

# “Mozeying on down ...”: The Cornish Language in North America

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## *1. Introduction: Cornish Scat Abroad*

Was Cornish ever spoken in North America? This paper aims to explore the possibility of the Cornish language transcending the Atlantic Ocean and being spoken in North America. On the face of it, there seems to have been an early, tight window of opportunity for the language to have travelled, although there remain some intriguing later possibilities which I investigate here. Not only were Cornish settlers among the first colonists in the continent, but Cornish fishing crews appear to have touched the coastline of Newfoundland from the late fifteenth century onwards. Distinct from the initial wave of immigration during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, comes a second wave during the nineteenth century, in which many Cornish miners and farmers carried what we may term ‘substratum’ or residual traces of the language with them, in terms of both vocabulary and grammar. Here I propose to look at what survived, and how that shaped the identity of the Cornish in North America. One such test case is the old cowboy term, to ‘mozey on down’ which is often purported to have a Cornish origin. Having traced the historical legacy of Cornish language in North America, I will subsequently review the use of Cornish in twenty-first century America, what the language signifies to modern Cornu-American culture, and how it interacts with other Celtic languages in the USA and Canada.

As scholars such as Raymond Hickey (2004) have noted, “transported dialects and languages” form some of the most interesting areas of contemporary linguistics and literary studies. In respect of the Celtic languages, there have been several notable studies, such as those by Ó Néill (2005) completed on both Irish and Scottish Gaelic, in for example, the United States of America, and Nova Scotia, Newfoundland. Given the high-profile nature of the Irish in North America, Kevin Kenny (2000) and Úni Ní Bhroimeil (2002) have considered not only

the effect of say, Irish language newspapers in the United States of America, but also the considerable impact of Irish culture in general on the shaping of American identity. Transported Welsh has also found favour with the late twentieth-century travel writer Bruce Chatwin (1971), and then more recently with Pamela Petro (1997). Both consider the existence of Welsh in Chubut Province, Patagonia, while Petro looks at Welsh speakers and communities across the world.<sup>1</sup> In 2003, another travel writer, Mark Ably, looked at the Celtic languages in his “travels amongst threatened languages” in a volume which considers the impact on transported tongues as well as those remaining at home; while back in academia, scholars such as Tristram, have embraced the interaction of Celtic languages with English and French in her *Celtic Englishes* series of conferences and volumes, with a particular emphasis on ‘substratum’ elements.

Although the subject of the Cornish in North America, and indeed overseas, has received considerable attention, not least in the light of the ground-breaking work of A.L. Rowse, A.C. Todd, and John Rowe, and more latterly Philip Payton, Shirley Ewart and Gage McKinney, most of the study that has emerged has been broadly historical and economic, with a particular focus on mining, agriculture and religion. Only in more recent times, have some of the linguistic, literary and folkloric issues<sup>2</sup> associated with this ‘transportation’ of culture been considered by scholars such as myself (2004). Although the potential mobility of the Cornish language has been debated in Cornish language and academic circles for some time, no serious study has been developed. I reinforce the fact that my research here is highly tentative and somewhat sceptical, though certain facts do emerge to offer a new portrait of language activity associated with the relationship between Cornwall and North America.

## 2. *The Next Parish after Land’s End: Early Explorations*

The European discovery of North America flows from three impulses. One, lasting for over two thousand years and never truly obtained, was the search for some new utopia, where a new civilisation either could be found or founded. The second, at least from the thirteenth century onwards, comes from the quest for a desired sea route to ‘The Indies,’ as China, Japan, Indonesia and India were then known. The third and most pertinent here, was the quest for Northern European peoples, as Simon James (1999) usefully puts it, the ‘Atlantic Celts,’ and those of Scandinavia, who as sea-faring territories, simply looked to see what

<sup>1</sup> See also Birt, P., 2005, “The Welsh Language in Chubut Province, Argentina,” in: Ó Néill, D., ed., *Rebuilding the Celtic Languages: Reversing Language Shift in the Celtic Countries*, 115-51.

<sup>2</sup> Kent, A.M., 2005 a, “Drill Cores: A Newly-Found Manuscript of Cousin Jack Narratives from the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, USA,” in: Payton, P., ed., *Cornish Studies: Twelve*, 106-43; “Bringin’ the Dunkey Down from the Carn: Cornu-English in Context 1549-2005 – A Provisional Analysis,” in: Tristram, H.L.C., ed., 2006, *The Celtic Englishes IV*, 6-33.

lay over the western sea-board’s horizon. An indication of this projected territory had already been given by the classical geographer Claudius Ptolemy (A.C. E. 73-151), and it was Ptolemy’s view of the world which exercised a tremendous authority over the human mind. Although grossly inaccurate in places, nonetheless, as Parsons (2000) has demonstrated, Ptolemy already had a grip on the Atlantic Celts, having mapped locations in Wales, Ireland and Cornwall. In the latter for example, he had identified *Antivestaion akron* (modern Land’s End), *Okrinoon akron* (Lizard Point), *Keniōnos* (River Kenwyn), *Tamaros* (River Tamar), and *Voliba* (as possibly the hill forts of Burghgear and Carvossa).<sup>3</sup> Thus Ptolemy had recorded much of the Northern Atlantic, and his ideas formed the mind-map for the Scandinavians and Atlantic Celts; his geography realising the potential of a continent across the Atlantic.

Those from Scandinavia, the exploits of the Norsemen and their arrivals in Iceland, Greenland and Vinland – and in particular the year 999 voyage of Leif Ericsson – are, as Jane Smiley and Robert Kellogg (2001) have shown, well documented in both Scandinavian and Icelandic literature, as well as in world history. There have, however, been other notable and legendary Celtic attempts at crossing the Atlantic. Of these, as Barron and Burgess (2004) document, the most famous are probably the voyages of St. Brendan, who while seeking the Americas, actually landed upon the Azores. A complementary, if not more radical view, is also offered by William R. McGlone and Phillip M. Leonard in *Celtic America* (1986), who argue that European Celts helped to found ancient America. As Morrison notes, there has also been some debate as to whether some Irish slaves were captured by Vikings and taken to North America, yet no single early Irish artefact has been found there.<sup>4</sup> As Armstrong (1950) and Deacon (1967) have shown, there is also the popular and persistent story of Prince Madoc, who supposedly brought a Cymric colony to America in the twelfth century. By some mysterious process, this colony became a Welsh-speaking Indian tribe which moved west from the Atlantic shore until it became the Mandan tribe in the far west. Since then, several comparative vocabularies have been recorded and debated over. The story has been treated with some scepticism over the centuries though John Dee felt it justified British rule in North America, while the Daughters of the American Revolution also embraced the fable. Although these legends give a flavour of voyaging to North America from the Celtic territories, I now turn to the specific case of Cornwall and the subsequent transportation of the Cornish language.

In Pool (1982), Fudge (1982), Gendall (1994), and Weatherhill (1995) the classic western retreat of the Cornish language is usually represented by an ‘isobar’ model, but of late this model has come to be radically rethought by Lyon (2001),

<sup>3</sup> Parsons, D.N., 2000, “Classifying Ptolemy’s English Place-Names,” in: Parsons D.N. & S. Williams, eds., 169-78. This came from a workshop sponsored by the British Academy in the Department of Welsh, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 11-12 April 1999.

<sup>4</sup> Morrison, S.E., 1971, *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages, A.D. 500-1600*, 26-28.

Deacon, Schwartz and Holman (2004), and Holmes,<sup>5</sup> with notional pockets of Cornish-speakers in enclaves in otherwise English-speaking territories. St. Eno-der in the mid-Cornwall hinterland, as well as The Roseland and The Lizard peninsulas are the most obvious examples. Needless to say, there is a greater likelihood of Cornish mariners speaking Cornish in and around North America if they are from one of the places where the retreat and disappearance of the language had not occurred. Given the above however, it is not improbable that they may be from one of the enclaves. We need to realise that like Cornish miners in later years, the mobility culture so enshrined in *Cousin Jacks and Jennies*, was also endemic within Cornwall's maritime population. This factor certainly needs re-thinking when we come to consider Cornish speakers in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, and perhaps also into the modern era.

During the earliest voyages to America, between say 1490 and 1600, several ships were passing both the north and south coasts of Cornwall. Although my only current evidence is gleaned from return voyages, there is every reason to assume that some of the ships returning did put into harbour in Cornwall on the way across. Famously in 1587, the ship *The Hopewell*,<sup>6</sup> had made it to Newfoundland, and was on her way back to London in August of that year. Finally, they sighted the island of Lundy, but then realised they needed to change their course around Land's End to make it up the Channel. Once the Channel had been entered then the prominent headlands were marked, as in the old chantey 'Spanish Ladies':

Now the first land we make is calléd the Deadman.  
Then Rams Head off Plymouth, Start, Portland and Wight...<sup>7</sup>

There were only local lights along this coast in the sixteenth century, and very few other navigational aids. Lighthouses did not exist. Therefore to have Cornishmen on board, to negotiate both the outward and inward voyage would have been beneficial. By 1600, Cornish was still being spoken west of a line between Newquay and Mevagissey, so it could be that Cornish-speaking crewmen helped to sail her out into the Atlantic, in effect, the earliest form of pilots (later made famous in Cornish gig rowing boats). There is even earlier evidence however, of Cornish speakers crossing the Atlantic. Trudel has demonstrated that the historian of Newfoundland, Judge Prowse, has argued that 'West Country English' were fishing for cod off Newfoundland as early as 1498. Surely Prowse actually meant Cornishmen? Morrison has argued that the date is pure conjecture,<sup>8</sup> yet there is good evidence that the Anglo-Azorean expeditions of 1501-1505 completed fishing off Newfoundland, and the earliest positive date we have for a

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<sup>5</sup> Holmes, J., 2003, "On the Track of Cornish in a Bilingual Country," in: Payton, P., ed., *Cornish Studies: Eleven*, 270-290.

<sup>6</sup> Morrison, 1971, 140.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Morrison, 1971, 225.

Breton fishing voyage is in 1504, only six years later.<sup>9</sup> If there was cooperation between Breton and Cornish crews, not to mention, as the Cornish revivalist A.S.D. Smith (1948) later argued, linguistic similarities and camaraderie, then the evidence for this date could be accepted.<sup>10</sup> By 1506, it is known that there were enough Portuguese fishermen crossing the Atlantic to justify their King placing a 10% import duty on their catch.<sup>11</sup> Maybe some of those Cornish speakers put into the harbours of Newfoundland to fetch water, wood and hunt. There were enough maps of the Newfoundland coast being circulated by the early 1500s, and known by ‘mobile’ Cornish mariners. Our problem is that fishermen leave few records and that their ordinary comings and goings were not noted. Incidentally, it was Smith who argued in 1947 that one significant factor for the decline of Cornish at home was paradoxically the discovery of America. He comments that:

... The discovery of America in 1497 led to many of Cornwall’s young men sailing in English ships to the Americas to seek their fortunes. These men would soon become so accustomed to English speech that they would learn to despise Cornish: more especially after discovering what an insignificant little corner of the vast world Cornwall was. Upon their return, they would relate the wonders they had seen in English, and many of the young folk would be fired with enthusiasm and embark for the New World with the same result.<sup>12</sup>

Smith’s comment is of great interest for several reasons. First of all, it seems that he feels the young Cornishmen gave up Cornish because they despised it. As Crystal and Mufwene have since demonstrated, cultures do not give up a language because they despise it. The relinquishment is almost always economic; the need for survival is ‘ecological’. Thus Cornishmen and women heading towards America faced the same issue as Nettle and Romaine (2000) have observed in the contemporary context – of say, the dominance of English on the Internet. In this early phase, English was already the international language of trade. A further issue is worth illuminating here. As Kent and Saunders (2000) show, William Scawen, writing in 1680 in his *Antiquities Cornuontanic: The Causes of Cornish Speech’s Decay*, does not appear to give the same importance to the emigration process, seemingly giving greater status to immigration by ‘English’ culture into Cornwall.<sup>13</sup> Loss of Cornish speakers overseas (and their subsequent ‘cultured’

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Smith notes that “*The Lay Subsidy Rolls* (especially for the year 1540-1560), likewise old parish registers, show that there were many Bretons living in Cornwall”. Padel also argues for the interconnection between oral narrative of Cornwall and Brittany. See Padel, O., 2005, “Oral and literary culture in medieval Cornwall,” in: Fulton, H., ed., 95-116.

<sup>11</sup> Patterson, 1890, “The Portuguese on the Northeast Coast of America,” in: *Royal Society of Canada, Proceedings and Transactions* 8: 127-78.

<sup>12</sup> Smith (1947: 7).

<sup>13</sup> For an excellent examination of Scawen’s input, see Spriggs, M., 2005 b, “William Scawen (1600-1669) – A Neglected Cornish Patriot and Father of the Cornish Language Revival,” in: Payton, P., ed., *Cornish Studies: Thirteen*, 98-125.

return) is not conventionally given as a reason for the language's decay, although considering the above evidence, the picture of loss is convincing.

Somewhat later, although perhaps to be read in the context of Cornish and Breton fishermen off Newfoundland, is the discovery of what is now known as Tangier Island. Tangier Island is located in the estuary of the Potomac River, where it flows into Chesapeake Bay. The Island is actually a set of sandbars, composed of three islands just south of the Virginia – Maryland State line. According to Daley (n.d.), and Parks (1997), the island was discovered by Captain John Smith in 1608 when he was looking for fresh water. According to local legend the island was settled around three hundred years ago, by six or so fishermen and their families from Cornwall. Lots of present-day guidebooks refer to the “old brogue or accent” of the people on the island, and the “special melody of their speech,” supposedly derived from the fact that their Cornishness has survived over many centuries. It is unclear if this is a reference to Cornish, Cornu-English or an intermingling of the two.

However, not all of the recorded accounts tally. Some sources indicate that the community was initially founded by fishermen from the Isles of Scilly, and that they set up there because the island so reminded them of home. If legends about Tangier are correct, then this would make a date of settlement around 1700, yet by then, we are, of course, drawing on a far smaller group of Cornish speakers, since the language had broadly retreated to an area west of a line between Camborne and Falmouth. If the original settlers were from Scilly, then this presents us with an additional difficulty because as Moore (2005) demonstrates, there is little evidence of Cornish language surviving on Scilly, and developing into the modern era. Main Ridge is now the largest community on Tangier Island, but the earliest community was based around Canton. We do know that Joshua Thomas (a very Cornish-sounding individual) once ran the first store on the island at Oyster Ridge Creek, but this is a century later, around 1805. However, it is possible his ancestors knew limited Cornish. Some traditions also state that the island was first founded by a John Crockett and his eight sons in 1686 (matching the settlement date). He does not sound very Cornish. Having said that, there are still a number of Crocketts in the 2006 Cornwall and Isles of Scilly telephone directory.

As the opening up of North America progressed, it became clear that British interests were going to be very important there. The earliest explorations to Newfoundland alluded to above show potential for the language to have transcended the Atlantic, although it is to the now more overt colonies that we must next look, to see if Cornish survived. In 1585-86 (when Cornish was still being spoken in mid-Cornwall and in the west), Raleigh, as Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall, had organized the famous Roanoke Colony. As Rowse details, Sir Richard Grenville had organised the plantation, and with Grenville were John Arundell and one Captain Bonyton. Arundell was from Trerice near Newquay, and being from a Catholic family, it seems likely he would have had knowledge of Cornish at least; even if he had, as Richard Carew suggests later on, to convert to English

to ‘get on’.<sup>14</sup> With them was the cartographer and illustrator John White, who Payton (1999) has asserted was Cornish, seemingly coming from Truro. This would position White as a possible Cornish speaker, but the evidence is too sketchy for us to make any conclusions.

Travelling with them were some of these crucial younger men – a Master Kendall of Lostwithiel, a Master Prideaux of Padstow, and one Master Anthony Rowse (or Rous), from the Halton-based family above the River Tamar. Considering these were younger men, and from areas where Cornish had already stopped from being spoken, evidence for their use of the tongue seems rather less convincing. As young men, they would perhaps have been more likely, as Smith asserted, to embrace English as well, considering it important for their own betterment. Maybe, this reflects Smith’s observations, and that many Cornishmen returned from America with an Anglicised name, crucial evidence, as Symons has perceptively argued,<sup>15</sup> of language transfer operating in Cornwall. Symons uses a set of Parish registers from across Cornwall, to convincingly show the exact moment of transference (see also below, p. 201).

After Raleigh’s condemnation for treason, men from Cornwall and Devon petitioned James I for a license to plant a colony and so a second charter was granted in Virginia in 1609. Rowse (1991 [1969]) recounts how three Cornish knights were instrumental in the success of Jamestown – Sir William Godolphin, Sir Robert Killigrew and Sir John Borlase. Godolphin had interests in west Cornwall, as did Killigrew (who would become the future commander of Pendennis Castle), but if Carew is to be believed then these men would have already sacrificed any Cornish speaking. More likely perhaps is that they took with them a set of servants, workers and craftsmen, who were bilingual, speaking to their managers in English and their fellow workers in Cornish, a trend, as Padel (1975) has demonstrated, with evidence in the Cornish writings of the later Boson Family.

Of course, as the seventeenth century opens up, there are less and less chances of Cornish being used in America, since by 1650 the Cornish at home had more or less retreated west of a line from Truro to St. Agnes. Rowse details a number of Cornish settlers in the opening decades of the 1600s: the arrival of Richard and Elizabeth Arundell in 1620, John Penrice at Elizabeth City in 1623 and John Treherne in 1622, but their language use is sketchy. In the 1630s a William Berryman petitioned for land due to him for the transportation of John Treherne and three other servants, then at the rate of “fifty acres for each person sent over.” It is perhaps to men like Treherne and these three other servants we should be thinking of as possible users of Cornish, though of course, the evidence is all too

<sup>14</sup> See Carew, R., 1953, “The Excellency of the English Tongue,” in: Halliday, ed., 303-8.

<sup>15</sup> Andrew C. Symons, “Language and History,” in: *An Baner Kernewek / The Cornish Banner* 92: 10-11; “Stress and Intonation Patterns in Cornish Dialect,” in: *An Baner Kernewek / The Cornish Banner* 95: 7-11; “Models of Language Transfer,” in: *An Baner Kernewek / The Cornish Banner* 96: 6-9. Deacon has also developed unpublished research which suggests that the dropping of the tripartite naming of Cornishmen indicates the decline of the language.

thin. Given the fact, too, that many of the emigrants were usually from east Cornwall, due to connections with Plymouth, as time rolls forward, the chances of fully-fledged speakers operating, diminishes rapidly. Rowse's work also shows that there seems little record of names being recorded in the Cornish forms. 1636 brought a host of Cornish settlers to both Virginia and Maine, but probably not Cornish speakers.

There was one Captain Richard Bonython who became co-proprietor of land near the present town of Saco. Bonython was born in St. Columb Major in 1580, which puts him on the cusp of Cornish language retreat, so he may have had some knowledge of the language, but as he assumed more and more public duties in the colony, obviously the language was less and less needed. Similarly, the controversial Hugh Peter (born at Fowey in 1598) – a prime mover in the economic expansion of Massachusetts, and one of the eventual founders of Harvard College – came from a town just too far east to still have regular use of Cornish, remembering that language retreat from the line between Padstow and Fowey back to St. Austell and Newquay, took 100 years from 1500 to 1600. After this early window, the evidence for linguistic transportation becomes less convincing. Many of those emigrating were from east of mid Cornwall, where the language had already broadly disappeared. It is to the opening years of the eighteenth century we must now turn.

### 3. *William Gwavas and that 1710 Letter*

One of the most oft-quoted references to the use of Cornish language in North America is William Gwavas's 1710 letter "An [Why] poble hui, en pow America / You people in the Land of America"; the text of which is given below, with an English-language translation:

An [Why] poble hui, en pow America, uncuth dho nei, huei dho gurria an Deu guir a'n nev k'an doar Neb g'ryk an Houll, an Lur, ha an Steren Rag porth a'n Tiz war an Tir, ha g'ryk kynifara tra en Dallath ha Eu Deu, olghallnzack dres ol an Beyz.

Bounaz hep Diueth.

Amen.

En Blethan a'n Deu Arlueth nei, 1710 W. Gwavas.

a an Tempel K'res en Loundres

En Pow a'n Brethon.

[You people in the land of America, unknown to us, you have learnt to worship the true God of the heaven and the earth, Who made the sun, the moon, and the stars for the aid of the people on the earth, and made everything in the beginning and is God almighty over all the world.

Life without end.

Amen.

In the year of the God our Lord, 1710 W. Gwavas.  
 From the Middle Temple in London  
 in the land of the Britons.]<sup>16</sup>

Gwavas (1676-1741) was born in Suffolk, though according to Pool (1982), he came from a family long established at Gwavas in the Parish of Sithney near Helston (and not at Paul as is often purported) and was a barrister in the Middle Temple. Having inherited the fish tithe at Newlyn and Mousehole, he then spent much of his time and energy arguing with the fishermen of the two communities, ending in 1730 with the judgment of the House of Lords in favour of Gwavas. He lived his life at Penzance, and was a writer and collector of letters, verses, proverbs, epitaphs and other passages of Cornish; his mentor in the language being John Boson. Gwavas acknowledged the help of many of his contemporaries (men such as Thomas Boson, Oliver Pendar, James Jenkin and John Odger), as well as “several ancient persons in Paul, St. Just, St. Keverne, etc., both men and women that could speak the modern Cornish, although they knew not how to write it, or rightly divide the words and sentences”.<sup>17</sup> Pool notes that “Gwavas wrote to an unnamed correspondent in America ... this implying that some Cornish speakers had emigrated and that the language was spoken, or at least understood, in America before it died out in Cornwall”.<sup>18</sup>

This message was written on the back of the Gwavas manuscript copy of the Apostles’ Creed and was perhaps intended a specimen of Cornish for people in America, maybe Cornish speakers, who were assisting in various ways with the on-going colonisation of the continent. The address seems to refer to those undergoing Christian conversion – Native Americans possibly. Meanwhile, Gwavas himself, was engaged in a series of letter-writing exercises to stimulate not only his own creativity and use of the language (which by this time had retreated into an area west of a line drawn between St. Ives, Penzance and the western half of The Lizard peninsula), but also to encourage other like-minded individuals. Of course, the important question is who was the addressee of the letter, to whom precisely was Gwavas writing? Unfortunately, a search of the Gwavas manuscript gives few clues for us.

Two potential groups of addressees emerge however. The first was that Gwavas did know of a learned Cornishman in one of the eastern sea-board States, who had either residual knowledge of Cornish or who sought to improve his ‘learnt’ Cornish via correspondence. Certainly the style of language chosen fits this. *En Pow a’n Brethon* ‘In the land of the Britons’ seems self-consciously archaic, yet fashionable at the same time. There are other clues though. The terms of the address seem to indicate a multiple audience, as if it were to be read aloud, perhaps

<sup>16</sup> Kent, A.M. & T. Saunders, eds. and transl., 2000, *Looking at the Mermaid: A Reader in Cornish Literature 900-1900*, 238-9.

<sup>17</sup> Pool, P.A.S., 1982, *The Death of Cornish*, 16-17.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. See also Nance, R.M., 1925, “The Cornish Language in America,” in: *Old Cornwall*, Vol. 1, No.1, 37.

in some educational capacity or simply a demonstration. The overt Christian theme and conversion ideology does strongly indicate some Native Americans undergoing a transition in belief. At the same time, there are even strong echoes of the Prince Madoc legend, which seems to accentuate a legitimate imperial British right to manage the territory, yet it comes too early to act as propaganda within the War of Independence (1775-83).<sup>19</sup> Brian Murdoch feels the letter is a demonstration only and perhaps could have been interpreted, read or translated by a Welsh speaker (who would certainly have been more common).<sup>20</sup> Another alternative of course, is that Gwavas had intimate contact with the maritime community of west Cornwall, and that just maybe a mariner still carried Cornish across the Atlantic. If successive 'recordings' and 'texts' of later final speakers are to be considered here in the light of this (such as the maritime-themed letter of William Bodinar in 1776),<sup>21</sup> then there is good evidence that Gwavas and 'that mariner' corresponded. Over the years most Cornish-language scholarship has failed to grasp the nettle of this text. Ellis, however, has this to say on the matter:

Another interesting example of Gwavas' correspondence in Cornish is his letters to someone in America dated 1710 in which he enclosed a copy of the Apostles' Creed. It may well be that these letters were sent to exiled Cornishmen who had taken their knowledge of the language with them. Perhaps the original letters are now tucked away in some American library.<sup>22</sup>

Ellis's final sentence is hopeful rather than realistic. That said, there is one other intriguing possibility that comes to light, and which may support Ellis's hypothesis. Broadly contemporary of Gwavas was William Rowe of Hendra in Sancreed, who was also writing in Cornish during this phase. Although Rowe's surviving literature of some 2,155 words were translations of Genesis 3, St. Matthew 2: 1-20, and St. Matthew 4, he had a sound understanding of the language spoken around Sancreed, between 1650 and 1690. This was thirty years before Gwavas's letter. However, some of William Rowe's descendants did migrate to North America.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps these descendants knew Cornish, and since Gwavas knew Rowe, he might have found it helpful to generate correspondence. Rowe's focus on scripture may have passed on to his relatives, so to send on the Creed in Cornish to the Cornish-American Rowe family would have seemed fitting. Rowe's descendants would also have to be literate, so this is a possibility. Ellis notes that Rowe's Cornish is highly distinctive, in that it sticks closely to Eng-

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<sup>19</sup> For another perspective on British and Celtic legitimacy, see Munro, R.J., 2004, *The Scottish Invention of America, Democracy and Human Rights: A History of Liberty and Freedom from the Ancient Celts to the New Millennium*, USA.

<sup>20</sup> Correspondence with the author, 4 September 2006.

<sup>21</sup> Kent A.M. & Saunders, T. (2000: 244-5).

<sup>22</sup> Ellis, P.B., 1974, *The Cornish Language and its Literature*, London: Routledge, 100.

<sup>23</sup> I am indebted to Rod Trevelyan Lyon for bringing this to my attention.

lish phonetics,<sup>24</sup> so we might be seeking a preceding or return letter in a similar style. Further research is needed to trace the exact location to which the Sancreed Rowe family emigrated. Maybe there, one might be able to find more correspondence from Gwavas or even William Rowe.

#### 4. *Yee-Har!!: Miners and Cowboys*

The second phase of transported Cornish comes during the nineteenth century, when the mineral wealth of North America began to be extracted by migrant miners. A large proportion of these groups were the Cornish who brought their hard-rock mining expertise, in particular to the United States of America, concentrating their work initially in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, the Lead region of Wisconsin and Illinois, and California; then later in Colorado, the Pacific North West and Arizona. The possibility remains that some of the immigrant Cornish miners carried with them knowledge of traditional Cornish, though there are no records of this.

On-going Cornish language activity during this century is therefore restricted to two areas: the specific Cornish-language vocabulary of mining, and a number of Cornu-English terms and constructions which have their origins in the Cornish language. My 2004 article<sup>25</sup> on a newly-discovered manuscript of ‘Cousin Jack’ stories from the Upper Peninsula of Michigan defines the field we are engaged in here, and I do not propose to revisit that ground here. However, Walter F. Gries, the astute collector of the ‘Drill Cores’ manuscript noticed many peculiarities related to Cornu-English, which he could never quite explain. He put it down to “a juggling in use of pronouns, as well as a confusion and contradiction in words that often results in astonishing expressions ... in spite of the abuse of grammar.”<sup>26</sup> Perhaps Gries was perceptively observing a Cornish community only one hundred years on from the main loss of Cornish, still coming to terms with speaking in another tongue. An oft-quoted example is the Cornu-English expression *I d’do that* – a direct translation from, for example, the Cornish *My a wra gul henna*. Additionally, in Cornu-English, as in Cornish, the emphasis is shifted to the start of the sentence *Goin’ ’ome are ’ee?*<sup>27</sup> The following transported terms are ones which can be found in a number of Cousin-Jack narratives, mining museums and Cornish communities across North America. Below is a sample from a list I have collected. The American-English dialect word is followed by the word spelt in traditional Cornish, followed by its definition:

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<sup>24</sup> Ellis, P.B. (1974: 92).

<sup>25</sup> Kent, A.M., 2004.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 130.

<sup>27</sup> Kent, A.M., 2006.

<i>American Cornu-English</i>	<i>Cornish</i>	<i>Definition</i>
Attle	Atal	Waste
Bal	Bal	Mine
Buddle	Buddle	Washing pit for ore, churn
Cann	Cand	White spar stone
Capel	Capel	Black Tourmeline
Caunter	Caunter	Contrary / off-set lode
Costean	Costeena	To dig exploratory pits
Dippa	Dippa	A small pit
Druse	Druse	Small cavity in a vein
Flookan	Flookan	Soft layer of material
Gad	Gad	Miner's wedge or spike <sup>28</sup>

The lack of development or change of the word from the original Cornish words is startling. There are many more examples. Another useful source for this kind of Cornish vocabulary in America is the 1941 novel *The Long Winter Ends*, by Newton G. Thomas, from Stoke Climsland, who was born in 1878, and worked as a dentist in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan community. The story deals with Jim Holman, who leaves Cornwall to work in the copper mines of the Upper Peninsula. As can be seen with the following examples, Cornu-English dialect words (derived from Cornish) form a considerable part of the vocabulary of the book; for example, “Aas, maid. The *bal* ’ave shut down.” and “The *cheel* was saved, but ’er died of burns.”<sup>29</sup> At the same time, Jim exists in an Upper Peninsula world populated by men with Cornish-language names like Penglaze and Chenoweth. One other author who sets novels in Cornish-America is Jim Harrison. Harrison’s breakthrough novel was *Legends of the Fall*, later made into a film starring Brad Pitt (playing the youngest brother Tristan) and Anthony Hopkins. The film and book detail events affecting a Cornish family, and contain the occasional Cornish-language term, as does his 2004 novel, *True North*, which follows the life of David Burkett, whose great-grandfather emigrated from Cornwall. Similarly, Daniel Mason’s *Cousin Jack* (1996) contains a similar spattering of Cornish-language words associated with mining. Obviously, the quantity of Cornish language vocabulary here is slim, but makes for an interesting footprint in these regions, by way of its narratives.

One of the terms which has been consistently held up as a curious example of a survival of a Cornish-language word in North America is the cowboy term ‘to mozey on down,’ as detailed in Adams (1994). The word ‘moze’ is the possible ‘Cornishism’ since the Cornish verb ‘moaz’ is the word meaning ‘to go, march, pass, proceed, be going to or about to’.<sup>30</sup> Sound-wise, the two terms are identi-

<sup>28</sup> The Cornish here confers with Gendall, R., ed., 1997, *A Practical Dictionary of Modern Cornish – Part One: Cornish-English*, Menheniot.

<sup>29</sup> *Bal* equates to ‘a mine’. *Cheel* equates to a ‘female child’.

<sup>30</sup> Gendall, ed., 1997: 96.

cal, and the American term ‘to moze’ appears very close. ‘Mozey on down’ has several historical attestations in ‘Western’-themed American literature, as well as modern cowboy poetry collected by Hal Cannon (1994). It also has many contemporary uses; for example:

“Now get off your butt and mozey on down to Walmart!”

“I thought I might mozey along to the Red Hot Chili Peppers gig.”

“Grab yer partner and mozey on down to the Sagebrush saloon for a rip roarin’ hoe-down!”

The expression was originally found in the west of America, and according to Adams, specifically in southern Arizona. This fact is interesting, since Miami-Globe and Tombstone on the Mexican-USA border are both Cornish mining towns. Tuscon also once had a large Cornish population.

The difficulty with ‘mозey,’ as a Cornish-derived term in the USA, is twofold. First of all, Arizona only began to be significantly settled by Cornish miners in the period after 1907, a period in which we do not expect to see any Cornish-derived terms outside of mining forming part of the linguistic reservoir. A second etymology of the word is also possible, and more likely, given the geography. As Slatta (2004) argues, the Spanish term *vamos* ‘let’s go’ may equally be a contender in the formation of the term, and since Mexico is much closer to Arizona than Cornwall, the likely derivation is this. The American slang term ‘Vamoose’ is also derived from ‘vamos’. Therefore the connection between ‘moaz’ and ‘mозey’ is intriguing but tenuous, as ethereal as the tommyknockers (small people) of the mines of southern Arizona.

Like Cornwall, there is also some limited place name evidence in North America, which is derived from the Cornish language; these places being named after communities back home. Although these are relatively few, they at least show a small Brythonic Celtic heritage in North America. There are two towns labelled Penrose; one in Colorado, another in Philadelphia. Petherick is located in Michigan, Truro may be found in Nova Scotia, and Boscawen in New Hampshire. There are several towns labelled Cornwall; the best known is in Pennsylvania; the home of the famous iron foundry named Cornwall Furnace (founded by Philadelphia-born Cornishman Peter Grubb in 1733), and detailed in the work of Carl Oblinger (1984). This is comparable, as Drew (1988) has shown, to the Redruth township of Burra in South Australia, in which many streets and houses are named after Cornish language place names.

##### *5. Some Language Cowboys: Nancarrow, Bottrell and Weekes*

As we can see from above, a considerable legacy of the Cornish language operating in North America is to be found in the terminology of mining and the opening up of the ‘Wild West’. Before we consider the state of present-day Cornish, a few other pertinent historical observations may be made. According to

some commentators, such as Weatherhill, the late Cornish speaker and American emigrant John Nancarrow, was apparently born into a Quaker family in St. Agnes in 1734. However, he spent his childhood in West Cornwall, learning Cornish from native speakers – most likely fishermen. Nance (1963) has argued that fishermen had a complex and astute labelling of marmite life.

Weatherhill argues that Nancarrow's fluency in Cornish was noted by Daines Barrington in 1777, three years after Nancarrow had left for America. Lyon too, who has extensively studied the family links and cultural geographies of surviving Cornish speakers, also draws considerable attention to Nancarrow, but is less convinced, since there is conflicting evidence. Jenner in fact states that Barrington received communication about one John Nancarrow of Market Jew in 1779 when he was aged forty.<sup>31</sup> Lyon has searched the Parish Registers for St. Hilary, and those immediately adjoining, but no record of a Nancarrow is found. However, the birth of a John Nancarrow in 1739 is found in the parish of St. Enoher in mid Cornwall.

Although this is a long way from west Cornwall, strangely enough St. Enoher is one Cornish parish where an unusually high number of Cornish and even late Cornish place names have survived. Maybe this is the Nancarrow referred to, and perhaps although being born in St. Enoher, he may have moved west, first going to St. Agnes, and then toward west Cornwall. It seems that it is from west Cornwall that he then travelled to Philadelphia. Most likely he would have met few, indeed if any speakers in that city, and yet people emigrating often focus on destinations where like could find like, so the city may provide us with a foci for Cornish in the USA. Of course, Philadelphia is only a stone's throw from Tangier Island. Lyon notes that Nancarrow's life thereafter was not particularly illustrious and that he got in with the wrong sort,<sup>32</sup> while Weatherhill says he was last heard of in 1805 in Philadelphia. Is Philadelphia therefore our epicentre of Cornish-language activity in North America?

There may of course, have been other speakers who left with Nancarrow. He certainly seems one of the last 'recorded' speakers to carry with him knowledge of Cornish. As both Weatherhill and Lyon have noted, Cornish continued to be spoken in west Cornwall for much of the nineteenth century; Lyon's research in particular demonstrating a small yet notable continuity from Dolly Pentreath and William Bodinar through to people with knowledge of traditional Cornish, such as Ann Wallis, John Tremethick, Mrs. Berryman/Quick, Jane Barnicoate, Bernard Victor, John Davey Senior, Jacob Care, Elizabeth Vingoe and Mr. Mann, in the same period as the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century revival. Presumably many unrecorded miners, fishermen and farmers took knowledge with them as well, that was above and beyond the stage of Cornish words preserved within Cornu-English.

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<sup>31</sup> Jenner (1904: 21).

<sup>32</sup> Correspondence with author, September 2006.

It is interesting therefore, to note that the Cornish folklorist and self-described ‘old Celt’ William Bottrell pays very little attention to the preservation of Cornish, paradoxically within narratives conceived within a cultural geography and dialect which is littered with a substratum of the Cornish language. Did he perhaps think this was enough? Did he even, like many antiquarians, realise the language had irrevocably disappeared or did he not have the linguistic or translation skills to go further? The latter seems to be the case, because he clearly is interested in the place names and Cornish words within the stories. Indeed some of the narratives he collected were probably originally conceived in Cornish. There is a curious exception however; this is his 1880 collection of ‘hearthside’ stories, where he makes reference to the “Ancient Cornish Language in the Colonies”. The writing here is not confident, and comes at the end of a volume in which he was seemingly forced to collect narratives further and further away, into mid-Cornwall.<sup>33</sup> The point made is what Phillipps (1993) later labelled the ‘shibboleth and talisman’ of dialect, yet he chooses Cornish language words to illustrate his point. The passage begins with the following exultation of ‘Cousin Jacks’:

Cornishmen’s clannish propensities are well known and are most apparent when they meet in foreign lands. At the gold-fields of Australia, as elsewhere, they stand by and support each other “through thick and thin”. Cornishmen are also preferred for many kinds of work which require some degree of engineering skills, and they seldom undertaken employment for which they are incompetent.<sup>34</sup>

‘As elsewhere’ presumably indicates North America and South Africa, and Bottrell continues by making the point that recognition can be spotted if someone responds correctly to the question, “My dear, ded ’e ever see duck *klunk* a *gay*?” – *klunk*, being Cornish ‘to swallow’ and *gay* being ‘a fragment of broken crockery’.<sup>35</sup> Those who understand the code respond in the right way. A second example is given with the observation “Mate! There’s a green myryan [Cornish: ant] on thy nuddack [Cornish: back of the neck]”.<sup>36</sup> Bottrell’s argument reminds this author of an old man sitting on a bench once in St. Agnes in the late 1990s, who was testing Cornishness out on a film crew. The friendly man said, “A’right pard?” [Alright friend?] to everyone who walked past. Most of the non-Cornish crew ignored him, not understanding, I suspect, even what he was saying. When Cornish members of the crew walked past and replied, “A’right” back to him, the old man smiled. It remains unclear why Bottrell choose these examples of ‘transported Cornish’ above others. Perhaps they were mentioned to him by returning men and women who had travelled to North America and Australia.

<sup>33</sup> For example, into the parish of Ladock.

<sup>34</sup> Bottrell, W., ed., 1880, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall: Third Series*, Penzance, 183.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. This can be cross-referenced to Gendall, ed., 1997. See ‘clunka,’ 24, and ‘gay,’ 57.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.: 98, and in: Gendall, R., ed., 1998, *A Practical Dictionary of Modern Cornish – Part Two: English-Cornish*, Menheniot, 189.

Over one hundred years on, and the place of transported Cornish to North America had developed in a new and perhaps previously unimagined way. Arnie Weekes, who made several visits to Cornwall in the late 1990s before his recent death, was a Canadian-Cornishman, who suggested that his mother and family came from an unbroken line of Cornish speakers. Obviously, this was of immense interest to Cornish-language enthusiasts in Cornwall. Here was the apparent fossil link back to Gwavas. However, once Weekes's 'traditional' Cornish had been examined by a number of observers, it became clear that the Cornish spoken was not any vestigial remains of a late period of the language from North America, but rather reconstructed 'Unified' Cornish from the early half of the twentieth century.<sup>37</sup> Weekes also explained about a previously unrecorded St. Piran skull ceremony, and claimed some early pictures of Russian Orthodox-style saints held St. Piran's crosses.<sup>38</sup>

The historical attestation or even verification of all of this is not really the point. If the St. Piran skull ceremony was devised, and as Weekes stated, passed on, then it is legitimate family folklore. Although Weekes was wrong about the lineage of the Cornish his family spoke, the use of the language in North America had been central in the on-going identity of their family. This was unusual in a period, in which normally other markers and delineators were used to show Cornishness in the continent, for example, Cousin Jack stories, tartans and pasties. There is something of an echo here to earlier stories of surviving Cornish speakers. Morton Nance,<sup>39</sup> has been unconvinced of the genuine nature of speakers such as the Zennor-based John Davey junior, which he felt were bookish and most probably learnt and derived from Pyrcce's *Archaeologica Cornu-Britannia* (1790) and this question of 'bookish' or 'traditional' brings us neatly to contemporary Cornish in North America.

## 6. Cornish Language in Twenty-First-Century North America

In the twentieth century, few higher-education institutions where Celtic Studies was available at degree level, ever taught Cornish. In the major universities, such as Harvard, Berkeley and UCLA, the predominant study is that of Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Welsh. In fact, these are the high-profile Celtic languages of previous centuries, matching the focus in Europe.<sup>40</sup> At worst, Cornish, Breton and Manx were completely ignored (Cornish being viewed as dead and buried) with all of these territories apparently having little impact on the shaping of the

<sup>37</sup> I am indebted to Neil Kennedy for confirming this.

<sup>38</sup> Arnie Weekes archive belonging to author.

<sup>39</sup> See note in: *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, Volume 11, Part 2, 77.

<sup>40</sup> A trend set by Maclean, M., 1902, *The Literature of the Celts*, London: Blackie and Son. See also Fulton, H. ed., 2005, *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society*, Dublin: Four Courts Press. This excellent volume contains one chapter on Cornwall, with a plethora of Irish and Welsh examples. An exception is Piotr Stalmaszczyk (2005).

leading territories of North America; in Cornwall’s case, a complete antithesis to the work of Rowse, Todd and Rowe, who had actively promoted the global Cornish as a significant migrant group in the formation of the modern territories of the USA and Canada. Some institutions taught an awareness of these languages, but it was usually for comparative purposes. CASANA, the Celtic Studies Association of North America, in existence for some forty years, only began to look at a Cornish-language text (Christ’s Passion from the *Ordinalia* sequence) in its Study seminar at the City University of New York in 1999, thanks to lobbying by Cornish and Cornu-American members. To be fair, however, part of the difficulty was that despite interest, Cornish texts were not easily available, due to failings in the dissemination of the literature since the Cornish revival.<sup>41</sup> There was also a high degree of ignorance on the state of and revival of Cornish itself, corrected in recent years.<sup>42</sup>

Most of the discernable articulation of Cornish since the 1970s at least, had come from the flourishing development of Cornish Associations, who enhanced their ‘Celtic exotica’ and ‘Otherness’ by using Cornish language titles, and printing limited articles in Cornish. Most of this was accompanied by knotwork and a romantic Celtic-esque typeface. The logo of the Cornish American Heritage Society typifies this look, with a mine, a St. Piran’s Cross, farming imagery and waterwheel. Their newsletter *Tam Kernewek* ‘Cornish Step’ also reflects this ideology: the Spring edition of 1999 features an article *Chogha ha Aghow* ‘Jackdaw and Lineage,’<sup>43</sup> while the front cover shows Cornish-American bards of the Cornish Gorseth standing at the modern stone circle of Columcille in Pennsylvania, a centre detailed in the work of Roy (1999). The language, however, was operating as a cultural delineator rather than a real means of expression. This delineation was important since it parallels everything that Bottrell noted about the emigrant experience towards the end of the nineteenth century.

The only true organ of Cornish language activity in North America had been the Benjamin Bruch edited magazine *An Balores* ‘The Chough’.<sup>44</sup> Bruch, a Harvard Ph.D graduate in Celtic Studies, founded the magazine to support and develop Cornish in North America. Self-consciously drawing on the early revival of Cornish (Robert Morton Nance had titled a ground-breaking Cornish language allegorical play *An Balores* in 1932),<sup>45</sup> the magazine styled itself on the format set down by earlier Cornish-based magazines and in particular *An Gan-*

<sup>41</sup> For example, an anthology of the major literary works in Cornish was only published in 2000. See Kent, A.M. & T. Saunders (2000).

<sup>42</sup> See, for example Spriggs, M., 2003, “Where Cornish was Spoken and When: A Provisional Analysis,” in: Payton, P., ed., 228-69; Holmes, J., 2003, “On the Track of Cornish in a Bilingual Country,” in: Payton P., ed., 270-290.

<sup>43</sup> See *Tam Kernewek*, 1999, Vol. 17, No.3.

<sup>44</sup> *An Balores*, 1999, No.1.

<sup>45</sup> The full Cornish text and an English translation are found in: Hale, A., A.M. Kent & T. Saunders, eds., 2000, *Inside Merlin’s Cave: A Cornish Arthurian Reader 1000-2000*, London: Francis Boutle Publishers, 198-200; 220-23.

*nas* ‘The Message,’ combining news articles with exercises for learners. Broadly focused on the Kemmyn and Unified dialects,<sup>46</sup> the magazine was a serious attempt to broaden learning of the language in North America. However, the romanticism and old-style Cornish nationalism promulgated the problematical issue of ‘cultural lag’ for anyone learning Cornish in North America. While this kind of energy and iconography had served Cornish well in the opening years of the twentieth century, in more recent times, self-review of the language’s development had distanced itself from ‘medievalism’ and ‘choughs’.<sup>47</sup> New anthologies such as those assembled by Tim Saunders, were linking Cornish-language literature to abstract paintings from the St. Ives school, and new twenty-first-century styling – a conscious marshalling of imagery for a new century. Scholarship had also progressed heavily from the ‘tired’ narrative of the development and death of the language.<sup>48</sup> Even the previously heavily Celticised Cornish Language Board, had adopted a new and contemporary logo.<sup>49</sup> The type of Cornish being spoken was also highly formal and bookish. Traditional material was not given the same status.

Despite these difficulties, as <http://www.cornish-language.org> reports, 2007 will see the Fourth Annual Pennysethan Gernewek Amerikanek (American Cornish Language Weekend). It is to be held in Berkeley Springs in West Virginia and will feature daily language lessons at all levels from beginner to advanced, tours of new towns, sight-seeing and nature walks, a Cornish troyl and a pasty dinner. The model again is that of the Pennysethans held ‘back home’ in Cornwall. Although this sounds grand, in 2005, as reported on the website, there were only two Cornish-language students in attendance – “Ron Carbis, whose ancestors came from the area around Liskeard” and “John Sheidan whose Cornish ancestors came from the area around Redruth”. Obviously, for these Cornish-Americans, language is an important signifier of identity. Although the American Pennseythan may seem small, its continuity and its focus is an encouraging development. Bruch also teaches a ‘Cornish language School’ at the Annual Cornish Festival held in Mineral Point (<http://www.cornishfest.com>) where usually more students attend – even if they are more likely to be beginners, and runs a North American Cornish-language internet blog titled ‘Nebes Geryow Kernewek’.

The ‘Dehwelans/Homecoming’ (2002) events of recent years have also facilitated North American linkages to the Cornish language, bringing Cornish-North

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<sup>46</sup> Modern Cornish is mentioned but not given as much textual space.

<sup>47</sup> See the observations in Deacon, B., “Language Revival and Language Debate: Modernity and Postmodernity,” in: Payton, P., ed., 1996, *Cornish Studies: Four*, Exeter, 88-106, and Kent, A.M., 2000, *The Literature of Cornwall: Continuity, Identity, Difference 1000-2000*, Bristol, 278-84.

<sup>48</sup> See Kent, A.M. (2000); Kenneth MacKinnon, ‘Cornish/Kernowek’ in: Ó Néill, ed., 2005, 211-75; Spriggs, M., 1998, “The Reverend Joseph Sherwood: A Cornish Language Will-o-the-Wisp,” in: Payton, P., ed., *Cornish Studies: Six*, Exeter, 46-61.

<sup>49</sup> For old style, see *An Gannas*, 1996, No.232. For new style, see *An Gannas*, 2005, No.342.

Americans ‘back home’ to Cornish-named artists like Kescana, Dalla, Tan ha Dowr, Bagas Crowd, Scavel an Gow, Asteveryn and Otta Nye Moaz. This cultural intercourse has resulted, for example, in the Cornish-language songs and albums of the Cornish-American musician Jim Wearne, as on *Howl Lowen*, and in the storytelling and music of the south-west Wisconsin-based Marion Howard.<sup>50</sup> Albert Jenkin, a Cornish activist and storyteller presents himself by the name of *Hwethlor Pen-An-Vre* ‘The storyteller from the top of the hill’. As Stewart details, another Cornish-language link came from the heroic actions of a security guard at the World Trade Centre in New York, after the 9/11 attacks. The security guard was the Hayle-born Rick Rescorla. His name is probably derived from ‘res corlan,’ translating to the English ‘ford by a sheepfold’. A Vietnam veteran, Rescorla helped some 2,700 employees successfully leave the South Tower. Surprisingly, given all of this the recent *Strategy for the Cornish Language* pays scant attention to Cornish language activity overseas, although it persists in North America. The benefit of this is to see Cornish as a language used internationally, rather than in a small peninsula.

While much further research is needed into this field, I hope this chapter has offered some possibilities of the transportation of Cornish to North America, and a picture of present-day Cornish-language activity there. Compared to other Celtic languages of North America, the picture of Cornish is, of course, very different. With the Irish language in particular, it appears that it was the hook on which Irish cultural nationalism hung. Although never quite a tool of assimilation in the way in which Irish was, Cornish can at least be recovered from some of the murky shadows of its life there. Certainly, we have now identified clear epicentres of language activity in North America, and this chapter has sought to determine some core areas of investigation. The next task will be to investigate more clearly parish records, migration transits and immigration records in order to make a closer investigation of those travelling with Cornish or with both Cornish and English and Cornu-English.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> See Jim Wearne, *Howl Lowen*, Downer’s Grove, Illinois: Mr. Bear, 2001; Marion Howard, *Tales and Tunes of Cornwall by Mary Ann and Try Henath*, Darlington: Marion Howard, 2003.

<sup>51</sup> I would like to thank Professor Brian Murdoch, Professor Hildegard L.C. Tristram, Rod Trevelyan Lyon, Chris Davies, Dr. Bernard Deacon, Albert Jenkin, Derek Williams, Jim Jewell, Gary German, Heidi Lazar-Meyn, Timothy Bridgman and Tim Saunders for their assistance in the preparation of this chapter. I am also grateful for the discussions I have had with Neil Kennedy on this topic over a number of years.

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