CORNWALL: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CELTIC PERIPHERY

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"What if in chasmal beauty looms that weird wild western shore...." Thomas Hardy

Abandoned engine houses of The Crowns at Botallack, St. Just, a nineteenth century tin and copper mine.

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ABSTRACT

Cornwall, in the South-west of the British Isles, is part of the Celtic periphery of North-west Europe. The historical geography of this area is evaluated in this thesis with particular attention to the processes by which this autonomous Celtic kingdom became incorporated into its more powerful neighbour, England. In tracing the progress of this subordination and the Cornish resistance to it, the thesis examines the interrelationship of the cultural and economic aspects of the society's evolution. In each historic period, economic exploitation and cultural alienation succeeded one another, until the nineteenth century when the mining economy of Cornwall became an essential part of the English industrial system. The twentieth century offers either the prospect of total incorporation into England and the loss of any regional distinctiveness, or a cultural revival spearheaded by the several small, national and cultural organisations which now exist.

RESUME

Cornouailles, au Sud-ouest des Iles Britanniques, fait partie de la peripherie celtique de Nord-ouest de l'Europe. On veut evaluer la géographie historique de la région, dans cette thèse, en apportant une attention particulière aux processus d'incorporation de ce royaume autonome et celtique à son voisin plus puissant, l'Angleterre. En traceant l'évolution de cette subordination et la résistance cornouaillaise, la thèse examine les interrelations des aspects culturels et économiques. Dans chaque période historique l'exploitation économique et l'aliénation culturelle se sont succédées, jusqu'au dix-neuvième siècle quand l'économie minière de Cornouailles est devenue partie intégrale du système industriel d'Angleterre. L'avenir offre soit la possibilité d'une incorporation totale à l'Angleterre et la perte de tout caractère distinctif, soit une renaissance culturelle noyautée par quelques petites organisations nationales et culturelles qui existent maintenant.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

MAP NUMBER

GRAPH NUMBER

TABLE NUMBER

ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER I : INTRODUCTION

I.1 Introduction

Cornwall is a part of the British Isles with a distinct regional personality. As Buchanan has pointed out, the very survival of this unique landscape area with its distinctive social character is in danger.[1] It is a land with a wide range of problems many of which are similar to those affecting other underdeveloped areas of the British Isles, in particular Scotland and Wales. These two countries, like Cornwall form part of what has been called the Celtic periphery, along with Ireland, the Isle of Man and Brittany.

Cornwall's difficulties encompass most aspects of the geography of the country. The land itself has been, and is being, devoured as extractive industries expand;[2] on a different scale even the cliffs at Land's End and Kynance are being eroded by the press of too many tourists. The agricultural potential is lessened as roads, suburban housing and camp sites spread over the land;[3] the local fishing industry suffers from competition with foreign-owned, deep-sea fleets which over-exploit the marine resources; and the economy of Cornwall, with tourism as its major sector, is increasingly dependent on demand generated from outside, from England.[4] The population structure, too, reflects these general problems. There is a disproportionate number of older people in the population - an imbalance further swollen by those who retire to Cornwall. At the same time there is a constant out-migration of the younger, more dynamic section of the population for whom there are few economic opportunities.[5]

I.2 Objectives

These are the symptoms of Cornwall's ills at the present time. One of the main objectives of this thesis is to uncover the causes of these symptoms by examining the historical geography of Cornwall. This examination should enable us to see how the Cornish worked within the territory of Cornwall, fashioning the resources of the land and sea to meet their own requirements or the demands of those more powerful than they. We will thus be able to gain an understanding of a distinctive society which early in its history, in Celtic times, had its own language and customs. Then, from the early Middle Ages, it came to be dominated by its larger neighbour, England, of which it became a political apanage and an economic appendage.

The economic, social and cultural development of Cornwall will be assessed against the physical background of the land of Cornwall. Evidence suggests that change has affected the land as well as the society occupying it. In prehistoric eras, for instance, alterations in shoreline, climate and vegetation cover had a profound effect on the life of the earliest inhabitants. The agricultural potential of the county has had a different significance in distinct historical epochs. The availability of mineral wealth has engendered a mining industry with its own chequered history. Even the geographical position of Cornwall has had a varying significance.[6] All these threads of change are interwoven in the pattern of Cornwall's historical geography, each being affected by the others and each in turn having its own impact on the total fabric of a land and its people.

Within Cornwall, as in other Celtic peripheries such as Wales and Scotland, a number of social and political organisations have attempted to awaken a nationalist spirit. The emergence of the Cornish nationalist parties has been a response to the continuing problems of Cornwall. Such groups have similarities to, and alliances with, the national parties of the other countries of the Celtic fringe in Scotland, Wales, Ireland and Brittany, although their development is less advanced in philosophy, strategy and popular support.[7] Nonetheless, the arrival of a Cornish nationalist movement is a lucid expression of the malaise which affects Cornish society at the present time. It is, in fact, a movement which draws its ideas from threads in the historical relationships of the region and hence is a contemporary expression of the impact of core-periphery relationships. The latter part of this thesis will examine the role of the Cornish nationalist movement, will try to assess how far it voices the aspirations of the majority of Cornish people, and whether it has coherent solutions to offer.

I.3 Approach

Centre-periphery Model

This study will approach the development of Cornwall by focussing on its historical geography. Historical geography, as the study of both social and physical change through time can give an understanding of the nature of the evolution of a society and so help shed light on the problems of today.[8] The discipline of historical geography, so long centred around empirical study, has recently been undergoing change, the need for which has increasingly been recognised by leading historical

geographers - "Rethinking becomes necessary when orthodox doctrines have ceased to carry conviction."[9] In the introduction to Geographical Interpretations of Historical Sources, Baker, Hamshere and Langton acknowledge the problem confronting historical geography in its search for a theoretical framework.[10] They recognise the contribution of a writer such as Harvey who argues that "historical geography can only progress through a careful integration of theory and empiricism." Harvey himself reaches out from the empirical, intuitive studies of an area and uses a theoretical framework to give them coherence.[11]

The landscape holds much evidence of the material constructions of earlier societies for the historical geographer. Consideration must also be given, however, to the attitudes of the individuals who fashioned that landscape. Baker discusses the need to assess the forces behind the development of landscapes, and argues that "ideas deserve at least as much attention from historical geographers as artefacts have received in the past."[12]

Gregory, in "Rethinking Historical Geography", also emphasises the need to identify the structures behind the visible phenomena. The key, he suggests, does not lie in the landscape itself, but in the forces governing the society which formed that landscape.[13] This thesis, while it will use empirical, historical data and evidence from the landscape as a basis for the study of the historical geography of Cornwall, will be concerned particularly with the nature of the societies which moulded the Cornish past.

In line with these current trends in historical geography, this present research attempts to set the empirical evidence provided by the past within a theoretical framework.[14] The centre-periphery model will be

used here in an endeavour to reflect the relationship of England and Cornwall over the last nine hundred years. This particular model of development which focuses on the uneven relationship between core areas and peripheries, grew from the work of Latin American writers of all disciplines in the 1950's and 1960's who were attempting to understand the increasing problems facing their countries.[15] Prebisch, Secretary-General of the Economic Commission for Latin America (E.C.L.A.), in the 1950's argued that basic changes in the social and economic structures within Latin American countries would be needed both to modernise internally and to strengthen their bargaining position in external commercial relations. On this basis, industrialisation could then proceed, bringing economic growth and a greater measure of prosperity with it.[16]

By the mid-1960's Frank, foremost among writers in the dependency school, was arguing that such strategies would do little to improve the situation of the Latin American economies. Latin America was in crisis. Political, financial and technological dependence were combined with sectoral imbalance and growing social and regional inequality. Multi-national corporations were becoming ever more strongly entrenched in the most profitable economic sectors. Frank advanced the hypothesis that penetration by capitalism was responsible for the resulting poverty and underdevelopment in the Third World.[17] Reaching back into Latin American history to illustrate his theme he argued that the continent had become increasingly impoverished as it was brought into the world capitalist system from the sixteenth century onwards. He saw that Latin American countries were poor, not because they were marginal to the world capitalist system, as the E.C.L.A. structuralists had argued, but essentially because they were part of it. The evolving division of labour between

countries, created by that system had given them a specific role to play, a role which would keep them poor and dependent. Speaking of the Chilean economy for example, Frank says:

> World capitalism imposed its exploitative structure and development on Chile's domestic economy and fully integrated this economy into the world capitalist system by converting it into a colonial satellite of the world capitalist metropolis.[18]

The significance of this satellite status for any Latin American country or any Third World country becomes clear with an examination of their history. The structures within the capitalist system, (the processes of surplus appropriation and the accumulation of capital), ensured that the wealth and resources of these satellite areas would contribute to the further development of the metropolitan centre, rather than that of the society in which they are generated. Frank argues that:

> Thus the metropolis expropriates economic surplus from satellites and appropriates it for its own economic development. The satellites remain underdeveloped for lack of access to their own surplus.[19]

The centre-periphery model applies to unequal relations between countries, that is at an international level. The application of similar principles bringing about inequality intranationally, within one country, is termed internal colonialism. Williams, in applying this model to a part of the Celtic periphery, finds there are seven features which are particularly characteristic of internal colonialism. These include: financial drain from the periphery to the centre; dependence of the periphery on the centre for key workers; dependence on external markets; internal labour markets conditioned by external forces; political control from the centre; lack of services in the periphery; and cultural discrimination.[20] Williams goes on to show how this colonial relationship has developed in Wales.

Michael Hechter has similarly shown that for the British Isles as a whole, the centre has exerted an economic, political and cultural hegemony over the Celtic periphery.[21] Both writers find that London, the metropolitan centre, by means of the exercise of political and financial power, together with a sense of cultural superiority, acted as a coloniser of the Celtic periphery of Britain in much the same way as it colonised its overseas empire.

This thesis will investigate the way in which the centre-periphery theoretical approach can be applied to the historical geography and development of Cornwall. Essentially the same processes which brought about the underdevelopment of Latin America and the rest of the Third World, it will be argued, have acted to cause the relative underdevelopment of Cornwall. This has occurred although Cornwall is a periphery within the metropolitan country where the centre is located.

As I have suggested, the centre's exploitation of the periphery leaves little surplus which the periphery can use to further its own development: the development of the centre is at least in part posited on the underdevelopment of the periphery and, its evolution would have been much slower without the appropriation of the surplus from the periphery. In Cornwall's case the exploitation of its land, harbours, fish and minerals proceeded for centuries according to the requirements of the English Crown, English landowners, and later English industrial capital. By the nineteenth century the exploitation of the mines and fishing grounds was greatest, and much of this exploitation was financed by English capital. The unelaborated minerals found their market in England; the fish was packed for export. From both these industries, the major bulk of the profits accrued to the English and Cornish owners of

capital. Cornish producers won a bare living wage, while little secondary industry was generated. The Cornish landscape still testifies to that earlier significance of the mining industry in its abandoned mine shafts and barren acres of spoil.[22] This thesis will trace the processes which provided these manifestations of the past still to be seen on the landscape of today.

Class Analysis

The question of social differentiation in the Cornish periphery is important to an understanding of its long-term problems. The differing roles played by the social groups within a society have important implications for that society's evolution, and it will be argued that internal structures can play a large part in either hindering or facilitating the control exerted by an external metropolitan power. However, the centre-periphery model appears to be less effective in the analysis of the class structure of a particular area.[23] As Frank himself states, it was not the intention of centre-periphery theory to incorporate class analysis:

> This does not mean that colonial analysis is intended as a substitute for class analysis. On the contrary, the colonial analysis is meant to complement class analysis and to discover and emphasize aspects of the class structure in these underdeveloped countries which have often remained unclear.[24]

Cornish society is divided within itself along class lines, as is British society as a whole. The bourgeoisie and the working class have each different views of the reality in which they live together.[25] Their aspirations are different, their means of achieving them are different, and their rewards are different.

The formation of a society with a marked class structure has had a long history in Cornwall. Even in Celtic times an hierarchically structured society was clearly in evidence. Dobb has noted the very early formation of a proletariat among the Cornish tinners in the fourteenth century who had been dispossessed, by debt, from their free mining rights. The process by which the producers - peasants, miners, fishermen - were gradually alienated from their 'means of production'[26] continued from the sixteenth century onwards. Then the full conversion of the majority of the population into a class of wage labourers, separated from their means of production, within a capitalist 'mode of production',[27] occurred in the late eighteenth century and was well established in Cornwall by the nineteenth century.

The thesis will show how a local bourgeoisie was emerging from the end of the feudal period onwards, reflecting both their own and external interests. The profits which were acquired from the surplus produced by the Cornish working class were to a large degree siphoned out of the county by local and English merchants, and later industrialists, to finance other economic activities or to support their conspicuous consumption in the metropolis. Historically, Cornwall was not a fashionable place in which to live, according to the cultural mores of the metropolitan centre. This fact is evidenced in the Cornish landscape where comparatively few large, stately homes or elegant estates attest to past accumulations of wealth.

Part of the task of the thesis is to look at the relationship between these ruling classes and the working class whose story is less frequently told. It is hoped to do this without falling into the trap which Thompson describes as subjecting them to "the enormous condescension of posterity".[28]

The actual producers of the society, the miners, the fishermen, the peasants, left a scatter of tiny cottages, mine buildings and harbour installations to testify to their labour and the conditions under which they lived. An examination of the conditions in which the Cornish working class lived and worked throughout history, will throw light on that past development and on the present reality.

What has happened in the historical geography of a land cannot be altered but the way in which it is written about, does change. The way in which the past or present is interpreted will vary according to one's vision of a land and its people. The point of view from which the historical geography of Cornwall will be studied here is that of the producers of the land, the Cornish. It has been, and still is, the outside metropolitan forces which have imposed transformations on the land and the local society. Then, however, the argument will try to look beyond these external forces to the impacts made over the centuries on the subjects of these changes - Cornwall and the Cornish.

Historical geography, as has been emphasised by Baker, must be rewritten to include a picture of the whole society and not just the dominant part. This should be done in order to re-assess the effects which historical processes and events have had on all sectors of the society. Hill, in The World Turned Upside Down, has graphically stated the need for continual rewriting and re-assessment of knowledge.

> History has to be rewritten in every generation, because although the past does not change the present does; each new generation asks new questions of the past, and finds new areas of sympathy as it re-lives different aspects of the experience of its predecessors.[29]

Most past studies have selected certain facts and built their historical picture around them. This has generally been from the point of

view of the rulers, the wealthy, the powerful. In considering the nature of this picture of the past which scholars have transmitted to us, Carr says:

> Our picture has been preselected and predetermined for us, not so much by accident as by people who were consciously or unconsciously imbued with a particular view and thought the facts which supported that view worth preserving.[30]

The people whose lives have been ignored have been the working class, the producers of the society. In every society the majority, this working class, has not been educated, wealthy or powerful, and hence has not been party to the form of erudite writing which focuses on the great events, great battles and great men. Its history is that of daily labour within which few alternatives for improving conditions for its members or their families have appeared.

To achieve a clear view of the past an attempt will be made to discover the realities of working class existence. A helpful interpretation of present day problems should emerge as the unfolding of the past fuses it with the present. Carr refers to this work as a dialogue between past and present:

> The past is intelligible to us only in the light of the present; and we can fully understand the present only in the light of the past. To enable man to understand the society of the past, and to increase his mastery over the society of the present is the dual function of history.[31]

Thus, by looking anew at the historical geography of Cornwall, focused in a particular theoretical framework, the contemporary geography can be better understood. Today's geography will be seen in the context of the historical changes which have fashioned the patterns of landscape and the type of society which inhabits the land. The relationship of man to the land and the impact of man on his environment have formed today's countryside. A knowledge of the roots of the settlement and exploitation of the

land throughout the centuries and the traces they have left on the landscape of today, will both revitalise the reconstruction of the past and the understanding of the present.

I.4 Sources and Review of Literature

The need to achieve an overall picture of the historical geography of Cornwall has governed the choice of the type of analysis employed here, using secondary sources. This attempts to overcome some of the problems, pointed out by Baker, of a sheer weight of detailed information which encumbers some historical geography studies.[32] The use of secondary sources was also partly dictated by the logistics of writing the thesis in Canada.

The published academic literature used has been supplemented by a considerable correspondence with people in Cornwall concerned for the future of the area. Government sources at County Hall, Truro, were relied on for contemporary statistics and policy. The publications of the Cornish nationalist parties provided material on possibilities for the development of the county, alternative to those of central government bodies.

A month's field work in May 1978 complemented the writer's earlier knowledge of Cornwall from growing up there. The aim of the field work was to meet a comprehensive section of the population in order to gain first hand knowledge of current problems and the suggested solutions. A number of interviews were conducted with people engaged in political and cultural organisations. Discussions were also held with government officers and public representatives in Cornwall. The field work gave the writer the opportunity to look again at Cornwall and to see recent changes in the landscape under the impact of recent development policies.

The story of Cornwall's past has largely been told in scholarly and

erudite works. Until the recent writings of Cornish nationalists, its history was always considered as a replica of England's. Intellectuals have seldom appeared to express interest in the common man or the peripheral region but now, as Hill indicates, people are beginning to ask different questions of the past. One effect of this has been the placing of the local region and its inhabitants at the centre of the investigation. This is one of the positive contributions of regional geographers who have focussed on local area studies, but for Cornwall they have produced a less detailed story of the past than have the historians. However, some geographers have written about Cornwall. Balchin for instance has surveyed the history of the development of the landscape of Cornwall,[33] while Pounds has looked at a variety of aspects of the historical geography of the county.[34] The work of Darby has provided unsurpassed empirical studies of the historical geography of Cornwall in its context as an English county.[35]

The historian, who has pioneered local historical studies, Hoskins, includes many examples from Cornwall, especially of the Middle Ages.[36] The era of burgeoning mercantile trade has been written about by Rowse, a Cornish historian, in a detail no one else has yet touched. In Tudor Cornwall he focuses on events in Cornwall, but from an English viewpoint; for him only English control and direction appear to have given the events meaning. The Cornish people, the people who were his own ancestors, he relegates to the ranks of a "stupid and backward-looking peasantry", and "the idiot people". He examines Cornwall's past as the history of "a last outpost of the known world". Cornwall's role in history is given validity only insofar as it contributes to the on-going pattern of English development.[37]

Coate, writing about Cornwall during the Civil War has expressed the

divisions within Cornish society as "the speculations of the few and the inarticulate conservatism of the many". In the main, however, Coate has restricted herself to a consideration of the manoeuvres of the central politicans in the Civil War and Cornwall's part seems important for her only in as much as it contributed to the changing power structure in London. The effects of the years of struggle and battle on the lives of the majority in this periphery are not studied.[38]

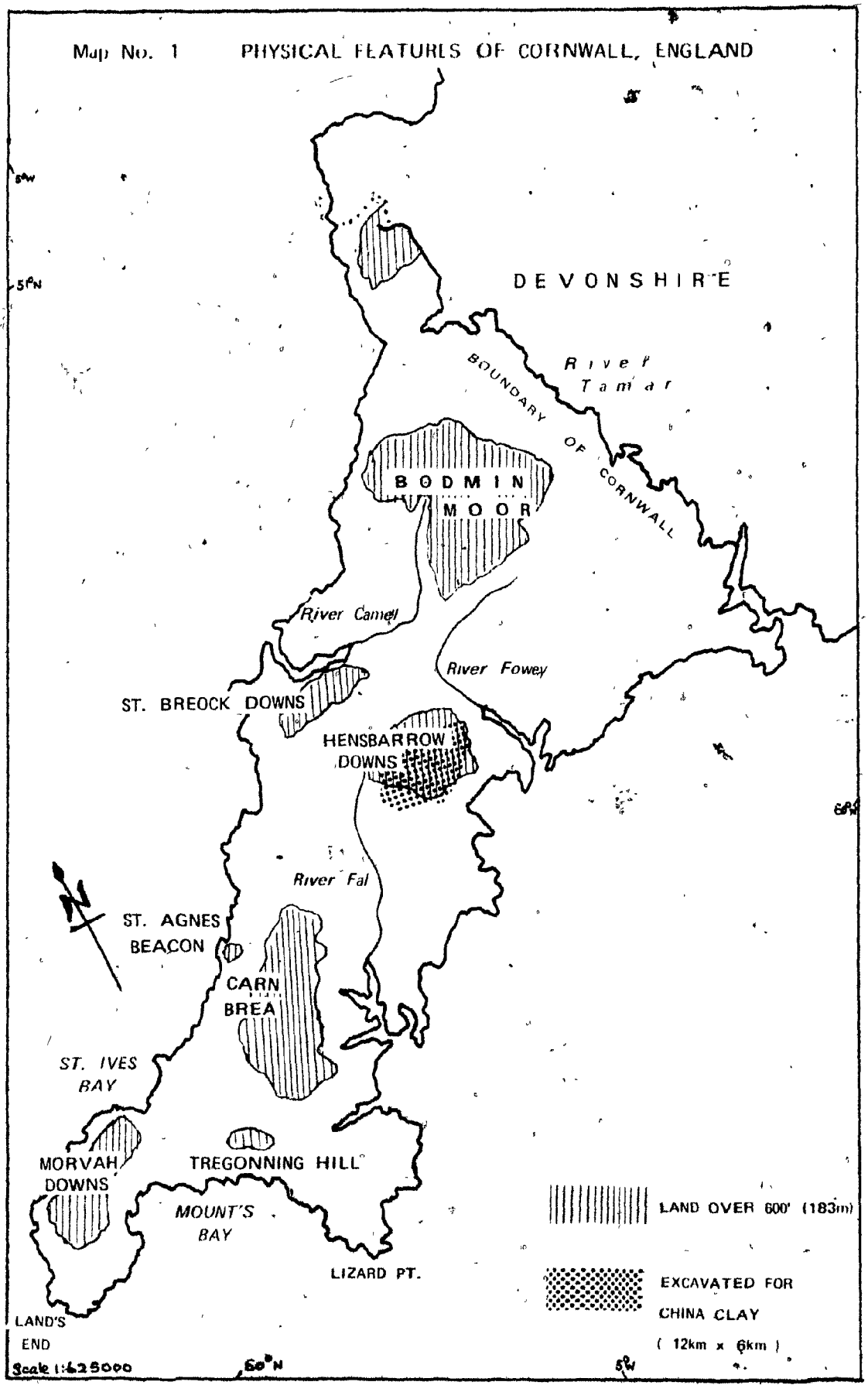
In contrast, Rowe's study of Cornwall in the Industrial Revolution does concern itself with the effects of the demands of the English Industrial Revolution on the Cornish economy and the Cornish people. This book provides one of the main sources, in this thesis, for empirical material on the nineteenth century.[39]

From the above-mentioned books, and others similar to them, it is hoped a picture will emerge of the economic, social and cultural development of the area, with Cornwall, the land and its people, as the focal point rather than as a remote periphery of the English centre. The theoretical framework will be used to explain how sometimes economic exploitation was preceded by cultural deprivation, and how cultural alienation followed the loss of economic power.

I.5 Physical Background

Cornwall is a land which occupies the south-west peninsula of the British Isles. In some ways it could be argued that this location has contributed to the way the area has been developed peripherally to the centre of power in England and subject to external influence. The interaction of its peripheral location and outside pressures has intensified over the centuries and condemned the land and society to a sequence of

Map No. 1 PHYSICAL FEATURES OF CORNWALL, ENGLAND



uses marginal to the welfare of Cornwall itself; as a source of royal revenue for the English Crown; as a strategic base; as a resource base, notably of unelaborated minerals, and fish for export; and latterly as a tourist and retirement haven.

Throughout history the physical environment within Cornwall has afforded its inhabitants a balance of advantages and disadvantages. The richness of the minerals in the rocks contrasts with the poor quality of the soils for agriculture. The sheltered inlets, and rich fishing grounds of the south coast, compensate for the bleak wildness of the north coast, with its harvest of wrecks. The gentle climate of the coastal lowlands contrasts with the swirling mists and rain of the upland moors.

Apart from the sea, Cornwall has one well-defined boundary enclosing its territory, in which a distinct regional culture can still be recognised. The river Tamar crosses most of the width of this south-west peninsula of Britain cutting off the southernmost eighty miles, as Map No. 1 shows. The river is the boundary which separates Cornwall from Devonshire to the east. Such it has been since it was set by Aethelstan in the ninth century, locking the West Welsh in Cornwall and securing Devon for Saxon settlement. Geographically, the Tamar basin is an entity - Devon and Cornwall on opposite sides of the valley are very similar physically. However, the long history of the Tamar as a frontier gives it real significance as a cultural demarcation.

The topography of Cornwall has been determined by the tectonic movements and erosion which the area has undergone even more than by the characteristics of the bedrock. The Carboniferous and Devonian slates, shales and grits were later subjected to intrusions of granite, and in geologically more recent times, to marine erosion. The resulting erosion

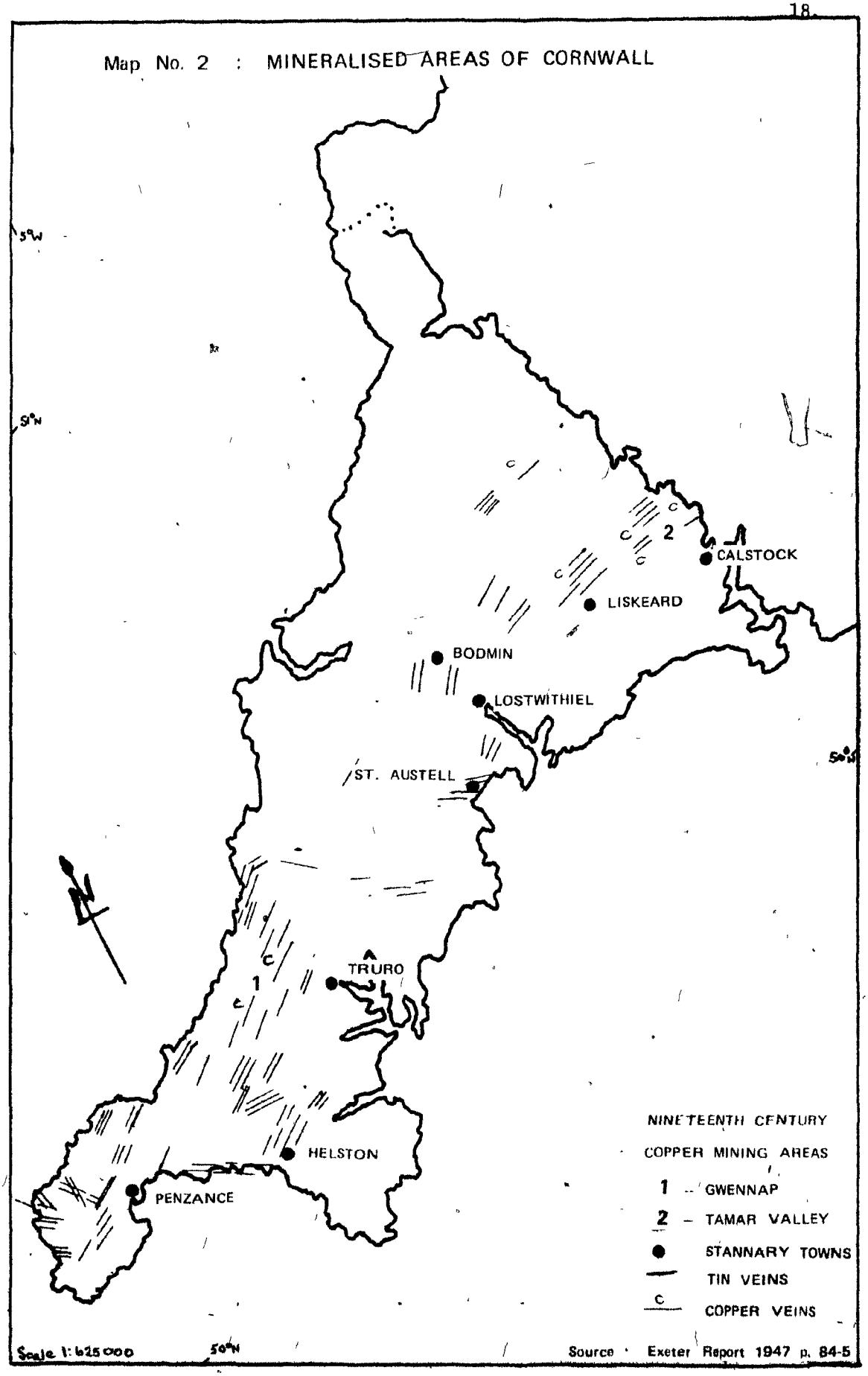
surfaces at 131m, 228m, 304m gives the area its characteristic plateaux surfaces, which are its most distinctive landscape feature. Only the hard granitic intrusions have withstood this erosion to survive as higher moorland areas. The highest, Brown Willy, in the centre of the largest granitic area, Bodmin Moor, rises to 420 m.

The granite uplands lie along the spine of Cornwall, terminating in the cliffs at Land's End and forming the watershed; the limited river systems thus created, reach the sea in drowned estuaries or rias. The estuaries along the lower, more sheltered south coast have been especially important for the development of trading, fishing, and naval ports in times when the focus of Britain's trade or strategic connections were directed southwards. In the Middle Ages, during the wars with France, and when the Elizabethan adventurers were sailing away in their small boats, this coast saw much activity, especially the Fowey and Fal estuaries. On the north coast, Padstow on the estuary of the Camel, served in the timber trade with Canada, despite the hazards of the Doom Bar at its mouth.

Around the granitic intrusions are mineralised tracts whose wide dispersal is shown in Map No. 2. The metamorphic aureoles on the north sides of the granite masses are particularly rich in minerals. Copper and tin have been the principal ones exploited with smaller quantities of other minerals when the demand arose. In times of war, arsenic and wolfram have been produced, while currently, the possibility of lithium and uranium exploitation is being explored. Serpentine from the pre-Cambrian Lizard peninsula, kaolin and slate are the main non-metallic rocks quarried.

Cornwall's climate is a maritime one. Both its position, projecting southwards into the Atlantic, and its shape, with long indentations in the coastline, help to ensure this. Exposure to rain-bearing winds means that

Map No. 2 : MINERALISED AREAS OF CORNWALL



all but a narrow coastal fringe receives over 64 cms. per annum. Rainfall rises to over 96 cms. on the higher parts of Bodmin Moor.

Temperature ranges, both annual and diurnal, are notably small over the whole region. The variation is slight overall but the extreme southwest (Mount's Bay and the Scilly Isles) has the highest temperatures, with Scilly having a winter minimum (February average) of 6.6°C. During the last one hundred years this climatic advantage has been exploited for the production of spring field crops. Some of Cornwall's climatic advantages are offset by the extreme exposure to westerly winds and shelter becomes of primary importance for farming, housing and port development.

The natural vegetation cover, as in all Britain, is much depleted. The original woodland has been annihilated over the centuries, especially in fulfilling the demands of the tin smelting industry for fuel. Replanting is often unsuccessful because of the loss of moisture through excessive transpiration, so limiting one remedy for wind exposure.[40] Only the moors retain their primeval quality. Balchin evokes their character:

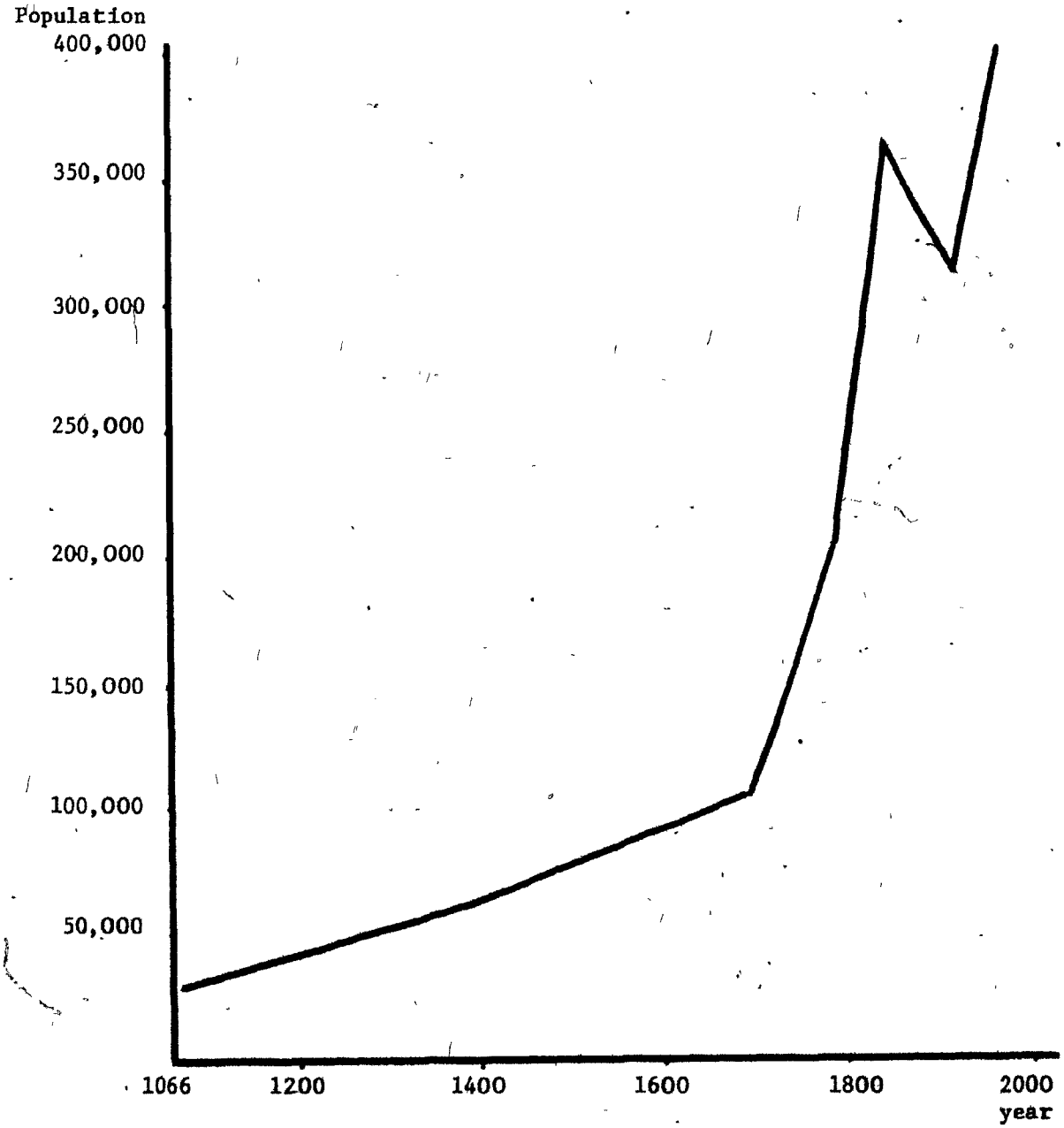
> Strewn with weathered granitic blocks and covered by heath of Calluna and Erica associations, marked by occasional ill-drained peat-bogs, they afford a glimpse of the natural landscape from which early man wrested his first fields.[41]

The broad continental shelf off the coasts of the south-west peninsula, its waters warmed by the North Atlantic Drift, has given the Cornish easy access to rich fishing grounds. Shell fishing, line fishing, seining and drifting have long been used to provide year-round harvests. However, the vagaries of the pilchard herring and mackerel migrations over the centuries have caused important fluctuations in the industry.

This physical environment is the stage on which the development of Cornish society has taken place. The natural resources which the land of Cornwall has provided, have been used in a variety of ways in different

GRAPH NO. 1

POPULATION OF CORNWALL 1086 - 1980



Sources: Rowe, J. 1953
Wakelin, M.F. 1975
Cornwall County Council

periods of the past. A study of the historical geography of the area will thus bring out the relationship between man and the land in each historic period.

I.6 Outline of Chapters

The approach of the thesis to the historical geography of Cornwall will be to underline the distinctive features of each selected historic period. The organisation of the chapters will reflect this aim. Each will deal with a period of the historical geography of Cornwall which has a distinctive social organisation and economic system. From each period, therefore, a different landscape pattern has been formed. At the same time the continuing processes of historical change will not be forgotten. The course of history runs in an unceasing stream. Each system and each period has grown out of the previous one and is never entirely separate from it. As Dobb has noted:

> Important elements of each new society, although not necessarily the complete embryo of it, are contained within the womb of the old; and relics of an old society survive for long into the new.[42]

Each new economic system brought with it a distinct utilisation of the land and changes within the society occupying it. These successive occupations will be used to illustrate the progressive incorporation of Cornwall into the English system in the manner suggested by the core-periphery model.

The second chapter opens with Cornwall as an autonomous Celtic community with a primitive though coherent, integrated economy. The Saxon and Norman conquests in the tenth and eleventh centuries brought change to this society in the form of a feudal organisation of production and

initiated the integration of Cornwall into the larger English entity. There followed a period when the population came to be subjects of feudal lords. Production was based on the land, as it had been in the Celtic period, but now the land was individually not communally owned - the property of a feudal lord usually alien to the Cornish people. By the end of this period at the start of the sixteenth century Cornwall had been brought more closely into the orbit of the English economy, although remaining geographically a remote periphery. Hedges, routeways, churches and villages still remain in the landscape from this period to give life to the written records.

Chapter Three deals with the period from the sixteenth century when Cornwall played an increasing role in English affairs within the English state and mercantile capital dominated the society. The power and wealth of the local and foreign merchants increased as the feudal lords of the previous epoch declined. This was the time when the peasants, fishermen and miners lost control of their means of production. Debt was often the means by which they were dispossessed of land, boats or 'mining bounds'.[43] Gradually the producers of the society were forced to sell their labour to an employer. The merchants with capital to employ this labour and to buy land, boats or to work the ground for tin, grew in number and wealth. From this period the Cornish landscape has inherited bridges, harbour walls and municipal buildings, all of which were constructed to facilitate the expanding commerce of the day. Small towns grew as petty commodity production flourished. By now, Cornish society was coming to be penetrated culturally as well, as the dying-out of the Cornish language in this period proves. A growing level of economic integration meant that Cornwall was making larger contributions through its expropriated surplus to England's wealth.

Chapter Four sees Cornwall in its period of most dramatic change, when the requirements of the English Industrial Revolution led to the exploitation of minerals from the Cornish mines. This was the period when power moved from the merchants into the hands of the industrial capitalists. The land and offshore waters of Cornwall also provided food for the burgeoning cities of England and for export. Most of the Cornish working population had become wage labourers, particularly in the mines. Industrial capital, increasingly from English rather than local sources, was invested in the Cornish mines and fisheries. The profits to the class owning this capital grew, as greater efficiency and technological innovations extracted the maximum from the labour of the producers. The landscape of Cornwall carries many marks of this era of great activity, in ruined engine houses, land covered with spoil, Wesleyan chapels and scattered granite cottages. This period ended with the closure of the mines at the end of the nineteenth century when emigration became the only hope for many Cornish. Cornwall's dependency had deepened as it had become almost totally integrated into the English economy. The social and economic influences emanating from the centre during this period of industrial capitalism had repercussions in the periphery, which far outstripped any which had occurred under previous forms of control.

The division between the resource production of Cornwall in the nineteenth century, and its use more specifically as a recreation area in the twentieth century marks the break between two historic periods. Essentially, there was continuity in the system of the exploitation by industrial capital of the periphery. The growth of the tourist industry resulted in Cornwall becoming one of the major playgrounds of the British Isles while other potential avenues of development were sacrificed to its

demands. The fifth chapter then will look at Cornwall in the twentieth century where the tourist industry marks the landscape in its own characteristic way. The Cornish response to the pressure which their society has undergone has been muted until recent years. Too often its main expression has continued to be emigration. The formation of Mebyon Kernow (Men of Cornwall) in 1951 signalled the resurgence of a cultural reaffirmation which this thesis examines as an example of the phenomenon of a society in the twentieth century tentatively trying to define itself after a thousand years of subordination to external influence.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. Buchanan.K.M., The Survival of Cornwall: Special Report Number 5. (Cowethas Flamank, Bristol, 1979).

2. South West Economic Planning Council, A Region with a Future: A Draft Strategy for the South West. (H.M.S.O., London, 1967), p. 44, Table 22. The western sub-region (essentially Cornwall and a little of north Devon) contains 75% of the South West's derelict land, "mainly in the form of spoil heaps from metalliferous mining and stone quarrying in Camborne-Redruth and Land's End areas".

3. Cornwall County Council, County Structure Plan. Topic Report: The Environment. (Truro, 1976), p. 5.

4. Cornwall County Council, County Structure Plan. Report of Survey. (Truro, 1979). The number of people visiting the county increased to over 3½ million by 1976, p. 6.

5. Cornwall County Council, County Structure Plan. Topic Report: Population. (Truro, 1976), pp. 9 and 42.

6. Roche. T.W.E., The King of Alemayne. (John Murray, London, 1966). p. 102.
In the Celtic era Cornwall lay athwart the main folk and trade routes, while later, in the Middle Ages, it was "as remote as the moon". Today the county lies within commuting distance of London.

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8. Clark. A.H., "Historical Geography" in American Geography: Inventory and Prospect. Jones. C.F. and James. P.E., eds., (University Press, Syracuse, 1954), pp. 70-105.

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10. Baker. A.R.H., Hamshere.J.D., Langton. J., eds., in Geographical Interpretation of Historical Sources. (David and Charles, Newton Abbot, 1970), p. 14.

11. Harvey. D., "Kentish hop industry." ibid., p. 265.

12. Baker. A.R.H., Conference Report "Rhetoric and reality in historical geography." Journal of Historical Geography, 3:3 (1977). pp. 301-305.

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16. Prebisch.R., The Economic Development of Latin America and its Principal Problems. (United Nations, New York, 1950).

17. Frank.A.G., Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil. (Monthly Review Press, New York, 1967).

18. ibid. p.viii

19. ibid. p. 9.

20. Williams.S.W., "Internal colonialism, core-periphery contrasts and devolution: an integrative comment." Area. 9:4 (1977), pp.272 - 278.

21. Hechter.M., Internal Colonialism. The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536 - 1966. (University of California Press, 1976).

22. South West Economic Planning Council, op. cit., p. 44.

23. Lovering.J., "The theory of the 'internal colony' and the political economy of Wales.", U.R.P.E. The Review of Radical Political Economics. 10:3 (1978) pp. 55 - 67.
Lovering critises Hechter's work on the 'internal Colonialism' of the Celtic periphery, particularly in so far as its theoretical eclecticism does not lead to conclusions which accord with the empirical conditions found in Wales. It fails to analyse class formation. Nevertheless while rejecting the 'internal colonialism' as a framework to analyse Welsh development, Lovering concedes that it expresses Welsh (and Celtic) cultural exploitation clearly and adds to our knowledge of a potent political force in Britain.

24. Frank.A.G., op. cit. p.xi

25. Treneer.A., Schoolhouse in the Wind. (Jonathon Cape, London, 1944), Rowse.A.L., A Cornish Childhood. (Jonathon Cape, London, 1944), Both these authors bring out the unique features of a Cornish childhood, in the first half of the twentieth century. At the same time, the distinctiveness of both writers from the local population demonstrates the extent of class distinctions within the society.

26. 'means of production' is defined here as the land, forests, waters, mineral resources, raw materials, instruments of production, production premises (factories), means of transportation and communication etc.

27. 'mode of production' is defined here as the production of material values by society in any one of the different epochs of history, comprising the productive forces and relations of production.

28. Thompson.E.P., The Making of the English Working Class. 1791-1852. (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, England 1963, 1968) p. 13.

29. Hill.C., The World Turned Upside Down. (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth England 1972, 1975) p. 15.

30. Carr.E.H., What is History? (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, England 1961, 1964) p.13.

31. Carr.E.H., Ibid. p.55.

32. Baker.A.R.H., in Baker.A.R.H., Hamshere.J.D., Langton.J., op. cit. p. 17.

33. Balchin.W.G.V., Cornwall. An Illustrated Essay on the History of the Landscape., (Hodder and Stoughton, London 1954).

34. Pounds.N.J.G., "Population movement in Cornwall, and the rise of mining in the eighteenth century". Geography, vol. 28, 1943 pp. 37-45

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39. Rowe.J., Cornwall in the Age of the Industrial Revolution. (Liverpool University Press, 1953)

40. Stamp.L.D, ed., in The Land of Britain. The Report of the Land Utilisation Survey of Britain. Volume 9. (Geographic Publications, London 1941) p. 416 and p. 427.

41. Balchin.W.G.V., op. cit. p. 21

42. Dobb.M., Studies in the Development of Capitalism. (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1946, 1963) p. 11.

43. 'mining bounds' were the limits of a tinner's staked area of search for tin. Free bounding was the right "to prospect for tin in any untilled land, provided he did not invade another man's claim and paid 'toll tin' of the tenth or fifteenth dish of tin to the lord of the manor." Coate.M, op. cit. p.7.

CHAPTER TWO : FEUDAL CORNWALL

II.1 Introduction

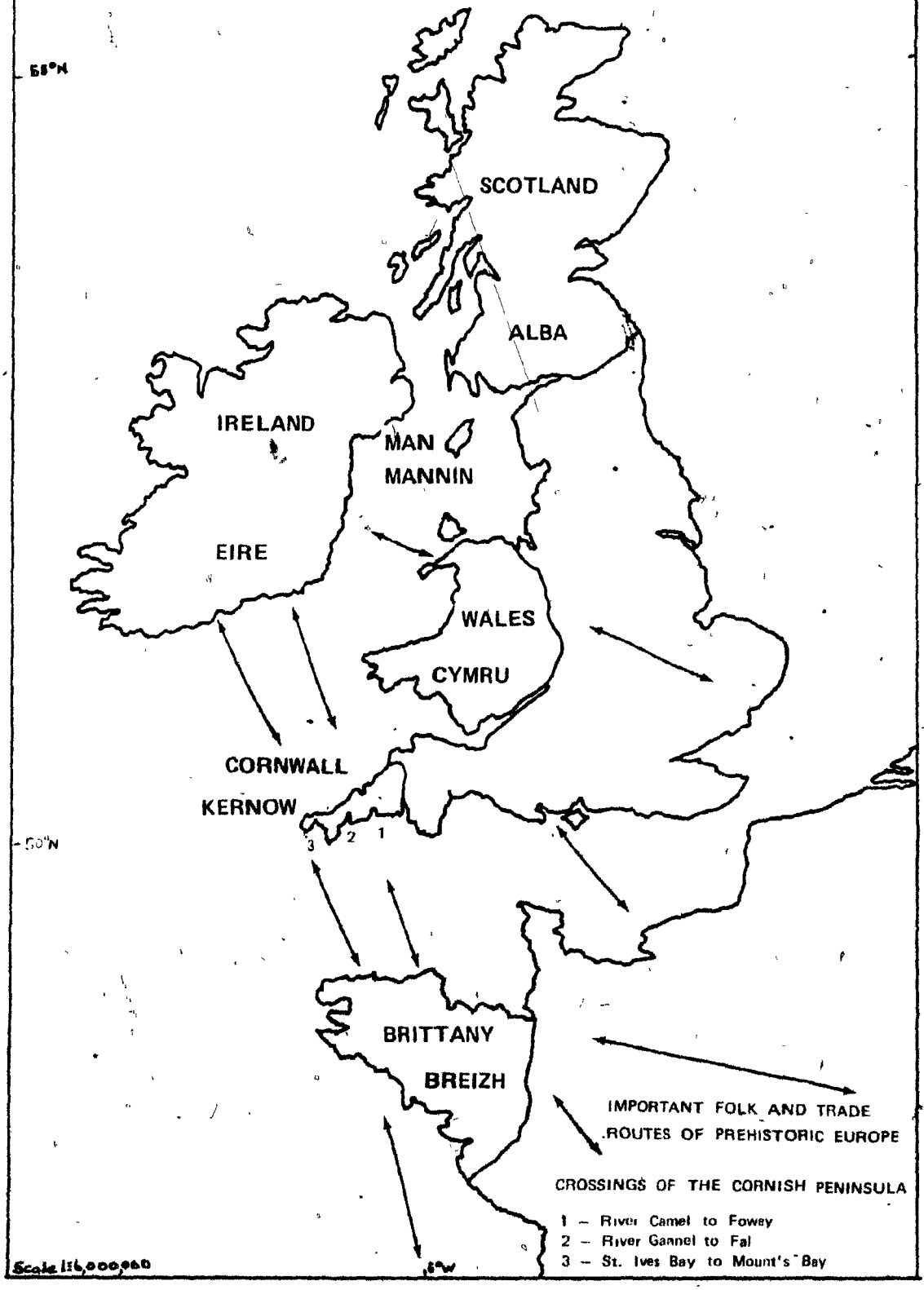
Feudalism emerged as a consequence of the intrusion of the Germanic tribes into the remnants of Roman civilisation in Europe.[1] The ensuing social and economic organisation was distinct from either the primitive or ancient modes of production which had engendered it.[2] Feudal society is characterised by the exploitation of the producers, the peasantry, by a land aristocracy. The feudal lords controlled a significant part of the means of production - the land, the woods, the waters and the minerals. But while the peasants were bound to the lord and to the land and were not free to leave, neither, as owners of their own limited means of production, could they be evicted. Land was the basis of all production, and all levels of society were closely bound to it.[3]

In Cornwall the evolution towards a feudal social formation began in the tenth and eleventh centuries as the primitive Celtic mode of production was undermined first by the Saxon, and then by the Norman conquests. Centuries of Celtic autonomy were terminated by the Saxon Conquest. This period of evolution towards a more differentiated society was marked by the loss of independence and the increasing incorporation of Cornwall first into Wessex, and then into English feudalism. The workings of a centre-periphery process of domination were under way.

II.2 Cornwall Before the Saxon Conquest

Successive folk waves of people moving out from Central Europe had contributed towards creating the population which the Saxons found inhabiting Cornwall in the eighth century. Each group from the Palaeolithic

Map No. 3 THE SIX CELTIC NATIONS OF NORTH WEST EUROPE



to the Iron Age had left its distinctive traces on the land and had formed the distinctive societies. These had been communally-based societies, a necessity if primitive man were to have any chance of surviving against the forces of nature.[4] The moorlands along the central spine of Cornwall bear testimony to these early societies in the proliferation of gigantic cromlechs and menhirs of the Neolithic period, of the barrows of the Bronze Age, and of the hillforts and fogous (storage chambers) of the Iron Age.[5] On page 32 are the illustrations of two Cornish, Neolithic remains, each in its moorland setting near Land's End.

Each new society incorporated the former inhabitants of the land as its more lowly members to become the agricultural producers. The metal working Bronze Age people superseded the Stone Age inhabitants and added their superior technical skills to the development of the ensuing society. Tin traders from the Mediterranean needing Cornish tin, brought new ideas as well as trade items, such as amphorae of oil and fine artifacts.[6] The beautiful Rillaton Gold Cup found in a barrow in central Cornwall is one such example. The workmanship of the cup indicates that it came from the Middle East and was either brought from there or fashioned by a craftsman who had seen such cups.

Around the fifth century B.C. the Celts came to Cornwall bringing a distinct social organisation and technology with them from Central Europe. The superior skills which the Celts brought to Britain and further developed there were the basis of a rich civilisation.[7] The Celtic and modern names of the six Celtic nations of North-West Europe are shown on Map No. 3. Cornwall was particularly interesting to these metal working peoples because of its easily accessible mineral wealth. The Celts had progressed to the use of iron for tools, but Cornish tin and copper were

still valued for the making of decorative artifacts.

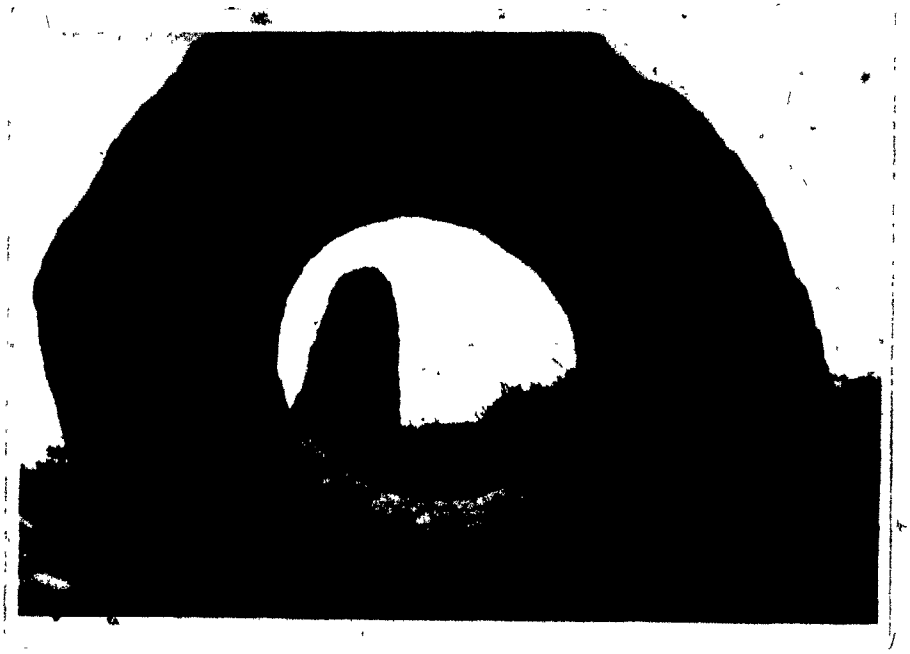
Cornwall shared in and contributed to the richness of the Celtic civilisation. The Cornish Celtic language was spoken by the people. The wealth of Celtic literature, based on the oral tradition of the bards and druids has given the world an insight into the imaginative soul of the Celt. Beautifully engraved metal work represents one of their highest artistic achievements. Metal workshops discovered at St. Mawgan and Castle Gotha indicate Cornwall's involvement in this aspect of Celtic art, in fact the mirror style of engraved decoration originated here, in the south-west of Britain.[8] From Galloway, Scotland, through Wales, to Cornwall there stretched a unique school of sculpture which used geometrical designs to decorate stone crosses. Thus, it may be appreciated how at this stage of its development Cornwall was not a peripheral region, but an independent society which played a full part in the life of a wider, rich civilisation.

Geographically, the location of Cornwall meant it was an important link in the pattern of Celtic routeways crossing the peninsulas of North-west Europe. These routes, which are indicated on Map No. 3, were used for both folk migrations and for trade. Several interlocking river systems in Cornwall allowed easy passage across the peninsula and its inland hills, avoiding what would have been a hazardous sea voyage around the Land's End. Cornwall was not remote and distant at this time but at the very hub of the movements of people and goods. The social and economic organisation of Celtic civilisation throughout Europe was not a centralising one, yet Cornwall's geographical position and its wealth of mineral resources clearly made it a focal location in demographic, commercial and cultural terms.

PREHISTORIC BEGINNINGS

"Ravaged granite stays to mark the lost unlettered dead". A.Craddick

Chun Quoit on Morvah Downs is the only surviving, complete cromlech in Cornwall (2000 to 1500 B. C.)



The Men an Tol (stone with a hole, in Cornish) on Morvah Downs; these stones are the much degraded remains of a double-chambered tomb, and the hole could have been the entrance through which the bodies were inserted.

Celtic society came to be organised hierarchically. Improvements in agriculture over previous ages had enabled a surplus to be produced which in turn permitted a stratified development of society. The agricultural workers or bondsmen were the lowest level of society, with only the slaves below them. The surplus they produced in food rents enabled Celtic civilisation to rise to the cultural and technical heights which it did, by freeing certain individuals to be bards or druids, others to be metal workers or warriors.[9] A system of kingship evolved. The king had the obligation to protect and support the tribe in return for the rents paid to him and on the basis of the latter enjoyed a higher standard of living, as the excavations at Castle Dore near Fowey have shown. Displays of Celtic works of art and the eloquence of the bards and druids emphasised his position. Internal control of the tribe, however, was by customary law with nothing resembling a police force to enforce it. The intense regard for democracy and high moral standards held by the Celts were the society's most treasured values.

With the Roman invasion of Britain, the South-west peninsula became the province of Dumnonia, but Cornwall was only marginally brought into the Roman Empire in the first and second centuries A. D.. By the third century A. D. the supply of Spanish tin for the empire was exhausted and the Cornish miners were now expected to produce for the state. Tax collectors extracted their surplus. In the hierarchically structured Celtic society, the same producers, the farmers, the tin miners, had always paid their surplus to those in power over them. But the work load and rents which had been demanded by the Celtic rulers had represented the unity of the tribe and its protection. The foreign, Roman tax collectors, however, represented subservience to a conquering power.

During Celtic times Cornwall was an independent society with a coherent, integrated economy, ruled by its own leaders, and with a strongly democratic system. The Romans left the South-west peninsula in the fifth century a much weaker entity which proved eventually unable to withstand the Saxon advances. The Romans separated the rulers from their people by encouraging them to adopt Roman customs, aspirations and education.[10] As Richmond says, "These [the council of jealous tribal notables] were encouraged to adopt Roman ways and to give their sons a Roman education, absorbing these things as the inward stamp of a new civilisation...". In this they did more to undermine Celtic society than their exactions of taxes or their milestones and few relics left on the Cornish landscape imply.

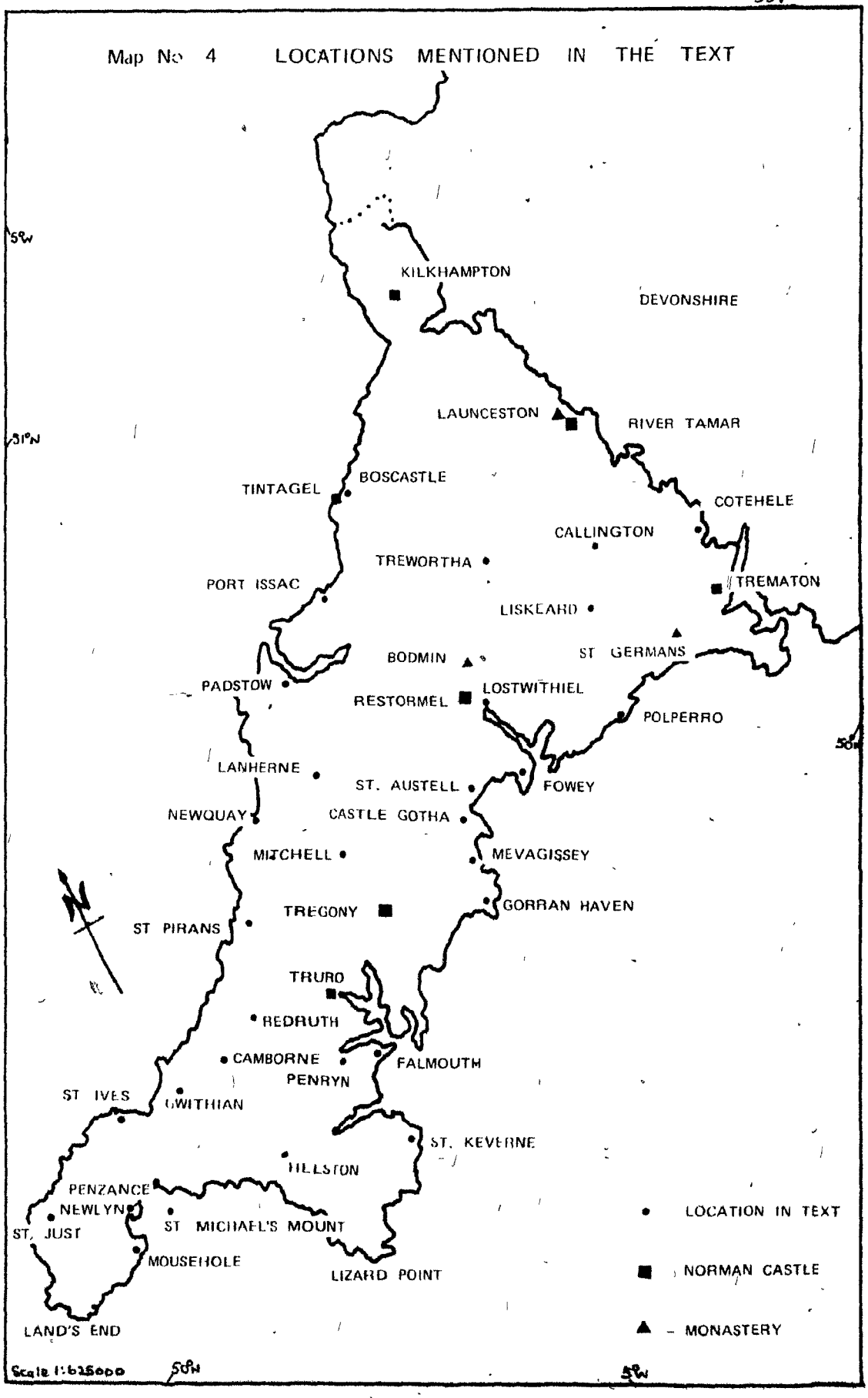
These centuries of the development of Celtic society in Cornwall were an important period in the evolution of the Cornish consciousness. A. C. Thomas expresses this notion forcefully:

> All our subsequent separatism or idiosyncracies, whether remarked upon externally or boasted about internally derive from the status and development of the peninsula in that millenium from 100 B.C. to A.D.900 or thereabouts.[11]

It was, then, on the eve of losing its independence to the Saxons that Cornwall acquired its own name, Kernow, in the Cornish Celtic language. This word was either derived from the name of the Celtic tribe, the Cornavi, or from 'carn' meaning the land of rocks or horn-shaped land. The Saxons rendered it 'Corn-weahlas', the land of strangers.

It is from this period of Celtic independence that twentieth century Cornish nationalism derives its roots. This thesis, in tracing the development of the historical geography of Cornwall, seeks to discover if a just claim for twentieth century autonomy can be based on these ancient roots.

Map No 4 LOCATIONS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT



The Celtic past of Cornwall has left its mark but finely etched on the landscape. However, in the concept of 'Cornish continuity', this past is more distinctly recalled by scholars.[12] It is a link which history, place names and dialect forge with that distant Celtic past.

II.3 Saxon Conquest

At the time of the Saxon Conquest, Cornwall was known as Kernow to its native inhabitants, the 'Kernewek',[13] who were the only independent Celts left in the South-west of Britain. Kernow had its own native rulers until the eleventh century, although from the eighth century they owed allegiance to the Saxons. The society of Kernow must have retained some of its inner strength, although weakened by invasions and migrations, during the Cornish Celts' long resistence to the Saxon advance. Wessex recognised Corn-weahlas with distinct laws, even while it dominated the area politically and so the Kernewek retained much of their individuality.

Devon had fallen to the Saxons earlier, in the seventh century A. D.[14] The high proportion of Saxon place names in Devon, (65 per cent), indicates intensive Saxon settlement east of the Tamar. Many Celts from the South-west had migrated to Brittany in the fifth and sixth centuries A. D., and many had fled westwards beyond the Tamar in the face of Saxon advances.[15] The Roman province of Dumnonia was no more and the Tamar became a cultural boundary beyond which in Kernow survived memories of a Celtic past, forgotten in Devon.

The persistence of Celtic society in Kernow is seen in the high percentage of Celtic place names (eighty per cent). The strongest areas of Saxon settlement were in the east where Wakelin has found ninety per cent of the place names to be Saxon, in a small area between the rivers Lynher and Tamar.[16]

Essentially, the Saxons came to Kernow as aggressors to conquer an alien land and to supplant the Celtic laws, customs and institutions, which had evolved there. Elements of racism have been noted in the treatment the Celts received from the conquerors. Alcock refers to a process of expulsion and extermination of the Celts;[17] while Hechter finds an element of racism in Saxon-Celtic relations despite the lack of a basis in colour differences,[18] and Finberg quotes an historical document which offers clear proof of antagonism between the two peoples:

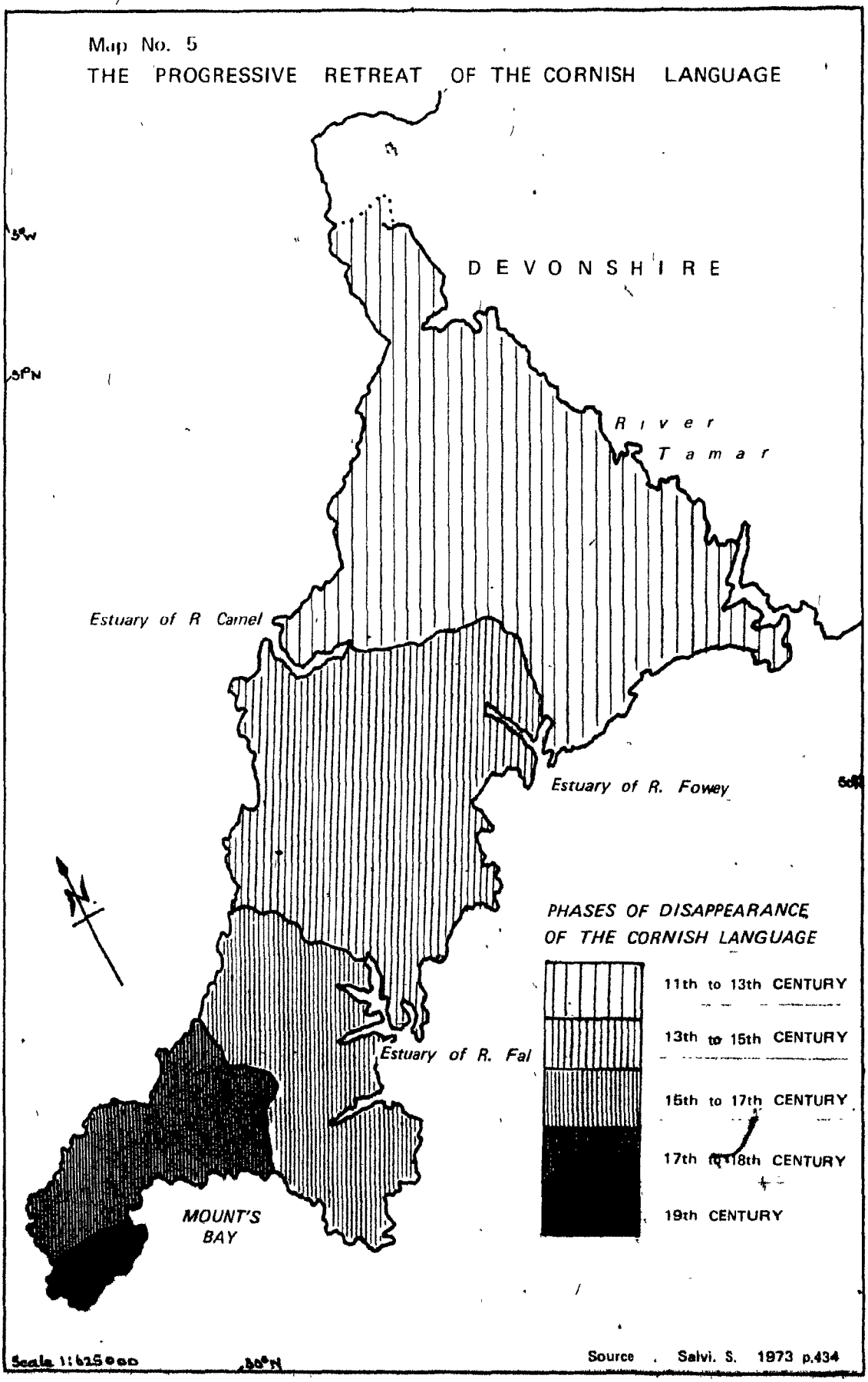
> Having cleansed the city [Exeter] of its defilement by wiping out that filthy race [Britons] he [Aethelstan] fortified it with towers and surrounded it with a wall of square hewn stone.[19]

Following the Saxon warriors came peaceful Saxon colonists intending to make a home on the conquered territory west of the Tamar. Even where the Celts and Saxons lived in close proximity, social relations between them seem not to have been close. The feelings of superiority of the conquering Saxons are indicated by the small number of Celtic loan words drawn into the English language.[20] Language became a weapon used by the victors to create inequalities between themselves and the conquered, as it so often has throughout history.[21]

The strongest feature of the cultural unity and strength of any people is its speech. Language, or the decline of it, is a useful indicator to measure changes in a society. Map No. 5 illustrates the gradual retreat of the Cornish language along the length of the Cornish peninsula. The use of Saxon, then French, then English by the successive dominators of Kernow had the effect of cutting off the native inhabitants from participating in their own society in any but the lowliest positions. Calvet examines this process in a broad context and comes to the conclusion that, "in medieval England as in the colonies today...language is not simply

Map No. 5

THE PROGRESSIVE RETREAT OF THE CORNISH LANGUAGE



a means of communication, it becomes a means of oppression."[22] The Celts in the east of Kernow soon ceased to speak their native tongue, and by the end of the period dealt with in this chapter half of the peninsula was English-speaking.[23]

Kernow succumbed much earlier in history than the other remaining Celtic nations to the Saxon advance. The society had already been affected by migration which had undermined its unity. Considerable Irish immigration occurred at about the same time as heavy emigration to Brittany. The other Celtic lands had geographic advantages in the mountainous interior fastnesses where the old ways could be safeguarded. Wales, for example, preserved the Welsh language in the mountainous areas, although much of the rest of the country came under English pressure. Kernow was, in the tenth century, as it is today, the Celtic nation much the most accessible and weakest in the face of the larger dominating neighbour.

Territorial expansion and conquest, which later in history turned much of the world into underdeveloped peripheries for the European centre had their precursor in Kernow in the eleventh century. It was from this time that Kernow became a periphery on the outskirts of a larger country and lost its native name.

II.4 Cornwall After the Saxon Conquest

The Land

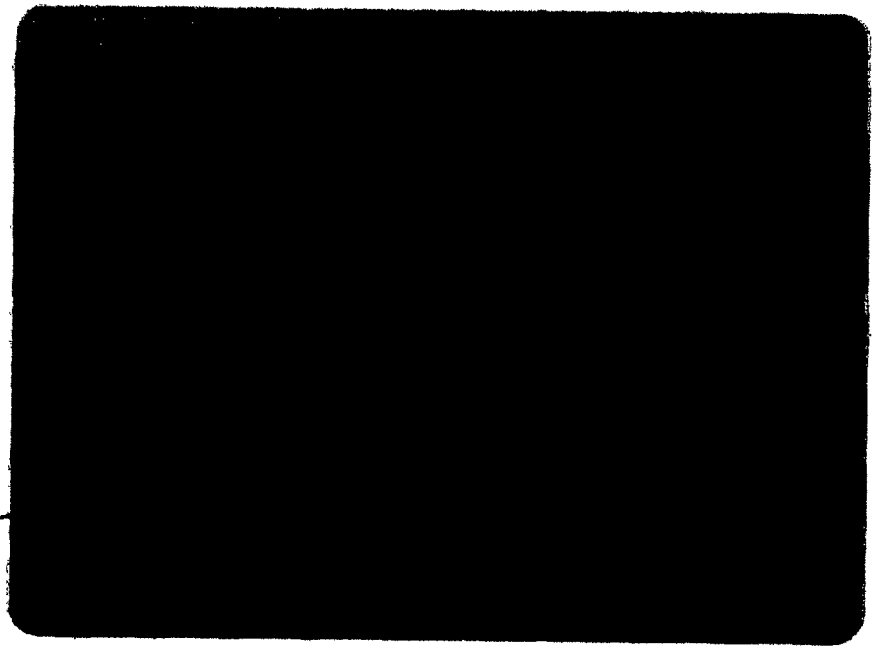
The land of Corn-weahlas which the Saxons had acquired by conquest was only in patches markedly fertile. The upland areas suffered then, as now, from too much rain and too little sun for good cereal crops. In no historical epoch has the land been bounteous. It must therefore, have been a heavy burden to the medieval Cornish peasants to provide the 'agricultural surplus'[24] demanded by their various lords.

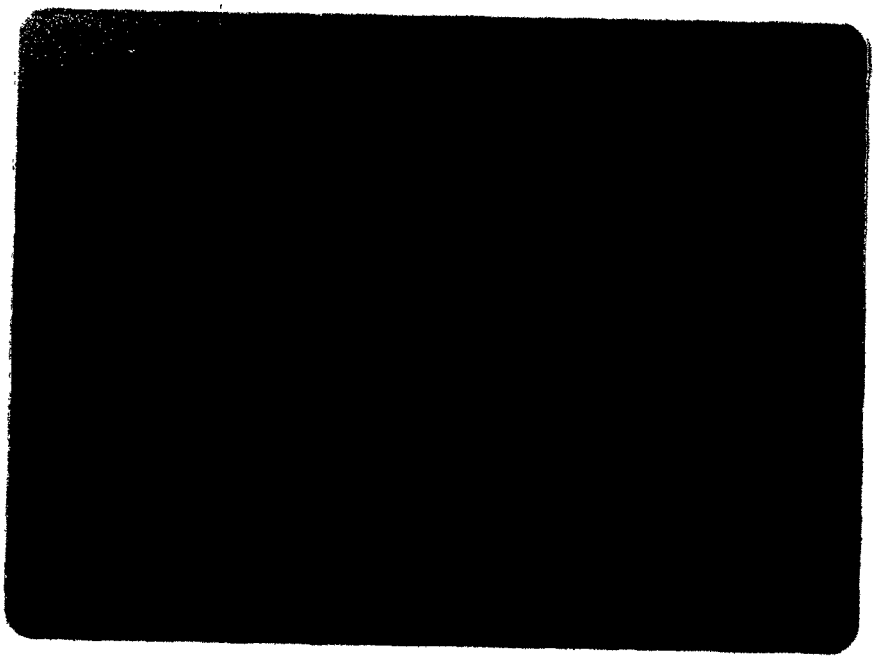
This surplus was now diverted from the Celtic rulers to the new owners of the land, the Saxon lords.[25] The lord was an alien, and the Celts were again, as in Roman times, a conquered race. Furthermore, in contrast with the democratic principles of Celtic law, Anderson suggests that under the Saxons slavery affected one fifth of the population in the Celtic west of Britain.[26]

Celtic and Saxon serfs became the producers who paid rents in kind and in labour. Agriculture in medieval times was characterised by mixed farming, and in Cornwall the climate suited the growth of grass and the keeping of stock. Small areas grew cereals for local consumption despite the lack of sun for ripening. The illustrations on page 41 show countryside, which today in the 1980's, bears much resemblance to its appearance in the Middle Ages and even earlier. Huge stone and earth hedges, which still remain, provided shelter for small plots from the Atlantic gales in the far west of Cornwall. The long, narrow fields of much of the rest of Cornwall perserve the pattern of later enclosure. Places such as Kilkhampton, Camelford and Helston were settlements with hybrid Celtic-Saxon names, where the pattern of the open fields may still be deciphered. (See Map No. 4)

The Norman Conquest in the eleventh century which followed the Saxon settlement was based less on a mass movement of people looking for new lands to cultivate than on a group of leaders seeking to extend their power. They brought to England with them, and further developed, a feudal structure of society under which the dominant landed class established a stronger hold on the means of production than in the preceding Saxon period. The efficiency of the Domesday Book in recording the available wealth testifies to the importance the Normans placed on land

TRADITIONAL CORNISH RURAL AREAS





Both these photographs, taken in 1980, show areas in the Land's End peninsula where the rural landscape has changed little over the centuries. Some of the hedges in the peninsula date from Celtic times. There is harmony here between man-made features and the natural environment, where church, houses and hedges are constructed from the granite which outcrops on the hills.

COLOURED PICTURE

they had conquered. The Domesday Records for Cornwall in 1086 indicate that the area had been affected by war, serious crop failure or disease (or perhaps all three). Much pasture was recorded but few animals, much ploughland but few ploughs, and the land had fallen in value from 1066 to 1086. In all, Cornwall at the end of the eleventh century was a region thinly populated and meagerly cultivated.[27]

The Cornish peasantry were not prosperous under the Normans. Most were unfree tenants, (98 per cent), and two-thirds of these were in the lowest two categories of 'bordari' and 'servi'.[28] The landscape of Cornwall still carries the record of Cornish discontent in the remains of some of the eight castles which were erected by the Normans to secure it (see Map No. 4).

The Cornish landscape has two further heritages specific to the early Middle Ages. The high stone and earth hedges which still surround most Cornish fields have a long history. Some had surrounded Celtic enclosures; others, had their origin from the thirteenth century when much land was enclosed in Cornwall. It was, in fact, some of this early enclosure which stole the commonlands from the communal use of the peasantry and which has left the Cornish landscape bereft of these open spaces, except in the heart of the bleakest moorland area.[29] Stamp underlines the importance of the commons which "probably antedate the idea of private property in land, and are therefore of vast antiquity." The Celtic 'outfields', or in Cornish 'hewas', meaning 'summer farm', survive only as place names.[30] Crawford eloquently describes the "sweeping curve of intake from the downs", in his discussion of the nature of the hedges built around these intakes. The Cornish medieval peasant thus lost access to these areas which could

provide a useful supplement to his marginal existence.

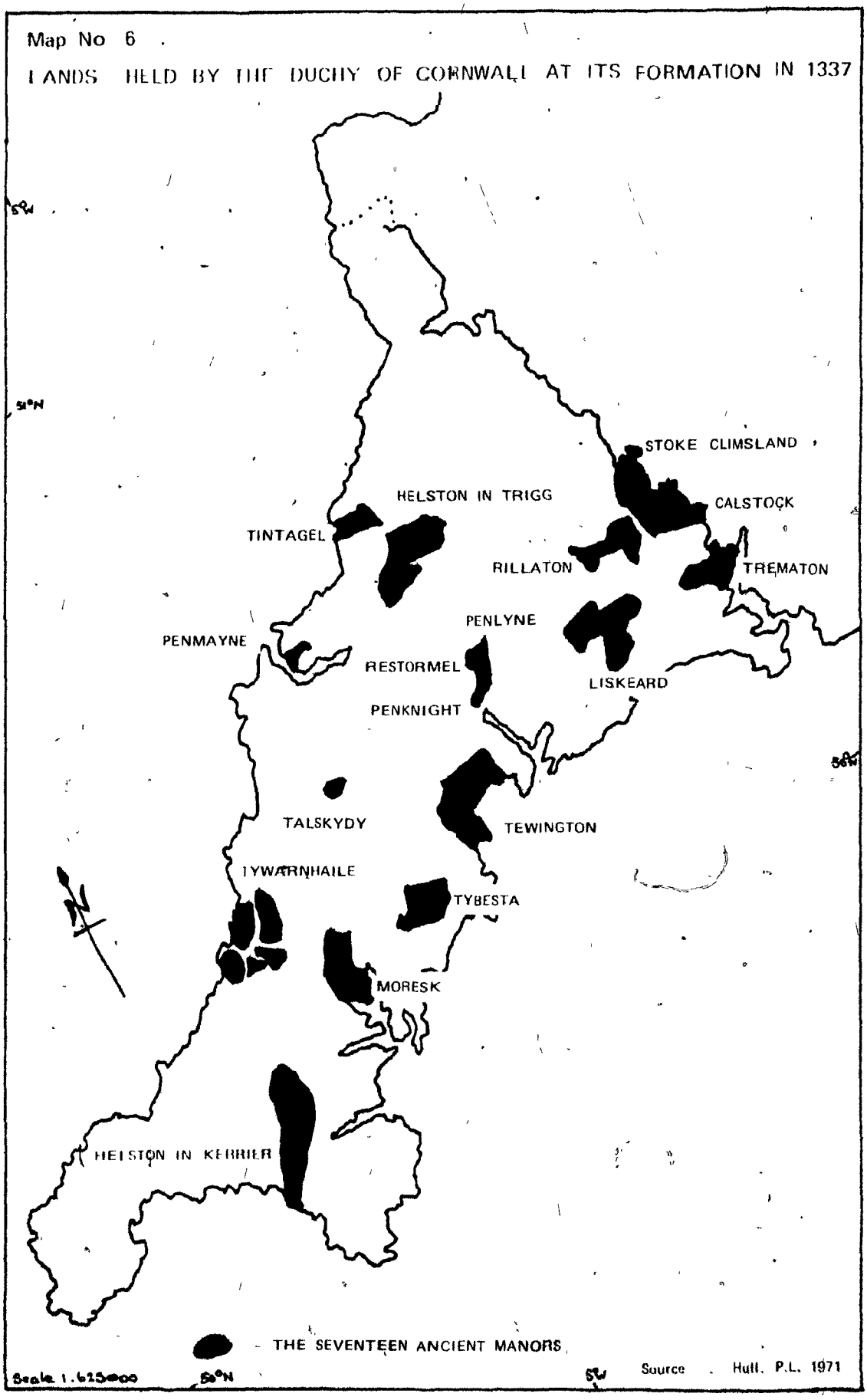
The type of landowner who carried out this early enclosure is represented in the records of 1209 by the men of the Shire Court, the lesser nobles, who purchased the freedom of Cornwall from the exigencies of Royal Forest Law. It seems likely, as Balchin suggests, that this newly acquired freedom over their land, by the land owners, would have led them to colonise it as intensively as possible. Furthermore demographic pressure made such colonisation especially attractive.

> Some thousands of new farms came into existence in the next five generations, before the Black Death put a temporary stop to the onward march of axe and spade and eased the pressure of population on the land.[31]

After the Norman Conquest much of the land of Cornwall remained in the hands of those close to the Crown.[32] This proximity was ratified in 1337 when Cornwall was made a Duchy, the inherited property of the king's eldest son.[33] Map No. 6 shows the original Duchy estates, The Seventeen Ancient Manors. Although the Duchy lands in 1337 were not as extensive as they had been in Norman days, the land which the Royal Earls disposed of would have gone to those likely to be sympathetic to them and their aims, so helping to maintain a strong presence of royal power in Cornwall. The Duchy lands came to be exploited in a variety of ways throughout history by their owners, the Dukes of Cornwall. Royal journeys and wars were financed from tallage of the Duchy manors.[34] From time to time, the lands were sold to replenish royal coffers or to buy political support. The comparative efficiency and continuity of the institutionalised administration ensured that rents and coinage on tin flowed from Cornwall, the periphery, to London, the centre. Towards the mid-fourteenth century, in response to demographic pressure, the leases of Duchy land were made of shorter duration and subject to more frequent revisions of rent.[35] There

Map No 6 .

LANDS HELD BY THE DUCHY OF CORNWALL AT ITS FORMATION IN 1337



was, at this time, such a demand for land that leases could easily be filled if tenants were dispossessed or rents raised. Mandel states the principle which the Duchy applied:

> Landowners try to make tenancies renewable as frequently as possible (annually, if they can), so as to ensure a correspondingly regular increase in differential rent.[36]

The exigencies of the feudal system and the relative poverty of the soil in Cornwall all indicated a hard life for the medieval peasant. The Lay Subsidy of 1334 gave the assessed wealth of Cornwall as among the lowest of the English counties - a quarter of that of the richer south and east of England. Postan estimates that more than half the produce of customary land in England generally - the surplus value - would be taken in payments to the manor; this would leave the average family with "just enough to keep body and soul together".[37] Life for the Cornish peasant would have been as hard as for any in Britain.

In the late Middle Ages changes occurred which were eventually responsible for the break up of the feudal system. The commutation of rents, - money rents replacing rents in kind or in labour - was obviously particularly attractive to absentee landlords. In Cornwall this applied to Church holdings and those of absentee nobles as well as those of the Duchy. The anomaly arose that the feudal system manifested this aspect of decomposition most rapidly in the most remote and backward parts of the country. The flows of money to London were most rapid from the peripheries.[38]

Mandel points out the importance of this step in the evolution from feudalism to capitalism and the way it led the peasants into the market economy:

> In pre-capitalist society, the transformation of ground rent from rent in kind into money rent is already in itself a sign of social decomposition. It presupposes an extensive development of the production and circulation of commodities, and also the circulation of money. It is by selling part of their

> production that the peasants obtain the money they need to pay this new form of rent that they owe to their feudal lords.[39]

Cornish peasants placed in this position of having to market their produce found some relief in the ready demand from the increasing number of their countrymen specialising in tin mining, an activity on the increase by the late fourteenth century.

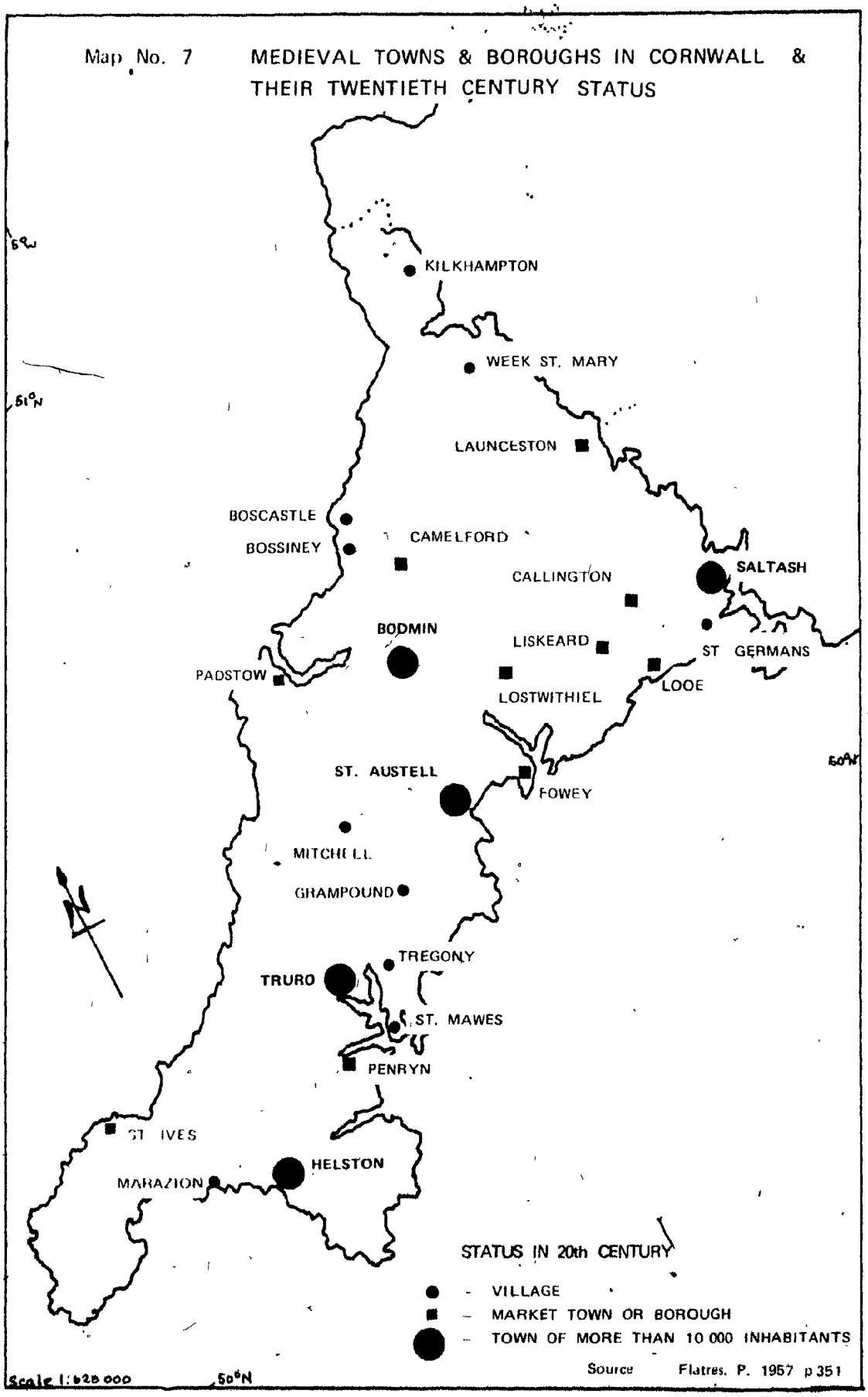
The pressure on the land, prior to the Black Death, was caused by the increase in the population in relation to the low level of technical skills to solve problems of shortages and increase agricultural productivity. To combat such pressures the frontiers of land reclamation were extended as far as possible along Cornwall's internal frontier. This meant climbing the inhospitable slopes of the granite moorlands to heights which, when last occupied in the Bronze Age, had enjoyed a milder climate. The hedges and granite walls of the abandoned village of Trewortha, (see Map No. 4), remain to testify to these advances on Bodmin Moor. The medieval peasant, trapped between the demands of his feudal lord, his own limited technology and a growing population, was driven to harsh extremes. The Black Death in 1349 terminated the demographic pressure and permanent settlement has never returned to the higher moorland slopes.[40]

After the Black Death the comparative shortage of labour and rise in wages led many lords to lease their land rather than employ labour. With this change in land tenure the more advantaged peasants gained a competitive edge over their fellows. Differences widened in the countryside between a growing, prosperous yeoman class on the one hand and a rural proletariat on the other. Dobb refers to the more prosperous peasants in England as a sort of 'kulak' class, who despite the general destitution of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries managed to base its

prosperity on the need of the rest, "Village poverty has always been the soil on which the village usurer and petty employer can best feed".[41] Salvi sees in such people, in Cornwall, a native class of small landowners emerging for the first time since the Norman and Saxon conquests;[42] while Rowse recognises a "common element of Cornishry", in these smaller landed families.[43] Matthew de Treveggen represents another level of successful farmers. Starting as a bond-tenant of the Duchy, renting a cottage and a small enclosure, he managed in his life to amass ten head of cattle, four acres of grain, £10 in possessions and purchase a Cornish acre, (a Cornish acre was equal to between forty and fifty English acres).

The ruling families who controlled the economic, social and political life of Cornwall underwent considerable changes after the Wars of the Roses. (1455 - 1458) their fortunes depending on where their allegiance had lain. The Trevelyans rose from being small farmers, with the benefits they received from royal favours; the Edgcumbe family has left the opulent Cotehele Mansion to signify its successes; and the Treffrys built Place House to stand watch over the port of Fowey from which they extracted their fortune. Map No. 10 shows the location of these mansions. By contrast the Bodrugan family declined. Their ostentatious way of living and lawless habits were not the style of the hard-headed businessmen of the new elite. This new elite was a merchant class which arose to benefit from the surplus produced by the majority as the power of the feudal lords declined. Aristocratic families who joined this new trend and succeeded in commerical, mining, shipping or other activities could enhance their family's wealth and standing in the county. The merchants' mansions built from this time on still grace the Cornish landscape.

Map No. 7 MEDIEVAL TOWNS & BOROUGHS IN CORNWALL & THEIR TWENTIETH CENTURY STATUS



The social and economic changes within feudalism which engendered the decline of the system had been generated largely at the metropolitan centre, not in the remote, backward areas, such as Cornwall. The English monarchy strengthened its centralised power after Bosworth, having brought the recalcitrant nobles to their knees. Under the new absolutist order of the Tudors, Cornwall was brought closer into the affairs of the English centre through the power which the Duchy exercised. Cornwall's special status was no longer recognised and the last laws specific to the Cornish were passed in 1485.

II.5 The Growth of Towns

Towns began to develop in this period with the varied economy of Cornwall as their economic base. The effect of the centralised English control at this stage of its development brought Cornwall, the periphery, into the orbit of England's expanding commercial economy and enabled it to benefit from the larger markets thus available. Hatcher points out how buoyant the economy of Cornwall was despite its relatively small population:

> Within Cornwall agriculture was only a part of a diversified economic structure which featured mining, fishing and shipping, as well as textile manufacture, quarrying and shipbuilding, which all assumed some importance in the fifteenth century.[44]

Twenty-five seignorial boroughs were established in Cornwall between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. Map No. 7 shows these boroughs, of which only half grew to sufficient size to acquire a mayor.[45] Hamlets and villages had traditionally formed the Cornish settlement pattern, and all of these still carry Celtic names. The medieval boroughs, however, with their majority of foreign residents, were a new phenomena developed by the landowners for the profits they might bring. Henderson, a Cornish historian, called them "plants of exotic growth".[46] They were agents of

change in the rural-based Cornish society, providing as they did a source of new ideas and alternative opportunities to manorial feudalism.

The records provide evidence to show how the landowners benefitted from the activities of one seignorial borough. Mitchell, now a tiny hamlet on the central plateau of Cornwall, was developed by the Arundell family which owned the land and accumulated wealth from its agricultural surplus. Rowse, after detailing the income the Arundell family derived from rents, fines, and profits from the annual fair, observed that these enabled the manor to make

> ...its contribution to the sustenance of the rich and gracious family living at Lanherne, building its fine house, bringing up its children, laying out its money on rich stuff, brocades damasks, jewels, fine linen -- all things which appear in the Arundell wills of the time -- enabling it to play its part in Cornish affairs and further afield.[47]

Rowse underlines the process of 'primitive accumulation'[48], the process whereby the surplus labour of the peasant is transformed into conspicuous consumption or profits for the aristocracy. He continues:

> So these things were connected together, the small and the great, the produce of the soil transmuted into a higher way of life, of leisure and culture.[49]

Even from the smallest towns in Cornwall, as elsewhere, a bourgeoisie was able to grow in power and riches on the basis of appropriating the surplus from the labour of the producers.

II.6 Tin Mining

Alluvial tin had been 'streamed'[50] from many of the rivers flowing from the granite masses and across the surrounding mineralised, metamorphic aureoles for centuries. Not until the end of the period dealt with in this chapter were these supplies sufficiently exhausted and technology sufficiently advanced to warrant the development of underground mining.[51]

Tin mining was important to Cornwall's economic development in the Middle Ages. Hatcher estimates that one in ten workers in early fifteenth century Cornwall was engaged in the mining industry.[52] In the twelfth century, Devon had had the greater production, but from the thirteenth century, when the alluvial deposits of Devon began to be exhausted, Cornwall came to the fore as the major European producer.

Geographically, the centres of production gradually moved westwards. In 1305 Lostwithiel and Bodmin were the main coinage towns; by 1663 Penzance in the far west had been made a coinage town and grew to importance as such. At the beginning of this period mining was a part time occupation along with subsistence agriculture and fishing, but by the end it had become a full time specialised activity for many.

From 1197 the miners were organised under the Stannary Parliament with their own laws and courts. The free tinners were given certain privileges but these were compensated for by the "coinage tax" charged on all tin produced, and paid to the Crown.[53] The Stannary had freedom of production as its underlying principle rather than the more protective aims of most medieval guilds. It was this expansionist framework which enabled the Stannary to survive until the nineteenth century, responding as it did to the demands of different systems, including that of emerging capitalism.

The incorporation of Cornwall into the English Crown as Duchy in 1337 had its effect on the mining industry. Both tin production and coinage duty showed rises of 62 per cent between 1306 and 1337.[54] The amount of tin produced in 1337 was not consistently surpassed, in fact, until the advent of deep mining, with improved technology, towards the end of the seventeenth century.

The harsh working conditions and poverty of the Cornish tinners had made them susceptible to the plague in the years of the Black Death.[55] In 1349 the Duke of Cornwall, the Black Prince, was urging tinners to expend as much labour and capital as before to restore the industry. However by mid-century the records show a fall in the production of tin from which the industry did not recover until the end of the fourteenth century.

Despite the organisation of the free tinners as self-employed workers, inequalities began to enter the mining industry from an early stage. If one miner could achieve an advantage over his fellows at the bounding, in spite of the Stannary regulations, then he could afford to employ his less fortunate neighbour. Moreover the coinage towns where the tin was taxed and sold might be many miles from the works, and the number of stampings per year was few. Thus producers fell into debt to bridge over the time of need and the rates of interest charged by the merchants and smelterers lending money were high. A miner's difficulties compounded once he was in debt. He lost the independence of being a self-employed free tinner and had to get a living by hiring his labour to another. As early as 1342 there were complaints that large producers were forcing Stannary workers to work for them,for a penny a day,when previously they had worked twenty pence worth of tin for themselves. By the fourteenth century one such entrepreneur, Abraham the tinner, had over three hundred workers in his employ. The tinners were thus being separated from their means of production, sometimes forcibly. Dobb, in his study of the formation of a proletariat among the Cornish tinners of this period, finds it one of the earliest manifestations of the process taking place anywhere.[56]

As time passed, each development in the Stannary Parliament eroded the rights of the small producer. The cost agreement system, for example,

allowed one member of a group of miners to be excused from labour, in return for a money payment for his share of the bounding. This sanctioned the custom that people who were not producers could benefit from the mine.

In 1495 Henry VII appointed two extra coinages to help the tinners, but he was soon demanding extra taxes to help fight the Scots. The Cornish miners were sufficiently incensed to march to London in rebellion. Led by An Gof, a blacksmith, and Flamank, a lawyer, fifteen thousand Cornish were effective enough to threaten the English capital for a day before being defeated and dispersed.

Another control on the industry detrimental to the producers and to Cornwall was the buying monopoly of the London Guild of Pewterers. Most elaboration of tin for the ubiquitous, medieval, domestic vessels was carried on in London. Acts of Parliament in the sixteenth century even served to tighten the Guild's control of the manufacturing of pewter.

In no other sector of the Cornish economy is the intrusion of London into local affairs more marked, in this period, than in the mining industry. The value and use of tin in the Middle Ages was so great that restrictions were placed on all aspects of its production and distribution by the central authorities. The profits to be gained were such that the local tin worker began to lose control of the industry and the means of production passed to others. Inevitably the cards were stacked against the small producer - the free tinner. The periphery, then, sent its surplus product to the centre both in the form of unelaborated tin, a valuable resource, and coinage taxes.

II.7 Fishing

The Cornish have always sought part of their livelihood from the sea. The long and indented coastline ensures that few places in the county are

far from the coast where the warm, Gulf Stream waters and broad Atlantic Shelf attract shoals of fish to breed.

However, the industry was not organised on any scale until the fourteenth century when specialised fishing settlements such as Polperro, St. Ives and Port Isaac first appear in the records. Mevagissey, an important port, is not mentioned until 1404. By the fifteenth century, engineering skills and the demand for fish were sufficiently advanced that the building of piers and breakwaters proceeded at Mousehole, Newlyn, St. Michael's Mount and Newquay (see Map No. 4). The illustration of Mousehole on page 55 shows the extent of the constructions needed to protect even small harbours from the Atlantic storms.

The spur which gave the impetus to this harbour development was the winning of the markets which had previously belonged to the Baltic herring fisheries. From the fifteenth century, Cornwall began to supply the Catholic Mediterranean countries with pilchards. The structure of the fishing industry underwent considerable changes to enable it to supply this overseas market. Capital had to be invested in bigger vessels to transport the fish to Italy and Spain; cellars were necessary for the packing of the fish in barrels of brine. Local and English merchants provided the necessary capital and had the knowledge to act as intermediaries to facilitate this trade.[57] Consequently the ownership of boats, nets and cellars gradually passed into the hands of the merchants as the structure of the industry altered. The importance of these small Cornish harbours and their trade to the English Crown is indicated in the building of St. Mawes and Pendennis Castles on either side of the entrance to the Fal estuary, where Falmouth and Truro are now situated, by Henry VIII in the years 1539 - 1543. The illustration on page 55 is of St. Mawes, one of the twin castles.

FISHING AND COASTAL ACTIVITY

Mousehole, situated on Mount's Bay, (See Map No. 4), was a busy harbour as early as the thirteenth century. Most Cornish ports developed in the next two centuries, when the fish export trade demanded good facilities, and technical skills were adequate for their construction. These same piers and harbour walls contribute to the infrastructure of the twentieth century tourist industry.

St. Mawes Castle, (with its twin, Pendennis, across the Fal estuary), was built by Henry VIII as part of the coastal defences of England. These two fortresses indicate how important Cornish harbours and inlets were to England by the sixteenth century.

The working fisherman like the free tinner now began to be separated from his means of production and his surplus product became the merchants' profit. As the industry changed, the catching of fish to satisfy local demands - production for use - was superseded by the catching of fish for overseas trade - production for the market. This process thus illustrates a further facet of the core-periphery model - the incorporation of production of staples, in the manner described here.

II. 8 The Process of Cultural Incorporation

The Church in the Middle Ages was one of the main social and cultural institutions of British societies. The Cornish Celtic Church had already lost much of its autonomy and land to the Saxon conquerors in the ninth century.[58] It was completely destroyed in 1050 in the sense that it lost its own customs, theology and language of worship. These changes severed cultural links between Cornwall and the other Celtic countries, although they brought the Cornish Church back into the mainstream of European (Roman) Church theology and organisation.

The geographical movement of the Cathedral is a further indication that the control was gradually removed from local hands. The Saxons took the centre of power from Padstow, east to St. Germans in 931 A.D., then in 1040, the Cathedral was moved out of Cornwall to Crediton, near Exeter in Devon, and Celtic abbots were replaced with Saxon bishops. In the process of these moves, much Cornish literature was lost, along with Cornish medieval music.

The clan-based abbeys at Tintagel, Gwithian and St. Pirans, inhabited by hermits, were abandoned and larger monastic foundations created at St. Germans and Crediton. The Celtic Church had always tolerated native laws

and customs, despite its historic role of undermining the Celtic social system.[59] The conquering Saxon and Norman branches of the Church, however, held their allegiance to Canterbury or Rome, far from Cornwall. Such powerful centralising forces had a significant impact on the cultural life of the people, as the political and economic pressures had on the economic organisation of the periphery, Cornwall.

The Church, whatever its form, extracted its share of the surplus product. The heavy burden of building one hundred and thirty Norman churches fell to less than 20,000 Cornish, the population in the early eleventh century. Tithes from the Cornish had to support a clergy which grew in number by twenty times from the Norman Conquest to 1300.[60]

The Church by the fourteenth century was probably becoming a less alien institution despite all the changes it had undergone. Nevertheless the gulf between the people and the Church heirarchy continued. A retiring Archdeacon, Adam de Carleton, voiced his discontent with the situation; writing in 1342, he complained that he could not communicate with the Cornish and found them rebellious and difficult to correct.[61]

The most significant bridge between the culture of the people and the Church lay in the gwary miracle plays produced in the 'Plen an Gwary' or village amphitheatre. They imparted moral teachings in a somewhat ribald but popular form in the language of the people, Cornish.

II.9 Conclusion

Cornwall's history as an independent entity ended with the Saxon Conquest which was followed by the gradual imposition of a feudal system of economic organisation. By the end of this feudal period the Cornish landscape had been considerably altered by man. His increased technical skills

and his increased numbers since prehistoric times meant that a deeper imprint was etched onto the land. Man was no longer restricted to the lighter woodland areas of the higher slopes and exposed headlands. By the end of this period, a detailed network of roads and settlements patterned Cornwall.

Celtic hamlets grew into villages, many of which came to be dominated by their feudal manor, some few bearing the names of the Saxon conquerors and surrounded by open fields. Most villages had a substantial church by the end of this period whether of Celtic, Saxon or Norman dedication. These churches may be considered to symbolise the strength of the Cornish ethnic community in the early Middle Ages in all aspects of cultural life - religion, language, literature and music. While this cultural distinction survived beyond the feudal period, it came to be severely eroded by the dominant English culture.[62] This pattern of cultural change embodies but one illustration of the workings of the core-periphery model which this thesis examines.

The medieval boroughs founded in Cornwall were especially attractive to foreigners. Even if only half of them generated the anticipated growth, each had its impact on the surrounding agricultural area with its market, fair, court, or as a local commercial centre.

The economic life of Cornwall was a varied one. Stone hedges were built to surround agricultural land as it was brought into cultivation, the small, squarish fields of the Celtic intakes from the moors were succeeded by somewhat larger, rectangular ones. Alluvial workings and small adit mines pock-marked the Cornish landscape as surface working for tin, lead and copper proceeded. Each free miner had his own bounding although some were already losing the economic independence this afforded.

Fishing ports acquired harbour walls and piers in this period to protect the boats of the fledgling fishing industry.

The Cornish people were still mainly masters of their own means of production to the end of this period. Most still had access to the land to cultivate it, to the waters to fish in, and to the rivers to stream (dredge) and wash their tin. But the fines, dues, rents and tithes demanded from them in each of these activities were a heavy burden. Specialisation of function had not yet proceeded very far and the same individual was exploited as peasant, fisherman and tinner by the successive owners of the land. The pressing and growing demands of the English Crown and feudal lords caused the pace of economic activity to accelerate during this period. In response, man's alteration of the natural environment likewise increased.

The next chapter will discuss how the break-up of the feudal mode of production resulted in its replacement by mercantilism. Thence the process of incorporation of Cornwall into England, the periphery into the centre, proceeded apace. The landscape came to be further changed as more specialised demands were made on the society and in turn as man made different demands on the land of Cornwall.

FEUDAL CORNWALL

FOOTNOTES-CHAPTER TWO

1. Anderson.P., Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism, (Verso, London, 1974, 1978) pp. 158 - 161.

2. Darby.H. C., ed., A New Historical Geography of England, (Cambridge University Press, 1973) p.1
Darby underlines the importance of the Anglo-Saxon settlement of Britain in bringing the institutions which formed the basis of later development.

3. Mandel.E., An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory,(Pathfinder Press, New York, 1973) p. 31

4. Kropotkin.P., Mutual Aid A Factor of Evolution,(Black Rose Books, Montreal; Extending Horizons Books, Boston, London 1902) pp. 76-152.
Mandel.E., Marxist Economic Theory Volume One, (Merlin Press, London, 1962, 1968) pp. 30 - 33.
"At more primitive stages of economic development, society remains based on the co-operative organisation of labour. The community needs the labour of every one of its members."

5. Woolf.C., Archaeology of Cornwall, (D. Bradford Barton, Truro, 1970)

6. Mandel.E., op.cit. p. 56
"In order to acquire these minerals, the agricultural peoples who possessed adequate food surpluses, techniques and leisure had to to and seek them where they were to be found..."
Woolf.C., op. cit. p.36 and p. 54.

7. Chadwick.N., The Celts, (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1970, 1977) p. 41.
J.X.W.P. Corcoran in the introductory chapter considers that it is time that the contribution of the prehistoric, particularly of the Celts, to the civilisation of Europe be more adequately recognised.

8. Fox.A., South West England, (Praeger, New York, 1964) p. 133.

9. Chadwick.N., op. cit. p.33
"The ordinary people, descendants of the earliest farmers and native hunters, are less well documented, but their existence must not be overlooked. Without the base which they provided, the pyramid of Celtic society could not have been built."

10. Richmond.I.A., Roman Britain, (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1955, 1975) p. 67.

11. Thomas.C., The Importance of Being Cornish,(University of Exeter, 1973) p. 8.

12. Wakelin.M.F., Language and History in Cornwall, (Leicester University Press, 1975) p. 86.

13. 'Kernewek' meaning Cornish in the Cornish language.

14. Hoskins.W. G., The Westward Expansion of Wessex, (Leicester University Press, 1960).

15. Thomas.C., Britain and Ireland in Early Christian Times A.D. 400-800 (McGraw Hill, New York, 1971) pp. 67 - 70

16. Wakelin.M., op. cit., p. 53 - 61.

17. Alcock.L., Arthur's Britain, (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1971, 1974) p. 91.

18. Hechter.M., op. cit. p. XVI

19. Hoskins.W.G.)
Finberg.H.R.R.) op. cit. pp. 26 - 27

20. Ellis.P. B., The Cornish Language and its Literature, (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1974) p. 19.

21. Despres.L.A., Ethnicity and Resource Competition,(Mouton, The Hague, 1975)

22. Calvet.L.J., Linguistique et Colonialisme (Payot, 1974) p. 64.

23. Salvi.S., Le Nazioni Proibite, (Vallecchi, Firenze, 1973) p.434.

24. Mandel.E., op. cit. p. 39
'agricultural surplus', Mandel defines the agricultural surplus as the permanent surplus of foodstuffs from an agriculture which safeguards the fertility of the soil. This surplus is the basis of the separation of crafts from agriculture, of town from country and the division of society into classes.

25. Henderson.C., Essays in Cornish History, (Clarendon, Oxford, 1935)
Rowse.A.L. and Henderson. M.I., eds. p. 96
For example, Ethelweard became lord of Liskeard. This must have been a rich prize;
'Lis' denotes in Cornish the court of a Celtic king, and the area was rich in minerals.
Alwin, another Saxon, usurped Celtic church lands at Ludgvan, near St. Ives, in line with the secularisation of much Celtic church land at the Saxon Conquest.

26. Anderson.P., op. cit. p. 159

27. Darby.H. C., op. cit. pp. 39 - 74.
Finn.W., The Norman Conquest, (Archon Books, U. S. A., 1971) pp. 299 - 305.

28. Hatcher.J., Rural Economy and Society in the Duchy of Cornwall 1300 - 1500. (Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 73.

29. Stamp.L.D.S.) Hoskins.W.G.) The Common Lands of England and Wales, (Collins, London, 1963), pp. 4 - 6.

30. Crawford.O.G.S., "The work of giants", Antiquity 1936 pp. 162-174.

31. Balchin.W.G.V., op. cit. p. 40.

32. Halliday.F.E., op. cit., pp. 106 - 111.
Robert, Count of Mortain, William's half brother acquired two-thirds of Cornwall. The Church owned 19 per cent and the rest remained in Celtic or Saxon hands.

33. Hull.L., "Caption of Seisin of the Duchy of Cornwall", Devon and Cornwall Record Society Publication, New Series Vol. 17 (Torquay, 1971).

34. Roche.T.W.E., op. cit. p. 155.

35. Hatcher.J.,"A diversified economy: later medieval Cornwall" Economic Historical Review (2nd series. No. 22, 1969) pp. 208-227, 214.

36. Mandel.E., op. cit. p. 282.

37. Postan.M.M., The Medieval Economy and Society, (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1972, 1976) pp. 145 - 146.
Dobb.M., op. cit. p. 16.
"Medieval society was characterised by the compulsory performance of surplus labour by producers: producers who were in possession of their own primitive instruments of cultivation and were attached to the land."

38. Prince.H., "About half Marx for the transition from feudalism to capitalism"., Area (Vol. 11, No. 1, 1979) pp. 47 - 50.
"The introduction of money rents and the production of wool, hides and metals for the market began earlier in peripheral regions, in colonial territories and at the margins of cultivation than in the commercial core of south-east England, close to the channel ports."

39. Mandel.E., op. cit., p. 272.

40. Ziegler.P., The Black Death (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1969, 1976)

41. Dobb.M., op. cit. p. 60 - 62.

42. Salvi.S., op. cit. p. 441.

43. Rowse.A.L., op. cit. p. 130.
Hatcher.J., Rural Economy and Society in the Duchy of Cornwall, p. 255.

44. Hatcher.J., ibid, p. 29.

45. Flatrès.P., Géographie Rurale de Quatre Contrées Celtiques Irlande, Galles, Cornwall Man (Librairie Université J. Plihon, Rennes, 1957) p. 351.

46. Henderson.C., op. cit. p. 6 and p. 26.

47. Rowse.A.L., op. cit., pp. 52 - 53.

48. 'primitive accumulation' is "nothing else than the historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production...the expropriation of the agricultural producer, of the peasant, from the soil is the basis of the whole process." Dobb.M., op. cit. p. 223.

49. Rowse.A.L., op. cit., pp. 52 - 53.

50. 'streamed' Streaming is the process of washing alluvial tin from rivers. The tin deposits in rivers vary in size from sand-like grains to that of a small egg.

51. Lewis.G.R., The Stannaries. A Study of the Medieval Tin Miners of Cornwall and Devon, (D. B. Barton, Truro, 1908, 1965), p. 2.

52. Hatcher.J., op. cit. p. 32.

53. "coinage tax" A corner or "coin" was cut from each block of tin to prove that the royal tax had been paid. As well as norman coinage, extra taxes, tallage, could be raised when the royal needs dictated.
Halliday.F. E. A History of Cornwall (Duckworth, London, 1959) p. 115, (Richard I's exactions)
Roche.T,W,E., The King of Alemayne p. 155, The exactions of Richard I in the twelfth century are repeated by Richard, Earl of Cornwall, his nephew, in the thirteenth century.

54. Lewis.G.R., op. cit. p. 252 and p. 259.

55. Ziegler.P., op. cit., p. 140.
Dobb.M., op. cit., p. 48.
"The destructive effect of the plague itself must have been fanned by the malnutrition of the population (mortality from the pestilence apparently being proportionately greater among the masses)..."

56. Dobb.M., op. cit. pp. 242 - 250.

57. Rowe.J., op. cit. p. 265.

58. Hoskins.W.G.,)
Finberg.H.P.R.,) op. cit. p. 22

59. Ellis.P.B., A History of the Irish Working Class (G. Draziller, New York, 1973) p. 27.
"Although it was the church which had the historic role of undermining the Celtic social system, the system was fated to be overthrown by a strong centralised system from outside in the light of European social development."

60. Darby,H.C., op. cit. p. 77

61. Hatcher.J., op. cit. p. 2

62. Hechter,M., op. cit. p. 57
"In sum, prior to the expansion of the English state in the sixteenth century two characteristic types of social organisation had evolved in the British Isles, largely, but not totally, based on regional ecological differences."
The types of social organisation were Celtic in the north and west, and Saxon in the south and east.

CHAPTER III : CORNWALL IN THE AGE OF MERCANTILE CAPITALISM 1500-1750

III.1 Introduction

The period of Cornwall's historical geography, dealt with in this chapter, is that in which the merchants grew to prominence in the economic, political and cultural affairs of the county. Feudal structures had been undermined from within the society and a money economy, trade and urbanisation had brought further pressures to bear on a society in decline and on a ruling class whose power was now increasingly diminished.[1] In terms of the core-periphery model Cornwall was in this period of mercantilism being ever more rapidly brought under the aegis of English control.

During this period a growing proportion of Cornish producers lost control of their means of production. As feudalism declined, the peasants' place on the land came to be increasingly insecure. The free miners too were driven by debt to become wage earners. Working fishermen could not finance an expanded fishing trade. The rise of the bourgeoisie was built on the formation of the people into a proletariat.[2] The capital which the merchants had acquired was now invested in undertakings which would bring a profit, rather than being spent on luxuries as the previous landed ruling class had.[3] The land, the mines, the fisheries, trade and small commodity production in the towns, all attracted their interest as politically, culturally and in economic terms they became the leaders of society[4] - the commercial bourgeoisie.

The progressive drawing of Cornwall into the English national scene which occurred between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries was part of a process already begun, and the prelude to an even closer integration in the centuries to follow. The other Celtic countries of the British Isles

managed to retain some degree of independence for a longer time, but by the end of this period Cornwall was a fully incorporated English county with its uniqueness no longer acknowledged in separate laws nor its distinct language given any formal recognition.[5] The Cornish people became accustomed to see the control over their resources, their Church and their culture increasingly alienated.

The significance of the geographical location of Cornwall took on a new perspective during this period of mercantile activity. Cornwall was still remote from London, across two hundred miles of inferior roads. However, the small ships of the day could use the numerous inlets and harbours around the Cornish coast as sea transport increased in importance. The strategic importance of Cornwall grew since it lay across the western end of the English Channel. Stretching south-westwards into the Atlantic, it became the last victualling station on the route to the New World. The building of St. Mawes and Pendennis Castles to guard the entrance to the Fal estuary by Henry VIII, in this period, evidences the importance of Cornish harbours to the English state (see illustration, page 55). Many naval battles of this period were waged in Cornish coastal waters. All these factors brought the English more frequently into Cornwall and made the Cornish aware of a wider world beyond the Tamar, aiding the dissolution of this smaller, weaker society.

III.2 The Land

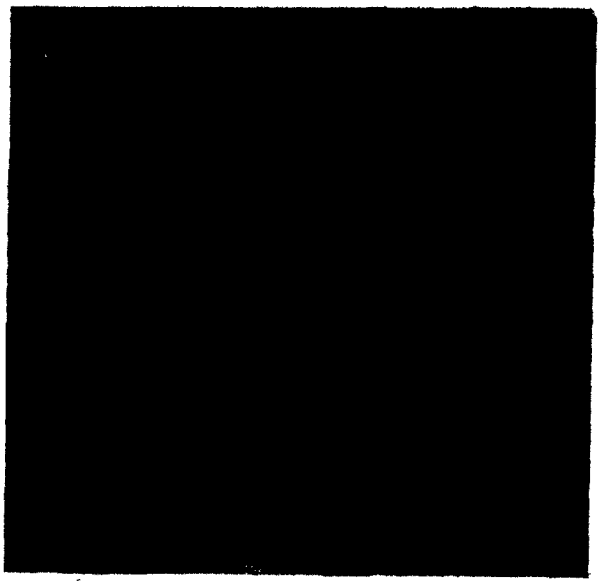
Ownership of the land still held the key to the accumulation of wealth and power despite the varied economic activities in Cornwall during this period. The English Crown, through the Duchy, continued to be the major landholder. The tap root of the Duchy draining Cornwall of its

wealth, often directly to the Crown, made the centralising power of the English state, and the classes which it represented, very obvious to the Cornish. For a while dislocation of the Duchy holdings came when they were removed from the Crown in the 1640's, under Parliamentary rule, and estates were sold, particularly to Parliamentarian supporters. After the Restoration, however, many were re-possessed but direct Crown interest in the affairs of Cornwall was never as strong again. The bourgeois class was by then grasping the ownership of the land and the political power that went with it.

The Church was the other major landowning institution in Cornwall at the beginning of this period. Its possessions, however, were early reduced by the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the mid-sixteenth century. The three most important monasteries in Cornwall - Bodmin, St. Germans and Launceston, were not wealthy or extensive by English standards; nonetheless, their dissolution released land for the market, which the wealthy merchants and usurers were happy to purchase.[6] The Prideaux family built their Elizabethan mansion, Place, on the lands of the Bodmin monks at Padstow; Roberts of Truro, a tin merchant and money lender built Lanhydrock on the lands of Bodmin Priory in 1620; and the Eliots took over the lands of the St. Germans' monks. The houses which the merchants built remain today to attest to the wealth they accumulated;[7] and the illustrations on page 68 depict two of them.

The decline of the feudal institutions and of the established aristocratic families meant that some of those who had held wealth and power since Norman or pre-Norman times were now no longer in a position to retain their hegemony.[8] As examples of important aristocratic families of Cornwall who declined in importance in this period there were; the Bottreux of Boscastle who were Bretons, given Cornish land at the Norman Conquest

PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION IN CORNWALL



Trerice Manor remains to represent the accumulation by the Arundell family in the sixteenth century. The architecture is clearly influenced by the English Elizabethan style and is not essentially Cornish as medieval manor houses had been. Arundell wealth came from the coasts and farmland of mid-Cornwall.

The Vyvyan family acquired by marriage, and then developed, the magnificent mansion, Trelowarren, in the sixteenth century. Some of the earlier medieval mansion was incorporated into the new house. Map No. 10 indicates the location of these two estates.

but whose name vanishes from the record after 1643; the Bodrugans of Bodrugan faded after the Wars of the Roses; the Arundells of Trerice were penalised for their continuing allegiance to the Catholic Church. On one hand the inflation of the sixteenth century made spending on conspicuous consumption impossible for those merely holding land, without successful involvement in commercial activities.[9] On the other hand, those acquiring wealth wanted land for prestige, power and a hedge against inflation. Land in Cornwall had the added advantage that it might be of infinitely greater value for the minerals under the ground than for its agricultural harvests. Map No. 10 indicates some of the estates developed in Cornwall during this period.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also saw the emergence of an intermediary social class, between the great landowners and the dispossessed peasants who worked for them. Small landholders, yeomen and tenants with more fortunate leases, came to form another class of people on the land. In the latter part of the sixteenth century, when the Duchy was absorbed in the Crown, some tenants received more favourable treatment and a small percentage of the population was able to improve its standard of living. Carew, writing in 1602, refers to husbandmen who had previously lived in houses without flooring, glass windows or chimneys, who were now much better accommodated and their agriculture was more efficient.[10] A middle class ideology, which copied English ways and eschewed Cornish custom, evolved with these more prosperous small farmers.[11]

But changes in land ownership did more than make land available for the emerging bourgeoisie to purchase and use. It also released a wage-labour force to work on that land. A change in ownership of land could mean a peasant was dispossessed, especially with the enclosure of both private and

commonlands; or that he had his lease renewed (with shorter leases and/or higher rents as inflation proceeded); or that he was unemployed (as monastic servants were dismissed and feudal retainers no longer employed). The lower levels of society suffered most from these changes, and it is small wonder that the recorded actions of the majority can be interpreted as "the inarticulate conservatism of the many"[12] by later generations. Rowse has rather unsympathetically observed that "any sort of change alarmed the idiot people no less".[13]

Throughout this period, then, there was a re-allocation of the resources of the land, which were now becoming far less accessible to the majority of the population than in feudal times. Dobb shows how this process of dispossessing the peasant led to the transference of wealth into the hands of the few:

> The so-called primitive accumulation...is nothing else than the historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production...The expropriation of the agricultural producer, of the peasant, from the soil is the basis of the whole process.[14]

The system of feudal tenures was finally abolished in 1646. The peasant was deprived of his historic place on the land when he was released from his feudal bonds; as a result he was thus separated from his means of production and could only hire out his labour to survive.[15] The consequences of this social revolution have been described as:

> A massive redistribution of income in favour of the landed class, a redistribution which in the final analysis was as much at the expense of the agricultural wage earner and consumer as of the tenant farmer."[16]

The new owners of the land during this period now began to evolve new farming techniques. The technological skills which were revelant to agriculture within the feudal mode of production were no longer valid once capital began to play a larger role in Cornish agriculture.

In much of England, throughout this period, the enclosure movement was the means whereby the land was emptied of peasants and made available for improved farming methods. Cornwall was less affected because of the large amount of land already enclosed, and the large amount still in waste.[17] However, Carew had noted in 1602 : "But since the ground began to receive enclosure and dressing for tillage, the nature of the soil hath altered to a better grain."[18] There is some evidence in the records of people being driven off the land by enclosure. Sometimes the land enclosed was the commonland where the poor and even the townsfolk had previously been able to supplement their subsistence livelihood by using the commons for grazing, wood collecting, rabbit snaring and other activities.[19]

Agricultural improvements were undertaken to increase productivity and so meet the demand for food which came from so many people being forced off the land and now seeking a living in the towns. But Cornwall lagged behind England as a whole and many innovations were not practised there until the seventeenth century. Rises in the price of corn and a decline in the tin trade in the late seventeenth century helped to induce a number of improvements; burning the peaty soils, fertilising with seaweed and sand, all contributed to increased yields. Cornwall was gradually enabled to produce a surplus and became a corn exporter rather than a corn importer.

These improvements did not necessarily mean an improved standard of living for those permitted to remain on the land, and certainly not for those evicted. Landowners and capitalist farmers, those who could afford the costs of changes and the risks of innovations, were producing for the market and the increased profits attainable through exchange activity. The benefits did not accrue to the majority of rural dwellers. The result was that the old class of gentry and the rising bourgeoisie of merchants,

lawyers, and mine owners grew wealthy from their enterprises. With their wealth (capital) they were able to purchase the dispossession of an increasing majority of Cornish producers who eventurally became a proletariat of wage earners on the farms, in the mines, and in the fishing boats.

III.3 Tin Mining

During the two and a half centuries up to 1750, tin production continued at levels similar to earlier centuries, although alluvial deposits were gradually exhausted. But, sufficient improvements and innovations - the result of increased capital investment - in the methods of working, draining and ventilating deep mines permitted the exploitation of deeper mineral veins by the eighteenth century. Savery's 'fire engine' in 1698 was the first imperfect engine to expedite this development; it was used at Wheal Vor in 1716. Newcomen's 'atmospheric engines', from the 1730's, were more successful in draining underground levels. The work of Cornish engineers, Trevithick, Hornblower, Woolf and others in improving these machines was what made them really serviceable and enabled the mines to be extended. These changes inevitably affected the ownership of the mines, and units of production grew in size; [20] increasingly, as a consequence of such change the free miners were alienated from the source of production.[21]

The Stannary Parliament, which ruled the industry, had already allowed inequalities to develop among the independent producers and had not safeguarded the small producers in the way other medieval guilds had. The Stannators were generally land owners, more interested in ensuring their own privileges than securing the economic well-being of the miners. As a

result the individual producing-tinner was unprotected and at the mercy of the tin dealers who were often the smelterers and thus came to operate a buying monopoly.

At all stages of mining production there was a succession of people who benefitted from the labours of the producers. First, at the source of production, were the landowners. The 'landlord's dish' was a percentage paid to the owner of the land. This varied according to the fortunes of the industry; in the eighteenth century, for example, it was just over six per cent.

Mine owners were often the landowners, but gradually, merchants replaced the established gentry in both capacities.[22] In 1639 the largest amounts of tin were coined by four established landowning families, chief of whom was Godolphin, who had owned a large area of West Cornwall since before the fifteenth century. In 1663 the amounts of tin coined by each owner were greater, but Gregor, a merchant of Truro, eclipsed Godolphin. Another Truro merchant was the third largest producer. By 1684 merchants from Penryn, Truro and Lostwithiel coined much more tin than Godolphin and Edgcumbe, the largest producers from the local aristocracy. An increase in the production of tin, from the latter half of the seventeenth century when some technical problems of deep mining were overcome, accompanied this change in ownership.[23] By the mid-eighteenth century concentration of ownership and expansion of production had come to characterise (see Graph No. 2) tin mining throughout the county.

The legal profession was another group which siphoned off some of the surplus product of the tin miners.[24] Ezekial Grose, a lawyer, was able to pass to the landowning class and his daughter took sixteen manors as her dowry when she married into another landed family, the Bullers.

The consolidation of the wealth of the two families ensured their future prosperity. The lawyers interpreted the increasingly complex Stannary laws to illiterate miners and made fortunes for themselves in the process.

Usurers were a further group to benefit from the miners' need. As in the previous period the individual, small producer continued to encounter real hardship in having to wait to sell his tin at the two coinage days each year. The coinage town might be miles from his works and he could ill-afford the costs and the days of idleness involved in travel. Gradually, more coinage days each year were sanctioned by the Crown, the beneficiary, but the administrative infrastructure always lagged behind the producers' convenience. To tide him over the long periods when he was without income, the small producer had to resort to borrowing - not unexpectedly loans were available at high costs. Hill explains how this process functioned:

> The Cornish Stannaries offer a classic example of exploitation by credit. The labourer borrowed money and goods, pledging in return the tin when it was produced. Capitalists bought up the tin in advance for £15 - 16 per cwt. reselling it to the pewterers at £20 - 30 cwt.: the rewards of waiting. This ultimately undermined the position of the free tinners and brought the industry under the control of the big capitalists.[25]

The smelterers were often the usurers who were willing to lend 'subsist' to the free tinners who could not wait until the next stamping.[26] For this service they charged an interest rate which could be as high as eighty to ninety per cent. Also, as the buyers of the small producers' tin, for the next stage of processing, they enjoyed a position with monopoly control over the market at this level.

The merchants who bought the refined tin from the smelterers were, until 1650, mostly Londoners.[27] The removal of the London pewterers' buying monopoly from 1650 to 1660 during the Commonwealth, enabled prices to rise considerably and Cornish storekeepers and smelterers started to deal on

their own account. Local merchant capital was given an opportunity, during the Commonwealth, to play a larger role in the tin mining industry, and a short-lived measure of prosperity affected all levels of society in Cornwall as wages doubled. At this time Cornish society could be clearly seen to be developing along more stratified lines and an indigenous upper class was taking control. However, the effect of a local bourgeoisie having greater influence, in the long run, made little difference to the miners.

The Cornish producers were forced to increasingly give up their status as independent free miners working their own bounding, and become wage labourers. Debt was the agent which brought about this change. Some became 'tributers' and still depended for their wage on the quality of the ore veins they followed with pick and shovel.[28] Others as 'tut workers'[29] were mere labourers, totally dependent on the mine owning 'adventurers'.[30] Sixteenth century inflation brought greater price rises in materials needed in the mines than in the price of tin, therefore the miners who still provided their own working equipment were the ones to bear this cost. Again, economic conditions were harsh at the end of the seventeenth century, with the re-introduction of Royal pre-emption (the right to buy before others) and coinage taxes causing prices received by the tinners to halve, so that even surviving, free tinners abandoned mining for agriculture, after 1660 at the Restoration. But the wages the miners worked for were already low by any standards; in 1586 they earned £3 a year and this was to rise to £6 a year by 1728.[31] The brief respite from 1650 to 1660, the Commonwealth years, when the Cornish Stannaries had enjoyed considerable prosperity, was soon over. The ensuing poverty forced them to buy necessities on a system of 'truck' or 'subsist' from the merchants.[32] Lewis highlights the hardships which the Cornish tinner came to endure:-

> Many families never saw meat save on rare occasions when they could carry off diseased sheep, or cattle that had died in the fields. In winter their ordinary food was potatoes and barley bread, with gruel thickened with barley meal; in summer barley bread and milk, and even little of that. The series of lean years [after the Restoration in 1660] in the Stannaries had reduced their strength, yet when they did find work they were forced by their employers to labour night and day.

The Cornish miners on the whole preferred the illusory freedom of the trubute system rather than accept the wage system and attempt to make it work for them through unified action. Herein lay the roots of some of their problems in the following period of industrial capitalism when they became a super-exploited labour force, even compared with other miners of the time.

So harsh had the economic situation become that the miners protested in 1697, with their 'Tinners' Grievances', against the conditions they were forced to endure. But instead of carrying their protest across the Tamar, as they had in the past, they now rioted in the Stannary towns and ports where they felt the cause of their problems lay - in the taxes extracted in the Stannary towns and in the exports of unelaborated tin and foodstuffs from the ports.[33]

The control over the tin mining industry which merchant capital acquired during this period laid the ground for the even greater control and exploitation of the land and resources of Cornwall that the next period of industrial capital was to bring.[34] The prosperity, or otherwise, of the industry was conditioned by external factors dictated by London whence much of the capital came. The centre, as the market for the raw materials and source of capital, increasingly determined conditions in the producing periphery. The miners, as the producers, were forced by economic circumstances to accept a changed place in society as a growing proletariat, from the beginning of the eighteenth century.

III. 4 Fishing

Merchant capital gradually insinuated itself into the fishing industry during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It came to possess the boats, nets and cellars used in the industry. Something of an older system of production lasted for a time in the way in which the fishermen were paid, however, the catch was divided into 'shares' according to established custom,[35] but the payment of money wages was becoming more common by the end of this period.[36]

One section of the fishing fleet proved itself more easily adaptable to capitalist development - this was the seining fleet. Seining was a labour intensive method of fishing which had been practised on a community basis. When the bay was alive with the streaks of silver of a pilchard shoal, a long net dragged by several boats encircled it and the fish were hauled ashore by many hands from the beach. The large haul encouraged economies of scale and a division of labour. But it also made the investment of capital by local merchants profitable, especially as there were markets to be supplied in the Mediterranean and in England. Moreover the larger boats needed to transport the fish to the overseas market called for a larger capital investment than the working fisherman could supply.

An important effect of the merchants' gradual control of the fisheries was felt by the local inhabitants, as consumers. They had for long been accustomed to buying fish from the boats' side as a valuable protein addition to their diet,[37] but as the overseas' market drove up the price at home, local consumers were deprived of a food item which had been previously available in plenty.

The merchants were able to undermine the other sector of the fishery

the drifters - by using their political power in London. The drift fishery had remained for longer in the hands of the working fishermen. It was a year round industry, and caught a variety of fish for local consumption. However, the merchants claimed that the drifters broke up the shoals of fish on which their large hauls depended.

The Restoration Parliament of 1662 took specific action when it legislated against the "growing evils caused by driving nets". It prohibited the use of drift, trammel or stream nets within one and a half leagues of the coast of Devon and Cornwall from June 1st to November 30th every year. These are precisely the months when the pilchard shoals commonly congregate on the coasts. Parliamentary legislation, in support of the merchants, gave a bounty of twelve shillings for each cask of fish exported. On the other hand, the tax on salt hurt the consumer comparatively more than the exporting merchant. By using their political power to manipulate the legislation in their favour the merchants, by the eighteenth century, had control in much of the drift fishery as well as in the seining fleets.

As the fishing industry underwent these changes in ownership and structure, changes, too, affected the ports which were used. The smaller ports set in sandy coves such as Gorran and St. Keverne were not adequate for the export trade and declined but the larger harbours, with quays, such as St. Ives, Looe, Fowey, Falmouth and those of Mount's Bay, grew.[38]

III. 5 The Growth of Towns

Towns began to achieve real status in Cornwall later than in other parts of England - in the sixteenth century. The towns were the centres of small commodity production - industries which had formerly been located in the countryside where geographical factors had determined their location.

The rural dweller was seriously affected by this withdrawal of opportunity from the countryside and was, thus, also drawn to the urban centres.[39]

In the towns, capital began to penetrate production and workers became domestic craftsmen working for a merchant who supplied the raw materials. The making of cloth, the manufacture of pewter, the crafting of leather, and the weaving of rushes were all industries in Cornish towns which came into the control of the merchant capitalist during the sixteenth century. The merchant had a broader knowledge of the market than the local inhabitants and his capital also gave him greater power to manipulate the market in this favour. But it is important to note that the method of production was not radically altered in this 'putting out' system from that of earlier times.

Throughout this period, as has been seen, merchants, moneylenders and mine owners were accumulating capital from the Cornish ports, the fishing industry, and from the tin mines. This capital was used to harness the labour of the dispossessed from the land, from the mines and from the boats, to work in small industries in the towns. Dobb describes the specific role of this class of entrepreneur:

> Men of capital, however acquisitive, are not enough: their capital must be used to yoke labour to the creation of surplus-value in production.[40]

Many of the Cornish towns granted charters were ports. The 'Sea dogs' and merchants who grew to wealth and influence from the reign of Elizabeth I developed ports around their enterprises. The Treffrys dominated Fowey, for example; the notorious Killigrews developed Falmouth and rose through piracy, diplomatic double dealing and collecting dues from a light-house at The Lizard. The rise to respectability of such merchants is seen in their alliance and increasing financial support from London merchants.

This unity arose from shared class interests between merchants in Cornwall and in London. It is also an indication of the importance attributed by London as the centre of national trade to Cornwall, an important periphery.

The victualling of ships at Cornish ports, the last port-of-call before the Atlantic crossing, increased as England's trade and overseas empire was extended in this period, especially in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Generally the pattern of Cornwall's trade was with the countries of the north-western seaboard of Europe, a continued link reminiscent of Celtic days. Salt, wine and vinegar were imported from France, iron and timber from Spain and tallow from Ireland. Pilchards were exported to the Catholic countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea. Sea coal came from North-East England for smelting tin which was then exported.

III. 6 The Process of Cultural Incorporation

"But a man without his tongue shall lose his land" [41]

The changes in the economic life of Cornwall were paralleled by changes in social and cultural life. The response of the Cornish to these changes in the early part of this period was one of strong protest.

The Catholic Church in Tudor Cornwall had had a strong hold on the people, despite all the changes it had undergone in previous centuries. It occupied a central place in Cornish village life, with feast days, gwary miracle plays and the warmth of the ritual service. Services were partly in Cornish, partly in Latin, which, whether understood or not, represented tradition and a known order to life. The Reformation threatened these known customs and values.

The Western Rebellion of 1549 was the Cornish response. In a

movement of the masses, the Cornish marched eastward. The aristocracy did not initiate the rising and only a few joined in, notably the Catholic Arundell family. Unemployment and disorganisation had followed in the wake of the Dissolution of the Monasteries and the redistribution of the lands had left many, at least temporarily bereft, as the rise in the Poor Law indicates. The fact that wheat had quadrupled in price between 1547 and 1549 also suggests the strong probability that agrarian and economic issues accompanied the religious and cultural protests of the Cornish to Exeter in 1549.

The Western Rebellion was savagely repressed, as the Norfolk Rising in the same year had been.[43] The centralising forces of the nation state were triumphant and this was the last time the Cornish rose in arms against the power of the English state.

England was reasserting itself after defeats in France had left it with no territories there. Hill sees the Reformation as part of this process: "a refusal to submit to dictation from outside".[44] And it can also be seen as a determination by a central authority to subordinate internal differences to the needs of an absolutist monarchy. Wales, Scotland and Ireland had not yet been included in the English Crown. Cornwall was still a distinct cultural area and the only part of sixteenth century England which was not English-speaking. Hechter sees a colonising attitude on the part of the English central state towards its Celtic peripheries. The two cultures must merge into a cultural system which commands the loyalty of all - the cultural system of the central power.[45] This assertion is valid for Cornwall at this period in its relationship with England and the savage repression of the Western Rebellion can be seen as a clear manifestation of it.

The Established Church henceforth lost its popular support in Cornwall. No concessions had been made to the Cornish in publishing a Prayer Book in their language, as was done in Wales. At the end of this period - by 1740 - John Wesley was beginning his rides in the county and many answered his call with the fervency of those to whom all other opportunities of cultural expression had been lost.

The demands of the Cornish rebels at Exeter in 1549 had anticipated those of the Levellers and similar groups in the following century.[46] There had been elements of class consciousness and class antagonism in their demands. But they were silenced by the denial of the validity of their language and by the repressive economic and political measures enacted against them.

In the seventeenth century, groups from the Fifth Monarchists to the Levellers had representative followings in Cornwall. The tin miners were a potentially radical sector of the population. But, as it turned out, the Cromwellian Revolution, instead of liberating them, led them into the control of the emerging local elite, which temporarily triumphed over the previously dominant London interests.

This local elite, as the dominant social group, was an important element in leading the Cornish away from their own cultural heritage. It was understood that the Cornish had to become anglicised to progress in economic and social fields, but by copying English customs and language they devalued their own culture. The slow death of the Cornish language had begun with the Saxon Conquest and proceeded rapidly in this period of the development of merchant capital. The eroding of local cultural values which occurs in the present day 'underdeveloped world' is disconcertingly similar to the process which Cornwall has undergone

throughout its history.[47]

John Norden, writing in 1584, sensed the underlying feelings of the Cornish people of the time. He wrote:

> So seem they yet to retayne a kinde of conceyled enuye agaynste the Englishe, whome they yet affecte with a desire of reuenge for their fathers sakes, by whome their fathers recuyued the repulse.[48]

The attitudes prevalent at this time of the cultural colonisation of Cornwall by England can be deciphered in the words of William Scawen, a contemporary observer, at the end of the seventeenth century. The poor, he noted, speak Cornish but "they are laughed at by the rich that understand it not".[49] He attributed the decay of the language to the disappearance of the gwary miracles and the lack of a Prayer Book in Cornish. The use of Cornish in Church had been its last official recognition, while the use of the English Prayer Book promoted the spread of the English language.[50]

It fell to members of the bourgeoisie to save from total extinction the language which their class as a whole had destroyed. Nicholas Boson, a merchant of Newlyn, was one who sought to create stories in Cornish, as already Cornish manuscripts had become scarce. His parents had brought him up in ignorance of Cornish, "the reason I conceive to be a nicety of my mother's forbidding the servants and neighbours to talk to me otherwise than in English."[51]

III. 7 Conclusion

Merchant capitalists in the period from 1500 - 1750 grew in wealth and power in Cornwall, as in the rest of England. The merchants - both Cornish and English - brought Cornwall into the sphere of English economic development, as a useful periphery providing tin, fish, harbours and even, at times, corn. The land, mines and fisheries were appropriated by these

merchants as the mode of production changed from the earlier feudal structure to one in which merchant capital dominated. The society became stratified as a local bourgeoisie emerged and the majority of the Cornish were dispossessed from their means of production. The formation of a proletariat was thus begun. The people were alienated from their culture as the Church and language were altered to fit an English mould. Hence, from this period onwards class became more significant than 'ethnicity' for the Cornish people.[52]

By the end of this period in which mercantile capital was the dominating force in Cornish development, the landscape had been modified to fit new needs. In the previous period with a feudal development of society, the Cornish had moulded the landscape to suit the particular requirements of that formation. Now the demands of growing merchant trade required new patterns of development.

The burgeoning commerce of the period had to be accommodated. Towns grew, but none more than the coastal ports which combined facilities for the traditional fishing industry with newer commercial and industrial buildings. Cellars in which to pack the fish for export lined the harbour front, behind the recently constructed quays and harbour walls. Roads, though acknowledged among the worst in Britain, crossed the length and breadth of the peninsula and stone bridges had to be constructed to carry them over streams and marshy inlets. The castles of St. Mawes and Pendennis still stand guard on either side of the Fal estuary.

A few buildings remain in Cornish towns to testify to their commercial and industrial functions in this period, but in the countryside there remains greater evidence of the wealth that was won from all this activity. The mansions built with the accumulation of capital by the

merchants of the period are still the most elegant buildings in the county.

On the land, many of the hedges necessary to enclose it for individual ownership had already been constructed in the previous period. Cornwall underwent nothing like the sixteenth century enclosure movement of Eastern England. Neither was the moorland boundary attacked as drastically as it had been earlier and over half the county remained uncultivated till 1800. The dwindling woods of Cornwall were required for fuel, especially for smelting tin.

Tin mining in this period was still largely alluvial so the areas around the granite masses which were being worked must have extended further and further as rock and soil were excavated for the valuable mineral. By the end of the period, pumping machinery was being experimented with to make the mining of deeper ores feasible. Mine buildings to house this machinery added a new element to the Cornish landscape: one which was to proliferate in the subsequent period of industrial capitalism. The degree of incorporation of Cornwall into England in this period of merchant capital was but the prelude to the total incorporation which was to take place in the next period when industrial capital took control - the subject of Chapter Four.

CORNWALL IN THE AGE OF MERCANTILE CAPITALISM

FOOTNOTES-CHAPTER THREE

1. Hilton.R., The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism,(Verso, London, 1976, 1978)
The decline of feudalism had its roots deep in the Middle Ages. In Cornwall the way in which Stannary legislation permitted the entrance of capital into free mining was one example. Another was the early commutation of labour rents for money rents on the institutionalised holdings of the Duchy and Church, and those of absentee landlords. Trade was always important to Cornwall with its dissolving effect on the society.
Prince.H., "About half Marx for the transition from feudalism to capitalism." Area Volume 11 Number 1, (1979) pp.47 - 50.
"Geographically, the places from which feudalism disappeared at an early date were remote from the places where capitalism first arose." This quotation emphasises the fact that although feudalism died early in the peripheries capitalism did not there replace it as a local phenonemon. Rather capitalism had its origins in the north-west, then the Midlands,of England.

2. Dobb.M., Studies in the Development of Capitalism, (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1946, 1963) pp. 242 - 249.

3. Mandel.E., op. cit., pp. 95 - 127.

4. Hill.C., From Reformation to Industrial Revolution 1530 - 1780, (Harmondsworth, England, 1967, 1975) p. 27
"The growing economic and political dominance of London was not unwelcome to the gentry; it was viewed with more mixed feelings by the local oligarchies of merchants." But there always came a point beyond which authority could never be resisted.

5. Hechter.M., op. cit. pp. 64 - 65
"Thus, the relative weakness of Celtic ethnicity in nineteenth and twentieth century Cornwall is due, in part, to the fact that the integration of this region into the English economy had occurred prior to 1600".

6. Rowse.A.L., op. cit. pp. 45 - 46.

7. Pevsner.N., The Buildings of England, Cornwall, (Harmondsworth, England, 1951)

8. Matthews.J.H., A History of St. Ives, Lelant, Towednack and Zennor, (Eliot Stock, London, 1892)

9. Mandel.E., op. cit. p. 99
Mandel points out the process by which wealth and power move from one class to another: "But the money that the original possessing classes thus waste in extravagent luxury ends by leaving their pockets and becoming concentrated in those of usurers, traders and manufacturers. It is this concentration of wealth, in the form of money, in the hands of the new bourgeois possessing class

that completely changes social evolution."

10. Carew.R., The Survey of Cornwall, Edited by Halliday.F.E. (Adams and Dart, London, 1602, 1969.) pp. 138 - 139.

11. Hill.C., From Reformation to Revolution, (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth 1969) pp. 54 - 55

12. Coate.M., op. cit. p. 352.

13. Rowse.A.L., op. cit. p. 419

14. Dobb.M., op. cit. p. 223.

15. Mandel.E., op. cit. p. 118
"In other words the separation of the producers from their means of production creates a class of proletarians who cannot live other than by hiring out their strength, that is by selling their labour-power, to the owners of capital, which enables the latter to secure for themselves the surplus-value produced by these producers."

16. Hill.C., op. cit. (1969) p. 65

17. Darby.H.C., op. cit. p. 350.
As late as 1800, 58 percent of Cornwall lay in waste.

18. Carew.R., op. cit., p. 106.

19. Rowse.A.L., op. cit., pp. 36 - 39.

20. Prince.H., op. cit., p. 50.
The source of investment capital in the tin mines is considered by Prince and Smith to have come from plunder amassed in war or piracy rather than from profits generated in the towns.

21. Dobb.M., op. cit. pp. 247 - 248.
"By 1700 the owners of smelting houses, instead of advancing money to groups of workers, had frequently become "adventuring tinners" directly employing miners at a piece wage. Exploitation through usury was passing, and the capitalist wage-system was succeeding to its place."

22. Whetter.J., Cornwall in the Seventeenth Century, (Lodenek Press, Padstow. 1974.) p. 67.

23. Lewis.G.R., The Stannaries, (D.Bradford Barton, Truro, 1908, 1965) pp. 18 - 19.

24. Coate.M., op. cit. p. 4

25. Hill.C., op. cit. p. 91.

26. 'subsist' - an advance of money or goods in return for a pledge of the tin when produced.

27. Lewis.G.R., op. cit. pp. 223 - 222
"Up to about 1650 these [the tin merchants] had consisted for the most part of Londoners, but during the prosperous times of the Commonwealth the Cornish storekeepers, who then became more interested in the stannaries, had purchased shares in mines, or had established blowing houses of their own, and after the Restoration we find them dealing with the tinners not merely as the factors of the London merchants but as middlemen and tin exporters on their own account."
Carew.R., op. cit. p. 97
Writing prior to 1650, (that is in 1602) Carew noted the importance of London merchants: "Here I must either crave or take leave of the Londoners to lay open the hard dealing of their tin merchants in this trade."

28. 'tributers' were miners who worked for a share of the ore they produced.
Halliday.F.E., A History of Cornwall, (Duckworth, London, 1959) p. 256.
"The advantage of the tribute system to the adventurers is clear enough; they bought labour in the cheapest possible market and paid only for results, which the workers had every incentive to make as good as possible. Yet the system appealed to the tributers too; they were virtually freeminers, supplying their own tools and materials, profit-sharers rather than wage-earners, and there was always the chance that they might strike richer than they had ever dared to hope."

29. 'tut-workers' Miners paid for piece work who sunk shafts, drove tunnels and cleared the ground for the tributers. "The tribute system, in its turn, eventually yielded place to 'tut-work', under which the owner simply auctioned the working of the mine to gang-leaders for a piece-work wage, knocking it down to the lowest bidder."
Halliday.F. E., op. cit p. 256

30. 'adventurers' The name for mine owners who often held a mine in shares. The shares were usually divided into 'eighths' or 'venture shares' recalling the custom of owning shares in a merchant ship. The shares were written in a 'cost book' which was the name which the most common system of financing Cornish mines acquired.

31. Lewis.G.R., op. cit. pp. 216 - 217, p. 222.

32. ibid. p. 221

33. Jenkin,A.K.H., The Cornish Miner, (Allen and Unwin, London, 1927, 1962), pp. 149 - 154.

34. Jervis.F.R.J., The Evolution of Modern Industry, (George Harrap, London, 1960) pp. 156 - 174.
"The financial organisation of the mines developed from the 'cost-book, system of partnership working, with its attendant hazards. Joint stock companies brought the advantages of limited liability and access to larger amounts of capital."

34. Hill.C., op. cit. p. 76.
"Full freedom for capitalist joint-stock companies was assured only when governments accepted the principle of non-intervention with private property after 1688."

35. 'shares' The traditional way of dividing up a catch, by putting the fish caught in equal piles for each fisherman plus an extra one for the boat. Later the gold for which the fish was sold was similarily divided.
Jenkin.A.K.H., Cornwall and its People, (Dent, London, 1932) pp. 102 - 103.

36. Whetter.J., op. cit. p. 103.
Whetter lists the changes in the fishing industry in the seventeenth century and notes "the tendency for men who worked in both seines and drifters to be paid in money rather than a share of the catch."

37. Carew.R., op. cit. pp. 117 - 118.
Carew described the disposal of the catch: "Being so taken some, the country people, who attend with their horses and panniersat the cliff's side in great numbers, do buy and carry home; the larger remainder is by the merchants greedily and speedily seized upon."
"This commodity at first carried a very low price, and served for the inhabitants' cheapest provision, but of late times the dear sale beyond the seas hath so increased the number of takers... as the price daily extendeth to a higher rate."

38. Whetter.J., op. cit. pp. 90 - 100

39. Thirsk.J., Agrarian History of England and Wales IV 1500 - 1640, (Cambridge University Press, 1967) p. 28.
"It was an evil day for the farm workers when rural industries left the countryside and returned to the towns."

40. Dobb.M. op. cit. p. 8

41. Pryce. W., Archaeologia Cornu-Britannica, (Crutwell, Sherborne, 1790)
This is a translation of the Cornish proverb: Bes den heb tavaz a gollas e dir.

42. Hill.C., Economic History Review Volume 3 - 4 (1950-1952) pp. 138 - 139.
Hill reviews the work of V.F. Semeonov in Enclosures and Peasant Revolts in England in the Sixteenth Century where the latter emphasises the agrarian and class elements in the protests of the Western Rebellion in 1549. He considers the religious side of this rebellion to have been previously over-emphasised.
Rowse.A.L., op. cit. p. 262.

43. Cornwall.J., Revolt of the Peasantry, (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1977)

44. Hill.C., op. cit. p. 25.

45. Hechter. M., op. cit. p. 57.

46. Bindoff.S.T., Tudor England, (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1950), p. 136.

47. Fanon.F., Black Faces, White Masks, (Grove Press, N.Y., 1952, 1967) p. 18,
"Every colonised people - in other words every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its own local cultural originality - finds itself face to face with the language of the civilising nation, that is with the culture of the mother country. The colonized is elevated..,in proportion to his adoption of the mothers country's cultural standards..the goal of his behavior will be the other and the other alone can give him worth."

48. Norden.J., A Topographical and Historical Description of Cornwall, (Graham, Newcastle, 1728, 1966) p. 22.

49. Ellis.P.B., op. cit. p. 84.

50. Pounds.N., op. cit. p. 45.
Pounds takes into account other factors, as well, such as:
"The movement of people has an important bearing on the decay and eventural disappearance of the Cornish language. Cornish was spoken in parts of east Cornwall at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and also all over West Cornwall, where it remained vigorous at the end of the century."

51. Ellis.P.B., op. cit. p. 85.

52. 'ethnicity' is a new term of the 1960's and 1970's which refers to the condition of belonging to a particular ethnic group.
Glazer.D. and Moynihan.D.P., eds., Ethnicity (Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 1975) p. 1 and p. 56.
The Cornish may be considered an ethnic group based on "a distinctive identity which is rooted in some kind of a distinctive sense of its history".

CHAPTER IV : CORNWALL DURING THE ENGLISH INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

IV.1 Introduction

From the middle of the eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century, events in Cornwall echoed those further north in England where dramatic changes were remoulding the economy, society and thereby the landscape. The demands of the English Industrial Revolution for raw materials created an unprecedented market for Cornish tin and copper. The technological problems which had earlier prevented extensive exploitation of the deeply deposited mineral veins were solved with English technical innovations. During this period Cornwall fell into a position of ever increasing dependence on England for much of the technology to carry out the mining, for capital to invest in running the mines, and for markets where the unfinished product might be sold. The main Cornish input came to be the land from which the minerals were extracted, and the labour with which to extract them. Farming and fishing declined into secondary importance. Increasingly Cornwall was a monoproducer of minerals and when that economy collapsed at the end of the nineteenth century, severe social and economic disruption resulted.

Already, at the beginning of the period the Cornish language was effectively dead. "By 1768, it was claimed that only one person, the almost legendary Dolly Pentreath could still speak it."[1] The preaching of Wesley helped in the formation of the Cornish into a malleable labour force. His theological philosophy, providing an alternative to organised religion, found a receptive congregation in the Cornish, disenchanted with the Established Church and with little indigenous cultural heritage remaining. The Cornish, like the Welsh with a similar cultural history, wholeheartedly

embraced Methodism.[2]

The Cornish landscape was dramatically changed in this period of great mineral exploitation. The mine buildings, the workers' cottages and, above all, the spoil from the worked-over land and the waste from the smelters now dominated the Cornish landscape in many areas. Harvey points out how "capitalist society creates a landscape in its own image". A landscape develops which is appropriate to the demands of the production and the re-production of the capitalist system in a region.[3] This resulting inharmonious landscape is but one mark which was made by the emerging capitalist system in Cornwall.

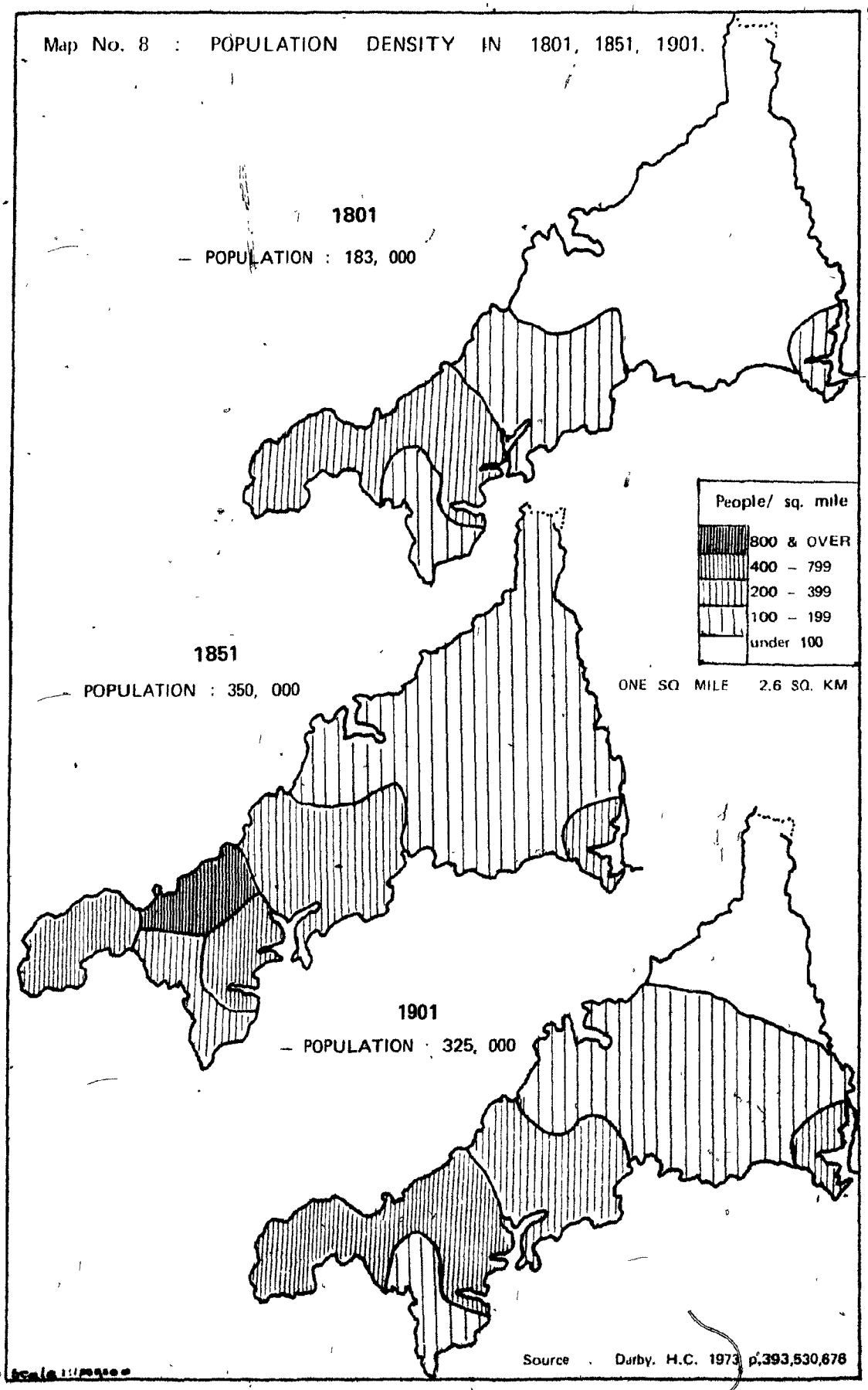
During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Cornish finally became a wage-earning, working class in the mines, farms and fishing boats. At the same time, the process of incorporating Cornwall economically and culturally into England, for which the way had been paved in the previous period of mercantile capitalism, was effectively completed.

IV. 2 Demographic and Industrial Change

The population of Cornwall numbered 135,000 in 1756. Throughout history it had been growing slowly, appropriate to the slow growth in economic production.[4] The somewhat accelerated population growth of the early eighteenth century became more pronounced during the early nineteenth century. On the other hand, Cornwall's Great Emigration from 1861 was a demographic loss from which the county did not recover until 1971. Map No. 8 shows the spatial patterns formed by the growth and decline of Cornwall's population during the nineteenth century.

During the period dealt with in this chapter, the greatest density of population was in the far west, from Redruth to Land's End. This was

Map No. 8 : POPULATION DENSITY IN 1801, 1851, 1901.



where most of the tin and much of the copper were produced. In the county as a whole a quarter of the population was engaged in mining in 1756 and this proportion increased during the first part of the next century.

The causes of the unprecedented rise in population were varied and complex. A network of interrelating circumstances dictated a changing structure of home life in a society undergoing change. A fall in the death rate was brought about by comparative improvements in the standard of living and some slight improvements in medical care. More of the young born in the towns and in the scatter of tiny cottages over the county survived to maturity, thus to take their place in the expanding work force. Moreover, the labour demands of the mining industry resulted in making larger families more attractive to help supplement the meagre wage gained by each member. Such an increased labour force could be employed in an economy which was expanding as technological innovation made it possible. Hobsbawm states that:

> If in eighteenth century England a growing labour force assisted development, as it undoubtedly did, it was because the economy was already dynamic, not because some extraneous demographic injection made it so."[5]

The English Industrial Revolution did not bring to Cornwall the factory system or the full horrors of the industrial slums of the north. Nonetheless, in the mines any degree of assistance given by machinery was more than offset by the system imposing its new non-human schedules of arduous or monotonous work. The capital which was available for investment to extend the workings in the mines, sought its own rewards in increased output and profits rather than in improved working conditions for the work-force.[6] The suffocating heat was not adequately counter-balanced by improved ventilation in the new depths to which the mines were worked. It was many years before the killing climbs up hundreds of feet of ladders,

from the working face to 'grass' above, were replaced by 'man-engines' to transport the miners.[7] The time-proven picks and shovels wielded by an expanding labour force continued to be responsible for the increased ore production.

The principal use for new machinery was in drainage; the impervious granite and metamorphic rocks streamed with water in all Cornish mines. Machines also ventilated the mines just enough to allow for the proliferation of working places, and to lift the ore to the surface. The demographic pressure of the nineteenth century ensured that even the harshest demands of capital had to be accepted with little demur. Not only in the mines, but on the farms and in the fishing boats of Cornwall, the independent producers in each industry had been deprived over the centuries of control over the means of production. Now competition among a growing labour force kept the owners of capital in a strong position with wages at a minimum and working conditions harsh.

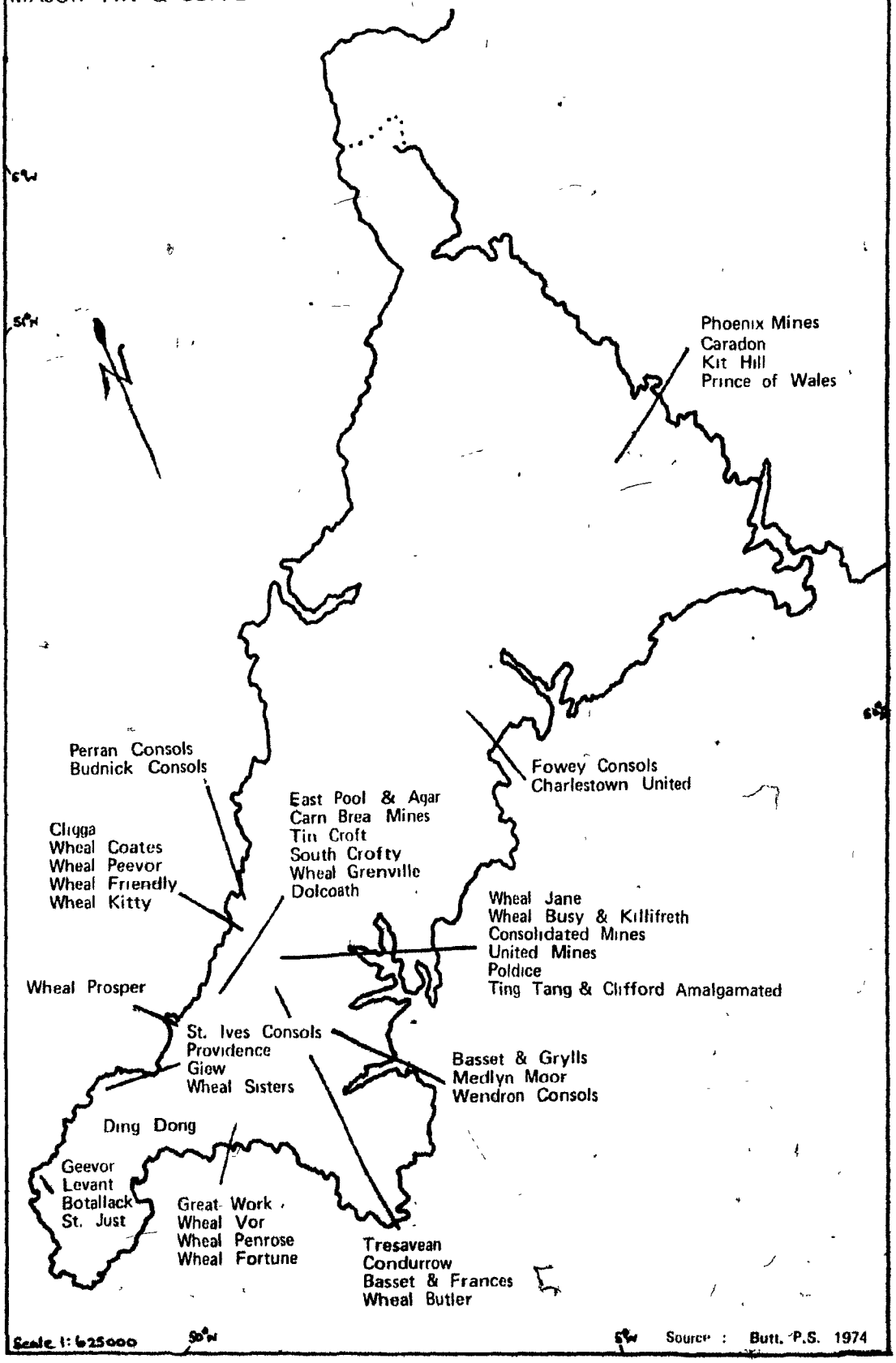
Mining became the dominant focus of economic, social and cultural activity in the county during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Food was more easily moved than previously with improved transportation, and farming could therefore be permitted to lag if the demand for minerals was buoyant. The fishing industry grew until outside competition and a diminishing supply of fish caused it to collapse, like mining, around the turn of the twentieth century.

IV. 3 Tin and Copper Mining

For centuries Cornwall had been the largest European producer of tin. It was Cornish copper, however, which in the nineteenth century was the mineral most needed by England. Tin and copper mining spread over much

Map No. 9 :

MAJOR TIN & COPPER MINES IN CORNWALL IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY



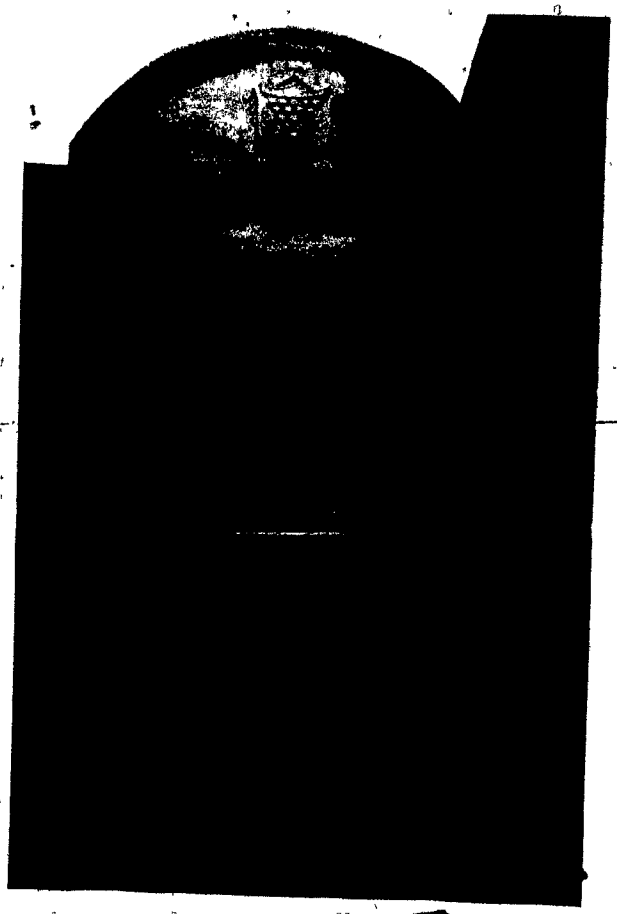
Source : Butt. P.S. 1974

the same areas and in many mines the two ores succeeded one another in depth. The conditions mining imposed on the labour force,[8] the technology which worked the ores were the same, and equivalent fortunes were made by mine-owners from either mineral. The Williams family made its fortunes from the coppermines at Gwennap, while not five miles away the Bassets reaped wealth from the tin ores of Dolcoath. Each was exported in an unelaborated state.[9] Map No. 9 indicates some of the major tin and copper mines in Cornwall in the nineteenth century and their proliferation in the western half of the county is striking. Important copper mines lay close to the Tamar boundary with Devonshire, as well.

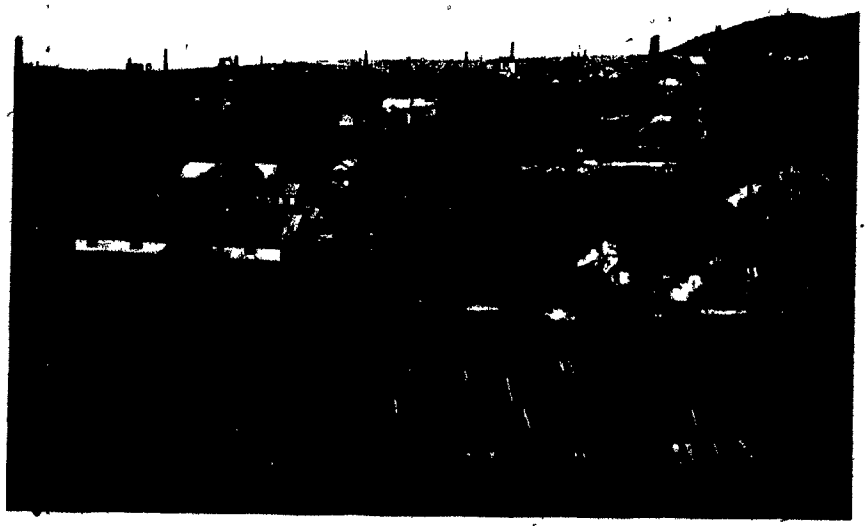
The last Stannary Parliament legislating the tin mining industry, held in 1750, stands as the symbol of an already outdated organisation, since the free miners it had once legislated no longer existed. The final Parliament tried in vain only to protect the mine owners against the large, speculative tin smelting interests. The growing copper industry never had come under its jurisdiction and for the working miner, whether in tin or copper mine, it had nothing.

Mine Ownership: Throughout the nineteenth century the old landowning class, including the Duchy, played a less and less important role in the mining industry, while still, nevertheless, collecting the lord's dish. The Duchy's comparative importance declined as it was seen to be placing a dead hand on development, as the more dynamic forces in society thrived. In 1838 the tin coinage was abolished and thenceforth the Duchy received only a landlord's share of the production from its estates.

On the other hand, the merchants who had risen to wealth and influence in the previous period were now well placed to increase their fortunes.[10] The Treffry family of Fowey, for example, purchased and



The nineteenth century Mining Exchange in Redruth, the most important mining centre. In the twentieth century the building has become the Cattle Market Exchange, which in 1980 still functions, but with decreasing importance.



The intensity of the mining-industrial complex which operated in much of nineteenth century Cornwall is well illustrated in this contemporary photograph taken of the mines on the north side of Carn Brea, near Redruth, in 1895.

consolidated Fowey Consols in the early nineteenth century, under the current family name of Austen. "As deep as Dolcoath", a Cornish simile, describes the mine from which the Basset family, who owned the dominating interest, enlarged its fortune sufficiently to win its knighthood title of de Dunstanville in the late eighteenth century.

A new group now began to enter the ranks of the bourgeoisie in this period of the expansion of mineral resource exploitation. Mine captains, pursers and engineers with enterprise and good fortune could pass into the upper echelons of society on the basis of their skills in the industry.[11] The Williams family began their rise thanks to the efforts of John Williams, who, in 1748, was mine manager for William Lemon. His success in constructing the County Adit enabled the mines throughout a considerable area of central Cornwall to be drained. By the mid-nineteenth century, the family had advanced sufficiently to own Consolidated Mines at Gwennap, the largest copper mining complex in Cornwall, to have moved to Caerhayes Castle, and to have purchased the Four Burrow Hunt - to indicate only some of their economic and social interests.

The mine owners extended their interests beyond economic affairs to political and social fields. They played a dominant role in the social relations of the county; for example, Justices of the Peace were drawn from the rising middle class, who tended to administer the law to their own advantage. An example of such class influence occurred when Lord Kinnard's proposal for the inspection of mines was dropped under protest from the mineowners even after the Mines Commission of 1864 had exposed the dreadful working conditions in the mines.[12] Until the reforms of 1832, Cornwall's political scene, dominated by rotten boroughs, was to provide some of the worst examples of corruption in England.[13]

Finance: During the nineteenth century, the demand for capital became greater as expensive steam engines and pumping equipment began to exploit the deeper ores. Cornish sources of investment were clearly not sufficient and English capital was employed in increasing amounts. London connections still predominated in the financial field, but the Midlands was also drawn in, especially with Boulton and Watt's involvement in the provision of pumping engines.

Local banks grew up in close connection with the mining industry as the volume and complications of financial transactions developed. One such, Elliott and Praed, outgrew its Cornish roots by 1801 and moved to London where it prospered and expanded. By 1800, five banks, two from Truro, one each from Helston, Bodmin and Penzance held substantial interests in Cornish mining companies, taking an active part in their management and financing.[14] The country banks facilitated business, printed notes or issued tokens and provided finance, and could draw on their personal, local connections. Pressnell summarises their importance: "Clearly, ..., the English country banks lay close to the foundations of recent [i.e. nineteenth century] economic development."[15]

The 'cost-book' system of partnership working, which the mines used, had the advantage that it could draw on the small resources of a wide number of adventurers to open a mine.[16] So despite other disadvantages of the system, most Cornish mines operated with it until 1862. Thereafter, an increasing number of mines worked as limited companies.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century investment in Cornish mines, especially copper mines, became an ever more speculative affair. Growing competition from overseas' ores in Malaya and Bolivia (tin), Chile and Cuba (copper), together with impoverished local deposits encouraged a

gambling spirit among investors and brokers and false shares were even traded on the London Stock Exchange. Part of the dramatic and widespread collapse of the copper mining industry from 1866 can, in fact, be attributed to these dishonest financial dealings.[17]

Mechanisation: The installation in mines of Boulton and Watt's steam engines gave new life to the Cornish mining industry after 1778, when the first one was installed at Ting Tang.[18] But such mechanisation, with the increased capital investment it called for, had significant social consequences; most important it brought about a greater stratification of the mining work force. The industrial capitalists now had more extensive power than the merchants of the previous period, whose hegemony had still left areas for autonomous action by the working class.[19] Mechanisation called for a certain number of skilled technicians to run, maintain and improve the machines on the one hand.[20] One such person was William West, a local, self-educated engineer, whose skills kept the machinery at Fowey Consols Mines operating at top efficiency, achieving in 1835 the highest rates of duty recorded at the time. He was but one of many innovators working in Cornwall: Sir Humphrey Davey, the inventor of the safety lamp was a Cornish chemist; Richard Trevithick, who developed the first steam train in 1801 was likewise Cornish. On the other, it enabled capitalists to benefit from the low costs of a much greater number of unskilled workers and child labour.[21] As a result an increasing gap separated the working miner from involvement in decision making, and from the opportunity to control his hours and conditions of work. New elites emerged, comprising adventurers owning capital, pursers with managerial skills or 'captains' with technical skills.[22]

Miners: The Cornish miner throughout the nineteenth century endured harsh working conditions and a low standard of living. In addition, the miners' apparent preference for the Cornish system of tribute and tut-, or piece-working added to the contradictions and inhumanities of the capitalist system of wage labour, in conditions where there was always a worker surplus. As a result, in negotiating his wage, the miner was more often engaged in competitive bargaining against his fellow workers than in bargaining collectively with them against the mineowners. In such a situation only the capitalist employer stood to gain.

Industrial protest was more muted in Cornwall than in the rest of Britain and the first and only significant industrial strike was at Balleswidden in 1857, on the eve of the death of the mining industry.[23] The miners, like other industrial workers, had not begun to understand the broad nature of the problems which affected them as a class. In the early industrial period they only saw problems as they affected themselves individually, their immediate working partners or 'pare', and only rarely their industry as a whole.[24]

The brutal nature of a miner's life was brought out in the Report of the Commissioners of Mines of 1864 by Dr. Barham, a Cornish physician; the bad air and resulting silicosis; the exertion and danger in descending thousands of feet to, or ascending from, the face, whether by ladder or man-engine;[25] the change in temperature from 38°C at the face, to the brisk gales of 10°C on the open moors above. The sheer physical hardships and exertion, let alone accidents, involved in his daily work, took a severe toll in shortening the miner's life-span, even when compared with farm-labourers, the lowest paid wage earners.[26] For both men and women the average age of death fell drastically in some parishes between the turn of

NINETEENTH CENTURY MINING

Halsetown was a planned mining village built in 1830, based on the tradition, widespread in the county, of the miner having access to some small amount of land. The miners could be paid minimal wages and their family still survive with a cottage, an acre, a pig and the hire of a cow. The mining industry thereby largely freed itself from the costs of reproduction. Halse, a merchant from nearby St. Ives, conceived this settlement, and by making the residents copyholders ensured his election to Westminster. In the twentieth century all these cottages fell into ruins. The 1970's have seen them restored, enlarged and improved to form one of Cornwall's fashionable villages.

the nineteenth century and the 1850's.

As well as having to withstand this hard labour, low wages prevented the miner from making adequate provision for his family.[27] Leifchild, a contemporary observer, saw living conditions in Cornwall in the mid-nineteenth century as extremely harsh, even when compared with the northern coalfields:

> The Cornish cottage has no 'singing hinnies' or rich girdle cakes, and the table seldom groans under a joint of meat. Potatoes and pilchards form the ordinary diet; and therefore if the potatoes are blighted, and the pilchards fail in any one season, the poor miners of Cornwall will be in danger of starvation. Ten or twelve shillings a week won't do much for them, and agricultural labour will only afford them about nine shillings a week.[28]

The problem of debt, which had originally bound some miners to wage labour in the Middle Ages, by the nineteenth century had become institutionalised into the truck system. Caught in this system the miners were obliged to buy their goods from the adventurers at inflated prices; and, until 1872, wages were paid monthly, by the calendar month, so that the miners were obliged to commit their as yet unpaid wages, in advance, in order to obtain provisions.

The Cornish miners,however, did demonstrate unity in times of direst need. When starvation threatened, terrifying groups of shabbily dressed miners marched on the market towns and ports, though rarely demanding more than bread for their starving families. Sometimes charity was bestowed on them, more often harsh violence. Always the 'riot' was repressed. Such food riots never developed into a movement for generally improved conditions; nor did they ever spread beyond one or two centres at a time.

The riots particularly focussed on the ports, Padstow, Truro, Penzance, Falmouth, where stores of grain were known to be in warehouses.

At times the grain might be for export, at times it was being imported, and sometimes it was for use in victualling ships, but it was known by the protestors to be there and not available to the local population. The miners tried to enforce their age-old and once accepted 'Laws of the Maximum', expecting to be able to buy corn at a price their wages could afford, even in times of shortage.[29] With the arrival of the special constables the best the miners ever seem to have won was some inadequate charity; the worst was hanging for the leaders, or transportation.

Solidarity, then, was not absent from the Cornish mines, even if it tended to be restricted to times of desperation, as in the food riots, or limited in scope to self-help clubs, which supported injured miners from the contributions of their fellow workers. Forms of combination need not be measured by their immediate success or failure alone, but they also have a value in the lessons they carry to posterity. Scholars are convinced that their importance lies not necessarily just in their immediate effectiveness, but also in the lessons of solidarity and class consciousness which they teach.

Nevertheless it has been noted such worker militancy was not as developed as in other parts of industrial Britain. The muted response of the Cornish miner to the conditions of exploitation which he was forced to endure has been explained away by referring to his "Celtic independence, an almost fanatical individualism."[30] The relative lack of combination among miners seems likely to have had its basis in the way the industry had evolved within the framework of a wider system of emerging capitalism. The response of the Cornish miner was more likely based in the way he was used to working in the mines, as a tributer, as a tut-worker, but based on the long-held traditions of individual free miners, which pre-dated industrial

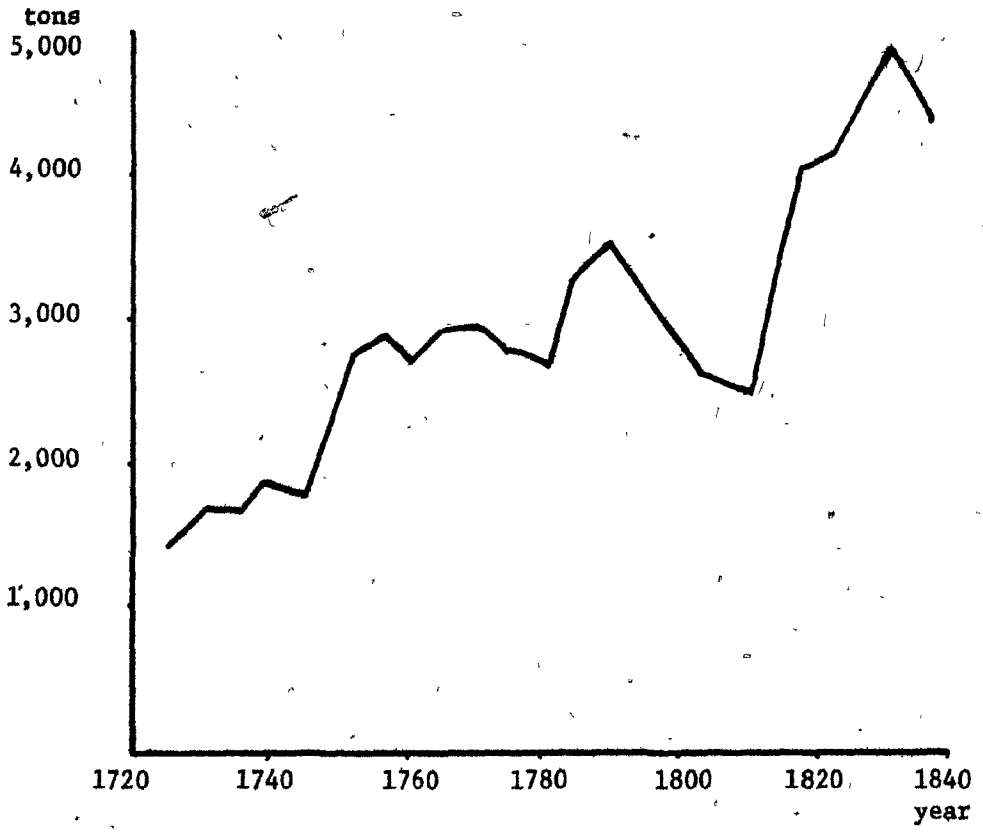
capitalism. These traditions lasted on, encouraging the miners to seek individual ways out - piece work, emigration. The teachings of Wesley further instilled the idea of personal responsibility and forebearance in the face of hardship rather than the awareness of the power of joint action. The capitalist system which was growing rapidly in this period was what dominated and moulded Cornish society. Its pressures were not based on internal priorities for Cornwall and the Cornish, but on the demands of the industrial heartland of England. The periphery was at the service of the centre. The effect of this locally was to make the miner, the basis of Cornwall's wealth, the most disdained member of society.

Production: The fluctuations in tin and copper production were reflected in the profitability of the mines and above all in the miners' wages. The balance between production supply and market demand was of course always crucial to the price of the metals; and for a time competition from other sources and from alternative materials was compensated for by a widening range of industrial uses for the metals. Graphs 2 and 3 show how production of the minerals fluctuated in this period. Copper production rose, as the mines were fully exploited, from 1801 to a peak in 1861, before going into decline while tin production showed greater fluctuations - a depression in the early 1810's the cumulative effect of the Napoleanic Wars' hindrance to trade, the depression of the 'hungry forties', the depression year of 1866, then the continuing of production at a steady level into the twentieth century. Eventually, however, the most serious problem proved to be competition from the richer, open cast deposits overseas. Copper suffered from competition with the open cast production of Parys Mountain, Anglesey at the end of the eighteenth century, which could undercut the prices of the deep, lean Cornish ore. The Anglesey supply was

GRAPH NO. 2

AVERAGE AMOUNT OF TIN COINED IN CORNWALL

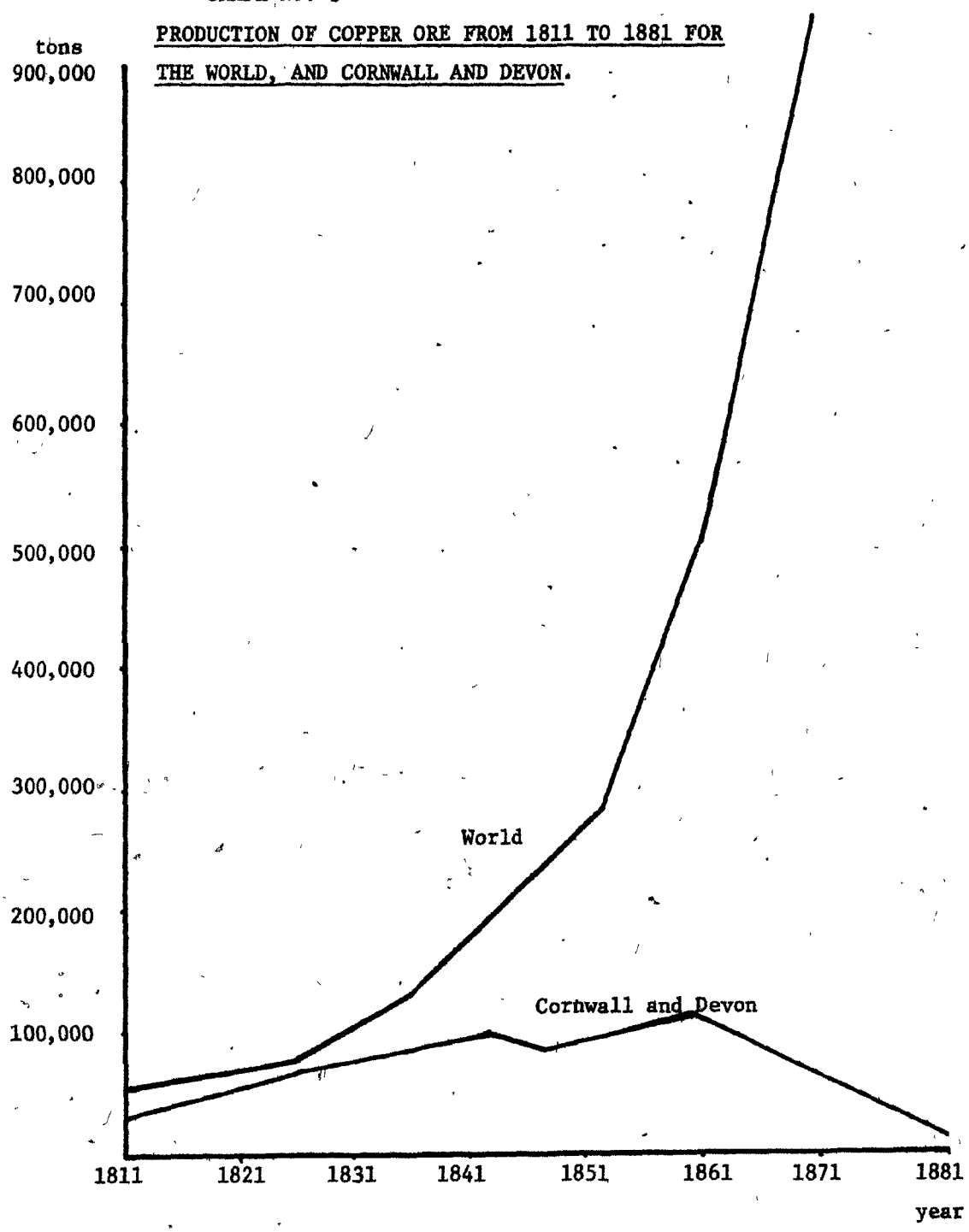
1720 - 1834



Sources: Rowe J. 1953
Lewis G.R. 1908

GRAPH NO. 3

PRODUCTION OF COPPER ORE FROM 1811 TO 1881 FOR THE WORLD, AND CORNWALL AND DEVON.



Sources: Barton D.B. 1968
Rowe J. 1953

soon exhausted, however.[31] The foreign competition proved fiercer when it came. Chile started to export copper in 1823 and Malaya, tin in 1845 - to name only the two most important competitors.

Capital was quickly diverted from Cornish mines once the richer potential overseas was known. Labour had no alternative but to follow capital, and the Great Emigration of the end of the nineteenth century was the result. The Williams family, who owned the Cornish copper mines at Gwennap in central Cornwall, already had minor interests in the Real del Monte silver mining company in Mexico. John Rule of Camborne was manager with the company for twenty years and he, and others, recruited Cornish miners,who took with them the Cornish system of mining. The Fox family of Falmouth and Williams of Truro, likewise, had interests in the Chilean Mining Association from as early as 1823 and Pasco Grenfell, a smelterer, merchant and adventurer, had investments in Cuba in 1826.[32]

IV. 4 Secondary Industry

Alternatives to emigration for Cornish workers might have lain in secondary industries, but almost all secondary industry had been connected with the servicing of the mines. Not unexpectedly, most small smelters, foundries and workshops died with the mother industry. The peaks and booms of the English centre's trade cycles were reflected, often in exaggerated form, in the periphery. The two largest plants, however, survived: Holmans of Camborne and Harveys of Hayle. The history of each illustrates a particular aspect of industrial adaptation to change. Holmans, which had been involved in the manufacture of rock drills and mining machinery from 1801, re-directed its skilled labour force to supply the needs of the overseas mining areas for tool and mining equipment, while remaining within the county. But Harveys, the makers of huge boilers and heavy machinery,

moved much of their enterprise to Liverpool when they saw the market opportunities in Cornwall declining.[33] On the whole, the Industrial Revolution had brought with it a narrowing of economic activity in the county. Cornwall now had a less varied industrial structure, and one less related to local needs than it had possessed earlier in its history.

IV. 5 Emigration

By the end of the nineteenth century the Cornish were already familiar with emigration as a solution to problems at home. It first became institutionalised when the Poor Law Commissioners offered passages to Canada in the 1830's to families who cared to apply. Each depression in the economy brought a peak in emigration. Finally, the copper slump of the 1860's, which deepened as conditions of national depression added to local problems, led to the Great Emigration. In the following decades thousands of Cornish people left their county to make new lives in the rest of Britain, or, more often in the United States, South Africa, Australia or Canada - anywhere where mining held better possibilities. Barton summarises the situation at that time:

> Those looking ahead thought it best to take their skills overseas whilst they still had wages enough to pay an emigrant's passage, an estimated 7300 miners emigrating in the first eighteen months after the 1866 crash.[34]

In leaving Cornwall, many of the miners seemed relieved to part from the homeland which had denied them so much. Todd sees their knowledge of the rest of the world, expecially of America, beckoning encouragement across the ocean.

> Some openly talked of Cornwall as a land of bondage and only desired to taste the liberty that from their own reading they presumed existed in America...Politically and socially they were already to some extent Americans before their ships left Falmouth.[35]

Cornish ethnicity had been weakened by the centuries in which they had been driven from their sources of production (the land, the mines, the sea) and from their own culture. The exploitative conditions under which they lived in the nineteenth century added a further facet to this growing alienation. The population, which had increased to over a third of a million by the 1830's, faced mass unemployment as the mines and their service industries closed.

> Here it is worth recording that between 1851 and 1891, Cornwall (which had then as it has now, a population of about a third of a million) lost over 200,000 people through emigration, three-quarters of them to mining camps overseas.[36]

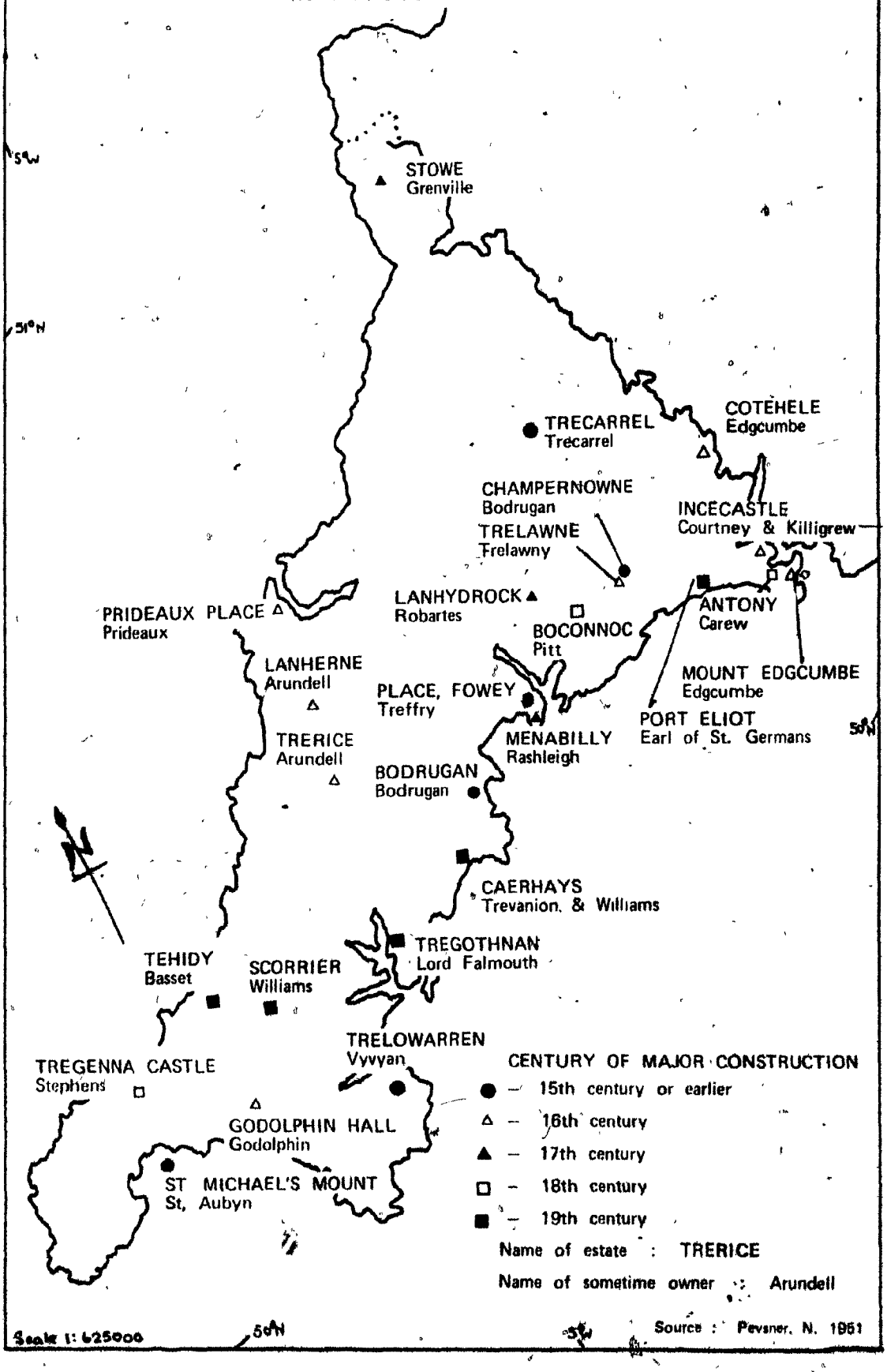
Emigration seemed the only possibility to many in a society which had come to concentrate on such a limited and specialised economic base for its livelihood.

In fact, the New World was to provide a life almost as hard as the Old for many, especially for those who pioneered the mineral deposits of the interior of the United States or Australia.[37] Nevertheless, the Cornish miners with their valuable skills, pertinent to the demands of the resource rich countries of the emerging industrial world, often fared better than the emigrants from Europe or Ireland, equally poverty-stricken, but with no such relevant and marketable mining skills as the 'Cousin Jacks'. They quickly proved themselves to be the world's best hard rock miners as they spread to the new mining camps of Latin America, Australia, North America, South Africa or anywhere where the ring of the pick resounded on a mineral ore.

IV. 6 The Land

Agriculture in this period was strongly affected by the demands of of a growing English population and Cornish farming was forced to adapt

Map No. 10 . ESTATES OF SIGNIFICANT CORNISH FAMILIES IN VARIOUS HISTORICAL PERIODS.



to fulfill these demands. With improvements in transport, supplying the local market became less important if a distant market proved to be more profitable. Changes in land ownership and land use modified the rural landscape as Cornish agriculture was incorporated into the same pattern of development, and answerable to the same forces as England as a whole. Hobsbawn has expressed the situation thus:

> British farms had to feed a vastly expanded and rapidly expanding population. Though they did not feed it too well, they did not allow it to starve.[38]

Nonetheless by the mid-eighteenth century in England, agriculture no longer dominated the economy. This was even more true for Cornwall. The value of tin, and the growing importance of copper made landowners clearly more interested in what was under their land, rather than what it could produce agriculturally. By the mid-nineteenth century, only eight per cent of the population was engaged in agriculture. The pressure to increase farm production and productivity were sought by increased capital investment, farm re-organisation, changes in land use, and the colonisation of the moors, rather than by using a larger labour force.

Land Ownership: The consolidation of land ownership was part of a continuing process which had gone on for hundreds of years. Now that process speeded up. Although, by 1876 Cornish estates had not become either very large or very prosperous, one half of the land (including waste) was concentrated in the hands of 83 individuals, each owning over 1,000 acres.[39]

TABLE NO. 1

Ownership of land, by class, in Cornwall in 1876

Number of Owners	Class	Acres
6	Peers	85,549
29	Great Landowners	246,216
48	Squires	81,600
224	Great Yeomen	112,000
699	Lesser Yeomen	118,830
4,028	Small Proprietors	105,295
8,717	Cottagers	1,186
115	Public Bodies	8,285
	Waste	70,968
13,866	Total	829,929

(Bateman 1971, pp. 501-502)

The most numerous class of landholders, the cottagers, especially those with less than one-eighth of an acre, represented some of the dispossessed rural proletariat who were forced to supplement their subsistence from the land with other earnings from mining, fishing, or in the small towns of Cornwall. In 1876, those with some access to land ownership totalled 13,866; the rest of the population, the majority, had none.

The institutional owners of the land, the Church[40] as well as the Duchy, showed the same interest in maximising their returns from the land as the other landlords in this time of increasing capital involvement in agriculture. Tenant farmers were faced with greater demands from landlords who usually had more freedom for negotiation than the tenant in times of mounting pressure on the land. In Cornwall an ancient custom of three-life leases, which benefitted the lessees, had survived into the nineteenth century. These were now converted into leases for short, fixed terms to allow the rentier class greater flexibility and higher returns in leasing

property.

Land Use: At the beginning of this period, even Cornwall with its humid climate was a cereal growing, rather than a pastoral county. Some wheat was grown, also barley and a now-extinct cereal, pillas (avena nuda). The Cornish had eaten barley bread and, until the 1770's, in sufficient quantities, so that food riots did not become common until after this time.

Potato growing was well suited both to the Cornish climate with its short season of frosts, and to the sandy coastal soils. The cultivation of potatoes became sufficiently common in the starvation years during and after the Napoleonic Wars that it came to form the basic food of most people. Later, at the end of the nineteenth century, potatoes became an important export crop from Cornwall. Early new potatoes, especially, found a ready market in the industrial cities of England.

Improvements in farming techniques were a means of increasing production from a limited land area without either using more labour or without a more efficient, less exploitative use of labour. As the rural population was forced off the land by poverty, the land was made to produce more. The local writers of the day, Borlase, Karkeek and Worgan, described the use of lime, sand , seaweed and fish for manure; the introduction of turnips and potatoes; the improvement of stock, leading to the extinction of the inferior Cornish, native breeds; and, the reclamation and enclosure of the waste. The latter, the internal frontier of Cornwall was attacked with the renewed vigor that capital availability, improved technology, and Acts of Parliament permitted. Henderson has described, on Bodmin Moor, "the derelict 'intakes' which learnt to grow corn during the Napoleonic Wars and forgot the art when Peel revoked the Corn Laws."[42]

From this waste moorland the miners, who lived in dispersed

settlements nearby, carved out small, square fields. Shortage of food was as great a hazard to the mining industry as flooded levels in the mines, and so it became the custom that miners had their plot of land on which to grow potatoes, keep a pig and maybe hire a cow to milk. Contemporary writers such as Lysons (1814) and Leifchild (1857) were impressed with the improvements this made to the landscape. The photograph on page 103, taken in 1978, illustrates the type of settlement which evolved. Leifchild also noted that it enabled the Cornish miner to survive on wages "much inferior to pitmen and pit lads in the northern coalfields".[43] Whilst technological change brought dramatic increases in the productivity and output in the mining industry, the consumption levels of the Cornish population by no means reflected this expansion. The costs of reproduction of the labour force were passed to the consumers themselves, so freeing industry from yet another expenditure.[44]

As the external (overseas) frontier of the English nation expanded, the national use of the land and the economics of farm production altered accordingly. Grain prices fell with the growth of Empire. Improvements in transport and the removal of hindering legislation such as the Corn Laws allowed cheaper corn from Canada and Australia to reach the British market. Despite this growing competition three-quarters of Cornish farmland remained arable until 1870 and this pattern continued into the 1890's.[45] The heavily stocked, green pastures of the West Country are a legacy of subsequent years, when grain production became economically less attractive, because of competition with foreign grains. Cornwall was by the 1880's producing early spring flowers, early potatoes and winter green vegetables for a luxury English market, although as early as 1824 Stockdale writes of double-cropping and export of potatoes from Penzance.[46] Agriculture thus began to develop commercially often at the expense of the food requirements of the local population. It

became tied into the wider English marketing system and yet again Cornwall was transformed into a pheripheral supplier of raw products.

Agricultural Labour: The improvements and enclosures which has raised the productive capacity of the land brought little benefit to those engaged in the productive process. The peasant who fed and clothed himself was replaced by the rural labourer who depended on the farm for wages and the shop for food.[47] As in other parts of Britain the wages of the agricultural workers were generally the lowest of all workers.

The Cornish farm labourer was obliged to resort to the same expedients as the English when hardship became unendurable. After the Napoleonic Wars the Speenhamland system kept the poor within their parish and gave a little charity.[48] But then, in the face of the demands of the market economy for labour, the Poor Law in 1830 adjusted the system, removed the protection of Speenhamland, and released the labour force from the land to work in the industrial cities of the north.[49] The actual provision for the unemployed was scarcely improved.

The 'Swing' riots of 1830 were not a prevalent in Cornwall as the rest of southern England, but there were some cases of arson, 'swing' letters, and food riots. By the end of the decade employment was more plentiful and wages relatively high as these were comparatively good years in the mines. Also the expedient of emigration was more readily taken up by the Cornish than those from more inland counties of Britain,[50] thus releasing some pressure from the local economy to provide for the needs of all.

Agriculture in Cornwall was under pressure to provide for the largest population the county had ever had. That the people lived in hunger and poverty was not because agriculture could not provide their needs, but basically because it was answerable to completely different demands.[51]

IV. 7. Fishing

Fish ranked as the second export from Cornwall throughout this period. The older systems of production survived longer in fishing than in other activities. Some drift fishermen still sailed their own boats, distributed the catch among the crew according to the old custom of shares, and sold it as the main protein food in the communities near where it was caught.

The seining side of the industry, as we have seen, belonged to the adventurers. This contrast in ownership has been brought out by Jenkin:

> Whereas the seines were owned in almost every case by parties of 'adventurers', who were commonly merchants or men possessed of substantial property, the driving boats or drifters were usually the property of the more respectable fishermen themselves. The latter, accordingly, received no wages, their renumeration being entirely on the success or otherwise of the season's fishing.[52]

The outfitting of a seine cost £1,000 in 1835, compared with only £250 for a drifter. Cellars, salt and barrels were needed to pack the fish for export to the Mediterranean market. This ensured that capitalists who could finance all these requirements controlled the industry. These capitalist adventurers, as a class, also had the political power to ensure that legislation suited their needs, as has been pointed out in the previous chapter.

Only during the war was the value of the drift fishery given recognition as a training ground for sailors, which the in-shore seine fishery was not. Yet the Napoleonic Wars were harsh on the fishing industry. With the prohibition of exports, even the part-time seine fishermen and workers in the cellars were unemployed.

Notwithstanding the contradictions and difficulties within the fishing industry, it was principally external factors and the shortage of fish which brought about its decline. In the 1860's steam driven trawlers from the east of England started to make inroads on the Cornish grounds depleting

the stocks of fish. Legislation in 1868 attempted to prevent them from coming too close inshore. At about the same time the pilchard, always fickle in its migration habits, began to frequent the Cornish coast less and less. The many small, fishing villages of Cornwall then went into a state of decline until resuscitated in the twentieth century by the tourist industry.

IV. 8 The Process of Cultural Incorporation

The Church: Wesley came to Cornwall during the late eighteenth century just as Cornish society was undergoing the changes necessary for its incorporation as a mining complex in English industrial society. Local cultural roots had been undercut by the demands which mercantile development made on Cornish society. The language had been one major victim. Further, the Established Church - the church of the landowner, the merchant, the new industrialist - no longer commanded the loyalty of the working class.

> A non-conformist congregation in a village is a clear indication of some group which wishes to assert its independence of squire and parson, for few overt gestures of independence could then be conceived than the public refusal to attend the official church.[53]

The apparently democratic structures of the Wesleyan Church, the system of lay preachers, and the organisation of self-help groups brought it closer and made it more attractive to the ordinary people than the Established Church.[54] However, the areas open for real discussion and questioning were few. Considerable discipline was called for in members' lives, child labour in the new systems of production was sanctioned, and each was made aware of his place in society and prevailed upon to accept his lot.

> It is, on the whole, a matter for marvel that any observation of ancient custom has survived in Cornwall, where ever since the eighteenth century, any amusement of the working classes which was not discouraged by the gentry as tending to idleness was condemned by latter day religionists as incompatible with the Christian calling.[55]

The Wesleyan Church, moreover, played a considerable role in turning the

CORNISH CHAPELS

Truro Methodist Chapel was the third largest of the numerous Wesleyan chapels built in Cornwall in the nineteenth century; their ubiquity bearing witness to the hold which the teachings of Wesley had on the Cornish people.

St. Day Wesleyan Chapel, built in 1844, illustrates the decline in chapel attendance in the twentieth century when the buildings are converted for secular use - small industries, shops, homes, studios.

Cornish working class into the malleable work force it was to become in the nineteenth century. Basic issues were not opened to questioning - obedience being more important than fulfillment! The total effect was to blunt the challenge to a harsh and brutalising system which depressed living standards and almost annihilitated what remained of a distinctive Cornish identity.

Eventually the Established Church looked to its image in Cornwall, when the wealth coming out of the county enhanced the county's importance. A new cathedral in Truro was started in 1808, was completed by 1876, and the first bishop in nine hundred years was returned to the diocese.

Language: The last remaining speakers of Cornish lived and died in the far west of the county during the nineteenth century.[56] The opening up of mines and the movement of people in search of work caused an acceleration in the decline of the Cornish language. All that remained by the end of these changes were a few Cornish words incorporated into the local English dialect, together with a few remains of the earlier syntax.[57]

The Compulsory Education Act of 1880 further speeded the process of the cultural incorporation of Cornwall into England. The schools were noticeably staffed with teachers from England whose own education stressed anglicisation. Grammatical errors, which had their roots in the fact that a people had comparatively recently changed language, were corrected and the ways of speech were to approach Standard English as far as possible.

The situation regarding language was very different from Wales, where in 1891 over half a million people, a quarter of the population, still spoke no English.[58] Once the Cornish people had lost their language, only the scholars could salvage the remnants. At the end of the nineteenth century there was a Celtic renaissance all along the Atlantic fringe of North-Western Europe. Hechter sees this movement as the response of exploited, colonised

people attempting to re-assert themselves.[59]

On the other hand, not everyone suffered from the process of anglicisation. A Cornish middle class had emerged which had accepted it and had benefitted from the economic developments of this period.[60] As a county elite, the members of this class now began to enjoy a cultured life such as had not previously been available. Truro was built up into an attractive centre where, for the wealthy, the alternative to a London house was a Georgian mansion. Imported architectural styles and building materials also left their impression; a Doric Methodist Chapel and an Assembly Rooms faced with Bath stone still grace the town. Learned societies and colleges were founded and were patronised by this class in Cornish society.[61]

IV. 9 Conclusion

By the end of this period, around the turn of the twentieth century, Cornwall had been fully penetrated, its resources exploited and depleted and its culture assimilated within the wider English industrial society. The majority of the Cornish had been transformed into wage earners in the mines, fishing boats and on the farms. A middle class developed and was able to benefit from these developments because of its ability either to invest in such activities or join larger groups of external investors as junior partners. The collapse of fishing and copper mining and their subsidiary industries brought to an end this period of great industrial activity. The hyperdevelopment of too narrow a sector of the economy, especially one based on exhaustible mineral resources, dependent on external capital, technology and markets, led to inevitable disaster. The ensuing emigration of the younger, more dynamic elements weakened an already threatened and impoverished society.[61] The coming of the railway, also, was symbolic of penetration as well as being one of the most visible of the agents of material change in the Cornish

landscape. The impact of these changes on the cultural life of Cornwall was such that the only future most people could visualise was a complete merging into English society, in the hope that somehow this would ensure a more prosperous economic future.

The landscape of barren wastes of mine spoil and abandoned engine houses which characterised Cornwall at the turn of the twentieth century epitomises the effects of the incorporation of a raw material producing periphery into the economy of a more powerful, centralising power. Mining villages and isolated cottages deteriorated and became deserted as the people moved away, when the economic basis of their livelihood declined. The same happened to the fishing villages which decayed and declined until they came to be put to an alternative use by the twentieth century tourist industry. Cornwall was a depressed region at the turn of the twentieth century and the landscape evidenced this decline despite the few magnificent and elegant buildings which had been constructed to grace its towns and countryside.

The historical geography of Cornwall in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries marks a time when the industrial development of the county reached a climax. The next chapter will examine the changes which industrial capital brings to the land and society of Cornwall in the twentieth century as it fashions them to meet new demands.

CORNWALL DURING THE ENGLISH INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

FOOTNOTES-CHAPTER FOUR

1. Pounds.N.J.G., op. cit. p. 45.

2. Thompson.E.P., op. cit. pp. 40 - 48.
The precepts preached by Wesley were extreme self-discipline and self denial, the doctrines of submission, the acceptance of child labour and above all the philosophy of deferring expectations of a better life until the next world.
Salvi.S., op. cit p. 443.
Salvi finds the attachment to Methodism in both Cornwall and Wales is a rejection by Celtic minorities of the dominant English Church.

3. Baker.A.R.H., Conference Report "Rhetoric and reality in historical geography"., op. cit. p. 303.

4. Darby.H.C., op. cit. pp. 306-307
In the seventeenth century Cornwall's population increased by 8 per cent compared with 27 per cent for England as a whole. In the eighteenth century Cornwall's population increased by 50 per cent compared with 57 per cent for England as a whole.

5. Hobsbawm.E.J., From 1750 to the Present Day. Industry and Empire, (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1968, 1969) pp. 43 - 45.

6. Samuel.R., "The workshop of the world.", History Workshop Issue 3 Spring 1977 pp. 6 - 72.

7. 'grass' miners' term used to denote the surface.
'man-engines' A series of moving ladders which transported the miners to the surface. From 1836 there was discussion in the local press of the need to transport miners to the surface and the dangers and exertion of the long climb to the surface. In 1842 the first man engine was used in Cornwall. In 1865 the mine owners successfully countered Lord Kinniard's demand for improved conditions and his Bill was withdrawn. Any improvement in working conditions for the miners being too expensive for the owners. As early as 1765 Trevethick was working at Dolcoath and effecting improvements sufficient to ventilate and drain new, deeper workings but these improvements,which were technically feasible,were often not installed for many years,it being claimed by the owners they were too expensive.

8. Thompson.E.V., Chase the Wind, (Macmillam, London, 1977).
Thompson recreates the conditions of the copper miners' lives in this historical novel.

9. Donald.M.B., Elizabethan Copper. The history of the Company of Mines Royal 1568 - 1605, (London, 1955)
Cornish copper had briefly been exploited when needed for cannons to fight the Armada. At this time the ore was taken to Wales for smelting. When copper was extensively mined in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the ores were again smelted in Wales as the

already established Welsh smelters continued the processing. In some cases it was family connections between Welsh smelters and Cornish mineowners which ensured that Cornwall remained a raw material producer.
Rees.W., Industry before the Industrial Revolution Vol. 1,
Rees estimates it would have been less costly to take the fuel (from Wales) to the ore (in Cornwall). "Cornish ore on the whole gave little more than 8 per cent return, thirteen tons of ore and three tons of coal being required to produce one ton of copper". Previous historical precedent and connections were more important than geographical factors in determining the location of the copper smelting industry.

10. Todd.A.C.) Laws.P.) The Industrial Archaeology of Cornwall, (David and Charles, Newton Abbot, 1972) p. 46.
Laws and Todd name other local families - Harvey, Fox, Price, Tregelles, Wilson, Gould, Wood, - and says of them: "This group of capitalists was destined to become one of the most powerful in Cornwall grasping at the new opportunities in the 1790's as the monopoly of Watt came to its close...."

11. Dobb.M., op. cit. p. 277,
"The personnel which captained the new factory industry and took the initiative in its expansion was largely of humble origin, coming from the ranks of former master craftsmen or yeomen farmers with a small capital which they increased by going into partnership with more substantial merchant. They brought with them the rough vigour and boundless ambition of the small rural bourgeoisie."

12. Engels.F., The Conditions of the Working Class in England, (Panther, Herts., 1892, 1969) pp. 156 - 227.

13. Hechter.M., op. cit. p. 120
Hechter quotes Lewis Namier who exposes the 'rotteness' of the Cornish boroughs. He notes,too,the particularly close connections between London and the parliamentary members.

14. Pressnell.L.S., Country Banking in the Industrial Revolution, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1956) p. 322.
Pressnell especially stresses the importance of the contribution of country banks to the mining and metallurgical industries.

15. ibid., p. 1

16. Jervis.F.R.J., The Evolution of Modern Industry, (Harrap, London, 1960, 1966) pp. 267 - 286.

17. Rowe.J., op. cit. p. 135 and p. 188.

18. Rowe.J., op. cit. p. 78.

19. Dobb.M., op. cit. p. 260.
The new type of capitalist was "no longer simply usurer or trader in his counting house, but as captain of industry, organiser and planner of the operations of the production unit, embodiment of an authoritarian discipline over a labour army which, robbed of economic citizenship, had to be coerced to the fulfilment of its onerous duties in another's service by the whip alternately of hunger and of the master's overseer."

20. Anon., Sketch of the Life of William West C.E. of Tredenham Introduction by J. Stengelhofen (Institute of Cornish Studies, Redruth, 1880, 1973)

21. Cipolla.C., The Fontana Economic History of Europe. The Emergence of Industrial Societies. Part One (Collins, London, 1973) p. 187.

22. 'captain' was the title given to the man in charge of the technical side of the mine. He was the link between the capitalist and the labouring miners.

23. Baker.A.R.H., "Patterns of popular protest", Review Article, Journal of Historical Geography 1,4 (1975) pp. 383 - 387.
"Tension and violence were both likely to increase as Western societies modernised and industrialised during the nineteenth century, and an examination of protest has come to be seen as the most obvious means of evaluating the key issue of adaptation or resistance to industrial change. Furthermore, social protest itself underwent a process of modernisation during the nineteenth century, and many historians now find it useful to distinguish between pre-industrial (or early industrial) and industrial forms of protest."

Rowe.J., op. cit. p. 311 cites the Balleswidden strike.

24. Dobb.M., op. cit. p. 265.
"Prior to this, [the last quarter of the nineteenth century] the majority of the workers retained the marks of the earlier period of capitalism, alike in their habits and interests, the nature of the employment relation and the circumstances of their exploitation. Capacity for enduring organization or long-sighted policies remained undeveloped; the horizon of interest was apt to be the trade and even the locality, rather that the class...."

25. The greatest depth was found in Dolcoath at 550 fathoms, 3,300 feet. Stevens.G.A., "Do you know Cornwall" (Truro, 1970)

26. Engels.F., op. cit. p. 268.

27. Rowe.J., op. cit. p. 151-152.
Rowe shows how, in the parish of St. Cleer, the mortality rate increased after 1830 when copper was found there. The population of St. Cleer,

an agricultural parish in 1801, rose from 774,to 982 in 1830. By 1861 it had reached 3,931.

Table No. 2

MORTALITY IN THE PARISH OF ST. CLEER, 1813 - 1860

Period	Total Burials	Under 5 Years of Age	Over 70 Years	Average Age
MALES				
1813-19	31	6	12	51,6m.
1820-29	69	13	22	46,4m.
1830-39	82	18	31	42,6m.
1840-49	135	49	30	35,2m.
1850-59	259	130	26	21,10m.
FEMALES				
1813-19	37	2	12	45,3m.
1820-29	65	14	23	44,6m.
1830-39	88	27	32	42,8m.
1840-49	118	41	33	35 yrs.
1850-59	214	103	24	21,3m.

Perhaps the most significant factor in this table is how the decline in life expectancy for men is paralleled by that for women and children. Exploitative conditions in the mines followed the miners to their homes.

28. Leifchild.J.R., Cornwall, its mines and miners, (Frank Cass, London, 1857, 1968) p. 283.

29. Thompson.E.P., op. cit. p. 67 - 68.
"The God-provided 'laws' of supply and demand, whereby scarcity inevitably led to soaring prices, had by no means won acceptance in the popular mind, where older notions of face-to-face bargaining still persisted."

30. Halliday.F.E., op. cit. p. 293.

30. Jenkin.A.K.H., The Cornish Miner, p. 98
Jenkin also makes reference to the Celtic, racial characteristics, as determinants of Cornish behaviour at work.

31. Harris.J.R., The Copper King. Thomas Williams of Llanidan. 1737 - 1802., (Liverpool University, 1964)

32. Randall.R.W., Real del Monte. A British Mining Venture in Mexico, (University of Texas, Austin. 1972) p. 40 and pp. 127 - 142.
Rowe.J., op. cit. p. 145.

33. Vale.E., The Harveys of Hayle. Engineers, Shipwrights and Merchants of Cornwall, (D. B. Barton, Truro, 1966)

34. Barton.D.B., A History of Copper Mining in Cornwall and Devon, (D. B. Barton, Truro, 1968), p. 79.

35. Todd.A.C., The Cornish Miner in America, (D. B. Barton, Truro, 1967) pp. 20 - 23.

Report from Lt.- Governor of South Australia, (Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, 1851) Public Record Office, London, CO386/69 pp. 143 - 145 and pp. 166 - 173.
These reports make clear both the need in Australia for Cornish miners and also their extreme poverty. They could not afford the £2 deposit required for the passage, in 1851, or even the reduced £1 deposit.

CO386/79 pp. 75 - 77.
Nor yet could the Cornish miners afford the cost of transit to the port of embarkation; and so by 1857 half of the ships despatched to Australia left from Plymouth. The discovery of copper in Australia had by this time made the demand for miners urgent.

36. Thomas.A.C., Britain and Ireland in Early Christian Times A.D. 400 - 800. (McGraw Hill, New York, 1971) pp. 68 - 69.

37. Rowe.J., The Hard Rock Men, Cornish Immigrants and the North American Mining Frontier, (Harper and Row, U. S. A., 1974)
Rowse.A.L., The Cousin Jacks. The Cornish in America, (Scribners, New York, 1969)
Rowse is particularly aware of the extent to which the Cornish took a feeling of distinctiveness and ethnic identity when they emigrated. The greatest numbers went to the United States and Rowse highlights their contribution to the development of that country. He pays special attention to the residual features of Cornish identity he finds there, mainly in the mining areas.
Davis.R.H., Life in the Iron Mills, (Feminist Press Reprint No. 1, Old Westbury, New York, 1861, 1972) p. 15.
"You may pick the Welsh migrants, Cornish miners, out of the throng passing the windows, any day, they are a trifle more filthy; their muscles are not so brawny; they stoop more. When they are drunk, they neither yell, nor shout, nor stagger, but skulk along like beaten hounds."

38. Hobsbawm.E., op. cit. p. 97.

39. Bateman.J., The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland, (Leicester University Press, 1876,1971) pp. 501 - 502

40. Rowe.J., Cornwall in the Age of the Industrial Revolution. p. 220.
The Dean of Exeter attempted to exact a toll on the taking of sand at Perran Sands, an extensive sandy waste on the north coast of Cornwall, which constantly threatens nearby farmland. This had been a right from time immemorial. The judgement in court went against the farmers and their subsequent attempts to mobilise support failed. "The protagonists of the rights of private property had won another victory over older customary communal rights."

41. Mandel.E., op. cit. p. 282.
"Landowners try to make tenancies renewable as frequently as possible (annually, if they can), so as to ensure a correspondingly regular increase in differential rent. Farmers, for their part, are interested in securing long leases, so as to be able to benefit by the improvements due to their capital (or their labour, in the case of small farms)."

42. Stamp.L.D.S., op. cit. pp. 458 - 463
Henderson.C., op. cit. p. 125.

43. Leifchild.J.R., op. cit. p. 283.

44. Meillassoux,C., "From production to reproduction." Economy and Society Vol. 1., No. 1., 1972 pp. 93 - 105.
Meillassoux explains how agricultural, self-sustaining communities assume responsibility for social security (old age, sickness, unemployment) while capitalism merely exploits the wage-earners as for example, cheap labour in the mines. A parallel can be drawn with the Cornish miner being allowed a little land to survive when wages do not allow sufficient food to be bought.

45. Smith.W., An Introduction to the Economic Geography of Great Britain. Part I of an Economic Geography of Great Britain, (Methuen, London, 1949) p. 206.

46. Stockdale.F.W.L., Excursions through Cornwall 1824, (D. B. Barton, Truro, 1824, 1972) pp. 11 - 12.

47. Hammond. J.L. and B., The Rise of Modern Industry, (Methuen, London, 1925, 1951) p. 191

48. Hobsbawm.E., op. cit. p. 105.
Speenhamland was "a last, inefficient, ill-considered and unsuccessful attempt to maintain a traditional rural order in face of the market economy."

49. Dobb.M., op. cit. pp. 274 - 275.
In 1834 the Poor Law "set the seal on unfettered free trade in the labour market."

50. Hobsbawm.E. and Rudé.G., Captain Swing.A Social History of the Great English Agricultural Uprising of 1830, (Norton, New York, 1975) pp. 129 - 131.

51. Mandel. E., op. cit. p. 298.
"The problem does not lie in the absolute increase in population but in the capitalist condition of production and distribution which creates a situation of plenty and poverty side by side."

52. Jenkin.A.K.H., Cornwall and its People, Cornish Seafarers, Cornwall and the Cornish. Cornish Homes and Customs., (Dent, London, 1932) p. 94.

53. Hobsbawm.E.J.)
Rudé,G.) op. cit. p. 187

54. Thompson.E.P., op. cit. p. 41.
"But it was Wesley who was the superlatively energetic organiser, administrator, and law-giver. He succeeded in combining in exactly the right proportions democracy and discipline, doctrine and emotionalism; his achievement lay not so much in the hysterical revivalist meetings (which were not uncommon in the century of Tyburn) but in the organisation of sustaining Metholist societies in trading and market centres, and in mining, weaving and labouring communities, the democratic participation of whose members in the life of the Church was both enlisted and strictly superintended and disciplined."

55. Jenkin.A.K.H., The Cornish Miner (1962) p. 129.

56. Salvi.S., op. cit. p. 435. Salvi cites John Davey who died in 1891.
Ellis.P.B., op. cit. p. 126.
Ellis notes that Betsy Matthews who died in 1887 had known a great deal of Cornish, including the Lord's Prayer, the names of the months and numerals.

57. Phillipps.K.C., Westcountry Words and Ways, (David and Charles, Newton Abbot, 1976)

58. Philip. A.B., Nationalism in Welsh Politics, 1945 - 1970. (University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1975), p. 5.

59. Hechter.M., op. cit. p. 59.
"The peripheries weapon of resistance to English authority was the nineteenth century development which came to be known as 'Celtic culture', though in many ways this had little in common with its ancient counterpart. The renaissance of Celtic culture, the beginnings of Celtic nationalism, and the distinctive electoral behaviour of the Celtic territories were all responses to a situation which may usefully described as colonial."

60. Hechter,M., op. cit. p. 109.
"However one group on the Celtic fringe did not have to be forced, let alone encouraged to adopt the ways and manners of the English, I am referring to the gentry. Among this class were many who obtained wealth and pretension sufficient to consider themselves upper class Britons; they went to great lengths to dissociate themselves from their rude and barbaric countrymen."

61. A few of these societies were:

1814 The Royal Geological Society of Cornwall was founded (in 1814).
1818 The Royal Institution of Cornwall was founded (in 1818). In 1980 it administers the County Museum in Truro and owns collections of Cornish historical documents, a library of books on Cornwall and local artefacts.
1833 Royal Cornwall Polytechnic at Falmouth gave encouragement to workers' inventiveness although they could not be members.
1859 Miners' Association of Cornwall and Devonshire founded.

CHAPTER FIVE: CORNWALL IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

V.1 Introduction:

During the twentieth century Cornwall has become a resource base of a different type from that of earlier periods. Some of the resources previously extracted were now physically exhausted, or economically not profitable, so the economy was transformed as its major sectors - mining and fishing - declined. Farming throughout Britain was in anything but a healthy condition at the turn of the century, and Cornwall was no exception. The stagnant economy in the county meant high levels of unemployment for the Cornish, or continued emigration.

However, industrial capital has invested in the production of new resources from the Cornish periphery. In this continuing process, as Hechter sees it, "the core is seen to dominate the periphery politically and to exploit it materially."[1] What Cornwall now provides includes specialised farm products, china clay, and land to use for recreational and strategic purposes. Improvements in transport have brought Cornwall into close contact with the rest of England, and in particular made its use as a mass tourist area practicable. The growth of all the modern communications media has completed the cultural incorporation of Cornish society into the mainstream of English cultural and social developments. Migrants into the county from the rest of Britain have come now to form about half of the population of Cornwall. As Sawyer has noted, "English settlement in Cornwall, particularly in the west, has been on such a scale that only 43 per cent of the inhabitants have two or more Cornish grandparents."[2] The new inhabitants are often retired people and relatively affluent, at least in comparison with the majority of the Cornish. The

resulting social structure in Cornwall now contains an ethnic dimension, with the Cornish forming most of the working class, and many of the more recent English immigrants and a lesser number of Cornish forming the middle class.

The only alternative voice to incorporation into England comes from the Cornish national movement, which attempts to harness and articulate the discontent felt in many parts of the county. As well as feeling overwhelmed numerically by long or short term visitors, most Cornish find the avenues for education and employment in the county severely restricted. The nationalist parties, which voice these concerns,[3] see a bleak outlook for the future of a distinctive society.

The Cornish landscape, too, has been considerably changed by man in this period. Main roads cross the countryside and bisect or by-pass towns and villages with autoroutes. Settlements expand with their mushrooming housing estates. The coastline annually erupts in a blaze of colour while catering to the millions of tourists. The harbour walls of fishing villages, such as Mousehole, in the illustration on page 55, are lined with tourists and the infrastructure to cater to their needs each summer instead of fishermen, their nets and fishing gear. And the china clay industry spills its spoil over a fifteen mile radius around St. Austell.

V.2 Demography:

The demographic imbalance in age structure which resulted from the Great Emigration of Cornish miners and their families at the end of the nineteenth century has remained and become accentuated by events of the twentieth century. Map No. 8 on page 93 shows how the pattern of

population density and distribution which had evolved during the nineteenth century, to provide labour for an extensive mining industry, persisted long after the collapse of that industry. Despite the heavy emigration, many remained to live out their lives in the shadow of the abrupt changes which the economy had undergone.

In the twentieth century,the birth rate declined with smaller families being produced; and the death rate,too,continued to fall. These two factors affected population growth in Cornwall, but migration has far exceeded both in determining the demographic structure, and the size and distribution of the population. The Cornish population decreased in numbers (apart from during the two World Wars) throughout the twentieth century until 1961, largely because of continued emigration.

From 1961, after one hundred years of almost continuous population decline, the numbers of people in Cornwall started to increase as those choosing the county as a home outnumbered those forced to seek a living beyond the Tamar. Those still leaving the county were from the age-group 20 - 24 years, many leaving to seek the further education and training which Cornwall did not provide. These tended to be Cornish-born, probably of Cornish grandparents. However, once skills and education were acquired, few opportunities to practise them were available in Cornwall, and the county has continued to lose its indigenous youth, even when foreign mining camps were not claiming them.[4]

The strong sense of regional consciousness recognised in South-West England in 1930 by W. S. Lewis still exists but its presence is threatened by the dilution of the local population and its culture by considerable immigration, at the same time as its own young people are forced to emigrate.

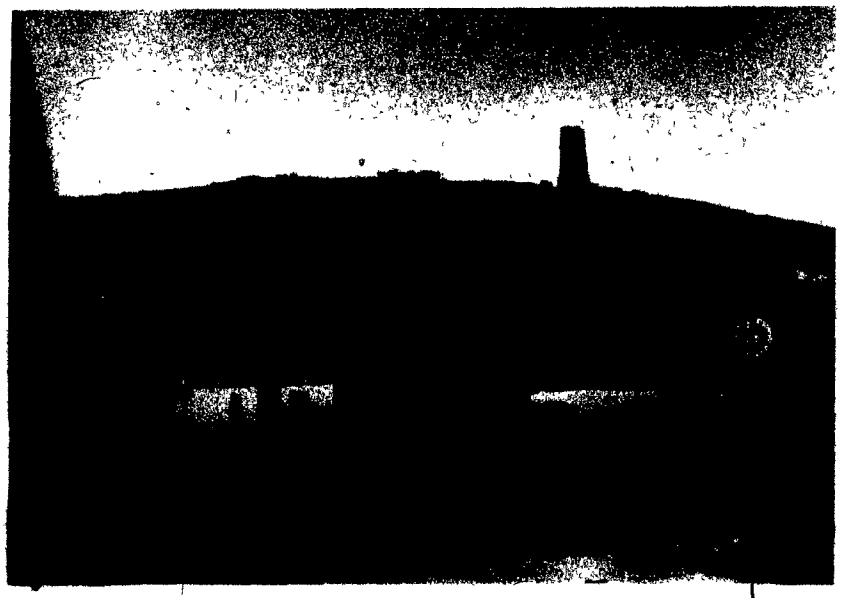
From 1961 on, an excess of immigrants over those out-migrating came to Cornwall from all parts of Britain, but expecially from the nearer industrial areas - London, the Midlands and Bristol. But in contrast to the out-migrants, the majority migrating into the county belong to the 55 - 70 years age group. The consequent top-heavy demographic structure puts an excessive demand on hospital and other social services. As a result the region seems headed to become a gigantic geriatric unit with serious sociological implications.[5]

More recently, though, another development has come to provide a counterbalance to the hundred year out-migration of the young from Cornwall. People in the 25 - 29 years age group have been attracted to Cornwall, especially between 1966 and 1971. This change in attitude of the working young to the county is revealed in a survey made by the Planning Department at County Hall, Truro. This young, working age group, it seems, consider that Cornwall offers them a "better environment", especially for their young families. Returning locals place the advantages of closeness to families and friends next on their list, while immigrants place the preference for a rural life next. To both groups, these far outweigh the desire for better job prospects, promotion, fringe benefits and better wages. Cornish society could well be revitalised by the addition of this very dynamic group to the population. However, between 1966 and 1971, forty per cent of those living within the county changed their place of residence, indicating a society in a state of flux.[6]

Unemployment: The unemployment situation in Cornwall in the twentieth century has been serious. Despite the numbers emigrating, the economy has not been able to provide for those remaining. Peripheries, such as Cornwall, have been affected in an exaggerated, not a diminished, way by world and

WORKING CLASS CORNWALL

Council estates can provide working class people with an answer to the housing problem. This is in St. Day, at the centre of the Gwennap copper mining area which gave the Williams family its fortune. Here a mistake was made and the house was built over an old, uncharted mine shaft. The two elderly occupants were injured and later died when their front door-step collapsed under them.



This permanent caravan site lies on the outskirts of Redruth between the main railway, a stone crushing plant, and the remains of an old tin mining area in the middle distance of the photograph. Carn Brea rises behind. The high cost of housing drives workers to such remedies. It is part of the Cornwall the tourist does not usually see.

British depressions. In addition the production of raw materials together with the mechanisation of agriculture have curtailed employment opportunities. In the most serious decade, from 1929 to 1938, Cornwall had a higher unemployment rate than Devon, itself having unemployment above the average of the other South-West counties and Britain as a whole. In the worst year of the Great Depression, 1932, unemployment rose to 25 per cent in Cornwall.[7]

In the years following the Second World War, the percentage of unemployed tended to decline with generally improved conditions, and locally with the growth of the tourist industry. But from the mid-1960's with the general downturn in the British economy there has been a tendency for numbers unemployed to rise again, and by 1977 the unemployment rate stood at 11.3 per cent,[8] a level significantly above the British average.

As well as high unemployment, the Cornish working class has in the twentieth century received take-home wages below the national average.[9] The large number of unorganised workers in the tourist industry has kept the average wage in Newquay, Bude and St. Ives the lowest in the county. On the other hand, the more organised workers, in the towns with extractive or secondary industry such as Falmouth, St. Austell, Bodmin, Redruth and Camborne, have the highest average earnings in the county.[10]

V.3 The Land:

Agriculture once again became the mainstay of the Cornish economy with the decline of mining and fishing at the turn of the century. Changes in land ownership in every period have provided important highlights to the problems of the development in Cornwall. The tendency to consolidate has continued, although the majority of farms still remain small.

TABLE NO. 3

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN FARM OWNERSHIP

IN CORNWALL 1943 TO 1975

	1943	1975
Over 120 ha.	1%	3%
60 - 120 ha.	6%	12%
Under 60 ha.	93%	85%

C.C.C. Report of Survey
Page. 73.

Government encouragement and subsidies for the consolidation of farms in recent legislation has aided the larger land holders and the Cornwall County Council considers that larger units are generally more desirable in relation to long term efficiency and viability. This efficiency and viability have yet to be demonstrated in their broadest social and economic terms, even if they are successful in short term profitability to a limited number of owners.

The smallest holdings, those less than 40 ha., are declining in numbers, and increasingly these have become hobby farms with limited agricultural production. Local farmers despair at this use of the land which often means it will not be well maintained. Weeds from neglected pastures spread to their crops and damage is caused by wandering livestock.

Agricultural land in Cornwall is threatened in other ways, too. A harvest of tents and caravans (trailers) is more profitable than one of oats and cows. The coastal areas of Cornwall especially are overwhelmed in summer beneath a sea of canvas. Agricultural buildings are turned into shops, restaurants and letting accommodation. The agricultural use of the

land becomes merely a background to its function as a tourist reserve.

The spread of towns, notably Falmouth and Penzance, onto Grade 1 and 2 agricultural land is another problem. This is particularly grave in Cornwall where there is limited high quality farmland. More rigorous guidelines for housing development seem to be desirable.[11]

The dying Tamar Valley fruit industry illustrates another aspect of change in the Cornish landscape. The broken glass of the greenhouses which line the steep sides of the Tamar Valley around Gunnislake presents a dismal sight. Difficulties of transport, rising oil prices and labour costs have all contributed to this. But it is the competition from out-of-season crops, such as winter strawberries from Mexico, and from fruits and vegetables of the countries of the European Common Market that have finally killed the industry. Geographically, the area is ideally suited to small fruits cultivation. In economic terms, such cultivation ceased to be viable there when considered in the wider context of English economic and political interests. Here is an example of a Cornish industry being subjected to the demands of English interests as expressed through market change in the European Economic Community.

An important side-effect of modern agricultural methods on the landscape of Cornwall has been the destruction of trees and hedges. Hedges were reduced in extent by ten per cent in the years from 1947 to 1975. The loss of hedges is more noticeable in the Cornish landscape than in an area with more accentuated landforms, and the treeless windswept plateaux need the protection of the traditional hedge-banks of earth, stones and vegetation.

Land Use: At the beginning of this period, the percentage of arable land continued the fall begun originally in the nineteenth century when corn

growing became less economic. Arable land occupied 75 per cent of the cultivated area in 1870 but this fell to 52 per cent by 1913.[12] By contrast, the area under grass rose from 24.9 per cent to 42 per cent in the same years. Further to this in 1913 almost half of the arable area, 47.8 per cent, was in seed grass, an agricultural response to the climate of mild temperatures and heavy rainfall, which rapidly exhausts permanent pasture.

Agriculture in the nineteenth century, as we have seen, changed from having been largely subsistent to being mainly commercial as more capital was invested in the land and distant market demands grew. Improvements in transport helped to speed this process. It was rail transport which made English markets available to Cornish products. Dairy products, such as butter, cheese and cream rather than milk itself were being marketed throughout Britain in the early twentieth century. With later improvements in handling, milk too was exported to English industrial cities. As a result by 1975 grass for milk production occupied 67 per cent of the total land area.

These changes have in turn made Cornwall dependent on imported food, notably cereals. However, it must be conceded that stock and dairy farming are more suited to the environment of the region than cereal growing. The damp climate is ill-suited to grain production, and the hilly terrain along the numerous valley sides is difficult to cultivate. England's expanding frontiers overseas in the nineteenth century brought cereal products from areas with more favourable growing conditions, and these trading relationships have continued to the present.

The development of the railway, and later road and air transport, have brought the industrial cities of Britain closer, and as a response a

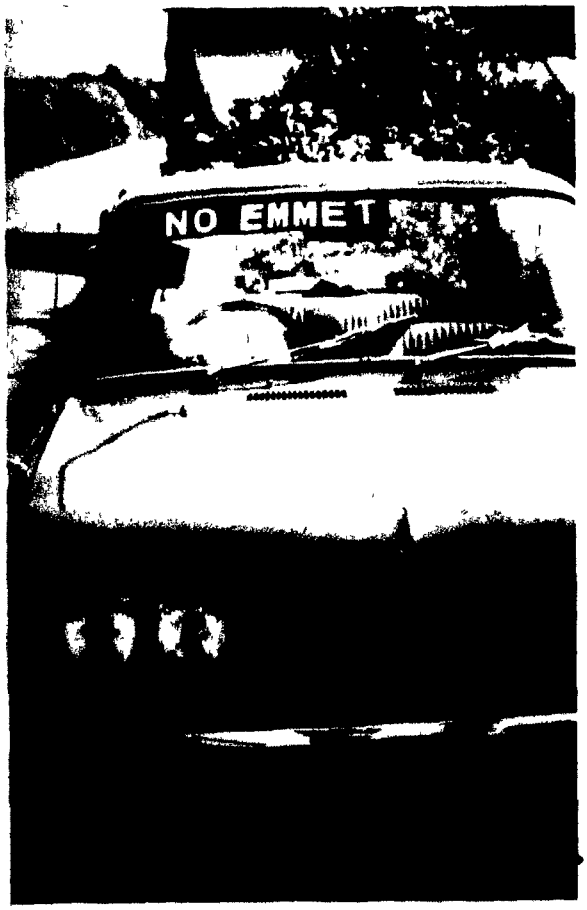
Cornish horticultural industry has grown up to supply this market. Daffodils and spring flowers from the Scilly Isles, early potatoes and winter broccoli from the land behind Mount's Bay, and small fruits from the Tamar Valley are sent all over England. A rising standard of living in post-war Britain encouraged a demand for crops which could be grown earlier in Cornwall than the rest of England because of the mild spring climate. Until the 1970's, these crops commanded an unchallenged market. Then the lowered tariff wall of the E. E. C. and the rapid transport networks brought competing produce from Europe, seriously threatening market gardening.

V. 4 Tourism:

In the late 1950's, tourism overtook agriculture as the main source of income in Cornwall. Tourism has insinuated itself into the life of Cornwall, and can be perceived at a series of levels - as the substantial Victorian hotels which grace the clifftops at Newquay and the seafront at Falmouth, as the 'Bed and Breakfast' signs at the front gate or farm entrance, or in the serried rows of caravans on the coastal sites. The illustrations on page 143 evidence the latter two aspects of the tourist industry. The character of the tourist industry has changed from the 1950's. Before that time accommodation in hotels or houses offering 'board residence' made the impact of the industry less visible on the landscape. Since the 1950's, the increasing numbers of visitors using private transport and taking a camping or self-catering type of holiday has meant a proliferation of services, roads and camp sites to cater to their needs.[13] These have become highly visible and often unattractive features on the Cornish landscape.

Transport: The problem of transport has been a factor of singular importance in the development of the Cornish holiday industry since its

THE CULTURAL INFILTRATION OF TOURISM



The word 'emmet', a West-country word for 'ant', is used as a term of derision for tourists who resemble ants in their numbers on the beaches in summer. Four million visitors each year appears to be finally too much for the Cornish psyche.

'Emmets' on Perranporth Beach in July, 1978.

THE CULTURAL INFILTRATION OF TOURISM

The whole valley and sea front of Porthmellon, near Mevagissey, are taken up with camping grounds for tents and caravans. This photograph, taken in May before the 'season' had begun, indicates that the landscape provides the basis for greater profits than the use of the land for agriculture.

"Your old man's bed is in the bath
and just to let one single more
you kip down on the kitchen floor." J.Barber

This is not an unusual level of intrusion of the annual scramble to supplement an otherwise inadequate income from the tourist industry in the short summer months.

inception in the nineteenth century. The area's grand cliffs, sandy beaches and the romantic side of its history[14] became known and accessible to the English with the development of the railway. As long as rail was the predominant form of transport, the industry was less obtrusive and demanding of the local environment. But the growth of road transport for goods as well as people since the 1950's has brought problems. The pattern of lanes of medieval origin or earlier, bordered by stone and earth banks up to eight feet high, has not been conducive to the organisation of a modern system of road transport. When 'improvements' are undertaken, however, the removal of the hedges destroys one of the main features of the Cornish landscape. Nor have the seven miles of formal motorway by-passing Camborne and Redruth in the centre of the county done much to ameliorate a county-wide traffic problem. With most tourists enjoying the complete mobility of their own private transport the volume of traffic generated cannot be accommodated in the restricted area of the county and on the network of narrow roads and lanes. The general problem is exacerbated by specific additional difficulties: the uncertainty of the Cornish weather keeps people away from the beaches; there is little public transport; the bulk and slowness of caravans are a particular hindrance. As a result of all these, traffic line-ups in the peak season can stretch from one centre to another.[15] Those converging on St. Ives, a compact fishing port, Newquay, the largest resort, and Penzance, at the end of the line, are the worst.

Ecology: When 4,000,000 people pass through a region which normally houses one-tenth that number, the pressures on services and on the land itself can be intense. The temporary summer camping grounds have problems in ensuring that their internal facilities are adequate for the short peak

season. The disposal of sewerage is one of the most serious. Twenty-five places along the Cornish coast were found to be discharging untreated sewerage at or above the low water mark in 1975 and some were even discharging it above the high water mark. All the places concerned were popular tourist beaches.[16]

Types of tourism: The most recent trend in the Cornish tourist industry is to an increase in self-catering. Touring caravans and tents increased by 189 per cent in the decade from 1964 to 1974. Rented accommodation with self-catering facilities expanded by 139 per cent. The more labour-intensive side of the industry seems to have grown far less - hotel accommodation by 25.4 per cent and 'bed and breakfast' by only 19.4 per cent.

The current trends within the industry appear to be bringing fewer benefits to the people of Cornwall. As a result, labour requirements, comparatively, have tended to decline. 'Bed and breakfast' accommodation is the area in which local people, with little capital to invest, can most effectively benefit from the industry, and this is precisely the area of tourism which is growing least.[17]

Housing: A proportion of Cornwall's housing stock is lost to the inhabitants of the county as a result of the demands of the tourist industry, in the sense that it is not available for renting by permanent residents, nor would the prices be those which they could afford. To the house owner, with property to let, it is more profitable to rent to tourists, at high, weekly rates, for only a few summer months, than to rent to local residents, at a rate they can afford, for year-long tenancies. The illustrations on page 136 give some idea of the quality of alternative housing available to working class Cornish while the timeless cottages their ancestors built are modernised and let to tourists.

Cornwall County Council estimates this to be three per cent, rising to 15 per cent in the popular area of North Cornwall. Young families personally involved in trying to find permanent accommodation put it much higher.[18] A spin-off from the tourist industry has been the large numbers of older people retiring to Cornwall. Lewis' prophecy for the future of Cornwall, written in 1928, now seems possible:

> The future of the region appears to lie in the exploitation of its mild climate and varied landscape with a view to acting more and more as a huge sanatorium and recreational district for the great centres of population and as a home for those who seek rest or health in their old age.[19]

They come with pleasant memories of summer holidays spent in the county and sometimes find the reality of a retirement, dream cottage in a Cornish village quite different. Some are ill-equipped to deal with the seclusion and gales of a Cornish winter, far from relatives and friends. In turn, this in-migration has affected the Cornish housing market, driving up the prices of houses beyond those which working people can afford.

The legacy of Cornwall's past, particularly that of the nineteenth century, had left few avenues for employment in Cornwall. The promise which the tourist industry, in the twentieth century, seemed to hold was avidly seized upon within the county. Only later were the disadvantages to become apparent - including the total dependence of the industry on demand from England, the centre, the unstable nature of seasonal employment, the congestion, and the further eroding of the regional personality.

V.5 Mining

Tin Mining: By the twentieth century, copper mining in Cornwall was of little importance, so complete was the crash of 1866. It is difficult to assess the extent to which foreign competition, exhaustion of the ores,

or financial mismanagement were responsible for the death of the industry. The history of the red metal had run its course in Cornwall in one hundred years.[20]

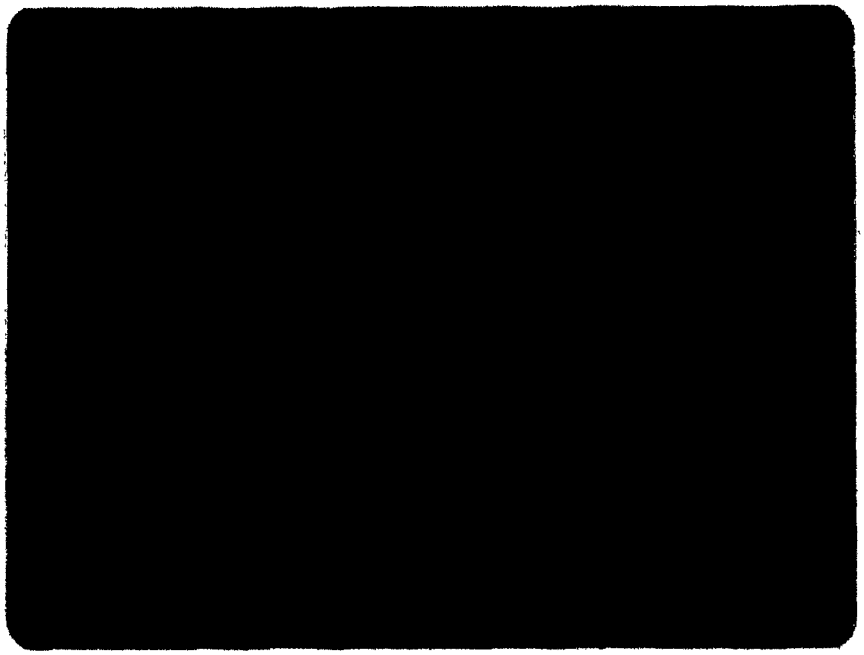
For tin mining, the situation has been different. The greatest years of tin mining followed the collapse of copper, from 1865 to 1892. It was often in the same mines, below the levels where the exhausted copper ores had been, that tin occurred. The tin mines of the early twentieth century, though few in number, produced as much as the smaller, earlier mines. Their profitability began to decline, however, from the early part of this century and an atmosphere of despair clouded the mining industry. By 1950, every mine except two - South Crofty, in Redruth and Geevor, near St. Just - had ceased to work.[21]

Experts and those knowledgeable about the local mining scene have confidence in the wealth of the remaining ore. It seems that the later years of the twentieth century, so hungry for minerals,[22] will make the continuing exploitation of tin in Cornwall worthwhile. The rising value of tin and technological advances, in fact, make this certain. Old mines, tailings, and worked-over deposits in alluvial valleys throughout the county will be searched for what was passed over in earlier centuries.[23] But this time the crucial concern of regional development must be that the further exploitation of an exhaustible resource does not leave the terminal economic and social chaos similar to that which Cornwall suffered at the end of the nineteenth century.

China clay quarrying: The quarrying of china clay (kaolin) from the gigantic pockets in the granite where it was formed, began at the end of the eighteenth century. No local pottery industry developed in association

CHINA CLAY

China clay quarrying has left a large area of Central Cornwall derelict. Back-filling is not practised, in case future technology permits excavation of the remaining china clay to greater depths. The white moonscape hills are composed of unwanted clay and sand.



Hills of waste from china clay quarrying on Hensbarrow Downs. Much of the land in a fifteen-mile radius of St. Austell has been excavated for the china clay which occurs in Kaolinised pockets in the granite of Hensbarrow Downs.

COLOURED PICTURE

with the mining of the clay deposits, rather it has, as with earlier minerals, been yet another raw material resource to send to England or to export. In this case, the Staffordshire coalfields area is the place where the raw material is elaborated, profits made, and further employment created.

The history of china clay quarrying in Cornwall has been one of continual amalgamation and agglomeration of holdings. The sole owner is now English China Clays which is a vertically and horizontally integrated company, the world's largest producer of china clay.

China clay quarrying has provided the working class Cornish, particularly unemployed miners at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with one of the few alternatives to emigration. However, the true hard rock miners always considered it inferior employment to deep mining.

Although conditions at the work face may have been less dangerous than thousands of feet below ground, the job still had its considerable hardships. Until recently, the clay was washed out and shovelled by hand from pit to drying kiln to loading bay. Trains, trucks and particularly ships then transported it out of Cornwall.

The china clay workers, learning from the past, have built a stronger base of solidarity than existed in the mines. A major strike in 1913 sought reasonable pay and working conditions; in response the authorities called in police from outside Cornwall to put down the strike. Although the strikers won nothing directly, their union was recognised and a militant spirit has prevailed in the industry since.[24] On the other hand, the company, English China Clays, and the industry, being one and the same, have monopoly control of employment in the St. Austell district. Few

trading estates even have come to the area as a result of pressure from E.C.C.

The environmental desecration of the china clay industry affects a widening area of central Cornwall. The rate of exploitation in recent years helps to explain why:

1960	1.6 million tonnes.
1965	2.0 million tonnes.
1973	3.0 million tonnes.

The resulting lunar landscape of central Cornwall is made up of the hollows from which this volume of material has been removed. These rapidly fill with water. Tips of the waste coarse material grow around the works. Pollution also extends into the streams of south Cornwall which, until recently, ran milk white with suspended detritus. The demand of England and its export markets for china clay has caused this industry to continue its march across the countryside, swallowing the Hensbarrow Downs, as well as the numerous farms, roads and houses in its path. Containing its environmental degradation should provide one of Cornwall's major challenges.[25] Responding to this need for pollution control, some pressures have been brought to bear on the company. Effluviant flowing into the steams is being controlled. Moreover, it is probable that the felspar sand waste, which forms over 75 per cent of the material quarried, will be soon removed from the disfiguring tips to be put to an economic use. One such use, only recently declined because of a small cost difference, was for the foundations of railway tracks. Another use experimented with in the material-hungry, post World War II days, was to make construction blocks.

V.6 Fishing

Some of the fishing industry of Cornwall in the twentieth century

has declined, to become merely a picturesque survival, a backdrop to the tourist industry. Early in this period competition at sea with the larger trawlers from eastern English ports decimated the catches. Competition, in the market place, with the larger ports and their centralised facilities closer to London, also made small scale fishing an uneconomic undertaking. More recently, the age-long battle between the inshore and deep-water fishermen has surfaced with renewed vigour. Huge, beam purse seiners, from other parts of Britain, the E.E.C. and Eastern Europe, vacuum up the ocean's resources, often jettisoning more than the local boats' total catch. Newlyn is the main home port of the Cornish inshore fleet. Antagonisms sometimes erupt although, as yet, they are only expressed in the form of articles in the press and questions in London.[26]

There is justification in the demand that a local fishing industry be allowed to survive. It markets a quality product for human consumption, unlike the purse seiners whose main harvest is usually bruised and goes as fertiliser. A local fleet would be more likely to husband the resources available, as, unlike the foreign prowlers of the ocean, its future depends on them alone.

V. 7 Secondary Industry

The secondary industries which had developed in Cornwall around the primary sectors of mining and fishing practically disappeared, as we have seen, with the exhaustion of these resource bases. Some twentieth century development of light industry has taken place, so that by 1971 the number employed in the manufacturing sector was 15.3 per cent (compared with 34 per cent for the United Kingdom as a whole). This percentage, however, fell to 14.3 per cent in 1975 indicating that Cornwall has not

yet established a viable secondary industrial sector.

The service sector, by contrast, employed 71 per cent of the work force, compared with 57 per cent for the United Kingdom. This high dependence for employment on the service sector, itself heavily dependent on external demand, makes the Cornish economy as vulnerable as when it supplied primary resources for export out of the region. The secondary sector must be expanded and diversified if the region is to experience a better employment situation, but at present few alternatives appear to be available.

The considerable and well-intentioned efforts at regional development by Westminster governments,[28] especially in the early 1970's, have improved the situation but little. Many of the factories in the new industrial parks lie empty, some never used. Firms have leased them, stayed the obligatory two years and have then left with a profit gleaned from tax concessions. The difficulty in establishing a viable economic base in Cornwall has much in common with the difficulties encountered by countries of the underdeveloped world. The imperatives which condition the development of an industrial sector in Cornwall have been those of the metropolitan centre, not those of the periphery.[29] The biscuits, sheepskin goods, electrical products or aluminum ladders produced by the new industrial estate factories are not based on local raw materials, nor do they have any particular relevance to Cornish needs. Their production is decided upon, organised and disposed of by the Head Offices, often in London. Cornwall, then, suffers from all the disadvantages of having a branch plant economy, providing only cheap land and labour, and subsidized fixed capital for what is essentially an external undertaking.

V. 8 The Process of Cultural Incorporation

The Church: Both the Methodist and Established Churches have suffered a decline in their importance and influence as the twentieth century has proceeded. The mass media - radio, films, television - together with universal literacy have taken from the religious collectivity much of its work as interpreter of, and arbiter in, the issues of every day life. Many Methodist Churches have been put to secular use as the illustration on page 120 indicates. The grey, granite parish churches, too, have small congregations. In an attempt to adapt to this new situation, there are those in both Churches who have taken the Cornish language as their symbol of involvement in the changing society, and occasionally hold services in the Cornish language.

Local Government: Much power which was historically in the hands of the Crown, the aristocracy or the Church now belongs to different levels of government. County Hall, Truro, symbolises many aspects of this authority for the Cornish. In the twentieth century, however, it is the central government which makes its influence effective in the periphery by the power it holds in providing investment capital for development programmes. These developments are not necessarily in the best long term interests of Cornwall and the Cornish, and are sometimes accompanied by pressure to re-shape the county according to Westminster's designs.

Notwithstanding County Hall's shortcomings, on the two recent occasions when parts of Cornwall were threatened with incorporation into Plymouth, by Westminster ruling, it was County Hall which presented the case against this regional rationalisation for Cornwall. So far it has been successful in guarding Cornwall's integrity as an historical entity

with sufficient regional distinctiveness to be allowed to survive.[30]

Language and Nationalism: The Victorian interest in the Cornish language and Celtic past of Cornwall has been continued in the twentieth century by small but growing groups of enthusiasts.[31] Mainly middle class people take an interest in the Cornish past, but if their efforts are to have any real significance for Cornwall - to be of more than antiquarian interest - they must establish a wider influence through contact with working class Cornish. It is they, the working class and rural Cornish, who are the present, real possessors of the Cornish culture which others wish to imitate. As long as these working class and rural Cornish are not involved in any cultural renaissance there is much history, dialect, custom which will be lost: much of which they have been the only inheritors.

In 1951 a group emerged which saw Cornish interests in a wider context. Mebyon Kernow, Men of Cornwall, evincing a concern for the economic and cultural future of Cornwall, was established with political aims and an avowed intention of securing Cornish control over Cornish affairs.[32] Since the 1950's, however, the Cornish national movement has not made its voice heard as effectively as perhaps it could. Its worst shortcomings have been administrative and its inability to maintain effective contact with its own membership. In 1980 a power struggle within Mebyon Kernow resulted in a group of younger members, with visions of a socialist future for Cornwall, gaining greater power in the movement.

Other smaller parties within the Cornish nationalist movement include the Cornish Nationalist Party which forsees a future for Cornwall within a confederation of Celtic nations. The Stannary Parliament, by renewing the powers of the Cornish Stannators, hopes to acquire fiscal control within Cornwall and, through it, independence for Cornwall.

ASSERTIONS OF CORNISH REGIONAL DISTINCTIVENESS - OFFICIAL

Nationalist pressure has gained a few concessions from County Hall, such as the use of the Celtic name, Kernow, on the new motorway entrance to Cornwall.

St. Piran's flag has been chosen as the national flag of Cornwall, and it is displayed occasionally. St. Piran was a fifth century founding saint who came to Cornwall from Ireland.

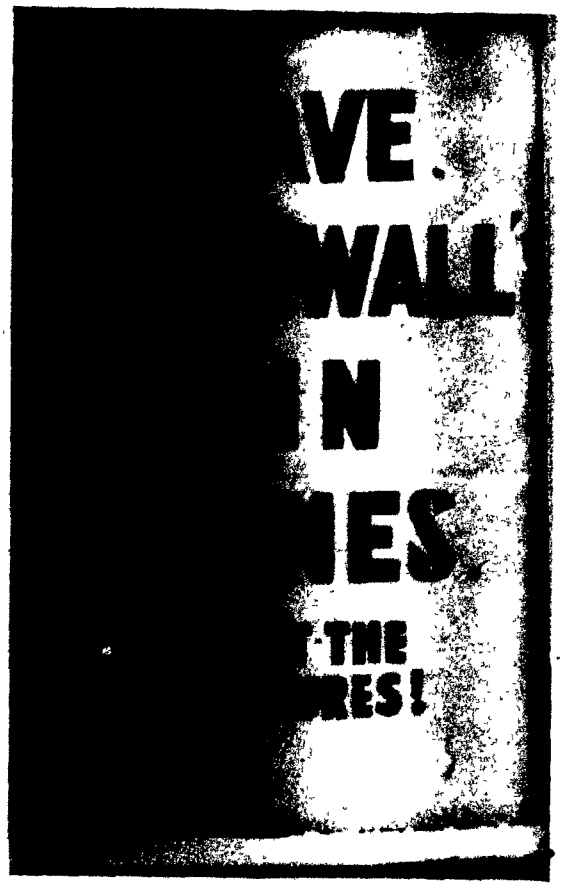
The publication, The Ecologist, which is published from Wadebridge, also acts as co-ordinator for various groups with concerns for the ecological future of Cornwall and wider ecological concerns as well.

A Cornish National Congress, in two meetings in 1979 and 1980, attempted to act as an umbrella organisation to unify all the fore-mentioned, disparate groups with some little success. It is hoped, through such meetings in the future, that viable alternatives to the plans of central government for Cornwall may be provided by creating a greater Cornish unity of interest.

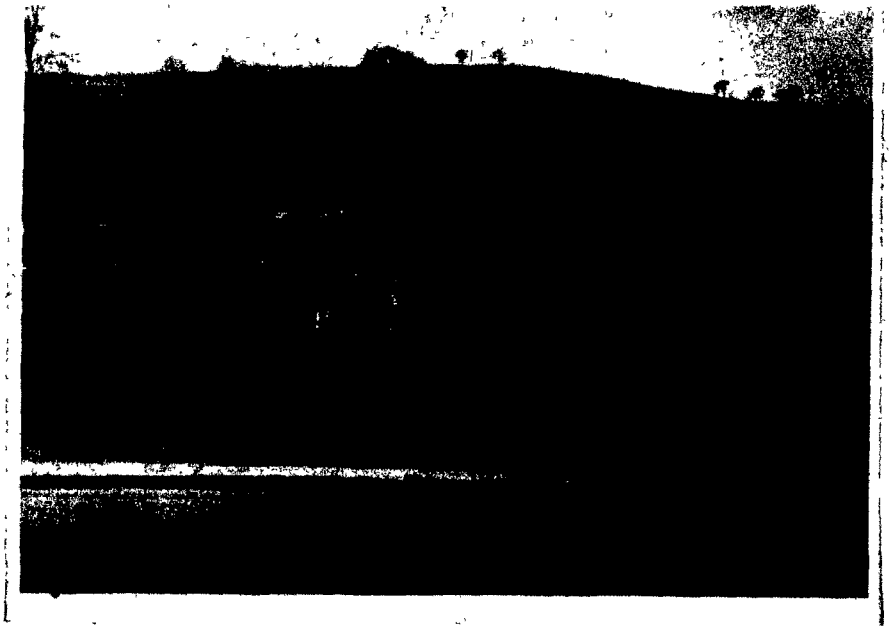
The problem of an area demanding regional or national autonomy is not unique to the South-west of England, nor to the Celtic periphery of North-west Europe. It is part of the wider problem of the decline of the medium-sized nation state, which no longer appears to have either military relevance in the atomic age, or economic primacy in the era of trans-national corporations. It is also part of the protest against the homogenisation which is affecting most societies in the world at the end of the twentieth century, as regional distinctions are perceived by the centre to inhibit the efficient functioning of an increasingly centralised system of large scale capitalist expansion.[33]

In seeking to extricate themselves from such global pressures, portions of medium-sized states - Wales and Scotland as parts of Britain, Brittany as part of France, Quebec as part of Canada, the Basque country as part of Spain, - claim the right to independent national status.[34] Cornwall, too, in the demands of the nationalist parties, is now claiming a larger measure of local autonomy. But it is very likely that the relatively large and rich seccessionist states, for example Scotland or

ASSERTIONS OF CORNISH REGIONAL DISTINCTIVENESS - UNOFFICIAL



Twentieth century mining in Cornwall is subjected to the same outside controls as the nineteenth century mining industry was. Foreign capital (this time international) mines the tin when the foreseeable profit is worthwhile. This hand-made notice was in a shop in Chacewater in May, 1978, when the closure of Mount Wellington forced the closure of Wheal Jane alongside, through drainage problems. Chacewater had been developing as miners raised mortgages and built their houses there.



The old stone bridge at the entrance to Cornwall carries the proclamation "FREE KERNOW".

Quebec, will prove an easier prey to the multinational corporations than the more powerful nations of which they presently form part, Britain and Canada. In the case of Cornwall, the power of large companies to set their own terms would be infinitely greater.

International mining companies are already poised with investments in, and ownership of, mining areas in Cornwall. Corporations such as Rio Tinto Zinc, Consolidated Goldfields (Johannesburg), International Mine Services Limited (Canada), which now exercise control over the mineral deposits, will be prepared to extract Cornish tin when international prices make mining economic, and when, therefore, the level of profit is sufficiently high. Cornish kaolin is already marketed by English China Clays from a position of almost total monopoly both within the industry and even more in regional terms where it generates most of the employment in the St. Austell clay area.

In 1971, the largest secondary industry in Cornwall, and the only indigenous one of any size, Holmans, makers of mining equipment, was absorbed into CompAir which has its head office near London. The consequences are clear; Cornish direct involvement in decision making of the industry will obviously decline now that Holmans is merely part of an enterprise which boasts overseas branches, and has its head office out of the county.

Hobsbawm has pointed out how the experience of the Latin American countries with pseudo-independence in the nineteenth century has led on to an extreme economic dependence in the twentieth century. Nor have small, weak countries, or even many larger, potentially rich ones, been able to maintain effective economic independence in the face of the pressures of the international economy and the economic and political power of the

multinational corporations.

Alternative ways of satisfying the just demands of certain groups within a country do exist and are practised. Various forms of federalism, devolution or decentralisation have workable examples in the world today, such as in Australia, Germany and Switzerland. Federalism does not necessarily solve all problems as the example of Canada makes clear. The need for greater regional autonomy is accepted in Britain as the Maud Commission has indicated. For Cornwall, some regional devolution of power, while not solving all problems, might give the opportunity of ensuring a more equitable distribution of local resources among the local population. Cornish development must be made answerable to Cornish needs, thereby protecting what remains of Cornish regional distinctiveness, and, in the future, nuturing a revitalisation of Cornish society.

But any attempt to sustain Cornish culture must have at its centre the well-being of those who produce the wealth of the society. It is, also, with the working class that the remnants of a Cornish culture remain - the Cornish dialect and knowledge of local customs. If Cornwall were to achieve a greater level of independence without significant social transformation, this Cornish majority would probably be less protected than they are at present within the stronger English state.

It is not the intention, or within the scope of this thesis, to elaborate the terms of a strategy of local, autonomous development which the writer considers necessary for the harmonious development of Cornwall in the future. However, the principles which such an alternative trajectory of development should follow, would have as its primary concerns: social change to allow workers to play a decisive role in the development of their

society; political devolution of decision-making from Westminster, allowing the Cornish population as a whole to carry out this alternative strategy; and the elaborating of the strategy through effective groups within the county such as Mebyon Kernow, the Cornish National Congress if it achieves real support, Trade Unions, local government bodies and other groups which represent the best interests of all the population of Cornwall and not narrow class interests.

V. 9 Conclusion

England, in the twentieth century, has incorporated Cornwall into its economy and society even more completely than in earlier periods. China clay has become the staple replacing tin and copper; holiday-makers now line the quays in the fishing villages instead of fishermen; the land has become an unparalleled playground of the British Isles for temporary and permanent residents; farming is concentrated in fewer hands and, as elsewhere, machinery has displaced labour on the land. In total, the Cornish economy is so entrenched in its situation of reliance on external demand that any attempt, within the present framework, to introduce alternative secondary industry can have, at most, limited success in guaranteeing the security of well paid employment to the majority of workers.

The landscape of Cornwall is affected by the demands of advanced capitalist society and re-modelled to cater to its requirements. Much twentieth century development has not blended harmoniously with the existing landscape and sometimes as a result environmental problems are created; problems which reflect the economy which generated them. The heavy reliance on a massive tourist industry, combined with an unwillingness, or perhaps a financial incapacity to provide an appropriate infrastructure, results

in sewage pollution on beaches and inlets. The moonscape appearance of central Cornwall emerges from the exploitations of a resource base industry, china clay, in a manner which makes few provisions to harmonise with the natural or social landscape. In the main, twentieth century housing in Cornwall has seldom blended with the landscape as did thatched cottages or slate-hung houses of earlier epochs. Cornish municipal housing, private housing and recent speculative estates have generally been of poor quality aesthetically, even when compared with their stark, Victorian, terraced counterparts. Much of beauty that remains in Cornwall is threatened: the tightly knit winding streets of fishermen's houses in St. Ives with demolition to become parking lots; the old buildings and jetties of the waterfront in Falmouth with destruction to provide space for a road;[35] and the use of the Cornish land and seas as a repository for nuclear and toxic waste is an established fact and a continual, pregnant threat. The near annihilation of the railway system of Cornwall and the reliance on road transport for goods and people has ensured the extension of a network of highways, often to the detriment of the landscape.

The increasing awareness of the sources of their problems which is now being voiced by people in various sectors of the society brings some hope for the future. And it is only the power of their protest which will bring a modification of the present grinding progress of Cornwall towards the total loss of any real sense of regional distinctiveness.

CORNWALL IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

FOOTNOTES-CHAPTER FIVE

1. Hechter. M., op. cit. p. 9.

2. Sawyer. P.H., Medieval Settlement. (Arnold, London, 1976) p. 252.
Hechter. M., op.cit. p. 8.
"In the long run, the core and peripheral regions will tend to become culturally homogeneous because the economic, cultural, and political foundations for separate ethnic identification disappear."

3. The two main national parties are: Mebyon Kernow with its publication Cornish Nation and the Cornish Nationalist Party which produces An Baner Kernewek.
Other Cornish political magazines are: An Weryn, published by a splinter, socialist group within Mebyon Kernow and Kevren, the mouthpiece of Cowethas Flamank, a nationalist group working in Bristol.

4. Lewis. W.S., Great Britain, Essays in Regional Geography. (2nd edit.). Edited by A. G. Ogilvie. (University Press, Cambridge, 1930) p. 93.

5. Cornwall County Council Structure Plan. Topic Report: Population. (Truro, 1976). p. 2.

6. Cornwall County Council Structure Plan. Topic Report: Population. ibid., pp. 18 - 24

7. Devon and Cornwall: A Preliminary Survey. A report issued by the Survey Committee of the University College of the South West, Exeter. (Exeter, 1947) p. 239.

8. Cornwall County Council Structure Plan: Report of Survey. (Truro, 1979) p. 29.

9. The national wage rate is paid in Cornwall, but the types of work available and the limited number of overtime hours have tended to keep the take-home wages in the lower brackets of many categories.
"Cornish Pay is Worst in Britain." West Briton. (February 14th, 1980).
"Men earned a lower average weekly pay packet in Cornwall last year... than in any other county in Britain."

10. Cornwall County Council Structure Plan. Topic Report: Employment, Income and Industry. (Truro, 1976) p. 51.

11. Kevren, Number 29 (Gwaf, 1979) p. 11.
"A massive housing development" just outside Penzance has been allowed to proceed, despite local opposition to the scheme.

12. Smith.W., op. cit., p. 206

13. Cornwall County Council Structure Plan. Report of Survey, pp. 105 - 106.
The industry has grown at an accelerating rate as the following table shows:

1954	1.5 million visitors per annum
1964	2·0 million visitors per annum
1974	3.25 million visitors per annum
1976	3.64 million visitors per annum

In 1966, 80 per cent of tourists came in their own cars.

14. The romantic Cornish past of smugglers, wreckers and cliff top romances was popularised in novels in the nineteenth century. Twentieth century romances of Cornwall are finding an even wider audience through television productions. Some few examples of these tales are:

Norway.G.	A True Cornish Maid. (1894, London)
Gould.B.	In the Roar of the Sea. A Tale of the Cornish Coast. (London, 1892)
Hocking.S.K.	Tregeales Head. A Romance of the Cornish Cliffs. (London, 1890)
DuMaurier.D.	Jamaica Inn. (London, 1936)
	Frenchman's Creek, (London, 1941.)
Graham.W.	Ross Poldark. A Novel of Cornwall. 1783 - 1787. (Glasgow, 1945, 1975)
Howatch.S.	Penmarric (U.S.A., 1971)

15. Cowethas Flamank, Towards a Cornish Transport Policy. Number Two (May, 1976)

16. Cornwall Industrial Development Association, The Economy of Cornwall, (1976, 1977) pp. 162 - 163

17. Cornwall County Council Structure Plan, Topic Report: The Holiday Industry, (Truro, 1976) pp. 16 - 17.

18. Deacon.B., "Housing in Cornwall" Cornish Nation, (Gwaynten (Spring) 1977) Book 4 no. 2, pp. 11- 15.

19. Lewis.S., op. cit., p. 111.

20. Barton.D.B., 'A History of Copper Mining in Cornwall and Devon" (D. B. Barton Limited, Truro, 1968)

21. Blunden.J.R., "The redevelopment of the Cornish tin mining industry," in Exeter Essays in Geography, edited by Gregory K.J., and Revenhill.W.L.D., (University of Exeter, 1971) pp. 169 - 182.

22. For example, Lithium is a mineral of increasing value, which it is technically feasible to extract from Cornish granite, particularly in some areas. Conversation with Professor P. Distin, Department of Mining and Mettallurgical Engineering, McGill University, February 1980. He had recently spent a sabbatical leave looking at the prospects of extracting economically available minerals from Cornish granite.

23. Open cast methods are retrieving tin from worked-over alluvial deposits in the Carnon Valley, near Falmouth. Wheal Jane and Mount Wellington are two old mines which were re-opened and worked by modern methods in the 1970'S. The diseconomies or alternative priorities of the company working Mount Wellington (it is unclear which) caused it to close in 1978. Wheal Jane, although profitable, was likewise forced to suspend production as it was dependent on Mount Wellington for drainage. Meanwhile the latter mine is still being kept 'unwatered' at tax payers' expense pending a solution of the problems.

24. Barton.D.B., A History of the Cornish China Clay Industry, (Truro, 1966), pp. 153 - 161.

25. Elkington.J., "Reclaiming the Cornish moonscape"., New Scientist January 1978, pp. 13 - 15

26. Forester.T., "Mackerel warriors", New Society, (14 October 1976) pp. 61 - 62.
Johnson.D., "Snappers up of mackerel", The Guardian,(13 February 1977)
Allaby. M., "The mackerel war", Ecologist, May 1976 Vol. 6, No. 4 pp. 132 - 136.

27. Cornwall County Council Structure Plan, Report of Survey , op. cit p. 31 and p. 32.

28. Spooner.D.J.S., Unpublished PhD Thesis Cambridge 1971 "Industrial Development in Devon and Cornwall 1939 - 1967." Spooner emphasises the small amount of development which Cornwall gained from the many attempts at establishing industry in the region from outside, with government support during these years. He points out that in much of England, these years had been ones of dynamic industrial expansion.

29. Cornwall County Council Structure Plan Topic Report: Employment, Income and Industry, p. 120.

30. In 1946 when administrative reorganisation was planned that would include much of Cornwall with Devon, Alderman Foster as Chairman of the County Council led a successful fight against the scheme. In 1972 another attempt was made to change Cornwall's boundaries and County Hall presented briefs which again carried the day. The Devon city of Plymouth with a population of 300,000 is

geographically restricted in its possibilities for expansion. Across the Tamar in east Cornwall the best, adjacent possibilities for urban expansion are found. Those who live in the villages and small towns of east Cornwall generally oppose such expansion even though many of them commute daily to Plymouth.

31. Small groups in towns and villages all over the county meet under the auspices of: Old Cornwall Society founded 1927, and Cornish Language Board founded 1961.

32. Truran.L., For Cornwall - A Future, (Redruth, no date) p. 5
Truran, as National Secretary of Mebyon Kernow, sets out the power structure he wishes to see for Cornwall. A Cornish Assembly would have control over all internal matters. The Duke of Cornwall or a Duchy Council would represent the English Crown in Cornwall. In external affairs, currency etc. there would presumably be the same ties to England as at present. Internal affairs would be the responsibility of the Cornish Assembly.

33. Dubos.R., A God Within, (Scribners, New York, 1972)
"The revolt against the homogenization of human life is giving a new life to regionalism." p. 127.
"The spirit of place continues to manifest itself in regionalism - not to be confused with nationalism." p. 124

34. Hobsbawm.E.J., "Some reflections on 'The Break-up of Britain'". New Left Review No. 105, September October 1977 pp. 3 - 24
Hobsbawm finds that nationalism which is not sought from within a socialist framework will not achieve its hoped-for goals. Portions of nations are not going to achieve a better livelihood for their inhabitants where the larger units have failed merely on the strength of being small, ethnic units.
Nairn.T., The Break-up of Britain, Crises and Neo-Nationalism. (New Left Books, London, 1977)

35. Allen.R., "Falmouth flattened?" in Ecologist, Vol. 5 pp. 164 - 165.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

In looking at the historical geography of Cornwall, this thesis has aimed to show that it was not because of its innate geographical characteristics that the county has throughout history been one of the poorest in England. In other words, factors related to the physical environment have not, in the final analysis, been the major determinants of the course of Cornwall's development. The environment only imposes certain absolute limitations: obviously mining cannot develop if the minerals are absent. But many alternative forms of development are possible using whatever resources a land possesses.

The path of development which evolves will depend on the stage of development which the society occupying the land has reached. At a primitive stage man's primary concern will be survival. At more technically advanced levels of development, the surplus produced will enable other alternatives to be considered. The choices will then depend essentially on the disposition of the social forces of the society whether the surplus is concentrated in the hands of few, or more equitably distributed: whether the surplus will be spent on non-productive conspicuous consumption or used to promote further productive development.

The most remarked-upon physical characteristic considered to have been a limiting factor in Cornwall's development has been its isolation and remoteness. This thesis has shown how this factor of isolation did not in fact exist in Celtic times when Cornwall was at the hub of many routes. The remoteness of Cornwall only became a significant factor later in its history, as it came to be incorporated into the more centralised

English economy, where crucial decision-making focussed increasingly on London. It became particularly noticeable as the extraction of Cornish resources for the centre required their transportation to external centres of manufacture. Until the coming of the railway, Cornwall was remote from London across two hundred miles of difficult roads or around a stormy coast. Now, as the end of the twentieth century approaches, the network of English motorways means that Cornwall's remoteness is only comparative. Remoteness and isolation are variable, not absolute, characteristics, more likely to be important in an externally oriented society, such as Cornwall, than in one which derives its dynamism internally.

The continual poverty of Cornwall throughout modern history, confirmed by tax and census reports, gives the impression of a region lacking natural resources. This thesis has attempted to indicate the wealth of production which has come from the land and seas of Cornwall over the centuries - agricultural products, fish, tin, copper, and china clay. It is the ownership and distribution of this production which determines the real wealth and well-being of the local population. The people indeed were poor when the medieval agricultural surplus benefitted the English Crown and absentee landlords. Later, tin and copper revenues profited local mining adventurers and foreign shareholders rather than the working miners, who gained a mere subsistence wage. The profits from the removal of Cornish china clay, now, go to one company with its Head Office in London.

I have maintained that this continual drain of wealth from a region rich in natural resources, has taken place because of the way in which the area has developed as a periphery of the English centre. The priorities of development have been those of the dominant classes in the

centre, supported by their lieutenants in Cornwall, and not the priorities of the producers in the Cornish periphery. This pattern has been consistent over the centuries. The use to which the county has been put through history has varied. Cornish ports facilitated English wars in the Middle Ages and then commercial expansion in the period of mercantilism. Hungry English mills had a rapidly growing appetite for Cornish minerals during the industrial expansion of the nineteenth century.

The model of development proposed by Frank, for Latin America, that the controlling centre imposes its will on the weaker periphery, can be seen to have relevance for Cornwall, in its relationship with England. Even closer comparisons arise when Cornish development is examined alongside that of the other countries of the Celtic periphery. The work of Hechter and Williams bring out how the evolution of certain areas, such as the Celtic fringe as neo-colonies, can be understood from a study of their historical geography. This thesis endeavoured to show equally how much of the development taking place in Cornwall has been largely for the benefit of the English state, and the dominant classes of merchants and industrialists which have controlled it.

The centre-periphery model fails to give sufficient emphasis, however, to the type of development generated in Cornwall by the local bourgeoisie. Early in its history a largely alien aristocracy came to dominate Cornish society.

The passing of time has since seen the emergence of a Cornish bourgeoisie whose aims have interacted and often been identical to those of external capital. In Cornwall's more recent history these two groups - one from the periphery, one from the core - have played comparable roles in directing and benefitting from the appropriation of the surplus produced

in Cornwall. In the twentieth century the growth of the Westminster bureaucracy has perhaps allowed the power of the local bourgeoisie to be overlooked and economic, political and cultural domination are too clearly seen to be emanating from the centre. The role of the local bourgeoisie continues to be significant, however. Therefore, its leadership of the Cornish movement cannot be overlooked and its aims within this movement require examination.[1]

This collaboratory, local bourgeoisie gradually evolved with much in common with the aims of London merchants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and later English industrialists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Their interests, as a class, were not the well-being of an harmoniously developed Cornish society but those of economic gain and political power. As the society and economy became more complex, the number of ways in which the knowledgeable and powerful could benefit themselves, proliferated. Money-lenders, lawyers and adventurers benefitted from the miners' labour. A very few peasants with astuteness, hard work or good luck could eventually pass to the land-holding class, with all the advantages this brought. Merchants with capital and a broad knowledge of the market could impose their prices on the fishermen or tinners or small consumers. From the mid-eighteenth century the owners of capital enjoyed even greater control and influence than the earlier leaders of society had. The bourgeoisie extended its numbers and consolidated its power. A local middle class not only co-operated with English capital, but could be counted on actively to strive towards the same goals. This work has attempted to underline the general harmony of interest between the English and Cornish bourgeois classes. The manifestations of Cornwall's historical geography, which one can see on the landscape, have been engendered by the

workings of this double -edged process of the gradual development of capitalism by both a local and a (predominantly) London-based bourgeoisie.

The corollary to the development of a minority of the population into a local bourgeoisie, has been the conversion of the majority into a wage earning working class. As Dobb has noted, as early as the fourteenth century, free tinners were forced by debt to abandon their calling or hire their labour to another. Peasants were deprived of land as the wealthy engrossed their holdings. Fishermen increasingly were forced to work for a wage as the means of production passed to the ownership of others.

The conditions under which this majority has lived has always been determined by a ruling class in society. In Celtic times, an hierarchical society was led by a king, warriors, druids and bards. The majority were bondsmen who provided the agricultural surplus on which the rest of the society could live and be free to practise its specialised skills. In the early Middle Ages, under a feudal organisation of society, an alien landed class saw that serfs and peasants remained in society as producers of an agricultural surplus which supported the aristocracy and its conspicuous consumption on castles and wars. As feudal society entered into decline many producers who had an accustomed place on the land or in a particular occupation - fishing or mining in Cornwall - found themselves dispossessed. The rise of the Poor Law reflects the worsened conditions in which many were forced to survive as they lost control over their means of production- land, mining rights or fishing boats. With the onset of the Industrial Revolution, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this majority was turned into a wage-earning proletariat working under exhausting conditions for minimal rewards. If the farm labourers enjoyed healthier working

conditions, they paid for the privilege in lower wages than the miners received. The family living conditions of both groups of producers were close to abject poverty. Even during the more prosperous twentieth century the standard of living of the majority of the Cornish has lagged behind that of many regions of Britain, as its designation as a Development Area in the development policies of the late 1960's indicates. The cultural history of Cornwall has been one of continual retreat in the face of advancing English cultural standardisation. The responsibility for the maintenance of what little Cornish ethnicity and culture remains lies now, as it always has done, with the working class section of the population who retain the Cornish dialect, speech patterns and attitudes. The local bourgeoisie has played a strong role in the undermining of the Cornish identity, in their abandonment of it and in their encouragement of the working class to do the same. Ethnicity has been of less importance than class differences in Cornish society from as early as the sixteenth century. The gradual extinction of the Cornish language is the most dramatic evidence of the decline of the Cornish cultural heritage. Cornish songs, stories, dialect and customs are suffering an equivalent fate.

The coming of Wesleyanism to Cornwall had a more profound effect on the working class than on the bourgeois class. The bourgeoisie remained loyal to the Established Church which more closely reflected their interests. But the philosophy of the Methodist Church entered the lives of the working class Cornish and from it they drew the strength they needed to tread the path of acceptance it laid out for them. The inhumanities of work in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Cornish tin and copper mines were necessary for the owners, local and English, to maintain the process of capital accumulation. It was the philosophy of the Methodist Church, with

its emphasis on the rewards of the next world, which helped to convert the Cornish into a malleable workforce which became prepared in large part to endure the harsh working conditions. For much of the working class Cornish, it was necessary for economic survival and to obey the dictates of a conscience strengthened by the strictures of Wesleyanism.

Solidarity among the Cornish suffered from the same defects as solidarity among all the early industrial workers. The mutual support which the worshippers at the Chapel acquired blurred their vision of the need for radical change. Also the particular structures of the Cornish tribute system of mining added to the contradictions and thereby the hardships within industrial life.

The working class suffered its severest blow after the 1860's when emigration became its most viable option for survival. Under the pressure of foreign competition the lean, deep veins of Cornish copper were easily abandoned by the mine owners who were then free to transfer investment to richer, more lucrative deposits in the New World. The change was far less easily accommodated by the producers and their families because they were left without resources or employment.

The historical geography of Cornwall has not been one in which man was constrained by the natural environment. If he has been enslaved it has been by his own social system. The Cornish people have striven against the natural constraints and imposed their will on the environment.[2] The landscape bears the marks of the efforts of Cornish producers and these may be deciphered for each historic period. The relatively low technological skills but considerable social organisation in pre-Celtic and Celtic eras are indicated by the barrows, menhirs and cromlechs remaining on the hill-

tops. Place names tell the story of Celtic and Saxon interaction. The relics of Norman castles indicate how repression was used by the ruling class of a new society to impose its will on the older one. Lanes and stone hedges testify to the economic activity that took place during the feudal period. A rich legacy of parish churches demonstrates one aspect of the cultural life of medieval Cornwall, and to the way in which the surplus derived from labour's efforts was employed by dominant social groups.

The landscape in Cornwall in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries was moulded by man with increased effectiveness and momentum. Tailings from alluvial tin mines spread out from the granite hills as production expanded. Settlements grew as the population increased and as merchants promoted the commerce and industries of the ports and towns. The mansions, which beautify a few parts of the Cornish landscape, represent the accumulated wealth from the varied industries of Cornwall during this and later periods.

The landscape created in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was one of scarred moors and valleys altered with the detritus from copper and tin mines. An impression of its appearance at this time may still be guaged in the mining areas, where the collapsing engine houses remain and the gravelly soil barely supports a colonising vegetation after one hundred years. By the nineteenth cenutry all but the higher slopes of the bleaker moors were enclosed, sometimes with massive Celtic or medieval walls, or, more usually, with the rectangular fields of later enclosures. The tree cover of Cornwall had long since fallen victim to the needs of the local population, for fuel and building but above all it had been essential to stoke centuries of tin smelters before sea coal was used.

The twentieth century landscape speaks volubly of modern industrial society and its need for rapid transport. Wider and straighter main roads compete with the timeless, winding, country lanes built for slower vehicles and local transport. Expanding circles of housing estates now ring most towns and villages for a population, which, after a hundred years of stagnation and decline, is now increasing. The coastline erupts every summer into a kaleidescopic blaze of coloured postcards, beach balls and tents to cater to the needs of the annual influx of visitors.

So the landscape reflects the activity which has taken place in each historic period. To understand why these different phases of development have succeeded one another it is necessary to look more deeply into the society controlling the land; to look beyond the environmental features of meteorological phenomena, geological formations or natural vegetation cover. It is necessary to ask, as Baker suggests, about the driving pressures which led different generations to form the present Cornish society, on the basis of this particular natural environment. The unfolding of these processes tells the story of the historical geography of Cornwall.

Similarly, late capitalist society is making its own imprint on the contemporary Cornish landscape. Central government acknoweldges the existence of regional inequalities in its programmes of industrial development, but the high levels of external dependence which its plans include, appear to doom them to failure. They fail as means for greater autonomous development in the peripheries because they do not incorporate any proposed new industrial structure into the existing rural background.[3] New developments are almost invariably posited on dependence on the centre for capital, technology, key labour skills, raw materials and markets.

Even the existing industries, and particularly the tourist industry, are strongly dependent on the outside. The tourist season can be as unpredictable as the weather. In 1979, in common with other tourist areas in Britain, poor weather, the oil crisis, the strength of the pound and a heavy drop in overseas tourists caused near disaster in the industry.[4]

Internal attempts to solve Cornish problems arise mainly from the nationalist movement. Members cite alternative schemes of development but their suggestions are generally not backed up by skilled research, and their power to influence the decision-making bureaucracy is still slight. Cornwall should be striving to maintain its regional identity with programmes of contemporary relevance. The national movement perhaps weakens its case by claiming too strongly national independence,[5] and above all a form of independence based on a Celtic nationhood which existed a thousand years ago, and since which time society has changed in every facet.

However, many who are not nationalists in Cornwall are striving to regain the regional consciousness of their land. "The revolt against the homogenization of human life is giving a new life to regionalism."[6] The real problems of Cornwall are not, then, basically spatial (concerned with its isolation or position), nor are they essentially physical (concerned with the natural resources, soils, minerals, harbours). The root of Cornish problems, as this thesis has endeavoured to show, lies in the social divisions and inequalities that have arisen within its society and, more broadly, within the larger society of Britain. Only a groundswell of effective local protest by those who produce the social wealth, in combination and cooperation with the action of working classes in other areas, will stand any chance of changing the priorities of this society

and engender a more egalitarian and harmonious alternative. The Cornish, then, must work towards improving their society in conjuntion with the working class of other areas, and not by cutting themselves off on the assumption that their problems are unique and unrelated to those of other regions of Britain.[7] It should not be impossible to build this solidarity at the same time as safeguarding the special regional identity of the land of Cornwall and its society.

CONCLUSION

FOOTNOTES-CHAPTER SIX

1. Williams.C.J., "Ethnic resurgence in the periphery", Area Vol.II, No. 4, 1979 pp. 279 - 283.
Explanations of the scope, timing and intensity of specific forms of nationalism "focus on the relationship between state bureaucracy and the new ethnic intelligensia and suggest that it is a disillusioned bourgeoisie in an internal periphery that aminates the nationalist revival and seeks to restructure its terms of reference."

2. Baker.A.R.H., "Historical geography: a new beginning?", Progress In Human Geography Vol 3, No. 4 1979 pp. 560 - 570.
"Much historical geography has been focussed upon landscapes transformed by man rather than upon man as an agent of landscape change, upon artefacts rather that upon ideas, upon actions rather than attitudes, upon external forms rather than internal processes....Consideration of man as a passive object rather than an active subject is, perhaps, the most serious criticism which might be made of such work both in traditional geography and in modern spatial analysis."

3. Minogue.M., "Development and Underdevelopment in Britain and Ireland" IDS Bulletin, (May, 1977) Vol. 8, no. 4 pp. 37 - 39.
Speaking of the work of the Development Commission and such agencies: "On closer analysis the principal focus of the 'development' activities of these agencies is, on industrial promotion, with a preference for light industries and tourism as the solution to the problem of job creation in declining areas."

4. Atkins.D., "Filling the gaps", Cornish Life, Vol 7 No. 3 (March 1980) p. 17.

5. Dubos.R., "A God Within, (Scribners, New York, 1972) p. 124.
"The spirit of place continues to manifest itself in regionalism-not to be confused with nationalism."

6. ibid, p. 127.

7. Massey.D., "Regionalism: some current issues", Capitalism and Class, (Autumn, 1978) (6) pp. 106 - 125

APPENDIX I

NOTE ON SOURCES:

Information and data for maps and graphs was compiled from a variety of sources. Where specific page numbers are applicable they are shown in the individual source notation. Otherwise data was obtained from multiple sources and page numbers are too numerous to indicate.

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