistcoats, long trousers and

³⁴ Trevor Bowden, Interview with singing group, 11/12/2015.

³⁵ Gordon Woods, Carols By Candlelight, 13/12/2015.

bowyangs, and hats. Although intended to represent miners' helmets, the performers are actually wearing bowler style hats, with LED candles fixed above the brow in order to represent miners' candles. Here, the performance avoids any suggestion of the middle-class elements of Moonta's carolling history such as the musical societies, church and competing choirs discussed in previous chapters; instead their portrayal firmly associates the tradition with working men.

Again, my interviews with the performers and organisers indicated that the authenticity of the costuming was a focus for the group. I discussed this with Graham, one of the organisers of 'Carols in the Square'. In the first performance in 2013, he stated that the group attempted to use real candles on their helmets, but this was problematic in that 'we had so much trouble with the wind that they all blew out, so now we've got little electronic ones'.³⁶ Our conversation indicated how important certain elements were in the re-enactment:

KN: So the dressing part of it is really key to it?

GS: Yeah I think so, and also singing without accompaniment – that would have been what they did originally, sing without accompaniment.

KN: Because I think they had a piano with them, when I came before –

GS: Well not walking – oh you mean at the concert? Yeah probably – but we need – we decided that they wouldn't have had an accompaniment,

³⁶ Graham Sobey, Interview, 16/05/2017.

because the miners wouldn't have had, in those days, try to keep it original.³⁷

An incident from a previous year's re-enactment further revealed the importance of maintaining a consistent aesthetic to the organisers. Graham related how a member of the brass band that was also performing at the event joined the re-enactment on the spur of the moment:

[...] he walked over and stood with them with his band uniform on, they said no – afterwards they said no, that's not right, it doesn't work – he's got to – they've got to be miners, they've got to be small men that look like miners, and dress them as miners, with the helmets on.³⁸

In this sense, the disruption caused by the singer's band uniform destabilised the overall aesthetic the group were cultivating. However, this authenticity appears to have some room for flexibility and manoeuvre; from my own perspective, the costumes appeared to be designed to give the 'look and feel' of miners, rather than utilising actual historical work gear or equipment.

For the singing group then, the representation of class – a specific socio-cultural identity – in this re-enactment was prioritised above the performance of the musical materials. However, here, class is inextricably interlinked with gender. The focus on the depicting miners singing carols by candlelight on their way home from their shifts results in the past being symbolised as almost exclusively male. Further, as with the performance of class, the performance of gender was prioritised over the musical

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

material itself. As noted above, the carols are written in a standard SATB setting, meaning that the upper parts were not in the range of male singers. The group were aware of this difficulty, with Gordon stating: ‘Well of course, they’re not written for a men’s quartet really, so we’re making do’.³⁹ Due to the difficulty of reaching the melody line, it was necessary to have a female voice supporting the singers. During the performance itself, Gordon explained Anita’s presence by stating that ‘our music teacher has decided that we need a bit of help, so our music teacher, a cousin Jenny, is going to stand behind us and give us a hand’.⁴⁰ As shown in Plate 9.3, Anita is hardly visible behind the miners, although she is accommodated within the performance by also wearing a costume: a bonnet, long skirt and shawl. In this way, despite the presence of a woman on stage, the group maintained the bounded authenticity of the performance.⁴¹

This is not to imply that the comperes, singers or organisers of the re-enactment have acted misleadingly in claiming the ‘Carols by Candlelight’ originated in Moonta and performing the re-enactment as such. Rather, I suggest that reliance on Pryor as a trusted source has resulted in a construction of the carolling tradition in Moonta that diverges from the performance practices that were recorded at the time. However, there does appear to be a local consciousness and acknowledgement that this reconstruction, or reorientation has taken place, as was implied by Trevor Bowden after the rehearsal in the Uniting Church: ‘it’s what *we* say is the origin of “Carols by Candlelight”’ (my emphasis).⁴² Here then, it appears that both versions of the tradition’s history may be accepted simultaneously, regardless of whether Cornish

³⁹ Gordon Woods, Interview with singing group, 11/12/2015.

⁴⁰ Gordon Woods, ‘Carols in the Square’, 13/12/2015.

⁴¹ Her costume, as I discuss in the final segment of this chapter, is very similar to what is worn by many residents during Kernewek Lowender, the district’s biennial Cornish festival.

⁴² Trevor Bowden, Interview with singing group, 11/12/2015.

carols at Moonta actually had any impact on the subsequent event initiated in Melbourne by Banks.

Following MacKinnon, the miners' re-enactment is a performance of the past that operates within a tightly bounded authenticity, taking particular symbolic attributes such as the repertoire, class and gender, and utilising them to portray particular socio-historic narratives. However, my interpretation indicates that the performers are not performing or entering the past in an objective sense as supported by my research into the carol traditions' local history. Rather, the performers are entering a particular past: a highly localised narrative of heritage that closely conforms to Pryor's narrative regarding the origins of Carols By Candlelight (see Chapter 6). Here, to answer MacKinnon's question: 'How are the symbols of the past articulated and what do they celebrate?', I suggest the transformations of class, gender and repertoire that I observed indicate that the specific, and arguably remythologised history of 'Carols By Candlelight' developed by Pryor as 'the undisputed arbiter of the life and times of Australia's Little Cornwall' has formed the basis for the re-enactment.⁴³ This sentiment was echoed by many individuals – both performers and non-performers – that I spoke to during my fieldwork visits. For example, Anita Woods, the female singer stated that 'one of the reasons that they instigated this is that Moonta was probably the first place in Australia that had carols by candlelight, by the miners' candles – so they like to sort of make that point when they sing'.⁴⁴

While there is a concern with authenticity on the part of the performers then, I argue that this authenticity is linked to a particular narrative of the carolling tradition;

⁴³ Payton, *Making Moonta*, p. 198.

⁴⁴ Anita Woods, Interview, 12/5/2017

namely, that of Oswald Pryor. Here then, Ronström's formulation that heritage produces open spaces, whereas tradition engenders closed spaces, would not appear to be reflected in the miner's re-enactment. Although clearly a celebration of heritage, I argue that the re-enactment in fact constructs a very 'closed' space. First, and notwithstanding the inclusion of one female performer out of pragmatic necessity rather than artistic choice, the restriction of performers to men significantly limits overall participation in the re-enactment. Second, the act of costuming the performers that do appear on stage presents a version of the tradition's history that overlooks the significantly diverse contexts and arenas within which locally composed Cornish carol repertoire was performed. Here then, Ronström's notion that heritage is a 'rather vague, stretched out "past"' does not ring true in this analysis; if anything, the re-enactment performs a highly specific version of the past that actively precludes unsolicited participation.⁴⁵ A counter-argument to this point might be that it is the narrative, the presentation of the past itself, that is being restricted, rather than the ability to participate. Indeed, the performers do not all have Cornish heritage; they are not necessarily all from Moonta, or even the Copper Triangle district. However, I would argue that even taking this alternative view into account, the prioritisation of the particular heritage narrative developed by Pryor unavoidably restricts the involvement of community members. In this sense then, not 'anyone' can move into this heritage space.

I argue that the 'Miners' Re-enactment' articulates and celebrates a particular conception of a distinctive local heritage. Several processes of transformation have taken place, since the performance practices of the 'Miners' Re-enactment' differ

⁴⁵ Ronström, 'Traditional Music, Heritage Music', p. 56.

significantly from the historic practices associated with carolling in the Copper Triangle in the past. The re-enactment celebrates a particularly male, working class version of carol heritage through musical performance. Indeed, immediately after the re-enactment, I walked to the performers to congratulate them, and asked if they thought they would ever open the re-enactment up to women, to which Gordon responded: ‘Well, were there ever any women miners?’⁴⁶ Indeed, while some work has gone into recognising the position of women in the area, mining is regarded as a male profession, with no place for women in the mines.⁴⁷ This reorientation of gender contrasts with that which I observed in Grass Valley, and would therefore present an ideal locus for a targeted exploration of the intersection of gender and heritage (see my Section conclusions for further discussion).

In light of these transformations, the ‘Miners’ Re-enactment’ confirms Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s position that heritage ‘produces something new in the present that has recourse to the past’.⁴⁸ However, while the transformations I observed arguably present a new incarnation of Moonta’s Cornish carol tradition, I consider that the group are not intentionally innovating; despite the new elements arising as a result of transformations from the historic practice I have discussed, in their re-enactment they are not intending to produce something new or encourage creativity. Rather, they are performing a particular narrative or snapshot of Moonta’s history. I now turn to the extent to which that snapshot is visible, and how it is oriented within broader contemporary narratives of heritage in Moonta.

⁴⁶ Gordon Woods, ‘Carols in the Square’, 13/12/2015.

⁴⁷ Histories of particular women, such as Kate Cocks (Australia’s first policewoman) and Elizabeth Woolcock (the only woman hung in South Australia) are common, and the domestic lives of ‘Cousin Jennies’ are treated by Payton in *Making Moonta*, p. 137.

⁴⁸ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, ‘Theorizing Heritage’, p. 369.

9.4: Carols and Cornish Heritage in the Copper Triangle

While the ‘Miners’ Re-enactment’ indicates a nascent re-emergence of the carols as a feature of Cornish heritage in the Copper Triangle district, the carols do not appear to figure heavily in existing promotion of Cornish heritage in the area, even though that heritage has been recognised and leveraged for several decades. The Copper Triangle’s mining heritage is an important strand in the district’s economy, attracting tourists from state, national and international destinations. In 1964 a branch of the National Trust at Moonta was established ‘to preserve the local mining history, buildings and artifacts and to conserve the heritage listed Moonta Mines area for future generations’.⁴⁹ In 1984, an area of the Moonta mining district (as opposed to the official township) was recognised as a State Heritage site, referencing six properties for foci of preservation: the Hughes pumphouse and chimney, the former Moonta railway station (now tourism office), the Moonta Mines Uniting Church, fence and Sunday School building, Moonta Mines Model Sunday School site, the miner’s cottage and fence, and the former Moonta Mines Model School (now the National Trust Museum).⁵⁰

However, socio-cultural elements of the district’s history are also preserved in the three National Trust museums of the Copper Triangle towns, each of which has an exhibit relating to the musical heritage of the area. Since the Kadina and Wallaroo museums focus on the predominantly maritime and farming history of each town respectively, their displays regarding music are relatively small and consist mainly of

⁴⁹ ‘About Us’, Moonta National Trust website [Available at: <http://www.moontatourism.org.au/about-us> Accessed: 6/11/2017 17:19]

⁵⁰ ‘Moonta Mines State Heritage Area’, Government of South Australia website [Available at: http://www.environment.sa.gov.au/our-places/heritage/visiting-heritage-places/state-heritage-areas/Moonta_Mines Accessed: 7/11/2017 10:05]

donated brass instruments, band memorabilia and various pieces of sheet music. While the National Trust Museum at Moonta Mines focuses on the town's mining heritage, the museum also 'houses thematic displays on the Cornish miners' lifestyles'.⁵¹ Within this, music is an important feature, and while references to music were available in various displays at the museum, the 'Sports and Pastimes' room focuses most heavily on the town's musical cultures. The central display focused on the prominence of brass bands in the local area, featuring several different artefacts that included musical instruments, photographs, and a band uniform.

However, there is no dedicated display regarding either the practices or musical materials of the carols. Plate 9.4 shows two published collections of Cornish carols *The Christmas Welcome* and *A Collection of Cornish Carols* displayed in a case alongside a range of musical instruments and other ephemera. While the titles of the publications obviously indicate the connection with Cornwall, there is no contextualising information to explain either the relevance of these musical materials to the area, or the link with Cornwall and its traditions.

⁵¹ 'Moonta Mines Museum', Moonta National Trust website [Available at: <http://www.moontatourism.org.au/attractions/moonta-mines-museum> Accessed: 24/9/2015 17:36]



Plate 9.4: Display of Cornish carol books and musical artefacts⁵²

However, relevant information may be found in another display, titled ‘Calm On The Listening Ear Of Night’, which to a great extent focuses on carol composer John Henry Thomas. The display shows two sketches by Oswald Pryor, including an original sketch of Thomas conducting from a music stand (on the right), the accompanying information card states that Thomas was ‘the most famous musical personality produced by Moonta. Among his many musical achievements was his leadership of the Moonta Orchestra and the Military Band. He was also a composer, his “Calm On The Listening Ear Of Night” being something of a classic. Many of his compositions were published in *The Christmas Welcome*’. Here, the display material echoes the essentialist rhetoric of Bonython and Pryor, asserting that ‘music was part of the Cornish tradition that lived on for many years in Moonta’.⁵³

⁵² This display is in the ‘Sport and Pastimes’ room, and features a conductor’s baton, tuning fork, mouth organ, music stand clip, and flute.

⁵³ Information card on the ‘Calm On The Listening Ear Of Night’ display, National Trust Museum, Moonta.



Plate 9.5: 'Calm On The Listening Ear' display

While the opportunity to demonstrate a clear link between Cornwall and Thomas's compositions is missed, this display also houses the clearest evidence of the transfer of music from Cornwall to the Copper Triangle in the form of Matthias Deacon Abbott's manuscript book of Christmas carols (see Chapter 5) and several musical instruments. It also references the carol concerts at the Victoria Park Rotunda, noting John Henry Thomas's involvement and stating that 'many hundreds of Moonta people would attend'.

However, the most overt reference to the Copper Triangle's carol tradition is to be found in the 'Moonta's Cornish Connection' exhibit in the form of the painting shown below:



Plate 9.6: Painting of Cornish miners singing

This painting and the caption that accompanies it overtly positions Moonta's carolling tradition as the forerunner of 'Carols by Candlelight':

The historical scene depicted has a unique South Australian meaning. The great Australian tradition of open air community singing of Christmas Carols had its origins in the small South Australian mining town of Moonta. On Christmas Eve the Cornish Miners gathered at the loading platforms to sing carols by the light of tallow candles stuck with clay to their safety hats.⁵⁴

Here again, we see a gendered view of the tradition; while the main focus is clearly on the central group of miners, there are three women and four children depicted on the fringes of the group who appear to be singing along with the men. While the painting itself portrays women as participants in the carol singing tradition, the caption reiterates the origin myth of 'Carols by Candlelight', but makes no mention of the female singers depicted, implying that the carol tradition was a male-only tradition.

⁵⁴ Caption for the painting shown in Plate 9.6, which was donated to the museum by the Advertiser Group of Companies. The painter is not known.

Here then, specific narratives of carols, in many instances drawn from Pryor's work, are referenced in museum displays as part of the Copper Triangle's Cornish cultural heritage.

However, arguably the most important arena within which heritage narratives in the Copper Triangle operate is at Kernewek Lowender. Inaugurated in 1972, Kernewek Lowender is a biennial festival celebrating the Cornish culture and heritage of the Copper Triangle district that has been held every other year since 1973. Initially taking place over three days, the event has now developed into a week-long festival of Cornish culture and family entertainment. Derived (albeit with the incorrect word order) from the Cornish words for 'Cornish festival', Kernewek Lowender has become an important focus for celebrations of Cornish culture within South Australia, the rest of the country, and across the Cornish diaspora. The festival's current website states that 'a group of local community minded people gathered with the mission of creating a festival to celebrate and revive their region's significant Cornish festival'.⁵⁵

The festival received initial support from the South Australian Government, whose Premier at the time was Donald Dunstan, who himself had Cornish ancestry. He visited the Peninsula in support of the festival, writing that:

Wallaroo, Kadina and Moonta had in their Cornish heritage a very valuable commodity. Tourists today sought some special attraction to entice them to an area. Beaches and scenery alone, however good, were not enough. The Cornish tradition is just such an attraction and could

⁵⁵ 'About Us', Kernewek Lowender website [Available at: <http://www.kernewek.org/index.php/about-us/about-us> Accessed: 8/11/2017, 10:10]

become as important – and profitable – as the German heritage has been in popularising the holiday appeal of the Barossa Valley.⁵⁶

However, it was apparently not immediately clear what Cornish heritage was. At a speech promoting the second festival in Adelaide in 1972, Dunstan reflected:

When the idea of a special, tourism-promoting festival centred on our Cornish mining towns of Kadina, Moonta and Wallaroo was mooted a few years ago, it met with a mixture of indifference and disbelief. ‘It can’t be done’ we were told. ‘What Cornish heritage?’, we were asked.⁵⁷

The festival therefore proceeded to ‘celebrate and revive’ Cornish culture by employing the cultural hallmarks of the historical Cornish migrant communities; at one of the earliest meetings setting up the festival, it was proposed that ‘the festival should be a feast of all good things, namely music, Choirs, Brass Bands, Cornish foods, Cornish Dancing etc’.⁵⁸ However, the minutes of the earliest meetings indicate that it was at least in equal part conceived as a means of increasing tourism to the area, with a representative of the Premier’s office stating that ‘the festival was a very desirable activity to promote tourism within the district’.⁵⁹ Indeed, as Payton notes, at this time ‘heritage tourism was actively encouraged as a means of economic

⁵⁶ ‘Premier Visits Peninsula’, *Yorke Peninsula Country Times*, 8/12/1972, p. 1.

⁵⁷ Speech by the Premier, M. Dunstan, at Kernewek Lowender (Cornish Festival) Launching, Adelaide, 23/9/74, Dunstan Collection, Flinders University Library. Identifier: DUN/Speeches/2640, p. 1.

⁵⁸ ‘Minutes of the North Yorke Peninsula Festival Committee’, p. 10, Kernewek Lowender website [Available at: <http://kernewek.org/images/NYP%20CORNISH%20FESTIVAL%20MEETINGS.pdf> Accessed: 10/11/2014]

⁵⁹ ‘Kernewek Lowender Committee Meeting Minutes’, transcribed by Liz Coole, 13/10/71, p. 3, Kernewek Lowender website [Available at: <http://www.kernewek.org/images/NYP%20CORNISH%20FESTIVAL%20MEETINGS.pdf> Accessed: 8/11/2017, 10:03]

diversification as well as a celebration of the State's diverse natural and historical heritage'.⁶⁰

Within the festival itself, music as a Cornish legacy is celebrated in various different events. However, there are no carols performed at the festival, which is likely to be the result of the festival's timing; a carol concert in the middle of the calendar year would be an incongruous programming choice. Particularly relevant here are the Furry and Maypole dances, which take place in Moonta and Kadina. The Furry dance is closely modelled on the Helston Furry day; a partnered, processional dance through public streets, while the maypole dance reflects classic English Maypole dances using ribbons to create patterns and knots around a central pole.⁶¹ In both cases, the participants costume themselves in Victorian dress, with the adults wearing formal suits, dresses and accessories. The children also have a dedicated Furry dance in Moonta. This is organised by local schools. The boys wear waistcoats, short trousers and caps, while girls wear floral dresses with white petticoats, mob caps, and wear a garland of flowers in their hair. The children also wear these costumes during the Maypole dances (adults do not take part in the Maypole dance).

Other musical elements of the festival include the 'Dressing the Graves' ceremonies at Moonta, Kadina, Wallaroo and Paskeville cemeteries, all of which features a variety of religious music. Added to the festival in 2001, the public are invited to nominate their ancestors to a committee of local historians and researchers. If selected, local historians will research their lives, which are then read at the graveside.

At Moonta Cemetery, the event features a staged Cornish funeral, complete with a

⁶⁰ Payton, *Making Moonta*, p. 215.

⁶¹ There is not space in this thesis for a treatment of the cultural sources of these events, although this is an intriguing avenue for future research.

coffin and bearers, which are followed by a group of men and women in mourning dress who sing ‘Rock of Ages’, closely following the rubric described by Oswald Pryor in *Australia’s Little Cornwall*.⁶² Alongside this, a children’s choir from the local school sing ‘Advance Australia Fair’ at the opening of the ceremony, and ‘Linden Lea’ at each graveside visited. Another consistent feature of the festival is the Ecumenical Heritage Service at Moonta Mines Church, within which Methodist hymns feature prominently. Further, the 2017 CASA History Seminar (at which the author was invited to talk about elements of this thesis as a keynote) was titled ‘Another Side to Cornish Life: Music!’. Other speakers at this event discussed the brass banding tradition, Sunday School music, and the lives of particular musical personalities and families.

This focus on Methodist musical history is slightly at odds with other elements of the festival that privilege Celtic music. Music is also a feature of the Bardic ceremony, which is a smaller version of the Cornish Gorsedd.⁶³ This offers an opportunity to recognise both Australian and visiting bards. As in Cornwall, a harpist provides music to accompany the children’s dances and to aid transitions between different parts of the ceremony. As in Cornwall, a ceremonial brass horn is used during the ceremony itself. Further, the CASA choir occasionally sing in the Cornish language. Other recent instances of Celtic inspired or related music at Kernewek Lowender festivals included, in 2015, a Cornish ‘Troyl’⁶⁴ Dinner Dance, featuring a Scottish/Irish/Australian band ‘The BordererS’. However, this did not reflect the Cornish troyl (Eng.: turn, spin), which is most similar to a ceilidh featuring a caller

⁶² Pryor, *Australia’s Little Cornwall*, pp. 168-9.

⁶³ This was discussed in Chapter 1; the ‘revival’ of the Gorsedd (modeled on the Welsh Gorsedd) in 1928 was an important moment in the Cornish Revival, aligning Cornwall with Celtic nations.

⁶⁴ Cornish word meaning ‘to spin/whirl’, used to denote the Cornish equivalent of a ceilidh where a caller directs dancers usually over a live band.

and set dances. In 2017, a ‘Celtic Shindig’ featured Dr Mervyn Davey (current Grand Bard) playing the Cornish pipes, an Uilleann piper and fiddle player, and a duo of Cornish guitar players and singers.⁶⁵ While this was not an official part of the festival, the event was arranged specifically to coincide with it, capitalising on Cornwall’s perceived Celtic connections that would be likely to appeal to those attending.

While Kernewek Lowender almost has its own history and heritage as part of the Copper Triangle district’s cultural year, the festival appears to be developing and adapting in order to continue attracting visitors. My interviews with the district’s Mayor and members of the the festival committee revealed some of the tensions at play here. For example, my conversations with Lyn Spurling, President of the Kernewek Lowender organising committee for the 2015 and 2017 festivals, revealed a tension between the expectation that certain elements of the festival would continue because they were well established and regular visitors had come to expect them, with the need to expand and prioritise other events that more reliably drew sponsorship or income into the festival. This appears to be a sensitive issue to negotiate; as someone with long involvement with the festival and Cornish ancestry herself, Lyn was very aware of how important the festival was for the local community, stating that ‘all of us have relied on that ancestry for our existence in this area. Because they made it what it was’.⁶⁶ My communication with Mayor Paul Thomas, who has been involved with the festival, also reflected this:

The greatest challenge for Kernewek Lowender is to retain our heritage links, but to remain relevant in an ever-changing environment both

⁶⁵ For further discussion of Cornish bagpipes, see Harry Woodhouse, *Cornish Bagpipes: Fact or Fiction?* (Redruth: Dyllansow Truran, 1994).

⁶⁶ Lyn Spurling, Interview, 1/6/2015.

physically, economically and socially. [...] some of the ‘traditional heritage’ events of the festival need to be adapted to ensure that they are relevant in the 21st century. We need to ensure that we can encourage more interest for the 18 to 25 year olds. If we don’t foster their participation, then we don't have a succession plan.⁶⁷

In this manner, the ongoing development and adaptation of Kernewek Lowender reflects some of the tension at the heart of heritage studies; the process of negotiating the parameters for choosing what to maintain or preserve in the face of ongoing change.

Whatever the future of Kernewek Lowender, a recent and important moment for Cornish heritage in the Copper Triangle district was the addition of the Moonta Mines State Heritage site to the National Heritage List. The Moonta Mines site and Burra, a similar town with Cornish mining heritage in the mid-north, were added simultaneously, marking the end of a decade long campaign by local communities, and opening the way for the sites to be added to UNESCO’s World Heritage List through association with Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape World Heritage site. Again, however, the focus of this listing is on the remains of the historic built and industrial environment. In a statement to the *Adelaide Advertiser*, Federal Environment Minister Mr. Josh Frydenburg said ‘Their history and character have become central to the area’s thriving tourism industry. Every year tens of thousands of visitors experience this slice of Cornwall for themselves’.⁶⁸ Announced shortly before the 2017 Kernewek Lowender festival, Premier Jay Weatherill officially opened the festival noting that the status would mean that the Copper Triangle would

⁶⁷ Mayor Paul Thomas, personal communication 28/5/2017.

⁶⁸ Sheradyn Holderhead, ‘Cornish Mining Sites Put on Heritage List’, *The Advertiser*, 8/5/2017, p. 10.

be ‘in a position to benefit from more tourism and economic activity – adding to the 40,000 expected to attend this year’s Kernewek Lowender’.⁶⁹ While highlighting the State and Federal governments’ contribution to the listing, he also recognised the work done at a local level to preserve and promote the area’s history. However, local reactions revealed a more holistic response to the listing; a statement from the Moonta Branch of the National Trust reads:

The history and heritage that we preserve on a daily basis will go on to be recognised even further in years to come we are sure. [...] Most of all we must remember the men and women who came to Moonta Mines, risked their lives, and even lost them to build a foundation for those that came later. What a very difficult life it must have been for them, and we learn more with every day about the struggles and tragedies they faced. What incredibly brave and stoic pioneers we had. Their memories will always live on in the National Heritage listed Moonta Mines. This is assured.⁷⁰

Here then, while the legal and institutional instruments for recognising and protecting Cornish heritage in the Copper Triangle focus on the remains of the built environment, bottom up local perspectives appear to recognise and incorporate the intangible elements of this heritage. Whether the carols will form part of this Cornish heritage, as the ramifications of such national and international recognition develop in the future, remains to be seen.

⁶⁹ Premier Jay Weatherill, Speech opening Kernewek Lowender 19/5/2017.

⁷⁰ ‘National Heritage Listing, 11/5/2017, Moonta Branch National Trust website [Available at: <http://www.moontatourism.org.au/news/2017/05/11/national-heritage-listing> Accessed: 7/11/2017 15:20]

Conclusions

The 'Miners' Re-enactment' is a significant recent development in the recognition and celebration of Cornish Christmas carolling traditions in the Copper Triangle, and Moonta in particular. I suggest that the transformations evident in the performance of class and gender in both the perceived history and contemporary performance of the carolling tradition are the result of two interlinked causes. First, popular narratives of the tradition's history, particularly from Pryor, have become accepted as canon in local history. Second, these narratives have informed the contemporary preservation and subsequent presentation of Moonta's heritage. This heritage is significantly focused on men and male agency; from the workforce and owners of the mines themselves, to the male-dominated music cultures such as brass bands and male choirs, as demonstrated in the museum displays. These factors have engendered an environment in which women's roles have been overshadowed in contemporary musical performance. The specific re-enactment of the locally accepted history that the Cornish miners' traditions were the precursor of the 'Carols by Candlelight' tradition not only excludes women from taking part in current performance, but also significantly alters the contemporary perspective of the tradition itself.

As such, the re-enactment of Christmas carolling in Moonta has diverged significantly from the performance practices observed in the historical record. Here then, while the re-enactment has served to re-instate the performance of Cornish carols within contemporary Christmas celebrations, the representation of 'Carols by Candlelight', it also depicts a nostalgic representation of Moonta's male-dominated industrial heritage.

To conclude this chapter, I suggest that the re-enactment of this re-constructed history serves to embody local and Cornish heritage through musical performance, exhibiting transformations of class and gender that self-consciously reflect and extend existing narratives about Moonta's past. Despite the carols' comparatively minor role within broader heritage narratives and relevant activities in Moonta, the 'Miners' Re-enactment' appears to have been a very popular addition to 'Carols in the Square'; my interviews and follow-up conversations indicated that feedback from audience members has been very positive. For example, Graham said that 'people have said to us that is a really good thing to be doing, they enjoyed the significance of it, the originality of it, the reviving, you know, 150 years of the mining'.⁷¹ However, in its infancy this new development may be slightly vulnerable to the vicissitudes of everyday life; in 2016, the re-enactment was cut from the programme because a late harvest meant that many of the singers, who are also farmers, did not have the time to rehearse or perform.⁷² Nevertheless, the 'traditional' or 'historic' repertoire appeared to be a refreshing change for some of the performers: Trevor considered that 'the televised carol show could do with a little bit of, a few carols like this, that are a little bit different. We could actually breathe a bit of light into that, even if it's only candlelight'.⁷³

⁷¹ Graham Sobey, Interview, 16/5/2017.

⁷² The re-enactment was performed in 2017, and despite the difficulty of engaging singers there is every indication that the group intend to continue the re-enactment again in 2018.

⁷³ Trevor Bowden, Interview with singing group, 11/12/2015.

Section 3: Conclusions

This section has demonstrated that Cornish Christmas carols remain important elements of heritage in both Grass Valley and the Copper Triangle. However, while both events celebrate Cornish heritage, the transformations evident in their contemporary performance indicate that processes of heritagisation are ongoing, and privilege particular elements of those historic traditions in ways that reveal how the performers and local audiences perceive their specific community heritage. The contemporary performances of Cornish carols have numerous parallels and disjunctures. Both reference the historical traditions that ostensibly ceased during the 20th century, utilise historic repertoire gleaned from local sources, take place in staged settings at events organised and attended by the local communities, and feature costumed performers. However, there are significant differences revealing negotiations and compromises between the past and the present.

The reorientation of social class is intriguing. In Grass Valley, costuming the performers in formal, Victorian dress corresponds with the contemporary touristic and heritage narratives of Grass Valley and its neighbour Nevada City as quaint historic gold-rush towns that utilise this historicity to attract visitors over the holiday season. In Moonta, the performer's mining costumes reaffirm the importance of the town's industrial heritage, which is similarly marketed in touristic materials for both Australian and international visitors.

However, I consider that reorientation of gender in each tradition to be of considerable significance. The curiously contrasting performances of gender in performance between the contemporary practices discussed in this section, and their

historical predecessors discussed in Sections 1 and 2 indicate that these transformations would benefit from an extended analysis directly targeting gendered performances of heritage. In Grass Valley, an originally all male tradition has now included women in order to be able to continue. Conversely, the ‘Miners’ Re-enactment’ overtly privilege the male aspect of performance, making no reference to the previous involvement of women in historic tradition. Here, performances of both masculinity and femininity not only actively inform the performance of the musical content, but also significantly shape the perspective of the past presented to contemporary viewers. This is particularly interesting when one considers how these contemporary performances act to mythologise that past in the context of a cultural identity so commonly bound up with the heavily male dominated, industrial history the diasporic nature of both areas and communities.

Emerging work in this area indicates that this type of investigation would form a valuable addition to discourses of heritage and identity. Laurajane Smith considers that in broad terms, the intersection between heritage and gender has been overlooked, and that ““gender” all too often gets treated as what women have – a women’s problem – as if men have no gender’.⁷⁴ However, she posits that ‘the construction, commemoration and expression of gender identities can never be understood to be politically or culturally neutral, as what is constructed has a range of implications for how men and women and their social roles are perceived, valued, and socially and historically justified’.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Laurajane Smith, ‘Heritage, Gender and Identity’, in Graham and Howard, eds, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, pp. 159-178 (p. 159).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

In this regard, the Moonta's Miners' Re-enactment and Grass Valley's Cornish Christmas both reflect and challenge gendered perspectives of history through their performance. In Grass Valley, the introduction of women performers in what had historically been an all male tradition significantly destabilises the hyper-masculine cultural narrative of the USA's 'old West', promoted so heavily in the mid-twentieth century. On the other hand in Moonta, the exclusion of women from the contemporary performance serves in some senses to undercut and erase their presence in the historical record. These immediate observations support Smith's position that heritage is gendered in the ways that it is 'defined, understood and talked about and, in turn, the way it reproduces and legitimizes gender identities and the social values that underpin them'.⁷⁶ As such, these contemporary performances would benefit from more specifically targeted investigation and analysis in order to explore more fully the vicissitudes in the performances of gender impacts on participation, and perspectives of the past.

I suggest that the transformations of class and gender are at least in part the result of the different contexts of revival and re-enactment, as described by McKinnon. In Grass Valley, the transformation of gender in performance was a pragmatic choice that allowed the revival to take place at all. My fieldwork and participant observation confirmed that the revived choir welcomes any community member to join the Grass Valley Carol Choir. Indeed, even I as an outsider was able to perform with the choir, with one performer commenting that since I was from Cornwall, I was making them 'authentic'. Further, the choir is an autonomous unit that performs at different

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

locations, and indeed have staged their own re-enactments of specific performances.⁷⁷ On the other hand, in Moonta the ‘Miners’ Re-enactment’ does appear to be more conceptually and contextually bounded, only occurring in the context of the ‘Carols in the Square’, with no other outside engagements. This specific locus provides the bounds of the re-enactment, and offers little flexibility, since it utilises gender and class as symbols to conform to a specific historic narrative. As a result, participation from women – aside, interestingly, from the accompanist and the support to the upper voices - was not considered an appropriate inclusion within the performance. This is particularly interesting since the restriction of the performance to men actually hampered the delivery of the musical material. While future events may see the re-enactment change in format, in the event I observed it was clear that the possibility of taking part in the ‘Miners’ Re-enactment’ is very limited. Not just ‘anyone’ could participate in the re-enactment, positioning it more in line with the ‘tradition’ mindscape identified by Ronström. The ‘openness’ of Grass Valley’s revived tradition, and ‘closedness’ of Moonta’s heritage re-enactment thus destabilises Ronström’s proposed opposition between heritage and tradition as respectively ‘open’ and ‘closed’ mindscapes of the past. As such, I consider that Ronström’s position, while a useful rubric for exploring the differences between tradition and heritage, could be extended. I set out my consideration of this in further detail in my final conclusions.

I suggest that these performances may be productively approached as both heritage products, and heritage processes. I argue that both performances are heritage products

⁷⁷ See for example the choir singing in a mine as part of a television programme about the Grass Valley Carol Choir at ‘Cornish Christmas – California’s Gold’, Chapman University website [Available at: <https://blogs.chapman.edu/huell-howser-archives/2004/08/12/cornish-christman-californias-gold-120/> [Accessed: 22/1/2018, 14:21]

in the sense that they are explicitly designed to be consumed. They are both overtly staged for public audiences, reaffirming notions of local heritage for the present communities in each area. However, they also align with and contribute to the broader heritage narratives that are leveraged in the activities of local tourism industries. However, my reflection of the content of these products indicates that it is also possible to identify the ongoing processes informing the development of heritage values and narratives over time. Both performances exhibit significant differences from the historic practices they represent, implying the ongoing selection and development of particular musical (repertoire) and cultural (class and gender) symbols that support these heritage narratives.

My reflections therefore support Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's assertion that messages other than those of heritage may be 'encoded in the interface'.⁷⁸ In Grass Valley, the revived choir's activity might be seen to invite innovation and development; the choir takes the historical evidence as a point of departure for future innovation. In Moonta on the other hand, the specific narratives performed by the re-enactors highlight the enduring value of particular elements of local history for the local community. This somewhat destabilises Ronström's conception that tradition and heritage produce respectively closed and open spaces, and invites further investigation.

To conclude, these reflections on the contemporary musical performance of heritage in the Copper Triangle and Grass Valley have uncovered how these communities have selected and adapted the articulation of their heritage to reflect specific histories and fit present needs. Both performances turn to historic repertoire found in each area,

⁷⁸ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 'Theorizing Heritage', p. 374.

showing that the actual musical material retains its relevance in each community's conception of the carols as heritage. However, the costuming and staging of both events, and the transformations in performance that are consequent, indicate that the themes of class and gender have emerged as more important elements. While they are ostensibly similar staged public performances, the different conceptual arenas of revival and re-enactment have resulted in divergent modes of participation, potentially indicating very different future trajectories.

Chapter 10: Summing Analysis and Conclusions

Introduction

Cornish carols remain a minor repertoire of Christmas music. However, this study of their transportation to, and development in, Grass Valley and the Copper Triangle has gone some considerable way towards identifying this repertoire and the practices associated with it more completely. It has also presented the opportunity to examine how a music culture may enter heritage discourses and spaces, and how and why the cultural narratives associated with that tradition have developed over time. Integrating theoretical frameworks drawn from heritage studies with ethnomusicological methodologies has enabled me to problematize the notions of, and relationships between, heritage and tradition in a musical context. Combining archival research with ethnographic fieldwork has facilitated this process, bringing a range of primary and secondary sources into a conjunction that not only accommodates, but actively seeks to highlight the processes of change at work evident in the traditions I focus on. The first section of my thesis uncovered the transfer and development of Cornish carols in each region, showing how specific repertoires emerged in each site. The second section explored the dominant cultural narratives that were articulated around this repertoire and the performance practices associated with it. Finally, the third section examined how both the repertoire and the cultural narratives are performed in contemporary practice.

As such I argue that this study contributes to ethnomusicological scholarship in two key respects. First, it brings attention to Cornish carols as a specific repertoire that has not yet received scrutiny, identifying its stylistic history and its associated

performance practices. It offers a diachronic view of the tradition that shows how the carols as a music culture gained specific significances in diasporic contexts. Further, the thesis presents an account of how a music culture drawn from the same root may develop and diverge in two different diasporic contexts. Secondly, my research addresses the issue of heritage formation over time in the context of music cultures, tracing the development of cultural narratives around repertoires and performance practices. Here, my research indicates that rather than being fixed in a form which must be preserved, notions of heritage and identity as expressed through musical performance, are mutable and subject to reorientation as the context requires.

10.1: Cornish Carols, Local Heritage

Writers and performers of the 19th and early twentieth centuries rarely couched the musical materials and their associated practices of Cornish carolling traditions of Grass Valley and the Copper Triangle in terms of ‘heritage’. Nevertheless, as I have demonstrated throughout this thesis, their continued performance, and the developing dialogues around it, indicates that even from their initial appearance in diasporic contexts, carolling was conceptually positioned as Cornish heritage: a legacy practice that was being continued in new socio-cultural contexts. However, as I have shown, this legacy practice has undergone numerous transformations between their arrival to revival and re-enactment. As such, drawing on heritage studies has been a useful tool for unpicking the complex narratives at play in and around the performances, production and consumption of the carols.

As I outlined in Chapter 3, while an outwardly familiar concept, there is much to unpack in discourses of heritage. At a surface level, heritage objects, sites and

practices are usually regarded as static and unchanging, and are characterized by their preservation and fixity. However, while such cultural artefacts may be subject to physical fixity, they are in fact subject to ongoing, dynamic processes of inscription. Here, the work of Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett has been key in developing my analysis of the carols as the development of a heritage practice. Approaching heritage as a process has allowed me to address the questions I posed in my introduction, and enabled me to not only trace the diverging trajectories of the carol traditions extant in Grass Valley and the Copper Triangle, but also identify and problematize how and why the traditions in each area have developed as they have done.

My first concern was to identify the repertoire that was transported and developed in the Copper Triangle and Grass Valley. As demonstrated in Section 1, my archival research – both physical and digital – enabled me to trace the different ways in which the carol repertoire emerged in each location. My recovery and analysis of the printed material and handwritten manuscripts revealed the breadth of repertoire available to and developed by the different communities. As demonstrated, in Grass Valley the majority of the material was drawn directly from Cornwall, while in Australia, newly composed repertoire, in many cases based on the fusing style popular in Cornwall at the time, formed the bulk of material. While some repertoire was common to each area (mainly through the international distribution of Heath's publications), the development of the repertoire in each location diverged significantly in the late 19th and early 20th centuries since the differences in the dissemination of the musical material (either through performance or commercial means) took place across different mediums and different formats.

Here, I suggest that the difference in the development of the carol repertoire in each location had a considerable effect on the subsequent development of the traditions. While a considerably slimmer variety of Cornish carol material seems to have been transported from Cornwall to South Australia than in Grass Valley, this deficit was offset by the composition and publication of new Cornish carols in the migrant communities of the Copper Triangle. This necessarily impacted on the overall development and trajectory of the carolling traditions in each area, affecting the broader accessibility of the musical material to the different performing groups and audiences. In the Copper Triangle, the comparative availability of printed material ensured that a variety of different groups performed the repertoire in a range of contexts across the Copper Triangle and Adelaide (and beyond). On the other hand, where local dissemination did not occur, this would appear to have restricted availability of the musical material in Grass Valley and resulted in a situation where eventually, only one group performed the repertoire.

Different narratives and perspectives of the carols emerged from these different contexts. In Section 2, I explored what cultural narratives were developed around the musical materials and the performers, and how these narratives changed over time. In South Australia, early practices were organised at community and local levels, and the eventual publication of repertoire so far appears to have occurred through the efforts of composers themselves and local provincial publishers, rather than through sponsorship or patronisation by professional or institutional bodies. Similarly in Grass Valley, the carol choirs were organised at a local level, with the repertoire initially in the possession of specific individuals and then, as demonstrated by the marginalia, by the choirs themselves. These performances of Cornish carol repertoire in Grass Valley

and the Copper Triangle represent a form of cultural production emerging from below; within non-elite spaces utilising non-elite forms. Despite their geographic distance, similar socio-cultural pressures were brought to bear on the traditions during the late 19th century and over the course of the twentieth. The impact of the two World Wars was considerable in both areas, and although mining continued in Grass Valley for a generation longer than in the Copper Triangle, deindustrialisation was key in dispersing the communities that had maintained the traditions. The result was that carolling declined as an informal tradition.

Eventually the carolling traditions in both areas came to the attention of individuals and organisations that brought the music and their performers to much broader attention, and promoted particular visions of Cornishness and particular visions of the past. In South Australia, John Langdon Bonython and the Cornish Association of South Australia promoted the carols as part of the organisation's activities, drawing on notions of the carols as a Celtic inheritance in order to position the Cornish as racially and culturally distinct from the English. A generation later, Oswald Pryor cast a very restricted vision of Moonta's historic carolling traditions as the precursor of Australia's flourishing 'Carols by Candlelight' tradition. In Grass Valley on the other hand, despite the research uncovered by Ruth Cornwall Woodman, the scripts of the national radio broadcasts of the 1940s depicted the Cornish and their 'ancient' carols as an integral element in the gold-rush. It is intriguing that in both cases, the carols as Cornish migrant culture were interwoven in national heritage narratives of each country; in each case, a specific migrant group's culture laying claim to a position within a nationally relevant discourse. Here, I suggest that the carol performances shifted from unself-conscious traditional practice, and through this recognition, were

overtly and consciously positioned as heritage in ways that spoke to broader notions of identity at play in each location.

However, it is important to note that the performers themselves did not articulate these heritage narratives. In the Copper Triangle and Adelaide, John Langdon Bonython and the Cornish Association of South Australia, and to a lesser extent, Oswald Pryor, represented metropolitan cultural elites whose involvement with the traditions was relatively tangential at the time of writing. In Grass Valley on the other hand, the narratives of orality and antiquity I examined within the radio broadcasts emerged from commercial bodies that actively glossed over the research carried out by Ruth Cornwall Woodman in favour of a more evocative depiction of the tradition. The folklorists' appraisal of the traditions was similarly uncritical of this information. Indeed, accounts of the carolling traditions by performers themselves appear to be rather sparse, reaching only local levels of dissemination.¹ Rather, individuals and groups outside of the traditions, who, it could be argued, had a vested interest in positioning the traditions in a particular light, developed the representations of the carols discussed in Section 2. Here then, the heritage narratives I discussed in Section 2 are largely articulated from the top down.

However, this reflects the early 20th century trend of vernacular cultures being valourised and promoted as 'pure' forms of national culture in nation building projects, which was in accordance with the dominant socio-cultural contexts of the backdrop to Australian independence and both the First and Second World Wars. In this regard it must be noted that in the case of both the USA and Australia, as

¹ One notable exception was Joseph Glasson, a Cornish migrant and carol composer in who migrated from Cornwall to Kadina, South Australia. As a professional musician, he was well known and recognised in the Copper Triangle.

relatively new countries, the veneration of the experiences of migrants rather than indigenous peoples would have been more politically and culturally acceptable. In this sense, I remain uncomfortable that in focusing my thesis on Cornish migrant forms in the USA and Australia, to some extent this thesis contributes to the erasure of the music cultures and heritage narratives of indigenous peoples in both locations. I am conscious that all encouragement must be given to scholarship regarding the heritage narratives and experience of indigenous peoples to ensure that the imbalance of focus continues to fade in the 21st century.

These narratives were pervasive. In Section 3, I explored the contemporary performances of the traditions, questioning how the heritage narratives I had discussed in Section 2 relate to contemporary materials and performance practices of the traditions. I was also intrigued to understand the extent to which such narratives reflected contemporary perspectives of heritage in each location. While the earlier traditions remain important repositories of information upon which the present-day performances are based, the contemporary performances I examined differ markedly from those of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Indeed, the results of my analysis in previous sections threw the transformations I witnessed in 2015 into sharp relief, leading me to question what these transformations tell us about local contemporary perspectives of, and relationships with the past. The transformations of class and gender in the performance of carols at Cornish Christmas in Grass Valley, and Carols in the Square at Moonta, indicate that the groups are not just performing Cornish Christmas carols; through these carols, they are also performing perspectives of and relationships with the past. However, as we have seen, these perspectives of the past are necessarily partial, neither actually conform to past practice.

Here then, transformations in revival and re-enactment resulted in very different performances of the past. In both locations, the contemporary performances are linked to performing, recognising and celebrating Cornish heritage. However, as I showed, this heritage was performed very differently in each location, showing how what on the surface appears to be a common heritage may be conceptualised. Site-specific narratives and values had emerged over the course of the 20th century, which were expressed visually through costuming and staging alongside the musical carol performance. In Moonta, the male dominated industrial heritage is prioritised, restricting the participation, whereas in Grass Valley, that same male dominated industrial heritage has given way to open up opportunities for women to participate, and has been replaced by a Victorian or ‘old time’ visual aesthetic.

In this sense, I felt as an ethnomusicologist I occupied an interesting position in relation to my informants; having spent so much time researching these traditions, in some respects I appeared to be better informed regarding the history of the materials and practices of the traditions than the performers themselves. However, it is not the case that either group are performing heritage ‘incorrectly’ or ‘inauthentically’; rather, they are performing the past as they conceptualise it. Particular symbols have emerged as important, showing what elements of that heritage are locally recognised and valued. As such, I suggest that the events I observed and participated in in November and December 2015 offer these communities the opportunity not only to re-enact and revive particular local customs, but re-encounter and reconstruct their own past through heritage representation and creation.

In my interviews with tradition bearers and stakeholders in both traditions, I also realised the extent of the difference of between my own perspectives and preconceptions of the performances and those of the performers and audiences. For example, in Moonta, I had internally built up the event with a particular view in mind; I saw the re-enactment's significance crystallised in the fact that it was the first performance of Cornish carols in Moonta for several years. However, my interviews with the performers revealed that their perspective of the performance was very different; they were approaching the re-enactment as the opportunity to articulate and display as a very specific historical narrative focusing on Moonta's local heritage, rather than a reference to Cornwall itself. I found a similar experience in Grass Valley, in the sense that while I personally had initially approached the tradition as Cornish heritage, the performers primarily regarded it as their community heritage, rather than an enduring link to an overseas location that few of them were engaged with beyond their membership of the choir. In this sense, I suggest that I had initially approached these traditions with a grander overview in mind, positioning Cornwall – as the root of these traditions – as the hub of a transnational diasporic network that its satellite communities were musically performing a link with. However, the emphasis for the performers – and also, in all likelihood, the audience – was predominantly in the performance of local heritage. In this regard, my ethnographic experience supports emerging theory likening diasporic locations and cultures to rhizomatic networks; seen from a diasporic perspective, Cornwall is 'just one more node in a complex network'.²

However, Cornwall does still have occasion to serve as a point of contact for these

² Thomas Solomon, 'Theorizing Diaspora and Music', *Urban People*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 2015, pp. 201-219 (p. 210).

diasporic music cultures. The research for this thesis has formed the basis for not only numerous academic conference papers, but also talks at a range of community events across Cornwall. These occasions have brought new awareness to the carol traditions both at home and abroad. Further, the musical material will reach new audiences. The research for this project underpins a concert at Truro Cathedral (in Cornwall) scheduled for December 2018, developed in tandem with community choirs across Cornwall. Taking the form of a carol service, the service is designed to foreground the international tradition of Cornish carolling, incorporating a set of carols from Grass Valley, a set of carols from South Australia, and a set of carols from Cornwall which will be performed by combined community choirs drawn from across Cornwall. Utilising the links developed throughout this project, the intent is to live-stream the concert to both locations, celebrating Cornwall's international history and culture, and enabling dialogue between Cornwall and its diasporic communities. My research for this project also inadvertently sparked other engagements with Cornish carols; for instance, local West Gallery choir director Peter Meanwell was inspired to include one of the Australian Cornish carols in his choir's programme after an informal meeting with me to discuss the carols.³

The carol traditions of Grass Valley and Moonta have emerged as important foci of Cornish heritage in each location. From the transfer of Cornish materials during the 19th and early 20th centuries, through the emergence of particular heritage narratives around them, to their revival and re-enactment in the present times, their position and performance of heritage has shifted considerably over the years. This suggests an important encounter between notions of 'tradition' and 'heritage' in musical contexts,

³ Coleman and Burley, *Hark! The Glad Sound of Cornish Carols*, p. 68.

and as such I now suggest that ethnomusicological analyses may benefit from applying heritage theory to both historical and contemporary ethnographic research.

10.2: Tradition and Heritage: An Alternative Approach

Throughout this thesis I have explored definitions of heritage as a quality ascribed to cultural artefacts through processes of socio-cultural inscription and ascription, rather than as a disembodied conceptual mass of artefacts and feelings, since, like Kirshenblatt-Gimblett I do not consider that heritage is ‘lost and found’; it is selected, mediated and finally displayed.⁴ I consider that this tension between display and ownership is key in the relationship between tradition and heritage. From the discussion of the definitions of heritage and the development of its studies in Chapter 3, we have seen first, that heritage sites and practices are usually geared towards the dissemination of historical information in public discourse and contexts, and second, that heritage is communal, produced, performed and exhibited and consumed. These implications of ownership, patrimony and legacy are inextricably bound up in notions of heritage. Contrary to Slobin, I feel that it is impossible to ‘unmoor’ heritage from its original meaning of ‘that which has been or may be inherited; any property, and esp. land, which devolves by right of inheritance’.⁵ However, it is also impossible to unmoor the term from the notions of public, communal ownership connoted by its utilisation within the heritage industry. As Paul Rappaport succinctly outlines:

The root concept of inheritance is fundamentally a legal device for the transfer of ownership, but the transfer is fraught with complications

⁴ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, ‘Theorizing Heritage’, p. 369.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 369; Slobin, *Fiddler on the Move*, p. 13.

because it holds mutually conflicting rights of private owners and those of the common good.⁶

It is at this point of orientation for communal ownership and broader public consumption where notions of heritage come into play. As discussed by Ronström, while heritage and tradition operate in very similar manners, there are important conceptual differences that are bound up in notions of display and ownership. He sees a distinction in terms of accessibility via interfaces, stating that tradition produces closed spaces which ‘you cannot just move into’, whereas heritage produces an open space that ‘almost anyone can move into’.⁷

However, I propose that this distinction should not be treated as mutually exclusive; and perhaps might be better articulated in terms of orientation of performance. In a related sense, I further question the notion that cultural production and consumption move linearly from tradition to heritage. While it is clear that cultural artefacts and practices may obtain heritage status through institutional recognition, I consider that the final segment of my investigation has shown that cultural practices can operate as both tradition and heritage simultaneously. I do not consider that traditional practice, as a mode of cultural production, is losing its value as cultural currency as heritage practice rises.

Instead, I suggest that the notion of registers as discussed by Anthony McCann in his ‘All That Is Not Given Is Lost: Irish Traditional Music, Copyright and Common Property’ may be usefully applied here. In discussing Irish music as common

⁶ Paul Rappaport, review of *Heritage From Below*, ed. Iain Robertson, *Urban Policy and Research*, 32/1 (2014), pp. 111-113 (p. 111).

⁷ Here, I do not think Ronström uses ‘interfaces’ in quite the same way as Kirshblatt-Gimblett.

property, he encourages researchers to be mindful of the ‘registers of social interaction within which traditional practices occur’.⁸ With this in mind, I suggest that traditions are often practiced with an internal orientation: by a particular community, within that community, for that particular community. On the other hand, I suggest that heritage may be usefully characterised by the external orientation of its performance context; it is overtly self-conscious and outward looking, intended for communal public display and consumption. However, these need not be exclusionary categories. Traditions may attract spectatorship through promotion for economic purposes (through tourism, or indeed academic interest), reaching audiences beyond their origin community, whilst retaining a predominantly internal focus and direction of cultural flow. Traditional cultural artefacts or practices may therefore be ‘heritagised’ by community members. In such cases, the eventual audience for that production is a broader public than the origin community alone. Here, we might reformulate the aphorism ‘the village belongs to the villagers and the villagers belong to the village’ as a way of conceptualising the different registers produced in heritage and traditional performance. If tradition is ‘by the village, for the village’, we might alternatively conceptualise heritage from below as ‘by the village, for the public’.

Working with this position, I propose that tradition and heritage may be regarded as different, but not exclusionary modes of cultural performance, processes or production. From the academic treatments of heritage I discussed in Chapter 3, it is clear that an important conceptual difference between heritage practice and traditional practice is the mode of display, and concurrent orientation of performance for specific audiences. Here, I suggest that we might productively identify a heritage ‘register’ of

⁸ Anthony McCann, ‘All That Is Not Given Is Lost: Irish Traditional Music, Copyright and Common Property’, *Ethnomusicology*, 45/1 (2001), pp. 89-106 (p. 98).

performance that that may be employed in contexts of display. This enables culture bearers to orient traditional practices towards spectators external to the tradition, facilitating articulations of heritage from below. Obviously there are instances where this might not be within the traditional practitioners' control; for example, where traditional practices take place in public spaces within which practitioners are unable to control the audience or spectatorship.⁹ As we have seen, in situations where the register of heritage is primarily articulated from the top down (i.e. in heritage industry or nationalistic settings), 'vernacular' histories and living traditions may be overpowered. However, as we have seen in Robertson's work on heritage from below, even the smallest and most localised groups may gather, organise and display their histories for both internal and external consumption.¹⁰

This would appear to be well demonstrated in the present-day revival and re-enactment of the carolling traditions I have examined in this thesis. Neither practice has been supported or institutionally recognised by overarching heritage bodies; they have emerged 'from below'; from within the communities themselves, indicating that they perhaps might be regarded as traditions. However, I consider that these examples destabilise Ronström's position that heritage and tradition respectively produce open and closed spaces. In Moonta, the group that performed the 'Miners' Re-enactment' does not have an independent existence outside of the bounds of the re-enactment, and as such, I do not consider it to be a tradition in its own right, since it is not built on consistency or sustainability; it is very much a heritage performance. However, in terms of the heritage narratives embedded in its actual performance, the group constructed a very closed space which restricted participation; i.e., conforming more

⁹ For example, this is the case in Padstow's Mayday tradition where a processional dance is led through the town, which fills up with tourists who want to witness the event.

¹⁰ Skinner, *Heritage From Below*, p. 121.

to Ronström's conception of tradition. However, the re-enactment was publically performed as an element of local heritage, and as such public engagement was unrestricted and open. Conversely, the Grass Valley Carol Choir would appear to be a revived tradition; it has been revived for nearly thirty years, and the group performs regularly at venues outside of the Cornish Christmas event (see Chapter 8). However, the membership and mission of the choir itself confirms that it is a very open environment which anyone is welcome to join in and engage with; reflecting Ronström's position that heritage is an 'open' space which 'anyone' can access. Here, I suggest their performance at Cornish Christmas is a traditional performance within a heritage register; a moment within which traditional performance is oriented for public display and consumption. Further work exploring the applicability of this formulation in other contexts is necessary, but I suggest that these case studies confirm that processes of heritagisation are not incompatible with traditional practice.

Viewing heritage as a register of performance thus reveals two important angles of approach and enquiry. First and most importantly, approaching heritage as a performance register reinstates the agency and self-determination of the culture bearers in the identification, production and protection of their heritage. This concomitantly widens access to heritage, enabling the identification and articulation of dialogues of heritage that emerge from below. As this thesis has demonstrated, although cultural artefacts may become regarded as heritage through processes instituted through international legal instruments and bodies such as UNESCO, it is equally clear that groups and communities may identify their heritage independently and internally, without the need for overarching bodies. Second, it allows investigators to sift through the performance of cultural material and identify the

processes through which heritagisation takes place or is articulated. Here, we may view how a music culture is oriented: for public display, whether and how elements of an object site or practice are transformed in display. The identification of those elements reveals the focuses of cultural dialogues of value. It helps us see priorities, values, and layers of articulation, rather than authenticity or inauthenticity. As I have demonstrated, heritage narratives and practices do indeed construct something new in the present, while referencing the past, yet also represent that past in a way that does not directly correlate with historical fact. Both performances, with their associated practices and registers, construct vernacular discourses of heritage that construct hyper-local narratives of belonging and identity which are actively presentational in nature. In this sense, rather than reduce such a performance to a piece of ‘inauthentic heritage’, it can be approached as an articulation of present meanings and present perspectives that respond to present needs.

10.3: Final Conclusions and Areas for Future Research

Several relevant and complementary avenues of enquiry have emerged over the course of this study. My examination of the Cornish carolling traditions begins in the late 19th century; a time when the repertoire seems to have already been regarded by some as somewhat endangered, in need of publication and preservation. As such, an exploration of Methodist church and carolling repertoire commonly performed in Cornwall in the early 19th century might reveal the broader musical basis from which Cornish carolling traditions emerged. Such research might also go some way to elucidating the link between Cornish and analogous rural British carolling traditions, such as those in the Pennine region, thereby deepening our understanding of the

repertoire's dissemination. Further, a study assessing the relatively late retention of the tenor lead in SATB arrangements of the carols in relation to the emergence of male voice choirs would be most welcome, and would be of relevance to other areas and traditions, such as church and choral music. Additionally, Kernewek Lowender and Cornish Christmas were particularly rich ethnographic field sites that I hope to re-engage with, particularly with regard to the regendering of each performance and its impact on perspectives of the carolling traditions of the past, present, and inevitably, the future. Here, I consider that a study focusing on the broader musical representation and celebration of heritage in these contexts would be particularly productive; particularly one that sought to gain deeper insight into the different ways in which musical revival and re-enactments structure and mediate notions of the past in the present, and how these narratives are received and understood by audiences.

To conclude, this thesis has filled a considerable lacuna in academic knowledge of Cornish Christmas carolling practices in two diasporic contexts. Existing work on the Cornish diaspora has often highlighted that Cornish communities abroad retained Cornish characteristics and cultural attributes that contributed to a distinct sense of identity without specifically problematising how that identity is informed by such retentions; that is, the development of heritage objects and practices. This thesis has shown how this process happened, exploring the ongoing inscription of narratives in and around musical traditions, and how those musical traditions may then re-articulate and transform those narratives. Heritage, contrary to the way it is often conceptualised, is not a discrete item or practice rescued from the past and preserved for the future; it is not an insect in amber, frozen in time. Rather, heritage objects and practices gain new contexts, and therefore new meanings and interpretations, as their

socio-cultural contexts develop and their audiences change. Musical cultures are a particularly ripe locus for this type of investigation; while new analyses may yield additional information about a geographic site or a physical object, the transience of musical performance continuously engenders meanings unique to the moment and context of performance. In this sense, this investigation of the trajectories of the Cornish carol traditions in two diasporic locations has shown how notions of heritage are identified, reshaped and deployed in a musical context; and, conversely, how a musical context identifies, reshapes and deploys notions of heritage.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview data

| Interviewee | Date | Location |
|---|-------------|--|
| Miners' Re-enactment singing group | 11/12/2015 | Uniting Church, Moonta, South Australia |
| Lyn Spurling | 1/6/2015 | Kadina Library, South Australia |
| Graham Sobey | 16/5/2017 | Café, Moonta Bay, South Australia |
| Anita and Gordon Woods | 12/5/2017 | Anita and Gordon's residence, Moonta Bay, South Australia |
| Eleanor Kenitzer | 29/11/2015 | Café Nevada City, California |
| Diane Raymond, Libby Bonomolo, Eleanor Kenitzer | 24/11/2015 | Grass Valley Downtown Association Office, Grass Valley, California |
| Jack Pascoe and Larry Skinner | 27/11/2015 | Mill Street Clothing Co., Grass Valley, California |

Appendix B: Abbreviations of Music Publications

| Abbreviation | Text referenced |
|--------------|---|
| GFB | George F. Bond, <i>Old Methodist Hymn Tunes</i> (Hull: George F. Bond, c.1900) |
| RHH P1 | Robert Hainsworth Heath, <i>Cornish Carols Part 1</i> (Leipzig: R. H. Heath, 1889) |
| RHH P2 | Robert Hainsworth Heath, <i>Cornish Carols Part 2</i> (Leipzig: R. H. Heath, 1889) |
| TM 1 | Thomas Merritt, <i>Six Christmas Carols</i> (London: Doremi & Co., 1891) |
| TM 2 | Thomas Merritt, <i>Six Christmas Carols (Second Set)</i> (London: Doremi & Co., 1899) |
| TCW | J. H. Thomas, ed., <i>The Christmas Welcome: A Choice Collection of Cornish Carols</i> (Moonta: A. Grummet, 1889-1909) ⁹⁰² |
| TNW P1 | T. N. Warmington, <i>Old Christmas Carols and Anthems Part 1</i> (Carbis Bay, Cornwall: Warmington, 1912) |
| TNW P2 | T. N. Warmington, <i>Old Christmas Carols and Anthems 2</i> (Carbis Bay, Cornwall: Warmington, 1912) |

Key to Tables 4.2-4.

⁹⁰² A full account of the publication history of *The Christmas Welcome* is given in Chapter 5.

C.2: John E. Thomas manuscript, 'Luminary'. Courtesy of the Searls Historical Library, Nevada City, California, USA.

24 *Luminary*

See, see mid'night orbs a lu-min-a-ry bright, see mid'night orbs a lu-min-a-ry
bright, which calls the wise and breaks, and breaks — the gloom of
night. The humble shepherds lift their slumbering eyes the humble shepherds lift their
slumbering eyes the humble shepherds lift their slumbering eyes and
filled with won-der, filled with won-der, and filled with wonder with the bright-ning skies
When lo; a sudden — burst, of heavenly song, when lo a sudden

John E. Thomas 25

burst of heavenly song. 'Tis ushered forth by an angelic throng, 'Tis
ushered forth by an angelic throng, 'Tis ushered forth by an angelic throng, 'Tis
ushered forth by an angelic throng.

- being eyes,
 their eyes - being eyes, The
 shepherds lift their eyes, The
 eyes, The shepherds lift their

eyes, The shepherds lift their
 shepherds lift their
 eyes, and filled

with
 with
 eyes, and filled with

eyes, and filled with
 eyes, and filled with
 eyes, and filled with
 eyes, and filled with
 eyes, and filled with

When he was born of Mary, when

he is called born of Mary, when

he is called forth by an Angel in
 through
 he is called forth by an
 Angel in through

by an Angel in through
 he is called forth by an
 Angel in through

through he is called forth by an
 Angel in through

C.4: William Tremewan manuscript, 'Awake With Joy'. Courtesy of the North Star/Pelton Wheel Museum, Grass Valley, California, USA, and Eleanor Kenitzer



C.5: Thomas Merritt, 'Awake With Joy, Salute The Morn', *Six Christmas Carols*

(*Second Set*) (London: Doremi & Co. Ltd, 1899) (two pages)

Awake with joy salute the morn.

How is the morn
A morn of joy and cheer
The morn of joy and cheer
The morn of joy and cheer

How is the morn
A morn of joy and cheer
The morn of joy and cheer
The morn of joy and cheer

How is the morn
A morn of joy and cheer
The morn of joy and cheer
The morn of joy and cheer

How is the morn
A morn of joy and cheer
The morn of joy and cheer
The morn of joy and cheer

C.6: 'With What Resplendent Beauty', John E. Thomas manuscript. Courtesy of the Searls Historical Library, Nevada City, California, USA

26

With What Resplendent Beauty

That long ex-pat-ed
 With what res-plen-dent beau-ty shone, That long ex-pat-ed
 That
 morn-ing That long ex-pat-ed morn-ing That long ex-
 long ex-pat-ed morn-ing That long ex-pat-ed morn-ing That long ex-pat-ed
 morn-ing That long ex-pat-ed morn-ing That long ex-pat-ed morn-ing That long ex-pat-ed
 morn-ing When for me God's in-car-nate Son, The Lord of Life was
 The

27

born The Lord of Life was born. The Lord of Life was born
 Lord of Life was born. The Lord of Life, the Lord of Life was
 Lord of Life was born, The Lord of Life was born, The
 The Lord of Life was born
 born, the Lord of Life was born.
 (1) (2) (3)
 As the angels sang at Jesus' birth, No pomp or state attends his birth,
 While shepherds wondering stood, From Bethlehem's town obscure,
 Good will to men and peace on earth, Shall come the Lord of Man and earth,
 And glory be to God's, To raise the humble poor.

C.8: 'Awake Ye Nations', T. Broad, in R. H. Heath *Cornish Carols Part 1* (Redruth: Robert H. Heath, 1889)

10

9. AWAKE YE NATIONS.

T. Broad.

Awake ye nations of the earth, And
 exult in the Saviour's birth, And exult in the Saviour's birth.
 On which the Saviour
 With grateful hearts exult the more. On
 Christ was born, On which the Saviour Christ was
 which the Saviour Christ was born, On which the Saviour
 On which the Saviour Christ was
 born,
 Christ was born, On which the Saviour Christ was born.

1

I.

The shining hosts on wings of love,
 Flew swiftly from the eastern slopes,
 With acclamations from the skies,
 And seized the shepherds with surprise.

II.

The heavenly choir around did sing —
 This day is born the Saviour — King,
 They swell their voices of praise again,
 Glory to God — good-will to men.

C.9: T. Broad, 'Awake Ye Nations', in *The Christmas Welcome* (Moonta: Grummet, 1909)

Awake ye Nations.

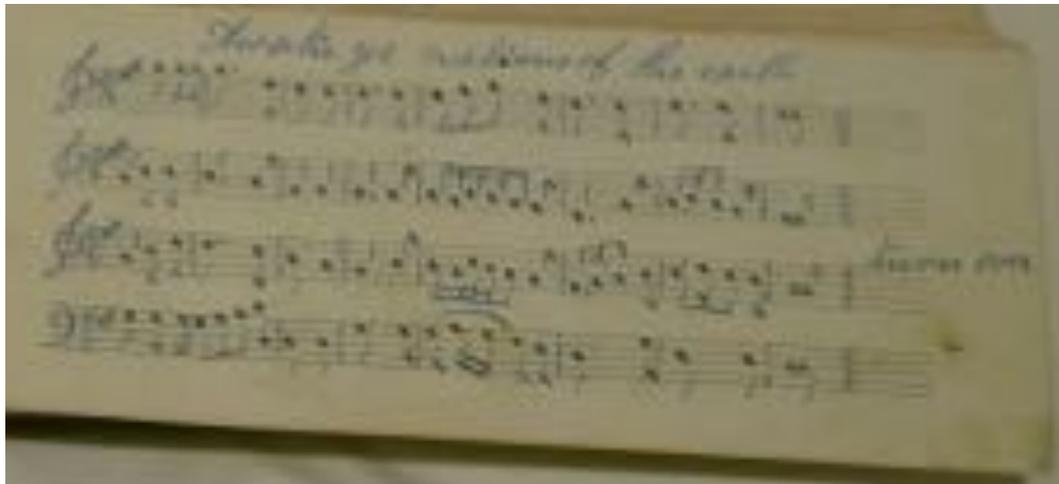
T. BROAD.

A-wake ye na-tions of the earth To cel-e-brate our
 Sa-viour's birth, To cel-e-brate our Sa-viour's birth, With grate-ful hearts on
 late the morn On which the Sa-viour On which the Sa-viour
 Christ was born, On which the Sa-viour Christ was born, On which the Sa-viour
 which the Sa-viour Christ was born, On which the Sa-viour Christ was born,
 Christ was born, On which the Sa-viour Christ was born,
 which the Sa-viour Christ was born, On which the Sa-viour Christ was born.

2. The shining hosts on wings of love,
 Flew swiftly from the courts above,
 With acclamations from the skies,
 And astounded the shepherds with surprise.

3. The heavenly choir aloud did sing:
 This day is born the Saviour-king.
 They swell their notes of praise again—
 Glory to God—good-will to men.

C.10: Matthias Deacon Abbott, 'Awake Ye Nations'. Courtesy of the National Trust Museum, Moonta, South Australia, Australia



C.11: 'Awake Ye Nations', T. N. Warmington, *Old Christmas Carols and Anthems*

Part 1 (St Ives: James U. White, 1912)

10

6. AWAKE YE NATIONS.

L.A. - wake ye na - tions of the earth, And re -

re - spond the Sav - our's birth) With grate - ful hearts ex - - - - -

On which the Sav - - - - -

more. On which the Sav - - - - -

On which the Sav - - - - -

Christ was born, On which the Sav - - - - -

Christ was born, On which the Sav - - - - -

Christ was born, On which the Sav - - - - -

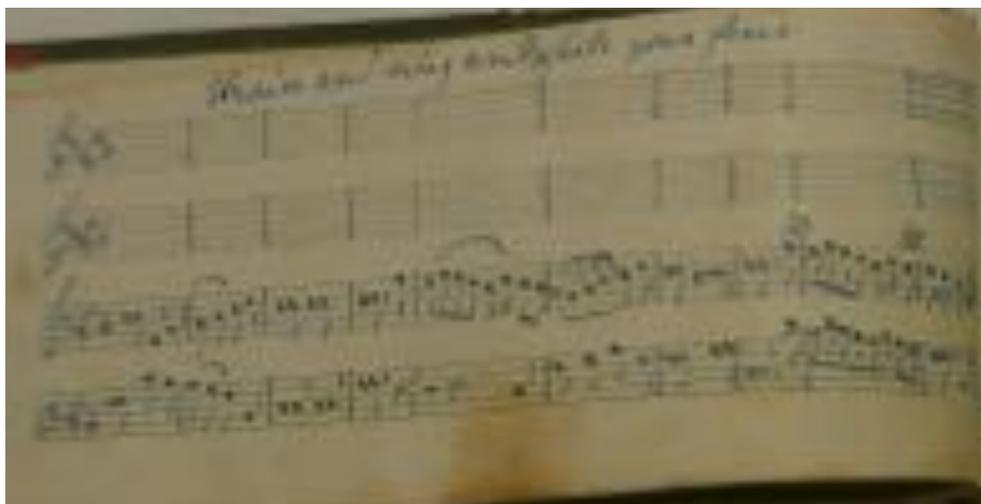
Christ was born, On which the Sav - - - - -

Christ was born, On which the Sav - - - - -

1. The shining hosts on wings of love,
Flew swiftly from the courts above,
With acclamations from the skies,
And set a - the Shepherds with sur - - - - -

2. The heavenly choir around did sing,
- - - - - This day is born the Saviour - - - - - King,
They swell their voices of praise again,
- - - - - Glory to God, - - - - - Goodwill to men.

C.12: Matthias Deacon Abbott, 'Arise and Sing and Dispele Your Fears'. Courtesy of the National Trust Museum, Moonta, South Australia, Australia.



C. 13: A. Woolf, 'Arise and Sing', in R. H. Heath *Cornish Carols Part I* (Redruth: Robert H. Heath, 1889)

12. ARISE AND SING. 19

A. Woolf

1. Arise and sing dis - pel your fears, A - rise and sing dis - pel your fears, Tid - lings of joy en - lile your care. Tid - lings of joy en - lile your care.

And heav'n's power forth he send - eth light To dis - si - pate the gloom of night. To dis - si - pate the gloom of night. To dis - si - pate the gloom of night. To dis - si - pate the gloom of night. To dis - si - pate the gloom of night.

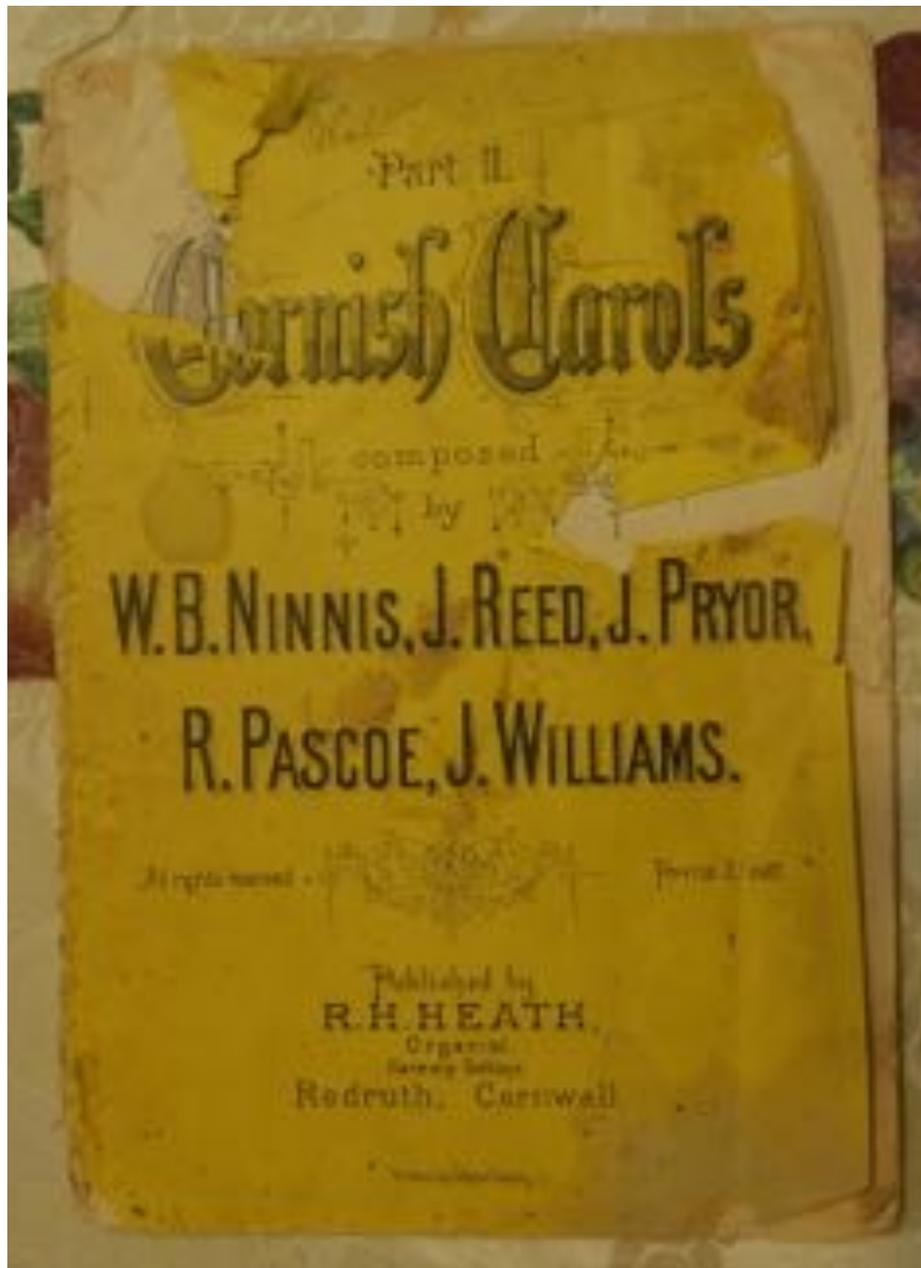
2. See from the highest realms of bliss
Angels descend to publish peace,
Might in the glorious thrones, the plains
Exalted in their melodious strains.

3. Lo, the bright sun of righteousness
Appears the desert world to bless,
Men weary and their tribulation bring,
And worlds adore his glory sing.

Appendix D: Covers of A Collection of Cornish Carols, Australia

D.1: Robert Hainsworth Heath, *Cornish Carols Part 2* (Redruth: R. H. Heath) 1889.

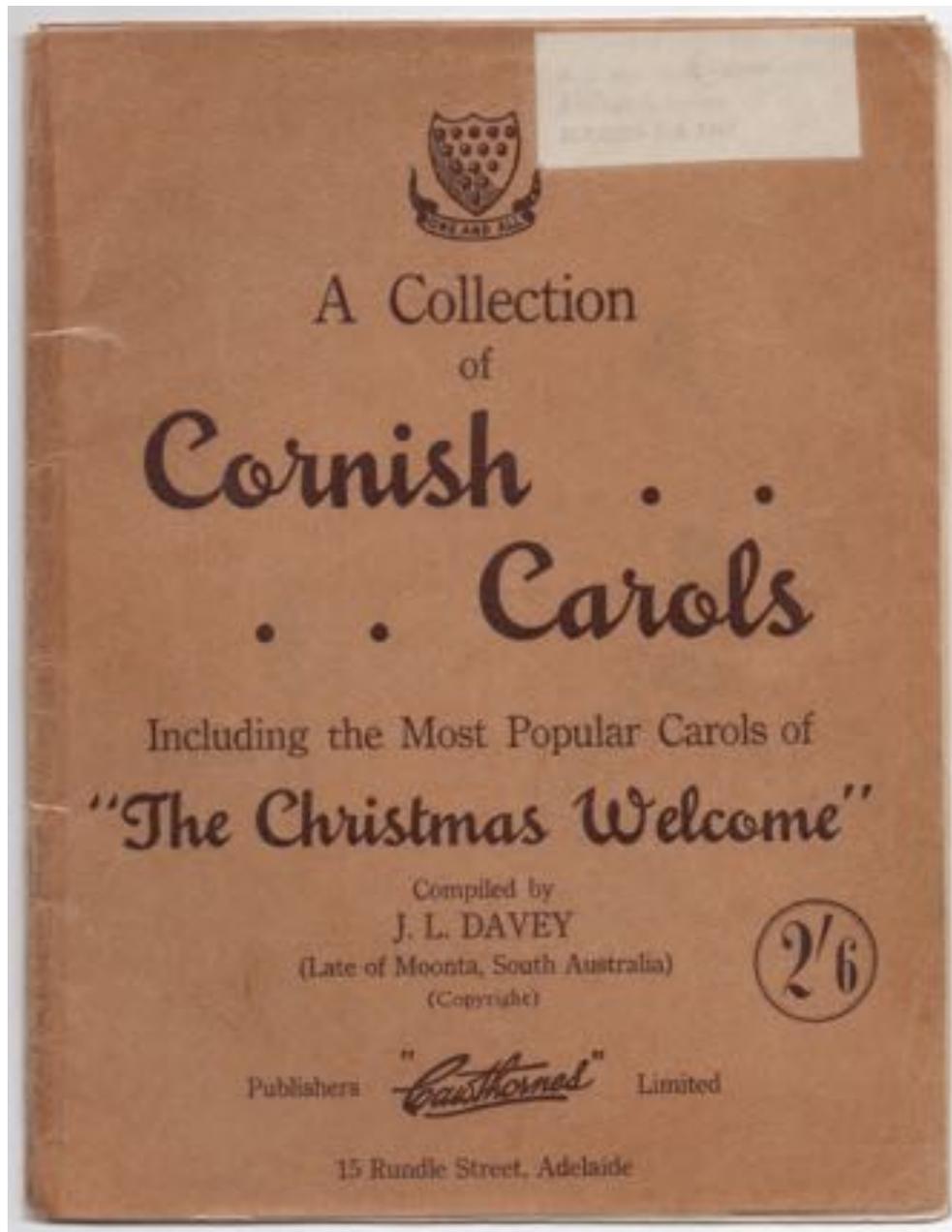
Personal archive of John Roberts.



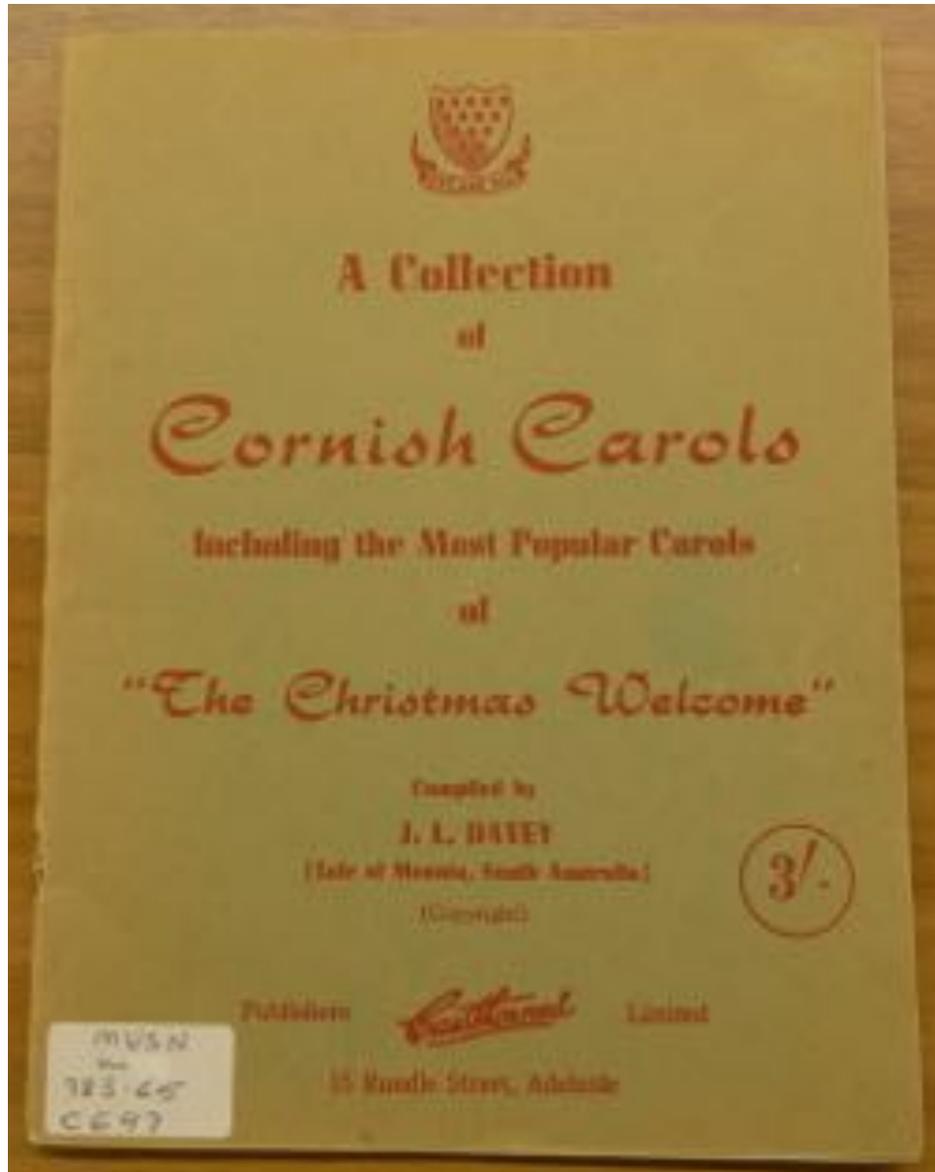
D.2: J. L. Davey, ed., *A Collection of Cornish Christmas Carols, Including the Most Popular of "The Christmas Welcome"* (Adelaide: Cawthornes Ltd, 1929)



D3: J. L. Davey, ed., *A Collection of Cornish Christmas Carols, Including the Most Popular of "The Christmas Welcome"* (Adelaide: Cawthornes Ltd, nd)



D4: J. L. Davey, ed., *A Collection of Cornish Christmas Carols, Including the Most Popular of "The Christmas Welcome"* (Adelaide: Cawthornes Ltd, nd)



D5: J. L. Davey, ed., *A Collection of Cornish Christmas Carols, Including the Most Popular of "The Christmas Welcome"* (Adelaide: Allan's, 1953)

