Cornish Folklore: Context and Opportunity

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The field of Cornish folklore provides remarkable opportunities to understand the region's history and culture. First it is possible to consider how early collectors of Cornish oral tradition fit into a larger context by examining what they were attempting to achieve and how their efforts compare with similar work elsewhere. A second avenue would explore how recorded material reflects on pre-modern Cornwall as a distinct part of the British and Celtic worlds. A third approach involves working with contemporary informants to define aspects of society as it manifests and changes in the twenty-first century. The following discussion focuses on the first two possibilities to provide a foundation for future work on Cornish folklore.

Folklore, Modernism, and Nationalism

The professional collection of folklore west of the Tamar began in the nineteenth century a few decades after the Brothers Grimm published material collected in the German states. Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm and those who followed drew inspiration for gathering oral traditions from the fact that various factors were changing society. Rural, agriculturally-based western Europe was transforming into a landscape filled with larger urban centers, with increasing numbers of people earning wages in factories. The old ways were fading.[1]

To this day, much of what motivates collectors is the idea that they must salvage oral tradition before it disappears. Because folklore changes constantly, it often seems the past is slipping away and that if these remnants are not saved, something valuable will be lost forever. During the nineteenth century, circumstances heightened the sense that modernization was devastating a valuable inheritance because change before industrialization was clearly slower

and people regarded folk culture as preserving remnants of an ancient time. While it is reasonable to observe that traditions evolve constantly and are not, in fact, static, there is also ample evidence that folklore actually does preserve evidence of former lifeways and beliefs. Early publications represent, therefore, valuable sources from which to learn about the past.

Modernization was not the only factor that motivated early students of oral tradition. Historians occasionally assert that nationalism inspired the early growth of folklore.[2] Today's folklorists frequently maintain their predecessors were important participants in the struggles for ethnic sovereignty, although testing this assertion remains problematic.[3] Documentation regarding the views of collectors toward nationalism differs from case to case. Unfortunately, information about how early Cornish folklorists regarded the subject is circumstantial at best, but it is possible to place them in a context.

Although the French collector, Charles Perrault (1628-1703), worked in the seventeenth century, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm are credited with founding the modern discipline of folklore.[4] Jacob (1785-1863), in particular, applied a rigorous scientific methodology to the study of linguistics and oral tradition. Wilhelm (1786-1859), on the other hand, was more interested in how folktales could inspire a body of German literature to advance a national ethos.

The Brothers Grimm promoted German culture, but they did not invent the idea of linking the study of oral tradition with nationalism. Much of this connection can be traced to Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803).[5] In his 1784 publication, *Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind*, Herder called on Germans and others to use language and popular traditions to inspire a national consciousness. He saw something unique in the essence of the folk, or to use Herder's language, the *Volkgeist*. It is no accident that William Thoms, who invented the English word "folklore" in 1846, arrived at a term much like Herder's.[6] With the assertion that a

nation's folklore was important, Herder broke with Enlightenment thinkers who stressed the universality of humanity rather than regional elements with the potential to divide.[7]

The next generation to answer Herder's call included the poets Clemens Brentano (1778-1842) and Ludwig Achim von Arnim (1781-1831), as well as the historian Frederick Karl von Savigny (1779-1861). Brentano and von Arnim drew on popular traditions for inspiration, but these early poets were removed from the modern notion of professional folklore collection. Instead, they saw little reason to remain true to their sources: for them, the most important goal was to create a German vernacular literature, based loosely on folk traditions in order to foster national awareness and to inspire a generation of patriots. Together they published a body of poetry titled *Des Knaben Wunderhorn—The Boy with the Wonderhorn*—between 1805 and 1808. The two hoped to draw attention to the literary potential of German language and culture with what they called *Kunstmärchen*, which can be translated as "art folktales." Arnim, in particular, went on to work with the genre, developing it as a distinct form of literature.[8]

This literary tradition had a profound influence on the young Grimm brothers. In fact, they lent an early manuscript of their collection of *Märchen* (that is, pure folktales) to Brentano with the hope of collaborating. Although it yielded nothing, it was within this tradition that Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm later published their *Kinder und Haus Märchen*, literally, *Children and House Folktales*.[9] The Grimm brothers, however, were not influenced solely by a literary tradition. Frederick von Savigny served as a mentor to the young Grimm brothers, stressing the importance of precise historical method to arrive at a better understanding of German heritage. Although Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm were influenced by the sweeping romanticism of Herder, they were not content with exploring popular motifs for literature. Following von Savigny's

inspiring standard for historical scholarship, they invented a process of collecting oral tradition in a manner that approached modern professional standards.[10]

Ultimately, the Grimm brothers created a new discipline of the social sciences by precisely gathering and analyzing oral tradition, but they did not fully anticipate where the path would lead. The brothers, for example, sometimes altered the material they collected to make it fit the published genre. At first, they also included folktales collected or written elsewhere. These were eliminated, for the most part, from subsequent editions, but the brothers still demonstrated a less-than-scholarly stance by today's standards. Their first steps away from the work of Brentano and von Arnim were smaller than later folklorists might prefer to think.[11]

While Jacob Grimm, in particular, wrote of the importance of nationalism to his work, that aspect of his inspiration is difficult to pin down. Grimm scholar Jack Zipes points out that the brothers were part of a growing bourgeois class. As such, they looked for German unification not simply because of national pride but also as a means to overthrow the archaic system of aristocratic domination of the society and economy. Zipes regards the Grimms, therefore, as supporting a middleclass point of view as much as a nationalistic one.[12]

Herder and the example of the Grimms influenced the rest of Europe, inspiring folklore studies elsewhere, driven by nationalism and a reaction to modernism. Nineteenth-century examples from places other than the Germanies include Iceland, Finland, Norway, and Ireland.[13] Although nationalism and modernism played a part in the growth of folklore in these lands, each circumstance was different. Within this context, a handful of collectors in Cornwall worked.

The Gatherers of Cornish Oral Tradition

Nineteenth-century Cornish folklore publications may be modest when compared with those of the neighboring giants, but it is nevertheless clear that this early work was professional. It was, presumably, a by-product of the popular, influential work of Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, first appearing in English in 1823. Just as Zipes sees the inspiration behind the Grimm brothers as complex, the same was probably true for the early Cornish folklorists. Furthermore, it is possible to recognize one or both of the factors, namely modernism and nationalism, as playing roles. Those who gathered in the far southwest of Britain include Robert Hunt, William Bottrell, Margaret Ann Courtney, and the Reverend Sabine Baring-Gould. In addition, while Robert Morton Nance focused his efforts on the revival of the Cornish language, his contribution in this context cannot be overlooked. The subsequent research of Alfred Kenneth Hamilton Jenkin also deserves consideration for his documentation of pre-modern traditions. Finally, Nellie Sloggett published material that drew from folklore, and so her writing needs to be considered as well.

Robert Hunt (1807-1887) was a scientist who developed an expertise in optics and early photography. Born on the Devon side of the Tamar, he was educated in Cornwall and worked for a time in London. Eventually, Hunt became the secretary of the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society in 1840. His book, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, first published in 1865, went through several editions as its content grew.[14]

William Bottrell (1816-1881) was born at Raftra near Land's End, receiving his education from the Penzance Grammar School. In 1837, he travelled to France and eventually purchased property in the Basque country, where he collected oral tradition. Other travels took him to Canada and Australia, but he eventually returned to Cornwall to settle for the remainder of his life. Although Bottrell released his first volume of Cornish folklore, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*, in 1870, much of his material first appeared in print in

Robert Hunt's 1865 book. In 1869, Bottrell began writing a column in *The Cornish Telegraph* and in other publications, providing a permanent record under his own authorship of the folklore he had gathered in the course of a lifetime. Two additional volumes of his collections appeared in 1873 and 1880, the last released just before his death.[15]

Margaret Ann Courtney (1834-1920) was a native of Penzance whose book, *Cornish Feasts and Folk-lore*, appeared in 1890, based on articles in the *Folklore Society Journals* in 1886-1887. A previous study of the English dialect in western Cornwall appeared in 1880.[16] Not surprisingly, Courtney's earlier research influenced the content of her later book on folklore, which includes a great deal of linguistics. She drew heavily on Bottrell, Hunt, and the Shakespearean antiquarian, James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps.[17] Courtney also used original material dealing with such things as calendar folklore, providing an extensive list of seasonal feasts and divination practices employed throughout the year.

The Reverend Sabine Baring-Gould (1834-1924), a native of Exeter, had wide ranging interests that included the oral tradition of the West Country. His primary contribution to Cornish folklore studies appeared between 1889 and 1891 as *Songs and Ballads of the West*. Later compendiums were published in 1895 and 1907. Although these works are not exclusively Cornish, they preserve many of its songs that would otherwise have been lost.[18]

Robert Morton Nance (1873-1959) took a slightly different path. Born in Wales of Cornish parents, his focus was on language. Nance and Henry Jenner (1848-1934) founded the Old Cornwall Society, and Jenner, who played a critical role in beginning the Cornish language revival movement, had a profound influence on Nance. Beginning in 1925, Nance served as the editor of *Old Cornwall*. Throughout his long career, he wrote important articles and books on the Cornish linguistic legacy occasionally contributing material dealing with folklore. Nance, and

Jenner for that matter, did not usually focus on oral tradition, but since the time of Jacob Grimm, language studies have been tied to folklore.[19]

Alfred Kenneth Hamilton Jenkin (1900-1980) was born in Cornwall and educated at Oxford. In 1928, he helped found the Gorseth Kernow, an organization promoting Cornish national identity, and he acted as one of its earliest bards. Jenkin became president of the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies in 1959. For several years, he served in leadership roles at the Royal Institution of Cornwall. Jenkin's extensive publications dealing with Cornish culture include *The Cornish Miner: An Account of his Life above and underground from Early Times*, which appeared in 1927, *Cornwall and the Cornish: Story, Religion, and Folk-Lore of "The Western Land"* (1933), and *Cornish Homes and Customs* (1934).[20]

Nellie Sloggett (1851-1923) had a writing career that was distinct from her contemporary collectors. A native of Padstow, Sloggett suffered from a spinal infection that left her paralyzed at age seventeen. After writing about a variety of subjects in her journal, she took to the folklore of north Cornwall, publishing under the names Enys Tregarthen and Nellie Cornwall. In 1908, *Folklore* published a "short notice" about her *Legends and Tales of North Cornwall*. British folklorist, Charlotte S. Burne declared that "Unfortunately…, [Tregarthen] has chosen to put her material into the shape of fiction, dressing it out with characters, dialogues, descriptions, and bits of word-painting, so that it is absolutely valueless as evidence. A few notes at the end of her first volume show that she could, an [sic] she would, do good work."[21] Despite the criticism, Tregarthen's publications contain information about regional folklore.[22] Her work echoes that of Wilhelm Grimm who invented stories based on the traditions he had heard. This approach gave the world Hans Christian Andersen, and ultimately J. R. R. Tolkien. Although Tregarthen did not

contribute to the body of "pure" folklore, the path she followed with no less honorable, and within her material, it is possible to discern the legends that inspired her.

The Motivations of early Cornish Folklorists

Defining what inspired the early Cornish collectors may at times be difficult, but certain things are clear. Hunt includes a footnote in his 1903, third edition, describing how, by the 1830s, he became convinced that "the old-world stories were perishing like the shadows on the mist before the rising sun. Many wild tales which I heard in 1829 appear to have been lost in 1835."[23] Hunt wrote in 1865 that "I cannot but consider myself fortunate in having collected these traditions thirty-five years ago. They could not be collected now."[24] In addition, he noted that even in his youth, people "were beginning to be ashamed" of the old stories.[25] Bottrell also wrote about the changing times: "In a very few years these interesting traditions would have been lost unless they had been preserved in some such form as the present volume…."[26]

Both Hunt and Bottrell provide another example of change in the early nineteenth century. They wrote about what they called wandering droll tellers, and how the tradition disappeared within their lifetime. A "droll" was a term commonly used in Cornwall to refer to something that was told. Although there is a hint that these were originally folktales, people used the word for other forms of oral traditions as well. The wandering droll tellers were entertainers who traveled from place to place, securing food and shelter by telling stories. The tradition is reminiscent of similar practitioners in the Scottish Highlands and in Ireland, where they were known as seanachies (also appearing as shanachie in English, but originally *seanchaithe* in Irish Gaelic although a storyteller could also be known as *sgéalaí* or *sgéaltóir* depending on the type of stories told).

Katherine Briggs (1898-1980) suggests that the Cornish droll teller was different from his Gaelic-speaking counterpart in that there was "no indication of the careful accuracy of transmission which was so important to the Irish and Highland bards, where every deviation from strict tradition was frowned upon. Here [i.e. in Cornwall], on the contrary, a spontaneous and happy innovation was apparently welcomed."[27] For example, Hunt described how the droll tellers would "modify the stories, according to the activity of their fancy," to please the audience, introducing "the names of people remembered by the villagers; and when they knew that a man had incurred the hatred of his neighbors, they made him do duty as a demon, or placed him in no very enviable relation with the devil."[28] Briggs concedes that a systematic study of the wandering droll teller is needed to verify her intuitive observation. Indeed, nothing exists in this regard to match the masterful analysis of the Irish storyteller tradition composed by James H. Delargy (Séamus Ó Duilearga), for example.[29]

Hunt noted that "in 1829, there still existed two of these droll-tellers," but, he added, they were not to be found by 1865, underscoring the urgency early collectors felt.[30] In addition, Hunt cited the antiquarian Richard Carew and his 1602 book, *The Survey of Cornwall*; Crew described "Sir Tristram [who] led a walking life with his harp to gentleman's houses."[31] In his first edition, published in 1870, Bottrell asserted that "an old tinner of Lelant… has often related to me the long giant-story with which the volume begins. It generally took him three or four winter's evenings to get through with the droll, because he would enter into very minute details, and indulge himself in glowing descriptions of the tin and other treasures found in the giant's castle; taking care, at the same time, to give the spoken parts literally as he had heard them from his ancestors."[32] Here, then, is testimony regarding both variation and respect for tradition.

In addition, Hunt further quoted "a gentleman to whom I am under many obligations," who was clearly Bottrell. According to Hunt, Bottrell described two professional storytellers. Bottrell specifically recalled a man named Billy Frost in St. Just "who used to go around to the feasts in the neighboring parishes, and be well entertained at the public houses for the sake of his drolls." Bottrell also mentioned Uncle Anthony James of Cury, an old blind man who traveled with a boy and a dog, playing fiddle, singing songs, and telling stories. He was known as "uncle," given the term as a means of respect. Bottrell noted that he was not a beggar, but rather, he exchanged his entertainment for room and board, seldom staying in a place more than one night.[33] The loss of the storytellers was a major blow to the survival of traditions in the face of modernization.

The question about whether the early folklore collectors were interested in promoting a national identity for Cornwall is the more difficult to answer. Bottrell identified himself on his title page as "an Old Celt" indicating that he was interested in a fading Celtic legacy. Although Hunt referred to his collection as coming from the "West of England," he frequently underscored the Celtic aspect of Cornwall, discussing how it was distinct from its Anglo-Saxon neighbor to the east.[34] Margaret Ann Courtney, who had the most well-developed ties with the larger world of folklorists, observed "Cornish people possess in a marked degree all the characteristics of the Celts."[35] Still, there is no clear way to know with certainty if Bottrell, Hunt, Courtney, and the others were expressing pride in a distinct county of the United Kingdom or underscoring a Celtic identity as a means to justify a separateness. The link between folklore collecting and nationalism was clearly forged in other European locations where minority populations sought and often succeeded in winning nationhood, but the Cornish situation was distinct and the motivation of nationalism less clear in the work of its earliest folklorists. Perhaps all that is

possible to say is that these early collectors worked in a larger context, which included nationalism as one of its dominant themes. Given this, it is with some irony that collections of "English folklore" frequently draw heavily from Hunt and Bottrell.[36]

Cornish Folklore and a Window into the Past.

The examination of early folklore collections to understand Cornwall and its past inhabitants could fill a hefty volume, but it is possible to provide a brief overview. Nineteenth-century Cornish folklore is at once consistent with and distinct from that of its neighbors, simultaneously illustrating cultural continuity with Northern Europe and the importance of regionalism in developing distinct places. Charles Thomas (b 1926), the first director of the Institute of Cornish Studies of Exeter University, took an important initial step in fitting oral tradition into a broader understanding of Cornish culture. His publications in the early 1950s, *Studies in the Folk-Lore of Cornwall: I. The Taboo* and *II. The Sacrifice* represent a modern challenge to take up the topic, but too few followed.[37]

Thanks to the pioneers in the field, there is an opportunity to address the recorded remnants of Cornish folklore using a discipline that is inherently comparative and well developed in neighboring Celtic countries. Like other pre-modern Europeans, the Cornish made a distinction between folktales, fictional stories told for entertainment, and legends, accounts of experiences that the teller intended to be believed. In deference to the work of the Brothers Grimm and other early German scholars, folklorists frequently use the terms *Märchen* and *Sagen* for folktales and legends, respectively. The Cornish collections reveal examples of both.

Early on, folklorists recognized that a discrete number of folktales—over a thousand—were told from Ireland to India, and that these stories could be catalogued and studied through a

comparative, geographic method. Thanks to the work of the Finns Kaarle Krohn and Antti Aarne, and the American Stith Thompson, a tale type index provides an inventory of folktales in this vast region. Folklorists normally identify each tale type with a number preceded by the initials "AT" to signify the work of these two authors.[38] As a matter of comparison, the Department of Irish Folklore in Dublin preserves thousands of recorded folktales, which staff boasts includes more than 300 tale types.[39] Throughout Europe, these were the peasantry's popular oral literature, lengthy stories told principally at night and not intended to be believed. Because they were often violent or even sexual in nature, children were typically excluded from the late-night storytelling sessions. In censured, watered-down forms, they became the published English fairytale or what the Brothers Grimm called *Kinder Märchen*, "children's folktales." In spite of this literary transformation, the original, oral inspiration was far removed from the subsequent, diminutive, printed mutation.

Cornish collections preserve several examples of traditional folktales. Many will recognize a widespread cycle of stories that involves the hero named Jack the Giant Killer, one of the more popular versions of which is catalogued as AT 328.[40] Bottrell's story "Tom of Chyannor, the Tin-Streamer" can be regarded as an expression of an obscure folktale catalogued as AT 910A. Bottrell also recalled the storyteller Uncle Anthony James singing a version of the Lenore Legend, which describes a maiden and her lover's ghost, who tries to persuade the young woman to accompany him to the world of shadows. Although this story appears in the tale type index (AT 365), it was frequently told to be believed as a legend. The Cornish examples, which include material from Hunt, appear to be folktales.[41] Hunt's "Cornish Teeny Tiny or Gimme my Teeth" is an example of AT 990. Some of these variants, however, cross into legend, stories that are believed to be true: for all the rigidity of the classification system, the folk often transformed

legends into elaborate pieces of fiction and folktales into legends expressing belief. The Aarne-Thompson index does not indicate English or Cornish variants of these tale types, in part because Bottrell, Hunt, or any other Cornish sources do not appear in their bibliography. Because of this oversight, a comprehensive index of Cornish folktales would be a valuable addition.

Folklorists were slower to realize that many legends also exhibited geographic distribution and were traditional in some sense. Belief in the supernatural is intimately tied to legendary material, and it must be expressed verbally to become part of a culture. Legends define and communicate the nature of the supernatural. In *Cornish Studies: Thirteen*, Philip Payton explores a widespread tradition as it manifested in Cornwall and in a notorious case in Ireland involving the murder of a woman thought to be a fairy substitute. The belief that supernatural beings were eager to abduct people was common throughout Europe.[42] Reidar Christiansen, who pioneered the analysis of what he called migratory legends in Northern Europe, classified the legend of an infant abduction and substitution with an elfin changeling as Migratory Legend 5085.[43] Other legends told of the vulnerability of women, particularly after childbirth. Neighbors or family members sometimes abused infants and women if a failure to thrive led the people to believe that fairies had traded the real human for an elf or some other magical device.

Cornish examples of the "Midwife to the Fairies" fall into another type of legend spread throughout Scandinavia and the Celtic fringe. Hunt published three examples of the story which included the motif of an ointment, intended exclusively for the fairy newborn. The human midwife wipes her eye with the substance and could subsequently see supernatural beings. When she encounters the husband of the new mother, he realizes the midwife has used the ointment and obtained a power intended only for those of the otherworld. The story frequently

ends with the supernatural being taking the sight of the woman's offending eye. Christiansen classified the story as Migratory Legend 5070.[44]

It is possible to identify many other stories in Hunt and Bottrell in a similar way: the well-known story of "Lutely and the Mermaid," from Uncle Anthony James, is a Cornish variant of Migratory Legend 4080.[45] In addition, Hunt mentions a story that "is told all around the Cornish coast," which described a voice declaring "the hour is come, but not the man." At that point, according to the story, someone is magically compelled to rush into the ocean and drown.[46] Christiansen classifies this widely distributed legend as ML 4050, and variants occur throughout Scandinavia and Britain. With each of these examples, proper analysis should begin with an examination of variants collected elsewhere so that similarities and distinct motifs are properly understood. It is then possible to consider how the traditions correspond to the Cornish belief system and how that compares with neighboring cultures.

Not surprisingly, much of what the Cornish oral tradition reveals is that local beliefs in supernatural beings were consistent with that of Northern Europe. The Celtic world and Scandinavia share a unique idea that the nature beings lived in family groups in otherworldly villages that mirrored human society. People referred to them with terms including elves or fairies but also as *sidhe* in Ireland and the Scottish Highlands, and as *troll* or *huldrefolk* in Scandinavia.[47] The Cornish had a well-developed array of terms for the fairy folk including piskies, spriggans, and knockers to cite only a few possibilities, each with specific characteristics and roles. The northern tradition was distinct from what could typically be found among continental Europeans who generally regarded supernatural beings as acting alone or at most in homogeneous, small groups (often in pairs or threes). Cornish supernatural beings were part of a

continuous tradition that spanned from Sweden to Iceland and from Ireland and Scotland to Brittany.

This is only a limited sample of how modern folklorists can work with stories that early Cornish collectors documented. Existing systems of classification are international indexes to comparative sources and previous studies. Analysis of traditions documented beginning in the nineteenth century would benefit from this process as the foundation for understanding. Legends and folktales in Cornwall belong to a larger European tradition, and attempts to learn from the material should begin with the body of scholarship that has tackled the subject elsewhere. This discussion does not mention ballads, riddles, and other forms of oral tradition that also need to be considered. Detailed comparative work can place Cornish tradition in a context, defining it along a spectrum of possibilities by demonstrating its shared and distinct characteristics.

Cornish Folkways

Many early European folklorists focused on folktales and legends exclusively, but Cornwall is also graced with sources that reveal a great deal about cultural practices sometimes called "folkways." The rich body of this material deserves consideration. The calendar customs, magical practices, and the wide variety of other cultural components including architecture, crafts, festivals, foods, dances, dramas, and games documented in Cornwall also need to be considered in the wider context. These aspects of Cornish folklore can be understood as distinct expressions of similar traditions on the way towards defining the unique character of the people west of the Tamar.

Even a cursory summary of the possibilities would exceed what is appropriate here, but a single example may suffice to demonstrate the possibilities. Hunt, Courtney, Jenkin, and others

documented a harvest ritual known as “crying the neck.” The practice celebrated the end of the harvest using a phrase of unclear origin and meaning. Sources describe the ritual in various ways; in one case, a reaper cut and plaited the last standing stalks and raised it above his head, while workers gathered into three groups. The first shouted three times, “We have it.” The next answered three times, “What ’av ’ee?” The third replied, again three times, “A neck!” This was answered by all with a cheer. Sometimes everyone stood in a circle with the person holding the neck in the center. Hunt described the group starting the chant with “The neck” followed by “We yen!” which he translated as “we have ended.” Charles Thomas disputes this translation and suggests, instead, that the meaning is “We hae ’im!” The plaited stalks of the grain were sometimes referred to as a corn doll, which took a place of honor on a wall of the farm house, often associated with the hearth.

Some sources mention a second phase of the ceremony, when a young man raced with the neck to the farmhouse, where a female servant stood guard with a bucket of water. If the man were able to enter the house without being drenched, he could steal a kiss from the woman who had failed at her task. Crying the neck nearly died out in the twentieth century, presumably in part because mechanized harvesting reduced the workforce and changed the dynamics of the process. Nevertheless, the tradition enjoyed a revival thanks to the Old Cornwall Society. The use of the term “crying the neck” also appeared in Devon and southern Wales, and it is clearly part of a larger British tradition that used other terms elsewhere.[48]

The pioneering Scottish anthropologist James Frazer (1854-1941) incorporated the practice of crying the neck and its other British counterparts into his larger discussion about a figure he called the corn mother. For Frazer, practices such as these echoed Neolithic rituals that involved sacrifices to ensure the bounty of the harvest. Thomas subsequently took up the motif in

his treatment of Cornish folklore, embracing Frazer's conclusion that the folk memory of ancient sacrifices surfaced in recorded Cornish folkways.[49]

Jacqueline Simpson and Steve Roud in *A Dictionary of English Folklore* cite the existence of numerous harvest effigies from various places in Britain, and they provide an eloquent critique of Frazer: "For nearly a century, the study of harvest customs has been stultified by the tacit acceptance of J. G. Frazer's theories about 'corn spirits'. Few folklorists have bothered to analyse this material as they all assume that the origin and background has already been demonstrated. Frazer's ideas have long been discredited…, but we still need to move on to a post-Frazer era."[50] This presents the question, then, as to what can now be said about the southwestern practice of crying the neck.

Pre-industrial Northern European folk belief typically included the idea that the vitality of the crop remained in the field until the final stalk had been cut. Harvesters, in essence, corralled the strength of all the grain into the last corner. Legends from Scandinavia, for example, speak of the risk presented by this concentration of the harvest's potency. Stories told of witches and supernatural beings trying to take the last bit, because with it, they could steal everything that was good about the entire field, leaving grain for the farmer that would fail to nourish.[51] People of various places consequently developed rituals that would protect the last stalks, even though the quantity was insignificant compared with the entire harvest.

The Cornish practice of crying the neck fits into larger regional practices of magically safeguarding the harvest's essence from theft at the final critical moment. The tradition is at once consistent with what occurred elsewhere and unique in its specificity. Examining this custom—together with the many others documented—as part of larger traditions provides a means to understand Cornish folklore as something that is both distinct and yet occupying a place within

the greater region. By the time the crying the neck ceremony was documented, participants probably did not know about any deeper meaning in the event. It was merely traditional. Folklorists sometimes refer to this sort of practice as a blind motif, that is, people retain a custom but have forgotten its significance. Suggesting what it meant based on contemporary or near-contemporary observations from elsewhere is less extravagant than inventing a Neolithic explanation, reaching thousands of years into the past with nothing more than speculation, as Frazer had done.

Cornish Immigrant Folklore

While analysis of oral tradition in Cornwall has been sporadic, Cornish immigrant folklore has received more consistent treatment. Alan M. Kent brought recorded immigrant oral tradition from Michigan to *Cornish Studies* with his masterful article in 2004, but that is only a more recent example of a long line of contributions.[52] Wayland Hand's groundbreaking 1942 articles on mining folklore, published in the precursor of the *Western Folklore Quarterly*, is typical of the examination of Cornish immigrant oral tradition: Hand considered the region as a whole, touching on the Cornish contribution as an ingredient but not as a subject by itself. Articles from throughout the American West repeat the formula, considering mining oral traditions, acknowledging the Cornish contribution, but working with material from communities as a whole rather than as single immigrant slices of the pie.[53]

This author's overview of Cornish knockers and their American descendent, the tommyknocker, provides an example of analysis of a motif that not only changed through time with industrialization but also transformed—but more importantly survived—with immigration. And with the knocker, there is an another example of how Cornish folklore is both part of the

shared Northern European tradition as well as bearing distinct motifs. The Cornish variation of the belief that the world was populated by troops of supernatural beings placed some of these entities in the mines. Reflecting the pre-industrial prohibition against allowing women underground, the Cornish knockers, like the Welsh Coblynau, were exclusively male.[54]

Because the Cornish knockers received extensive documentation in primary sources, it is possible to trace the reaction of the tradition to modernization and immigration. The earliest recorded remnants of the tradition suggest that independent miners—the pre-Industrial "tinners"—regarded knockers as potentially dangerous and capable of punishing transgressions. But just as often, they led miners of good character to valuable ore. In addition, knockers warned those underground of imminent collapse by rapping on the timbers, hence the name "knocker." Modernization and corporate exploitation of mineral resources eliminated individual entrepreneurs digging underground. The transition subsequently caused the disappearance of the motif of supernatural beings directing workers to profitable veins, but the traditions of punishment and warning of danger remained.

Immigration changed the legends associated with knockers in several ways. Elfin qualities diminished, but did not disappear entirely even though immigrants increasingly talked about the entities as though they were ghosts. Nevertheless, until the tradition ceased to exist by the mid-twentieth century, miners still made references to tommyknockers as though they were elves. The New World knockers still warned of danger, but the idea of punishing those with less character all but vanished. Perhaps one of the more remarkable aspects of this tradition is that the belief in knockers not only survived immigration, but it was also adopted by miners who were not Cornish. It is extremely rare for the belief in supernatural beings of nature (as opposed to ghosts) to survive immigration, but for the tradition to thrive and diffuse is unprecedented.

The knocker tradition as it appeared on two continents provides a good example of how folklore can be understood in its greater context. In addition, the material provides an opportunity to demonstrate how folklore can shed a light on society as it changes through time. The knocker was a typical Northern European supernatural being, but it also had a distinctly Cornish stamp, belonging to an all-male community at work underground. Modernization and then immigration affected the tradition, but neither managed to extinguish the belief and its legends, at least at the onset. Eventually, stories about knockers became rarer: the most recent account collected by the author was from a Portuguese-American miner who encountered the tommyknockers in the 1950s in Golconda, Nevada. In spite of its extinction in the belief system, the tradition still survives as a heritage-tourism marketing tool both in the American West and in Cornwall.

Conclusion

This article describes a foundation upon which folklorists can conduct research in Cornwall. It outlines three suggested avenues for future work: understanding the historical context and role of the early collectors; drawing on their material to help define pre-industrial Cornish society while placing it within a regional context; and working with contemporary informants to grapple with a changing world as Cornwall adapts to a new millennium. The last of these approaches remains unexplored here, but it is nevertheless an essential topic for research.

A few observations are possible when considering the material collected by the pioneers of Cornish folklore studies. First, there can be no question that these antiquarians were reacting to transformations and that they were desperately attempting to document traditions that were disappearing before their eyes. The writings of Bottrell and Hunt give voice to this sort of

reaction to modernism. In addition, there are hints that they were considering nationalism in some capacity, which would have been consistent with the motivations of folklorists elsewhere in the nineteenth century. Whatever their source of inspiration, the early collectors in Cornwall can stand proudly in the company of their counterparts: these scholars contributed a remarkable body of literature that deserves recognition.

There needs to be a word of caution here against a widespread perception throughout Europe, namely that what was disappearing was better than what followed. Besides drawing on the power of nostalgia, this concept was based on the fact that rural European societies seemed static before industrialization, and so people regarded folklore as something of a solid bedrock put in place during a remote golden age. Although change sometimes seemed glacial before modernization, culture does, nevertheless, transform perpetually. And what is more, variation from place to place and between individuals was considerable, so collected oral tradition, no matter from what period, does not reflect the definitive manifestation of a culture. To some extent, early scholars sought to reconstruct the "true," primal folklore of a by-gone time, attempting to find the original or "ur" form of tale types, legends, and cultural practices such as a harvest-time sacrifice. The goal usually proved elusive if not unattainable, but that reality does not diminish the value of the collections. Bottrell, Hunt, Courtney, and the others provide snapshots of a Cornwall in dynamic transition. Despite the limitation of the early publications, further analysis can yield insight into a society that occupied a unique role, dominated by "industrial Celts," as Payton describes the Cornish of that period.[55] At the same time, the first collectors captured an emerging society as it transformed.

The study of Cornish folklore should take its place in the pantheon of other traditions that extend from Scandinavia to Ireland. Whether Celtic or Northern European, the Cornish legacy

has a distinct stamp and the early collectors amassed material that represents a major contribution with the potential to illuminate what is known about society before modernization changed the region profoundly. Cornish folklore has the potential to cast light on the spectrum of possibilities, defining an important component in the study of Celtic and Northern European oral tradition and helping to determine how those two terms are either distinct or complementary.

Finally, a critique may be offered of the study of British folklore: too often it tended to be insular, separated from advances in Germany and Scandinavia. The intent here is not to be dismissive or condescending. Great strides have been accomplished during the nearly two centuries of work on British folklore and many of its practitioners have indeed been part of the international community. Nevertheless and by way of comparison, one of the great strengths of the Department of Irish Folklore was that it was founded, in part, thanks to the interest of the important Swedish folklorist, Carl Wilhelm von Sydow (1878-1952). His work—and that of his Swedish successors— tied Irish folklore studies to the larger European realm of analysis. The sort of stultification that Simpson and Roud describe in reference to Frazer's effect on the study of harvest ritual has been pervasive, but there is a clear path for progress. Folklorists have developed sophisticated, comparative analysis when dealing with the traditions of various Celtic and Scandinavian regions. Consequently, the opportunity to place Cornish material in that larger context not only exists, but the door stands open to extract new insights from the work of its early folklore collectors.

[1] For the Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, see James M. McGlathery, ed., *The Brothers Grimm and Folktale* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988).
[2] See, for example, Koppel S. Pinson, *Modern Germany: Its History and Civilization* (New York: Macmillan, 1966) 43, 46, 52; Hans Kohn, *The Mind of Germany: the Education of a Nation* (New York: Harper and Row, 1960) 56-7; and Agatha Ramm, *Germany, 1789-1919: A Political History* (London: Methuen and Company, 1967) 160.
[3] See, for example, Richard Dorson, "The Question of Folklore in a New Nation," *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 3:3 (December 1966). And see the special issue of *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 12:2/3 (August-December 1975), which includes the following: Richard Dorson, "National Characteristics of Japanese Folktales"; William A. Wilson, "The *Kalevala* and Finish Politics"; Abu Saeed Zahurul Hague, "The Use of Folklore in Nationalist Movements and Liberation Struggles: A Case Study of Bangladesh"; Sandra Eminov, "Folklore and Nationalism in Modern China"; and Ilhan Basgov, "Folklore Studies and Nationalism in Turkey."
[4] Jacob Grimm acknowledged the importance of French and Italian collecting before he and his brother began their work. French and Italian efforts drew on different roots and were not as important to later folklore studies. See Jacob Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, translated from the fourth edition by James Stern Stallybrass (New York: Dover Publications, 1966) xv. See Charles Perrault, *Contes* (Paris: Editions Garnier Freres, 1967) for comparative material.
[5] William A. Wilson, "Herder, Folklore and Romantic Nationalism," *Journal of Popular Culture* 6:4 (1973) 819-835; Robert R. Ergang, *Herder and the Foundation of German Nationalism* (New York: Octagon Books, 1966); Isaiah Berlin, *Vico and Herder: Two Studies in the History of Ideas* (New York: Vintage Books, 1976). The relationship of nationalism and folklore is addressed in an earlier article appearing in *Cornish Studies*: Amy Hale, "Rethinking Celtic Cornwall: An Ethnographic Approach," in Philip Payton (ed.) *Cornish Studies: Five* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1997) 87.
[6] William Thoms, "Folklore" from Alan Dundes, *The Study of Folklore* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965) 4-6, reprinted from *The Anthenaem*, No. 982 (August 22, 1846) 862-3. This is the Thoms, also known as Ambrose Merton, to whom Hunt refers: Robert Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England or the Drolls, Traditions, and Superstitions of Old Cornwall* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1903, first edition, 1865) 102.
[7] Arthur Oncken Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1936) 290-7.
[8] Roland Hoermann, *Achim von Arnim* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984) 24.
[9] Ruth Michaelis-Jena, *The Brothers Grimm* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970) 47-8; and see Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *The Complete Grimm's Fairy Tales*, translated by James Stern with introduction by Padriac Colum and commentary by Josef Scharl (New York: Pantheon Books 1944). *Märchen* is often but inappropriately translated with the dismissive term "fairytale."
[10] G. P. Gooch discusses von Savigny and Jacob Grimm in his *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952, second edition) 39-59.
[11] Jack Zipes, *The Brothers Grimm: From Enchanted Forests to the Modern World* (New York: Routledge, 1988). For additional material, see Zipes, *Breaking the Magic Spell: Radical Theories of Folk and Fairy Tales* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979) and Murry B. Peppard, *Paths through the Forest: A Biography of the Brothers Grimm* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971).
[12] Zipes, *The Brothers Grimm*, 78.
[13] The inspiration of nationalism in motivating early folklore studies in Ireland was emphasized by Sven Liljeblad (1899-2000); personal communications with the author, 1976-1981, and see Ronald M. James "Sven S. Liljeblad" *Halcyon* 2 (1980). In the 1920s, Liljeblad helped organize material that became the archive of the Irish Folklore Commission, established in 1935. He was a principal student of Carl Wilhelm von Sydow (1878-1952), who shaped international folklore studies beginning with the turn of the century and who sought to encourage Irish nationalism. von Sydow, willed his 14,000 volume library to the Irish Folklore Commission, the precursor to the Department of Irish Folklore.

[14] *Dictionary of National Biography* (New York: Macmillan, 1908); Katharine Briggs, *An Encyclopedia of Fairies, Hobgoblins, Brownies, Bogies, and Other Supernatural Creatures* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976) 226-7; and obituary, *The Times*, October 20, 1887, page 5; Issue 32208; col. F from http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_Times_/1887/Obituary/Robert_Hunt accessed 5-1-2010; see also Amy Hale, "Cornish" from *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia*, Volumes 1-5 by John T. Koch (ed.) (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2006) 761; and Alan Pearson, *Robert Hunt, F. R. S. (1807-1887)* (Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, 1976).
[15] Briggs, *An Encyclopedia of Fairies,* 34; William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall* (Penzance: W. Cornish, 1870, 1873, and 1880).
[16] Margaret Ann Courtney and T. Q. Couch, *Glossary of Words in Use in Cornwall* (London: Trübner & Co, 1880). T. Q. Couch contributed the study of the eastern part of Cornwall. See also Courtney's *Cornish Feasts and Folklore* (Penzance: Beare and Son, 1890).
[17] James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps, *Rambles in Western Cornwall by the Footsteps of the Giants, with Notes on the Celtic Remains of the Land's End District and the Islands of Scilly* (London: J. R Smith, 1861).
[18] William Purcell, *Onward Christian Soldier: A Life of Sabine Baring-Gould, Parson, Squire, Novelist, Antiquarian, 1834-1924* (London: Longmans Green, 1957).
[19] Robert Morton Nance, "Cornish Beginnings," *Old Cornwall* (5:9) 1958. See also the obituary of Nance in *The Times*, May 28, 1959. And see Peter W. Thomas and Derek R. Williams, *Setting Cornwall on its Feet—Robert Morton Nance 1873-1959* (London: Francis Boutle, 2007). See also Venetia J. Hewall, "Introduction" in Toni Deane and Toni Shaw, *The Folklore of Cornwall* (Totoway, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1975) 11, 13-15.
[20] "Justin Brooke (Alfred) Kenneth Hamilton Jenkin (1900-1980)" from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). See Jenkin's *The Cornish Miner: An Account of his Life above and underground from Early Times* (London: Allen and Urwin, 1962, originally 1927); *Cornwall and the Cornish: Story, Religion, and Folk-Lore of "The Western Land"* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1933); and *Cornish Homes and Customs* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1934).
[21] *Folklore*, 19 (1908) 476.
[22] Enys Tregarthen collected by Elizabeth Yates, *Pixie Folklore and Legends* (New York: Avenel, 1996; originally published as *Piskey Folk: A Book of Cornish Legends*); see the forward, 1-3, by Kathryn Knox Soman.
[23] Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, 21.
[24] *Ibid*., 30.
[25] *Ibid*., 23.
[26] Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall* (1870) vii.
[27] Briggs, *An Encyclopedia of Fairies,* 426.
[28] Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, 28.
[29] J. H. Delargy, "The Gaelic Story-Teller with some notes on Gaelic Folk-Tales" (The Sir John Rhŷs Lecture, November 28, 1945); and see his "The Gaelic Story-Teller—No Living Counterpart in Western Christendom," *Ireland of the Welcomes*, 1:1 (1952) 2-4; see also George Denis Zimmermann, *The Irish Storyteller* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001).
[30] Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, 28.
[31] As cited by Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, 26.
[32] Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall* (1870) vi.
[33] Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, 26-7. Although it seems Bottrell's two droll tellers were distinct from the two Hunt says he had known, they may have been the same individuals.
[34] *Ibid*., 23-25, and see his discussions throughout.
[35] Courtney, *Cornish Feasts and Folk-Lore*, 56
[36] It is worth noting that two dictionaries in the Oxford series devoted to mythology and folklore, volumes dedicated to Celtic mythology on the one hand, and English folklore on the other, include

numerous references to Cornwall, a place shared in the minds of the editors by both topics. See Jacqueline Simpson and Steve Roud, *A Dictionary of English Folklore* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) and James MacKillop, *A Dictionary of Celtic Mythology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

[37] Antony Charles Thomas, *Studies in the Folk-Lore of Cornwall: I. The Taboo* (Lowenac, Camborne, Cornwall, England: published by the author 1951); *II. The Sacrifice* (same, 1952). This is not to diminish the subsequent research conducted. See, for example, the work of Amy Hale: "Gathering the Fragments: Performing Contemporary Celtic Identities in Cornwall" (Los Angeles: University of California Los Angeles, dissertation in Folklore and Mythology, 1998); "Whose Celtic Cornwall: The Ethnic Cornish Meets Celtic Spirituality" from David Harvey, et. al., *Celtic Geographies: Old Culture, New Times* (London: Routledge, 2002) 157ff; and the previously cited "Rethinking Celtic Cornwall" 85-99; and Amy Hale and Philip Payton, eds., *New Directions in Celtic Studies* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 2000), especially Amy Hale and Shannon Thornton "Pagans, Pipers and Politicos: Constructing 'Celtic' in a Festival Context," 97-107. See also the interesting approach from outside the discipline of folklore by Paul Manning, "Jewish Ghosts, Knackers, Tommyknockers, and other Sprites of Capitalism in the Cornish Mines" in Philip Payton (ed.) *Cornish Studies: Thirteen* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 2005) 216-255.

[38] Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography* (Helsinki: FF Communications No. 184, 1961; second revision, fourth printing, 1987); some now refer to tale types as ATU, acknowledging the recent work of Hans-Jorg Uther, *The Types of International Folktales: A Classification and Bibliography, Based on the System of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson* (Helsinki: FF Communications Nos. 284-86, 2004). This article does not introduce the work of Vladimir Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale*, translated by Laurence Scott and revised and edited by Louis A. Wagner (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968, originally 1928). Propp's work would open the door to a larger discussion outside the scope of this article.

[39] In fact, the number is slightly less than 300 as demonstrated by Ronald M. James, "A Year in Ireland: Reflections on a Methodological Crises," *Sinsear* (1983); see Seán Ó Súilleabháin and Reidar Th. Christiansen, *The Types of the Irish Folktale* (Helsinki: FF Communications No. 188, 1967).

[40] Halliwell-Phillipps, *Rambles in Western Cornwall*, 7-11 refers to encountering this cycle of stories in western Cornwall. A more popular version of this cycle, which appears with a Cornish hero known popularly as Jack and the Beanstalk, appeared in Edwin Sidney Hartland, *English Fairy and other Folk Tales* (1890, republished online: Forgotten Books, 2008) 28-34.

[41] Bottrell is quoted in Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, 27. For other examples of AT 365, see Hunt's "The Spectral Bridegroom," 233; "The Lovers of Porthangwartha," 247; and "The Execution and Wedding," 256.

[42] Philip Payton, "Bridget Cleary and Cornish Studies: Folklore, Story-telling and Modernity," in Philip Payton (ed.) *Cornish Studies: Thirteen* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 2005) 194-215. And see Angela Bourke, *The Burning of Bridget Cleary: A True Story* (New York: Penguin Putnam, 1999).

[43] Reidar Th. Christiansen, *The Migratory Legends: A Proposed List of Types with a Systematic Catalogue of the Norwegian Variants* (Helsinki: FF Communications No. 175, 1958); See Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, 85-7, 95-6 for material involving changelings.

[44] For the "Midwife to the Fairies, see Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, "Nursing the Fairy," 83-5; "The Fairy Ointment," 109-111; "How Joan Lost the Sight of Her Eye," 111-3.

[45] Bottrell captured the mermaid legend in a way that appears more faithful to the tradition than the one that Hunt published, where it was apparently simplified and given a happier ending. Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, 152-5 and Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall* (1870) 64-70; See also Briggs, *An Encyclopedia of Fairies,* 272-5.

[46] Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, 366; see also Dáithí Ó hÓgáin, "Migratory Legends in Medieval Irish Literature, *Béaloideas* 60/61 (1992/1993) 57-74.

[47] For troll beliefs see Elisabeth Hartmann, *Die Trollvorstellungen in den Sagen und Märchen der skandinavischen Völker* (Stuttgart, 1936). Much has been written on Celtic supernatural beings; see, for example, W. Y. Evans-Wentz, *The Fairy Faith in Celtic Countries* (New York: Citadel Press, 1990, originally 1911); Evans-Wentz pioneered the field and incorporated Cornish material. See also Peter Narváez, ed., *The Good People: New Fairylore Essays* (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1997); Lizanne Henderson and Edward J. Cowan, *Scottish Fairy Belief: A History* (East Lothian, Scotland: Tuckwell Press, 2001); and Patricia Lysaght, *The Banshee: The Irish Death Messenger* (Boulder, Colorado: Roberts Rinehart, 1986). There are many other terms used in Northern Europe. Polynesia also includes the rare concept of social supernatural beings.
[48] See Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, 385-6; Courtney, *Cornish Feasts and Folk-lore*, 52-3; Jenkin, *Cornish Homes and Customs*, 153-7; A. L. Rowse. *A Cornish Childhood: Autobiography of a Cornishman* (London: Sphere Books, 1975, originally 1942) 8. See also Deane and Shaw, *Folklore of Cornwall*, 167-8; Philip Payton, *Cornwall: A History* (Fowey: Cornwall Editions, 2004) 20; and Iorwerth C. Peate, "Corn Ornaments" *Folklore* 82:3 (autumn 1971) 177.
[49] For Thomas's second volume, *Studies in the Folk-Lore of Cornwall: II. The Sacrifice*; see chapter 5, obtained from http://sacred-texts.com/neu/celt/bof/bof05.htm, accessed 11/1/2010. James Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, Volume I (*The Golden Bough*, Volume 7; London: Macmillan, 1912, third edition) 264-9. Frazer also cites Devonian and Welsh examples in addition to his material from Cornwall.
[50] Simpson and Roud, *A Dictionary of English Folklore*, 168.
[51] See, for example, Jacqueline Simpson, *Scandinavian Folktales* (London: Penguin Books, 1988) 174-175; Reidar Christiansen translated by Pat Shaw Iversen, *Folktales of Norway* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964) 139-140.
[52] Alan M. Kent, "'Drill Cores': A Newly-Found Manuscript of Cousin Jack Narratives from the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, USA," in Philip Payton (ed.) *Cornish Studies: Twelve* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 2004) 106-143.
[53] Wayland Hand, "California Miner's Folklore: Above Ground" and "California Miner's Folklore: Below Ground," *California Folklore Quarterly* 1 (1942) 24-46 and 127-153, respectively. For other regional examples, see James C. Barker, "Echoes of Tommy Knockers in Bohemia, Oregon, Mines," *Western Folklore Quarterly* 30:2 (April 1971) 119-122; Wayland D. Hand "Folklore from Utah's Silver Mining Camps," *Journal of American Folklore* 45 (1941) 132-161; Archie Green, "At the Hall, in the Stope: Who Treasures Tales of Work?" *Western Folklore Quarterly* 46:3 (July 1987) 153-170; Caroline Bancroft, "Folklore of the Central City District, Colorado," *California Folklore Quarterly* 4 (1945) 315-342
[54] Ronald M. James, "Knockers, Knackers, and Ghosts: Immigrant Folklore in the Western Mines," *Western Folklore Quarterly* 51:2 (April 1992). See also the additional work by Manning, "Jewish Ghosts, Knackers, Tommyknockers, and other Sprites of Capitalism in the Cornish Mines."
[55] Phillip Payton, "Industrial Celts?: Cornish Identity in the Age of Technological Prowess," Philip Payton (ed.) *Cornish Studies: Ten* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 2002) 116-135.