The Cornish Question:
Conflicted Means and Uncertain Ends in Cornish Heritage Tourism and Indigenous Identity

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Abstract

Cornwall is situated in the westernmost part of England's southwest peninsula and has unique Celtic links, similar to those of Scotland, Wales and Brittany. Due to these factors of location and historical connection, Cornwall is set apart from the nation in which it is located. Indeed, referring to it as a county proves contentious for many residents due to its distinctive heritage and culture. As such, this research examines how and why Cornwall is viewed as 'different' to England and the ways in which the nation appreciates, respects, or neglects these differences. Whilst government policy has slowly begun to acknowledge Cornish distinctiveness, many believe that it is too late. Cornwall is already inundated with tourists and in-migrants and it is argued that as a result, Cornish identity is threatened. This research combines primary data with secondary literature to examine the case of Cornwall, including its landscape, heritage, culture, and citizens.

The coastline and countryside which make up the Cornish landscape motivate tourism within Cornwall. Depictions of the region frequently focus on these features rather than historical or cultural aspects, thus leading to the commodification of the area; the countryside is consumed in order to fuel the tourism industry. Cornwall relies significantly on the tourism industry, due to the decline of its native industries, yet through commercialization, this very industry threatens Cornish heritage. This research therefore asks, 'Who owns Cornwall's heritage and who cares?' It examines the conflict between residents and visitors and the ways in which each inhabit the same space for different purposes.

Overall, this dissertation argues that the tourism industry contributes to the evolving nature of Cornish culture and identity. With tourism as such a large influence within the region, it is inevitable that visitors ultimately contribute to a contemporary model of Cornish heritage. In order for the region to continue to promote itself as distinct, whilst also welcoming visitors, it is essential that these same visitors are accepted as part of the Cornish narrative. Although incomers must simultaneously respect Cornish culture and attempt to integrate themselves into the community. Cornwall's story continues to evolve and through the combined efforts of residents and visitors, Cornwall's public history can become a shared resource for all.

Acknowledgements

Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction

'Is there really a Cornish culture, and does it deserve promotion?' This is the headline of a 2008 article published in the British newspaper, *The Independent,* which assessed the allocations of EU funding for the preservation and celebration of Cornish culture.[1] Whilst almost a decade outdated the title of this article remains relevant today; to what extent is England aware of Cornish heritage and culture and how does this cultural consciousness, or lack thereof, contribute to a successful tourist industry. As the article further points out, Cornwall is typically associated with beaches, pasties and ice cream. Whilst it might be claimed that these depictions of Cornwall are not incorrect, it is the way they are marketed which is problematic; they represent Cornwall as a region to be consumed. The meaning and significance of Cornish heritage is subverted and degraded through the process of commercialisation.[2]

This particular article is relevant to this thesis due to the current political climate within the UK. Despite Cornwall receiving a significant amount of funding from the EU, Cornwall voted Leave in the 2016 referendum with a majority of 56.5%.[3] Yet following the results the region asked for assurance that it's funding wouldn't be cut.[4] This resulted in public ridicule of the Cornish, particularly through social media.[5] The support of Cornish heritage and culture via EU funding is suggestive; they might be better situated to sympathise with the plight of the region than Westminster is. The questions raised regarding Cornish culture, identity, and the argument for independence are also raised throughout Europe by cities which are culturally independent of the nation.[6] However, as

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[1] Simon Usborne, "The Big Question: Is there really a Cornish culture, and does it deserve promotion?" *The Independent,* 15th September 15, 2008, accessed February 2, 2017, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/this-britain/the-big-question-is-there-really-a-cornish-culture-and-does-it-deserve-promotion-932037.html.

[2] Jonathan Hewlett, "Putting the Kitsch in Kernow," in *Cornish Studies,* ed. Philip Payton (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2004), p. 32.

[3] "Results," BBC News, Last modified August 22, 2017, http://www.bbc.com/news/politics/eu_referendum/results.

[4] Cornish funding from the EU has averaged 60 million every year for the past ten years, the benefits of which are discussed briefly in the following chapter.

[5] "News," ITV, Last modified August 22, 2017, http://www.itv.com/news/westcountry/update/2016-06-24/cornwall-pleas-for-reassurance-it-will-not-be-worse-off-following-brexit-vote/.

[6] One significant example is Valencia in Spain, similar to Cornwall, Valencia has its own language and culture which have historically been oppressed in favour of Spanish.

Cornwall, along with the rest of the UK, has severed ties with the EU, initiatives funded by the EU throughout the region are jeopardized.

Despite Brexit, and particularly Cornwall's role in voting in favour of leaving the EU, Cornwall have put forward Truro to take part in the nationwide competition to find the 2023 European Capital of Culture.[7] If Truro succeeds it will gain valuable media exposure for Cornwall in the wake of Brexit which will shift focus from the region's coastal charm to its historical and cultural appeal. It is also argued that winning the Capital of Culture title, along with the events that this will stimulate, will raise the aspirations of the younger generations; potentially encouraging them to stay in Cornwall rather than migrate to other parts of the UK, as a large proportion of Cornish citizens currently do.[8] In order to fully analyse the political condition and cultural plight of Cornwall, both British and EU support will be examined throughout this paper.

Representations of Cornwall, within marketing and popular media, promote the region as a tourist destination rather than a locality home to a permanent population. The region has increasingly been exploited by the tourism industry and subsequently Cornish heritage and culture is at risk. However, what remains problematic is the influence that the tourism industry has on the Cornish economy; Cornwall paradoxically relies heavily on tourism even though it threatens its indigenous culture.[9] Bernard Deacon examines the changing perceptions of the Cornish as a result of the loss of their once booming industries:

> In the early nineteenth century the Cornish were described as a dynamic, innovative and industrious people at the forefront of technological change…by the late twentieth century, the Cornish were being viewed as un-

Joep Leerssen, "The Nation and the City: Urban Festivals and Cultural Mobilisation," *Nations and Nationalism* 21: 1 (2015), 7.

[7] This title is typically held by EU countries however some non EU countries have won before.
"European Capital of Culture Bid," Cornwall Museums Partnership, Last modified June 6, 2017, https://www.cornwallmuseumspartnership.org.uk/cornwalls-european-capital-culture-bid-brilliant-not-bonkers/.

[8] Bernard Deacon, "The Unimportance of Being Cornish in Cornwall," in *Cornish Studies 21,* ed. Philip Payton (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2013), p. 21.

[9] In 2014 it was estimated that tourism in Cornwall generated £2.6 billion in business turnover.
The South West Research Company, "Cornwall Visitor Survey 2016," *Visit Cornwall*, accessed August 26, 2017, url: https://www.visitcornwall.com/sites/default/files/generic_files/CVS%202011%20-%20FINAL%20REPORT.pdf.

dynamic, besotted with the 'dreckly' syndrome and contrasted – explicitly or implicitly – with 'dynamic' incomers.[10]

This research examines the replacement of indigenous industry by tourism and the influence this has on Cornwall; as a landscape and regarding Cornish culture and identity.

The result of increased tourism in Cornwall is the dilution of indigenous communities and, consequently, the development of negative attitudes towards tourists and in-migrants. The influx of tourists has resulted in building developments which accommodate holiday homes, the resulting property prices within Cornwall disadvantage the indigenous community. The main concern regarding such tourists and in-migrants is their lack of respect towards regional culture and the shallow reasons which draw them to Cornwall; in a survey conducted for Visit Cornwall, 68% of visitors listed seaside resorts as the main attraction visited, or planned to visit within the region.[11] The following chapters will analyse the way in which the region's natural and cultural assets are exploited for the growth of the tourism industry.

In response to the rise in visitors to Cornwall, heritage attractions within the region are marketed towards tourists rather than locals. Frequently these sites are managed by national organisations, with no inclusion of a Cornish context or narrative. The result is that Cornwall and the Cornish are constructed in a number of often conflicting ways.[12] There are infinite imaginings of 'Cornishness' and the lines between invented and actual have become blurred thanks to the commodification of Cornish culture by national organisations. This research will question whether Cornish culture is being diminished as a result of increased tourism?

It is a common mistake to equate heritage and history; the result is to misconceive heritage as static. But heritage in the context of Cornwall includes a range of aspects such as regional language, material culture, and the prevailing sense of place and identity, all of which are fluid and open to constant reinterpretation. Heritage and culture are intertwined; to protect one is to protect the other, and this research will examine facets of

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[10] Bernard Deacon, "From 'Cornish Studies' to 'Critical Cornish Studies': Reflections on Methodology," in *Cornish Studies 12,* ed. Philip Payton (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2004), p. 16.
[11] The South West Research Company, "Cornwall Visitor Survey 2011," *Visit Cornwall*, accessed August 25, 2017, url: https://www.visitcornwall.com/sites/default/files/generic_files/CVS%202011%20-%20FINAL%20REPORT.pdf, p. 66.
[12] Deacon, "From 'Cornish Studies' to 'Critical Cornish Studies,'" p. 27.

both heritage and cultural models.[13] This dissertation seeks to examine the interplay of public history, popular culture and the landscape of Cornwall, exploring the tangible and intangible elements of Cornish heritage and the different ways visitors and locals interact with them.[14]

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[13] Craig Weatherhill, "What is Cornish Culture?" Opinion Piece for *TransCeltic* June 18, 2017, accessed August 30, 2017, url: http://www.transceltic.com/blog/what-cornish-culture.

[14] Dallen J. Timothy and Stephen W. Boyd, *Heritage Tourism* (Harlow: Pearson, 2003), p. 4.

Framework and Methodology

This research has taken into consideration the opinions of indigenous Cornish individuals through the aid of research interviews; these have proved instrumental in directing the course of this paper. In general those interviewed agreed that it is crucial that the concerns of the local community are taken into consideration by the national organisations which have significant influence in the region. The subject most commonly discussed was the individuality of Cornwall and the Cornish, with one individual stating: "Remember we are a breed apart…With only four miles joining us to England:"[15] Whilst this research does not have the scope to examine claims to Cornish independence, when discussing Cornish heritage, culture and identity, it inevitably draws on certain aspects of Cornish distinctiveness which set it apart from England.

Chapter 2 will examine secondary literature within Cornish Studies, particularly focusing on the significance of Cornwall as a Celtic region and its differences to England and the effect of increased tourism within Cornwall. It will examine the gentrification of Cornwall due to the use of the region as a playground and any resulting hostility towards visitors. Chapter 3 will scrutinise heritage initiatives within Cornwall to compare national with local level organisations; it will highlight examples of conflict between national heritage organisations and local communities. This chapter will then go on to question the influence of the popular media on the commodification of Cornwall, specifically examining the popular television series, *Poldark*. These arguments will be reinforced using data collected from interviews. Chapter 4 will focus on Cornish heritage and culture from a local perspective; most contentiously the effect of tourism and second homes on local communities. It includes results from a student survey carried out by seventeen and eighteen year olds, conducted at Wadebridge Sixth Form in North Cornwall. It will examine aspects of intangible heritage and the Cornish diaspora and the contribution they make to a Cornish sense of identity. These approaches aim to answer the questions outlined but inevitably through the research process new questions are created.

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[15] Angela Angove, Letter to the Author, June 9, 2017.

Chapter 2: **Defining the Cornish Question**

Cornwall is one of the most visited locations in the UK and yet it remains one of the least understood places.[1] Bernard Deacon, notable Cornish Studies academic, has argued that this is due to rural stereotyping and the vast amount of invented material that surrounds the region.[2] Despite Cornwall steadily moving away from the rural idyllic landscape that it once was - due to the increase in population and the urban commercialisation of certain areas - it continues to be portrayed to visitors as a landscape void of inhabitants. This has resulted in the perception that Cornwall is fit for consumption by the masses.[3] This commodification of country living has received substantial attention within the field of rural studies, with Harvey and Riley describing the process as the 'museumification' of rural areas.[4]

Rebecca Wheeler, in her study on rural communities and place identity, has examined the depletion of the countryside:

> In contrast to the former primary uses of the Cornish countryside (i.e. farming, fishing, and mining), the amenity value of post-productivist rural areas has led to its increasing commodification, the rural idyll is now 'sold' as a matter for consumption.[5]

In order to promote the 'rural idyll' discussed by Wheeler, representations of Cornwall frequently romanticise the region, resulting in unrealistic expectations for the visitor.[6] Marketing campaigns focus exclusively on the coastal appeal of Cornwall and typically overlook the region's culture and heritage. The effect this has on visitors to Cornwall is demonstrated in a 2016 Visitor Survey compiled for Visit Cornwall; the words most

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[1] In 2014 Cornwall witnessed 4.3 million staying visitors and 14.7 million day visitors. "Cornwall Visitor Survey 2016," *Visit Cornwall,* p. 2.

[2] Bernard Deacon, *Cornwall and the Cornish* (Penzance: Alison Hodge, 2010), p. 116.

[3] Hewlett, "Putting the Kitsch in Kernow,"p. 57.

[4] M. Riley and D. Harvey, "Landscape archaeology, heritage and the community in Devon: An oral history approach," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 11 (2005), p. 277.

[5] Rebecca Wheeler, "Mining Memories in a Rural Community: Landscape, Temporality and Place Identity," *Journal of Rural Studies* 36 (2014), p. 24.

[6] One example is the impression that Cornwall witness's superior weather to the rest of England; due to unrealistic marketing campaigns tourists are frequently unprepared for bad weather. This is demonstrated in a visitor survey conducted for Visit Cornwall. Participants were asked what they liked least about their visit to Cornwall and the most common response was the weather. "Cornwall Visitor Survey 2011," *Visit Cornwall*, p. 94

associated with Cornwall were 'unspoilt countryside' and 'stunning coastline' with a respective 73% and 89%. Whilst only 36% of those surveyed associated Cornwall as 'cultural' and 49% with 'distinctive heritage.'[7]

In her 2013 study Joanne Willett examines the lack of acknowledgement of Cornish culture by the tourism industry:

> Despite having a rich [regional] heritage, recent policy has been reluctant to draw on symbols of ethnicity when developing its brand messages about Cornwall…as a consequence, Cornwall is represented in a discontinuous break with its history, and its attractiveness rests in its desirability as a place to consume.[8]

Jonathan Hewlett has built on these arguments and claims that cultural remains have become 'fetish objects' of an imaginary contemporary culture;[9] it is through this process that an invented culture can be mistakenly consumed by visitors and residents alike.[10]

Ideologies regarding Cornish culture vary depending on whether you experience Cornwall from a local or national perspective. The Cornish/English question is a recurrent theme within Cornish studies and Deacon has criticised the government by claiming that the most common way of responding to Cornish claims is largely by ignoring them.[11] However, this statement was written in 2001 and it is necessary to point out the acknowledgment of Cornwall as a region by the British government since. For example, under the European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, the region was officially recognised as a distinct entity by the British government in 2014.[12] This landmark achievement for Cornwall demonstrates the first official government recognition of the separate identity of Cornish people.

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[7] "Cornwall Visitor Survey 2016," *Visit Cornwall*, pp 71-72.

[8] Joanne Willet, "Liberal Ethnic Nationalism, Universality and Cornish Identity," *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 13: 2 (2013), p. 207.

[9] Hewlett, "Putting the Kitsch in Kernow," p. 34.

[10] A comparable example might be Temple Bar in Dublin. The high concentration of supposedly traditional Irish pubs in the heart of the city centre proves a massive tourist attraction, yet admittedly resident Dubliners avoid the area. The exploitation, and in some cases exaggeration, of Irish culture is similar to developments taking place in Cornwall. It demonstrates the need to find a balance between commercial, yet valid and historically accurate sites which cater for locals and visitors alike.

[11] Bernard Deacon, *Building the Region: Culture and Territory in the South West of England* (Pavis Centre for Social and Cultural Research: The Open University, 2003), p. 16.

[12] "Cornish Granted Minority Status within the UK," Gov.UK, Last modified August 4, 2017, https://www.gov.uk/government/news/cornish-granted-minority-status-within-the-uk.

The European Union has financially supported Cornwall since 2000 when it was granted Objective One funding; designed to support the development of regions which are significantly falling behind the rest of Europe.[13] This funding was crucial in the establishment of the Combined Universities in Cornwall project (CUC) which brought a University to Cornwall for the first time. This allowed Cornish people the opportunity to study at higher level education and has encouraged young people to remain in the region rather than pursuing education and careers outside of Cornwall. This also impacted Cornwall's economy and according to an independent study carried out by CUC the initiative will have created more than 4000 jobs in Cornwall by 2025.[14]

These examples prove that the plight and importance of Cornwall as a region has been increasingly acknowledged by the British and European governments and as a result Cornish studies has witnessed a growth in academic fields and also within the popular media.[15] This paper will examine the following four subjects of study: Cornish regional identity, the contention surrounding Cornish and English narratives of heritage and culture, the effect of tourism and in-migration and the subsequent commercialisation of the region. Each of these topics boast a significant amount of literature, some of which will be examined within this chapter.

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[13] "Objective 1," Network for Europe, Last modified August 15, 2017, http://www.networkforeurope.eu/objective-1-0.

[14] "Higher Education in Cornwall," Combined Universities in Cornwall, Last modified August 15, 2017, http://www.cuc.ac.uk/.

[15] The first ever Television advert in the Cornish Language was aired in 2016 for Kellys of Cornwall; a popular Cornish ice cream brand. The advert was aired on national television stations ITV and Channel 4, which symbolises the attempts to expose the rest of the UK to Cornish Culture.
Mark Sweney, "First Cornish TV Ad to air weeks after Funding is cut," *The Guardian,* May 20, 2017, accessed August 22, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/media/2016/may/20/first-cornish-tv-ad-to-air-weeks-after-language-funding-is-axed.

Cornish or English?

Crowther and Carter in their 1998 study on the Cornish community examine perceptions of Cornwall by the English and how the region is commonly represented as an English county.[16] Although Deacon has described Cornwall as:

> Both 'of England' and 'not of England' it defies easy analysis. Cornwall and the Cornish teeter on the brink of a conceptual and historiographical crevasse, neither county nor nation.[17]

It could be argued that contemporary representations of the region focus on 'who' visits Cornwall rather than on Cornwall itself. Aside from a popular tourist destination, Cornwall is home to a distinctive heritage and culture which in some cases is overlooked in favour of its coastline and celebrity appeal. The region is now largely associated with the rich and famous and is frequently seen by outsiders as a 'playground' for tourists and A-Listers alike.[18]

Cornwall is characteristically different to the rest of England, notably because of its remote location and Celtic links. John Fleet has identified that Cornwall has been recognised as separate to England since the Middle Ages, '…the medieval Mappa Mundi in Hereford Cathedral proclaims "Anglia et Cornubia" – "England and Cornwall."[19] One large contributor to this is the Cornish language, a factor which no other English county can boast, which has witnessed a revival since the 20th century and is increasingly used within Cornwall today.[20]

In 2002 the Cornish language was officially recognised under the Council of Europe's charter for regional or minority languages which came after a seven year campaign by Cornish organisations and local authorities.[21] The charter requires the British

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[16] David Crowther and Christ Carter, *Community Identity in Cyberspace: A Study of the Cornish Community* (Aston Business School Research Paper Series, 1998), p. 8.

[17] Bernard Deacon, "County, Nation, Ethnic Group? The Shaping of the Cornish Identity," *International Journal of Regional and Local Studies* 1 (2007), p. 8.

[18] Harry Wallop, "Welcome to Snooty-On-Sea," *MailOnline,* August 5, 2017, accessed August 12, 2017, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-4764328/How-rich-colonising-seaside-hotspots.html.

[19] John Fleet, "Cornish Identity at Risk – A Rundown on the Present Situation in Cornwall," *Europäisches Journal für Minderheitenfragen* 1: 4 (2008), 237.

[20] Siarl Ferdinand, "A Brief History of the Cornish Language its Revival and its Current Status," *Journal of Interdisciplinary Celtic Studies* 2 (2013), 213.

[21] "Cornwall Language Strategy and Plans," Cornwall Council, Last modified August 15, 2017, http://www.magakernow.org.uk/leisure-and-culture/the-cornish-language/cornish-language/cornish-language-office/cornish-language-strategy-and-plans/.

government to implement and maintain a Cornish language strategy, intended to ensure that the needs and wishes of both Cornish speakers and learners are taken into consideration.[22] Cornwall Council established the Cornish Language Office and is responsible for increasing the use of Cornish in the work of the council; since 2006 the Office has overseen the bi-lingualisation of place names on road signs within Cornwall.[23] This measure aids in contributing to a sense of possession of the language even in those who do not, and have no desire to, speak it.[24] This has strengthened the status of the Cornish language and protects it for future generations.[25] Since the recognition of Cornish as a minority language, Cornwall Council was awarded £150,000 every year for the development of the language but in April 2016 this funding was cut.[26] This contributes to the idea that the interest and recognition in Cornish culture is witnessing a decline.

The EU recognition of Cornwall as a region along with the language revival and the establishment of Cornish nationalist party 'Mebyon Kernow' in 1951 has helped catapult Cornwall to the forefront of international conversation.[27] One example which combines the significance of the Cornish language with claims to Cornish independence is the 2004 Christmas Day episode of popular television series The Simpsons. It shows Lisa Simpson holding a placard that says 'UK out of Cornwall' as she chants "Rydhsys rag Kernow

[22]"Cornish Language," Government Office for the South West, Last modified August 15, 2017, http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20060214063351/http:/www.gosw.gov.uk/gosw/culturehome/heritage/cornish/.

[23] "Road Markings and Signage." Cornwall Council. Last modified July 18, 2017. http://www.cornwall.gov.uk/transport-and-streets/roads-highways-and-pavements/road-markings-and-signage/?page=17662.

[24] Mark Sandford, "English Regionalism through the Looking Glass: Perspectives on the English Question from the North-East and Cornwall," National Identities 8: 1 (2006), p. 86.

[25] The Cornish Language was increasingly used this year at popular music festival 'BoardMasters' which takes places every August in Newquay. The BoardMasters organisers wanted festival goers to be exposed to as much Cornish language as possible throughout the festival and teamed up with the Cornish Language Partnership to make this possible. Famous performer Frank Turner who was headlining one of the sets even performed a short song in the Cornish language. The Festival is attended by 40,000 people, the majority of which will be Cornish and typically in the younger generations; this move to introduce the Cornish language to such a popular music event symbolises the increasing recognition of the importance of the language and the ways in which the Cornish people can interact with it.
Lee Trewhela, "Music Star Frank Turner to Perform Song in Cornish on Boardmasters Main Stage," Cornwall Live, August 10, 2017, accessed August 16, 2017, http://www.cornwalllive.com/whats-on/music-nightlife/music-star-frank-turner-perform-305744.

[26] "Cornish Language Funding cut by Government," BBC News, April 21, 2016, accessed August 22, 2017 http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-cornwall-36104716.

[27] "The Party for Cornwall," Mebyon Kernow, Last modified August 22, 2017, https://www.mebyonkernow.org/.

lemmyn" (Freedom for Cornwall Now).[28] Whether this acknowledgement of the Cornish language and the question of independence is in earnest or not, it remains significant. Matthew Clarke of the Cornish Language Fellowship stated "I know it's only a cartoon series, but it may make some people sit up and think."[29]

The popularity of Cornwall as a visitor destination has resulted in the commodification, urbanisation and ultimate destruction of some of its unique qualities. Georgia Watson has stated, 'To many people's deep regret almost everywhere seems to be getting more and more like everywhere else.'[30] Kerryn Husk and Malcolm Williams examine the potential effect of the increasing in-migrant population on Cornish culture in their 2012 paper:

> Cornwall remains an important migratory destination for people from other parts of the United Kingdom, and this is an important factor in ethnic emergence. To what extent will in-migrants be culturally absorbed and to what extent will they culturally define?[31]

The cultural effect on indigenous communities of outsiders has been examined in Whetter's series of essays written in the early 1970s, in which he states that 'the English and others who come into our midst are recognised for what they are, are not Cornish, can never become such.'[32] In his 2009 paper Deacon also acknowledged the perception of Cornish and English cultures and identities as incompatible, 'there is a view of Cornishness and Englishness as fundamentally irreconcilable identities with a stark border separating them, in imagination if not in material practices.'[33] However, the relationship between the Cornish and outsiders is continually evolving and these statements are now outdated. In an interview conducted with Cornish resident Edward Rowe (popular comedian turned actor, also known as 'Kernow King') the English, along with other in-migrants, are

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[28] "The Simpson's Christmas Day Message," *The Simpsons,* directed by Mike B. Anderson and John Rice, December 25, 2004.

[29] "Lisa puts cool into Cornish Cause," *BBC News,* July 5, 2004, accessed March 22, 2017, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/england/cornwall/3866927.stm.

[30] Georgia Butina Watson, "Construction of Local and Regional Identity," *Urbani Izziv* 32/33 (1997), p. 119.

[31] Kerryn Husk and Malcolm Williams, "The Legitimation of Ethnicity: The Case of the Cornish," *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 12: 2 (2012), p. 263.

[32] James Whetter, *A Celtic Tomorrow: Six Nations, One Soul* (St. Austell: M. K. Publications, 1973), p. 69.

[33] Bernard Deacon, "Cornishness and Englishness: Nested Identities or Incompatible Ideologies?" *International Journal of Regional and Local Studies* 5: 2 (2009), pp 11-12.

increasingly absorbed into Cornish society and culture. The main requirement by the Cornish is that newcomers appreciate and respect the region for what it is: not England.[34]

The Celtic Link

The Cornish case against being considered simply as a subordinate part of England is ultimately derived from Cornwall's claim to a distinct ethnic identity, or at least a distinct ethnic legacy, characterizing the indigenous people of Cornwall as a 'Celtic' nation. However, this claim of distinct Celtic identity is often not respected or simply ignored by individuals and national organisations linked with the region. Jones and MacLeod have noted how in a powerful antipathy to the British state some Cornish view Cornwall as a separate Celtic nation akin to Scotland and Wales.[35] Yet while these sister countries now enjoy an unprecedented measure of devolution and prestige, Cornwall's local government lacks any enhanced powers or authority.[36] This is demonstrated in the central government devolution programme of the mid-1990s, where the 'Government Office of the South West' was placed in Bristol and took no particular account of the singularity of Cornwall.[37]

The relationship between the Cornish and the Celts by the rest of England is frequently commodified; one famous example being the legend of King Arthur.[38] Whilst the Celtic contribution to contemporary Cornish identity is genuine, the manipulation and commercialisation of aspects, such as Celtic legend, has been termed by Hewlett as 'enkitschment.'[39] It could be argued that this has resulted in Celtic culture and identity becoming a fashionable and desirable heritage to lay claim to:

> Whenever I talk to Englishmen on holiday here, if I mention that Cornwall is a Celtic country, they are quick to point out that their grandmother was Irish, great grandfather was Scottish, father was half Welsh etc. It is as if they are proud of having Celtic roots, a little ashamed of their Englishness, as if they

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[34] Edward Rowe, interviewed via phone by Olivia Leitch, June 30, 2017.

[35] Martin Jones and Gordon MacLeod, "Regional Spaces, Spaces of Regionalism: Territory, Insurgent Politics and the English Question," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 29: 4 (2004), p. 441.

[36] Fleet, "Cornish Identity at Risk," p. 238.

[37] "Cornish Language," Government Office for the South West.

[38] Arthurian legend and its manipulation by Cornwall's heritage attractions will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

[39] Hewlett, "Putting the Kitsch in Kernow,"p. 58.

appreciate that the English are intruders that Britain is at root a Celtic country.[40]

The distinctiveness of Cornwall contributes to its appeal to visitors who all desire to have some sort of connection to, or stake in, the region. This has been identified by Watson in her examination of regional identities: 'the more we are becoming part of a larger universal system, the more we want to portray our own individualism, and personal or group aspirations.'[41] The same can be said for indigenous Cornish; the increase of in-migrants results in those who are Cornish to even more strongly assert themselves within the community and identify with others who are of Cornish or Celtic blood.

The Tourist Invasion of Cornwall

It has been argued that Cornwall and the Cornish identity is being threatened due to the infiltration of the land by tourists. This is reflected in the tension between the position of Cornish culture and nationhood and more recent interpretations of Cornwall as a leisure space, which splits the population.[42] Cornwall is seen as an attractive retirement area, where second or holiday homes can be purchased and to which newcomers can move for working purposes, often by securing management positions.[43] But F. E Halliday pointed out in his 1959 book *A History of Cornwall* that 'with the collapse of the mining and fishing industries, the plight of Cornwall would have been desperate indeed if it were not for the new tourist industry.'[44] Cornwall remains heavily reliant on the tourism industry and Barry P. Andrew has examined the beneficial impact of tourism on Cornwall, particularly in terms of economic development, '…if the indigenous industries are already naturally in decline then tourism offers a replacement for them.' Although Andrew does go on acknowledge that there is a risk that tourism may actually accelerate this process of decline.[45]

Areas such as Rock in North Cornwall witness an influx of a certain class of tourists and second home owners due to its popularity as a water sports centre and this has

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[40] Whetter, *A Celtic Tomorrow,* p. 8.
[41] Watson, "Construction of Local and Regional Identity," p. 119.
[42] Willet, "Liberal Ethnic Nationalism," p. 207.
[43] Fleet, "Cornish Identity at Risk," p. 239.
[44] F. E Halliday, *A History of Cornwall.* (Hertfordshire: Duckworth, 1959), p. 309.
[45] Barry P. Andrew, "Tourism and the Economic Development of Cornwall," *Annals of Tourism Research* 24: 3 (1997), p. 733.

resulted in the perception and use of the region as a 'playground.'[46] Statistics from a local boatyard, Rock Marine Services, show they look after 350-400 boats, the majority of which are used exclusively in Rock and owned by non-residents.[47] The most recent census population estimate for Rock was approximately 1200, however we can assume in accordance with data compiled from surrounding towns that this will have more than doubled by now.[48] The comparison between the population of this North Cornwall village and the number of boats housed and maintained by Rock Marine Services[49] highlights the high concentration of visitors to the area and the purpose for which they visit. However, it is necessary to mention that due to the success of the water sport industry in Rock a large amount of jobs have been created and, significantly, the industry remains in business outside of the summer season. Willet has scrutinised how this lifestyle, which may be mistakenly perceived as habitual for local residents, presumes a certain standard of living and excludes many Cornish on economic grounds.[50]

Timothy and Boyd's 2003 book on heritage tourism highlights the differences between cultural tourism and coastal tourism, identifying how cultural tourism goes beyond mere visitation of an area and incorporates the consumption of a way of life of the place visited.[51] This is demonstrated through the naming of Cornish residences using the Cornish language; although ironically these properties are frequently second homes.[52] Due to the coastal appeal and the typically wealthy visitors to areas such as Rock, Cornwall has significant issues regarding the rise in second home ownership and property development; in Cornwall, the build rate in relation to population growth is 82% higher than that in England.[53] Watson has identified that in order to escape the ever expanding English urban

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[46] Willet, "Liberal Ethnic Nationalism," p. 207.
[47] Ben Leitch: Manager at Rock Marine Services, email message to author, August 2, 2017.
[48] "Former North Cornwall District," Cornwall Council, Last modified August 15, 2017, http://www.cornwall.gov.uk/media/22243590/north-cornwall-profile_sept16.pdf.
[49] Rock Marine Services is one of three boat yards in Rock and so represents only a third of potential figures for the area.
[50] Willet, "Liberal Ethnic Nationalism," p. 213.
[51] Timothy and Boyd, *Heritage Tourism,* p. 5.
[52] One such example is a holiday home in the North Cornwall Village of Rock, 'Chy an Fos' although named in Cornish the property is located in a desirable area, consequently void of local residents, out of the price range of the local demographic and ironically flies the Union Jack on a flagpole on the grounds.
[53] Deacon, "The Unimportance of Being Cornish in Cornwall," p. 29.

landscape people seek retreat in Cornish rural and coastal villages and that this has resulted in many speculatively built housing developments.[54]

The urbanisation of Cornwall has resulted in the permanent alteration of many historic areas, this is due to the disregard of local traditions and qualities by new developments.[55] Fleet goes on to say:

> As well as altering the landscape, this arrival of wealthy outsiders seeking properties for various needs has greatly inflated house prices, so that many younger and ill-paid Cornish people seeking first homes in their native country find themselves priced out of their own housing market.[56]

As a result Cornwall witnesses the outmigration of a vast proportion of the younger generation and the in-migration of retirees which significantly alters the demographic.

However, some coastal towns are now taking action. In May 2016, St. Ives residents voted by 83% to ban any new building developments being purchased as second home residences. Two other towns, Fowey and Mevagissey have also included similar proposals in their own draft neighbourhood plans.[57] Second homes have an effect on the vitality of an area due to the fact they typically stand deserted through much of the winter. Despite Cornwall having long received people from outside her borders, in-migration has now reached such massive proportions that native inhabitants are at risk of becoming a minority in their own land.[58] Fleet has claimed that as a consequence Cornish traditions and values are threatened due to the dilution of the Cornish population.[59]

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[54] Watson, "Construction of Local and Regional Identity," p. 119.

[55] One recent controversial example is the purchase of a £4.4 million property in Rock by Gordon Ramsay who plans to demolish the building and replace it with a larger property. The building which dates back to the 1920s is of historical value and the intended new property will bear no common resemblance to other surrounding properties.
Sanchez Manning, "Ramsay's £4million Holiday Home Nightmare," *Mail Online,* May 14, 2016, accessed August 15, 2017, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3590749/Ramsay-s-4m-holiday-home-nightmare-Cornish-neighbours-fury-chef-s-plans-vast-new-house-TWO-kitchens.html.
However it is essential to remark that Ramsay is not the first in the area to demolish a property in favour of a new build, it could be argued that this particular case is only receiving so much media attention due to the profile of the buyer.

[56] Fleet, "Cornish Identity at Risk," p. 239.

[57] Gavin Knight, "English out: Cornwall Fightback against Second Homes," *The Guardian,* May 31, 2016, accessed February 19, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/may/31/cornwall-fightback-second-homes-house-prices-ban.

[58] Deacon, "The Unimportance of Being Cornish in Cornwall," p. 20.

[59] Fleet, "Cornish Identity at Risk," p. 239.

In his 1973 book, *A Celtic Tomorrow*, Whetter argues that 'the tourist industry like other industries should be carefully controlled and regulated, not to be allowed to develop in a free-for-all fashion, as it does in the present capitalist set-up.'[60] In a recent interview with Malcolm Bell, executive director of Visit Cornwall (the official online visitor guide to Cornwall) he discussed the strain on the infrastructure due to increased tourism in the summer months. Bell stated that lack of control over tourism and accommodation in particular is responsible for this, with sites such as 'Airbnb' flooding the market and causing congestion.[61] The comparison between these two arguments and the lack of progression over the last forty years demonstrates how the tourist industry within Cornwall remains uncontrolled and unregulated; with tourism seemingly ever increasing it is yet to be discovered how much more the region can take.

The literature used in this research agrees that the preservation and enhancement of the identity of the land and people is essential; the conservation of Cornish heritage and culture must take priority over the tourist industry.[62] A Cornish nationalistic analysis of the current situation assumes that the Cornish people have two choices before them, either to sit back and watch the gradual submergence of Cornish identity, or to take action and reclaim Cornwall as a Celtic nation.[63]

Culture is a multi-layered affair where each layer of material and cultural attributes are laid down over the previous ones. To an extent this replaces what went before but never completely obscures it.[64] This symbolises the evolution of culture, which is especially significant in Cornwall where tourism is forever expanding and influencing the lifestyle. Symbols of Cornishness such as St. Piran's flag or Cornish tartan still remain too contentious to be widely used by the marketing fraternity as an effective tool for identifying Cornwall as different to England.[65] In this general failure to appreciate indigenous heritage and culture, it could be argued that Cornish people are being

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[60] Whetter, *A Celtic Tomorrow,* pp 75-76.
[61] Malcolm Bell, interviewed by Olivia Leitch, May 5, 2017.

[62] Whetter, *A Celtic Tomorrow,* p. 75.
[63] Ibid., p. 58.
[64] Neil Kennedy and Nigel Kingcome, "Disneyfication of Cornwall – Developing a Poldark Heritage Complex," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 4: 1 (1998), p. 46.
[65] Hewlett, "Putting the Kitsch in Kernow,"p. 43.

demeaned by the market place.[66] The impact of British government and London-based agencies on Cornwall's heritage, and the response of Cornish communities to this inexorable homogenizing influence will be examined more fully in the following chapters.

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[66] Ibid., p. 57.

Chapter 3: **The National Approach**

Cornwall's significance as a region lies in its distinctive history, and a vast amount of visitor attractions within the region are heritage sites.[1] However, the majority of these sites are under the supervision of national organisations such as the National Trust and English Heritage. It is argued that these sites do not represent a distinctly Cornish heritage but are instead presented within a national context. In particular they offer little or nothing to the local community in terms of learning about Cornish history, and more importantly Cornish industry.

Heritage is interwoven with concepts of national identity, therefore national representations of heritage tourism can be seen as a vehicle for discussing Englishness.[2] However in the case of Cornwall, this concept of heritage proves problematic and even referring to it as a county can prove controversial to many parties. It is argued that the very presence of national bodies is indicative of cultural imperialism and denies the Cornish the right to self-define.[3] It could be reasoned that this is one of the central failings of heritage initiatives within Cornwall; it is marketed as a distinctive region yet not authentically presented as one by the national institutions which have so much influence in the heritage sector.

National Heritage Organisations

The National Trust and English Heritage are both longstanding and widely successful UK heritage organisations boasting 49 and 17 sites in Cornwall respectively.[4] The National Trust is a charity and relies heavily on membership fees and donations, its aims are to restore, protect and make publicly available the sites it manages. It has long had a presence in Cornwall and as well as managing stately homes and gardens it protects

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[1] "Maps and Places in Cornwall," Visit Cornwall, Last modified Aug 22, 2017, https://www.visitcornwall.com/content/maps-places-cornwall.

[2] Emma Waterton and Steve Watson, *The Semiotics of Heritage Tourism* (Bristol: Channel View, 2014), p. 41.

[3] Amy Hale, "Representing the Cornish," *Tourist Studies* 1: 2 (2001), p. 191.

[4] "Cornwall," National Trust, Last modified May 30, 2017, https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/days-out/regionsouthwest/cornwall.

"Cornwall," English Heritage, Last modified February 2, 2017, http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/Cornwall/.

one fifth of English coastline and is the largest private landowner in the UK.[5] English Heritage is also a charity with a focus on the protection and conservation of historic sites and artefacts. Their remit acknowledges contemporary relationships with history and the need for interactive experiences, therefore they strive for 'hands on' experiences at their sites in order to inspire and entertain.[6]

It is argued that both these organisations principally focus their attention on a national historical narrative, which proves problematic in Cornwall as it is has a distinctive regional heritage - largely thanks to its Celtic links and a once prosperous industrial heritage.[7] That said, these organisations do also manage sites which reflect Cornish heritage, for example the prehistoric ruins at Chysauster Ancient Village and Cornish World Mining Heritage sites such as Levant Mine and Beam Engine. It could be claimed that Cornish residents are discouraged from visiting these sites due to the strictly seasonal opening hours, firstly because a good deal of the Cornish population work within the tourism industry and will find themselves too busy during the summer months, and secondly because the high influx of tourists during the summer can prevent residents from visiting these sites which they know may be overcrowded.[8]

National and Local Conflict

One controversial case of a national organisation disrupting a community's heritage is Tintagel Castle on the North Coast, a site owned by English Heritage which hosts medieval castle ruins.[9] Tintagel is famously associated with the legend of King Arthur, an aspect which it is claimed the site has exploited. Tintagel has been undergoing an outdoor interpretation scheme which is intended to help visitors understand the site, however all of these interpretations are focused on the legend of Merlin and King Arthur and his knights. These developments have included a rock carving of Merlin's face located

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[5] "The National Trust in Cornwall," Cornwall Guide, Last modified August 4, 2017, https://www.cornwalls.co.uk/attractions/national-trust.

[6] "About Us," English Heritage, Last modified February 2, 2017, http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/about-us/.

[7] Waterton and Watson, *The Semiotics of Heritage Tourism,* p. 23.

[8] Although it is significant to note that due to conservation requirements and the lack of visitors in the winter months it is not unusual for rural heritage sites to have seasonal opening hours.

[9] "Tintagel Castle," English Heritage, Last modified February 2, 2017, http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/tintagel-castle/.

next to the entrance of the rumoured 'Merlin's Cave' and an eight foot bronze statue of an Arthurian Knight on the cliffs.[10]

These installations have sparked outrage amongst the local community who think such fixtures contribute to the 'disneyfication' of the site and Cornish heritage in particular.[11] In an interview with Cornish resident Jane Howells, she agreed with these claims and argued that sites such as Tintagel as interpreted by English Heritage don't help the Cornish understand or learn about their heritage.[12] This example demonstrates the gap between the way in which non-Cornish heritage professionals might view their product and the way that consumers, especially the local community, evaluate it.[13] However, not all local residents oppose the developments taking place at Tintagel. Scott Mann expressed his support of the interpretation scheme and believes that it may contribute to attracting more indigenous Cornish to the site, a site which he claimed was iconically Cornish.[14] The popularity and commercialisation of the site looks set to only increase thanks to the recent release of the film, 'King Arthur: Legend of the Sword'[15] and in an interview with Malcolm Bell he discussed how Visit Cornwall was working closely with English Heritage in order to further promote the site in accordance with the film's release.[16]

Rural relationships with the National Trust are also tenuous as discovered in an interview with a Penwith resident who communicated the controversy surrounding the purchasing of local farms by the Trust; in some cases outbidding locals in order to secure the sale. What is particularly contentious for this resident is that rather than leasing out the property to a local farmer who could manage the land appropriately, it is instead managed by National Trust staff who have no farming experience. In some cases, the properties have been redeveloped to serve as holiday cottages - holiday accommodation is

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[10] Ibid.

[11] "Tintagel Castle Merlin Carving sparks 'Disneyfication' Row," *BBC News,* March 18, 2016, accessed June 1, 2017, http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-cornwall-35837271.

[12] Jane Howells, interviewed via phone by Olivia Leitch, May 29, 2017.

[13] Susan Markwell, Marion Bennett and Neil Ravenscroft, "The Changing Market for Heritage Tourism: A Case Study of Visits to Historic Houses in England," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 3: 2 (1997), p. 97.

[14] Scott Mann, interviewed by Olivia Leitch, May 3, 2017.

[15] Despite the fact that the film is not at all historic but rather of a fantasy and action genre.

[16] Malcolm Bell, interviewed by Olivia Leitch, May 4, 2017.

already in abundance in Cornwall and the local resident interviewed felt that the National Trust is not spending its money wisely. The individual stressed the need to educate the Trust about farming and rural practices but stated there is a lack of outreach which could serve to foster relationships between the two parties.[17] This demonstrates that as well as dominating the heritage market in Cornwall, national organisations are encroaching on the county's agricultural lifestyle and in some cases disturbing the rural dynamic which draws visitors to Cornwall in the first place.

Case Study: Lanhydrock House

Stately homes and castles within Cornwall promote a distinctly national narrative, although presenting them within a Cornish narrative would prove challenging due to the fact that ultimately they are only Cornish through their location. In an interview with Paul Holden, House Manager of the National Trust property Lanhydrock House, he confirmed that without providing a narrative of land ownership and benevolence, Cornish interpretation at these sites can be problematic. Properties such as Lanhydrock offered respite for the gentry embroiled in London life and politics and so were not even used by a distinctly Cornish circuit, but rather by visitors, and subsequently the interpretation within the house is focused on the Victorian estate in general.[18]

Regarding any tension between national and local heritage organisations, Holden was confident that there was none, although acknowledged the requirement that the Trust remain neutral and not build allegiance with other organisations. On the lack of association with other heritage and cultural organisations he stated that such relationships would be unmanageable and it would be hard to assess what the Trust would get back from any associations with local organisations.[19] It could be argued that heritage attractions don't have to compete against each other but instead with the wider realm of leisure and entertainment offerings.[20] In order to broaden its appeal, the heritage industry needs to offer an educational experience in a leisure wrapper, as outlined by English

[17] Penwith resident, interviewed via phone by Olivia Leitch, June 21, 2017.
[18] Paul Holden, interviewed by Olivia Leitch, May 2, 2017.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Mintel International Group, *Heritage Tourism* (London: Mintel, 2008), p. 24.

Heritage in their remit. However, using Tintagel as an example, this risks compromising the integrity of the site.

Heritage attractions are increasingly competing in the entertainment category, which has been benefitting from a cultural shift in favour of experiential enrichment.[21] A particular issue in Cornwall is that during the summer months there is a variety of activities on offer; blue flag beaches, surfing, sailing, coasteering etc. It might be reasoned that during these months, when the region is inundated with visitors, heritage attractions don't take priority. This is reflected in Visit Cornwall's 2011 visitor survey which shows that only 26% listed historical sites as places visited or intended to visit and a poor 18% for museums and 20% for heritage properties, while 75% listed fishing villages and harbours and 65% listed beaches.[22]

Heritage Funding

Heritage in Cornwall is set to benefit from a government grant of £100,000 which is to be spread over the next two years in order to create a culture fund; this funding will boost culture and heritage projects across the region. In an interview with the North Cornwall Conservative MP Scott Mann, he discussed the potential uses for this money. Mann stated that the money could be innovative and effective if focused in the right direction and stressed the importance of measurable outcomes for such a grant. Mann agreed that local heritage and culture organisations have been overlooked in favour of national organisations and discussed George Eustice's bid for the devolution of English Heritage assets in Cornwall to a Cornish body - a proposal which he supported. He added that the culture fund money could provide the perfect delivery model to endorse and promote existing Cornish heritage organisations.[23]

Local Heritage Initiatives

One prominent local heritage organisation is Cornwall Heritage Trust, established in 1985 to 'preserve and strengthen' Cornwall's rich and distinct heritage, the trust has

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[21] Ibid., p. 24.
[22] "Cornwall Visitor Survey 2011," *Visit Cornwall*, p. 66.
[23] Scott Mann, interviewed by Olivia Leitch, May 3, 2017.

royal patronage from HRH The Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall.[24] The Trust operates on a small basis with only two members of staff and a number of voluntary trustees. It owns four sites and manages seven on behalf of English Heritage, demonstrating the collaboration that can exist between national and local level heritage institutions.[25] The sites under the protection of Cornwall Heritage Trust range from a Neolithic burial chamber to a 19th century viaduct, and all of them correspond to Cornwall's Celtic past or its industrial legacy, promoting an exclusively Cornish heritage.

The organisation works closely with local communities, including an outreach program which encourages individuals and communities to come together to share stories about their family history and the area they live in.[26] These projects include a partnership with a Cornish community interest company 'Storylines' and the hosting of *Whethlow Kernow* - Cornish Story Cafes. The importance of oral histories in shaping understanding of community heritage is examined by Terence K. Huwe, 'The best way to unlock the history of a region is to invite its citizens into the game. This shifts the focus to oral history-keeping, collecting images and narratives, and more.'[27] This particular project demonstrates the approach to Cornish heritage by a local organisation, examining Cornwall and its history using a bottom-up method and taking into account the knowledge of the local community. Heritage is thus opened up to interpretation.

Bewnans Kernow is the partnership of Cornwall's cultural organisations, established in 2008 in order to support partner groups and increase resources for the sector. They represent 65 cultural organisations which collectively engage with and promote various aspects of Cornish culture, including Cornish history, language, music and sport. The partnership evolved as an outcome of a conference held by Cornwall County Council's Cultural Partnership and remains self-financing through successful grant applications.[28]

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[24] "Cornwall Heritage Trust," Cornwall Heritage Trust, Last modified March 21, 2017, http://www.cornwallheritagetrust.org/.

[25] Additionally when becoming a member of Cornwall Heritage Trust you can gain free access to English Heritage sites in Cornwall.

[26] "Community Outreach Programme," Cornwall Heritage Trust, Last modified May 31, 2017, http://www.cornwallheritagetrust.org/what-we-do/community-outreach-programmes/.

[27] Terence K. Huwe, "Online History-Keeping for Outreach and Community Development," *Computers in Libraries* 30: 1 (2010), p. 36.

[28] "Cornish Culture," Bewnans Kernow, Last modified August 22, 2017, http://www.bewnanskernow.org/cornish-culture.html.

One particular partner is *Lowender Peran*, a registered Charity set up to encourage the recognition of Cornwall`s heritage and Celtic links via an annual festival. The charity outlines that in order for Cornwall to survive as a distinct entity each generation must show the next that Cornish culture has something to offer worth carrying forward into the future.[29] This promotion of Cornish and Celtic heritage through the forum of a music and dance festival in the coastal town of Newquay, already a popular destination for young tourists and residents alike, demonstrates a contemporary approach to engaging with younger audiences.

Cornish Studies within Education

A popular concern amongst local level initiatives is the lack of provision within Cornish schools of the teaching of local history and culture:

> Children are thoroughly taught English history but Cornish history is absent from the curriculum of most schools. Our Cornish children should be taught what has happened in the past, so that they understand why things are as they are. The Cornish culture lessons should be set into the curriculum, with a structure, and should happen consistently in a Cornish child's life.[30]

Whilst not incorporated as part of compulsory education within Cornwall, an article from *The Cornish Guardian* demonstrates the increase in Cornish studies within Cornish higher education. The article outlines research undertaken by students from Truro and Penwith College incorporated into an exhibit for Newquay Heritage Archive and Museum: 'Dirty Rotten Boroughs.'[31] The research examines the Great Reform Act of 1832 and the effect on Cornwall's political constituencies, which is particularly poignant considering the current political climate within the UK. Significantly Falmouth University, a specialist university for the creative industries, doesn't have any Cornish studies courses on the curriculum. Cornwall has inspired numerous authors, poets and musicians, yet the

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However, it's not clear why the partner organisations that Bewnans Kernow represent haven't joined forced to become one central organisation, with more resources and ultimately more power.

[29] "About Us," Lowendar Peran, Last modified March 22, 2017, http://www.lowenderperan.co.uk/about.html.

[30] "Cornish Culture," Bewnans Kernow.

[31] "Research Project Reveals Corruption of Cornwall's Political Past," 'What's On' - *Cornish Guardian: Wadebridge and Padstow,* May 17, 2017.

University does not focus on the Cornish influence within its degrees in areas such as creative writing and music.[32]

The lack of Cornish studies within the region's curriculum is a matter which is not currently addressed by the government but local charities are working to encourage the study of Cornish history. An example is a project initiated by Cornish Quest which involved fundraising to provide Cornish secondary schools with a pack of reference books on Cornwall's mining industries; this demonstrates a focus on regional working class, industrial heritage. [33]

Working Class Heritage

It might be argued that the disparity between heritage sites within Cornwall lies in the class differences between the organisations themselves and the sites they represent. For example, national providers typically represent the history and culture of the elite through castles, manor houses and military establishments whilst the Cornish providers present and promote the working class history of Cornwall through the preservation and interpretation of industrial remains.[34] As confirmed by Amy Hale, 'In Cornwall, unlike Liverpool or London, there are very few examples of working class heritage which is interpreted for the public or promoted by a national organisation.'[35] There is a wealth of working class industrial heritage within Cornwall thanks to the large mining industry which was at its most prosperous in the early 19th century and continued into the late 20th century; 'Cornwall was a powerhouse of technical innovation and a nursery for the world's mine captains and engineers.'[36]

An example of working class Cornish heritage can be seen at Geevor tin mine in Penzance. The site is owned by Cornwall County Council but managed by Pendeen Community heritage, a charity established in 2000 by the local community and primarily by those who had an interest in the mine or had formerly worked there.[37] Since the museum

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[32] "Homepage," Falmouth University, Last modified August 22, 2017, https://www.falmouth.ac.uk/.

[33] "Homepage," Cornish Quest, Last modified March 21, 2017, http://www.cornishquest.org/.

[34] Hale, "Representing the Cornish," p. 193.

[35] Ibid., p. 191.

[36] Kennedy and Kingcome, "Disneyfication of Cornwall," p. 47.

[37] "Best Practice: Geevor Tin Mine," National Coastal Tourism Academy, accessed July 1, 2017. https://coastaltourismacademy.co.uk/resource-hub/resource/best-practice-geevor-tin-mine, p. 3.

was opened on the site in 1993 the heritage site has witnessed great success and offers underground site visits as well as hosting educational outreach programmes.[38] Geevor recognises that a focus solely on mining is not beneficial, and that utilising the site for various purposes is crucial for sustaining business. During the school holidays it hosts family events such as jewellery making and storytelling in order to attract a market who have little interest in mining. The site, formally critical to the local community, is now in the care of local residents and former mine workers continue to work within the museum. Even the on-site café is franchised out to a local family, reflecting how the heritage site is embedded in the community. Interestingly, Geevor works closely with nearby Levant Mine, owned by the National Trust, with both sites promoting each other and offering discounted entry.[39] This relationship is comparable to Cornwall Heritage Trust and English heritage and is indicative of the successful collaboration that can exist between national and local heritage organisations.

In an interview with Jane Howells from Cornish Quest she argued that these Cornish led initiatives can be more effective, and frequently better funded, than the national heritage organisations. Locally run initiatives allow groups to have control of their own heritage and generate money back in to the community.[40] However, these community led heritage projects are not without complications and these activities can contribute to further cases of micro-politics at the community level. This is particularly the case in an area such as Cornwall where there are Cornish natives, in-migrants and second home owners living side-by-side who all feel entitled to a stake in the community. It could be claimed that this serves to reinforce the existing class distinctions within communities rather than break them down.[41]

Popular Media: Poldark

Whilst Cornwall has been a popular holiday destination for decades there has been a distinct rise in interest and tourism in Cornwall, especially the western coast and old mining sites. This is largely thanks to the 2015 BBC adaptation of Winston Graham's

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[38] "Best Practice: Geevor Tin Mine," p. 5.
[39] Ibid., p. 12.
[40] Jane Howells, interviewed via phone by Olivia Leitch, May 29, 2017.
[41] David E. Beel et al, "Cultural Resilience: The Production of Rural Community Heritage, Digital Archives and the Role of Volunteers," *Journal of Rural Studies* (2015), p. 3.

Poldark novels which focus on a Cornish mine owner and his struggles with the industry and the local community. The novels were initially adapted in the 1970s for the BBC series, which also witnessed great success, and then again for a TV movie special in the 1990s. However, the current adaptation, which has just released its third series, has gained international acclaim and driven a good deal of visitors to Cornwall.

In an interview with Malcolm Bell of Visit Cornwall, he revealed that after the first series of *Poldark* was released two and half percent of four and a half million visitors to Cornwall listed it as the sole reason for their visit, whilst seven percent were influenced by it.[42] Rachel Moseley examines how television serves as a 'window on the world' for the armchair tourist, framing and organising the gaze at a view.[43] The influence of national television and popular media on public perceptions of places, communities and certain historical narratives.

The Cornwall of *Poldark* unites disparate but appropriately 'iconic' parts of the region in a powerful landscape. The landscape that *Poldark* promotes is unrealistic; the sweeping shots of coastline, calm seas and the forever shining sun are what Helen Wheatley terms 'Landscape Porn.'[44] Tourism marketing for Cornwall has a bad habit of misappropriating Cornish scenery to be incorporated into commanding imagery for advertising campaigns which uphold the representation of Cornwall as rural and remote.[45] This portrayal of Cornwall is impractical and Malcolm Bell identified the need to market Cornwall as it truly is, and a place to visit all year round, not only in the summer months.[46] The circulation of imagery involving stormy seas and rainy moors should go hand in hand with idyllic beaches; the county needs to be showcased in all seasons to provide visitors with realistic expectations and also to encourage visitors outside of the season.

What makes *Poldark* stand out from other period dramas is how historically accurate it is; Winston Graham paid great attention to detail when studying Cornish

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[42] Malcolm Bell, interviewed by Olivia Leitch, May 5, 2017.
[43] Rachel Mosely, "'It's a Wild Country. Wild…Passionate…Strange': Poldark and the Place-Image of Cornwall," *Visual Culture in Britain* 14: 2 (2013), p. 232.
[44] Mosely, "Poldark and the Place-Image of Cornwall," p. 232.
[45] Kennedy and Kingcome, "Developing a Poldark Heritage Complex," p. 52.
[46] Malcolm Bell, interviewed by Olivia Leitch, May 5, 2017.

history, including culture, language and traditions.[47] Malcolm Bell states this as the reason for Visit Cornwall so willingly using *Poldark* as a Cornish asset. With a focus on Cornish mining heritage, the show offers depth and engagement as well as showcasing the Cornish coast and countryside. The popularity of the show should be harnessed for the advantage of industry in the region, particularly the revival of Cornish mining heritage. [48] In a paper written for the *National Coastal Tourism Academy*, Geevor Mine Manager Mike Simpson expressed his hope that 'The *Poldark* Effect' will increase visitor numbers to the site.[49] Although some critics argue that historical dramas such as this one are damaging to the region they aim to promote, it could be argued that heritage tourism has created a Cornish Disneyland, a place to escape from the real world.[50] Neil Kennedy and Nigel Kingcome ask, 'In what ways do shows like *Poldark* contribute to a regional sense of identity in the post-modern era?'[51] These imitations of Cornish heritage and culture are especially dangerous to Cornish identity as they risk overriding the genuine characteristics of what it means to be Cornish.[52]

The development of heritage sites and products can create increased desire for access from both the local population and from visitors, however their experiences and interpretation of the same site can prove to be substantially different. At times this generates conflict, as demonstrated in the case of Tintagel Castle, leading to important questions about the commodification of heritage and about authenticity and identity.[53] The commercialisation of Cornwall via unsuitable marketing campaigns and the focus on national heritage rather than Cornish heritage misappropriates the region's history and brands Cornwall as a place to be consumed, to occupy and to entertain. Commercially inspired national reproductions of history and culture are in danger of overthrowing the local and more informed versions; concepts of 'Cornishness' can become frozen with no opportunity for renewal.[54]

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[47] Winston Graham, *Memoirs of a Private Man* (London: Pan Books, 2004), p. 254.
[48] Malcolm Bell, interviewed by Olivia Leitch, May 5, 2017.
[49] "Best Practice: Geevor Tin Mine," p. 7.
[50] Kennedy and Kingcome, "Developing a Poldark Heritage Complex," p. 45.
[51] Ibid., p. 45.
[52] Ibid., p. 53.
[53] Jean-Michel Dewailly, "Images of Heritage in Rural Regions," in *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas,* ed. Richard Butler and C. Michael Halls (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1998), p. 126.
[54] Kennedy and Kingcome, "Developing a Poldark Heritage Complex," p. 55.

An internal awareness of Cornish identity, which is undoubtedly made up of aspects of the county's heritage, is largely not present within England. A distinctly different image is held by outside visitors to Cornwall, an image which has been fostered and idealised by national organisations, including the media.[55] This concept of Cornwall is in response to the marketing of Cornwall as a holiday destination and particularly the promotion of heritage sites managed by national organisations which don't represent an authentic Cornish heritage. The Cornish community's engagement with their heritage and culture and particularly tourism will be examined in the following chapter.

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[55] Husk and Williams, "The Legitimation of Ethnicity: The Case of the Cornish," p. 255.

Chapter 4: **The Cornish Perspective**

Heritage has been celebrated for having special meaning for visitors and for local communities, however in locations where there is a high level of heritage tourism what consequent effect does that have on the local community?[1] Tourism in rural areas has evolved from a primarily passive and minor element in the landscape to a highly active and dominant agent of change.[2] Cornwall, as a region, is increasingly packaged around a series of real and imagined cultural traditions and representations as part of tourism marketing.[3] As discussed in the previous chapter, certain heritage sites and organisations have commercialised and exaggerated Cornish heritage and culture for the purpose of engaging a wider audience than just the Cornish themselves. However, it could also be argued that this increased commercialisation of a community for the purpose of tourism reinforces aspects of identity, ultimately resulting in the increased celebration of local heritage and culture as a response to place marketing.[4]

The transition towards a more anthropological conception of cultural heritage has brought with it a greater focus on ordinary people and communities as the creators and transmitters of heritage.[5] Consequently there has been an increase in the study of the transmission of heritage through intangible aspects of heritage and the process of migration. It is claimed that Cornwall's identity is based on a historical conception of territory. As Cornish territory is increasingly dominated by outsiders in the form of in-migrants and second home owners, it is thus crucial to examine what affects this has on a Cornish sense of identity.[6] Cornwall experiences a highly seasonal tourism pattern that places unsustainable demands on an already fragile infrastructure. Consequently, there has been a growing resentment and suspicion regarding tourism amongst Cornish

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[1] Janet Blake, "From Global to Local Heritage: Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Role of the Museum," *Anthropology of the Middle East* 10: 1 (Spring 2015), pp 22-23.

[2] Richard Butler and C. Michael Halls, ed. *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1998), p. 3.

[3] Richard Butler and C. Michael Halls, "Image and Reimaging of Rural Areas," in *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas* ed. Richard Butler and C. Michael Halls (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1998), p. 119.

[4] Ibid.,

[5] Blake, "From Global to Local Heritage," p. 36.

[6] Sandford, "English Regionalism through the Looking Glass," p. 82.

residents.[7] This chapter will examine how a community interacts with and responds to heritage tourism, particularly whether there is a consequential dilution of heritage.

The Effect of Second Homes and In-Migration

A crucial element of contention within Cornwall which creates cleavage between locals and newcomers is the rise in second homes which displace local households.[8] Angela Angove, North Cornwall resident, states: 'We are gradually pushed out of houses that have traditionally been handed down…All Padstow people are ghettoised back up on the hill.'[9] The value of local residents, in regards to the tourism product, is frequently overlooked by marketing campaigns and visitors.[10] Their concerns and ideas have to be addressed and treated with respect in order to reduce the negative social impacts of tourism in popular destination communities. Dallen and Boyd claim that if residents feel empowered to determine their communities future they will subsequently have a higher tolerance level for tourists.[11]

There is frequently tension between local residents and second home owners. Farstad and Rye contribute this animosity to the latter not having the same social connection to the host community as locals have;[12] these two groups share the same spaces but use them for different purposes. There is an increasing concern that Cornwall is perceived as a place only to be consumed and exploited by tourists rather than sustained for residents.[13] As such, tourists are frequently perceived as an imposition in Cornwall[14] rather than an acceptable source of economic development.[15] It is argued amongst academics and Cornish residents themselves that second home developments and increased tourism in areas such as Cornwall ultimately contribute to the depletion of

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[7] Sally Everett and Cara Aitchison, "The Role of Food Tourism in Sustaining Regional Identity: A Case Study of Cornwall, South West England," *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 16: 2 (2008), p. 156.

[8] Nick Gallent, "Second Homes, Community and a Hierarchy of Dwelling," *Area* 39: 1 (2007), p. 98.

[9] Angela Angove, Letter to the Author, June 9, 2017.

[10] Joanne Willet, "Liberal Ethnic Nationalism," p. 207.

[11] Timothy and Boyd, *Heritage Tourism,* p. 181.

[12] Maya Farstad and Johan Fredrik Rye, "Second Home Owners, Locals and their Perspectives on Rural Development," *Journal of Rural Studies* 30 (2013), pp 49-50.

[13] Hale, "Representing the Cornish," p. 188.

[14] Reflected in the fact that tourists are largely referred to as 'Emetts': a derogatory term which means 'Ants' in Cornish, symbolic of the summer season when Cornwall witnesses an influx of visitors.

[15] Hale, "Representing the Cornish," p. 186.

Cornish characteristics which attract visitors in the first place.[16] The landscape is increasingly threatened due to property developments which serve to accommodate holiday homes. In a 2016 Survey compiled for Visit Cornwall, visitor's top dislike of their stay in Cornwall was the bad traffic and lack of parking due to overcrowding.[17] This demonstrates how, despite contributing to the congestion, visitors notice the effect of increased tourism on their experience of Cornwall.

However, while visitors and newcomers to the locality often feel less responsibility for the community, '…what does concern them is preserving the rural idyll that is at the heart of their relation to the area.'[18] When interviewed, Malcolm Bell agreed with this sentiment, explaining that the tagline of Visit Cornwall is 'Love Cornwall' as it doesn't matter whether you are a visitor or a local, all that matters is that you appreciate Cornwall. In some cases visitors look after the county, in terms of preservation and history, better than some of the locals who perhaps take their surroundings for granted.[19]

An article in local newspaper *The Cornish Guardian* describes how Cornwall has witnessed an economic degeneration that has left it one of the poorest areas in Britain; if it were a country it would be poorer than Lithuania and Hungary.[20] The situation has been made significantly worse through the increased population as a result of in-migration.[21] Cornwall has been exposed to the highest level of seasonal tourism in England, while simultaneously suffering the decline of its fishing and farming industries.[22] Despite jobs created by the tourist sector, the majority of these are frequently seasonal and low paid.[23]

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[16] Johan Fredrik Rye, "Conflicts and Contestations: Rural Populations' Perspectives on the Second Homes Phenomenon," *Journal of Rural Studies* 27 (2011), p. 265.

[17] "Cornwall Visitor Survey 2016," *Visit Cornwall*, p. 68.

[18] Farstad and Rye, "Second Home Owners, Locals and their Perspectives on Rural Development," p. 42.

[19] Malcolm Bell, interviewed by Olivia Leitch, May 5, 2017.
Although it could be argued that the typically middle class and retired community who make up the majority of visitors to Cornwall are in a better position to devote more of their time, energy and money as activists in this way.

[20] "Cornish Money is Invested in County and its People," *Cornish Guardian: Wadebridge and Padstow,* May 3, 2017.

[21] Malcolm Williams, "Why is Cornwall Poor? Poverty and In-Migration since the 1960s," *Contemporary British History* 17: 3 (2003), p. 55.

[22] Everett and Aitchison. "The Role of Food Tourism in Sustaining Regional Identity," p. 154.

[23] Williams, "Why is Cornwall Poor?" p. 56.

Consequently residents are forced to move further away from their localities or even out of Cornwall to pursue employment and suitable housing. Thus, this dilutes the concentration of Cornish people living in Cornwall endangers the traditions and culture kept alive by indigenous residents. Mr. Bell, from Visit Cornwall, discussed the importance of accepting and welcoming tourism in Cornwall, describing it as both inevitable and necessary. "The Cornish should strive to get the tourism they want and harness the commercial advantage of natural assets and cultural built heritage." Visitors and locals side by side can look after these assets, as ultimately, they want the same resources preserved and improved.

Bell also discussed the volume of high profile celebrities moving to Cornwall and the effect it has on the community. He identified how crucial it is that these individuals engage with the local community rather than merely exploiting the area and its natural resources. For example, he suggested the initiation of a crowdfunding campaign as a salient way to engage with and contribute to the local community.[24] If visitors and second home owners could all display a willingness to integrate themselves with the local community and take part in community efforts then ultimately they begin to be welcomed.[25] In an interview with Edward Rowe, also known as the self-proclaimed 'Kernow King' he agreed that tourism within Cornwall is crucial while also explaining that it needs to be managed, perhaps most effectively by imposing a tax to help relieve the significant strain on public services due to the increased population during the summer season.[26] Rowe discussed the gentrification of Cornwall due to the high levels of wealthy middle class visitors and in-migrants.[27] He stated that those who don't integrate themselves within the community or who aren't respectful of the Cornish lifestyle are responsible for the dilution of culture.[28]

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[24] Interview with Malcolm Bell, Truro, Cornwall, 5th May 2017.

[25] One example, although extreme, would be Sheikh Mohammed's recent interaction with residents of Cornish village, Godolphin Cross. Despite not being a Cornish tourist or second-home owner the Sheikh made a generous contribution to help a Cornish village save their Methodist chapel in order to preserve it as a community centre, all because the village shared its name with the Sheikhs racing stables 'Godolphin.' James Burn, "Sheikh Mohammed saves Cornish Village Hall to Delight of Locals," *The Racing Post,* June 29, 2017, accessed June 29, 2017. https://www.racingpost.com/news/news/sheikh-mohammed-saves-cornish-village-hall-to-delight-of-locals/291074.

[26] Due to the massive growth in the population during the summer months, public amenities such as the emergency services are pushed to their limit. As an example Cornwall still only has one major hospital.

[27] As demonstrated in the case of Rock, North Cornwall in Chapter 1.

[28] Edward Rowe, interviewed via phone by Olivia Leitch, June 30, 2017.
Mr. Rowe has been influential in promoting significant aspects of Cornish heritage, recently he wrote and

Case Study: Padstow May Day

A product of the sub-regional differences in custom and culture, along with the amount of visitors and non-Cornish residents, there are a seemingly infinite number of individual imaginings of 'Cornish-ness.'[29] One unique example, although clearly regional, is May Day celebrations in the harbour town of Padstow, North Cornwall. This annual cultural tradition takes place on the First of May and sees locals don special outfits and take part in singing, dancing and music making throughout the town as part of the 'Obby Oss' procession. With its roots grounded in the Celtic Beltane festival which marks the beginning of summer, the celebration has evolved over the years and become a spectacle which increasingly attracts large numbers of tourists.[30] It has been suggested by some residents that there is a devaluation of the event due to tourist attendance.[31]

Residents main issues with outside participation largely lies in the disruption it can cause as a result of increased attendance which obstructs the procession and traditional dancing which takes place. Although, one resident acknowledged that visitors often engage with participants and are eager to be educated about the event and contribute to the collection tins which circulate and raise money for local charities.[32] Another Padstow resident agreed that whilst there are certain boundaries which should be respected, outsider's attendance at the event helps secure greater donations which contribute to the conservation and purchasing of flags and maypoles and the public liability insurance that is needed for the day.[33]

This event, so specific to the town of Padstow, is embedded in family ties and is indicative of the localised and emotional experiences of community heritage contributions.[34] In an interview with Malcolm Bell he agreed with the need to keep

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starred in 'Trevithick' a biographical comedy which tells the story of Cornishman, mining engineer and inventor, Richard Trevithick. A pioneer of steam and rail road transport, most notably he created the first high pressure steam engine, and yet his story his relatively unknown.

"Kernow King is Trevithick," Trevithick, Last modified August 15, 2017, http://www.trevithick.co.uk/.

[29] Kennedy and Kingcome, "Disneyfication of Cornwal," p. 46.

[30] Shannon Hards, "Thousands Pack the streets of Padstow," *Cornish Guardian: Wadebridge and Padstow,* May 3, 2017, p. 34.

[31] Padstow resident, email to the author, July 1, 2017.

[32] Padstow resident, email to the author, July 1, 2017.

[33] Padstow resident, email to the author, July 5, 2017.

[34] Helen Cornish, "Not All Singing and Dancing: Padstow, Folk Festivals and Belonging," *Ethnos* 81: 4 (2016), pp 643-644.

traditional events such as this one embedded in the community and stated that Visit Cornwall is respectful of these community cultural events and avoids promoting them as a tourist attraction.[35] However a page on the Visit Cornwall website which, dedicated to May Day, offers accommodation suggestions and tips on how to take part, contradicts Bell's statement.[36]

May Day asserts a regional sense of belonging but can also be deployed as a valuable tool to promote heritage tourism.[37] Cultural events and traditions such as this one, if celebrated and promoted nationally, serve to educate tourists and potential visitors about Cornish culture and custom; it can be harnessed as a marketing tool to showcase Cornish identity rather than the typical focus on the coastline.[38] In inviting and allowing visitors to witness community traditions such as May Day the Cornish community gain control over the promotion of their local heritage and culture.

Social Media and Cornish Identity

Cornish identity is increasingly expressed through social media activity, the majority of which demonstrates a Cornish solidarity and light-heartedly mocks tourists and locals simultaneously.[39] One particular example is the Facebook page 'Cornish News' which has over 30,000 likes. The page was set up and is managed by Steve Heller who is a local celebrity thanks to his Cornish covers of popular songs and satirical memes[40] which he posts depicting pasty appreciation, the poor driving ability of tourists and the ongoing rivalry between neighbouring county, Devon.[41] Another example is the Facebook page 'The Pasty Connection' which has over 20,000 members and is used by Cornish residents for car sharing in and around Cornwall and when travelling to or from Cornwall from

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[35] Malcolm Bell, interviewed by Olivia Leitch, May 5, 2017.
[36] "Padstow May Day," Visit Cornwall, Last modified June 28, 2017, https://www.visitcornwall.com/whats-on/traditional-cultural/north-coast/padstow/padstow-may-day.
[37] Cornish, "Not All Singing and Dancing," p. 631.
[38] Edward Rowe, interviewed via phone by Olivia Leitch, June 30, 2017.
[39] Cornish making fun of Cornish stereotypes is accepted in this format but would be widely rejected if the joke was made by an outsider.
[40] An internet phenomenon involving images, videos and text, typically humorous that are used to depict a particular individual, event, location or culture.
[41] "Cornish News," Facebook, Last modified August 15, 2017, https://www.facebook.com/CornishNews.

outside the region. This is indicative of the exclusivity of being Cornish, with people on the page frequently referring to Cornwall as 'the Motherland.'[42]

Indigenous attitudes towards Culture and Language

A student survey was conducted at Wadebridge Sixth Form in North Cornwall in order to examine attitudes towards Cornish identity and heritage tourism in Cornwall. A group of 42 seventeen to eighteen year olds completed the survey which included questions about their family history, opinion on the Cornish language, Cornish Independence and impressions of tourism in Cornwall. These findings offer an insight into Cornish people's engagement with local heritage and culture and their resulting sense of Cornish identity, it also highlights Cornish resident's opinions on heritage tourism within the county.*

Exactly 50% of the students surveyed were born in Cornwall with the other 50% in-migrants, although little correlation between an individual's place of birth and their perspectives on Cornish identity and culture is otherwise apparent. Only 29% identified as primarily Cornish although this could be attributed to the lack of Cornish studies on the curriculum within Cornish schools, this is especially true for the students who are in-migrants or who don't have Cornish parents; it is hard to identify with a history and culture you know little about. It is necessary to scrutinise these results more closely, bearing in mind the respondents' lack of exposure to the Cornish language and heritage. Due to the absence of these subjects on the curriculum, how informed can these results be?

When asked to identify the biggest tourist attraction in Cornwall, 100% of those surveyed listed the coast whilst only 33% listed heritage; indicating that Cornish residents recognise the landscape as Cornwall's primary tourism resource. Yet, local communities also appreciate and make use of the coast more than cultural and heritage attractions, as demonstrated in a community response survey compiled on behalf of Visit Cornwall in 2012. In response to being asked what they liked about living in Cornwall, 83% of Cornish residents listed the sea, coast and beaches; whilst only 22% listed visitor attractions and

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[42] "The Pasty Connection," Facebook, Last modified August 15, 2017, https://www.facebook.com/groups/123436594346182.
* These results reflect a small sample of North Cornwall Sixth Form Students and only offer a limited range of generational data. See appendix 1 for sample questionnaire.

18% indicated museums, galleries and theatres.[43] It is again possible that the failings of the school curriculum and visitor attractions has led to indigenous Cornish to overlook aspects of heritage and culture in favour of more physical and accessible elements; the coast.

In accordance with the media showcasing of Cornwall discussed in the previous chapter, 71% of student's agreed that the popular media was a crucial influence on Cornish tourism. This recognition of popular media as a significant motivator of tourism highlights the impact of mass media on situating tourism within the public consciousness. Only 33% of those surveyed placed any value on the Cornish Language, again this could be ascribed to the lack of Cornish language taught in schools or used in everyday life. Surprisingly, only one student pointed out the significance of the Cornish accent over the actual language. Despite occasional mockery of the Cornish inflection by visitors - especially the use of the word 'dreckly' - the Cornish accent, including slang, is widely adopted by many indigenous Cornish.[44] The Cornish accent and adoption of Cornish slang words is a more effective too for cultural identification than the Cornish language itself.

Intangible Heritage and Culture

In an interview with North Cornwall MP Scott Mann he discussed the importance of the Cornish language and the suitable promotion of it. Mann emphasised the significance of the existence of a Cornish language, having been sworn into Parliament in Cornish as well as English. However, whilst he agreed that Cornish history and culture should be included on the school curriculum he didn't believe the Cornish language should be introduced as a compulsory element within schools.[45] Although 'Kernow King' Edward Rowe argued that the Cornish language is a crucial element of Cornish history and culture which should be taught in schools. Rowe stated that he speaks Cornish on a daily basis and stressed that the growth of Cornish language classes has made *Kernewek* more accessible than ever.[46]

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[43] Power Marketing, "Market Research: For Cornwall Development Company Community Attitudes Survey 2012," *Visit Cornwall,* accessed August 29, 2017, url:
https://www.visitcornwall.com/sites/default/files/generic_files/Community%20Attitudes%20to%20Tourism%20in%20Cornwall%20Survey%202012.pdf, p. 17
[44] Deacon, "From 'Cornish Studies' to 'Critical Cornish Studies,'" p. 16.
[45] Scott Mann, interviewed by Olivia Leitch, May 3, 2017.
[46] Edward Rowe, interviewed via phone by Olivia Leitch, June 30, 2017.

One of the main arguments against the learning of Cornish is the idea that it is not beneficial to career development.[47] However with increasing interest in the language, by Cornish residents and outsiders, fluency in Cornish could lead to teaching and translation opportunities.[48] Alternatively, with the growth of interest in heritage studies and the expansion of the international Cornish diaspora, the Cornish dialect can be utilised as a form of intangible heritage by Cornish descendants in connecting to Cornish culture.

Another aspect of intangible Cornish heritage is the county's food and drink, both traditional and contemporary. In recent years there has been a significant growth in locally produced beer, cider and wine from suppliers such as Sharps Brewery and Camel Valley Vineyard.[49] Everett and Aitchison stress the importance of these industries that, as well as creating numerous jobs for local people, help to extend the tourist season; visitors who are drawn to Cornwall because of the regions food and drink need not be dependent on the weather.[50] The importance of this industry in Cornwall is reflected in the call to cut beer, wine and cider tax in order to help breweries, vineyards and also rural pubs. This sector makes a significant economic contribution to Cornwall, with figures from the British Beer and Pub Association suggesting that it provides almost 60 million pounds in value to the local economy.[51]

Cornish resident's relationship with local food and drink contributes to the regeneration of identity and community development.[52] It is claimed that the protection of intangible heritage is as crucial as the protection of physical sites and remains.[53] In 2011

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47 Ted Thornhill, "Cornwall Council spends £180,000 promoting a dying language that only 300 speak," *MailOnline,* November 6, 2015, accessed August 23, 2017, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3306652/Cornwall-Council-spends-180-000-promoting-dying-language-just-300-people-speak.html.
48 One of the main reasons the Irish language is so widely spoken and utilised within the workplace, is because it has received significant government endorsement. Using this as an example, if the Cornish language could receive similar support from local, or national, government then an increased interest may be fostered and eventually lead to Cornish language employment opportunities.
49 Sharps Brewery in particular is directly involved in giving back to the community, donating 5p from sales of every pint of its limited edition beers to the Blue Flag initiative, which help care for the Cornish coastline. The brewery state that it is determined to give something back to the coast that inspired its creativity.
"Cheers" Brewery Gives Back Beautiful Beaches Initiative," *Cornish Guardian: Wadebridge and Padstow,* May 24, 2017, p. 9.
50 Everett and Aitchison. "The Role of Food Tourism in Sustaining Regional Identity," p. 160.
51 "News," Scott Mann, Last modified June 28, 2017, https://www.scottmann.org.uk/news/scott-calls-cuts-beer-cider-and-wine-duty-help-ncornwall-breweries-and-pubs.
52 Everett and Aitchison. "The Role of Food Tourism in Sustaining Regional Identity," p. 160.
53 Marilena Vecco, "A Definition of Cultural Heritage: From the Tangible to the Intangible," *International Journal of Cultural Heritage* (2010), p. 324.

Cornish Pasties were given European protected status, meaning that any Pasty advertised as 'Cornish' has to have been made, although not necessarily baked, in Cornwall.[54] This move demonstrates the effort to protect the regions culinary heritage and consequently preserve local jobs within the industry. Naturally and locally produced food products can be seen as an expression of cultural identity which Ilbery and Kneafsey term 'cultural relocalisation.'[55] The national appreciation of Cornish produced food and drink and the rise of celebrity chefs opening restaurants in the area contributes to a contemporary Cornish culture, one that is grounded in its popularity as a holiday destination. As explained by Bell, it is the responsibility of the Cornish to embrace this contemporary culture and harness it for the regions benefit. Cornish food and drink, along with other aspects of Cornish culture, have been transported internationally through the Cornish diaspora which exists most strongly in North America and Australia.[56]

The Cornish Diaspora

As result of the 19th century mass out-migration of miners there is a strong contingent of the Cornish community to be found throughout the world. The deployment of ethnic identity by emigrant Cornishmen employed in mining and allied occupations has been dubbed the myth of Cousin Jack. 'Cousin Jack' being the nickname by which the Cornish overseas knew themselves and were known by others, their 'myth' being their assertion that the fact of Cornish birth or descent had endowed them with an inherent superiority as miners and frontiersmen and women.[57] Philip Payton examines the benefits of expressing a distinctive Cornish identity when emigrating,

> On the North American mining frontier the Cornish deployed their separate
> ethnic identity as a socio-economic device, on the one hand possessing all

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[54] James Miekle, "Cornish Pasty wins protected status from European Commission," *The Guardian* February 22, 2011, accessed July 18, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2011/feb/22/cornish-pasty-earns-protected-food-status.

[55] Brian Ilbery and Moya Kneafsey, "Registering Resagional Speciality Food and Drink Products in the United Kingdom: The Case of PDOs and PGIs," *Area* 32, 3 (2000): 317-325, accessed July 18th 2017, url: http://elib.tcd.ie/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsjsr&AN=edsjsr.20004084&scope=site, p. 317.

[56] Philip Payton, "Cousin Jacks and Ancient Britons: Cornish Immigrants and Ethnic Identity," *Journal of Australian Studies,* 25: 68 (2001), p. 54.

[57] Payton, "Cousin Jacks and Ancient Britons," p. 56.

the necessary prerequisites to slip happily into American society, on the other asserting their superiority over all other classes of miner.[58]

The importance of comprehending oneself as Cornish, especially when socialising with other Cornish people, continues today.[59]

So strong was the Cornish sense of identity that they established their own Cornish societies within these new countries, essentially social clubs for renewing or making new acquaintances where those of Cornish birth or descent could reaffirm and strengthen their links to Cornwall.[60] As the emigrants of 19th century Cornwall prove, a sense of Cornish identity and community does not necessarily have to be rooted in locality; community is not anchored by place or lifestyle but upon social exchange.[61] Personal stories can function as a means of building community by connecting community members to one another through a shared archived history.

Generated by an increased interest in genealogy and accelerated by the internet, the Cornish diaspora has witnessed a reawakening since the 1970s, demonstrated by the presence of a digital Cornish community..[62] Conrad states, 'The practice of digital storytelling can achieve a number of purposes including outreach and activism, education and the archiving of local history.'[63] One significant example is 'CousinJack.org' the homepage of the Cornish American Heritage Society founded in 1982 which tells the story of Cornish migration to America. The site serves to encourage and help members in the pursuit of their family history, to enhance the past and present relationships with Cornwall and to strengthen relationships with Cornish communities throughout the world.[64]

The existence of this society reflects the global Cornish community and how, despite in some cases being several generations removed from Cornwall, individuals still

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[58] Ibid, p. 57.

[59] Cornish people have this unique sense of place and belonging, reflected in the fact that I found it necessary to state to 'Kernow King' that I was Cornish born and bred, as though it would have some influence with him.

[60] Sharron P. Schwartz, "Bridging "The Great Divide": The Evolution and Impact of Cornish Translocalism in Britain and the USA," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 25: 2/3 (2006), pp 174-175.

[61] Crowther and Carter, *Community Identity in Cyberspace,* p. 4.

[62] Schwartz, "Bridging "The Great Divide," p. 180.

[63] Suzanne K. Conrad, "Documenting Local History: A Case Study in Digital Storytelling," Library Review, Vol 62: 8/9 (2013), p. 459.

[64] "About the Cornish American Heritage Society," Cousin Jack, Last modified July 18, 2017, http://cousinjack.org/about.html.

feel connected to the region and it's culture. However, in a study by David Crowther and Chris Carter they found that;

> The Cornish-born reported that membership of the internet community had relatively little effect on their sense of Cornish identity, which was already well established through their cultural upbringing.[65]

Implying that this contemporary approach to community heritage outreach via the internet is merely a consequence of the modern era.

Cornish identity also serves a double function; inwardly it assists in providing local cohesion; externally, it assists in providing an opening in the tourist market. The Cornish have found themselves in a position where their identity is increasingly trivialised through tourism.[66] Although Jean-Michel Dewailly argues that a strong presence of tourism serves to reinforce local identity:

> Indeed it is interesting to note that the preoccupation of visitors with heritage can raise the consciousness of local communities about its value and, consequently, may stir up defensive actions, such as conservation, restoration and revitalisation.[67]

It could be argued that it was this same defensive reaction that migrants would have had when encountering foreign environments that caused them to cling so closely to their Cornish culture. Although it has been pointed out that migration changes communities at both points of origin and destination. [68]

This implies that Cornish culture has been simultaneously altered through the outmigration and immersion of the Cornish in new, foreign societies and the in-migration of new peoples and therefore new customs. The continued rise in tourism and second home owners to Cornwall can be seen to contribute to the evolution of Cornish culture, which does not necessarily indicate that it is being diluted.

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[65] Crowther and Carter, *Community Identity in Cyberspace,* p. 12.
[66] Dewailly, "Images of Heritage in Rural Regions," p. 128.
[67] Ibid., pp- 128-129.
[68] Peggy Levitt and Rafael de la Dehesa, "Transnational Migration and the Redefinition of the State: Variations and explanations," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 26: 4 (2003), p. 611.

Chapter 5: **Conclusion**

It has been argued that, as an ethnic group, the cultural distinctiveness of Cornish people is largely overlooked, both in policy and in the canons of ethnicity and nationalism studies.[1] However as this research and analysis of secondary literature have proven, Cornish studies are moving to the forefront of discussion concerning regional, and especially Celtic, identity. The volume of Cornish cultural groups and the increasing presence of a digital Cornish community demonstrate the growing awareness of what it means to be Cornish, both by the Cornish and by outsiders.

Although there is a perception that Cornish culture is diluted by tourism, the money generated by the tourist industry and the outside interest in Cornwall simultaneously strengthens regional heritage; as the quantity of the Cornish has declined, the quality of Cornishness has been enhanced.[2] There remains a conflict between mass tourism and the revival of Cornish culture and, as such, it is essential to examine trends in movement. This research hints towards the evolution of Cornish culture, significant in Cornwall where tourism is forever expanding and influencing the lifestyle. It is essential that the Cornish accept the development of the region and trust that original culture will not be lost, especially if concerted efforts are made to preserve it; as demonstrated by the local level initiatives.

There is an attitude that only the Cornish can appreciate Cornish heritage and culture, as demonstrated by Craig Weatherhill in his opinion piece for *TransCeltic*, 'Cornish culture cannot be defined or even adequately understood by anyone whose blood is not Cornish.'[3] This attitude has been demonstrated through the national and local conflicts presented in Chapter 3 and this perception has inherently effected this research; for example there are no interviews included from visitors or second home owners in Cornwall. This can be linked to the strong sense of Cornish identity demonstrated through the course of this paper and especially through the Cornish diaspora where the Cornish feel validated only by other Cornish. It has been easy to forget throughout this research,

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[1] Willet, "Liberal Ethnic Nationalism," p. 205.
[2] Deacon, "The Unimportance of Being Cornish in Cornwall," p. 22.
[3] Weatherhill, "What is Cornish Culture?"

especially when scrutinising the effect that visitors to Cornwall have on the community, that my own parents are in-migrants. Yet this has not diminished mine – or their – sense of Cornishness.

It is essential to remember the influence of tourists and in-migrants on Cornwall, in terms of demographics, infrastructure and culture. Whilst it is easy to equate newcomers with a strictly negative impact, as so many Cornish do, it is essential to remember their significant effect on the Cornish economy. As has been discussed in the previous chapters, indigenous industries have declined and Cornwall is more reliant on tourism than in the past. As pointed out by some of the interviewees, locals generally don't take an issue with newcomers to Cornwall as long as they integrate into the community and make an effort to adapt to Cornish lifestyle and culture. Visitors are only damaging when they disrespect lifestyles and traditions which contribute to setting Cornwall apart from the rest of England.

If Cornwall were lost to external pressures and her heritage and traditions allowed to become memories, a small but historic piece of European diversity would disappear. As proclaimed by Fleet in *Cornish Identity at Risk*, 'The Cornish, and Europe, deserve better.'[4] This research has proven that there is a Cornish community to save. Thus, the question which requires further examination is how this culture may be preserved in the face of external pressures without becoming too militant?

Whilst not all Cornish people are sympathetic to Cornish nationalism, the situation within the region demands immediate attention and strong action. This doesn't necessarily require declaring Cornwall as an independent nation but in identifying and celebrating Cornish characteristics and gaining further support from the rest of England there still remains a chance of preserving the heritage and culture which makes Cornwall exceptional.

This research has proven that Cornwall has gradually gained recognition from the UK government as a region of historical and cultural significance. It might be argued that the preservation of these qualities is more crucial than ever Post-Brexit, especially

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[4] Fleet, "Cornish Identity at Risk," pp 239-240.

considering the influence tourism has on the Cornish, and British, economy.[5] With the fall of the pound more people, both British and otherwise, will be encouraged to holiday within the country. What is essential is that the regions genuine heritage and culture is preserved, looking after locals first, who will in turn look after tourists. Cornwall needs to be protected for the sake of indigenous and visitors.

Dewailly states that heritage is linked first and foremost to the land.[6] However, in Cornwall the land is constantly transforming as a result of population growth and the decline of the traditional mining and agricultural industries, therefore Cornish heritage is also transformed. There is a need to create a balance of cultural tourism; one which continues to promote Cornwall as different to England and a desirable place to visit, but incorporates the regions genuine heritage and culture. What has been overlooked in the field of Cornish studies, and by those interviewed for this research, is the need to incorporate these transformations - including the impact of the tourism industry - into contemporary models of Cornish heritage.

Bernard Deacon discusses his perception of Cornishness:

> For me, Cornishness has never been only or even mainly about preserving stuff, but more about giving us the strength and the confidence to say this is what we want, this is where we live and struggle, this is the line that we will not allow 'them' to cross.[7]

Indicating that a sense of Cornish identity is based largely on identifying the culture as separate to that of the nation, and in turn being respected by the nation as separate. In order for old and new traditions to survive it is crucial that the Cornish embrace this development. In examining the outmigration of Cornish residents and subsequent in-migration of 'non-Cornish' there is an opportunity for a public history project that observes traditional Cornish heritage and culture asking how it has been transported around the globe, and how it has been influenced by outside cultures. Cornwall, with its distinct heritage and identity, has the opportunity to move away from a government driven concept of heritage and instead towards a concept that responds to what

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[5] Tourism Industry Council, "Brexit Response Paper," *Visit Cornwall*, accessed August 23, 2017, url: https://www.visitcornwall.com/sites/default/files/generic_files/Tourism%20Industry%20Council%20Brexit%20Paper%20(December).pdf.
[6] Dewailly, "Images of Heritage in Rural Regions," p. 124.
[7] Deacon, "The Unimportance of Being Cornish in Cornwall," p. 18.

communities and individuals ascribe as significant.[8] Through greater recognition of Cornish heritage in English cultural policy, and the acceptance of the value of tourism by indigenous communities, a culturally beneficial and sustainable model of heritage tourism can be negotiated for Cornwall.

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[8] Blake, "From Global to Local Heritage," p. 36.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: **Cornish Heritage Student Survey**

<u>Gender</u>

<u>Age</u>

<u>Were you born in Cornwall? If not what age did you move to Cornwall?</u>

<u>Is either parent of Cornish heritage?</u>

Yes ☐

No ☐

<u>Would you describe yourself as primarily Cornish rather than English?</u>

Yes ☐

No ☐

<u>Why do you think tourism in Cornwall is so big? Tick as many as appropriate:</u>

Heritage ☐

The Coast ☐

Cuisine ☐

Popular Cultural Association e.g. Poldark & Doc Martin ☐

Other ☐

If other please explain:

_____

_____

<u>How do you think the rest of England views Cornwall?</u>

<u>What is your opinion on Cornish Independence?</u>

Do you place any value on the Cornish language?

Yes ☐

No ☐

Do you think it should be taught as part of the school curriculum?

Yes ☐

No ☐

What Cornish landmarks have you visited? Please state whether it was as part of a School trip or outside of School.

Do you recall whether these sites were given a Cornish context? Were they presented in terms of the history of Cornwall?

To what heritage sites would you direct a visitor to Cornwall?

Do you value Cornish heritage and think that local communities should be more encouraged to get involved?