CONTEXTUALISING

A VOCABULARY OF THE ANGLO-MANX DIALECT:

DEVELOPING MANX IDENTITIES

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by Breesha Catherine Maddrell'

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CONTENTS

Abstract

Breesha Catherine Maddrell

'Contextualising *A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect:* developing Manx identities'

This thesis represents the first significant examination of the relationship between the 'Manx English' and 'Anglo-Manx' varieties. It begins to dismantle the transitory period from Manx Gaelic to Anglo-Manx and its effect on developing Manx identities.

This is achieved through contextualisation of the major work on dialect in the Isle of Man, *A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect* (1924). This work stands as a powerful symbol in the development of Manx identities at the turn of the 20th century, and continues to influence their development.

Context is provided in terms of a general examination of national revival, with particular focus on the Celtic Revival in Ireland, and the 'folk' revival in England. Nesting within these contexts, aspects of the Manx revival are introduced, with specific reference to the period 1880-1920. The Sophia Morrison Papers, previously unexamined and uncatalogued, present insight into the intellectual circles which would come to produce the *Vocabulary.* The motivation and sources for the *Vocabulary* are then deconstructed as a means of reconciling the work's use as a source for dialect writing and for Matthew Kneale's Whitbread Prize-winning novel, *English Passengers.*

The dual identity exposed by examination of Manx revivalist circles is complemented by the dual capacity of Kneale's novel to act as both post-colonial and colonial text. *English Passengers* is used to illustrate the relationship between Anglo-Manx and its associated linguistic varieties.

The thesis draws together many different kinds of source material in order to present a fresh perspective to the history of the Manx revival. It provides important insight into the motivations and achievements of key revivalist figures, effectively opening up this period for further research and discussion. The work is intended primarily as a basis for further research into varieties of English spoken in the Isle of Man. It presents a new history of Manx linguistic identity which should prove a valuable starting point for further research within many disciplines.

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Research into MxE and its associated varieties has been extremely limited. The one notable exception has been the work of Jennifer Kewley Draskau. I am most grateful to her for her professional advice, as well as for food and friendship under the expanse of Jurby skies. Gura mie mooar ayd.

And finally, to all my family: for love, financial assistance, a house to live in especially at the time of an oppressive housing market, and for all the support throughout my life necessary to have brought me this far. As ta mee cur booise erskyn towse da Jee as da my chaarjyn dooie neesht: Peddyr, Lou, Cathy.

WHILE AROUND HER STILL
THE WINDS, THE WATERS AND THE CURLEWS CRY

Abbreviations used

For the eight uncatalogued boxes of the Sophia Morrison Papers, MNH MS9495, footnotes refer to the number of the box, together with author→addressee, date (if known), e.g. Box 1, letter from SM→EG, 25/01/1901.

For clarity, the name *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* will be used throughout the text, despite its change to the Manx Language Society.

All references to webpages will be made in footnotes.

EDD	Joseph Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*
EDG	Joseph Wright's *English Dialect Grammar*
EDS	*English Dialect Society*
EM	English in Man
MMG	Moore, Morrison and Goodwin
MPNS	Manx Place Name Survey
MVE	Manx Vernacular English
MxE	Manx English
PDMxE	Present Day Manx English
SED	Survey of English Dialects
Vocabulary	*A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect*
YnCG Report	Annual report of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh*

For correspondence in footnotes:

SM	Sophia Morrison
EG	Edmund Goodwin
CR	Charles Roeder
JJK	J J Kneen
AWM	A W Moore
DrC	Dr John Clague
WHG	W H Gill
JRM	J R Moore
WC	William Cubbon
LM	Louisa Morrison
Cushag	Josephine Kermode
APG	Alfred Perceval Graves
MD	Mona Douglas
EEF	E E Fournier d'Albe
JDK	Jessie Douglas Kerruish
PR	Pilcher Ralfe
TEB	T E Brown

CHAPTER ONE

The context of research into MxE: a discussion of approaches and terminology

Introduction

The varieties of English spoken on the Isle of Man have been given many labels, ranging from Anglo-Manx, through Manx English (MxE) and English in Man (EM). These terms have been in turn augmented by definers such as 'traditional', 'rural' and 'vernacular'. Although the introduction of such terms has been in an attempt to tighten boundaries, to secure definitions, their utilisation has had the opposite effect, resulting in an increased sense of confusion and ambiguity. The terms which have been introduced are as follows:

- Anglo-Manx
- Manx dialect
- Manx English
- Traditional Manx English
- Present Day Manx English
- Manx Vernacular English
- Manx English continuum

Alexander Ellis

Previous research has not extended beyond highly specific areas, and there has been little attempt to systematically collect and analyse spoken forms. One of the first mentions of MxE and its relationship with other regional varieties was made by Alexander Ellis in his *On Early English Pronunciation* published in 1889.[1] Ellis likened the variety spoken in Man to the dialect of Fylde, near Blackpool. He also noted similarities with SE, which was not typical for varieties in the north of England, for example. (Ellis, pp.351-63). Ellis' informants came from Lezayre (North), Peel (West) and Rushen (South). Such a survey ignores the capital, Douglas, which lies in the East of the Island.

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[1] Alexander Ellis, *On Early English Pronunciation,* Part V, (London: Trübner & Co., 1889).

This is significant, as Douglas held approximately a quarter of the Island's population at that time.[2] The greatest criticism of Ellis, however, has been that he did not use informants in their native environment, but rather collected data from Manx people living in Manchester.[3] All of Ellis' informants were young, came from varying occupations such as joinery and teaching, and were not present in their own speech communities. Any regional differences noted by Ellis must remain questionable due to socio-economic factors, coupled with gender differences. He considered the English spoken: 'not entirely book-learned, but more or less tinctured with the neighbouring dialect.' (Ellis, p.360). Furthermore, with regard to accent, Ellis commented: 'it has often been observed by Englishmen resident in the island, that their accent is much more correct than that of the English peasantry generally.' (Ellis, p.360). Ellis concluded that what he had found was: 'no true dialect.' (Ellis, p.361). At the same time as Ellis was working, Joseph Wright's six volume *English Dialect Dictionary* was being published. It appeared between 1898-1905 and contained lexical items from the Island. The influence of Wright's work will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Moore, Morrison and Goodwin

A strong influence that continues to inform linguists as well as the general population, is a text compiled in the early part of the 20th century, Moore, Morrison & Goodwin's, *A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect*[4], which will be referred to throughout the text as the *Vocabulary*. This work still occupies an iconic position, and it is this status which means that both its introduction and lexicon must be deconstructed before the text can be used

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[2] see David Webber, *An illustrated encyclopedia of the Isle of Man*, (1987; repr. in revised form by F Cowin, F J Radcliffe and G Kniveton, Douglas, Isle of Man: The Manx Experience, 1997), p.50; John Beckerson, 'Statistical Appendix', in *The New History of the Isle of Man*, Vol. 5, ed. John Belchem, (Liverpool, University of Liverpool Press: 2000), 417-35, here p.426.

[3] personal correspondence with Andrew Hamer.

[4] A W Moore, S. Morrison & E. Goodwin, *A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect*, (1924; repr. Andreas, Isle of Man: Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh, 1991).

as a source. It contains many terms archaic at the time of compilation, terms extracted from a complex of literary and vernacular sources. The issues which surround its genesis will prove invaluable in providing insight into the MxE situation.

In order to access these issues, this study will examine the impact of various aspects of MxE documentation within the frames of Celtic and linguistic revival, by focussing on the development of the *Vocabulary*, the most extensive work on MxE to date. This work will be approached by examining the contribution of one of its authors, Sophia Morrison. Morrison has been chosen because she is central to developing Manx identities in the contexts of:

- *A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect*
- The production of dialect literature (through encouragement of writers such as Cushag, and as member of the theatrical company, the Peel Players).
- *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh*, and thereby the late 19th century MxG revival
- The Island's inter-Celtic links

This examination will begin with events at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. It will look to the ways in which a concept of MxE has become laden with nostalgia, issues of revival and national identity. This concept has been stretched to fulfil many criteria, and the ways in which it satisfies various demands will be key to an understanding of patterns of language use with which we are now faced. In this way, 'MxE' has been used as a holding device for the cultural trappings associated with MxG and 'traditional' culture.

Sophia Morrison had been an invited reader for Wright, and in 1909, she was again asked to be involved in a project looking at the Island's varieties of English. This time it A W Moore who approached her with ideas for his own 'Dialect Book'. As Morrison reports in the Preface to the work, her contribution consisted of collecting and

compiling: 'words excerpted from books or heard colloquially,' (*Vocabulary*, p.iii). Moore's work on the book appears to have been very limited, the *Vocabulary* finally appearing in 1924, the majority of the research having being undertaken after Moore's death by Morrison and Goodwin. The *Vocabulary* will form the basis for Chapter Five. The publication of the *Vocabulary* sparked interest in the variety in national publications such as William Radcliffe's 1926 article, 'Pitfalls of Anglo-Manx'[5] and Philip Cain's 'Changes in Speech and Custom in Rushen'[6] in 1939.

Roeder and Brown

It has been suggested that the *Vocabulary* was, in part, based on work prepared by the poet T E Brown. As the influence of Brown on Moore was strong, this is not beyond the realm of possibility. In a letter to Charles Roeder on 11 September 1895, it is clear that Brown intended to produce a report on the variety:

> As regards a good dictionary of the Manx Dialect, I have undertaken to prepare some such work, for purely Dialectic purposes, not literary, at the request of the Dialect Committee of the British Association. This is now well in hand, quite a short thing. I am kept back a good deal by my knowledge of the *Manx language* being so imperfect. To do the work thoroughly you need to be familiar with the old Keltic tongue.[7]

The alleged involvement of Brown, or at the very least, his expression of interest in furthering the status of the 'Manx Dialect' will prove significant in later discussions. Roeder may have taken his cue from Brown's words, for his 'Manx Notes and Queries' column contained entries on the Anglo-Manx Dialect. Roeder outlines the introduction of English at the time of the Abbott of Furness around 1134, and comments on influences from Scottish occupiers and Irish refugees. It must be noted, though, that

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[5] William Radcliffe, 'Pitfalls of Anglo-Manx' in *Proceedings of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Vol III, No.1, 89-98.
[6] Philip Caine, 'Changes in Speech and Custom in Rushen' in *Proceedings of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Vol. IV, No. III, 341-4.
[7] Morrison, Sophia ed., Mannin. A Journal of matters past and present relating to Mann, 9, (May 1917), p.520.

the examples he gives for Irish influence, e.g. '*O the chree, the chree; the bogh millish...*'[8] are equally likely to be from MxG as from IrG. Roeder continues with the influence of Norse, Cumberland, middle-English and the Norwegian language, commenting that the latter did not exert much influence, that it: 'never took hold upon Manx soil'. (Roeder, p.31). The majority of the examples given by Roeder focus on dialect usage within the fishing industry, e.g. ymmyr corraa (butt of spawn herring) and scoltey (a boat's supper). Fishing terms would be examined again in 1966 by W B Lockwood, based in part on Roeder's collected edition.[9] Roeder credits Egbert Rydings' *Manx Tales* as the most important illustration of the dialect, of: 'the Manx peasantry,' adding the anxious plea for immediate collection of dialect forms:

> There are certain differences of dialect in the North and South of the Island, and it is time, before it will be too late, to collect all the phrases and words from the various Sheadings. (Roeder, p.30).

W W Gill

The suggestion that Brown's work had formed a basis for the *Vocabulary* was also raised by W W Gill in his 1934 work, *Manx Dialect. Words and phrases.*[10] This volume was intended as a supplement to the *Vocabulary,* being the fourth in a series of Manx scrapbooks concentrating on folklore, place and well names. Gill's collecting practices have been admired by others, but in this work, views presented are somewhat romanticised. Nevertheless, his presentation is more linguistically aware in certain respects, with some important features of spoken patterns at the time being noted, for example the increasing influence of SW Lancashire on intonation patterns in Douglas.

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[8] Charles Roeder, *Manx Notes & Queries,* (Douglas, Isle of Man: S K Broadbent, 1904), p.30.
[9] W B Lockwood, 'Noa terms of the Gaelic fishermen' in *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, Vol. XI, Pt.1, (1966), 85-99.
[10] W W Gill, *Manx Dialect. Words and phrases*, (London & Bristol: Arrowsmith, 1934).

In contrast to Moore, Morrison and Goodwin, Gill rejected the term Anglo-Manx, preferring instead an interchangeable use of 'Manx dialect' and 'Manx English'. His definition of the variety reads as follows:

> I. MANX ENGLISH. English as it is spoken by most of the Manx people differs widely from any other English. From a purely linguistic point of view it has not the value of an unmixed English dialect, since it is not the modern representative of an early subdivision of the language...Nevertheless it has the compensatory charm of piquantly mingling two distinct languages, the exhilarating freshness of the idiom, vocabulary and intonation of the Manx being imposed to some extent upon the English gradually acquired during the 18th and 19th centuries.' (W W Gill, p.3).

Gill, unlike Roeder, ignores the possibility of linguistic contact with English before the 18th century. His references to the interaction between MxG and English further suggest that he aims to display linguistic features which have arisen as a consequence of this encounter. However, the major flaw in Gill's work is his over-reliance on a literary source, that which he refers to as being the: 'obscure writings of the late George Quarrie. Though of small literary worth, as a record of the dialect they are extremely valuable.' (W W Gill, pp.5-6). Gill privileges Quarrie's writing as more 'authentic' than that of Brown or Rydings:

> In the work of Brown and Rydings the language is that of people in the presence of their social superiors, but in Quarrie's rough and ready rhymes they are talking among themselves, and only one of themselves could have written down their vernacular as he did. (W W Gill, p.6).

Gill goes on to praise Brown, but points out that, out of the: 'folk speech...he fashioned for himself a brilliantly expressive medium, but in doing so modified some of the characteristics of the dialects and exaggerated others.' (W W Gill, p.8). In this way, Gill enters the discussion about what Manx English is and is not. He suggests Brown's writings are not representative of the speech, but perhaps also misunderstands the role of such dialect writing. His comments represent one of the earliest suggestions that Brown had developed a literary code that did not directly relate to the spoken vernacular. Gill does, however, ignore the processes involved in the development of a

literary style, and claims Quarrie as a faithful notator of Manx English speech patterns. In this way, he privileges Quarrie above other writers as representing the 'truth' of Manx English.

Gill's praise of Quarrie is due in part to his perception of the writer's social standing. For Gill, Brown and Rydings' place in the community as establishment figures means that he considers the speech influencing their writings as belonging to a certain polite register. Comments such as these reveal Gill's awareness of sociolinguistic factors such as audience design, the variations in speech made to accommodate the language use of the other conversation participants. Gill seems unconcerned with Quarrie's own relationship to the Island. His writings reflect speech patterns of one specific region, that of Kirk Bride in the north. In addition, his parents were immigrants from Galloway, and Quarrie himself left the Island for the US in early manhood, dying in Brooklyn in 1926 (W W Gill, p.7). Perhaps Gill believed Quarrie to have been of the 'right' social class to access the 'real' vernacular, and that his move away from the Island helped to maintain some sense of purity of language use. This remains, however, questionable.

On the subject of MxG, Gill's comments afford further interest. He criticises those people who claim to want to preserve MxG without wanting to learn it: 'We hear..."*gur mie eu,*" "thank you," are also favoured by those who wish to preserve the Manx language without learning it.' (W W Gill, p.153). He goes on to point out the artificial nature of these utterances, saying that: 'These expressions and others are uttered a little self-consciously, but "*chree,*" "*veen,*" and "*villish,*" terms of endearment, offer their services spontaneously…' (W W Gill, p.153). Here he distinguishes between MxG lexical items and attempted shibboleth constructions. Degrees of 'Celtic' are also

afforded to different variables or idioms. Gill classes the phrase: 'Down with you to the gate' as being: 'less characteristically Celtic.' (W W Gill, pp.155-6), but sees the use of the: 'third person of the indicative both past and future...more Manx than English.' (W W Gill, p.156). Gill provides no evidence to support this statement, justifying his statement with claims of familiarity with what he refers to as 'Hibernicisms'. (W W Gill, p.156). But Gill, like those before him, viewed Manx English very much as a dying variety, referring to short phrases as: 'a wasting asset in the dialect ever since the change-over from Manx to English was finally accomplished.' (W W Gill, p.153).

Michael Barry and the *Survey of English Dialects*

The move from what had always been cursory examinations of MxE within the framework of dialects of the north-west of England to examinations by amateurs in the period 1900-1940 was followed by a more formal approach by academics such as Michael Barry, who undertook research for the *Survey of English Dialects* (*SED*) in 1958, with later fieldwork in 1966. The *SED* was intended to provide a linguistic atlas of England. In reality, as the informants selected were generally elderly, data collected said more about English dialects in 1890. As a whole, the survey has been criticised for a number of reasons:

- selection of informants (age, locality and gender)
- questionnaire structure
- informant integrity (i.e. different informants used with one questionnaire)
- limited styles elicited

The population targeted was the 'last generation' before the internal combustion engine, a population from communities which were less mobile. The survey also suggests that there is an ideal or pure dialect, and informant selection is based on the pursuit of this.

Lesley Milroy (1995) discusses this:

> One of the most pervasive assumptions underlying traditional dialectological method is that a particular form of a dialect – usually represented by the speech of a conservative, socially marginal speaker – may in some sense be seen as the 'genuine' or 'pure' form.[11]

As far as the authors of the *SED* were concerned, the more conservative speakers were old and male, and their selection process reflects this bias:

> Great care was taken in choosing informants. Very rarely were they below the age of sixty. They were mostly men: in this country men speak vernacular more frequently, more consistently, and more genuinely than women…[12]

The assumption that men speak vernacular more genuinely than women, fundamental to their informant selection, has been challenged successfully in subsequent studies, most notably by Trudgill. The over-reliance on NORMS, as Trudgill later termed the Non-mobile Older Rural Males, was not on sound basis. As Jennifer Coates (1993) points out, the generalisation that women are initiators of linguistic change presents an: 'over-simplistic picture, as some innovations are clearly associated with male rather than female speakers.'[13] Despite the differences in opinion as to the relationship between gender and dialect since the late 19th century, dialect studies have tended to favour men. (see Coates, pp.46-8).

The structure of the Dieth-Orton questionnaire relied on framing indirect questions. These took the form of two main types: naming and completing questions. As Chambers and Trudgill comment, this was a lengthy task, with interviews typically being conducted over 20-24 hours.[14] 'It is not surprising, then, that most interviews were begun with one informant and completed with another, or that several interviews are incomplete.' (Chambers and Trudgill, p.27). In addition, the elicitation techniques

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[11] Lesley Milroy, *Observing and Analysing Natural Language*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), p.14.
[12] H Orton and W Halliday (eds.), *Survey of English Dialects, The Basic Material*, Vol 1 (3 parts): *Six Northern Counties and Man*, (Leeds: E J Arnold, 1962), p.15.
[13] Jennifer Coates, *Women, Men and Language*, (London & New York: Longman, 1993), p.171.

utilised by this and other dialect surveys have been criticised because of their formality. The interaction between interviewer and informant remains distant, formal, and, at times, patronising. Limited styles of speech are therefore elicited.

Ian Whittaker

On the Island, four rural areas were chosen for investigation. Of these, the communities of Andreas and Ronague were chosen for publication. This was in order to reflect the long-standing linguistic boundary between the North and South. Ian Whittaker, then a student at the University of Leeds, also conducted some of the interviews, and his undergraduate dissertation, *The Dialect of Dalby and Glen Maye* was submitted in 1953.[15] Tapes of the interviews made by Barry and Whittaker are held at the North West Sound Archive. The notes accompanying the tapes indicate that seven informants were used, with one from the North, and three each from the South and West of the Island. The two informants with dates of birth supplied were born in the late 1870s. All informants were connected to rural trades.

Despite the problems surrounding the *Survey of English Dialects* and Barry's focus on lexical and phonological features alone, the assertion that MxE was experiencing rapid decline has been accepted and built upon as a foundation stone. Barry's statement, published in Trudgill (1984), announced that: 'Manx Gaelic died first, traditional regional Manx English dialect seems to be following quite quickly.'[16] This statement is significant in that Barry links the changes experienced by MxG to those being

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[14] J K Chambers & P Trudgill, *Dialectology*, (1980; repr. Cambridge: CUP, 1994), pp.25-6.
[15] Ian Whittaker, *The Dialect of Dalby and Glen Maye*, (unpublished BA dissertation for University of Leeds, 1953).
[16] M. V. Barry, 'Manx English', in *Language in the British Isles*, ed. Peter Trudgill, (Cambridge: CUP, 1984), 167-177, here p.168.

experienced by MxE. This was not something radically new, but rather an echo of the sentiments of W W Gill:

> Manx English not only reflects a sun that has set for ever, but is itself steadily waning, and must in the course of no long time become almost as extinct as the Manx language. (W W Gill, p.4).

It is hardly surprising then to find that in addressing the first 'Celtic Englishes' colloquium in Potsdam in 1995, George Broderick took a similar view:

> MxE is now on the retreat. In the last decade or so Manx Government policy of inviting non-Manx personnel...to service the ever-growing finance sector has placed the native born Manx population in the minority. It remains to be seen what will happen in the future. But from recordings made by M.P.N.S. [Manx Place-Name Survey] any vitality MxE may have had as a dialect of English in its own right is seeing the twilight of its life.[17]

The statements made by Gill, Barry and Broderick have been influential in setting up MxE as a dying category. Furthermore, the boundaries for the variety have been repeatedly established prior to each new research being undertaken, i.e. each population investigated has been selected subjectively. 'NORMS' have been allowed to predominate: Gill's chief source was Quarrie, Broderick's *MPNS* focuses largely on men as 'guardians of the land', therefore considered best equipped to provide place and field names.

George Broderick: Traditional Manx English

Broderick's place name work involved interviewing ca. 180 older members of the rural community in particular. In a consultative document for the Centre for Manx Studies, he indicated that this number has dropped below 130 due to the deaths of more than 50 of his informants.[18] This work has formed a source for articles and consultative

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[17] George Broderick, 'Manx English: An Overview' in *The Celtic Englishes*, ed. H. L. C. Tristram, (Heidelberg: Winter, 1997), 123-134, here p.134.
[18] George Broderick, *Proposals for research into Manx English*, (Mannheim, unpublished - 1995b), pp.3-4.

documents on MxE itself on the assumption that unbiased material was collected from 'native Manx' informants:

> This material comprises primarily place-name material, but in addition a substantial body of MxE speech on related folklore and folklife matters. As the main aim here was place-name research, its MxE sample could be regarded as unbiased. (Broderick 1997, p.124).

Broderick again articulated this position in the Manx press in the following November, when he talked about MxE as one of the last characteristics of a notion of Manxness: 'Now it tends to be restricted to rural communities...The time has now come to bring out the tape-recorder, that heralder of death, to record for posterity that *last vestige of Manxness* in the Island.'[19] Furthermore, Broderick's phrase 'that last vestige of Manxness' prompts closer inspection. The term 'Manxness' is ideologically loaded, and consciously draws together conceptions of language and culture, and of loss. 'Vestige' takes us to the image of a relic, a memorial or souvenir. The image of the central tenets of Manx identity crumbling away as the linguistic identity is 'eroded' provides too emotive an image. Broderick not only sets up linguistic identity as a dying category, but also extends the metaphor of death to Manx culture. Clearly, this is not satisfactory.

These comments do, however, reveal a need to discuss the definition of MxE as opposed to English in Man. It appears that conceptions of 'Manxness' are linked to MxE, whereas EM is to be taken as a more neutral term for all that is not MxE. This may be a convenient description for some, perhaps, but one that does nothing to dispel the ambiguity surrounding terminological choices. Chambers and Trudgill refer to the problems of making the distinction between a language and a dialect, between a dialect and an accent, saying: 'Dialects and accents frequently merge into one another without

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[19] George Broderick, letter to editor in *Isle of Man Examiner*, (21/11/95 – 1995a), italics added.

any discrete break.' (1980, p.5). Defining fixed boundaries for a dialect or a speech community often proves problematic.

Broderick refers to the term MxE as:

> specifically...that form of English spoken by native Manx people influenced in its phonology, syntax, idiom and lexical content by Manx Gaelic. It does not refer to any other form of English that may be spoken in Man. (Broderick 1995b, p.1).

He goes on to state that English in Man (EM): 'is not so influenced from Manx Gaelic, though in the process of time may show influences from Manx English.' (Broderick 1995b, p.2). But the problem in setting up *a priori* separate categories termed MxE and EM is that it runs the risk of over-simplifying the linguistic situation. According to this view, MxE is held to be a dying category, and therefore any influence can only be one way, namely from MxE to EM. At the very least it is premature to make such an assumption. The question also points to the source or sources for English language acquisition on the Isle of Man. It has been speculated that significant, widespread contact will have been with speakers from the North of England, especially the Lancashire area. The Island was never as isolated as its marine boundary would suggest. In fact, its very position set it at the centre of trade routes in the British Isles. The relationship between MxG and English is long-standing. The Island has been under English administration since the 14th century, after Scandinavian/Norse rule had passed. (see Broderick 1997, p.123.) Nick Williams (1998) has suggested that certain features in MxG once thought to have been due to English influence have instead come to the language from contact with the Norse.[20] The definition of 'traditional' MxE clearly needs to be modified in light of these suggestions.

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[20] Nicholas Williams, 'Vel oo toiggal Gaelg: some aspects of the history of Manx', (unpublished lecture given at Feailley Ghaelgagh, Manx Museum, Douglas, Isle of Man, 26/11/1998).

Martina Preuß: Present Day Manx English

Research which follows on from Broderick's approach formed the basis of a MPhil dissertation for the University of Liverpool by Martina Preuß in 1999.[21] Preuß' work warrants closer investigation, because it stands alone as a post-Barry study of language use on the Island. The survey is significant because it saw the first generation of recorded data specifically for linguistic purposes for nearly forty years. Preuß interviewed over 70 informants, many of whom were elderly. Her archive will prove invaluable to researchers in the future, and complements data collected by the Recording Mann Project during the same time period, for example.

Preuß rejects previously employed terms, and instead generates a new term, 'Present Day Manx English' [PDMxE]. The problematic nature of this term is clear from the onset – in an attempt to distance herself from terms such as 'traditional MxE', she introduces a temporal marker which will quickly become outdated. It is clear from the latter part of the thesis, however, that Preuß considers her term PDMxE as describing the variant of 'traditional MxE' surviving amongst the community selected. She states:

> Traditional Manx English appears to be still quite alive, at least more alive than one would expect from a dialect the near death of which was foretold thirty years ago. Especially the reasonably high yield of random results seem to dispel all gloomy thoughts about the future of the dialect, giving reason for new hope. Perhaps traditional Manx English is not following Manx Gaelic all that quickly? (Preuß 1999, p.120).

But how confident can we be in her claims? It is imperative that her research methods and ideology are examined more closely. Preuß' starting point is the assumption that her informants are MxE speakers, and that they are representative for the Island

community, and that Broderick's MPNS recordings are similarly representative and 'linguistically unbiased' (Preuß 1999, pp.1-2). Preuß' selection of informants is influenced strongly by Broderick's own informants for the MPNS, and is based on the following criteria:

- aged 45-95
- located in rural areas, with rural occupations

This methodology focuses on the assumed isolated status of the farming community. (Preuß 1999, p.56). Furthermore, it follows the approach of dialectologists already criticised repeatedly by Trudgill et al, namely the perception that NORMS are the 'best' speakers of a dialect. Whereas gender is not identified as part of the selection process, males dominate at a ratio of 48:27, i.e. just over one third of the speakers are female.

Although the problems associated with *SED*-type questioning (see above) were countered by more informal recordings with the informants, the results of such a survey must be viewed with caution.

Preuß concludes that:

> the erosion of the dialect is attributed mainly to the great influx of 'come-overs' 'taking over' the Isle of Man. Surrounded by foreigners, the Manx people feel that they cannot use their dialect, on the one hand out of politeness and on the other hand because they would simply not be understood. And by not speaking the dialect, they forget a lot of words and phrases which they used to use. Other reasons given were the English educational system that knocked the dialect out of the children as well, and also the strong influence of television and radio posing a threat to traditional dialects in general. The most important reason for the decline of traditional Manx English, however, is the inferiority complex of the Manx people created by centuries of English/British overlordship. (Preuß, 1999, p.124).

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[21] Martina Preuß, *Remaining lexical and syntactic borrowings from Manx Gaelic in Present Day Manx English. A study of a declining phenomenon from a formal-linguistic viewpoint*, (unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of

She uses emotive language, partly as a reflection of the language used by informants, but undoubtedly also as a reflection of her support for minority rights. The interpretation of the sociolinguistic situation presents the 'outside world' – whether that be the media, the 'come-overs' or education – as irresistible forces bound to corrupt the innocent and isolated communities. The description is too black and white in that it takes away the element of choice from the Manx population, and places them in an imagined village. The dangers of this will be discussed in following chapters. A feature of Preuß' work, as with that of Gill, Barry, Broderick, etc., is the link between the decline of MxG and the predicted decline of MxE. In addition, notions of 'Manxness' which accompany linguistic descriptions, i.e. the identified cultural baggage, must be examined.

Changes undergone by MxE are seen as markers of the sense of loss of a culture, of a way of life, in a way which mirrors the decline of MxG. Revivalists at the turn of the century who founded *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* (The Manx Language Society) recognised this impending loss. One of these, the place name and MxG scholar J. J. Kneen (1873-1938) dramatically foresaw the time:

> when the last lingering accents of Manx shall have passed into that oblivion of languages, which octopus-like fastens its tentacles around it and drags it into a nameless beyond.[22]

The cultural association of MxG and MxE is long-standing, but sometimes results in an over-simplified perception of the situation. The differences in status between a regional variety and a language should not be ignored, for it is the blurring of boundaries between the two which is problematic.

Liverpool, 1999).

[22] Box 4, letter from JJK→Mrs Laughton, 09/07/1907.

Jennifer Kewley Draskau: Manx Vernacular English

One example of recent ongoing research has been that undertaken by Kewley Draskau (see 1996a, 1996c, 2000), although this is based on vernacular verse texts rather than the study of naturally occurring speech patterns. Kewley Draskau not only adds insight to discussions on terminology, but also introduces theories established for creolisation to the Manx linguistic situation. It is largely out of this discussion that a new term, Manx Vernacular English (MVE), emerges. Kewley Draskau dismisses Anglo-Manx as an inaccurate compound, and also links its generation to the influence of imperialist power. She qualifies MxE with 'vernacular' because:

> most Manx diglossics even today have 2 codes available, a virtually standard 'educated' code and a more gossipy street talk one (vernacular). Which of these is 'acquired' in relation to the other is individual...[23]

In an unpublished paper given at the 6th International Conference on Minority Languages, Gdansk, Poland, in 1996, Kewley Draskau discusses late 20th century attitudes towards MVE. Again, the status of the English variety, here MVE, is compared to that of MxG. Kewley Draskau identifies the importance of being bi- or multilingual in varieties of MxE:

> There is every indication that there exists towards Manx Vernacular English in many quarters a prejudice comparable to that against Gaelic. While it is generally considered desirable to be able to "put on a Manx Accent" at will, it is accounted essential to be able to discard it with equal ease; to understand items of vocabulary, so as to use them with wry self-deprecation, but have the full range of standard alternatives readily available. Non-standard idiolects are often perceived by those who use them as a limitation: speakers may feel inadequate and resentful, "trapped" by their language.[24]

Moving on to discuss the development of Gaelic influences on MxE forms, Kewley-Draskau points out that earlier forms: 'often revealed fewer Gaelic influences than the form of Manx English which emerged later and which established itself as a

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[23] personal correspondence with Kewley Draskau by email, 12 June 1999.

systematised variety.' (Kewley Draskau 1996c, p.11). This is explained by the fact that the clergy were very active in education, and as the Church accepted English as a: 'more uplifting medium' (Kewley Draskau 1996c, p.11), MxE at the turn of the 19th/20th century was, not-surprisingly, said to closely resemble Standard English. Kewley-Draskau takes this one stage further, by introducing theories concerning the development of creoles:

> Sophisticated integration occurs at a secondary stage, as in the case of creoles. It is systematisation at this level which has proved capable of recreation in the literary works which constitute one sector of the Manx English corpus. (Kewley Draskau 1996c, p.11).

This would account for the lack of a straightforward decline of MxG influences on MxE. Indeed, with the increasing strength of MxG, both in terms of speakers and attitudes towards the language, there are opportunities for more innovative and dynamic merging of English codes and MxG in the 21st century.

The 'Recording Mann' Project[25]

Despite work being undertaken on 'dialect writing', interpretation of the sociolinguistic situation of MxE at the end of the 20th century relied too heavily on popular opinion alone. With the changing status of MxG, the sociolinguistic situation was becoming increasingly ambiguous. There had been little previous study on accent, intonation and phonology, with a privileging of lexis and syntax as characteristic of 'MxE populations'. Possible passive knowledge of MxE also remained largely unaccounted for. The project with which I was involved at the Centre for Manx Studies evolved in a reaction to this.

Its size and scale are significant, and it provides the context for the discussions on MxE

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[24] Jennifer Kewley Draskau, 'Minority Ethnolects in the Isle of Man. Manx Gaelic and Manx Vernacular English' (unpublished paper at 6th International Conference on Minority Languages, Gdansk, Poland, June 30-July 5 1996; 1996c), p.10.

[25] Much of this section has been published as Breesha Maddrell, 'Studying networks in a community of diversities: the "Recording Mann" Project' in *The Celtic Englishes II*, ed. Hildegard Tristram (Heidelberg, Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2000) 146-158.

which form the basis of this thesis. Initial discussions between the Manx Heritage Foundation, a government-funded grant-awarding body, and the Centre for Manx Studies raised the question of Manx identity at the end of the 20th century. The proposed four-year sociolinguistic study became known as the 'Recording Mann' project, and sought to provide an archive of recorded material suitable for an in-depth study of networks together with a general survey of the Island's population.

As the project operated under the auspices of the Centre for Manx Studies, two full-time and three part-time postgraduate students could be based on the Island for the project's duration. All were born and raised on the Island, which proved crucial in accessing a wide range of informants. The issue of insider-outsider was particularly important, as the Island's community is somewhat conservative, and, to some extent, wary of the intrusion of outsiders. Due to its size and demographic distribution, the Island's social structure involves networks which may be very isolated or localised. Within such a structure, speakers are typically more guarded about information they give, unless they can establish exactly 'who' the interviewer is,[26] but then suggest a wealth of other possible informants quite freely once this relational query has been answered. An important advantage of using Island-based researchers has been the greater sensitivity to situations of hyperdialecting, for example.

Theoretical orientation

The project's approach combines elements of traditional rural dialectology as exemplified in *The Survey of English Dialects* and sociolinguistic urban studies such as those by Labov and Trudgill, and the Milroys. (e.g. Labov 1966, Trudgill 1974, Milroy &

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[26] By this it is meant that interviewers are likely to be asked 'who Maddrell' or 'who Clague' they are, i.e. which branch of the family they are from, and to whom they are related.

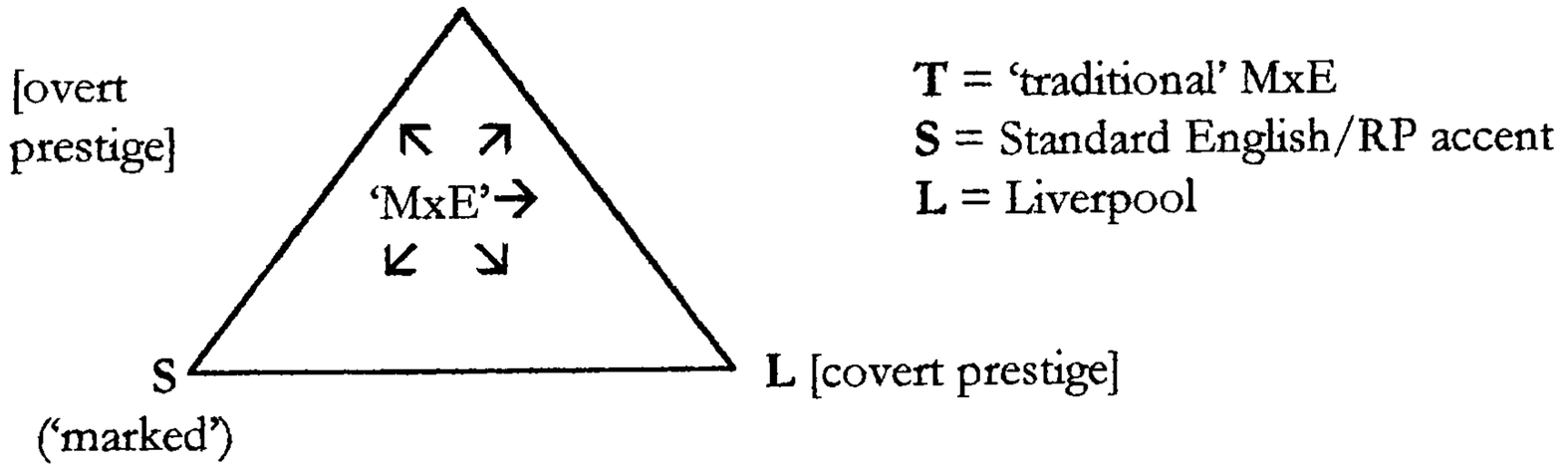
Milroy, 1978). The data collection involved both formal and informal interview situations, in order to elicit a wide range of styles. More importantly, some informal recordings were made by informants within their networks with the absence of linguist-interviewers, in an attempt to record speech in an 'authentic' social context.

Whereas the research attempted to access all parts of the Island's population, it also had to satisfy the need to record as many older speakers as possible – those viewed as the disappearing part of the speech community. This was undertaken largely by project volunteers. However, in order to determine the current state of MxE, it was important not to separate it from other Englishes in Man at the outset. It has been my view that Englishes in Man should be considered a continuum, with varying degrees of influence, as discussed by Chambers and Trudgill:

> The notion of the dialect continuum is perhaps a little difficult to grasp because...we are used to thinking of linguistic varieties as discrete entities, but the fact that such continua exist stresses the legitimacy of using labels for varieties in an ad hoc manner. Given that we have dialect continua, then *the way we divide up and label particular bits of a continuum may often be, from a purely linguistic point of view, arbitrary.* (Chambers and Trudgill, p.7, italics added).

An alternative to this is the 'triangle of influence', as suggested by Hamer[27] (forthcoming). The diagram below shows the three main 'pulls' on the regional variety.

Hamer's 'triangle of influence' [28]



[27] Andrew Hamer, ' 'Scouseness' in Manx English', in *Proceedings of the 1998 conference Centred on Mann: Issues in Sociolinguistic Theory and Method*, ed. Andrew Hamer (forthcoming).
[28] Arrows have been added for clarity by myself.

The definition of MxE is thereby viewed as dynamic. The approach adopted by Recording Mann avoids a pre-judged selection of the MxE population. By viewing the speech patterns of the so-called traditional MxE speakers as unfixed, a more accurate description can be extracted once data collection and analysis is complete. This is particularly important when the difficulties of defining MxE speakers are examined. It is essential to move away from the assumed decline of MxE, and to focus instead on its changing nature. In a consultative document for the Centre for Manx Studies, Kewley Draskau commented on the difficulties in locating 'MxE speakers' because: 'Technically, many native Manx merit the classification **"bilingual"**, i.e. speakers fully capable of communicating in both Manx English and at least one other variety of English.'[29] It would seem therefore more appropriate to reintroduce and reinterpret the term MxE after data collection and analysis is complete. Furthermore, the history of the terminology used to describe the varieties of English in Manx must be examined in order to make more informed judgements regarding the sociolinguistic situation now and in the future. The context for network exploration was provided by the 1st round survey of the Island. This was necessary because, unlike locations such as Belfast, for example, the population is not wholly urban, with little geographical, social or ethnic homogeneity. Without the context we could not assume that network exploration alone would be representative of the Island's population.

Practical considerations

Due to the scale of the task, outside assistance was essential. Direct publicity on the radio and in the local press appealed for volunteers, and possible informants. This was one way of informing potential interviewees about the sociolinguistic nature of the project prior to their interviews. An interview with Manx Radio was particularly

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[29] Jennifer Kewley Draskau, consultative document for C.M.S., (Isle of Man, unpublished, 1996b), p.7.

successful, as it helped dispel fears that the project would conceal the nature of the research. After lengthy discussion amongst team members, it was decided that it would not only be unethical, but also impossible to conceal the linguistic nature of the interviews in such a close-knit community. In addition, the research was to be seen as a community project. By involving outsiders to the project in the interviewing process itself, it was hoped that the community would feel able to 'own' the project in some way. This was important in order to counter the perception that many social studies can create, i.e. that 'experiments' are being conducted on the people.

School pupil involvement

The general survey was achieved largely through the help of the Island's schools, with pupils acting as interviewers. Schools participated on a voluntary basis, a total of 17 of 36 having taken part. Of those 17 schools, 8 were from the main urban area, Douglas-Onchan, a figure which is proportionate to the Island's population structure.

The use of school pupils had many advantages, the main one being the lessening in the effect of observer's paradox, because pupils conducted interviews with their family and friends. The use of school pupils as participant-observers is discussed at length by Pressley.[30] She points out that, unlike studies such as those by Romaine (1975), Reid (1978) and Macaulay (1977), which involve school children as informants, the 'Recording Mann' project uses them as fieldworkers and informants simultaneously. The population accessed by the school involvement provided a wide variety of informants from throughout the Island. It is, however, possible that, by targeting schools, efforts made to avoid placing constraints on the population to be studied were

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[30] Rachel Pressley, 'The school pupil as participant observer', in *Proceedings of the 1998 conference Centred on Mann: Issues in Sociolinguistic Theory and Method,* ed. Andrew Hamer (forthcoming).

not successful. The two main sectors of the population which would not have been covered by the school approach are young professionals and older, recent residents with no family on the Island. If members of these two sectors were involved in the Island's community, though, it is likely that they would have been accessed. It was not specified that pupils had to interview members of their own family, and it was often the case that family friends were chosen as interviewees. If, on the other hand, their involvement were limited, their effect on the linguistic situation would only be tangential. Furthermore, these effects were limited by interviews outside the school context conducted by project team members and volunteers. The school children involved in the scheme ranged from 5-18 in age. This naturally had consequences as to quality and length of interviews, some children viewing the task as a necessary evil of homework, others displaying sophisticated skills of question-generation as they developed the interview situation independently. This variation is presented in more detail by Pressley (Pressley in Hamer, forthcoming).

An information pack for teachers was developed largely by myself to enable teachers to implement the scheme. The insight offered in particular by the teaching staff on the project team proved invaluable, with modifications being made before its implementation. The pack presented a project which could be easily integrated into existing curriculum plans, and also offered teachers opportunities to fulfil criteria for the adopted National Curriculum. The pack contained:

- an overview of the project
- sample letter to parents (prior to commencement of project)
- information about recording equipment and interview skills
- question banks for different age groups of interviewers
- sample form for biographical details, together with options for use of recordings

Clearly, the use of minors raised many questions of an ethical nature, and the steps taken to ensure the protection of their rights became a priority. This is particularly important when it is considered that the majority of pupils involved were below the age of 18. The initial letter gave parents the opportunity to refuse permission for their child's involvement in the school scheme, the form which accompanied the interview allowed them to be more specific about use of the recording by the project. No school recordings could be used without parental signatures confirming permission had been given for use of their child's tape.

Question banks

The question banks were generated in such a way as to correspond to questionnaires used for the Manx Museum Folklife Survey of the 1950s. Ten main sections were chosen, including family background, childhood, school, church/chapel, etc., as well as more ideological questions concerning language, folklore and identity. As the recordings made by the Recording Mann Project will be housed in the Manx Museum as a national archive, the extra-linguistic aim of using questions which parallel previous research was to enable comparisons to be made between the two sets of data. In addition, the questions follow in the Trudgillian tradition, in particular techniques employed in his Norwich study. The intention of using question banks was to enable younger children to conduct interviews with ease. Older pupils were encouraged, like team members and volunteers, to integrate the topic areas into a more natural and spontaneous speech situation, allowing the informant to lead the conversation whenever possible.

Actual population accessed

Over a period of 18 months, a total of 391 informants were recorded on tape by team members, volunteers and school pupils. The advantage of using school pupils was that they, as interviewers, doubled as informants. This brought the total of informants giving permission for use of the tapes to ca. 600, just under 1% of the population. 293 adults indicated that they would be willing for the project to use the tape already made, being prepared also to participate in further interviews. The analysis of data involved identification of broad trends through casual observation as well as from phonetic transcriptions for each recording. These variables formed the basis for the design of the next stage of recordings, namely the deepening of language accessed through exploration of networks.

It is still too early to make any definitive statements about the future of regional varieties of English in the Isle of Man on the basis of research carried out for the Recording Mann Project. Interim findings reported at the 'Centred on Mann' conference in July 1998 suggest that there is no hard boundary between 'MxE speakers' and the community at large,[31] and that at least one specifically 'MxE' phonological variable remains. (Hamer, forthcoming). Data already collected suggests that MxE is not dead, but rather that it is changing. These changes will have to be examined in both real and apparent time, through comparison with previous recordings, e.g. those made for the *SED*, Irish Folklore Commission, Manx Folklife Survey, etc., and through different age categories of informants in the Recording Mann Project. A new approach to defining MxE must be adopted in order to avoid the self-perpetuating myth of its decline. This new definition of MxE demands that it be observed in its context, and not in isolation.

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[31] This concept has been developed within the 'Recording Mann' project team, being explored specifically in an unpublished postgraduate seminar given by myself at the University of Liverpool, 1997.

Before beginning a critical survey of previous research into the sociolinguistic situation in Mann, we need to turn to the terms and concepts applied to different linguistic varieties at different times. Issues of language contact will be significant, for it appears that perceptions and realities of the MxE situation, of its 'survival' or 'revival', are, in part, connected to the decline and loss of MxG. The examination looks therefore not only to recent academic debate, but also to the populist folk linguistic views from the turn of the last century, which still influence many interpretations in the Island population at the time of writing. Previous research into MxE illustrates the differences between perception and actual development. These differences are key to its definition. All too often, commentary reflects popular opinion, instead of being founded on empirical evidence. The value of such anecdotal evidence should not be allowed to overshadow all else, for it only aids the perpetuation of myths, doing nothing to remove a sense of ambiguity.

Research had also been unable to provide satisfactory definitions of varieties of English spoken in the Isle of Man, whether termed MxE, Anglo-Manx, or any of the terms introduced at the beginning of this chapter. Instead, terms have been generated by each new researcher, each operating without an attempt to look at the historical development of the varieties of English, and with only cursory reference to figures key to the development of works of reference.

This thesis begins the process of historical contextualisation. Notions of revival, of pan-Celticism, of nationality, are all key to an understanding of the processes at work within MxE and Anglo-Manx now. The following chapters follow this process of contextualising, moving through increasingly narrower focus on cross-sections in the evolution of linguistic codes in English.

For the purpose of this discussion, the term Anglo-Manx will be used when referring to the work of antiquarian revivalists at the turn of the 20th century. It will be used because it was the term they adopted and used most frequently. This follows Kiberd's choice for his discussion of the language of Synge: 'the term "Anglo-Irish" has been used in its loose traditional sense in this book, because Synge himself and subsequent scholars of his work have used it in this way.'[32] The final chapters will discuss the implications of such choices, and will re-assess the terms MxE and Anglo-Manx.

The process of contextualisation of the *Vocabulary* will begin with a general examination of issues of language, nation and identity. The Celtic Revival will then be taken as an example, with specific reference to the case of Ireland, and to the work of Douglas Hyde in the collection, study and presentation of language and oral history. Against the backdrop of developments in Ireland, cultural activities in the Isle of Man will provide context for the search for Manx national and linguistic identities. The contribution of the Sophia Morrison circle will provide detailed examples of antiquarian practices at the turn of the 20th century.

Sophia Morrison was an important figure in the recording and presentation of MxE speech patterns during the early part of the 20th century. The work which Morrison co-authored, *A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect*, will then be deconstructed. I will then examine the usage of the variety by Matthew Kneale in his Whitbread prize-winning novel, *English Passengers*, as a means of concluding the discussion of the relationship of linguistic and national identities on the Island.

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[32] Declan Kiberd, *Synge and the Irish Language*, (London & Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1979), p.x.

CHAPTER TWO

Language and nation: reconstruction and revival

Modern societies have an endless need to define themselves as eternally unique and language is one of the few remaining mass symbols that answers this need without automatically implying one or another short-lived and non-distinctive institutional base....It is for its readers a universe which is simultaneously constantly expanding, and, yet, very much their own.[1]

The interplay between notions of language and nation in Man will provide context for the development of MxE. The Manx linguistic situation is particularly interesting because two varieties of two different languages, MxE and MxG, provide examples of attempted linguistic revival. Each attempted revival was presented as being key to the development of the modern Manx nation. It is because of the strong but complicated relationship between language, culture and nation-building that it is necessary to look to the dynamics of the Manx cultural revival in general, in order to provide context for the promotion of the related linguistic varieties.

This chapter begins with a discussion of theories of national identity and national development. Concepts of revival and reconstruction will also feature, and will be applied generally to the Celtic revival, and more specifically to situations in Ireland and Man. Because the late 19th century cultural and linguistic revival in Man is largely undocumented, developments in neighbouring communities are crucial to an understanding of the Manx situation. The revival of Manx culture finds its context not only in the development of the Manx nation itself, but within its wider stage of the Celtic revival.

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[1] Joshua Fishman, *Language and Nationalism. Two integrative Essays*, (Rowley, Massachussets: Newbury House Publications, 1972), pp.49-50.

The last three decades of the 19th century were characterised by the focus on the development of concepts of nationality. In their consideration of the rise in nationalist music, Harman and Mellers comment that:

> Gradually, the cult of the individual nation grows alongside the cult of the individual personality... Naturally, a preoccupation with 'nationhood' is most vigorously evident in small countries which were just growing to political consciousness...or in a large country which had no deep roots in the cultural heritage of Europe.[2]

Although national consciousness has its roots in the late 18th century, the latter decades of the 19th century saw a renewed sense of nationalism, a nationalism which inspired and was inspired by cultural output. Germany was established as a nation in 1871, and Ireland was moving ever closer to its realisation as an independent state.

'What is a nation?'

An examination of the term 'nation' must turn to Ernest Renan's seminal essay: 'What is a nation?'[3] which was first delivered at the Sorbonne in March 1882. Renan's essay has become the starting point for many discussions of conceptions of nationality and race, with his consideration of the nation as a spiritual principle, as: 'the outcome of the profound complications of history' (Renan in Bhabha, p.18). Renan examines terms which are often confused, such as dynasty, sovereignty and ethnographic groups, finally arriving at a separation of nation and race. To him, the concept of a nation is removed from ideas of geographical, linguistic, religious and racial boundaries, and placed instead in the realm of collective memory.

> Man is a slave neither of his race nor his language, nor of his religion, nor of the course of rivers nor of the direction taken by mountain chains. A large aggregate of men, healthy in mind and warm of heart, creates the kind of moral conscience which we call a nation. So long as this moral consciousness gives

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[2] Alec Harman & Wilfrid Mellers, *Man and his music. A story of musical experience in the West*, (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1980), p.851.

[3] Ernest Renan, 'What is a nation?' transl. Martin Thom, in *Nation and Narration*, ed. Homi K Bhabha, (London & New York: Routledge, 1990), 8-22.

> proof of its strength by the sacrifices which demand the abdication of the individual to the advantage of the community, it is legitimate and has the right to exist. (Renan in Bhabha, p.20).

Renan believes that: 'the essence of a nation is that all individuals have many things in common, and also that they have forgotten many things.' (Renan in Bhabha, p.11). It is, he proposes, this collective consciousness, this shared experience, which determines the legitimacy of a nation. Tovey, Hannan and Abramson (1989) apply this general concept to ethnic identity, describing it as the:

> attribution or labelling of cultural differences between peoples and the understandings or beliefs we attach to such distinctions. Thus ethnic boundaries between peoples are symbolic constructions, forged and reconstituted in a reciprocal process of interaction and reinforced by the *perceptions* of the differences thought to typify given groups.[4]

What becomes clear is that it is proposed that both national and ethnic identities rely more on intellectual constructs than on physical features. Whereas commentators may suggest that tangible characteristics such as terrain are important, Colin Williams agrees that: 'The word nation refers to a human group that has distinctive characteristics that distinguish it *behaviourally* from any other kind of group.'[5] Beyond even behavioural differences, the importance has to be on the concept of the 'imagined'.

Imagined Communities

One of the most influential theories of the late 20th century which follows Renan's basic premises is that of Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities.* Anderson proposes the following definition of the nation:

> it is an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members...yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.[6]

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[4] Hilary Tovey, Damian Hannan & Hal Abramson, (1989) *Cad chuige an ghaeilge?: teanga agus feiniulacht in Eirinn ar linne. (Why Irish?: language and identity in Ireland today.)*, Baile Atha Cliath (Dublin), Bord Na Gaeilge, p.ii.

[5] Colin Williams, *Called Unto Liberty!*, (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1994), p. 20, italics added.

[6] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (London & New York: Verso, 1991), p.15.

Shared experience is essential to the development of a sense of community, and shared literature provides an important way in which individuals can transfer this to a perhaps wider population. As Anderson points out, literature is key to the representation of 'imagined communities' of nationality. He refers to:

> two forms of imagining which first flowered in Europe in the eighteenth century: the novel and the newspaper. For these forms provided the technical means for 're-presenting' the *kind* of imagined community that is the nation. (Anderson, pp.24-5).

Anderson modifies this statement by acknowledging the origins of the modern newspaper in the Dutch gazettes of the late 17th century. Nevertheless, he follows the stance taken by Febvre and Martin that: 'the newspaper only became a general category of printed matter after 1700.' (Anderson, p.25).

Anderson's work, first published in 1983, was criticised largely by those working with post-colonial texts. His model was challenged for example by Partha Chatterjee in his works *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*[7] and *The Nation and Its Fragments.*[8] Chatterjee criticises Anderson for his application of the imagined community to the postcolonial situation, in that it is maintained that postcolonial communities: 'have to choose their imagined community from certain "modular" forms already made available to them by Europe and the Americas…' (Chatterjee 1993, p.5). Ania Loomba identifies other criticisms aimed at Anderson, criticisms which suggest that:

> *Imagined Communities* pays so much attention to who is included in the communities that it fails to consider those who are excluded and marginalised, such as women, or lower classes, races, or castes. The 'fraternity' which represents the nation does not explicitly include them as equals, however, it always implicitly claims to represent them.[9]

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[7] Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World* (Minnesota: Zed Books, 1986).
[8] Chatterjee, Partha, *The Nation and Its Fragments* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).
[9] Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, (London & New York: Routledge, 1998), pp.197-8.

The second edition of *Imagined Communities*, appearing in 1991, attempts to address some of these criticisms, by taking into consideration the proliferation of works on nationalism which appeared in the eight years between editions, as well as the changes in world national identities.

The development of nationalism: Fishman and Hroch

In his integrative essays, *Language and Nationalism*, Joshua A Fishman adopts the definition of nationalism of the pioneering sociologist and teacher, Louis Wirth (1897-1952): 'the social movements, attitudes and ideologies which characterize the behavior of nationalities engaged in the struggle to achieve, maintain or enhance their position in the world.' (see Wirth, pp.723-37).

Fishman sees recurrent components of nationalism as relying upon the recognition and conviction that something is a unique ethnocultural characteristic, and the development of the belief that this is important to the nation. (Fishman, p.5). It is this element of recognition, of conviction, that is key here. For, as Ernest Gellner suggests in his work, *Thought and Change*: 'Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist.'[10] He believes it to be an error to assume that an individual automatically has a nationality, that (s)he wishes to live with and be governed by others sharing that nationality. (Gellner, p.150).

By way of contrast, Miroslav Hroch's 1985 work *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*[11] begins by arguing the opposite to Gellner, suggesting that a differentiation must be made from: 'the notion that nationalism is the primary formative factor and the

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[10] Ernest Gellner, *Thought and change*, (London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1964), p.169.

nation is derivative...we posit the conception of the nation as a constituent of social reality of historical origin.' (Hroch, p.3). Hroch points out that even where features of the 'classical' definition of a nation are apparent, e.g. established cultural unity, modernised literary language, perhaps even an economic whole, which was the case for Wales at the end of the 19th century: 'we cannot speak at that time of a fully developed Welsh nation' (Hroch, p.4). He argues rather that the formation of a modern nation relies upon a combination of factors: 'a combination of several kinds of relation (economic, territorial, political, religious, cultural, linguistic and so on) which arise on the one hand from the solution found to the fundamental antagonism between man and nature on a specific compact land-area, and on the other hand from the reflection of these relations in the consciousness of the people.' (Hroch, pp.4-5). In saying this, Hroch outlines the powerful bonds which develop as a result of: 'territorial, linguistic and political relations.' (Hroch, p.6). One of the key issues is how the individual becomes aware of a national identity, and how this develops into what he terms a national consciousness. (Hroch, p.11). Factors which may hinder the development of the modern nation, include that the nation:

1. was dominated by a ruling class of more or less alien nationality
2. formed an ethnic unit, but never an independent political unit
3. lacked a continuous tradition of cultural production in a literary language of their own, or had once possessed one, which was subsequently obliterated or underwent serious degeneration. (see Hroch, pp.8-9).

The third factor is particularly relevant to the case of the Isle of Man. Unlike Ireland, Scotland and Wales, for example, the Isle of Man is not fortunate enough to have an established literary tradition until relatively recent times. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

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[11] Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*, (transl. Ben Fowkes, Cambridge: CUP, 1985).

The development of the modern nation

Models of national development typically identify a period of scholarly interest, a period which sees an increase in antiquarian activity. At such a time, historians, folklorists, musicians, artists and linguists begin to examine issues of what is native in their respective fields. Lerner (1958) bases this activity on the transition from traditional society, where: 'trans-personal common doctrine formulated in terms of shared secondary symbols' (Lerner in Fishman, p.88) is not necessary, to the nation where such a national ideology becomes fundamental to shared knowledge and activity. Fishman writes that:

> Nationalism, at least for hitherto traditional or transitional populations, represents an expansion of affiliative beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors so as to include far more distant (indeed, purely figurative) kin, far more distant authorities, and far more inclusive commitments than those that are immediately available to or directly impinge on their daily experiences. (Fishman, p.6).

Nationalism, then, tries to present a continuation of the past, and looks to the past to provide authenticating weight to its cause:

> While it is true that nationalism both seeks out and cultivates the Little Tradition of an ostensible past – with its folksongs, folktales, proverbs, folk dances, costumes, pastimes, and expressions – it finds not only purity and authenticity in the past but also (and particularly) greatness. It is this greatness, rooted in authenticity, that can (it is hoped) inspire current masses to make new efforts, to overcome new dangers, and to achieve new (and even greater) greatness. (Fishman, p.8).

Nationalism often stresses authenticity and purity, claiming that the lower classes, especially those from rural areas, are the guardians/keepers of the authentic past:

> The peasantry, and, at times, the lower classes more generally, have more fully and faithfully preserved the ethnocultural distinctiveness of the past and it is the past, in all its authenticity and glory, that constitutes the main storehouse from which nationalism derives its dynamism for changing the present and creating the future. (Fishman, p.7).

Authenticity becomes such a key issue because it is presented as a validating principle for greatness. This perceived greatness is, in turn, a necessary condition for inspiring the masses to rally round in order to attain such glory in the near future.

Elements of revival

The oral culture or tradition typically provides the richest ground for aspects of the past most commonly revived: music, stories and sayings from the oral culture, in particular. It is the timeless nature of the oral tradition that enables these cultural expressions to carry with them authenticating values. It does not matter whether a song, story or saying is five hundred or fifty years old if each has been accepted into the tradition. In this way, the oral tradition can be identified as being of mythic significance. This identification secures its future through its progressive and inclusive qualities.

Songs, stories and sayings belong, however, to domains of language. It is partly their importance to nationalism that brings linguistic revival to the fore. The varieties used to express such elements of the so-called traditional culture are important, as they reflect the ways in which each participating member of society wishes to be perceived:

> In order to be politically effective, elements of the intelligentsia must stir the people, using the uniqueness of their language and customs as a defence in a populist reaction against underdevelopment. (Williams 1994, p.41).

This linguistic and cultural revival or rediscovery is an important part of the development of the nation, and in the Isle of Man, awareness of MxE as a separate variety appears to stem from the 1820s. The turn of the 20th century saw arguably the blossoming of antiquarian interest and activity, resulting in a proliferation of specifically 'Manx' societies and corresponding journals.

Motivating factors for the intelligentsia

> The beginning of every national revival is marked by a passionate concern on the part of a group of individuals, usually intellectuals, for the study of the language, the culture, the history of the oppressed nationality…Their interest was motivated by a patriotism of the Enlightenment type, namely an active affection for the region in which they lived, associated with a thirst for knowledge of every new and insufficiently investigated phenomenon. (Hroch, pp.22-3).

Fishman, too, outlines the processes behind the involvement of the intelligentsia, pointing out that it is because they: '*have* had nonlocal experiences which *have* exposed them to the ideas and the structures of ethnocultural unity and the organization of authenticity' (Fishman, p.5) that motivates them to become active. It is this sense of the intellectual outsider which is important. It brings with it the ability to compare and contextualise, in order to truly identify what is unique in the culture.

Hroch identifies this period of academic interest as the first in a three-phase development towards the development of the national movement:

> **Phase A** (the period of scholarly interest)
> **Phase B** (the period of patriotic agitation)
> **Phase C** (the rise of a mass national movement) (Hroch, p.23).

It is not the case, however, that each phase is bound to succeed, and it is thereby possible that the transition from Phase B to C does not always occur. (Hroch, pp.23-4). The three-phase model emphasises the importance of the intelligentsia. Williams, too, identifies the significance of these 'key actors' in shaping national revival. (Williams 1994, p.42).

The question remains as to how the intelligentsia is defined. Dictionary definitions tend to describe them as: 'the educated or intellectual people in a society or community.'[12] These intellectual leaders, professionals and educators are separated into three strata by Hroch in his model:

1. élite sections, directly associated with the ruling classes…
2. those professional groups including lawyers, doctors, artists, journalists, scientists, evangelical pastors
3. those who 'stood in a relationship of wage-labour', ie. lower and middle officials, clerics, teachers, Catholic priests and students. (see Hroch, p.16).

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[12] Collins Concise Dictionary, Second Edition, p.588.

These divisions will apply in part to the situation in Man, and will form the basis of discussion in Chapter Three. The intelligentsia is important because its ranks possess the ability and opportunity to research and present elements of native culture. Descriptions of the emergence of such scholarly interest typically focus on native language and culture, on the vernacular.

Reinvention and rediscovery

'Nations, like narratives, lose their origins in the myths of time and only fully realize their horizons in the mind's eye.'[13] Revival has at its core questions of myth and reality. Some of its realities are judged to exist only within an artificial frame, some of its realities become myths with which it counters new realities. Revival uses the power of myth in its authentication processes, because: 'The unique thing about myth is that it is true for all time and that its content, condensed to the utmost intensity, is inexhaustible for all time.'[14]

National revival often looks to one particular era of its past upon which it wishes to focus, which it can idealise. As Williams writes: 'even small nationalities have their own vision of a once united independent past.' (Williams 1994, p.23). Such a particular past or pasts are seen as unique to that nation: 'Where nations did not exist as self-conscious sociopolitical entities, they were invented, or otherwise re-discovered from the ashes of antiquity.' (Williams 1994, p.1).

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[13] Homi K Bhabha, (ed.), *Nation and Narration*, (London & New York: Routledge, 1990), p.1.
[14] Richard Wagner in Raymond Furness, *Wagner and Literature*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982), p.94.

It is this element of rediscovery or reinvention that typifies national awakening. The intelligentsia provides evidence for native culture, evidence which they present as unique. If Hroch's model is to be followed, this rediscovery has to be significant and convincing enough to inspire the masses to such a degree that they identify it as their own. Fishman points out that if national revival is to succeed, not only is rediscovery necessary, but its partial reinvention can prove essential to its success. 'The past is being mined, ideologized, and symbolically elaborated in order to provide determination, even more than direction, with respect to current and future challenges.' (Fishman, p.9). Nationalism's approach to the past cannot hope to be comprehensive. In fact, it is deliberately partial, moving away from the confines of antiquarian interest in the drive for an agenda. Its aims are to inspire unity and promote feelings of glory and greatness, rather than to produce a highly detailed account of the nation's past. Its reinvention and its re-presentation are crucial to its acceptance throughout the national community.

Nevertheless, any such efforts will prove unsuccessful if the intelligentsia is perceived as being too far removed from the community at large. Williams writes:

> In order to be politically effective, elements of the intelligentsia must stir the people, using the uniqueness of their language and customs as a defence in a populist reaction against underdevelopment. The intelligentsia in Nairn's scheme are cast as the articulators and perceivers of underdevelopment... (Williams 1994, p.41).

It is important at this stage to point out that it is not necessary for the intelligentsia to 'lead' the national revival. The example of the Danes in Schleswig, where German has been predominant from the time of the Reformation, (see Hroch, pp.117-124) provides us with an instance where the farming population rather than the intelligentsia proved more active in the promotion of Danish. In 1831 in Paulsen, a pamphlet: 'demanding equality of linguistic rights for the Danish minority' was released, but caused little reaction. This was, however, followed by open conflict from 1836 onwards, when a

motion calling for recognition of Danish as the language of the administration. 1843 saw the founding of the Schleswig Society (Den Slesvigske Forening) and the development of Danish education. The difference to the Danish national movement was that it was supported by the farmers: 'while the attitude of the urban population and the intelligentsia was ambivalent, or even hostile.' (Hroch, p.118).

In the case of the Isle of Man, the intelligentsia *was* to prove essential to cultural and national revival. What is in question, however, is the extent to which the intelligentsia was successful in conveying its developing national ideology to the population at large. As Fishman writes:

> The spread of nationalism is, therefore, marked not by its existence in the upper reaches of society, but by its successful communication to and activation of the urban (and ultimately also the rural) lower middle and lower classes. (Fishman, pp.15-16).

The importance of language

> Language plays a particularly important role in the development and transmission of culture…In itself the most significant invention or product of culture, language serves as well as the foundation on which cultures are erected and transmitted. Human social life is dramatically affected by language. It permits the philosophical constructions of time and space, enabling events that occurred long ago (history, tradition) and far away (geography) to be related. With language, humans can even project their desires or anticipations into the future.[15]

Language has long been associated with issues of national identity, with being a definer of a nation, whether that nation constitutes a state or exists within one:

> …it is true beyond doubt that wherever a separate language is found there a separate nation exists which has the right to take independent charge of its affairs and to govern itself. (Fichte in Williams 1994, p.5).

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[15] John & Erna Perry, *The social web*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), pp.56-7.

Fichte's 1922 statement asserting that language is an indicator of the right of nationhood is clearly not universally applicable. Language is a powerful tool for developing nationalism, but the presence of a distinct language is not always influential enough to promote national unity. By way of contrast to Fichte, Renan's essay refers to the role of language by saying that: 'Language invites people to unite, but it does not force them to do so.' (Renan in Bhabha, p.16). He continues by pointing out that language is not a static indicator of race:

> The political importance attaching to languages derives from their being regarded as signs of race. Nothing could be more false. Prussia, where only German is now spoken, spoke Slav a few centuries ago; in Wales, English is spoken...(Renan in Bhabha, p.16).

Even if language cannot be said to automatically determine race, the relationship between language and national identity is clearly a strong one. A Bord na Gaeilge publication notes that in the Irish case: 'language is a particularly salient and consistent element in what constitutes our identity'. (Tovey, et. al., p.ii):

> Cultural separateness reinforces the nationalist's sense of unique destiny and provides a 'mission/destiny' view of historical development. It operates through a variety of cultural markers, such as language, religion, group customs and institutions. But the key mechanism for creating and sustaining group separateness is social communication. (Williams 1994, p.37).

However, the example of Lithuania, as Hroch reminds us, showed that: 'even the maintenance of one's own national language did not rule out identification with the national sentiment of the ruling nation.' (Hroch, pp.139-40). This means that language can be maintained within a state where a different nation with a different majority language is in power.

Fishman credits the placing of language at the heart of nationalist issues to Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), whose work influenced commentators such as Fichte, for example.

Fishman writes that Herder's writing was:

> seminal in developing the complementary views that the mother tongue expressed a nationality's soul or spirit, that since it was a collective achievement par excellence, language was also the surest way for individuals to safeguard (or recover) the authenticity they had inherited from their ancestors as well as to hand it on to generations yet unborn, and, finally, that worldwide diversity in language and in culture was a good and beautiful thing in and of itself, whereas imitation led to corruption and stagnation. (Fishman, p.46).

These three points, linking mother tongue and national spirit, promoting language as a safeguard for national continuity, and asserting the need for linguistic diversity, have been of great import to developing nations, and of particular resonance to the 'Celtic' revivals of the 19th and 20th centuries.

During the late 1890s in Ireland and Wales, the belief that language and nationality were strongly linked was widespread. The Irish language was repeatedly cited as the key to Irish nationality, key to the development of the modern Irish state. Thomas Davis' article 'Our National Language' which appeared in *The Nation* in 1843, contains material which strongly links the use of Irish as being symbolic of the struggle for a free, independent Ireland:

> To lose your native tongue, and learn that of an alien, is the worst badge of conquest - it is the chain on the soul. To have lost entirely the national language is death; the fetter has worn through…Nothing can make us believe that it is natural…for the Irish to speak the speech of the alien, the invader…[16]

Here Davis utilises key images of colonialism in his defence of the Irish language. He talks of chains, of conquest, and identifies the English language as a powerful part of the authoritarian structure. The Irish language alone is presented as the key to moving from the colonial situation.

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[16] Thomas Davis, 'Our National Language' *The Nation*, 1 April 1843.

He is convinced that language is more important a definer of nation than any other, saying:

> A people without a language of its own is only half a nation. A nation should guard its language more than its territories – 'tis a surer barrier, a more important frontier than fortress or river. (Davis 1843).

This was an issue upon which Eamon De Valera, first president of Ireland, agreed. Under his charismatic leadership, De Valera convinced the Irish that *he* was Ireland. De Valera is well-known for having told other members of the *Gaelic League* that if he had to choose between language and freedom, language would win out every time. Fishman writes of this that: 'the uniqueness of folk spirit and life-style that was represented by the vernacular was considered to be a truer and more lasting independence.' (Fishman, p.53). To this effect, IrG was made the official language of the Irish Republic. To De Valera, IrG represented freedom of the mind, of the soul – a freedom that could survive, that could keep the soul Irish until wider freedom could be attained.

Despite the passionate words of De Valera, Hroch points out that language and its associated forms of expression did not offer a powerful enough symbol to inspire the development of a national movement:

> An agitation carried on under the exclusive banner of language, national literature or other super-structural attributes such as history, folklore and so on, could not by itself bring the popular strata under the patriotic banner: the road from Phase B to Phase C was closed off, or, in some cases, interrupted. (Hroch, p.186).

Hroch's statement suggests that the work of antiquarians active in Man could not provide the motivating force for such a development. Herein lies one of the reasons why the Manx revival effectively failed in becoming a national movement. Unlike the revival in Ireland, for example, the Manx revival never progressed from the stage of antiquarian interest to a stance encompassing significant political objectives. Perhaps this is due to the Island's quasi-independent status, whereby nationalists felt empowered

to a certain degree, finding this empowerment sufficient to avoid being frustrated by its limitations. It is certainly true of the turn of the 20th century that some of the leading Manx antiquarians were already well integrated into the power structure. For example, A W Moore saw no contradiction between his role as Speaker of the House of Keys and that as a leading encourager of research into Manx native culture.

The Celtic revival

Celtic revival at the turn of the 20th century was largely concerned with countering images created by others and imposed from outside. It led on from awakened interest in the 'Celtic' in the early part of the 19th century.

The term 'Celtic' has been frequently placed in controversial territory. Simon James' *The Atlantic Celts* (1999) presents an archaeologically-based approach to the concept of the Celts.[17] He challenges the ways in which the names 'Celt' and 'Celtic' have been applied, and how archaeological evidence of the British Isles cannot be reconciled with more modern perceptions of a Celtic identity. Whether the term 'Celtic' is rejected or whether it is not, the fact remains that antiquarians and language revivalists at the turn of the 20th century talked about pan-Celticism, about inter-Celtic links.

One of their visions was of a trans-national Celtic unity, in spirit if not always as a political reality. The links they were trying to establish would enable the trade of information, and offered opportunities for developing a sense of Otherness, of separateness from what was frequently identified as the colonial power. These links were not all new – there had been strong intellectual links between Ireland and Scotland

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[17] Simon James, *The Atlantic Celts. Ancient People or Modern Invention?*, (London: British Museum Press, 1999).

in the medieval period, for example, when Scotland was effectively intellectually colonised by Ireland. In exploring commonalities of experience, these nations could find solidarity through focusing on their shared Otherness.

Internal colonialism

The Celtic experience has attracted many theorists who have attempted to explain the difference in developments between, e.g. Ireland and England. One of the most influential theories of nationalism, the Core-periphery model, addresses this issue in the form of internal colonialism. 'It is important immediately to remember that nationalism has different effects and meanings in a peripheral nation than in a world power.'[18] Hechter and Nairn are the most famous of its proponents, and their work has seen many revisions since the 1970s. Colin Williams sums up the motivations behind the theory:

> The most celebrated variant of this theme is internal colonialism, which for Nairn (1977) hold promise for sustaining a general theory of nationalism and for Hechter (1975) offers a basis for a general theory of the emergence of ethnic identities in developed societies. This thesis suggests that the expanding nation states of western Europe incorporated not only overseas colonies but also internal colonies, i.e. ethnic enclaves within their own boundaries. Continued economic exploitation of the ethnic periphery produced a clear-cut division of labour, a system of stratification where objective distinctions were superimposed upon class lines. (Williams 1994, pp.37-8).

But the theories of internal colonialism have been severely criticised, for example by G

A Williams (1982) and Smith (1982), and this criticism has been specifically directed to the experience of the Celtic periphery. Colin Williams states that he:

> traced several difficulties which focused on the application of 'internal colony' to the Celtic periphery, to the minimising of the structural similarities between English regions and Celtic nations and to the timing of resurgent nationalism in post-war Britain. (Williams 1994, p.38).

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[18] Simon During, 'Literature – Nationalism's other? The case for revision', in *Nation and Narration*, ed. Homi K Bhabha, (London & New York: Routledge, 1990), pp.138-153, here p.139.

The model was later revised in response to such criticism. The importance of the concept of 'colonialism' has survived, though, and is key to the Celtic revivals of the late 19th century in particular. Some revivalists have often tried to express this imbalance of power without using the term itself, and others have actively utilised its vocabulary in an explicit manner. The Isle of Man is significant because of its internalisation and acceptance of this social structure without united or obvious reaction to its presence. In fact, the Manx situation sees a duality of nationality emerging which consolidates the ethno-political identities of Manx and British.

The Case of Ireland

> Irish proves the point that language - in its growth, its spread and its decline - is virtually an organic entity closely allied to real-life extingencies. Those ignorant of this, or those who choose to ignore it, will continue to be disappointed.[19]

In order to view Morrison and her contemporaries in the more general context of the two waves of Celtic Revival, it is important to look first to Ireland, and then to theories stemming from cultural revival in England. Ireland is particularly important, because it provides an immediate example of the interaction of language and identity, and of late 19th and early 20th century revival, with Edwards commenting that: 'the Irish sociolinguistic scene has been, more than most, a powerful exemplar of the highly-charged emotive topic of language and nationalism.' (Edwards in Trudgill, p.495).

The image of the Irish at least from the 18th century, as defined by those outside Ireland, was an extremely negative one. This image, in turn, affected the self-perception of the Irish. The difficulty in countering such a representation is in finding 'civilising'

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[19] John Edwards, 'Irish and English in Ireland' in *Language in the British Isles*, ed. Peter Trudgill, (Cambridge: CUP, 1984), pp.480-498, here p.495.

aspects of significant magnitude in order to dispel convincingly imposed images of barbarism and primitivism.

The rise in linguistic consciousness has been linked with increased cultural and national awareness. 'High culture' has been viewed, for a long time, as a necessary component of a civilised Western society. If a society demonstrates that it can afford a wide range of professional musicians, artists, dancers, etc. it fulfils cultural criteria indicating that it is 'developed'.

For images of barbarity to be countered in Ireland, it became necessary to present an ancient and civilised culture, a more 'noble' and 'glorious' past. The National Socialist regime in Germany provides us with an example of the need to mask barbarity with images of refinement and intelligence. Hitler stated this explicitly on numerous occasions, calling for what he described as an exceptional culture to accompany an exceptional race. Whereas the Irish had the image of barbarity imposed on them, the National Socialists were creating an image to counter the barbarism of their reality.

The need to counter negative imagery imposed on the Irish

In his work, *Internal Colonialism. The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966*, Hechter quotes Charles Kingsley, Cambridge University historian of the 19th century, describing a visit to Ireland:

> But I am haunted by the human chimpanzees I saw along that hundred miles of horrible country. I don't believe they are our fault. I believe there are not only many more of them than of old, but they are happier, better, more comfortably fed and lodged under our rule than they ever were. But to see white chimpanzees is dreadful; if they were black, one would not feel it so much, but their skins, except where tanned by exposure, are as white as ours.[20]

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[20] Kingsley in Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism. The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966*, (London & Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), pp. xvi-xvii.

The majority of images of the Irish in the English Press were typically negative as well, portraying the Irish as a sub-human life-forms. Sheehy writes that:

> The most cruel example of this is the image of the Irishman in *Punch* cartoons and elsewhere, a retarded creature with a low forehead, bulging eyes and a heavy jaw, generally slobbering at the mouth, who comes very low on the evolutionary ladder between apes and Englishmen.[21]

Sheehy comments on how the rediscovery of Ireland's past was in part a realisation that Irish culture was not as barbaric as the images and attitudes forced upon the Irish nation would suggest: '...a people who had been told for years that they were savages, with a barbarous language and no evidence of civilization, were persuaded that this was not so. (Sheehy, p.7).

In Man, the need to secure a tradition and its future survival can be understood as part of the desire for an established identity which might challenge the remnants of the overlordship system, which still echoed powerfully in the cultural sphere in particular. An atmosphere of perceived oppression leads to heightened national awareness, providing and confirming the reasoning behind the revival of all that was good about the old way of life, of an idealised past.[22]

The *Transactions* (1808) of the Gaelic Society of Dublin, whose inaugural meeting had taken place in January 1807, reveal explicit aims to discover and present a 'civilised' Ireland:

> The Society recommends itself to every liberal, patriotic, and enlightened Mind; an opportunity is now, at length, offered to the Learned of Ireland, to retrieve their Character among the Nations of Europe, and shew that their History and Antiquities are not fitted to be consigned to external oblivion. (quoted after Sheehy, p.15).

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[21] Jeanne Sheehy, (with photographs by George Mott), *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: the Celtic Revival 1830-1930*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), p.7.

[22] see Breesha Maddrell, *Binding the roots of tradition? The revivalist approach in Manx folk music*, (unpublished BA dissertation, University of Sheffield, 1995), p.43.

Although there had been antiquarian interest in Ireland in the 18th century, it was not until the beginning of the 19th century that this interest blossomed. The growth in antiquarian activity saw the emergence of figures such as George Petrie (1790-1886). Petrie was involved in the development of the museum at the Royal Irish Academy, and is famed for his collection of the Cross of Cong, torcs from Tara, the Tara Brooch, Ardagh Chalice, etc. The museum effectively created a centre for academic research in Ireland as well as providing a symbol of Irish greatness to the visitors who flocked to see it in Dublin.

Petrie was also involved in the production of Irish-interest publications. These journals were to prove a significant motivating force to antiquarian activity, with Otway's *Dublin Penny Journal* and Petrie's *Irish Penny Journal* providing a wide-range of material about Ireland which hoped to inform the Irish population.

A curious success was the Ordnance Survey of Ireland whereby Petrie, aided by O'Curry and O'Donovan, attempted to fix spellings of place-names. A by-product of the Survey was a series of memoirs accompanying the maps, e.g. the *Memoir of the Parish of Templemore* (1837). Sheehy writes that the Government decided to stop the publication of further memoirs, and to disband the historical department, citing financial reasons: 'but there have also been suggestions that the Government felt that the Survey was generating too much interest in Irish antiquities, and thus feeding national sentiment.' (Sheehy, p.19). However, despite such set-backs, many more societies were founded, such as the Irish Archaeological Society (1841), the Celtic Society (1845), the two merging in 1853.

Petrie was a talented polymath. His penchant for collecting extended to a wide range of disciplines. Credited with some of the earliest systematic and scientific archaeology in Ireland, he was also involved in the collection of music. During a stay on Inishmore, Sheehy writes that: 'To the cottage, in the evenings, musicians would come, and crowds of local people...Petrie, with his manuscript book and his violin, learn the tunes, and O'Curry took down the words.' (Sheehy, p.27).

Young Ireland

The Young Ireland Movement was a splinter of the Repeal Movement, and centred on Trinity College, Dublin student Thomas Osborne Davis (1814-1845). 'His spirited contributions in prose and verse captured the national imagination and inspired his contemporaries with his vision of an Ireland free to pursue its own destiny.'[23] Davis, together with Duffy and Dillon, produced the movement's journal, *The Nation*, the first issue of which appeared on the 15th October 1842. It contained articles and poetry which attempted to foster an interest in Irish antiquities. (see Sheehy, pp.29-30). The movement produced a series of popular histories, and Davis, among others, attempted to revise aspects of national dress.

In contrast to those who had attempted to identify nationalism with Catholicism, the Young Ireland movement adopted a consciously non-sectarian stance:

> The strength of this alternative tradition is indicated by the runaway success of the *Nation*: the readership was possibly 250,000 by 1843 (though the circulation may have been much less, as there was a strong tradition of communal readings). Young Ireland's ideology bore a superficial resemblance to European romantic nationalism; but if it imbibed the cultural sense of nationality inculcated by German philosophy, this was via Carlyle rather than Herder... (R Foster, p.311).

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[23] Boylan, in R F Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972*, (London: Penguin, 1989), p.311.

A rising inspired by the Paris revolution of 1848 and led by Smith O'Brien saw Gavan Duffy arrested and *The Nation* suppressed. It was revived on his discharge in 1849. Extremist Young Irelanders formed the Irish Confederation. Young Ireland had been unable to: 'define their Irishness linguistically, though Davis tried…' (R Foster, pp.311-2). Foster identifies the advantage of the work of the movement being conducted primarily through the English language:

> The Young Irelanders' inability to proselytize through the Irish language might remain a theoretical stumbling-block; but their ideas received all the wider dissemination for being retailed in English (R Foster, p.312).

What is often termed the second revival, also known as the Irish Renaissance or the Celtic Revival, began in the 1880s. This revival was based around literary and oral sources of the IrG-speaking population, because it was here that the revivalists had found:

> an unbroken tradition of folklore, rich in language and literary invention…The people of the Irish-speaking districts…had distinctly national music, dancing and storytelling. (Sheehy, p.95).

The development of Pan-Celticism

The self-identification of five nations as Celtic relies heavily on the development of the Pan-Celtic movement. Marion Löffler (2000) outlines its origins in the National Eisteddfod of Wales, held in Blaenau Ffestiniog in 1898:

> The timing seemed right: Ireland, Scotland and Wales were experiencing a lull in political nationalism after a period of intense agitation. Nationalists were searching for new forms of expression. Societies pursuing cultural-nationalist aims were founded, which soon created annual festivals in order to provide highlights in their patriotic calendars.[24]

Indeed, the last decade of the 19th century had seen the founding of associations promoting native languages, partly through festivals such as the Mód and the

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[24] Marion Löffler, *'A Book of Mad Celts' John Wickens and the Celtic Congress of Caernarfon 1904*, (Llandysul: Gomer, 2000), p.21.

Oireachtas. In Wales, the eisteddfodau had been popular since the 1840s. The following list outlines some of these:

1891 An Comunn Gaidhealach, the Highland Association
1892 Conradh na Gaeilge, the Gaelic League
1898 Kevredigez Vroadel Freiz, the Breton National Union
1899 Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh, the Manx Language Society

In 1900, *Celtia*, the journal of the Pan-Celtic Association, first appeared, edited by E E Fournier d'Albe. The Association's agenda was non-political and non-sectarian, with its objectives focussing on:

> The furtherance of Celtic studies, and the fostering of mutual sympathy and co-operation between the various branches of the Celtic race in all maters affecting their language and national characteristics.[25]

Its triennial congresses were held in Dublin (1901), Caernarfon (1904) and finally in Edinburgh (1907), the nature of the assemblies changing after that date. (Löffler 2000, p.24). Löffler ascribes the demise of the Pan-Celtic Association to significant events in each country: in Brittany, Kevredigez Vroadel Freiz suffered a split, Scotland and Wales were moving towards the development of national parties, in the Isle of Man, A W Moore had died, and in Ireland, the impetus was growing towards the Easter Rising. (Löffler 2000, p.24).

National symbols

In developing national symbols, members of the Celtic nations attempted to change the perceptions of others. By doing so, they could recognise and emphasise the Other, but without presenting them in threatening form. By adopting and manipulating a combination of the threads of a revivalist narrative, rich and intricate tapestries firmly linked to the past could be created. These newly stitched pictures were affirmations of identity, of self-worth.

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[25] *Celtia*, I, 5 (1901), p.75.

The development of a visual representation of the Celt was, for some nations, an act of historical defiance. Ó Conaire refers to enactments in 1297 which not only included bans on the Irish language, mixed marriages and trade with Gaelic areas, but also bans on Irish dress and games.[26]

National and cultural revival requires visual symbols which can act as badges. Flags, national flowers, costumes, and other emblems are often used as identifiers of the unique nature of each nation. If we take two examples of national symbols, the national flower and the national costume, comparisons between the Celtic nations can be drawn.

National costume

The perceived importance and revival of national costume is often credited to ideas formulated by the philosopher John Ruskin (1819-1900). Löffler's (2000) *A Book of Mad Celts* provides a pictorial documentary of assembled Celts at the start of the 20th century. With the development of the triennial gatherings of the Pan-Celtic Association, national costumes were revived and created to flamboyant effect. She writes of the Association that: 'Members were urged to concentrate on matters of language, native sports, national music and costume, and to avoid overtly political expressions and actions.' (Löffler 2000, p.24). It has already been commented on that Davis tried to encourage Young Irelanders to adopt a more Irish way of dressing. His comments were to be echoed by Douglas Hyde, whose speech 'On the necessity for de-Anglicising Ireland', not only praised the revival of Irish games such as hurling, but called for 'Irish clothes' made of Irish-made materials. At the Celtic Congress of Caernarfon in 1904, the Irish delegates

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[26] Breandán Ó Conaire, (ed.), *Douglas Hyde. Language, Lore and Lyrics,* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press 1986), pp.12-3.

tended to wear costumes based on 11th century designs, with much Celtic knotwork and interlacing. (see Löffler 2000, pp.44-50).

Revivals in Scotland and Wales are documented in Hobsbawm and Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition.*[27] Trevor-Roper gives a detailed account of the invention of the Highland Tradition in Scotland,[28] dismantling the creations of national dress and other symbols. Scotland provides a particularly intriguing example of revival, not least because Gaelic and non-Gaelic groups came together to form a nation which is now often referred to as being Celtic. This may be due to the power of James MacPherson's *Ossian*, published in 1760 as a translation of native Scottish literature from the Dark Ages. Together with his friend Rev. John MacPherson, James MacPherson succeeded in convincing many contemporary critics both within and outside of Scotland that his original work had much earlier origins. What is now commonly recognised as the national dress of Scotland, i.e. the tartan kilt, was once again recognised as such in a pageant: 'devised by Sir Walter Scott in honour of a Hanoverian king' (Trevor-Roper in Hobsbawm & Ranger, p.19). Trevor-Roper dates the presence of tartan in Scotland to the 16th century, and the philibeg or kilt to no earlier than the 18th century. Much of its design stems from the long shirt originally worn by the Highlanders, which was belted to form a skirted garment.

Even so, Highland dress became controversial: 'After the Jacobite rebellion of 1715, the British parliament had considered banning it by law, as the Irish dress had been banned under Henry VIII…' (Trevor-Roper in Hobsbawm & Ranger, p.20). Fuelled by the work of self-appointed descendants of the Stuarts, the Sobieski Stuarts, Highland clan

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[27] Eric Hobsbawm, and Terence Ranger, (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, (1983; repr. Cambridge: CUP, 1989).

tartans were adopted on a widespread scale. Trevor-Roper refers to the MacPhersons and the Sobieski Stuarts as 'makers of Highland tradition' (Trevor-Roper in Hobsbawm & Ranger, p.40):

> Both imagined a golden age in the past of the Celtic Highlands. Both declared that they possessed documentary evidence. Both created literary ghosts, forged texts and falsified history in support of their theories. Both began an industry which would thrive in Scotland long after their death. (Trevor-Roper in Hobsbawm & Ranger, p.41).

Here, key elements of revival are apparent. The MacPhersons and the Sobieski Stuarts were each involved in authenticating a past, and presenting it in such ways that would appeal to the Scottish nation. The power of the national symbols created by them remains vital today. Simon James refers to this change in perception of Highland life, dating it to the slaughter at Culloden, and the effective destruction of Highland society. 'Highlanders were no longer perceived as an actual menace to "civilized" life.' (James 1999, p.48). He comments that whereas the Highlands had seemed threatening and uncivilised: 'It became possible to romanticize both the vanishing culture and the countryside, which was now deemed wildly beautiful.' (James 1999, p.48).

> This constituted an immensely attractive romantic Other, to contrast with the regimented drabness of factory and city...Those who were driven or drawn overseas from Scotland, Ireland or Wales similarly looked back on a nostalgic past, set in aspic. (James 1999, pp.48-9).

There appeared to be little consistency in the development of national costume. At the gatherings of the Pan-Celtic Association, Scottish women had no clearly defined costume available to them. Whereas the men proudly wore Highland kilts, the women turned to: 'fashionable Celtic adornments such as Celtic embroidery, brooch and shawl' (Löffler 2000, p.42).

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[28] Trevor-Roper, Hugh, 'The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland' in *The Invention of Tradition,* ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (1983; repr. Cambridge: CUP, 1989), 15-41.

This was not the only problem. The appearance of often extremely theatrical national costumes did not always impress those outside the Association. The Breton poet, François Jaffrennou or 'Taldir', found that his flamboyant costume was not met with enthusiasm in Blaenau Ffestiniog in 1899. Löffler quotes Jaffrennou reporting that he went out to buy more modern clothes: 'shirts and true Welsh clothes; that way I completely changed into a Welshman.' (Jaffrenou in Löffler 2000, p.40).

The alternative to the development of an elaborate and distinctive costume was to invite criticism from the Pan-Celtic Association. The Manx delegates faced this disapproval after their appearance at the Dublin Congress of 1901 in modern dress: 'what was denounced as 'the garb of denationalisation', i.e. modern clothes.' (Löffler 2000, p.58). Despite *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* having appointed Sophia Morrison and Ada Corrin onto a sub-committee researching Manx costume, the decision to produce garments along the lines recommended by them was not made.[29] Löffler comments:

> The most likely explanation is that the faithful few on the island lacked the resources to develop their ideas. They were obliged to give priority to collecting what remained of their language, conducting language classes and petitioning education authorities... (Löffler 2000, pp.60-2).

In retrospect, the lack of a national costume at this time can be taken as a progressive feature of the Manx revival. This may have been due to the lack of need for a visual marker of identity for a nation with considerable independence, or to practical reasons of time and money. Manx delegates such as Sophia Morrison effectively showed an unwillingness to confine the Celtic to the fantastical, to the realm of the past.

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[29] see e.g. Box 8, letter from EEF→SM, 23/07/1901.

National flower

The less imposing presence of a national flower did find support in the Isle of Man. Both there and in Ireland, plants with negative associations were championed as national symbols, albeit for different reasons. In Ireland, the shamrock was adopted. Its association with Ireland is long running, and Sheehy writes that:

> it is first mentioned in Tudor times, when it was generally believed in England that the shamrock was a staple part of the Irish diet. Edmund Campion's *Historie of Ireland* (1571) refers to 'shamrotes, water cresses, and other herbs they feed upon'. ...And John Derricke's *image of Ireland* (1581) speaks scathingly of 'their wilde shamrocke manners'. (Sheehy, p.9).

But in a matter of one hundred years or so, the shamrock was being worn at feasts of St Patrick, even if this was viewed by certain touring Englishmen as vulgar and superstitious. (Sheehy, p.9). In a similar way, and at a later date, the Manx adopted the cushag as a national flower. Carswell discusses this on a web-site posting, explaining that after discussion in Tynwald about the adoption of a national flower, Lord Raglan, the then Lieutenant Governor, commented that it ought to be the ragwort or cushag. Carswell continues that as Raglan was known as a: 'sardonic and sarcastic sort of character,' his suggestion was probably not intended to be taken seriously. This is not surprising of a plant which is poisonous and whose Irish name can be translated as 'yellow mess'.[30] Albert Lamothe's *Manx Yarns*[31] also comments on its adoption as follows:

> "There's gold on the cushags there." (Cushags, the ragwort.) One of our Governors humorously called the "cushag" the national flower. It profuse, unprofitably gay bloom is, at any rate, as characteristic a feature of the Island as gorse, ling, or fern. The proverb is used ironically to boasters about El Dorados. Unfortunately, the gold on the cushag doesn't put gold in the farmer's pockets, as it impoverishes the soil. (Lamothe, p.44).

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[30] website posting by R C Carswell at www.feegan.co.uk/flletter.html. See Appendix 1.
[31] Albert E Lamothe, *Manx Yarns. Witty, wise, and otherwise*, (Douglas, Isle of Man: The 'Manx Sun' Limited, 1905).

The need for a national symbol other than the three legs seems to have been great. There was a need to fulfil the symbolic role taken by the national flower - a symbol already established in the rest of the British Isles. Leading antiquarians such as A W Moore and Sophia Morrison made up artificial cushag buttonholes to hand out to other delegations at a meeting of the Pan Celtic Movement.[32]

Problems with notions of revival

Perceived and actual repression of minority groups often results in those minorities identifying strong common badges which that they can hold up in the face of their oppressors. Part of this is an increased sense of importance of cultural expression within those communities. To find what is noble in a community whose ideas have been degraded from without, necessitates retrospective deliberations, often leading to an idealisation of a world 'we have lost.' 'The assumption of a "lost community" associated with traditional society, and a desire somehow to regain it in contemporary social life, runs very deep in Western thought and culture.'[33]

Nostalgia for the assumed moral and social stability of the past can, and does, lead to an over-simplified view of everything 'traditional'. The struggle towards a sense of identity within the perceived impersonality of the industrial age ignores the multitude of negative or unacceptable aspects which existed in the pre-industrial. Instead, such notions prefer to dwell on an over-Romanticised vision of carefree communality. The revivalists' endeavour is to establish continuity, which is used in the authentication process. In turn, this focus on continuation reveals the folly inherent in such a desire: the psychological and temporal distances between the two worlds are simultaneously

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[32] see website posting by R C Carswell at www.feegan.co.uk/flletter.html. See Appendix 1.

identified and denied. The act of authentication that forms a vital part of this revival, centres on a stable, often imagined, past which is capable of reconstruction. Cultural meanings are, however, not fixed, and the danger exists that past symbols and significances may be freely transplanted into contemporary society where they serve only to strangle, or indeed to masquerade as, new growth. (see Maddrell 1995):

> Revival is…the ultimate collapse of time and space…it fully admits efficacy of that collapse for creating contemporary meaning. Revival relies heavily on new symbols masquerading as the old.[34]

The concept of the 'Imagined Village'

The concept of the Imagined Village is one explored most extensively by Georgina Boyes (1993) in her work on late 19th and early 20th century folk music revival in England.[35] It relates to the Romanticised view of so-called traditional music, and exposes the ways in which revival creates and manipulates its boundaries. The following quote displays how the 'folk' came to be idolised, describing:

> an intellectual climate in which the countryside and its workers were presented as a locus of spiritual values in a rapidly industrialising, urban age. The common people were increasingly divided into "the mob of the streets..." and the simple, untainted, country-dwelling peasants - "the Folk." (Boyes, p.7).

In his novel, *The History of Danish Dreams*[36], Peter Høeg suggests that the desire for a rural idyll, for community, is deep-seated in the Western psyche. He outlines the details of this vision:

> Their dream was – as ours is –the dream of The Village. It is indubitably sentimental and in all probability it is also false, but it is nevertheless appealing…the architect…who that morning saw his buildings for what they were: heavy façades overlaying rickety skeletons, like fragile dreams of security and dignity …It might seem hard to believe: that people can be united, in spite

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[33] Michael Pickering, and Tony Green (eds.), *Everyday culture: Popular song and the vernacular milieu*, Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1987), p.25.
[34] Philip Bohlman, *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World*, (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988), p.131.
[35] Georgina Boyes, *The Imagined Village*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993).
[36] Peter Høeg, *The History of Danish Dreams*, transl. Barbara Haveland, (London: The Harvill Press, 1996) first published in Danish as *Forestilling om det Tyvende Århundrede*, Copenhagen: Munksgaard/Rosinante, 1988).

> of everything, by a common dream; *the dream of an idyll which has never existed*...a few might have learned something from this yearning for fellowship and the countryside... (Høeg, p.122, italics added).

The following chapter will outline developments in the Isle of Man and Ireland in relation to cultural activity and revival, and more specifically to the sociolinguistic situation in each country. For, as Fishman writes:

> A particularly frequent directive source of nationalist language planning, therefore, was the image of the noble and uncontaminated peasant who kept his language pure and intact, precisely as it had been in the golden past. It was the language of the inaccessible peasant (or of some other but equally sheltered population) that provided the linguistic *model* (the basic langue) upon which the elaboration, codification, and cultivation of the modern standard vernacular was to be performed and by which these processes were to be guided. (Fishman, p.69).

Images of the Imagined Village will be provided by an essential work in the Manx musical world, W H Gill's *Manx National Songbook*[37]. Fishman refers to the fact that Herder's view that: 'national character was an impossibility in the absence of a folk-song tradition has since been echoed by others...' (Fishman, p.50). Sophia Morrison's importance as a nation-builder lies with the all-encompassing nature of her involvement. She was involved in developing national symbols such as the national flower and national dress, in the collection of folklore, sayings, proverbs and language, of music and song, as well as in the production of light-entertainment to promote and provide financial-support to the Manx cause. The ways in which she embraced some trends and rejected others reveal much of her ideology. Despite being a committed collector of folklore, Morrison rarely allowed this to be a retrospective activity; and act of preservation alone. The background to this involvement is essential to an understanding of her contribution.

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[37] W H Gill, *The Manx National Songbook*, (1896; repr. Onchan, Isle of Man: Shearwater Press, 1979).

CHAPTER THREE

Parallel developments in cultural and linguistic revival: Ireland and the Isle of Man

But, alas, all these traditions are so inextricably bound up with the tongue in which they are preserved, that as our language wanes and dies, the golden legends of the far-off centuries fade and pass away. No one sees their influence upon culture; no one sees their educational power; no one puts out a hand to arrest them ere they depart for ever.[1]

These words, written by Douglas Hyde in the *Dublin University Review* in October 1885, show his awareness of disappearing domains of the IrG language, as elements of the oral tradition were lost. It is no coincidence, then, that *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* and Sophia Morrison in particular were concerned with the very same task in the Isle of Man just over ten years later. Much of their work concentrated on the collection of folklore because this contributed to the preservation of both MxG and MxE. Furthermore, its collection acted as a catalyst in the production of a new Manx literature in English.

The previous chapter began an examination of the cultural and linguistic revival in Ireland. This chapter will continue this examination, and will introduce elements of comparable developments in the Isle of Man. It will focus on the processes involved in the evolution of vernacular literary traditions, and present the ideology of the Manx revivalists between 1880 and 1920. The work of Douglas Hyde in particular will provide examples of constructing linguistic identity in two different varieties: IrG and Anglo-Irish, as it became known. Hyde's work will form a point of reference for that of the Manx revivalists.

Douglas Hyde

Hyde's comments which open this chapter reveal his interest in the collection and preservation of folklore, of the oral tradition. He referred to elements of this tradition as:

> a kind of literature in themselves, none the less real for never having been committed to writing, and which owing to the inexorable connection between thought and language, will last exactly as long as the tongue of Oisin lasts, and will die when it dies. (Hyde in Daly, p.60).

In saying this, Hyde identifies himself strongly with the stance that the loss of native language results in the loss of many native traditions which depend on its existence, i.e., the loss of language, in particular the vernacular, is a loss of identity:

> ...vernacular literature (oral and written) provides the masses with the emotionalized link between language and nationalism that exists for elites at the level of ideological and intellectual program. The beauty of the vernacular, the greatness of the nationality, the purity of the common cause are grasped by many for the first time – and thus associated with their personal emotional and intellectual "rebirth" – via the popular literature of nationalism. (Fishman, p.52).

But how did Hyde reach as strong a position as this? Dominic Daly's thorough examination of the first half of Hyde's life, *The Young Douglas Hyde*, reveals much of the background to Hyde's work. Born to a middle-class Anglo-Irish family, Hyde was educated at home after returning from boarding school due to illness. This is significant because it was his return to Roscommon that brought him into contact with a range of people from different social backgrounds. Through interaction with the rural population around his home, Hyde: 'became aware of the Irish language, met the last generation of native Irish speakers, and began collecting the fragments of oral tradition which he was just in time to rescue from oblivion.' (Daly, p.xiv).

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[1] Dominic Daly, *The Young Douglas Hyde. The Dawn of the Irish Revolution and Renaissance 1874-1893*, (New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1974), p.62.

Despite not being a native speaker of IrG, Hyde's contact with native speakers such as Shamus O'Hart (John Hart) inspired him to begin writing diaries in Irish from the age of 14. What is surprising is that his collection of folklore in IrG began before he had a thorough knowledge of the language. At the age of 15, he was writing down titles of stories told to him by Hart, continuing this practice with informants such as Walter Scurlogue (Sherlock), Martin O'Brennan, and his neighbour, Mrs O'Rourke. (see Daly, pp.26-9).

Hyde's instinct for the collection and preservation of the oral tradition was to remain with him throughout his life. It culminated in the publication of folklore collections such as *Leabhar Sgéulaigheachta*, (1889) the first of its kind in IrG, and *Beside the Fire* (1890), which provided translations into English of much of the material, together with some bilingual entries. *Beside the Fire* was dedicated:

> To the memory of those truly cultured and unselfish men, the poet-scribes and hedge-schoolmasters of the last century and the beginning of this – men who may well be called the last of the Milesians – I dedicate this effort to preserve even a scrap of that native lore which in their day they loved so passionately, and for the preservation of which they worked so nobly, but in vain. (Hyde 1890, Dedication).

This dedication makes references to Irish mythology, to the legendary Spanish king, Milesius, whose sons were said to have conquered Ireland c.1300 BC. By connecting the work of folklore and oral history collectors to such a dynasty, Hyde is able to bring mythical weight to their work. The importance of myth to notions of revival has been discussed in Chapter Two.

Hyde subtitled the work 'A collection of Irish Gaelic Folk Stories edited, translated and annotated by Douglas Hyde', i.e. he consciously emphasised the custodial nature of his contribution, rather than claiming the folklore as his own.

Apart from the inspiration he drew from his IrG-speaking neighbours in Roscommon, Hyde became a prolific reader of texts on Irish subjects. His reading would have included Charlotte Brooke's *Reliques of Irish Poetry* (1789). An Ulsterwoman, Brooke was amongst the first to draw attention to Irish mythology as the source of a literature in English. On the death of the editor and publisher, John O'Daly, in 1878, Hyde bought many items from his collection of books and manuscripts.

Further inspiration would have been provided when the IrG activist Thomas O'Neill Russell (1826-1908) showed Hyde the museum of the Irish Academy in Dublin. There he would have seen the Tara brooch and the Cross of Cong, for example – inspirational symbols of Ireland's heroic past. Hyde's growing collection of books would have included works such as the Rev. Donleavy's *Catechism* (1742; repr. 1822 & 1848). (see Daly, p.42). Donleavy's work provides an early example of the necessity for the Irish language, asserting that:

> *Irish-Men* without *Irish* is an Incongruity...Besides, the *Irish-Language* is undeniably a very Ancient *Mother-Language,* and one of the smoothest in *Europe,* no Way abounding with Monosyllables, nor clogged with rugged Consonants, which make harsh Sound, that grates upon the Ear...What a Discredit then must it be to the whole *Nation*, to let such a *Language* go to Wrack... (Donleavy, quoted in Daly, pp.40-1).

Donleavy's statement looks to authenticate IrG and its promotion because of its 'very Ancient' status. Not only does he emphasise its age, but presents value-judgements as to its aesthetic beauty. By doing so, he defines and authenticates its pedigree, in order to justify its continuation.

Hyde's writing career continued with work under the pseudonym *An Chraoibhin Aoibhinn*, the name used for publishing poems and prose in *The Irishman*, for example. At the age of 21 he attended Trinity College, Dublin, where he became involved with

the Discussion Club in York Street, which was connected with the Young Ireland movement. Hyde gave many talks and, stimulated by his active involvement in the Discussion Club, went on to write for the *Dublin University Review*, which had been founded by Oldham, and was later edited by Rolleston.[2] Rolleston was an important contact in Hyde's politicisation, as it was he who introduced Hyde to nationalists such as John O'Leary, whose involvement in the Fenian conspiracy had resulted in 5 years' imprisonment and 15 years of exile in Paris. (see Daly, p.56).

Hyde was to become engaged in a discussion about language revival in the *Dublin University Review*, where it was argued by others that IrG should be viewed as a classic language rather than a modern possibility. In response, Hyde wrote a ten-page article, 'A Plea for the Irish Language' which saw him formally drawing together his ideology. It was published in the *Dublin University Review* in August 1886:

> To be told that the language which I spoke from my cradle, the language my father and grandfather and all my ancestors in an unbroken line leading up into the remote twilight of antiquity have spoken, the language which has entwined itself with every fibre of my being, helped to mould my habits of conduct and forms of thought, to be calmly told by an Irish Journal that the sooner I give up this language the better, that the sooner I 'leave it to the universities' the better, that we will improve our English speaking by giving up our Irish, to be told this by a representative Irish Journal is naturally and justly painful. (Hyde in Daly, p.65).

This impassioned plea emphasised the pedigree of IrG, the sense of unbroken continuity through generations. It also placed the responsibility of language maintenance on the nation, spoke of IrG as the national language, and outlined the attacks on the language by the Anglo-Irish gentry in the 17th century. It argued for bilingualism, but left the nation with the fate of IrG: 'If the Irish people are resolved to

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[2] For Rolleston, see Daly, p.56.

let the national language die, by all means let them; I believe the instinct of a nation is always juster than that of an individual.' (Hyde in Daly, p.67).

In the years following the publication of the *Plea*, Hyde was very active in Dublin's intellectual circles. He participated in Oldham's 'Contemporary Club', which was established in 1885, and joined the 'Mosaic' literary circle. The Rev. Maxwell Close (1822-1903), a founder member of the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language, and Standish O'Grady (1846-1928), journalist and author of volumes on Irish history, were introduced to Hyde at this time. When William Morris lectured in Dublin in 1886 on his socialist doctrine, Hyde attended and was greatly impressed. Daly writes that, from notes made at the lecture, Hyde appeared impressed by Morris' utopian view, commenting on the alienation of labour, and the progress, or lack of it, of civilisation. (Daly, pp.75-6).

Hyde's translation policy

Hyde's influence in literary circles in Dublin was so great that his ideology became a pioneering force in the development of a modern Irish literary tradition. A great deal of influence stemmed from his work on IrG texts, many of which had been collected by him from the oral tradition. For example, he had introduced Yeats to the work of the 18th century Gaelic poets of Munster. Yeats said of Hyde that: 'there was no man in Dublin, or indeed in Ireland, better qualified than Douglas Hyde to lead the young poet to his sources. He was equally well versed in the written tradition and in the unwritten.' (Yeats in Daly, p.89).

Equally, though, Hyde was influenced by other folklore collectors such as George Sigerson, whose book, *Bards of the Gael and Gall* appeared in 1897, dedicated to both

Gavan Duffy and Hyde. Hyde openly discussed the problems of translation from IrG to English in his published works. The Preface to *Beside the Fire* is an example of this:

> It is not very easy to make a good translation from Irish into English...Still, the English spoken by three-fourths of the people in Ireland is largely influenced by Gaelic idioms... (Hyde 1890, p.xivii).

The Preface continues with critical comments on other writers such as Campbell of Islay. Hyde maintains a progressive stance with regard to translation in that he dismisses the use of archaic forms such as *thou*, and furthermore justifies his own use of 'unidiomatic English' by its presence in contemporary dialects of English in Ireland:

> Campbell of Islay has run into rather an extreme in his translations, for in order to make them picturesque, he has rendered his Gaelic originals something too literally...he always translates *thu* by "thou", which gives his stories a strange antique air, which is partly artificial, for the Gaelic "thou" corresponds to the English "you"...In this way, Campbell has given his excellent and thoroughly reliable translations a scarcely legitimate colouring, which I have tried to avoid. For this reason, I have not always translated the Irish idioms quite literally, though I have used much unidiomatic English, but only of the kind used all over Ireland, the kind the people themselves use. (Hyde 1890, p.xlviii).

In his translations, Hyde is consciously selecting idiomatic IrE, whilst avoiding archaisms. In doing so, he is attempting to relate his translations to his contemporary experience of the English spoken by IrG speakers:

> In endeavouring 'to be a little more accurate than my predecessors, and to give the *exact language* of my informants, together with their names and various localities' (*Beside the Fire: a collection of Irish Gaelic folk stories* edited, translated, and annotated by Douglas Hyde, London 1890) he brought more truthful and 'scientific' criteria to bear on the collecting, study and presentation of Irish folklore. His careful, stylish and idiomatic translations were also highly praised. (Ó Conaire, p.42).

Indeed, the scientific approach to folklore collection promoted by Hyde was admired by Yeats, for example. Hyde was seen to have achieved a balance between faithful translation and readability.

In a review of *Beside the Fire* in the National Observer, 28 February 1891, Yeats remarked:

> He has caught and faithfully reproduced the peasant idiom and phrase. In becoming scientifically accurate, he has not ceased to be a man of letters. His fifteen translations from traditional Gaelic originals are models of what such translations should be... (Yeats in Ó Conaire, p.42).

The translations of *Beside The Fire* have been described by Alan Bliss as: 'the first use of Anglo-Irish as a literary medium.' (Bliss in Ó Conaire, p.42). Daly writes of Hyde's role in this:

> Next to guaranteeing the authenticity of his Gaelic originals, Hyde's main concern was to find the form of language best suited to their presentation in English. Here we come to one of the most important aspects of Hyde's work, the fact that he pioneered a manner of speech that was to become the vernacular, so to speak, of the Anglo-Irish literary movement, the model for Lady Gregory's 'Kiltamese', Synge's plays and indeed *the standard speech* of the early Abbey Theatre. (Daly, pp.106-7, italics added).

Hyde was critical of others who 'spiced up' their collected work to satisfy potential audiences. In this respect, he approached the collection and presentation of folklore as a scientific discipline, insisting that sources were given in order to be able to credit the contributor rather than the author.

Folklore collections were increasing in circulation in the 1890s in particular. The emphasis tended to be on legends and fairy lore, i.e. subjects which emphasised the mythical elements of folklore. Hyde was aware of many of these publications, such as Crofton Croker's book *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* (1825), of which he commented:

> The fact is that he learned the ground-work of his tales from conversations with the Southern peasantry, whom he knew well, and then elaborated this over the midnight oil with great skill and delicacy of touch, in order to give a saleable book, thus spiced, to the English public. (Hyde in Daly, p.104).

This sense of spicing up collected material, and not providing adequate sources are criticised frequently by Hyde. Patrick Kennedy's *The Fireside Stories of Ireland* (1870) enjoyed similar criticism: 'Unfortunately, the sources are not given by him any more than by Croker, and we cannot be sure how much belongs to Kennedy the bookseller, and how much to the Wexford peasant.' (Hyde in Daly, p.104). That Hyde would use a similar title to Kennedy's twenty years later in the form of *Beside the Fire*, nevertheless shows its influence on him. The most severe criticism was, however, reserved for Lady Wilde, whose: 'entire ignorance of Irish, through the medium of which alone such tales and superstitions can properly, if at all, be collected, is apparent every time she introduces an Irish word.' (Hyde in Daly, p.104).

Opinions as to Hyde's translation methods have varied since his death. In the foreword to his 1943 translation of Tomás Ó Crohan's *The Islandman*, Robin Flower discusses the style he adopts.[3] Flower rejects many of the principles associated with Hyde's translations, dismissing them as pseudo or, at the very least, cultivated:

> For the method adopted in this translation a word of excuse may be offered. Irish and English are so widely separated in their mode of expression that nothing like a literal rendering from the one language to the other is possible. It is true that there has come into being a literary dialect, sometimes used for translation from Irish or for the purpose of giving the effect of Irish speech, which in books or on the stage has met with considerable applause. (Flower in Ó Crohan, p.x).

Flower continues by criticising the artificiality of what has become established as the 'Irish idiom':

> And in skilful hands this mixture of Irish and English idioms has often an effect of great charm. It does not to my ear, however, convey the character of the language as naturally spoken by those to whom it is their only speech. There is always something slightly artificial about it, and often a suggestion of the pseudo-poetic. This literary dialect could not be used to render the forthright, colloquial simplicity of the original of this book. For the same reason the more

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[3] Tomás Ó Crohan, *The Islandman*, ed. & transl. Robin Flower, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

> sophisticated forms of literary English are also excluded. It seemed best therefore to adopt a plain, straightforward style, aiming at the language of the ordinary men who narrate the common experiences of their life frankly and without any cultivated mannerism. The constant charm of Irish idiom, which is so delightful in the original, must necessarily be lost. *But rouge is no substitute for a natural complexion.* (Flower in Ó Crohan, p.x, italics added).

Flower uses his role as translator to inform the non-IrG speaker of the aspects of the work which are lost without reference to the original text. In effect, Flower rejects the 'Anglo-Irish' of the early 20th century writers by declaring a strengthened status of IrG. This refusal to compromise is striking, and reflects a very different level of confidence in the IrG language, a confidence that was perhaps not able to be asserted at Hyde's time of writing.

The importance of the language question in Ireland

The language question in Ireland is an emotive one. Language and literature, more than any other forms of cultural expression, have been linked to Irish identities:

> The expression of Irish identity became more and more a matter of a return to the language and culture of the early Irish. This was possible in literature, for the Irish language was alive, though only just, and *the English spoken by the majority of the population was enriched by it.* Art, on the other hand, was cultivated and cherished only by the few. Furthermore, because its last powerful manifestation had been for the Ascendancy, it was mistrusted by those nationalists who believed that the only true Irish were the native inhabitants from before the Norman conquest, or at most those who had been settled in Ireland before the Reformation, and who were Catholic. (Sheehy, pp.8-9, italics added).

With the decline of IrG, John Edwards is of the opinion that the Irish have used Anglo-Irish as a means of forging a sense of identity:

> What the Irish have done is not to lose their national identity through language, but rather to enshrine it in English; that is, they have taken English and made it peculiarly their own. (Edwards in Trudgill 1984, p.491).

The transfer of identities from Gaelic to English will be discussed in the context of the Manx sociolinguistic situation later in this chapter, and in Chapter Five.

The Manx Gaelic tradition

This examination of developments in Ireland provides a context for the cultural revival and sociolinguistic situation in the Isle of Man during the same period. However, the ways in which the history of MxG differs from that of IrG are significant, and will be outlined here. The Celtic Revival in Ireland pointed towards developing political independence. In the Isle of Man, a form of independence was already in place, even if now David Kermode can refer to the 'myth' of Home Rule between 1866 and 1902.[4] The small size of the Manx population also had consequences. Unlike the Irish revivalists, promoters of MxG at the end of the 19th century had relatively few literary texts to look to. Thomson sums this up, saying:

> The audience for Manx literature has during most of its history been too small and too poor, and its authors too lacking in patrons and therefore unable to live by authorship, for us to expect a rich harvest of literary works in the language. What has survived in manuscript and in print has a strong bias to religious subjects …Such constraints do not necessarily apply to oral composition and transmission; neither author nor audience need to be literate.[5]

Broderick (1999), too, highlights this situation, but comments on evidence for a bardic tradition from the 10th century:

> Though there appears to have been a Gaelic bardic tradition in Man supported by a native Gaelic speaking aristocracy before and during the existence of the Manx kingdom of the Isles (ca.960-1266), this is unlikely to have continued under a non-Gaelic speaking overlordship from the beginning of the 14th century, if not before.[6]

The earliest writings are thought to date to the 16th century at the very latest, and form what is known as the Traditionary Ballad. Thomson accounts for interest in it in the 18th century as a reaction to MacPherson's fabricated *Ossian*.:

> Its recording in the eighteenth century seems to be part of a movement about that period to recover old oral verse, a consequence of the controversy aroused by James Macpherson's 'translations' of the poems of 'Ossian' from Scottish

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[4] David Kermode, 'Constitutional Development and Public Policy, 1900-79', in *The New History of the Isle of Man*, Vol. 5, ed. John Belchem, (Liverpool, University of Liverpool Press: 2000), 94-184, here p.95.
[5] R L Thomson and A J Pilgrim, *Outline of Manx Language and Literature*, (Isle of Man: Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh, no date given), p.12.
[6] George Broderick, *Language Death in the Isle of Man*, (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1999), p.14.

> Gaelic. The rejection of these on the a priori ground that no such poems could exist stimulated a search throughout the Gaelic world for evidence… (Thomson & Pilgrim, p.12).

This has led to a situation where, although the language is an important factor in cultural nationalism in the Isle of Man, it has not become identified as strongly as a sole focus as it has in Ireland. Much of the revivalists' work therefore relies on the oral tradition, on folklore, proverbs and sayings, music and dance. Nevertheless, as language and music predominate in Manx cultural identity, the language content of songs means that Manx music can and has been used to reinforce the profile of MxG.

In 1821, the *Manks Society for promoting the Education of the Inhabitants of the Isle of Man, through the medium of their own Language* was founded. The *Manks Society* was founded as a response to two organisations in Scotland and Ireland: *The Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools*, and *The Irish Society for promoting the education of the Native Irish, through the medium of their own Language.* However, as Broderick notes, the *Manks Society's* address in the *Manks Advertiser* revealed it to be an attempt to: 'promote Protestantism in Man via religious tracts translated from English…' (Broderick 1999, pp.20-1) rather than to promote MxG as a viable community language. This trend represents a shift from the 17th century position.

How a society could come into being and call itself the *Manks Society* and not be committed to the revival of MxG reflects the low status of the language at that time. The MxG speech community was not viewed favourably at the beginning of the 19th century, being associated with backwardness. By way of contrast, English was promoted as the language of the future, the language of trade, and, later, of tourism.

Broderick's *Language Death in the Isle of Man* provides useful appendices including letters to the *Manks Advertiser* in the 1820s.[7] Some of these letters criticised the promotion of English in areas such as the Highlands of Scotland, as well as in Man, where it was not largely understood. Of the schools in the Highlands, 'A MANXMAN' writes that many children, having been: 'taught to read English, did not understand it' (*Manks Advertiser*, 18/01/1821). He continues by advocating a bilingualism whereby MxG is not seen as something holding back progress. Other letters, however, spoke out vehemently against the preservation of MxG:

> The plea, that old persons know nothing but Manx, is the very argument of all others which is most against encouraging that tongue, or dialect – for language it deserves not to be called. Mankind ought to improve, and not remain in their pristine barbarism...What better is the gibberish called Manx than an uncouth mouthful of course (*sic*) savage expressions...Abolish the Manx...crush it. allow no one...to speak one word of Manx; and thus, by degrees annihilate it..." ('A NATIVE', *Manks Advertiser*, 06/06/1822, quoted in Broderick 1999, p.255).

The author of the letter does not state where he is considered a native, and the views expressed suggest that he identified more strongly with the British Empire rather than the 'Little Manx Nation.' Broderick comments that this may have been a machiavellian move (Broderick 1999, p.28), and if this was the case, the strong answer received from 'A MANKSMAN' was the expected response. The letter in reply strongly defended MxG by proposing the theory that the vernacular was key to nationhood:

> If you put the manx down, our nation will be no longer manx – it will be english or scotch or irish – it will be mungrel at least...In short words, Mr Editor, it is very necessary that manks should be spoke and understood in this Island, and the man who signeth himself a Native is no true Manxman is he says other. He is one of those men who would trimble [i.e., trample] on the rites of his country... ('A MANKSMAN' from *Manks Advertiser*, 13/06/1822, quoted in Broderick 1999, p.256).

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[7] see Broderick 1999, Appendix B, pp.253-257.

Kennish's *Dobberan Chengey ny Mayrey Ellan Vannin*

Strong feelings such as these were not indicative of a slowing in the decline of MxG. In 1840, William Kennish (1799-1862) wrote a lament for the mother tongue of the Isle of Man. According to Stephen Miller, it was said: 'to have been originally published in the *Mona's Herald* in the 1840s but the relevant issue cannot be found...'[8] *Dobberan Chengey ny Mayrey Ellan Vannin* was later published in A W Moore's *Manx Ballads*, with English translation.[9] In this lament, MxG is personified by a woman in a tattered grey dress, running madly through the countryside. The personification of language is a powerful tool in linguistic revival. The images presented in the lament are emotive. She is afforded the power of prophecy, and her demise is presented as a consequence of Anglicisation and increasing commercialism. Her own words reveal her identity:

> Son mish, bee fys ayd er, ta scaan y chenn ghlare,
> Ec Cloan Vannin er my hregeil;
> Agh s'beg fys ta ocsyn dy beeagh eh ny share
> Daue mish dy ve harroo dy reill.
>
> For know, I am the old language's ghost,
> The children of *Mannin* have left me;
> How little they know that it would be best
> For me to bear rule over them (Moore 1896, pp.144-5).

The ghost warns of the changes in Man, and calls for action to drive away some of the foreign influences, to drive away the greed that was effecting great changes in the country. She concludes:

> Agh son aym pene, neem chelleeragh goll roym,
> Dy ollagh mee hene ayns y joan."
> Dooyrt yn red trimshagh, lesh osney dy trome,
> "Son jeeagh cre cha lheeah ta my chione."
>
> But for myself, I will soon go my way
> To conceal myself in the dust,"
> Said the poor creature, with an heavy sigh,
> "For behold how gray my head is." (Moore 1896, pp.146-7).

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[8] see Stephen Miller at www.smo.uhi.ac.uk/~stephen/manxnotes13.html
[9] A W Moore, (ed.), *Manx Ballads and Music*, (Douglas, Isle of Man: G & R Johnson, 1896), pp.142-7.

This lament prophesising the demise of MxG would become an impetus to language revivalists. Indeed, a literal translation into English was published in the first volume of the journal of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh, Mannin.*[10]

Factors working against the promotion of MxG

In 1872, MxG was faced with further problems with the adoption of the English Elementary Act of 1870 by the Manx authorities. Although English medium tuition was not made compulsory at this time, it was typically the language of instruction, thus encouraging the decline of MxG.[11]

Broderick sums up the socio-economic causes of the language shift from MxG to English as being reasons of trade, migration, and communication resulting in increased mobility. Additional factors were the increase in tourism and the changes in the agriculture and mining industries.

There did, however, appear to be areas of the Island where MxG retained certain strength. In 1881, the *Chambers Journal* commented on the people of Cregneash:

> Perched high up on Spanish Head lies the village of Craigneesh, a primitive and conservative folk who pride themselves on being the original aborigines of the island...Inability to speak English is with them considered an accomplishment, though, happily, the progress of education is daily more and more restricting this accomplishment to the elders of the community. (*Chambers Journal* 11/06/1881, quoted after Broderick 1999, p.32).

This agrees with the popular theory that, together with Peel and its environs, Cregneash was an important stronghold of MxG. The author of this particular article also reveals a distinct pleasure in the decline of monoglot MxG speakers, associating them with a primitive nature, and therefore welcoming what he sees as their imminent civilisation.

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[10] Sophia Morrison (ed.), *Mannin,* 1, (1913), pp.49-50.

The press also featured letters from anonymous parties commenting on the revival of the Manx language. A newspaper cutting taken by Morrison of a letter from 'Leo & Pro Patria' is interesting not only because it expresses concern over the types of people visiting the Island, but because it also comments directly on the revival of MxG:

> There is a class of people in the Island, very small in number I presume, who believe and assert that the Isle of Man was the original Garden of Eden, and the Manx language, the first spoken in the world, notwithstanding the authority of Scripture is against the former article of their belief.[12]

'Sale of the Manx Empire'

In April 1882, a cleverly written satire appeared in the *Mona's Herald* announcing the sale of the Manx Empire in small lots.[13] The piece, formatted so as to appear as a typical sale by auction, was entitled 'Sale of the Manx Empire'. It reports of the loss of Manx residents by emigration, the 'ill-health' of the nation, and the ineffective nature of the government. Public buildings are 'sold off' as public houses, e.g. Tynwald Court. The material value of each property is focussed on, seemingly regardless of their value to the Manx nation in terms of heritage, history and cultural institutions in general. There is also reference to the revenue: 'derivable from the Cutters of Rushes' - a reference to tithes once presented to the legendary sea-god and ruler of the Island, Manannan. Lot 12 details the various ceremonial objects involved in the Tynwald ceremony - a further reference to the cheapening of national symbols of power and authority. The piece makes fun of the lack of self-worth of the Manx nation, but remains, of course, bittersweet. It was out of this background of increasing national self-consciousness that the somewhat belated calls for the revival of MxG emerged.

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[11] Hinton Bird, *An Island that led. The History of Manx Education*, 2 volumes, (Port St Mary, Isle of Man: Hinton Bird, 1991), pp.1-43.
[12] Box 3, letter from Leo & Pro Patria in Mona's Herald, 22/02/1882.
[13] 'Sale of the Manx Empire', *Mona's Herald*, 12/04/1882, p.8. See Appendix 2.

National and cultural revival: music

National and cultural awareness increased dramatically up to the 1890s. The importance of music research to the revival of MxG has already been mentioned. The texts of carvals, religious songs based on Biblical texts, in particular, were important as one of the only forms of MxG literature, dating back to 1720.[14] Robert Thomson refers to Moore's 1891 publication of Manx carvals, *Carvallyn Gailckagh*, as the major work in MxG during the 1890s.[15] This work was followed by the publication of W H Gill's *Manx National Songs* and A W Moore's *Manx Ballads and Songs* in 1896. An examination of the latter two works will prove important as it will provide an example of antiquarian activity almost contemporary with the production of *A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect*, work on which was underway by 1901. Furthermore, contrasting approaches to collection and to the presentation of collected material in the Isle of Man can be accessed, approaches which were familiar to the authors of the *Vocabulary*.

The only examples of focussed activity in the musical domain up until the 1890s were collections such as John Barrow's *Mona Melodies* (1820) and the visits of collectors such as George Borrow, who came to the Island in 1855. Charles Roeder made a visit in 1879, whilst still a student, and made notes on philology, folklore and music. (Bazin 1997, pp.104-5), and his contribution will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

As Mona Douglas (1968) points out, the rise in popularity of Manx music, both on and outside of the Island, was aided by the work of figures such as Alfred Perceval Graves (1846-1931):

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[14] Fenella Bazin, *The Manx and their Music before 1918*, (Douglas, Isle of Man: Manx Heritage Foundation, 1997), p.20.
[15] R L Thomson, 'The Manx Language' in *The New History of the Isle of Man*, Vol. 5, ed. John Belchem, (Liverpool, University of Liverpool Press: 2000), 312-6, here p.313.

> As an Inspector of Schools in the Isle of Man, A P Graves heard many songs in the course of his work and he was instrumental in persuading Boosey and Hawkes to include Manx songs in their concerts of Edwardian ballads, presented by Plunket Greene.[16]

Graves was an influential pan-Celt and poet, being twice president of the Irish Literary Society. His connection with the Isle of Man appears to have been through family members living in Peel.[17] Although he was born in Dublin, he was a founder member of the Welsh Folk Song Society and a member of the Welsh Gorsedd. His publications include *Irish Songs and Ballads* (1880) and *Father O'Flynn*, a popular composition, written in 1875. In addition, he composed an anthem for the Pan-Celtic Association, the 'Heather Song', which was not, however, retained after its first hearing. (Löffler 2000, p.24).

On the Isle of Man, Graves was instrumental in securing a connection between W H Gill and Boosey & Co., as the music publisher was then named. Boosey was to publish both Gill's arrangements of *Manx National Songs* (1896) and *Manx National Music* (1898). Graves lectured on Manx music in Liverpool, writing to Morrison that the series had attracted audiences of 500, 350 and 1700.[18]

In an unpublished essay, 'Harmony and Discord: some background to the publication of music collected in the Isle of Man in the late nineteenth century,'[19] Carswell outlines the publishing of Gill's *Manx National Songs* and A W Moore's *Manx Ballads & Music.* The two works contrast greatly in their development and in their published structures.

Carswell outlines how W H Gill perceived the publication of his and Moore's works as a

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[16] Douglas, Mona, *They lived in Ellan Vannin*, (Douglas, Isle of Man: Times Press, 1968), p.92.
[17] Webber, David, *An illustrated encyclopedia of the Isle of Man*, (1987; repr. in revised form by F Cowin, F J Radcliffe and G Kniveton, Douglas, Isle of Man: The Manx Experience, 1997), p.68.
[18] Box 3, letter from APG→SM, date unknown.
[19] R C Carswell, unpublished essay, 14/12/2000, as part of MA in Manx Studies, Centre for Manx Studies, University of Liverpool.

race, with Gill narrowly beating Moore to publication. Whereas Gill's work became a popular volume of national songs with newly composed lyrics set to piano arrangements of collected tunes, Moore's emphasis was on the antiquarian value of assembled lyrics in MxG. Moore worked with written sources, supplemented by a team of fieldworkers. It appears that the published format of *Manx National Songs* was perhaps not completely to the satisfaction of J F Gill and Dr Clague, who, together with W H Gill, had collected material from oral sources around the Island before 1894.

From examining correspondence between the two Gills and Clague, Carswell reveals how J F Gill and Clague sought publication of source material in addition to W H Gill's arrangements. This did not appear to have been a priority for W H Gill, though, as a letter to his brother shows. W H Gill's concern rather lay with his musical reputation:

> I defy the Musical world to distinguish betw[ee]n what is original & what is "restored" and in that fact lies my refuge. If you who are behind the scenes and know all are going to tell it's all up with my "arrangements". The whole thing will be condemned as an impudent fraud. (W H Gill in Carswell, p.9).

The appearance of *Manx National Songs* was met with anger in some quarters. Gill's arrangements had already been annoying Sophia Morrison, who couldn't approve of the changes Gill would make to melodies, for example.[20] The *Manx Sun* reviewed the work by saying:

> With long experience, we can safely add we have never previously met with a more painful instance of the art of the 'improver'...the very title is utterly misleading...the Messrs Gill have utterly and ignominiously failed to attend to the elementary rules which should be observed by collectors... (*Manx Sun*, 16/01/1897, quoted in Bazin 1997, p.110).

W H Gill's introductory comments to the work will have not helped his cause. They include a paper on Manx Music given to the Musical Association in London on the 14

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[20] see correspondence between WHG and SM, e.g. Box 6, letter from WHG→SM, 25/08/1907, also Box 3, letter from Dr Clague→SM, 29/09/1907.

May 1895. This essay in particular reflects the idealism of the Imagined Village. As Fishman has commented:

> The search for a rooted community, marked by uniqueness and by greatness, corresponds to a partial need, a postponable need, an overlookable need, but to a basic social need for all that, a need to which all turn or return, at one time or another. (Fishman, p.83).

Gill was not working in isolation, though, and was aware of the relationship between his work and that of arrangers in Ireland and England such as Tom Moore and Sir John Stevenson, as well as Baring Gould, and it was their methods he chose to follow. It is interesting to note how rigid Gill was about the boundaries between different types of collector, distancing himself from A W Moore and the antiquarian camp, preferring to adopt what he considered to be the 'artistic' approach. Gill married mainly newly-composed lyrics in English, often of a patriotic nature, to his settings of traditional Manx airs. By combining MxG source material and English as its form of presentation, Gill was working in the same way as Anglo-Manx hoped to. In effect, English was seen as an essential component in the popularisation of Manx culture, with A P Graves contributing ten and W H Gill eight of the fifty-one song-texts in total.

Gill accounted for his treatment of collected music by clarifying the relationship between Moore and himself:

> a word of explanation is due, if only to remove the impression which might otherwise exist that there is any feeling of rivalry or competition between Mr. Moore and myself. Though we have been working in the same field our aims are different; not antagonistic, however, but complementary. His preferences would seem to be historical and antiquarian while mine are mainly artistic. (W H Gill, p.xi).

Gill claimed that the 'archæological' activities of Moore and others made the music *less accessible*, whilst admitting that: 'the world wants to see both sides of the picture, the antiquarian and the artistic…' (W H Gill, p.xi). It was the factor of accessibility that

became Gill's overriding concern, and this was to prove fundamental to his re-workings of the tunes:

> From my point of view hypothetical harmonies founded on "the correct Celtic modes," as Mr Moore's prospectus puts it, as also the original Manx words, interesting as these are from an archæological point of view, can have but little attraction for an average nineteenth century musical public. (W H Gill, p.xi).

The populist approach adopted by Gill meant that one of his concerns was for balance and symmetry. Rather than keeping the changing time signatures and 'exotic' phrase lengths which were part of the music he was presenting, Gill arranged the music so that it would not be too distant from what the public were accustomed to hearing. This approach necessarily cut through what had been collected, and, while Gill maintained that he was *restoring* balance, he was *creating* balance where it hadn't existed in some cases. It is interesting to note here that Gill had identified balance and symmetry not only with Manx music, but also with Manx character. This principle was then applied as a universal standard:

> A wonderfully well-balanced nation, you observe. As a natural consequence, Manx music ought to be a model of symmetry; and, as a matter of fact, it is so. Indeed, this element of symmetry has served at once as an incentive, a justification, and a safeguard in restoring what are obviously missing links in a few of the melodies published in 1820. For instance, in our next illustration (No.7), "Tappaghyn Jiargey" ("Red top-knots"), the second section as printed in "Mona Melodies" consists of only six bars instead of the orthodox eight. So inexorable is what Schumann calls "the tyranny of rhythm" that I have not hesitated to interpolate two additional bars to restore the balance. "Restoration" is a delicate and a dangerous operation. Oftentimes it is synonymous with "tampering" and "tinkering." (W H Gill, p.ix).

Gill was deeply concerned about not offending public taste, for instance warning the audience at his lecture to be: 'prepared for the shock produced upon modern musical ears by the flat leading-note on the last beat but one.' (W H Gill, p. vi). Manx music was something exotic, unrefined, in some ways, actually daring. Gill's approach was to balance the Otherness of Manx music by placing it within an easily identified,

standardised framework. In the *Manx National Song Book* itself, Gill keeps the flattened leading-note, but also includes a major variant of the tune to 'resolve' the tensions in the piece.

W H Gill's Imagined Village

Gill's vision belongs firmly to that of the Imagined Village, his Romantic view of the rural population emphasising the illiterate, untaught, and therefore 'natural' and 'unspoilt' talents of the Village's inhabitants. The description is devoid of concepts of work, of poverty, of ill-feeling or disunity. Thoughts of community and music are everywhere - in the minds, mouths and hearts of each character from the milk maid to the ploughboy:

> The old generation of untaught singing milk maids and whistling ploughboys, and the race of itinerant fiddlers who used to delight the frequenters of the village inns, and the old people sitting in the cosey [sic] chimney-corners of the farmhouses, and the lasses and lads that danced in the barns at the *mehlias* or harvest homes - these rustic musicians had passed away (so they told me), and the old tunes were being replaced by the tunes of the London music halls. (W H Gill, p.x).

Inaccessibility is seen as the key to survival for the last pockets of this Imagined Village - the remoteness of their location accounting for them not having been discovered and, most importantly, corrupted. Gill's hope was that he: 'might yet discover in out-of-the-way spots on the mountains and among the solitary glens a remnant of the old folk…' (W H Gill, p.x). Once Gill had located his informants, he was faced with the task of eliciting material. His candid account of how this was achieved not only reveals methods flawed by an Imagined Village idealisation, but also his questionable ethics:

> in some cases the judicious application of bribes and suitable stimuli in the shape of little presents of tea for the wives and tobacco for the husbands, we soon got over their shyness, and in a very short time our ancient minstrels were warbling as in the old times and were ready and eager to give us "all the tunes that was at them." (W H Gill, p.x).

The implications of offering bribes to informants are far-reaching. In a reversal of the collector's expectations, i.e. that s/he would be collecting raw material from the 'simple' folk, the reality saw informants being offered an opportunity to exploit the naive collector. As the Manx had been known for making up stories to amuse folklore collectors ignorant of MxG, for example, it is unlikely that they would have missed an opportunity such as this.

From Gill's verbose accounts of Manx music, it is easy to forget the detailed scientific approach to collecting adopted by the Gill brothers and Dr Clague in the preparation of *Manx National Songs*. Details of their fieldwork will become known once recently discovered manuscripts have been examined.[21] Even though they believed in collecting from primary sources, their collecting often relied on a pre-selected population of tradition-bearers, typically old men. Not resident on the Island at the time, Gill and his brother went to visit the *oldest male* informants to be found:

> we had the good fortune to interview in different parts of the island quite a goodly number of old Manxmen of ages ranging from sixty-five to eighty-four, all more or less musically gifted, and some of whom had in their younger days enjoyed a local reputation as singers in church, chapel, farmhouse, or inn, as the case may be. (W H Gill, p.x).

This statement reveals a serious flaw in their collecting practices, a flaw that was by no means uncommon at the time in collecting from oral sources. They follow the NORM approach of finding the oldest men in rural areas for his informants. Secondly, although it is clearly easier to focus on known performers in a community, their selection prejudges the population of 'traditional' musicians/singers, and allows only those who have become prominent to be recorded as 'the folk'.

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[21] Additional papers concerning the Gill brothers and Dr Clague were discovered shortly before submission of this thesis, but had not been worked upon at the time of writing.

W H Gill describes the difficulties of collecting music from the oral tradition, and of reconciling this with already published collections:

> Hence, apart from the paucity of the material, one is not surprised to find in "Mona Melodies" many inaccuracies of musical orthography, grammar, and accentuation. Add to these difficulties the further one of reconciling discrepancies and of choosing between different versions of the same tune as they appear in different manuscripts, or as the faded ghosts of them survive in the memory of living people… (W H Gill, p.x).

Gill's method was to select one version of a tune and correct it where necessary. He did not do this naively, though, revealing his awareness that many of his contemporaries were opposed to his re-workings, by commenting on his work on 'My graih, nagh share dyn farraghtyn', in the following manner:

> It was doubtless, originally, a beautiful tune in spite of the obviously mutilated version of it in "Mona Melodies." Fortunately this was one of the few apparently desperate cases I have met with in which a slight operation boldly executed makes an impracticable thing practicable. This and the two other instances already mentioned represent the full extent of my "tampering with ancient records," for which I humbly crave forgiveness. (W H Gill, p.x).

Gill was trying to make Manx music relevant to his contemporary society, and it is this foresight which ensured the success of *Manx National Songs* over Moore's *Manx Ballads and Songs*, for example. It could be argued that such 'prettifying' exercises played a vital role in preserving a tradition that was being lost. Gill saw the lack of written sources as an opportunity for him to set the record straight, or indeed to create a record of his own. It is interesting, however, that Gill did not trust the accuracy of Barrow's *Mona Melodies*, saying that: 'A cursory glance condemns the work as inadequately representative of Manx music as regards both the material and the workmanship.' (W H Gill, p.x). He turned instead to versions collected by Dr John Clague: 'to verify, and where necessary to correct, what were obvious inaccuracies' (W H Gill, p.x) in Barrow's work. Whereas Gill attempted to justify his editorial intervention, he privileges Clague's manuscript over the sources for *Mona Melodies*. If tunes exist in an infinite number of varieties, it is clearly problematic to announce that certain features are obvious

inaccuracies without reference to sources. It may be, for example, that certain notes or turns of phrase, considered by Gill to be inaccurate, were introduced by a singer or player influenced by other popular music around them. For after all, the tradition, *if it can be said to exist at all*, is not a hermetically sealed entity.

Clague was considered an 'authentic' source, someone who was collecting directly from the people. Indeed, later correspondence between Clague and Morrison reveals their shared dislike of alteration of collected material. Here Clague comments to Morrison about a piece she had collected:

> It is very pretty as you took it down from the Dalby fisherman and I think it should not be altered...There has been too much "Anglicising" in all our National Music. It is not right or honest to modernize the old music. It should be left as it has come down to us.[22]

So Gill uses his friendship with Clague to add weight and 'authority' to his own arrangements, without seeming to be too much of a purist or antiquarian himself. Gill may have been interested to hear that Clague disapproved of his reworkings of Manx music, writing to Morrison that: 'I wish he would leave the Manx Music as it has come down to us.'[23]

Gill's experience of Manx rural communities would have been very different to Clague's. As Bazin points out, Clague's: 'work in general practice gave him access to every home in the area...His skill and generosity won him the confidence of country people who would otherwise perhaps have been shy of someone as important as a doctor.' (Bazin 1997, p.106). Whereas Clague's role in the community blurred the boundaries of insider and outsider, the Gill brothers were very much outsiders, with W H Gill not resident on the Island for much of his life, and J F Gill holding the elevated

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[22] Box 3, letter from DrC→SM, 29/09/1907.

position of Deemster. This sense of distance enabled W H Gill to view the folk as a separate entity, and his description of them often unfolds in raptures: 'Imagine…coming suddenly face to face with them in actual, simple, peasant life and hearing these untaught sons of the soil, born and bred in their mountain solitude.' (W H Gill, p.x).

Gill uses vocabulary such as simpleminded, child-like, unsophisticated, to describe his vision of the folk. (W H Gill, p.vi). To him, their music is an organic entity, rather than an intellectual construct, and his description follows in the Darwinian tradition:

> A national melody is peculiar. Unlike any other form of musical composition, it is not the work of one man but of many. *Indeed it can hardly be said to be "composed" at all.* [italics added] It would be more correct to say of it that, just like the flowers of any other natural organism, it *grows.* Its evolution obeys the laws of heredity, environment, natural selection, and the survival of the fittest. It is subject at one time to development, at another to degeneration. (W H Gill, p.vi).

This description reflects an underlying colonial relationship between Gill and his informants. By affording the music a developmental spirit of its own, he takes credit away from the individuals who shaped its development. His explanation for his own treatment of such 'naturally occurring' material attempts to justify his re-workings of collected material:

> A national melody in its original surroundings is like a flower in its native soil. Its proper accompaniments are the changing skies, the sighing of the morning and evening breeze, and, above all, the life-pulse of the human hearts and voices that gave it utterance. It wants no other accompaniment. But, severed from these surroundings, and transplanted into a foreign soil, it seems to want some artificial support. It is a plucked flower and requires a vase…In "arranging" these melodies my object has been to bring out the beauty of the tune to the utmost, and if, in investing it with 'the best robe," I have in any instance erred on the side of elaboration, my plea is the desire to please the many rather than the few. (W H Gill, p.ix).

But Gill's concerns about the reception of *Manx National Songs* would stay with him for many years. In the seventh volume of *Mannin*, Part IV of Gill's 'Manx Miniatures' (*Mannin,* 7, pp.385-390) was entitled: 'A Plea for Modern Manx Music'. The article was

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[23] Box 3, letter from DrC→SM, 29/09/1907.

another attempt by Gill to justify the difference between his and Moore's publications, and furthermore explained the absence of lyrics by *the* national poet, T E Brown:

> it is only right that our little Island should know what was our beloved Poet's candid opinion of a work which he had for a time mistaken as in the light of a rival to Mr. Moore's book. The fact is, that repeatedly, and on bended knees, he had been asked to contribute; but that regarding himself as already pledged to another cause, he had, as in honour bound, deliberately, though regretfully declined. (W H Gill in *Mannin*, 7, p.390).

T E Brown had written the Preface to Moore's work, and this contains Brown's theory concerning the small number of songs which had been collected. Brown cites reasons such as the lack of a Bardic class, which is thought to have been the case *after* the 14th century. Colonisation and religious tyranny are given as the other reasons, with Brown dramatically and inaccurately implying that the fate of the Manx was far worse than that of the Black slaves in America: 'The American slaves could sing ; they are a light mercurial race ; and I would not give our poor old "Kirree" for all their facile gushes of sentimentalism…' (Brown in Moore 1896, p.xi). Moore's own Introduction not only blames: 'the revival of religious enthusiasm' (Moore 1896, p.xv), but also the internationalism brought with the smuggling or running trade, and subsequent immigration in the late 18th century. Most importantly, though, he assigns the lack of material to the lack of a printed tradition on the Island before the end of the 17th century. (Moore 1896, p.xiv).

The Manx National Anthem

Gill entered controversial territory once again with the development of his Manx National Anthem. P W Caine wrote to Morrison: 'I had already gathered from Mr Cubbon that I have mortified Mr Gill, & I'm very sorry...his "National Anthem," both

in words & tune, is hopeless.'[24] His later report of comments made by visiting musician, Dr Lyon, will have added further fuel to the debate:

> Dr. Lyons [sic.] concluded by urging the adoption of another Manx National Anthem, instead of the adaptation of "Mylecharaine," published by Mr. W. H. Gill a few years ago. He described it as the worst national anthem in the world, sloppy, banal, and something that ought never to have found its way into the hearts of the Manx people. It was a corruption of a beautiful old tune, harmonised in a mid-Victorian manner that was a disgrace to the composer. If they were going to sing a national anthem, for Heaven's sake let them sing one of the tunes of their ancestors, and not a dished-up affair that was nobody's.[25]

Perceived loss of culture through Anglicisation

The awakened awareness of the effects of colonisation was not only the result of renewed activity in historical research at the time, but also of the developing national identity. Both Hall Caine and W H Gill talked of the Anglicising spirit on the Island, with Hall Caine (1891) commenting that the Island had: 'become too English of late.'[26] The passage by Gill quoted below is lengthy, but is important as a whole, because it echoes Douglas Hyde's famous speech, 'On the Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland', which was introduced in Chapter Two. Here Gill presents areas of debate which would have been key to antiquarian circles on the Isle of Man at the time:

> Manxland is sharing the fate of all islands. By increased facilities of communication it is practically ceasing to be an island. The Manxman is gradually losing his individuality. Like that of a worn-out coin, his image and superscription is being gradually effaced. We older Manxmen regard with some apprehension the encroachments of so-called civilisation. When we revisit our old home we find the tide of civilisation has rolled over our sand castles and swept them all away. National traces - physical, moral, and social - are rapidly disappearing. "Utopia, Limited," is a capital satire on Manxland. An Anglicising spirit pervades the island and is gradually transforming it out of its old self. There is a strange tendency to do everything "as they do in England."...One of the latest phases of this Anglicising mania was the restoration of Peel Castle with stone actually imported from England.

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[24] Box 8, letter from Philip W Caine→SM, 01/10/1913.
[25] Philip Caine, 'Manx Folk Songs' in *Ellan Vannin. Magazine of the World Manx Association*, No.7, Vol. II, (January 1927), 284-7, here p.284.
[26] T Hall Caine, 'The Little Manx Nation', (London, 1891), pp.155-6.

> Some years ago they wanted a church built, and of course they went to "the neighbouring island," as they playfully call it, for an architect, and he ran them up a grand spire, "as they do in England," and the next year a Manx Boggane, in the shape of an equinoxial sou'-wester, made for the spire and tossed it into the adjoining field. (W H Gill, p.xi).

The passage has four basic elements, which are typical of nationalist writings in this period:

1. Rejection of civilisation principal.
2. Disappearance of national traits through perceived loss of 'insular' character
3. Belief that England is perceived as more important, powerful, etc. than the Isle of Man
4. Power of Nature and the Manx spirit intertwined to stop this drive towards Anglicisation

This brief examination of publications in Manx music highlights the contrast between popularism and purism typical of Manx revivalist circles. The attempt to reconcile these contrasting stances is an important influence on linguistic and national identities.

Gill's attitude towards MxG was that of a Romantic but pessimistic onlooker. His correspondence with Sophia Morrison, for example, does not suggest that he was a MxG speaker himself, nor a linguist. His paper discussed MxG, saying:

> Today it is practically a dead language. To the philologist and antiquary, however, it possesses no small recommendation. It is peculiarly forcible and expressive. It is eminently a poetical language, dealing largely with metaphors. (W H Gill, p.viii).

It may be surprising that Gill's attitude found echoes in the development of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh*, the Manx Language Society. Both the committee and the general membership were made up of two distinct factions: those who regarded MxG as being of philological interest alone, and those who worked for its revival as a community language.

The development of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh*

The increase in cultural activity in the years leading up to the turn of the 20th century moved naturally to the development of a formal Manx language movement. The 1880s had seen the founding of the Douglas School of Art (1884), the Douglas Free Library (1885), and the establishment of Trustees for the intended National Museum (1886).[27] Articles in and about MxG appeared in the *Examiner*, contributed by Mr Quayle, J J Kneen and others. The pro-Manx stance of the *Examiner's* editor, S K Broadbent, was crucial to the establishment of a Manx column. Morrison writes in an undated letter that she: 'met Broadbent - & I arranged that he should start a Manx column in his weekly paper – beginning on Saturday.'[28] The result of Quayle and Kneen's efforts culminated in the founding of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* in 1899. Goodwin's recollection of the formation of the society was expressed in a letter to Sophia Morrison:

> I think it would be during the winter of 1897-98…It was in the Spring of 1898 that Mr Quayle & others sent Manx riddles, rhymes, & scraps to the "Examiner." The Manx Language Society was formed in March 1899 at a meeting of the Fine Arts Guild, with A W Moore president, Deemster Gill, Dr Clague, J C Crellin, H K, and the Rev E B Savage vice president[s], Mr Quayle, secretary, and Mrs Laughton, treasurer.[29]

If we examine the objects of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh*, we find that although language features prominently, the support network that general cultural activities provided was considered essential. This was particularly true of music. The 1901 objects of the society were:

1. The preservation of Manx as the national language of the Isle of Man
2. The study and publication of existing Gaelic literature and the cultivation of a modern literature in Manx.

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[27] Ann Harrison, 'Associational Culture', in *The New History of the Isle of Man*, Vol. 5, ed. John Belchem, (Liverpool, University of Liverpool Press: 2000), 393-406, here pp.404-5.
[28] 9495 Additional deposit by E M Teare. Undated letter to 'Emily', possibly Emily Joughin.

The means listed by which these objects were to be met were as follows:

1. The encouragement of the formation of classes for the study of Manx.
2. The holding of public meetings and lectures for the purpose of stimulating and informing public opinion on behalf of the Manx language.
3. To encourage the people who know Manx to speak it habitually, and to impart it to the young.
4. To endeavour to secure facilities for teaching it in the public schools.
5. The publication and distribution of books and pamphlets in or relating to Manx.
6. The encouragement of Manx music and of songs in Manx.
7. To inform the public on questions relating to the movement by contributions to magazines and journals.
8. The collection of oral Gaelic literature, consisting of folk tales, poems, songs, proverbs, riddles, &c., still extant among the people.[30]

By 1913, the summarised aims of the society were:

1. To promote the cultivation of the Manx Language, Literature, and Music, and the publication of modern literature in Manx.
2. The Collection of oral Gaelic literature, consisting of folk tales, poems, songs, proverbs, riddles, etc., still extant among the people. (*Mannin*, 1, 1913, p.2).

The aims were therefore, not only to promote the language and literature of MxG, but also aspects of the Manx music and oral traditions. Nowhere is the society's policy towards MxE or Anglo-Manx mentioned specifically.

When Morrison took over the post of secretary to *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh*, she had already been active in MxG teaching in Peel for a number of years. Her report in *Mannin* on 'The Origin of the Manx Language Society' recounts how, in the winter of 1897-1898, an advert for a meeting in Peel appeared in the *Peel City Guardian*. According to the report: 'there was not one single English person present.'[31] Morrison goes on to describe how the first meeting founded the Peel Manx Language Association, with Morrison as secretary, and her friend, Miss O Joughin as treasurer. William Quayle's

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[29] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 07/12/1913. NB This letter was to form part of Sophia Morrison's article, 'The Origin of the Manx Language Society', printed in the *Isle of Man Examiner* on 03/01/1914.
[30] source MS 5495A.
[31] Report of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* for 1913-1914, published as an appendix to *Mannin*, Vol.2, No.3, May 1914, pp.17-20.

resolution calling for the revival of the language at the founding meeting of Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh referred to the sizes of MxG classes around the Island:

> Amongst others, I may mention the following:- Douglas, with 25 students; Lonan, 25 students; Peel, 75 students; and Andreas, 20 students. Classes are also about to be formed in Foxdale and Rushen, and other places.[32]

The figure for Peel is startling, as it represents 50 per cent of the total number of students on the Island. It is difficult to account for the unusually high number in Peel, as it could rely on one or both of the following two factors:

1. Peel had a higher percentage of MxG speakers, was more pro-Manx
2. The efforts of Morrison, Joughin, etc. as teachers of MxG outweighed those of teachers in other parts of the Island.

What is important is that this move had an immediate knock-on effect. Morrison reports how various native speakers were inspired to start classes in Lonan and Douglas in particular.[33] Not only does Morrison place emphasis on these grass-roots, she goes on to overtly state how the Manx Language Society was of:

> PURELY MANX ORIGIN, a spontaneous growth from the people, and that its nucleus consisted of the Peel Manx Language Association, together with the Douglas, Lonan, and Andreas classes, and that the promoters of the meeting which founded it…were led to take this step through their interest in the revival movement which already existed.[34]

In contrast to her bold statement that the Society was 'of the folk', the list of presidents alone showed that the Society's membership drew on professionals of high-standing. The committee comprised Moore (Speaker of the House of Keys), J F Gill (Deemster), Clague (a practising medical doctor), Crellin, (JP, MHK) and Savage (an ordained priest, latterly Canon). The social background to the committee falls into line with Hroch's identified trend that the intelligentsia is involved in raising national awareness.

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[32] William Quayle in Sophia Morrison, 'The Origin of the Manx Language Society', printed in the *Isle of Man Examiner* 03/01/1914.
[33] YnCG report, 1913-1914 p.18: 'Hearing of it, Mr James Kewley, of Agneash, an old Manxman, gathered together a few people in Lonan to read Manx, and Mr William Kneen (Bethel), of Douglas, also started a little class.'
[34] YnCG report, 1913-1914, p.19.

Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh used the following means to promote their aims and to consolidate the Island's position in the Celtic world:

1. MxG teaching: on a night-class basis and the introduction of teaching in schools
2. collection and recording of MxG speech, sayings, folklore, music, etc.
3. lectures and papers about the 'Manx cause'
4. publishing of texts in MxG and about Manx subjects
5. competitions for literary contributions, some relating to Manx history
6. organisation of social/community events with a Manx content
7. introduction of MxG in existing festivals, e.g. the Manx Music Guild
8. interaction with other Celtic nations
9. production of the journal *Mannin*

The following sections will discuss the means listed above. Interaction with other Celtic nations is covered in connection with other categories, and will not be discussed as a separate entity. These brief examinations are intended to highlight certain issues in the work of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh*, and to provide a variety of examples of the society's activities. Much of the source material for this discussion stems from the Sophia Morrison Papers, from reports of the society, and from *Mannin.*

1. MxG teaching in schools:

Research undertaken by Hroch into the development of national movements notes that:

> Every one of the movements investigated here...began at a certain moment during Phase B to pose the question of how the village schoolteachers could be activated, how the educational level of the primary schools could be raised, and how patriotic content could be injected into them. (Hroch, p.145).

Morrison was keen to make comparisons between the models adopted by the other Celtic countries with the (re-)introduction of language teaching in the respective nations. One of the main reasons for corresponding with Charles McNeill, Gaelic League, was to ask permission for using IrG lesson plans as models for teaching MxG in the Island's schools.[35] Three years later, in 1902, Morrison corresponded with P O'Daly of the

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[35] Box 6 letter from Charles McNeill→SM, 18/03/1899.

Gaelic League, Dublin, with regard to teaching methods.[36] John Davies of the Welsh Language Society, replied to Morrison's enquiries about the Gavin method of teaching in elementary schools:

> If your Society desires to resuscitate the fast dying Manx tongue, it has a fine opportunity if it but adopt the same method. As an ardent fellow Celt, I wish you God-speed and even better success...[37]

Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh's attempt to introduce MxG teaching in schools was based on the belief that the fate of the language lay with future generations. The first steps in persuading the education authorities involved extensive correspondence between Morrison and Garside of the Council of Education.[38] After drawn-out negotiations between the two bodies, it was decided that if teachers could be found, the decision to adopt MxG as a subject should lie with the individual schools. Garside advised Morrison that members of:

> the Board of Education, Whitehall, have informed the Council of Education of their strong objection to placing Manx in the Code as a subject to be taught in the Elementary Day Schools of the Isle of Man. If however properly qualified teachers are available, who will first submit themselves for examination...it may be possible, as an experiment, to have the subject added to the curriculum of some of the schoools.[39]

Although teachers such as Mr Hudson and Mrs Scarffe of Maughold considered the position of MxG peripatetic, the latter decided against applying on grounds of poor health and transport difficulties: 'I am sorry not to be able to help them in their praiseworthy endeavours to revive the language of our forefathers. I have every sympathy with the movement.'[40]

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[36] Box 1, letter from P O'Daly→SM, 08/09/1902, also MS 5495A, letter from P O'Daly→SM, 28/03/1902.

[37] Box 1, letter from John Davies→SM, 23/04/1902.

[38] Box 6, letters between SM and Garside, 24/03/1902 to 30/10/1902.

[39] MS 5495A, letter from Garside→SM, 19/04/1904.

[40] MS 5495A, letter from Mrs Scarffe→SM, 30/05/1902.

Writing in the 1903 annual report of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh*, Morrison expressed her frustration at the continuing application process:

> we are disappointed to be obliged to admit that the goal which seemed last year to be so nearly reached, is still as far off as ever. At our last annual meeting we were able to make known the fact that the Council of Education had applied to the Board of Education, Whitehall, to recognise Manx as a subject of the Code for Elementary Day Schools in the Island. We hoped that by this time a favourable answer would have been received. Unfortunately, the results of the application are at present nil.[41]

When the society finally received approval, one name emerged as committed to implementation of the scheme: after passing an examination, J J Kneen was accepted as a peripatetic teacher. Nevertheless, his task was not easy. A letter from him to Morrison reveals attitudes towards the teaching of MxG, here in the South of the Island: 'I am afraid that the majority of people in the parish of Malew are opposed to the teaching of Manx, and the resuscitation of it as a spoken tongue.'[42] Kneen also gave the names of those: 'bitterly opposed to the teaching of it', as the new mistress of Ballamodda, and Garside from Ballasalla.

There were, however, teachers who had been in favour of the introduction of MxG. In 1902, Morrison was negotiating successfully with Richard Lace of Santon, W Potts of Peel Clothworkers School, Joseph Leece of St Thomas' School, Douglas, Hoyle of the Wesleyan Day School in Peel, W F Teare of Balladda, Dalby, and William Radcliffe of the Parochial School in Andreas.[43] Potts, for example, highlighted the problems with the proposed introduction of MxG as increased pressures on the curriculum and lack of funds.[44] Radcliffe pointed out the still problematic status of MxG:

> I have not much hope of seeing Manx used for conversational purposes by the young; - it is too much boycotted by their parents. Some time ago I attempted to instil a little knowledge of written Manx into my upper Standard children by

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[41] YnCG Report, Dec 3 1903, p.4.

[42] Box 1, letter from JJK→SM, 21/03/1906.

[43] see various correspondence, MS 5495A.

[44] MS 5495A, letter from W Potts→SM, 17/05/1902.

> way of Home lessons, but found that it was those parents who knew the language best that gave it the least encouragement; and in fact I had to withdraw the thing altogether. If we get it in the Code, of course, it will make a great difference...[45]

Radcliffe's support was to disappear in 1903, as he left the Island for a job in London.[46]

Others such as Richard Lace of Santon were very much in favour of the revival of MxG. Lace wrote to Morrison in April 1902, applying to join *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh*, and again in May to say:

> I know nothing of Manx, I am just as bad as a heathen Chinee...and hope that along with the children I may be able to acquire proficiency in the grand mother tongue – or grand old tongue. I would like to have Manx taught in my school. I do not think the Board would object.[47]

In response to attacks on teaching of the Manx language in the newspapers, Morrison wrote:

> It is, indeed, a well-proved fact that the inhabitants of bi-lingual countries, Poland, for instance, are good linguists. I could instance a well-known Manxman who speaks twelve languages, and who attributes his facility in acquiring them to the fact that he 'first got his tongue round the Manx'.[48]

The limitations of employing only one peripatetic teacher, coupled with the opposition in the majority of the schools, either to MxG specifically, or to the introduction of any extra element in an already full curriculum, meant that MxG teaching in schools did not succeed at that time. Kneen was dismissed by the Malew School Board, although Morrison had been informed that this was: 'only a case of red tape.'[49]

The success of teaching in schools would have dramatically altered attitudes towards MxG. As it was, Seoirse Mac Niocaill damned their efforts in his 1914 article.

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[45]MS 5495A, letter from William Radcliffe→SM, 23/01/1902.
[46] MS 5495A, letter from William Radcliffe→SM, 01/12/1903.
[47] MS 5495A, letter from Richard Lace→SM, 17/05/1902.
[48] Box 5, newspaper cutting of letter to editor from SM, 06/12/1905.

He wrote: 'The schools have been definitely abandoned to the enemy. English inspectors, and in many cases English teachers, are successfully crushing out whatever little national self-respect remains.'[50]

2. Collection and recording of speech, etc.

J J Kneen's experience of the varying attitudes towards the use and promotion of MxG is important in revealing the scope for collection of the language. Kneen's personal accounts illustrate the difficulty in finding a community amenable to the preservation or revival of MxG. His lack of confidence in his own pronunciation at times was: 'through lack of a little cooish now and again, a thing which is almost impossible in Douglas, it has become so Anglicised.'[51] He viewed his move to Port Erin more optimistically: 'I shall have more facilities for studying Manx pronunciation, than it is possible to obtain in Douglas.'[52] Unfortunately, this was not the answer either, for, even in the South, copies of the translation of the Psalms, *Psalmyn Ghavid,* sold very slowly. Kneen sadly remarked that: 'it is only the poorest who are patriotic down here.'[53] Kneen's concern for Anglicisms extended to his translation of the Berlitz guide into 'Modern Manx':

> I am translating the first Berlitz book into Modern Manx, with the aid of Mr J. Moore, who kindly revises my copy. When I have it finished I shall send it on to you for your inspection. I am avoiding Anglicisms as much as possible, because I have discovered that there is hardly one Anglicism in the Lang. which has not a Good Manx equivalent. But some words such as laccal have become such a part and parcel of the Language that I think it would be unwise to omit them.[54]

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[49] Box 1, letter from SM→Canon Savage, date unknown.
[50] Seoirse Mac Niocaill, 'Language and Nationality in Mann. An Irish educationist's opinion', *Isle of Man Examiner*, 04/06/1914.
[51] Box 1, letter from JJK→SM 09/05/1904.
[52] Box 1, letter from JJK→SM 09/05/1904.
[53] Box 1, letter from JJK→SM 14/08/1905.
[54] Box 4, letter from JJK→SM, 16/04/1908.

Kneen soon became disillusioned by the extent of Anglicisms to be found in the speech of native speakers:

> It is astonishing how corrupt the language is liable to become, if only used orally…" Kneen went on to talk of older Manxmen using, "a sentence flavoured with Saxon. Have you not a Manxword for so & so? That's the only Manx I hev for it. Have you never heard so & so used? Aw, yis, i hev, but it's a flock of years since.[55]

Kneen's comments reveal a purist stance. He was keen to standardise spelling and pronunciation because he saw this as a necessary step towards more acceptance of MxG.[56] He wrote:

> Now I think it ought to be our task, to oust these objectionable Saxonisms, and reinstate the natural Manx words. Of course there are many which we must now look upon as Manx words, as coan, chaff, from Sax. caff: drow Sax. draff: goshtin, Sax. godsit, & many more. These have become naturalized, and the original Manx words have in many cases disappeared altogether.[57]

It is worthy of note that Rhŷs considered all the Island to be very much anglicised by this point.[58] If this is taken to be correct, it would appear that Kneen was looking for something that didn't exist anyway, that he was trying to 'cleanse' MxG of its English influence in a mistaken attempt to elevate its status as a language.

Nevertheless, with the advent of the first successful phonograph or 'phonautograph' developed by Leon Scott de Martinville in 1855, it was becoming possible to make recordings of the language. After Edison's tinfoil phonograph of 1877, the phonograph became increasingly popular, with coin-operated phonographs in corner drug stores and cafes by 1891, for example.[59] The phonograph went into commercial production in the 1890s, and the Folk Song Society in England considered purchasing a machine in 1904. After receiving a donation of £5, Broadwood as secretary proposed it be put towards

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[55] Box 1, letter from JJK→SM, 17/10/1904.
[56] Box 1, letter from JJK→SM, 20/10/1905.
[57] Box 1, letter from JJK→SM, 17/10/1904.
[58] John Rhŷs, *The Outlines of the Phonology of Manx Gaelic* (Douglas, Isle of Man: OUP for the Manx Society, 1894).

the desired phonograph. As Jones writes: 'In practice this money appears to have been passed on by Lucy Broadwood to Percy Grainger, who at the end of July 1906 began the best-known and most publicised piece of phonograph collection before 1914.'[60]

Morrison and *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* are to be credited with having made some of the earliest phonograph recordings in the British Isles. Cubbon suggested the purchase of a phonograph in 1903.[61] The society eventually agreed on the purchase in order to record MxG, English, music, folklore, etc. In 1904, Morrison wrote to Emily Gill, commenting on its purchase, saying: 'It was thought well to bracket together for the work persons of education & musical ability with others who, though full of zeal for the cause have not those advantages.'[62]

Dr Clague had written to Morrison that a phonograph recording of MxG was unnecessary. This was, of course, rather short-sighted of him, but he argued that: 'The Manx spelling is purely phonetic, and I think is the finest system in existence...I have heard many people who have spoken Manx exactly as it is written.'[63] It is unfortunate that these recordings did not survive. The decision to buy a phonograph was indicative of the commitment of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* to the collection of speech patterns and folklore. It displays a modern, scientific approach to recording cultural heritage in its variety of forms. In the Society's Annual Report for 1913-1914, Morrison writes of its continued use:

> Mr Kneen has also the society's phonograph in Port Erin for the winter in order to store up records of Manx speech and song. Anyone who knows of a good unpublished Manx song should communicate with him.[64]

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[59] www.digitalcentury.com/encyclo/update/phono.html
[60] www.btinternet.com/~radical/thefolkmag/lucy.htm
[61] Box 2, letter from WC→SM, 24/11/1903.
[62] Box 1, letter from SM→Emily Gill, 26/11/1904.
[63] Box 3, letter from DrC→SM, 10/04/1904.
[64] YnCG Report, 1913-1914.

It has been suggested through personal correspondence with Dollin Kelly that the loss of some of the recordings was due to the subsequent owner of Morrison's house burning them on his fire.[65] The phonograph itself is under the protection of Manx National Heritage.

3. Lectures and papers

As other papers have already been outlined in other sections, e.g. W H Gill's paper on Manx Music, this section will look to the example of the writings of Canon Ernest Savage. Savage was a founding member of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* and was committed to the revival of MxG as a spoken language. On his death, *Mannin* posted the following tribute:

> In one of his last letters he wrote - 'Thank you very much for recognising me as a Manxman...I feel that my life here, has not been in vain; for I have honestly tried, for thirty-five years, to identify myself with all that belongs to the country of my adoption.' In that, all will agree, he fully succeeded. (*Mannin*, 6, pp.372-3).

Savage produced many articulate articles supporting the revival of MxG. The following appears to be a draft of a speech or article on MxG, with Savage providing important propaganda as to the widespread nature of MxG as a living language:

> Manx is spoken far more than people know, but not before strangers...When going "after the herrings" in some of the Peel luggers, not a word of English is spoken by the crew from the time they leave the harbour to the time of their return next morning; Every order being given in Manx. Dr Clague of Castletown (an excellent Manx scholar) has told me that in many houses that he visits in the South of the Island all the directions as to the treatments of his patients are given in Manx and frequently no word of English is spoken during his visit. So that it is a <u>living</u> language and more young people are able to speak it than is commonly known. We have asked to have the ages of those who can speak Manx specified in the Census Returns which will give us accurate figures if they are published.[66]

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[65] personal communication with Dollin Kelly.
[66] Box 5, fragment of letter from Canon Savage, date unknown.

In fact, Savage's article gives two examples of MxG being used as a technical language in the domains of fishing and medicine, i.e. using highly specific terminology. Whereas terms connected with fishing appear frequently in the *Vocabulary*, medical information does not feature as strongly. This would suggest that the last domains of MxG usage do not necessarily feature as the strongest domains in Anglo-Manx.

'Lingua Monensis'

Savage went to the lengths of writing a parable about the decline of MxG, using the metaphor of a rare species of bird for the language.[67] A draft of the story is to be found in the Sophia Morrison Papers. The parable outlines the decline of a rare bird, 'Lingua Monensis', a decline encouraged by those in authority who do not see it is as a profitable species. Migration, death and overcrowding by new-comers are also cited as causes for the decline. Later on in the parable, Savage refers to the large number of geese which takes the place of the Lingua Monensis. After consultation with the keepers of the estate – figures of authority – a small independent band of people start to work together for its survival:

> Now there were people living on the estate who had great love for the bird, and they remembered how their forefathers had loved and protected it in former times; so they banded themselves together to do all that was possible to save it. They pressed upon the keepers the great importance to Science of saving a species from extinction, even though it could not be sold for money; and the keepers at last listened and took heed, and orders were given that Lingua Monensis should be allowed to live. Still, however, the keepers would do nothing themselves to protect it, all that had to be done by those who had banded themselves together for the purpose; but they took great joy in doing it, for it was to them a labour of love.[68]

But the parable did not end there. Not only did Savage show that the power of solidarity could save the language from extinction, alerting those around him to the

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[67] The full text of 'Lingua Monensis' has been reproduced in Appendix 3.
[68] Box 6, draft by Canon Savage 'Lingua Monensis', date unknown.

danger of losing the last native speakers, he predicted a thriving future. The parable ends with a very confident assertion:

> And so it came to pass that Lingua Monensis was saved from dying out; and in course of time it flourished and increased amazingly, and it fairly astonished the whole countryside by the way it multiplied and reoccupied all its old haunts, driving out all the geese that had been put there to take its place.[69]

4. Publishing

Perhaps the most important text published by *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* was Goodwin's *First Lessons in Manx* which appeared in 1909.[70] This will be discussed in detail in the following chapter. An impression of the range of material published can be made by looking at a list of publications by The Manx Society in 1914[71], that is at the mid-point in the production of the journal *Mannin*, there are four main categories, MxG, 'folk culture', Anglo-Manx and T E Brown. The list is as follows:

MxG:

The Direct Method of Teaching Manx	J J Kneen
Psalmyn Ghavid	
Cregeen's Manx-English Dictionary	
Manx Proverbs and Sayings	C Roeder and S Morrison
Manx Reading Lessons *in press*	

Folk culture:

Manx Wild Flowers	S Morrison and P G Ralfe
Manx Fairy Tales	S Morrison
Various Manx Solos and Choruses for Music Guild	
William Cashen's Folklore	S Morrison (ed.)

Anglo-Manx:

The Charm, a Manx Comedy	Christopher Shimmin
Illiam Khodere's Will	Christopher Shimmin
A Book of Manx Poetry	William Cubbon (ed.)
Luss ny Graih	Christopher Shimmin
An Anglo-Manx Vocabulary *in press*	A W Moore, S Morrison & E Goodwin

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[69] Box 6, draft by Canon Savage, 'Lingua Monensis', date unknown.
[70] Edmund Goodwin, *First Lessons in Manx*, (1901; repr. Douglas, Isle of Man: Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh, 1987, ed. Robert Thomson).
[71] see pamphlet 'BOOKS Published by THE MANX SOCIETY', included as loose leaf in personal copy of *Mannin* No.3, May 1914.

T E Brown:
T E Brown Calendar
T E Brown Portrait

S Morrison & A M Williams

Morrison was connected with at least five of these publications, with connections to the work of Christopher Shimmin in addition. By 1914, *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* had changed its name to *The Manx Society*, and was publishing an equal number of works in and/or about MxG as they were publishing works in and about Anglo-Manx.

5. Competitions for literary contributions, e.g. to *Mannin*

Competitions organised by *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* resulted in the publication of much Anglo-Manx literature in *Mannin*. During the period 1913-1914, *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* offered a total of £20 in prize money for Manx plays.[72] The impact of works by Christopher Shimmin and Josephine Kermode (Cushag) will be examined in following chapters. Here, it is interesting to note the sensitivity concerning certain historical subjects which were used as inspiration for the generation of new texts. Mrs V Christian of Milntown, Ramsey, was a relative of William Christian, known as Illiam Dhone, the Manx martyr. As *Mannin* had appealed for plays on a historical Manx theme, Mrs Christian wrote to Morrison, anxious that the subject would not: 'be treated by any person who cannot do justice to it.' The letter referred in particular to Hall Caine: 'I do not want Hall Caine or his son or any other person antagonistic to the Christians to take it up, nor any uneducated person.'[73]

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[72] YnCG Report, 1913-1914 in *Mannin* No.3, May 1914, p.6.

6. Social and community events

Community events were important in raising the profile of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh*, and in raising funds. Morrison's association with Christopher Shimmin, Cushag and the Peel Players, meant that Anglo-Manx plays were regularly held. There appears to have been an overlap between the two organisations, with the Peel Players often performing in aid of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh*. The financial success of the staging of these plays will be discussed in the following chapter.

One of the ways in which Morrison and other members of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* tried to pass on the legacy of the national poet, T E Brown, was to introduce various events in schools. Morrison writes a note in a letter-book suggesting a T E Brown essay competition for the occasion of his anniversary. Interestingly, she includes reference to the possibility of children wearing gorse blossoms.[74] This is important as a way of expressing national identity through the use of symbols - visual markers of communality.

In 1914, Morrison, W H Gill, Cubbon, J J Kneen and P W Caine formed a committee devoted to providing memorials to Brown. The 5th May saw the presentation of portraits and copies of the T E Brown Calendar to each of the Island's school. This was followed a year later, on the 85th anniversary of his birth, by the presentation of a copy of his *Collected Poems* to each public school on the Island. *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* made an appeal to individuals and Manx Societies around the world to act as donors for particular schools. This tactic met with a great deal of success. The importance of maintaining these links was further emphasised:

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[73] Box 1, letter from Mrs V Christian→SM, 11 July, year unknown, possibly 1913 or 1916.

> Nothing could be more calculated to impress the imagination of the children with the reality and strength of the home-sentiment and the race-sentiment than that they should thus be brought into contact with their own countrymen, boys and girls from their own school, who are now living in distant lands, but who cherish a deep affection for the land that gave them birth.[75]

Their aim was to inform and raise awareness amongst the young of T E Brown's work.

They wrote:

> We are confident that the presentation of the portrait and the book will enable large numbers of the coming generation of Manx people to understand and admire the sweet and strong character of their national poet, and to absorb something of that sweetness and strength for their own attitude towards the beautiful things in nature, towards their fellow mortals, and towards their native land.[76]

Morrison donated one copy on her behalf, one on the behalf of the Peel Manx Association, and asked her brother in Manchester to donate one.

7. Manx classes at the Music Guild

With the popularity of the Manx Music Festival, also known as the Manx Music Guild, *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* saw an opportunity to bring MxG to a wider audience. Choirs and soloists were initially trained by members of the society such as Morrison. In this way, children were encouraged to use MxG, and to present it to a sector of the population not necessarily already familiar with it. The introduction of classes in the Manx Music Guild sparked a discussion among committee members of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh*. The main problem lay with the pronunciation of MxG in the songs. Dr Clague had already dismissed the idea, not being convinced that children could compete in MxG.[77] On another occasion, he again tried to discourage Morrison from involving them: 'It is perfectly useless to try to teach the children Manx words as if they were

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[74] Box 2, letter from SM→WC, date unknown. The note suggests an essay competition, and refers to the visual symbols; 'I suppose the schools will always be decorated, & the children wear gorse blossoms…'.
[75] *Mannin*, Vol. 3, No.5, May 1915, appendix, 'T E Brown Memorial' (no page number).
[76] *Mannin*, Vol. 3, No.5, May 1915, appendix, 'T E Brown Memorial' (no page number).
[77] Box 3, letter from DrC→SM, 28/09/1904.

parrots when they do not understand the language.'[78] Cubbon had suggested printing a phonetic transcription of the lyrics, but Morrison disagreed strongly:

> I do not care for the idea of printing a phonetic rendering – I think any School master in the Island would know some Manx person who could give him the proper sounds. To make the phonetic rendering seem necessary for all by printing it, would rather give us away I think.[79]

This reveals perhaps that Morrison thought that to print phonetics would give the impression that nobody spoke the language, that it was all a charade. Nevertheless, her suggestion to use native speakers as coaches proved a far more satisfactory way of reproducing the MxG sound system.

In 1903, correspondence with Popplewell of Ballacallin School, Dalby, for example, reveals the difficulty in coaching children for the Guild. Popplewell writes of the difficulty in finding teachers, meaning that only four children from his school would be competing. Morrison and her friend, Miss O Joughin, were asked to come to the school to offer some assistance.[80] Later in the year, he wrote again of other MxG-related problems: 'My assistant Miss Kennaugh informs me she has been unable to induce the children to learn the Prayers & Hymns in Manx.'[81]

An interview in 1998 with Laura Kennaugh[82] reveals that she had prepared some Manx songs for performance at the Guild in her youth. Her coach was an old man who lived in Colby, with whom she had not been very well acquainted. To those MxG speakers in the community, *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* was increasing the status of MxG, using them as tradition bearers, as those who could continue, act as links. Goodwin was also concerned about pronunciation, writing to Morrison about its standardisation:

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[78] Box 3, letter from DrC→SM, date unknown, 'I do not like to promise…'.
[79] Box 1, letter from SM→WC, 1 November, year unknown.
[80] MS 5495A, letter from Popplewell→SM, 18/08/1903.

> I fail to see what means can be taken to standardise the pronunciation of Manx...The pronunciation most intelligible to the Manx listener might, I think, be considered as the best. If the Manx language is not to be the principal element in competitions in Manx music, I fear that the present imperfect pronunciation of Manx by the singers will only become worse instead of better.[83]

The inclusion of MxG classes had involved Morrison and her contemporaries selecting and printing test material, as well as supplying prize money. In fact, in the year 1913-1914, the accounts of the Society show that expenditure concerning these classes totalled £12 5 5, more than the income from subscriptions from life members, for example. It accounted for 23% of expenditure for the General Account. With the classes having been such an investment from the Society, their sudden withdrawal proved a shock to committee members, as correspondence[84] and the following notice from *Mannin,* No.7 confirms:

> Those interested in Manx Folk Music must have seen with surprise and regret that the Manx Music Classes have been banished from the Music Festival syllabus. They cannot be more surprised than the Manx Society Committee, to whom no official information of the fact has been sent. In the past the Manx Society has always provided the prizes and music for the Manx classes and has fostered them in every way possible. It seems a pity that such action should have been taken by the Music Festival Committee. The work done, however, has not been lost and it is to be hoped that a wiser generation will value more highly the Songs of the Motherland. (*Mannin*, 7, pp.423-4).

9. Mannin

Morrison's life work culminated in a journal which helped formalise the ideals of the early twentieth-century Manx cultural movement: the inter-disciplinary journal, *Mannin: Journal of Matters Past and Present relating to Mann.*[85] This journal was edited by Morrison with the assistance of William Cubbon, and was printed twice a year between 1913 and 1917, with nine volumes in total. Its content reflects the varied cultural agenda of the

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[81] MS 5495A, letter from Popplewell→SM, 15/12/1903.
[82] see Recording Mann reference BM015, interview dated 23/01/1998.
[83] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 12/05/1909.
[84] see, e.g. Box 2, letter from WC→W A Craine, 10/05/1915: 'I believe too that the action of the Com^tee is neither considerate or just...'
[85] NB The complete set of *Mannin* can also be found at: www.ee.surrey.ac.uk/Contrib/manx/mannin

society. Morrison had not intended to edit the journal, having tried unsuccessfully to persuade Canon Savage to take it on, with her as assistant.[86] Nevertheless, through this journal, Morrison, more than ever before, became the focus for revivalist, antiquarian and folklore circles. Morrison's report to the Society on the origin of *Mannin* remarked that:

> It has been felt for a long time that the society needed some channel for the expression of its ideas and plans, some organ of communication with the outside world. "Mannin" is the outcome of this felt need. It...strives to model itself more or less...upon Mr A. W. Moore's inimitable "Manx Note Book."[87]

Moore's journal had been, and remained influential, running to 12 volumes between 1885 and 1887. Many of the contributors to *The Manx Note Book* also featured in *Mannin*, e.g. Boyd-Dawkins, Ernest Savage, Professor Rhŷs, P M C Kermode and Swinnerton. Morrison's journal bridged the gap and lived up to *The Manx Note Book's* academic weighting.

Mannin was, like many other society journals, intended to promote the work of the society, and to widen the sphere of interest in MxG and Manx cultural matters. To ensure *Mannin's* success, Morrison called upon many well-known and well-respected supporters. Academic weight was provided by figures such as Professor W A Herdman of Liverpool University, who was the founder of the Marine Biological Station in Port Erin in 1902, and professor of zoology at the University of Liverpool[88], and Professor Boyd Dawkins. Celtic scholars such as Professors Quiggin (Cambridge), Rhŷs (Oxford), Watson (Edinburgh) and Hyde (Dublin) were also counted on by Morrison as supporters of her work.[89] Hyde and Joseph Wright were life members of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh*. It was Quiggin (1875–1920), though, who was especially important, not only

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[86] see Box 2, letter from SM→Canon Savage, 1913.
[87] YnCG Report, 1913-1914 in *Mannin* No.3, May 1914, p.8.
[88] Box 4, letter from W A Herdman→SM, 28/04/1913.

because he was Manx, but also because he was renowned as the first teacher of Celtic at Cambridge. His approval of the journal was publicly announced by way of an article entitled 'Literary Manx and the Language of the Carvals' in the first issue. Pan-Celts such as E E Fournier d'Albe and A P Graves were also important in adding kudos to the journal and, by way of association, to *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh*.

The content of *Mannin* was varied, with articles from those based on and away from the Island. The focus was on folklore, oral history and music. Its dedication to the recording of fragments of folklore means that the journal has come to be regarded as an important source of oral history. The prominence of the musical contributions was such that the final volume of the journal included the following comment:

> It has been a noticeable feature of MANNIN that a space was set apart for the gradual publication of the melodies taken from Dr. Clague's MSS. Miss Morrison took special pains in this work to have the tunes printed exactly as they had been taken down. Only be this means could the originals be secured, as, apart from the danger or loss of accident, there would always be the possibility of their being used by modern writers and altered out of their original character. Once printed as taken down by Dr. Clague and his helpers they would be preserved, and future alterations be of less consequence. (*Mannin*, 9, p.568).

The following list shows the subject areas or disciplines as they appear in *Mannin*, starting with the highest frequency:

MUSIC
FOLKLORE/ORAL HISTORY
HISTORY
POLITICS/THE WAR
POEMS & PROSE IN SE
'WORTHIES'
NATURAL HISTORY
PIECES ABOUT MxG
POEMS & PROSE IN ANGLO-MANX
PIECES IN MxG

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[89] Mona Douglas, *This is Ellan Vannin*, (Douglas, Isle of Man: Times Press, date unknown, but pre 1966), p.129.

The list shows the frequency of occurrence of topics rather than number of pages devoted to them, but it does reflect the mix of material assembled by Morrison. Politics featured strongly only because the journal included regular reports on World War One, including a roll of honour. It is interesting to note that the number of poems, plays and prose in Standard English was twice as high as of those in Anglo-Manx. These works were typically patriotic or at least based on themes from Manx history. MxG was written about more often than it actually appeared as a written language in the journal, although this does not include the fragments of MxG associated with songs and music published in the main from the collection of Dr John Clague.

Dual identity: Manx and British

Mannin was important in creating the image of a 'Celtic' nation. Belchem has commented on the general tendency to downplay Norse elements in Manx history, for example in the work of A W Moore:

> Through assertion of Celticism, a project which tended to downgrade Norse contributions to the Island's hybrid 'Scandio-Celtic' past, the little Manx nation girded itself against cultural anglicization yet remained unquestionably loyal to the British Empire.[90]

Its content promoted, consciously or not, a duality of identity, of Manxness and Britishness. The other Celtic nations could not have hoped to embrace this kind of duality, for the Isle of Man was unusual in that:

> There was an absence of sectarian strife or internal schism – the temperance question was probably the most divisive issue. There were neither grievous wrongs to right nor *irredenta* to claim. As their associational culture displayed, the Manx could be both British and Celtic. Oblivious of any contradiction, A.W. Moore, the most eminent Manx cultural patriot and patron of innumerable Manx societies, was proud to be awarded both the CVO and a Welsh Bardic Crown. (Harrison in Belchem, p.406).

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[90] John Belchem, (ed.), *The New History of the Isle of Man*, Vol. 5, (Liverpool, University of Liverpool Press: 2000), p.3.

This duality was problematic in the realisation of the need to be recognised by other Celtic nations as they moved towards hopes of Celtic unity. Belchem points out that the Island: 'appeared a lost cause for a greater Gaelic Union. Manxland was not more than "a piece of Lancashire which had gone adrift."' (Belchem, p.7). Harrison notes the appearance of Mac Niocaill's article discussed above, in the *Manx Quarterly* (14) in 1914. This article appears in the form of a newspaper cutting in the Sophia Morrison Papers.[91]

Harrison writes:

> Fellow Celts, however, were disinclined to regard the Manx as role models. The work of Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh was summarily condemned by Seoirse Mac Niocaill, a member of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland. Having studied the teaching of Manx Gaelic and its place in the schools, he deplored the absence of 'Celtic' national spirit. The linking of the educational provision of the Island to the standards of the English Education committee was tantamount to treachery. To such ardent celticists Ellan Vannin appeared a lost cause. (Harrison in Belchem, p.405).

The difference in orthography between the Gaelic languages in Scotland and Ireland, and that in the Isle of Man caused specific problems. Morrison received a number of complaints from other Goidelic speakers, for example, C Jerrain wrote in 1902 that, having received Goodwin's *First Lessons in Manx*, the spelling was found to be 'rather a hindrance'.[92] Charles McNeill, then secretary of the Gaelic League, Dublin, wrote in 1899 that: 'It was suggested by one of our members that you would do well to endeavour to restore the traditional Gaelic orthography.'[93] This was a matter that was raised periodically, but ultimately rejected. It was, however, an area which did not encourage Celtic unity, but rather emphasised the difference of the Manx situation.

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[91] see Box 5.

[92] Box 6, letter from C Jerrain→probably Canon Savage, no date.

[93] Box 6 letter from Charles McNeill→SM, 18/03/1899.

If the Manx were still facing problems in 1914, the development of *Mannin* would have been key in countering this image of the Island as a county of England. It was no accident that Volume 8, published in November 1916, included two articles on the question of political control of the Island. Evidence strongly suggests that the articles 'Should Our National Legislature be Abolished?'[94] and 'A Protest'[95] were included in *Mannin* in answer to private appeals sent out by Morrison. In the August before the volume appeared, Morrison had asked a Mr Farrant to contribute an article. She wrote:

> I feel strongly that our Nov. M[annin] should have something to say on the subject. We are a national society & we should speak out <u>against</u> annexation. We of the Manx Soc. who for the last 20 years have worked for Manx Nationalism - music - language, folk-lore - music, sentiment - whilst agreeing that the Insular Govt needs reforming, do not see that that is a sufficient reason for the adoption of a course that would end in the destruction of the Manx national existence - the absorption of the Island into an Eng. county. These rabid people certainly do not speak on behalf of the Mx. people in toto.[96]

Here Morrison directly expresses the motivation for her activities, spelling out that Manx nationalism was the priority. In order to present Manx nationalism as a viable course, it was essential that *Mannin* was not only professional in the quality of its content, but also in its presentation. Good quality paper was chosen[97], and the design on the title page, although slightly controversial at the time, was the work of well-known artist and designer, Archibald Knox. Knox's recognisable lettering provides visual impact, and Celtic interlacing is kept to a minimum, ensuring a more contemporary image.

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[94] G F Clucas, 'Should Our National Legislature be Abolished?' *Mannin* 8, (1916), pp.475-480.
[95] Derwent Simpson, H, 'A Protest.' *Mannin* 8, (1916), pp.481-485.
[96] Box 2, letter from SM→Mr Farrant, 15/08/1916.
[97] Box 1, letter from SM→LM, date unknown: the paper for prints for a volume of *Mannin* is chosen – 3/3 over the inferior quality reproduction of paper priced 1/8.

In a letter to her sister, Lou, Morrison writes of her original plans for the cover of *Mannin*:

> There are, of course, the usual number of disappointments - the last being Frank Graves - I wrote to him 4 weeks ago, asking him to design cover for our new MLS Magazine Mannin. I sent him a price of the paper decided upon for the cover - yellow is supposed to be the Celtic colour - the design to be in dark brown. I said too if he will not think it impertinent to make a suggestion, we have rather a fancy for a Viking ship, but of course we leave it to him....[98]

This letter shows that Morrison's intentions were to use the cover of *Mannin* as an expression of the Scandio-Celtic hybridity mentioned by Belchem above as often being downplayed. Ultimately, Knox's designs were decided upon, even though correspondence between Morrison and William Cubbon reveals Morrison's dislike of them.[99]

The costs of production, which frequently included expensive prints of art work and individual portraits, meant that the journal did not provide much, if any profit. The effects of these demands were exacerbated during the war. During this time, *Mannin* was faced with difficulties including subscriptions, the practical problems of printing – printers had enlisted, paper was scarce. Morrison wrote in 1914 that: 'we have lost £8 on the first two numbers.'[100] Nevertheless, the journal must have been fairly popular, as older volumes soon went out of print. Writing to Mr Shorter in 1914, Morrison commented on the production and sales of the journal, saying: 'we print 500 & have some 300 regular subscribers. Nos. 1&2 are out of print & we have at present about 50 unsold copies of No.3.'[101]

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[98] 9495 Additional deposit by E M Teare. This letter dated 26/04/1913.
[99] See MS 1129C, where Morrison complained to Cubbon, finding 'the heavy downstroke irritating – and the canaries!'
[100] Box 2, letter from SM→Mr Kermode, 06/02/1914.
[101] Box 2, letter from SM→Mr Shorter, 07/07/1914.

By 1916, however, the situation had worsened, with rising printing costs of: '150% more than in pre-War days...we shall either have to cease publication altogether for a time or else to reduce M to half its size & use less expensive paper.'[102] These problems prompted Morrison to describe the journal as being: 'in rather low water owing to the war,'[103] and to conclude that: 'If we had altogether 500 subscribers M. would pay its way. As it is we have only about 320 & I fear very much that unless we can do something to increase the circulation, I shall have to cease publication.'[104]

Morrison remained very protective of her journal, even when it was experiencing considerable financial difficulties. Writing to a Miss Tuckfield, she commented:

> I have had the most fearfully worrying time lately over M business...Mannin, I certainly think it would be far preferable to reduce the size and quality of M & continue to publish it, if in any way possible. I fear that if it were once discontinued it might not resurrect![105]

J J Kneen wrote in support of Morrison: 'I am glad you intend going ahead with *Mannin*, it would be a pity to curtail its existence owing to this horrible war.'[106] W H Gill, too, was supportive, suggesting that Morrison appeal to Thomas Moore of Billown, who: 'seems to have had more money left to him than he knows what to do with.'[107]

Cubbon worked closely with Morrison on the publication, but Morrison regarded it ultimately as her responsibility. The following letter discusses the need to proceed with No.4 in spite of problems, so as to maintain the confidence of subscribers:

> As, however, *Mannin* seems to be rather too much of a speculation for the Manx Society, I propose in future to bring it out as a venture of my own. I think that my good friends the Peel Players will help to pull me through the present crisis

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[102] Box 2, letter from SM→WHG, 07/06/1916.
[103] Box 2, letter from SM→unknown recipient, but probable subscriber, 11/02/1916.
[104] Box 2, letter from SM→MR E H L Dickson, 17/05/1916.
[105] Box 2, letter from SM→Miss Tuckfield, date unknown.
[106] Box 4, letter from JJK→SM, 08/10/1914, incomplete.
[107] Box 6, letter from WHG→SM, 18/09/1914.

> & afterwards the magazine will have to be made, by retrenchment, to pay its own way.[108]

However, figures such as her friend, G W Wood warned Morrison against taking on the financial responsibility for the journal, but admitted that: 'it would be a thousand pities if it were discontinued.'[109]

From correspondence and private notes now in the Sophia Morrison Papers, Morrison revealed the difficulties of working with Cubbon: 'Cubbon really is very difficult - I wish I had someone who could really be a help to me. He is so slippery.'[110] Cubbon was prone to bouts of extravagance, which Morrison had to keep in check, especially considering the precarious nature of *Mannin*'s financial situation outlined above. Cubbon's behaviour prompted the typically modest Morrison to suggest:

> As to C. I am disgusted with him and think him not only cheeky, but slippery. Do you think it would be quite right to put "Published & edited for the Manx Society by Sophia Morrison" on the next number of *Mannin*?[111]

The *World Manx Association*

Morrison's feelings of distrust towards Cubbon were to be confirmed by his involvement in a new society, the *World Manx Association.* The success of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* in raising funds and providing lively social gatherings meant that others considered it viable to found another society broadly along the same theme. This move was, however, viewed by Morrison and others around her as nothing more than 'leaping on the bandwagon,' or hijacking the cause in order to climb the social ladder. These references were directed in particular at a certain Mrs Laughton, wife of the then High Bailiff of Peel. Mrs Laughton was founding treasurer of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh*, and

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[108] Box 2, letter from SM→WC, 27/08/1914.
[109] Box 8, letter from G W Wood→SM, 30/11/1914.
[110] Box 2, SM note, date unknown.

was very active in the Manx Music Festival. Cubbon's defection left an anxious Morrison noting to herself that she would not: 'give up Mannin! I am sure that I and others who would help, could keep it running, even if Mr Cubbon did forsake it – he does not seem to me indispensable.'[112] The betrayal felt by Morrison as William Cubbon transferred his loyalties to the *World Manx Association*, is shown in the following extract from a letter to J J Kneen:

> Of course a certain lady of our acquaintance sees now that the Celtic Movement is more or less fashionable & that many distinguished people take an interest in it - therefore she steps in. I am disappointed in Mr C. I thought he was more loyal to the MLS.[113]

More than anything, the anger appears to have been on behalf of the Society:

> 'The World Manx Association seems to me very unnecessary...Mrs L. is a clever & egotistical woman. She sees now that the Celtic movement is a reality...so she thinks she can now step in & take as much as possible of the credit of what the MLS has really done.[114]

The *WMA* was perceived by Mona Douglas and even Cubbon as being very much part of the British imperial system. On being asked to speak at one of their T E Brown meetings, Douglas wrote to Morrison: 'I don't much want to do so, but Mr Cubbon says he wants me to try & speak against some of their imperialist doctrines!'[115]

With competition from a new society which did not have MxG as its central focus, *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* was to struggle to promote MxG successfully on the Island. The circles in which the two organisations operated were now faced by a choice. Fund raising and the attraction of new membership will have suffered. An example of this is contained in a rather acidic comment by Morrison concerning £54 given by the Melbourne Manx Society to the *WMA*. Morrison wrote to her sister Louisa about Mrs

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[111] Box 2, SM note, date unknown, appears after letter of 29/12/1913, i.e. different to note in previous footnote.
[112] Box 2, note made by SM in black letter book, date unknown.
[113] Box 8, letter from SM→JJK, c.July 1912.
[114] Box 8, letter from SM→Cushag, date unknown.

Laughton that: 'if she gives any of it away it will be given as from her private purse & to her toadies.'[116] To have missed a sum of money this large must have been galling to *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh,* whose funds for 1913 – the estimated date for this donation – were only just over £70. The effect of the *WMA* in detracting support from *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* would have been of great consequence to the revival of MxG in particular. To some, the appeal of a non-MxG-centric society would have been great, especially as the *WMA* attempted to imitate *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh*'s successful presentation of Anglo-Manx plays.

In a letter to her close friend, 'Cushag', Morrison described Mrs Laughton as: 'a dreadful woman.'[117] She was not without reason. The *WMA* were responsible for staging a 'T E Brown evening', the disastrous nature of whose dramatic rendering of Brown's *Betsy Lee* caused controversy in Manx cultural circles. This event was taken as a show of disrespect to Brown. Indeed, it caused very real distress to Brown's daughters, who corresponded with Morrison about it. Morrison's reply spoke of them having refused permission for any: 'further mutilation of the finest poems our Island has produced.'[118] Morrison was annoyed that her name had been brought into association with the event and with the *WMA* in general. Her letter to Miss Brown concluded: 'I do not approve of WMA methods.'[119] Morrison asserted in a letter to Lou that: 'The TEB Night has been my idea for a year or more. Cubbon filched it & handed it on to Mrs L.'[120] Petty jealousies and divided loyalties were becoming problematic.

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[115] Box 5, letter from MD→SM, 25/10/1916.
[116] Box 1, letter from SM→LM, date unknown.
[117] Box 2, letter from SM→Cushag, 29/12/1913.
[118] see e.g. Box 2, letter from SM→Miss Brown, 28/11/1913.
[119] Box 2, letter from SM→Miss Brown, 28/11/1913.
[120] 9495 Additional deposit by E M Teare. This letter from SM to Lou[isa Morrison], undated.

Others perceived the *WMA* as a remnant of colonialism, belonging not to the Manx, but to powerful incomers. An article with the signature 'WHRC' appeared in the *Isle of Man Weekly Times* in 1916, criticising the *WMA*:

> It must strike one as not a little amazing that a society solely for the Manx...should have his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor (Lord Raglan) as Patron, and Mrs Laughton as President. Surely the title should be the English-Manx Association or the Welsh-English-Manx Association?...surely they might let their shoes dry before they proclaim this land of their latest adoption?[121]

The reasons why the T E Brown evening had caused such distress lie with the iconic status of Brown. Part of the involvement of Morrison and her circle in the MxG revival was a commitment to the past, and to his legacy. Not only Brown was accorded iconic status among this group, but also the musician and collector Dr John Clague, and more indirectly, the MxG dictionary compiler Archibald Cregeen. On Clague's death, Goodwin wrote to Morrison, commenting: 'I regret the death of Dr Clague more than of any Manxman since T E Brown.'[122]

Correspondence between Morrison and her contemporaries made frequent reference to Brown in almost hallowed tones. This status has remained with Brown to the time of writing. Martin Faragher confirms this in his claim that Brown: 'remains the unchallenged literary icon of Manx cultural patriotism.'[123]

Brown's influence will be seen in following chapters. Chapter Five will discuss his work as a source for the *Vocabulary*.

This chapter began by outlining the development of literatures and linguistic codes in English in Ireland, and how these codes began to dominate over IrG. The belief that

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[121] letter from WHRC, *Isle of Man Weekly Times*, 08/07/1916.
[122] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 12/09/1908.

Gaelic was exclusive rather than inclusive in its appeal remains today, both in Ireland and in the Isle of Man. Writing in 1991, J W Foster, is convinced that:

> The Irish language is equally a stumbling-block to an island-wide Irishness, especially since the language is associated with a western rurality and the ethnic well-spring of the peasant, including his music...all impossibly remote to urban Ulster Protestants...The Gaelic language and Irish music...are simply not their heritage.[124]

The belief that the fate of MxG had already been decided affected even the most enthusiastic of MxG revivalists. Chapter One referred to the Manx scholar, J J Kneen's pessimistic view of the future of MxG: 'when the last lingering accents of Manx shall have passed into that oblivion of languages...'[125] Although Kneen was a teacher of MxG, and used the language in correspondence and everyday life wherever possible, he was becoming disillusioned as to the future success of MxG. He believed instead that: 'every scrap of music and folklore is valuable now, for although I should like to see our çhengey ny mayrey revived, I am afraid it is a hopeless task, for it seems doomed...'[126] Similarly, Morrison wrote: 'I fear, alas that in spite of all our efforts, the language is dying out, so few young people speak it.'[127]

If figures as pro-Manx as Kneen and Morrison believed that, then another linguistic code was needed to take on the role of tradition-bearer, in order to maintain cultural distinctiveness. A distinctly Manx code of English could offer inclusivity, and widen the appeal of cultural nationalism. As Belchem notes:

> Efforts to extend the language base into new areas – including educated Celtic enthusiasts faced with the daunting task of learning Gaelic *ab initio* – were less encouraging. Lacking Moore's gifts, other leading figures in Manx cultural nationalism struggled to acquire the language. Hence, protection of the Anglo-

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[123] Martin Faragher, 'Literature in English since 1900', in *The New History of the Isle of Man*, Vol. 5, ed. John Belchem, (Liverpool, University of Liverpool Press: 2000), 331-7, here p.333.

[124] John W Foster, *Colonial consequences: essays in Irish literature and culture*, (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 1991), p.257.

[125] Box 4, letter from J. J. Kneen→Mrs Laughton, 09/07/1907.

[126] Box 1, letter from JJK→SM, 04/12/1905.

[127] Box 2, letter from SM→'Monsieur', date unknown.

> Manx dialect, or rather the Insular vernacular immortalised by T.E. Brown, soon became the decisive linguistic issue, the voice of resistance to incorporation into England. (Belchem, p.7).

Brown himself advocated this move. Irwin's (1900) collected letters include a letter to Rydings which refers to the role of Anglo-Manx or dialect writing:

> I have an idea that Mr M[oore]'s new book will show plainly that we have arrived at the last squeak of the Manx language proper. So I think what we have now to do is to make a *new start*, making Anglo-Manx dialect the basis. In its turn this will probably become obsolete, but meanwhile the catastrophe will be deferred by your stories, and, perhaps I may add, by mine. Let us then make all we write very good and sound – Manx timber, Manx calking, Manx bolting, Manx everything.[128]

Whereas Brown sees the likely fate of Anglo-Manx as following the decline of MxG, W H Gill sees it as something more permanent:

> My old friend and master, Mr. T. E. Brown, has, in his "Fo'c's'le Yarns," gathered up the fragments that remain of the Anglo-Manx dialect - the transition from Manx to English - and embalmed them in the amber of his inimitable verse. Haply his poetry will live when all traces of the original Manx language and Manx character shall have passed away. (W H Gill, p.xi).

So, to Gill, T E Brown had successfully embalmed Anglo-Manx in amber, fossilised and preserved it for time immemorial. Gill's comments imply that its status as a fossil will 'live' on past the death of the Manx language *and* Manx character.

Manx English or Anglo-Manx?

It is important at this point to briefly clarify the differentiation I am making between the terms Manx English and Anglo-Manx here. This will be fully discussed in Chapter Six. I reject the approach that MxE and Anglo-Manx are interchangeable terms. Instead, I refer to the English spoken by the Manx as MxE, and this is therefore taken to be a changing, dynamic linguistic code. Anglo-Manx is not merely a sub-variety of MxE, but a MxE of a particular time and place, which has been shaped into an ideological

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[128] S T Irwin, (ed.), *The Letters of Thomas Edward Brown*, vol.2, (London: Archibald Constable, 1900), p.83. Also quoted by Kewley Draskau 2000.

construct. Its boundaries have been restricted by reference to Brown's writings and to the *Vocabulary*. The implications of this become all the more clear when it is considered that:

> The vernacular was not the natural speech of authors such as Brown. Hence, although their vernacular compositions merit attention as indicative of the degree to which a linguistic variety has been systemised, codified and accepted, there is a caveat. Authors consciously exploiting vernaculars assume *faux-naif* literary *personae*; such works must always be regarded as constructs drawing upon an extensive, somewhat amorphous body of material assimilated from anonymous first-hand informants.[129]

Margaret Killip's view in *Folklore of the Isle of Man* also suggests a sense of artificiality to the Anglo-Manx dialect:

> The Anglo-Manx dialect, a hybrid tongue made up of expressions and idioms translated straight out of the Gaelic mixed up with imported elements, is an entirely different kind of speech, and though by now characteristic of the people and entirely Manx in feeling it is still something that has been grafted on, not the original growth.[130]

19th century comments on English accents in the Isle of Man reveal that the English spoken by the Manx was considered similar to that of Ireland. Broderick quotes an article, 'The Present State of the Isle of Man', which appeared in *The Monthly Magazine* of 1801:

> Almost every Manksman can speak English; their accent is very like that of Ireland, and they may easily be mistaken for Hibernians, by those who have not attended closely to the niceties of pronunciation. (Broderick 1999, p.27).

Broderick is careful to comment that the statement, 'every Manksman' must refer to the urban population.

The question as to what was considered Anglo-Manx is perhaps more easily answered by examining its antithesis. For example, the novelist Hall Caine was not very popular in the Isle of Man, both for his character and for the content of his novels:

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[129] Jennifer Kewley Draskau, 'The Use of Englishes', in *The New History of the Isle of Man*, Vol. 5, ed. John Belchem, (Liverpool, University of Liverpool Press: 2000), 316-322, here p.320.
[130] Margaret Killip, *The Folklore of the Isle of Man*, (London & Sydney: Batsford, 1975), p.58.

> But the Manx felt uneasy about his novels. They were regarded as coarse because of their presentation of sexual desire as a powerful force shaping human lives. Manx booksellers, being prudent, simply did not stock his books. In 1891 Hall Caine gave a series of lectures about the Isle of Man to the Royal Institution in London which were published under the title *The Little Manx Nation* and dedicated to his close friend T.E. Brown.[131]

Kewley Draskau's examination of Caine's novels refers to the mixture of linguistic codes he presents in the guise of Anglo-Manx as follows:

> Elsewhere, Caine embellishes his Manx vernacular with a form alien to Manx English, presumably drawn from stage Irish...Later in the same work non-Standard forms encountered in Cockney and some other varieties of English, but not typical of Manx English, are combined with the same type of importation from Irish English...[132]

Kewley Draskau goes on to outline the influence of Quarrie's work on Hall Caine, saying that: 'Quarrie then discovered in Caine's *Manxman* what he considered evidence of gross plagiarism.' (Kewley Draskau 2000, pp.72-3). Quarrie's complaints concluded: '...does it not really appear as if even Mr Caine's admitted knowledge of the Isle of Man is also largely due to his adopting as well as adapting to his own use the work of others?' (Quarrie in Kewley Draskau, 2000, p.73).

In contrast to Hall Caine, Sophia Morrison was described by Philip Caine as: 'the mainspring of all the Society's activities.' His article in her memory points out the breadth of her work:

> But her energies were not merely confined to the spread of the use of the Manx language; everything that tended to deepen the love of the motherland commanded her services... (*Mannin*, 9, p.500).

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131 Ulla Corkhill, 'Nineteenth-century Literature in English Relating to the Isle of Man', in *The New History of the Isle of Man*, Vol. 5, ed. John Belchem, (Liverpool, University of Liverpool Press: 2000), 323-337, here p.327.

132 Jennifer Kewley Draskau, 'Linguistic codes in Manx Vernacular English texts' in Miriam Critchlow (ed) *Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, Vol. XI, No. 1, (2000) Kendal, Titus Wilson & Son, 67-78, here p.73.

The following chapter will explore the personality and work of Morrison and her circle. It will include details of her working relationships with Edmund Goodwin and Charles Roeder, which will provide insight into issues of ideology and collecting practices. As research to date has indicated that Morrison rather than Moore was the main contributor to the *Vocabulary*, these issues will provide context for the development of the work itself.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Sophia Morrison Circle

This chapter takes its name from the perspective selected here from which antiquarian activities in the Isle of Man from the 1880s to the 1920s will be viewed. It involves a shift of perspective away from previous examinations which have generally appeared in the form of seminar papers or as sections in histories. These have tended to focus on A W Moore as the central figure in antiquarian and revivalist activity. The change in perspective is achieved through an examination of correspondence and other papers collected together as the Sophia Morrison Papers. Through examination of the mixture of formal and informal writings, coupled with additional biographical details of Morrison's life, these papers offer a complementary account of the Manx revival. The intention is to present another truth rather than a definitive one.

A W Moore (1853-1909)

A W Moore's contribution to research into a wide range of Manx topics is certainly great. If his work is examined in the context of the revival as a whole, however, he emerges as an onlooker, a collator, rather than an active fieldworker. Like many of his contemporaries, Moore was by no means an integrated member of the community he was studying. The previous chapter referred to Moore's *Manx Ballads and Songs*, which W H Gill described as the product of an 'archaeological' rather than an artistic approach. I argue that whereas Moore was crucial to the Manx revival, his participation remained removed from work at the grass-roots level. This has implications for his collection of folklore, dialect and music. It also differentiates him from Morrison.

Arthur William Moore has been described as a: 'gifted polymath…an avid scholar…The leading figure in the late-nineteenth-century Manx 'renaissance'…' (Belchem, p.3).

Kinvig, too, refers to Moore's role by saying that: 'The definite revival of Manx national consciousness and spirit can be traced above all to the influence of the writings and other activities of Arthur W. Moore...'[1] His contemporaries regarded him highly, as well. Morrison referred to him as the chief authority on Manx antiquities,[2] as a: 'truly representative Manx gentleman.'[3]

Whereas Moore was able to turn his hand to a wide range of academic disciplines – from meteorology to music, for example, he was not so successful at operating within a wide range of social domains. His off-Island education at Rugby prepared him for historical studies at Trinity College, Cambridge. On his return to the Island, he moved from managing his family's sail-cloth firm to a career in politics. An MHK from 1881, he was appointed Speaker of the House of Keys (SHK) in 1898. (see Morrison 1909-10 and 1912). Moore, with a privileged education and sufficient finances to enable him to publish material, was also influential enough to persuade others to fund publication as well. He was a figure of authority, a figurehead to the revival, both on the Island, and within the pan-Celtic movement as a whole.

Moore published over a dozen books on Manx topics, and was also responsible for the journal, *The Manx Note Book*, which appeared between 1885 and 1887 in twelve volumes. Moore was official translator of the Acts of Tynwald into MxG, and this role reflects the nature of his achievements: Moore was an onlooker, a transcriber, a commentator.

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[1] R H Kinvig, *The Isle of Man. A social, cultural and political history*, (1944; repr. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1975), p.173.
[2] Sophia Morrison, 'A W Moore' entry in *Dictionary of National Biography*, Second Supplement Vol II (Oxford: OUP, 1912a), 643-4, here p.644.
[3] Sophia Morrison, 'Mr A W Moore, MA, CVO' *The Celtic Review*, 6 (1909-10), 283-7, here p.283.

Moore was instrumental in bringing together elements of previously obscure publications. His use of oral sources was limited, and appears to have been on the basis of friends coming to him: 'Thanks are due to the many kind friends who have contributed scraps of Folk-Lore…'[4] The image is of a serious scholar sitting at a large desk, surrounded by walls lined with every published work with a Manx connection. Such was his collection that it formed the basis for the library at the Manx Museum. (Webber, p.107).

Moore made no claims to be a thorough fieldworker. His social standing would have discouraged many potential informants from speaking freely to him. It is more likely that they would have used more formal registers than with someone to whom they could easily relate.

To fieldworkers such as Charles Roeder, Moore's contribution was important, but not radical or practical enough in its nature, with Roeder dismissing Moore's work on one occasion as: 'grandfather's chair work.'[5] Roeder's criticism of Moore's collecting practices are revealed letters to Morrison, the first example of which given here urged her to continue her fieldwork:

> As to Mr Moore's few notes on herbal remedies & charms I consider them very poor & fragmentary, he does not collect personally & only digests what falls under his casual observation. You have therefore a virgin ground before you & must not be discouraged from going on with your useful work.[6]

This letter criticised the extent of Moore's collecting, also his lack of personal fieldwork.

Roeder's comments identify Moore as a compiler, but, as the following letter reveals, Moore's skill as a compiler did not impress either:

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[4] A W Moore, *The Folk Lore of the Isle of Man*, (Douglas, Isle of Man & London: Brown & Son and D Nutt, 1891), p.vii.

[5] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, date unknown.

> A W Moore is only a very mediocre compiler (entre nous) & things have first to be carried to him. His second edition of "Manx Sur & place names" is a miserable failure & a disappointment for a second edition...No wonder his book has fallen flat on "those who know."[7]

The same letter praised Morrison, saying: 'You are really the only Manx person I know who quite understands the great value of all these matters.'[8]

Charles Roeder (1848-1911)

Morrison's relationship with the amateur German folklorist, Charles Roeder, is important because it reveals itself as one of the most important ways in which she was informed about folklore collection practices. It also informs us as to the interest in the Island's linguistic and cultural identity from without. Furthermore, Roeder makes frank assertions about members of the antiquarian circle, which help to place Morrison in that context. By examining correspondence between the two, it is possible to access key elements to Morrison's development as a folklore collector.

Roeder, also sometimes known by the German variant of his name, Carl Röder, was born in Thuringia, Germany, a geologist and archaeologist who worked for a shipping firm in Manchester. Whilst resident in England, he developed his interest in folklore collection, concentrating in the main on the English counties of Lancashire and Cheshire. Later, he extended this to cover the Isle of Man.[9]

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[6] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 05/11/year unknown.
[7] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 27/08/1904.
[8] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 27/08/1904.
[9] see Box 5. Newspaper cuttings. 'NOTED ARCHÆOLOGIST'S DEATH. The death is reported of Mr Charles Roder [sic.], Withington, Manchester, a well-known geologist and archæologist, a native of Thuringia, Germany...He had taken great interest in the folk-lore and history of Lancashire and Cheshire and had written many papers on the results of his investigations. He published a volume of "Manx Notes and Queries." For many years Mr Roeder had collected archæological and scientific specimens,

Little research has been undertaken into Roeder's life and work, the exception being that undertaken by Stephen Miller, represented by his 1993 publication of three separate papers originally published by Roeder between 1892 and 1897. In his introduction to this, *Skeealyn Cheeil-Chiollee,* Miller outlines his knowledge of Roeder:

> Only the briefest details of Roeder's life are known to date. He…came to Manchester in 1869 to work as a clerk in a shipping firm. Later, he appears to have become a patents agent, still working and living in Manchester where he remained until his death in 1911. It seems that he first visited the Island in 1882…Roeder was evidently an energetic collector, travelling the whole of the Island to find informants.[10]

Roeder's work has, however, shared a similar fate to that of Morrison's in that it has been largely undervalued. According to Mona Douglas, however, Charles Roeder was responsible for collecting and publishing more Manx folklore than anyone but A W Moore. (Douglas 1964, p.87).

Roeder collected material in MxG and in English, but tended to publish them in his version of English, which was, as Mona Douglas notes: 'a faithful and detailed record of the information they gave him in a style which holds the very accent of country speech.' (Douglas 1964, p.91). She gives the example of one of his collected stories, which starts:

> There is a church near St. John's, Keill Pharick y Drummagh, and *there was a bad spirit brought the timber across from Ireland and he riding on it. He was asking,* 'What did the women say when they were going to milk?' but they told him, 'No matter – markee, jouyll, markee!' (ride, devil, ride). (Douglas 1964, p.88).

This style of writing appears to reflect certain syntactical features of the colloquial speech at the time of collection, and these have been highlighted by italics.

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and these he distributed freely among the Lancashire museums.'

[10] Stephen Miller, (ed.), *Charles Roeder. Skeealyn Cheeil-Chiollee,* (Onchan, Isle of Man: Chiollagh Books,

They can be directly related to forms in MxG, e.g. subordinating 'and' with subject pronoun + ing-participle: *and he riding on it – as eh markiagh er*, and the use of the continuous present tense: *he was asking*, as MxG does not use a simple present tense. In these ways, Roeder's folklore notes can be viewed as a source for aspects of Manx English in certain regions of the Island.

Roeder's first publication on Manx folklore appeared in *Yn Lioar Manninagh* in 1892, his paper concentrating on: 'folklore topics collected in 1883 from the north of the Island.' (Miller 1993b, p.37). This appears to have been the result of his first significant collecting activity on the Island. Bazin proposes the date of this visit to the Island as being 1879, when Roeder was still a student (Bazin 1997, p.105), but Miller offers the date of 1882 (Miller 1993b, p.1). Certainly, it was somewhere around 1880, as is confirmed by one of Roeder's frequent appeals to Morrison, this one dating from 1904, where he wrote that he had:

> lots of <u>other</u> things Manx <u>in store</u> for you yet…I have been collecting these things *within the last 20 years*…nor do I think I will ever do any more work in that line. My experience has <u>not</u> been sweet![11]

Articles by Roeder appeared frequently in the 1890s, at a time when the drive towards the formation of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* was well underway. Periodicals such as *Yn Lioar Manninagh* were undoubtedly known to Morrison. It is likely that she subscribed to the series or at least had access to a copy. Furthermore, the publications of Roeder's articles in newspapers such as the *Isle of Man Examiner* and the *Peel City Guardian* would have brought his name to her attention.

1993b), p.I.

[11] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 06/09/1904, italics added.

The first direct contact between Morrison and Roeder was in December 1902, when Roeder introduced himself as having obtained her name from Graves. At that time, Roeder was particularly interested in the herring fishing of the Peel area. With her family links to the fishing industry, Morrison would have been an obvious recommendation. Roeder wasted no time in asking her to collect: 'a lot of words, terms, phrases in Manx used by the Peel fisher men: a thing which has not been attended to by any one!'[12] It is important to note how the importance of the fishing industry was emphasised from the outset of their work together. This suggests that Roeder was aware of MxG terms being used by the Peel men in the fishing industry. The fishing community is turned to repeatedly as an example of living MxE at the turn of the last century. However, it may be that the fishing industry maintained use of MxG lexical items rather than other features. Furthermore, consideration must be made of the impact of this group on the wider community. This will be discussed later in relation to Morrison's home town of Peel.

This first contact between Roeder and Morrison had established a somewhat reserved and formal relationship - two antiquarians and folklorists trading information on a polite and impersonal level. Roeder's leading characteristic emerging from this correspondence was the strong sense of responsibility to the discipline of folklore. On discovering that little work had been done on the Island, at least little work he considered of sufficient depth or scope, Roeder began to record the oral history of the Island. He wrote to Morrison that he had made notes on the herring fishing: 'as a pure matter of folk-loristic duty...'[13]

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[12] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 30/12/1902.
[13] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 5 November, year unknown.

Roeder's plans for further research were thwarted by lack of the assistance he required:

> Had I had sufficient help in the Island, my intention was to run up a useful comparative Manx Dictionary...illustrating terms of agriculture, fishing, building, in fact all the trades & occupations, all objects of natural history & the popular pronunciations.[14]

His negative experience with other antiquarians on the Island had left him with little desire to publish further. His 'Notes & Queries' column in the *Isle of Man Examiner* was intended to promote discussion and contributions from those working on the Island. Roeder was extremely upset and disappointed that it did not encourage such a response. Moore, Kneen, Reverend Harrison, Ralfe and Graves were all cited as having been contacted in vain. He wrote to Morrison:

> It is really a pity you don't see your way to publish your information, reliable and valuable as it is, in the Manx N[otes] & Queries, as it is, much good lore is lost. I hope you will reconsider the matter. So far you have been the only Manx contributor, I have appealed in vain to Mr Moore, Ralfe & Kneen.[15]

Roeder's pointed comments extended to the preface to his volume of the collected *Manx Notes and Queries.* There he detailed how he had written repeatedly to the Island's antiquarians, but to no avail:

> The "Examiner," on my request, consented to open a column specially devoted to Manx Notes and Queries with a view to animate others to contribute to it on biography, history, language, and folklore in all its various branches, but this first experiment has so far been rather sterile. It was fully expected that a certain amount of interest would be evinced by the Manx people in general to further the scheme. But, as it is, the main share has actually fallen upon myself... (Roeder, Preface).

Yet again, Morrison proved the exception, finding time to write for it. Morrison must have been one of the last hopes for continuing the tradition to which Roeder had devoted much of his time. In her, he had also found someone who 'belonged', who was an insider.

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[14] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 29/07/1908.
[15] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 12/06/1905.

A year later, in an attempt to motivate the Manx researchers from within, Roeder wrote to Morrison, asking her to:

> Open up again the Manx N & Queries in the Examiner. It would be a pity to have them lost! It seems there is nothing...doing in the Isle. The indifference is great. You should however keep the fire up.[16]

Based on such negative experiences, Roeder dismissed these antiquarians, as well as William Cubbon, as collators distanced from the grass roots level. On numerous occasions, Roeder, frustrated at being away from the Island, had asked them to collect a manuscript or some information from an informant. The information was always left to slip away. Whereas they may have been involved in actual folklore and language collection at times, they cannot have shown enough commitment and persistence to satisfy Roeder's need to access the source, to access the 'truth'. Roeder wrote to Morrison: 'I found that I knocked in vain at Mr Moore's & other doors for help.'[17]

This apathy did, however, lead to Roeder feeling excluded from the community to which he had devoted most of his life's work. Whether the circle of antiquarians disliked him for personal reasons, or whether they were 'too busy' to be bothered with his suggestions for collaboration, for 'saving' documents or folk-life data, it cannot be denied that a lot of material was lost through their inaction. Roeder's annoyance reflects the sense of duty to go to the source in which he believed strongly[18], and of which others were ignorant, for, he wrote: 'as it is, much good lore is lost...'[19]

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[16] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 25/11/1905.
[17] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 16/03/1906.
[18] see e.g. Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 19/09/1903.
[19] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 12/06/1905.

Roeder seemed to have found a confidante in Morrison, writing to her expressing this anger at the other Manx antiquarians:

> to tell you the truth I got disgusted with the whole shallow & shilly-shallying lot; promises, jealousy & foolery was the end of the matter after all & nothing done. I got sick of writing for help & so my material...is still on the shelf.[20]

One of the documented reasons for Roeder's resentment concerns the loss of valuable material on the death of an elderly man at the Ballaglass waterfall. Roeder recounts the episode to Morrison in a letter in 1905, describing:

> Another old Manx cobbler, 20 years ago, who lived in a little cot near Ballaglaß Waterfalls (S Maughold way)...very fond of singing & collecting old Manx songs, showed me at least 500/600 purely Manx songs, obtained from all parts...[21]

Roeder was annoyed with himself for not asking the man if he could buy the book, but asked P M C Kermode and others to buy them. Unfortunately, none of them attempted to do this. The man died and the manuscript disappeared, presumably burnt. Roeder appears to have attempted to work with Kermode on occasion, but forewarns Morrison as to the dangers which could befall such an alliance:

> As to Mr P M C Kermode: take my candid advice, don't place your notes in his hand if you value your own work & notes. I have <u>sad</u> experience! He is the most un[...] & unreliable man whom I had the misfortune to come [...] with.[22]

The passages above have provided examples of Roeder attacking establishment figures such as Moore, Cubbon and Kermode, who were widely respected for their work for the Manx cultural and antiquarian causes. The reasons for these attacks are significant in defining what Morrison was not, how she stood above the others, at least in Roeder's eyes.

Roeder was faced with increasingly poor health, which forced him to consider his fieldwork on the Island to be at an end. It was to Morrison that he turned as a

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[20] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 19/09/1903.
[21] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 17/05/1905.

successor, attempting to convince her of the importance of collecting material herself. This was, he considered, more important than her revivalist efforts for the MxG language. Roeder wrote anxiously in 1905:

> I hope you will not entirely neglect collecting material, as suggested to you. I think this is even more important as [sic. incorrect translation of Ger. *als*] the language, at present, as the old people are dying fast, while the language is secure enough.[23]

Morrison stood apart from the others, and this led to her friendship with Roeder. Whereas others may have become tired with Roeder's inquiries, Morrison accepted him as a friend and colleague. This is perhaps indicative of her diplomatic capabilities.

An attitude of cooperation was crucial to an off-Island collector such as Roeder. Much of his work centred on Edward Faragher, also known as Ned Beg Hom Ruy. Faragher lived in Cregneash, and proved to be not only one of Roeder's best informants, but, as correspondence reveals, a good friend. Faragher was literate in MxG and English, and acted as much as a collector as he did an informant. The stories he recorded formed the bulk of material published in Roeder's 'Notes and Queries' column in the *Examiner*, which appeared between 1901 and 1903, and contained 261 numbered entries (Miller 1993b, p.38). As Miller writes: 'The notes are overwhelmingly concerned with folklore and were drawn from the author's own personal collecting and that of his various correspondents…' (Miller 1993b, p.38). The articles appeared in the form of a collected edition *Manx Notes & Queries* in 1904, published by S K Broadbent, and represented half of Roeder's collected folklore notes. (Roeder, Preface). Faragher's stories were again published by the Irish Folklore Society in their Journal in 1948, and appear in reprinted form with a biographical note on Faragher by Basil Megaw as Neddy Beg Hom Ruy's

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[22] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 5 November, year unknown.
[23] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 20/01/1905.

Skeealyn 'sy Ghailck.[24] Some of Faragher's folklore notes were passed from Roeder to Morrison before Roeder's death, and are currently to be found among her papers.

Roeder valued Faragher and Morrison highly. In the Preface to the collected edition of *Manx Notes & Queries*, he writes:

> I have to render sincere thanks for the valuable and unswerving assistance given to me privately by the veteran Manxman, Edward Farquhar [sic.], whose knowledge of everything Manx is inexhaustible, and also to Miss Sophia Morrison, of Peel, who has valiantly stood by me, and whose support has been beyond words to express. (Roeder, Preface).

The extent to which Roeder involved himself with Faragher is revealed by correspondence passed onto Morrison. Roeder sent parcels of tobacco and other gifts to Faragher, and, more importantly, fought for Faragher to stay on the Island in his final years. Roeder even appealed for funds to Hall Caine. This was, however, unsuccessful, Roeder writing about Faragher's fate to Morrison, of:

> the Manx people who ignored him, amongst them that patronizing Hall Caine…If he would have in any way been encouraged, he could have done an enormous lot with his immense knowledge of Manx ways & life & folk-science & language.[25]

Roeder's frustration with other antiquarians and celebrities on the Island saw him investing all his hope in Morrison. Through correspondence and cooperative work, their relationship swiftly grew to become a great friendship, progressing to the point where Roeder viewed her as his protégé, a worthy successor in the field of folklore research:

> I think I have finished my work for the Island; I have done my share, but had little encouragement shown by the Manx to keep the wick alive – the more reason why you should keep gathering in what is left.[26]

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[24] Edward Faragher, *Skeealyn 'sy Ghailck*, (1948; repr. Douglas, Isle of Man: Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh, 1991).

[25] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 17/06/1908.

This last quote from Roeder confirms his distrust in many of Morrison's circle. It was Roeder's belief that Morrison was more suited to the collection of Manx folklore than he was himself: 'You must carry on in future the work for which you have so much better qualifications & it is more legitimate for you as a Manxwoman.'[27] This statement reveals Roeder's sensitivity to the collecting situation and its relationship with the insider-outsider factor. It shows that Roeder was actively encouraging native collectors, to counter the criticism with which he was quite possibly faced – that of appropriating another's culture.

It may have been due to Roeder's location 'without' that resulted in his alienation from the antiquarian circle on the Island. Appeals for assistance were unsuccessful, even for his 'Notes & Queries' column. Roeder therefore quite justifiably felt that Morrison stood very much on her own: 'Nowadays it requires a combination of many workers, but unfortunately you start pretty alone.'[28]

Provision of a theoretical framework for collecting

With an interested and enthusiastic 'insider' as his ally, Roeder used his experience in folklore collection to shape Morrison's methods of folklore collecting and recording. This will have had a fairly radical effect on Morrison, although it is equally important to remember that Roeder was not presented with a blank canvas in Morrison. Her upbringing, schooling and social contacts formed a secure basis for the intellectual developments that Roeder encouraged. These will be discussed later in this chapter. What Roeder did provide was a theoretical framework for her collecting activities.

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[26] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 07/08/1906.
[27] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 5 November, year unknown.

Roeder provided clear and direct guidance as to the theory and method of collecting. He typically recommended that Morrison collect the following:

- folklore in general
- Celtic names, especially those used in folk medicine
- Manx names
- 'popular' pronunciation of MxG names
- Anglo-Manx names

The subject areas in which he was most interested fishing, folk medicine, proverbs and sayings. It is of interest here that Roeder recognised the importance of aspects of Anglo-Manx, as his advice will have had considerable bearing on Morrison's decision to take on A W Moore's project for the *Vocabulary*.

Roeder insisted that Morrison's collecting should record authority, locality and date. The theory that he outlined reflected much of the increased trend to approach folklore collection in a systematic, scientific manner. In contrast to many researchers at the time, Roeder advised Morrison to concentrate on female informants. Typically, those collecting folklore or language would look for what Trudgill refers to as Non-mobile, Older Rural Males, otherwise known as NORMS. Here, Roeder comments on the particular suitability of older female informants:

> I got some of my best folk-lore from kind & friendly old & middle-aged Manx women (country & fisher people), men I found stupid & confused & difficult for really obtaining clear "yes or no" statements...[29]

Roeder attempted to convince Morrison of the need to continue her collecting, following basic principles.

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[28] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 23/12/1907.
[29] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, date unknown.

She appears to have been taken this advice, as she writes in the 1903 Annual Report of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* that:

> I have been more than ever convinced of this by experiences which I have had during the past summer when making walking tours in country districts. Everywhere did my travelling companion and myself find our little knowledge of the old tongue a sure key to the hearts of the people and hospitality was showered upon us.[30]

In 1906, for example, Roeder complimented her work, saying: 'Your Manx fairy tale in the Examiner is A1, but always give locality & person & age you got it from, which is always essential in collecting to show area it is got from.'[31]

Similarly:

> I would ask you to continue collecting whatever you can & so long as it is possible yet, the old folk will soon have disappeared; also date your information…give name & locality & classify & keep different headings & keep things together...People will thank-you [sic.], if not now, those after us; for such valuable knowledge is sure to be of human importance for tracing its ethnic, religious & mental etc development.[32]

To reveal her sources was, however, partly contrary to Morrison's natural instincts. She was aware of the sensitivity of the collecting situation, heightened as it was in a small island community, and knew that to publish names would be to silence her informants in the future. It is therefore likely that Roeder's advice was taken in practice, but that such details were kept as part of her notes alone. Some of these survive in the form of an additional deposit to the Sophia Morrison Papers, donated in 1957, but only recently rediscovered.[33]

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[30] YnCG Report, 1903, pp.4-5.
[31] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 10/01/1906.
[32] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 19/09/1903.

Relationship between informant and collector

It has been a criticism of this wave of revival and interest in the collection of folklore and music that the collectors were often of a middle-class background, and were therefore alienated from their informants. For example, in 1898, the English Folk Song Society compiled a list of 'Hints to Collectors', which were later revised in 1904. These hints advised that:

> Although folk music may be preserved in different strata of society, the classes from which the most interesting specimens are most readily to be obtained are gardeners, artizans, gamekeepers, shepherds, rustic labourers, gipsies, sailors, fishermen, workers in old-fashioned trades, such as weaving, and the like, as well as domestic servants of the old school, especially nurses.[34]

The target population for informants tended to rely on these professions, on the working class, and the collectors rarely originated from these strata. As Jones writes about Broadwood: 'when she did collect, she was an outsider: a stranger through differences in social class; and a stranger also through being unfamiliar with the areas in which she was working.'[35]

In order to ascertain whether Morrison was, as Roeder maintained, an insider, we should turn to reports on her death. In these, Morrison is described as someone who was not merely friendly with 'the folk', but someone who firmly belonged with them. Morrison's friend, Alice Mallt Williams, wrote:

> In lonely farms far away among the mountains, in the houses of sea-faring folk in town or village, in lanes or fields, we met them and at her greeting in the old language, eyes brightened, tongues were unloosed and they were their real Manx selves. She understood them because she was of them and proud of being so. (*Mannin*, 9, p.502).

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[33] MNH MS 9495 Additional Deposit by E M Teare, Mylvoirrey, Peel 22/08/1957.
[34] Folk Song Society Minute Book no.1, pp.21-22, quoted after Lewis Jones at

Morrison's background is crucial to an understanding of why she was viewed in this way. She is so intriguing because she is at the heart of a process that both revealed and shaped cultural identity through the selection and development of linguistic codes.

Accounts of late 19th and early 20th century Manx cultural life are limited in number and scope. It is, therefore, perhaps not so surprising that Morrison's work has been largely marginalised. She has undoubtedly been ignored in the first instance because she was a woman. The ignorance that surrounds her is paralleled in other Celtic revivals – Marion Löffler's recent work on Mallt Williams, a leading nationalist and linguistic revivalist in Wales, provides us with an example.[36] Williams and Morrison became close friends.

The role of women in the collection of folklore outside the Isle of Man.

It was becoming more acceptable and even fashionable for women to record aspects of folklore and rural life. Two examples from outside of the Manx situation will be given here. The first focusses on female folksong collectors in the British Isles, the second on the development of the artist 'communities' which developed around the North Yorkshire coastal villages such as Runswick Bay and Staithes.

Folksong collection in the British Isles

The folksong movement which gained momentum in the 1890s in England saw outstanding contributions from three women in particular. Lucy Broadwood (1858-1929), Anne Gilchrist (1863-1954) and Maud Karpeles (1885-1976) were important collectors and researchers of folksong, music and dance. All three women were active collectors, and between them, their work covered much of England, Cornwall,

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www.btinternet.com/~radical/thefolkmag/lucy.htm

[35] Lewis Jones at www.btinternet.com/~radical/thefolkmag/lucy.htm

Appalachia and Newfoundland. In the 1890s, Broadwood reissued her uncle's collection of folksongs with H F Birch Reynardson as *Sussex Songs* (1890) and published *English County Songs* in 1893. She was a founder member of the Folk-Song Society in 1898, its honorary secretary from 1904, and its president from 1928.[37] Karpeles, by way of contrast, was involved in the revival of folk dance, and was closely allied to the work of Cecil Sharp, with whom she collected songs from Appalachia.[38]

Whereas Broadwood was well-known as an amateur singer as well as a collector, Anne Gilchrist's main interest lay with historical research, developing an expertise in sourcing tunes. Her main collecting activities concerned the collection of folklore in south-eastern and northern England between 1895 and 1910. Gilchrist joined the Folk-Song Society in 1905, and worked with Broadwood and Frank Kidson. Gilchrist was in contact with collectors in the Isle of Man such as Morrison, and made contributions to three issues of the Journal of the Folk-Song Society on Manx music.[39] She also wrote to Morrison on the subject of collection: 'I am sorry to hear of your discouragement in trying to preserve the traditions of Manx music apart from primitive collections…It seems to bad that what is of real interest to the people can be so lightly dismissed as of "no educational value."'[40] This suggests that Morrison and/or Gilchrist wanted to collect music other than that from the so-called 'folk-tradition', probably religious music of a later date, as this was where Gilchrist's expertise lay.

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[36] Marion Löffler, (1997), 'A Romantic Nationalist' in *Planet* 121, 58-66.
[37] Dorothy De Val, 'Lucy Broadwood' entry at www.grovemusic.com
[38] Georgina Boyes, 'Maud Karpeles' entry at www.grovemusic.com
[39] see *Journal of the Folk Song Society*, 7, no.28-30, (1926).
[40] Box 1, letter from Anne Gilchrist→SM, 03/10/1915.

Women painters as visual recorders of fishing communities

The second example focusses on the fishing village of Staithes. This village is notable for its attraction of a group of painters including Laura Knight, Hannah Mayor and Isa Jobling from the 1890s onwards. In his study of Isa and Robert Jobling, Millard notes that although there was the Society of Women Artists in London, other parts of England were not so advantaged.[41] Across the British Isles, the few women who succeeded in having their paintings exhibited were largely ignored in the press, with their work being priced lower than that of their male counterparts.

Isa Jobling (née Thompson) was very much an exception in the North East, being sent to study art in Paris by her father. On her return to England, Isa was considered, 'unusual among the tiny number of female painters of Tyneside. She was totally independent and lived alone.'[42] Teaching, however, was considered a respectable profession for women, particularly for those who were single. Laura Knight (née Johnson) was encouraged by her family to develop her artistic talents for exactly that purpose, thereby raising money to support them.

Staithes has been described as a small fishing village whose isolation was only broken by the development of a railway in December 1883. The track ran along the coast to the north of Whitby. (Millard, p.42). Its relative isolation attracted a range of artists who formed a society to exhibit their paintings of the 'fisherfolk'. The 1st Staithes' Art Club exhibition was staged in 1901, and was described in the Whitby Gazette very much as an 'imagined village':

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[41] Millard, John, *A romance with the North-East. Robert & Isa Jobling*, (Newcastle: Tyne and Wear Museums, 1992), p.25.
[42] Peter Phillips, *The Staithes Group*, (Nottingham: Phillips & Sons, 1993), p.57.

> and the archaic 'ways' of some of their people...and in Staithes especially, the dress of the fisherfolk is as quaint and paintable...it is now as quiet and deserted, and altogether 'outside of the world'...But its people are simple and kindly...unspoilt as yet by contact with the fashionable people. (Phillips, p.17).

The phrase 'outside of the world' is striking. The reporter clearly feels (s)he is outside the social class of the 'fisherfolk'. More than this, though, the phrase suggests a culture alien to the writer. This image is, however, almost immediately countered by the description of the characteristics of the people themselves. This is key to the Imagined Village conception introduced in Chapter Two, as well as to many post-colonial theories. The subjects are perceived as being different, without being wholly unsuitable as subjects of interest, as objects. The Other is thereby found within familiar boundaries, and is considered capable of providing enough of the 'exotic' with little risk of alienation.

Critics have described the artists at Staithes as voyeuristic, interested not in the community itself, and staying firmly outside of its boundaries. This idealisation of life in its: 'unspoilt, pre-industrial state'[43], is typical of the Realist school of art.

Laura Knight, however, offers a different experience. She and her husband were in the minority who made Staithes their home. Although Laura's own description of the community suggests a rather more invested involvement, she could not consider herself a native, and this is reflected in her choice of description: 'I loved the strange race of people who lived there, whose stern almost forbidding exterior formed such contrast to the warmth and richness of their nature.' (Knight in Phillips, p.72). Nevertheless, the Knights were very much more than onlookers, attempting integration through observance of local religious practices, for example. Laura was conscious of and

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[43] Neil Walker, 'The Nottingham Connection. Harold and Laura Knight: The Staithes Years 1898-1907'

sometimes embarrassed by the financial poverty which surrounded her, offset only by the accompaniment of fierce personal pride. (see Walker in Phillips, p.20).

It is important to look at groups such as that at Staithes in order to see how Morrison's example compares. Morrison's established place in the Peel community effectively distanced her from connotations of being an onlooker, outsider, or even voyeur. Her role as folklore collector involved her own community, her own social networks, varied as they were.

Sophia Morrison (1859-1917)

Morrison has not only lacked recognition due to her society's attitude towards women, but also due to her modesty. Accounts from personal friends and acquaintances repeatedly describe an unselfish and determined woman. By her own admission, though, her modesty was sometimes to her disadvantage. In a letter to her sister, Louisa, Morrison writes:

> You may imagine how I felt, when Leonard, at the end of his speech - said how pleased he was to see me present - & that now I would say a few welcoming words & tell them something about Peel & its Castle. Of course I kept low - though every one in front cleared their chairs away to make a path for me to top of Room. I only wish I could have spoken - Emily Joughin would have risen to the occasion nobly & made a happy & witty little speech. Tom Cormode chaffed me after the meeting - how he wished I had said a few words...[44]

Morrison's modesty manifests itself in many ways and on many occasions – she did not always see the need to put her name to reports she had written, she avoided praise by instead referring to *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* having organised an event. One example of this is her association with the *Peel Players.* Although Morrison is reported to have been extensively involved with this theatrical company, commissioning works, casting,

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in Peter Phillips, 1993, *The Staithes Group*, Nottingham: Phillips & Sons, p.17.

[44] MNH MS 9495 additional deposit, letter from SM→LM, date unknown.

producing plays, etc., her name does not appear on programmes or advertisements. A letter to her sister, Lou, reveals that Morrison was not so happy with her anonymity regarding her work with the *Peel Players*:

> We are shortly beginning rehearsal work with Luss ny Graih – Shimmin's new Comedy. I have been reading proofs of Illiam Kodhere's Will for him – he has mentioned all the cast – but never mentioned my name. So when I returned proofs to him corrected last Friday – I said that he had closely followed his model as regards type, * introductory pages – arranging scenes, cast, etc. but where [Miss Horminan's?] name appeared in his model "Hindle Wakes" I think that, if he had no objection, I should like my name too [sic.] appear in "Illiam's Will" – as next to himself I had done more for the play than any person else - & I should like my name to appear as well as that of all *my company*. He agreed at once that I was quite right – but it would never have occurred to him to publish *the players as my company* unless I had asked him. After working so hard one might think that he would have done it without being told about it. He said that Billy Christian has been telling that I wrote the best part of his play – I said that I had heard many say it was his wife who wrote it all.[45]

This letter provides the first evidence confirming that Morrison was the force behind the *Peel Players*. It also suggests that her work as reviser and codifier of Shimmin's dialect had not gone unnoticed by those around her.

Nevertheless, the sense of modesty dominates descriptions of her work. For example, when Roeder expressed his admiration for her and her work, she responded by downplaying it:

> I can only answer that I feel myself utterly incompetent to do so. I am indeed deeply interested in things Manx & am glad to be able to collect a few straws for those who make bricks – but I know my limitations.[46]

It must be recognised, however, that her achievements were by no means modest in their range or effect. Rather, it was her self-sacrifice to the cause, to the revival, which prevented her from seeking such glory as was enjoyed by, for example, A W Moore and William Cubbon. She was a competent linguist who dabbled with comparative

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[45] MNH MS 9495 additional deposit, letter from SM→LM, 26/04/1913, italics added.
[46] Box 8, letter from SM→CR, 26/07/probably 1908.

philology, a naturalist, a poet and writer, as well as being a collector of a wide range of aspects of folklore, especially music and song.

Morrison's enthusiasm and commitment were to contribute greatly to an exciting period for the Manx and Celtic revivals, with Island-wide MxG classes, the introduction of MxG teaching in schools, the publishing of new and old Manx texts, and phonograph recordings of oral history. Morrison's name is linked to each one of these activities.

Much of the literature about Morrison was written on the occasion of her premature death. Most refer to her *good work* and *tireless energy* without emphasising the value of her scholarship. In contrast, Philip Caine's words open the final volume of Morrison's journal, *Mannin*:

> *No heavier blow has ever befallen the cause of Manx nationality* than was sustained on January 14th last, when Miss Sophia Morrison, the secretary of the Manx Society, and the editor and proprietor of MANNIN, passed from mortal ken. Much has of late been said – though not an appreciable fraction of what could be said…in Miss Morrison's praise. (Caine in *Mannin*, 9, p.499, italics added).

In fact, despite Caine's obvious recognition of Morrison's worth, little work has been undertaken into her life and work at the time of writing. What has been recognised of her legacy rests largely with her influence on Mona Douglas, who followed Morrison's work in the areas of music, literature and folklore in particular. G W Wood, like others, recognised Douglas as a successor to Brown, commenting: 'How proud the Rev T E Brown would have been of so young a disciple.'[47] Douglas cites her meeting with Morrison as the inspiration for much of her work:

> When I was ten I met the late Miss Sophia Morrison, a keen folklorist and then Secretary of the Manx Society. She was kind to my childish enthusiasm for old Manx lore and encouraged me to put down in writing all I could glean of tales, songs, dances, place-names and so forth. It was chiefly owing to her encouragement that my conscious collecting of folk-material began…[48]

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[47] Box 8, letter from G W Wood→SM, 18/09/1916.
[48] Douglas in Fenella Bazin, *Mona Douglas. A Tribute*, (Douglas, Isle of Man: Manx Heritage Foundation, 1998), pp.59-60.

Morrison's legacy and that of her contemporaries remains unexamined and unchallenged at the beginning of the 21st century; the need to locate Morrison is pressing.

Morrison's family background

If we turn then to Morrison's own social setting, we can examine some of the choices and influences with which she was faced. Morrison was born in 1859[49], the third of nine children born to Charles Morrison (1824-1880) and Louisa Crellin (1830-1901) in Peel, a thriving fishing harbour. The Morrison children, in order of birth, are as follows: Eleanor, Charles, Sophia, Matilda, Mary (also known as Minnie), Thomas, (Anna) Louisa, (George) Stanley and Frederick.

Little is known about Morrison's education. At the age of eleven, she was lodging in Ballig, near Onchan, and it is likely that she was educated there or in nearby Douglas.[50] What is known about the education of her siblings is that at least two of her brothers, Frederick and Charles were educated at the fee-paying school, King William's College, near Castletown. Charles followed his father in becoming a merchant, and later was appointed a Justice of the Peace. Frederick studied to become a General Practitioner in Manchester, and also served during the First World War as a Lieutenant then Captain in the Royal Army Medical Corps.[51] Thomas was a chemist, and remained in Peel, where he married. Of the other daughters, it appears that only the eldest, Eleanor, married, to a Mr W Teare.

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[49] The 1891 census records the Morrison family living at 11 Athol Street with Sophia Morrison aged 28. The record of deaths for the year 1917 gives her age as 57.
[50] see 1871 census. Morrison, aged 11, is listed as being at her uncle's residence, John Quine, Ballig, Onchan.
[51] K Henderson, *King William's College Register 1833-1927*, (Glasgow: Jackson, Wylie & Co., 1928), pp.194,

Louisa kept house for her brother, Frederick, in Manchester, and the others lived, at various times, in family homes in Athol Street and at other addresses in Peel.[52]

From a background where education was keenly encouraged, Morrison developed an interest in languages, particularly those of the Romance and Goidelic Celtic groups. A diary made between the ages of twelve and sixteen reveals that she was reading Shakespeare and Goethe and other literature. At some point during this time, she also took music lessons from her relative, Edmund Goodwin, being awarded honours in examinations from Trinity College of Music. (Douglas 1964, p.109). The relationship between teacher and pupil later developed into a friendship, through which they collaborated on a number of projects, most notably the *Vocabulary.*

The Morrison family appears to have been wealthy, and was well respected. Charles Morrison is known more than a century later for having owned a fleet of fishing boats, and for building the terrace on Athol Street where the family lived at some point. His position in the community was prominent and privileged, and he was named as one of the directors on the board of the Peel Fishing Company in 1892.[53] On the death of Charles Morrison, a newspaper article read:

> It is with feelings of regret that I have to chronicle the death of our highly esteemed townsman Mr C. Morrison, who died at his residence Athol-street on Tuesday last. He was one of whom it can be truly said that he was beloved of every one who knew him. On all occasions he took a deep interest in the welfare of his townspeople, and was ever foremost in every good work. By his death the town has lost a sincere friend; his wife a loving husband ; and his children a kind and considerate father. His remains were interred in Peel cemetery yesterday (Friday) and was followed by a large concourse of people...[54]

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[52] see general correspondence in Sophia Morrison Papers.

[53] Fred Palmer, *Glimpses of Old Peel,* (Settle, N. Yorks: Amulree Publications, 1993), p.70.

[54] Box 3, newspaper cutting in scrapbook, date unknown, but must be February 1880.

His funeral was described in the *Mona's Herald* as being: 'the largest that has taken place in the district for a long time past, it being attended by most of the leading men of the town and neighbourhood...' (04/02/1880). The same article refers to the Rev. H Bunting having made the life of Charles Morrison the subject of a sermon in the Wesleyan Chapel the week before his death.

Correspondence in the Sophia Morrison papers and obituaries reveal that she travelled in France, Brittany and the Basque region, and also the USA. An undated and unsigned letter also reports that its writer was studying at the Sorbonne in Paris for the *agregation* and working as an *assitante* at the Lycee Moliere. However, it remains unconfirmed as to whether this was Morrison herself, or whether the letter is merely a copy in her handwriting.[55]

The wider Morrison family was not unused to independent women. In her personal papers, Morrison had prepared a note about her cousin, Kate Morrison, who had been at the Boulae Training College. This provides an example of educational possibilities for the family in general. It seems that it was not unusual for women in the family to be well educated, particularly in relation to language. The note refers to Kate having written a grammar on Arabic, and having been selected to meet the Sultan of Egypt, Sophia Morrison noting that: 'no Englishwoman has ever before had the like honour...'[56]

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[55] Box 2, letter from 'Puss'→'Mousse', date unknown, with the author writing from 125 rue de Ranelagh, Paris.

The location of Peel

The family's location in Peel is significant, as this small fishing town has been viewed by many, including Morrison herself, as the focus for Celtic and Gaelic activity: 'Peel is, I think, the Celtic centre of the Island, I know it best & shall be very glad to put you in touch with some excellent speakers of Manx if you wish it.'[57] In his paper on the decline of the Manx language, Hindley singles out Peel as an area of resistance:

> it is well established that decline did begin in the towns, excepting Peel, and a date around 1790 or 1800 is probable. Peel, with its fishing interests and a west coast location, was evidently immune for a decade or so.[58]

Popular perceptions that MxG lexical items were preserved longer within certain domains, such as the fishing industry, still dominate today. Hindley continues that:

> About the beginning of this century Manx was spoken chiefly by crofter-fishermen and small farmers in a few western hamlets and also in the hill districts, the remoter plains of the north and the fishing quarter of Peel. (Hindley, p.24).

The strength of Peel's links with this industry accounts for claims that Peel was MxG-speaking for longer than other urban areas. The sociolinguistic situation was, however, not so clear-cut. Firstly, there appears to be little evidence to back up claims that the fishing boats were crewed entirely by MxG speakers. As the industry declined, this would have, in any case, become increasingly unlikely.

The peak time for the fishing industry in Peel was during the 1880s, with the industry diminishing dramatically up to the present day. Furthermore, the presence of lexical items alone does not provide convincing evidence for a strong presence of MxG.

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[56] Box 2, note made by SM, date unknown.

[57] Box 1, letter from SM→unknown party, date unknown.

[58] R Hindley, 'The decline of the Manx language: a study in linguistic geography', in *Bradford Occasional*

Morrison's social circle

If Morrison enjoyed a somewhat privileged background, this does not appear to have led to a sheltered existence. Her father's position as the owner of a fleet of fishing boats suggests opportunities for socially mixed gatherings and interaction. This is certainly confirmed by the range of friendships developed by Morrison throughout her life. It is known that Morrison was friendly with local fishermen such as William Cashen, for example, who is referred to repeatedly by Edmund Goodwin as but one of her Manx-speaking friends.[59] From this background, it is not difficult to speculate as to the extent of contact Morrison would have had with Irish or Scottish fishermen, possibly even Gaelic speakers. If this contact with other Goidelic languages did occur, it is likely that it would have acted as a catalyst for Morrison's own interest in MxG, as well as awakening her interest in the wider Goidelic group.

If we examine the informants we know are linked to Morrison, we can start to build up a more complete picture of her involvement in MxG-English bilingual speech communities. This is fundamental to an understanding of her roles and also her loyalties to each of the varieties with which she was surrounded. William Cashen was a huge influence on Morrison, and their relationship saw her adopt the roles of friend, collector and pupil, as the ending of her introduction to Cashen's *Manx Folk-Lore* shows:

> Personally, I shall greatly miss our almost daily *cooish* about things Manx, and our readings together of the Manx Bible in his cosy kitchen in long winter evenings. He could see at a glance the inner meaning of a line in Manx, so that to read with him was a revelation of the beauty of the language. I am indeed indebted to him for his teaching.[60]

Papers, 6, (Autumn 1986), 15-39, here p.18.

[59] Box 2, letter from EG→SM, 20/02/1899.

[60] Sophia Morrison, (ed.), William Cashen's *Manx Folk-Lore*, (Isle of Man: Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh, 1912b), p.xvii.

There are various ways in which Morrison's linguistic capabilities can be illustrated. Firstly, there are reading lists and comments made by her which reveal skills and practices of language learning and maintenance. Secondly, we can examine reports made by others as to the extent of these skills.

Morrison's knowledge of MxG

Of Morrison's colleagues, J J Kneen figures most prominently as a competent MxG scholar. In 1904, Kneen wrote to Morrison that her phonetics: 'for the Patrick choir are excellent, and the pointing remarkably well done.'[61] Here it is suggested that Morrison's understanding of the MxG sound system was good.

Morrison learned her MxG by reading the Bible. Translation of the Bible into MxG was completed in 1775, with a subsequent edition in 1819. As Thomson notes, the translation was undertaken by a group of clergy, and although spelling and terminology were normalised, the individual style and grammatical usage of each translator was not altered. (Thomson in Thomson & Pilgrim, pp.14-15). This means that some of the books are written in a more formal and/or archaic style than others. Although using the Bible as a source of language acquisition will have primarily involved familiarisation with a formal and sometimes archaic written style, it will, nevertheless, have introduced Morrison to a wide range of vocabulary, variety of grammatical constructions and styles. Morrison drew on this formal basis of linguistic experience as a teenager, when she was capable of holding MxG lessons in Peel.[62] From later correspondence, Morrison confirms that she was hearing MxG spoken every day.[63]

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[61] Box 1, letter from JJK→SM, 05/12/1904.
[62] Fenella Crowe Bazin, *Music in the Isle of Man up to 1896*, (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Liverpool, June 1995), p.288.
[63] Box 8, letter from SM→Editor of Examiner, date unknown, but probably November 1911.

The fact that Morrison was in regular contact with MxG speakers is confirmed by various sources. Ralfe, writing to Morrison in 1903, referred to this circle as follows:

> I am entirely out of touch with Manx speaking people since I came to Castletown, could not you yourself, who know so much of the language & so many of those who speak it…[64]

In 1905, Roeder too wrote to Morrison, saying: 'You are much better placed as you are daily amongst them & thus keeping up contact and lively interest in the language itself.'[65]

Kneen displays concerns for aspects of the spoken language, whereas Goodwin appears to concentrate on the written. Nevertheless, Goodwin's opinion of Morrison's MxG was high: 'I believe your own written Manx would be much better than that of your critics,'[66] and similarly: 'In the versions of the anecdotes which you send I think your own idioms the more truly Manx.'[67]

Morrison's relationship with Goodwin and other antiquarians primarily involved her adopting the role of facilitator – she encouraged and persuaded others around her to share material, and to write 'dialect' plays, music, develop language strategies, etc.

An example of her passing on work between interested parties comes in a letter from Dr Clague to Goodwin. Clague writes:

> I am also very much pleased with your annotated O'Growney Part ii. I have had four parts of O'Growney's "Lessons" for some time, but I had looked only casually through them before Miss Morrison sent me your annotated Part i.[68]

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[64] Box 3, letter from PR→SM, 22/10/1903.
[65] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 20/01/1905.
[66] Box 2, letter from EG→SM, 28/03/1903.
[67] Box 2, letter from EG→SM, 16/01/1900.

In addition to her work acting as an intermediary, publishing was a main concern of Morrison's. Not only did she encourage others to publish their work, she published widely herself. The following chapter will discuss instances of Morrison's intervention in the production of dialect literature by Christopher Shimmin and Cushag, for example.

Morrison's interests

From newspaper cuttings found amongst the Morrison papers[69], interests in matters other than language and specifically Manx 'folk' culture are revealed. Humorous reports are in abundance, as are reports concerning the progress of the war. Apart from the personal involvement of her brother, Frederick, in the medical corps, the attention paid to the war reinforces issues of dual identity - an independent Manx identity set firmly within the boundaries of the British Empire, a duality which has been discussed in Chapter Three in relation to *Mannin* in particular.

The main focus for Morrison's cuttings were reports about her local area, Peel and the West. These pages are often kept seemingly regardless of content, confirming Morrison's involvement in the close-knit community. In general, it is this rootedness in Peel and the West which is reflected most strongly. This has implications for her relationships within the community, and on her role as a fieldworker in the domains of linguistics and folklore/oral history.

Her attention to articles about the fishing industry stem from family interests and loyalties, reports being especially collected of the Peel fleet's trips to Kinsale in Ireland.

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[68] MS 2147A (2), letter from Dr Clague→E.G., 04/04/1899.
[69] see Box 3, various newspaper cuttings.

Similarly, the Peel Harbour works were of particular interest, and this may have been related to William Cashen's involvement in the harbour, Cashen later becoming Morrison's friend. Cashen led a group of 1500 fishermen in protest against the levying of harbour dues by Governor Loch in 1874. This fact is recorded in Morrison's introduction to Cashen's *Manx Folk-Lore*, and will surely have been an event which would have made a considerable impression on Morrison as a teenager, especially with the family involvement in the fishing industry. The matter was resolved when: 'the Governor visited Peel to discuss the questions in point, and finally withdrew the dues.' (Morrison 1912b, p.xi). Similarly, Morrison reports Cashen organising a strike of fishermen, who were demanding higher pay during the winter for their maintenance work on nets. This would have been of particular pertinence to Morrison if the fishermen had been those employed by her father.

Methodist preaching in Peel and temperance societies also feature among the scrapbooks, along with many extracts concerning public houses, licensing hours, etc. This would have been very topical at the time, and would tie in with evidence suggesting that the Morrison family was connected to Methodism. Another focus for the scrapbooks is educational matters. Morrison seemed very interested in debates surrounding the Board of Education. Part of this interest would have stemmed from her involvement in the introduction of MxG teaching in schools.

More is revealed about Morrison by those who used her as a source of information for Manx matters. Correspondence with Jessie Douglas Kerruish, a published prize-winning author of Manx descent living in Sussex, reveals how Morrison appeared to strangers.

Kerruish wrote: 'Mr Froude rather frightened me by his description of your erudition, it appears you even know our old native tongue.'[70] Kerruish had been surprised at how different Morrison was in reality, the initial enquiries leading to further correspondence discussing Morrison's publication, *Manx Fairy Tales*, as well as folklore collecting, MxG learning, and Manx culture in general.

Those that knew her on the Island, such as the schoolteacher and member of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh*, Richard Lace, heaped praise on Morrison. Lace complimented her on being:

> so gifted, so indefatigable, so indispensable to the Manx Language Society & all that concerns the preservation of all links in our History, racial, linguistic, legal, ecclesiastic, mythological, botanical, &c., &c.[71]

Just before her death in 1917, Ernest Savage, a friend and fellow revivalist of MxG, outlined his admiration for her work, saying:

> I thought I would write a line to assure you of my sympathy & to let you see that you are still remembered by one who has unbounded admiration for the magnificent work you have done for Man & her language.[72]

Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh and the pan-Celtic cause

Linguistic and cultural revival relied heavily on Morrison's contribution. Her work with the *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* shows how she used the umbrella organisation devoted to language as a springboard on to wider cultural means of accessing the communities around her. Manx identity could be 'displayed' and promoted in many different ways.

Douglas Hyde's role in 'displaying' and promoting the Gaelic language in Ireland has been discussed in Chapter Two. The realisation that language revival might not succeed was all too real to Morrison's circle, as it was to those around Hyde and the Gaelic

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[70] Box 4, letter from JDK→SM, 08/09/1915.
[71] Box 8, letter from Richard Lace→SM, 20/05/1915
[72] Box 8, letter from Ernest Savage→SM, 29/01/1917.

League in Ireland. As Hyde's example shows, the fulfilment of other roles such as raising national awareness, patriotism, etc. was not merely a by-product of attempted language revival, but a priority in itself. In his work for the League, Hyde worked to change the attitude towards Gaelic in the minds of the Gaelic speakers themselves. This mirrored what Morrison and her Manx contemporaries were doing, and what continues to be done. Hyde's essay, '(On) The necessity for de-Anglicising the Irish People' commented:

> we must at once arrest the decay of the language. We must bring pressure upon our politicians not to snuff it out by their tacit discouragement merely because they do not happen themselves to understand it. *We must rouse some spark of patriotic inspiration among the peasantry who still use the language, and put an end to the shameful state of feeling*...which makes young men and women blush and hang their heads when overheard speaking their own language... (Hyde in Daly, p.158, italics added).

Morrison was realistic about the aims and effects of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh*. She too recognised the importance of making it acceptable to speak and write in MxG. The following quote reveals her awareness of the different areas of success:

> But if the MLS cannot induce the young to take up Manx, we are at least teaching them patriotism & Manx sentiment, & the old people are now-a-days proud that they can speak their own language.[73]

It is the change in *attitude* that was important. This change implies that the status of MxG was being raised by the activities of the society.

One of the most important aspects of Morrison's role as secretary of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* was the opportunity it brought to develop and maintain crucial inter-Celtic links. She embraced this as an opportunity to contact and exchange information with language enthusiasts and revivalists throughout the Celtic sphere. One of her friends and informants, J R Moore, expressed his hope that: 'the many felloes [sic.] in our world

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[73] Box 2, letter from SM to unknown party, date unknown.

wide wheel who are capable will rally round your central hub…'[74] The central position of the Isle of Man in the British Isles meant that Morrison sat at the hub of the Celtic wheel. This position undoubtedly affected how Morrison perceived the Island's place in the larger Celtic world.

Morrison was in contact with a wide range of Celtic revivalists and enthusiasts, including Henri M Léon (Secretary of International Society of Philological Science & Art). She corresponded with Manx societies in Canada, Australia and New Zealand, as well as dealing with enquiries from as far afield as Japan.[75] Standish O'Grady (1846-1928), who has been described as the: 'father of the Irish literary revival' (R Foster, p.447), visited the Island, and spoke about his belief in possibility of reviving the spoken language, and expressed his support for the revival movement.[76]

Attitudes to the wider Celtic cause varied greatly on the Island. The strengthening political agenda of the general Celtic movement was alienating to some of those on the Island interested in the language or music alone, for example. Whereas Goodwin was happy to be involved with work on MxG, Anglo-Manx and other codes, he did not express much interest in the motivations of the wider Celtic revival. He was, for example, a little wary of some of the developments in Ireland, commenting to Morrison that: 'The Gaels' appeal is spirited but don't you think their advice & motto sinn fein a whain – "ourselves only", just a little selfish…'[77] His willingness to embrace Celtic cultural links did not extend to political dimensions.

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[74] Box 2, letter from JRM→SM, 25/08/1913.
[75] e.g. from Ichikawa & Hamado.
[76] Box 1, note by SM, June, probably 1905.
[77] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 06/11/1907.

On a national level, 'The Cause' proved a complex one for Morrison and her contemporaries. Their primary objective focused on language, but they also looked for ways in which the movement could be revitalised, how it could move onwards through the 20th century, creating an enthusiasm that would keep the wheel moving. Morrison's role in encouraging the young was perhaps her greatest achievement in this respect. One of her most notable followers was Mona Douglas, a key figure in the second wave of Manx revival. Douglas' vision was coloured by a deep-lying sense of religion, of a Celtic spirituality. This vision did not, however, *remain* in the realm of romantic deliberations or illusions of an ideal community. Working to preserve and revitalise Manx dance and music, to affirm the status of the Island, especially in relation to the other Celtic countries, all involved practical steps, which she herself undertook. The work of individuals such as Douglas was crucial to the realisation of revivalist goals. In an article in the journal she edited, *Manninagh*, Douglas outlines her dream of a society in which the children would: 'break spontaneously into a Manx song or clamour for a Manx dance-record.'[78] Her vision was of a time when so-called 'traditional' aspects of culture would have found contemporary meaning for the younger members of the nation.

Morrison was very keen to encourage the use of MxG amongst the young, and did so by actively campaigning for teaching of the language to be introduced in the schools, in the face of considerable resistance.[79] This has been discussed in Chapter Three. Despite such efforts to encourage schools to adopt MxG as a subject, Morrison believed IrG to be the most important of the languages to non-native speakers of the Goidelic group.[80]

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[78] Mona Douglas, 'Can we repopularise Manx Folk Music and Dance?' in *Manninagh*, vol.3, (1973), 31-3, here p.31.
[79] Box 1, letter from JJK→SM, 21/03/1906.
[80] Box 1, letter from SM→Mr Dennis, 12/10/1904.

This advice was sometimes offered to those who enquired about learning MxG, and particularly to those who had no previous knowledge of any form of Gaelic. This is not typical of revivalist fervour. It is the view of a pan-Celticist rather than a narrowly nationalist position, a view exemplified by her interest in movements in the countries surrounding her, and in the pan-Celtic movement generally. A note made in her personal papers outlined a speech to be delivered, probably in 1916:

> For of course the Manx cause is in our minds tonight - it is in fact the very reason of our presence. It is good to feel; that our society…is part of a great whole...we...do not forget our Motherland...There is no danger now-a-days that the Celtic nations will be swamped - they have all risen, like the phoenix, from their ashes.[81]

Morrison read widely, and was familiar with many Celtic journals such as *Celtia* and *The Celtic Review*, the latter of which was edited by Mackinnon and Carmichael, and published from 1904.[82] It is likely, too, that she was aware of *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, the 1901 number of which contained a review of Rhŷs' *Folklore*. She possessed copies of Gaelic journals, as Goodwin confirms here: 'Many thanks for letting me see the new number of "An Deo-Gréine" with its little folk-tale of "Grugach an Eilein."'[83] Goodwin was also copying children's jingles in Ireland such as *Cloch Labhroais* from an unspecified Gaelic journal.[84]

The belief that pan-Celticism would be of benefit to the revival of MxG reveals itself on several occasions, for example, Roeder wrote to Morrison saying: 'a Pan-Celtic Congress in the Island will act as a great stimulation to foster the language.'[85] A P Graves, too, was enthusiastic about the possibility of holding the congress on the Island: 'Don't you think honestly it would do your Manx Language & Music Movement

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[81] Box 2, SM note, date unknown.
[82] see, e.g. MNH MS 9495 additional deposit, folder 3, letter from EG→SM, 08/12/1915.
[83] MNH MS 9495 additional deposit, folder 3, letter from EG→SM, 06/04/1916.
[84] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, date unknown.

good just at this crisis...'[86] The attempt was not successful, the Island having to wait until 1921 for the first visit of the Celtic Congress.

The MxG revival received support from E E Fournier d'Albe, General Secretary to the Pan-Celtic Association. Correspondence between Fournier and Morrison was frequent, and Fournier supported the publishing of Goodwin's *First Lessons in Manx*, for example, as is outlined below. Fournier wrote to Morrison, encouraging her to promote the Manx situation more positively, saying that he was: 'surprised you do not claim to be bilingual. You have 4500 bilinguists, and that is not less than half the Irish percentage.'[87]

It is important to appreciate how central Morrison was to *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh's* work and survival. This is not merely a perception that we can draw with hindsight, but one that was formed by a great many of her contemporaries. A W Moore was very impressed by Morrison's work in this capacity. Cubbon wrote to Morrison, commenting on: 'our report – your report. It is a very excellent one. Mr A W Moore speaks very highly of it indeed. He praises you up more than I dare say.'[88]

Morrison's health

In order to appreciate fully Morrison's commitment to the revivalist cause as well as to the community, it is important to examine the ways in which her problematic health hindered her progress. Personal letters reveal the attitudes of those around her - that she was too important to lose. They reveal the sense of selflessness that surrounded

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[85] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 06/09/1904.
[86] Box 3, letter from APG→SM, date unknown.
[87] Box 8, letter from EEF→SM, 03/01/1901.
[88] Box 2, letter from WC→SM, 14/12/1903.

her. The threat of Morrison's incapacitation through illness was very real. In 1906, Canon Kewley wrote to Morrison, fearful that problems with her eyes would prevent her contribution to the Society, saying: 'I do not know how the Manx Language Society will be able to get on without you.'[89]

Morrison suffered throughout much of her life with her eyes as well as from neuralgic headaches. As Frederick Morrison, her brother, was a doctor in Manchester, it was with him she stayed when consulting her oculist. In 1906, it seems that Morrison had become pessimistic about her sight. Goodwin replied: 'I do hope your forebodings as to your sight will not be verified.'[90]

Morrison attempted to resign from her post as secretary of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* on at least one occasion. Her papers include a letter of resignation in 1904,[91] on the grounds of ill health. It remained unsent because Dr Clague resigned before she had a chance to. It would have been harmful to the society if both figures had left at the same time. Another letter, this time undated, was sent to Cubbon informing him of her wish to resign: 'It is with great regret that I write to tell you...I have been ordered by the oculist...to give up all reading & writing at once...'[92]

When writing to Josephine Kermode in 1914, Morrison described how she had been suffering from neuralgic headaches.[93] The problems demanded visits to specialists in England. The various activities with which Morrison was involved felt her absence keenly. Two years later, in 1916, Mona Douglas wrote to Morrison: 'We are very sorry

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[89] Box 4, letter from Canon Kewley→SM, 25/10/1906.
[90] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 29/09/1906.
[91] Box 1, unsent letter from SM→DrC, November 1904.
[92] Box 1, letter from SM→WC, date unknown, possibly 1906.

to hear that you have not benefited by the specialists' treatment...I do hope you will be able to come back soon - we can't do without you in the Island for long.'[94] The same year, W H Gill wrote expressing his concerns about her health:

> I am greatly grieved to hear of your late serious attack in Manchester, aggravated as it now is by the fateful separation from your brother's medical ministration. O for sight to see beyond this world of clouds!...I do hope the change back to the old Homeland will hasten the retreat of your bodily enemy...[95]

Indeed, Gill's enquires regarding her health were common in the last five years of her life. This suggests that her condition was deteriorating. Gill talks of operations, saying that he was: 'indeed greatly grieved to learn that you have been so much troubled with your poor eyes but now that the trouble is over and the operation successfully undergone...'[96], and later that: 'a successful 'operation' means a lengthening of life, a renewal of lease...'[97]

It was not, however, her problematic eyes which would prove the greatest risk to Morrison. A letter from to one of her cousins reveals Morrison's awareness and calm acceptance of the stomach cancer of which she was to die:

> I don't worry - it has been & is a matter of indifference to me how it ends. I don't think the operation has been a success - enough has not been cut out - I surmise it may have to be done again - but sufficient to the day.[98]

Indispensability of Morrison as secretary to *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh*

Despite Morrison's attempts to resign, it seems that her dedication to the revival was such that she would not give up her work unless she had no alternative. In this way, the role of secretary becomes crucial to the development of Morrison as a revivalist of

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[93] Box 2, letter from SM→Cushag, May 1914.
[94] Box 5, letter from MD→SM, 25/10/1916.
[95] Box 6, letter from WHG→SM, 23/10/1916.
[96] Box 6, letter from WHG→SM, 09/10/1912.
[97] Box 6, letter from WHG→SM, date unknown, but during the period 1914-1917.
[98] MNH MS 9495 additional deposit, folder 2, letter from SM→ 'My dear cousin', Sunday, undated.

MxG, a folklorist and as an inter-Celtic figure. Lewis Jones notes that in England, Broadwood: 'acted as a clearing-house for requests for advice, and her role became institutionalised after she became the secretary of the Folk Song Society.'[99] Morrison functioned in much the same way for the Manx revival.

From the outset, her range of contacts both within and without the Island made her ideally suited to such a position. The position itself enabled her to expand her networks. Morrison operated within different communities with apparent success, building up large networks in the MxG speech community, the circle of antiquarians, the town of Peel, as well as within the academic and revivalist communities outside of the Island. Her social position aided this multi-network expansion greatly. Not only did she come from a well-known and respectable family, she successfully formed and maintained links with a range of individuals in rural communities outside her immediate sphere. The role of secretary also provided her with the opportunity to influence the course of the revival. She actively guided and shaped the work of others, primarily using the journal, *Mannin* as a means of formalising many of her ideals. The development of this journal has been discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

On a practical level, she was involved in organising meetings and fund-raising events - local entertainments. The success in financial terms of such entertainments implies that she had an intimate knowledge of contemporary tastes. Morrison's involvement with the Peel Players, a local theatrical company well known for its production of so-called 'dialect' plays, proved invaluable in this respect. In this way, Anglo-Manx was raising funds for the MxG language.

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[99] Lewis Jones at www.btinternet.com/~radical/thefolkmag/lucy.htm

The Annual Report of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* for 1913-1914 sees the balance sheet split into three account categories: General, Mannin, Manx Plays. The Summary[100] shows the importance of the plays to the society:

General account	£14	1	10
"Mannin"	4	12	5
Manx plays	52	9	8

What is important to note is that the account reflects performances of Christopher Shimmin's plays: *Illiam Kodhere's Will* and *The Charm.* Morrison's report comments:

> Mention must be made of the continued success of Christopher Shimmin's Manx plays, which have during the summer and autumn been acted in Douglas, Peel, and Liverpool, and most enthusiastically received. Other plays from the same pen are forthcoming in the near future.[101]

The plays provided a means of visually representing the Society, and they will have been a good advertisement for those outside the movement to become involved with the revival of MxG and Manx culture. Morrison's success in attracting young and successful figures such as Canon Savage's son must be noted in this respect. Savage was young and enthusiastic – an ideal motivating force for a language movement anxious to capture the imagination of the youth. Morrison's thanks to him reveal his inspiring example:

> Your presence & enthusiasm made the meeting such an immense success & you really did more for the language in that one evening than has been done in years of plodding work. The mere fact of a man in your position being so keenly interested in the language has presented the matter to the people in a fresh light & there has been more Manx spoken in Peel since the meeting than for a year before.[102]

Morrison was again acting as the facilitator. Her praise of Savage reveals her awareness of the need for charismatic individuals involved with the revival. The prominence of such characters in the public's perception of the movement will also have had an effect on the status of MxG.

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[100] YnCG Report, 1913-1914 in *Mannin* No.3, May 1914, pp.6-7.
[101] SM in YnCG Report, 1913-1914 in *Mannin* No.3, May 1914, p.8.
[102] Box 1, letter from SM→Mr Savage, 17/01/1905.

Morrison's collecting practices

In the introduction to *Manx Proverbs and Sayings* (1905), which Roeder co-authored, Morrison refers to the sense of impending loss of information, saying that there is still so much to be uncovered: 'by research among the people if only the opportunity be seized before the passing away of the older generation.'[103] Morrison's respect for her informants even extended to her not wanting to publish stories she had collected, as correspondence with Cubbon shows. Here he agrees with her that publishing would perhaps not be the best idea, whilst taking the opportunity to praise her hard work:

> "Thou're for purrin it in the paper, are thou? Well I'll not tell thee!"...I am glad that you have taken up folk tale work. You're a model for – of, I should say, Industry...[104]

This was indeed the case, for it seems that the previous year had seen Morrison pass on a charm or something similar in writing, for which she was reproached by Boyd Dawkins of Peel, who commented: 'I fear that, if you publish, the old people will not tell you anything. I have reason...'[105] Passing on a charm in writing would have been a way, however, of successfully avoiding the loss of its power. It was believed that charms should not be related orally to any person other than those chosen in the next generation of the family.

It is because Morrison stood apart from the others that her friendship with Roeder developed. Roeder emphasised the importance of folklore, if not for their time, then for future generations. He possessed a deep fear for the loss of knowledge of the passing generation, and a need to preserve it for folklore's sake.

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[103] Sophia Morrison and Charles Roeder, *Manx Proverbs and sayings*, (Douglas, Isle of Man: S K Broadbent 1905), Introduction.
[104] Box 2, letter from WC→SM, 08/02/1904.
[105] Box 4, letter from W Boyd Dawkins, Ballaquane, Peel, →SM, 15/08/possibly 1903.

His sense of duty to folklore is made clear with comments regarding research on the herring industry: 'I have done these notes as a pure matter of folk-loristic duty, or I would never have given two consecutive years' work to it.'[106]

It was for reasons such as these that Roeder became increasingly keen to make sure that his papers were not lost on his death. To avoid this, he began distributing papers to various acquaintances, including Morrison, whose collection of papers now includes original notebooks from J R Moore and Edward Faragher, for example, both stamped with Roeder's address. This indicates a high level of trust between Roeder and Morrison and confirms that Roeder's commitment was to the Island and its future. In addition to actions such as this, Roeder made the decision to sell off copies of Manx books he had acquired. He told Morrison that he had a copy of Cregeen's dictionary for sale, and: 'I have other books etc (Manx) I wish to dispose of, old Guides, etc. also Kelly's Manx Grammar price 3/-.'[107]

Unlike the majority of those interested in the Island's culture, Morrison was truly an insider, and was committed to folklore collecting. Sensitive to the fears of those from whom she collected, to her confidentiality was paramount. From correspondence, it seems that she was very much alone in the desire to go directly to the source. Not only was Morrison securely within the Manx nation, she also had access to the inner sanctum of the declining MxG speech community.

Morrison was therefore able to function equally well in the two different social spheres, able to merge the worlds of within and without. Her education and relative economic

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[106] see Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 5 November, year unknown.
[107] Box 5, letter from CR→SM, 05/08/probably 1908.

security left her time to focus on music, reading, and the acquisition of various languages. Fluent in French and possibly MxG, Morrison learnt Italian by correspondence at Oxford University[108], and displayed a working knowledge of Spanish, IrG and ScG. Letters between Goodwin and herself, together with loose notes, indicate that her interest in linguistic relationships between the languages of the Goidelic group in particular was strong.

Morrison's strong interest in comparative philology often appears as written discussion with Goodwin. One example of this discusses the MxG word, 'miolagh', meaning tempting, temptation, with Morrison working through forms in Old, Middle and Modern Irish, as well as ScG.[109] This interest was not confined to the Celtic languages, though. Morrison's papers yield two pages concerning 'sach', where she refers to various forms of Irish, Latin, Italian, French and Spanish.[110] Her interest in language extended to subscriptions to journals, such as *The Philomath*.[111]

Regional focus of collecting activities

Roeder recognised that the boundaries of the MxG speech community were rapidly retreating. In the following quote, Roeder incidentally identifies the areas he considered still to be most Manx:

> I think that you should now begin to collect all the <u>Manx words</u> you can and with their proper <u>fixed & true phonetical sounding</u>, which often differs in different places, as Peel, Dalby, Cregneish, Jurby, Baldwin, etc.[112]

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[108] see correspondence with Mary Carter, Box 8, e.g. letter from Mary Carter→SM, 20/11/1897.
[109] Box 1, note by SM, date unknown.
[110] Box 1, note by SM, date unknown.
[111] Box 6, note by SM, date unknown.
[112] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 05/10/1904.

This list is significant. Discussion at the beginning of this chapter referred to the perceived importance of Peel and its surrounding area, and Roeder's list effectively focuses on key regions around the Island: urban (small town) west, rural west, rural south, rural north-west and rural east respectively. His suggestion to Morrison concerns lexical items, and it is possible that he was considering them as they were found in MxE speech. He also implies that he believes there to be significant variation in accent between regions such as these.

Morrison and Roeder's folklore work tended to be region-specific. Whereas Morrison was active in the West - Peel and Dalby in particular - Roeder chose Cregneash and Glen Chass in the South as areas of main interest. Certain informants also proved more reliable than others, and it seems that friendships were built up between Roeder and Neddy Beg and J R Moore, and between Morrison and William Cashen in particular. It is interesting to note that Morrison went to the South for a 'holiday', asking Roeder for information as to where she could stay around Cregneash or the Howe. At that time, however, Faragher's family was in England, and an address in Port Erin was eventually offered. This appears to have been an attempt to broaden her horizons in terms of sources for collection.

Problems encountered by women collectors

One of the main problems encountered by women in a collected capacity concerned the informants' perceptions of what was suitable material for a woman. Lewis Jones notes that Broadwood:

> once told her audience at the Musical Association that ladies could not "make merry with songsters in the alehouse over pipes and parsnip wine, or hobnob with the black sheep of the neighbourhood."[113]

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[113] Lewis Jones at www.btinternet.com/~radical/thefolkmag/lucy.htm

Indeed, Jones continues that Broadwood encountered further problems with an informant named Grantham, who considered many of the songs in his repertoire: 'which he would not sing even to a gentleman, because: "they be outway rude."'[114]

Morrison was unusual in that she was determined to record taboo words as part of her collecting activities. It was not, however, always possible for a woman to obtain such information. Writing to Gill, probably in 1907, Morrison reveals her difficulties in obtaining a MxG song from Tommy Gawne, Peel, who wouldn't sing to her as: 'he said the Manx words were not suitable for me to hear.'[115]

Morrison was well-suited to Roeder's method of collecting folklore and music. Unlike W H Gill, who favoured the elaboration of source material, Morrison was more of a purist. Writing to an unknown party about Gill's arrangement of 'Ushag Veg Ruy' (Little Red Bird), Morrison commented that: 'all the spirit of the original and all the character of it is lost in Mr Gill's prettified rendering - one cannot call it a translation.'[116] Gill was aware of Morrison's stance, but continued to write to her, asking her to give her opinion of his latest re-workings and replying on occasion: 'Your criticism of my Ushag (per)version is kindly mild for a purist like yourself...and <u>if</u> you good kind purists would tolerate this latest tampering of mine...[117]

This is important because it reveals that Morrison was recognised as a purist. Her thoughts were echoed by Goodwin, who commented on Gill's arrangement of 'Arrane Ghelbee' that: 'If alteration of the original melody <u>must</u> be made there I hope he may

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[114] Lewis Jones at www.btinternet.com/~radical/thefolkmag/lucy.htm
[115] Box 2, letter from SM→WHG, 13 August, probably 1907.
[116] Box 2, letter from SM→unknown, date unknown.
[117] Box 6, letter from WHG→SM, 25/08/1907, incomplete.

see a way to giving us something less common and more Manx than now.'[118] This stance was one encouraged by one of her icons, Dr John Clague (1842-1908). He considered that there had been: 'too much "Anglicising" in all our National Music. It is not right or honest to modernize the old music. It should be left as it has come down to us.'[119]

Morrison collected a wide range of areas: music, MxG proverbs, charms, plant remedies, sayings, fishing, taboo, the supernatural, etc., and the range of subject material is illustrated by her publications. The Introduction to *Manx Proverbs and Sayings* implies that she was the main contributor: 'some have been gathered by Mr. Roeder...the rest, by myself.' (Morrison & Roeder, Introduction). Morrison saw the collection of proverbs as an important part of defining national character: 'Something of the national character, somewhat of the history of a people, much of its manners and customs, may be gleaned from its folk lore...' (Morrison & Roeder, Introduction). Like Roeder, her comments reveal a great commitment to the collection of folk lore, and she urged others to follow her example. *Manx Proverbs and Sayings* contained a great deal of information: an explanation of the proverb in English, the informant's opinion, supplemented by the opinion of the authors.

Together with P G Ralfe, Morrison worked on MxG translations for his book *Manx Wild Flowers.*[120] Morrison had an interest in names for plants and flowers, and had been collecting them together with botanical samples and folk-medicine remedies.

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[118] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 30/04/1908.
[119] Box 3, letter from DrC→SM, 29/09/1907.

Morrison as an authority on fairy lore

The most famous of her publications, though, was the 1911 collection of *Manx Fairy Tales,* and it is this work that will be used here to provide a brief example of her working practices.

Manx Fairy Tales is an example of the balancing act adopted by Morrison between purist and popularist stances. Although she had been collecting folklore alone and with Roeder on a formal basis, she was made aware by Roeder that it was not so easy to find a market for their research. After all, Roeder had even found that it was not an easy task to stimulate interest in publications such as his collected *Notes & Queries.* He wrote to Morrison, saying that: 'Fairy songs in Anglo-Manx Dialect, nicely & sincerely served seem to prosper better.'[121]

The very title of the work is deconstructed in Morrison's Preface. There she explains how the word *fairy* is not used by the Manx. The title was clearly chosen in an order to appeal to the popularity of *fairy lore* at the time, but the balance is redressed as soon as the reader opens the book. In this way, Morrison satisfies the need of the work to be popular and accurate or even *authentic.* This sense of authenticity is reflected in a note written by Morrison which appears to be a draft of the Preface to the *Tales.* It reads:

> Many of the stories have never been in print, having been handed down by word of mouth - these I have taken direct from the people of mostly Dalby men…Nothing has been written that is not genuinely traditional.[122]

In the Preface itself, Morrison modifies this to include names of informants, and removes 'genuinely' and positions the term 'traditional' in a less obvious place:

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[120] P G Ralfe and S Morrison, *Manx Wild Flowers*, (Peel, Isle of Man: W K Palmer, 1911).
[121] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 17/06/1908.
[122] Box 1, note by SM, date unknown.

> Most of the stories are traditional and have been handed down by word of mouth from father to son. I owe hearty thanks to those from whose lips I have heard them – Messrs. J R Moore, William Cashen, Joe Moore, Ned Quayle and others.[123]

So, Morrison names the main informants explicitly, and places the authorship or guardianship of the stories with them. Of the fifty-four entries featured in the second edition,[124] MxG features in three stories as fragments of conversation, and three stories see the insertion of MxG song fragments. Apart from the appearance of a charm and short statements or greetings, the only MxG used is for one complete story, 'The Gray Goat', the translation into English of which is given after the text in MxG. *Manx Fairy Tales* was intended to appeal to a wide audience beyond the Island itself. To this effect, it presents stories and shorter fragments from the oral culture of the Island. It also introduces elements of the Anglo-Manx dialect in ways that don't require explanation. More direct usage of MxG language is necessarily accompanied by translation.

Morrison did not present the stories in the exact format they had been collected. Like other editors of collections, she made small changes in order to make them readable, to make them attractive to a wider audience. One of her informants, J R Moore expressed how impressed he was by the way in which Morrison had 'touched up' the *Manx Fairy Tales*, revealing that this would make them: 'more acceptable to coming readers.'[125]

Nevertheless, Morrison's adjustments were not excessive. The language is a combination of Standard English forms and Anglo-Manx mainly used in direct speech.

As a fellow writer, Jessie Kerruish expressed her admiration for *Manx Fairy Tales,*

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[123] Sophia Morrison, (ed.), *Manx Fairy Tales* (1911; repr. Douglas, Isle of Man: The Manx Experience, 1994), p.vii.
[124] The first edition did not include the following stories which appear in the second edition (1929) and its reprint (1991): Tehi Tegi, The Moddey Doo, The City Under Sea, King Magnus Barefoot and The Buggane of St Trinian's, all of which were collected from published written sources.
[125] Box 2, letter from JRM→SM, 22/09/1912.

commenting on the style of the work: 'You were quite right not to work up your material elaborately.'[126] Goodwin approved of Morrison's use of Anglo-Manx, saying: 'Your Manx tales & narratives from the mouth's [sic] of the good old folk who have not disdained the language of their forefathers.'[127]

Morrison was widely regarded as the Island's authority on fairy lore. A year before *Manx Fairy Tales* appeared, Evans-Wentz, an academic from Oxford, submitted a PhD thesis which was to be published in 1911 as *The fairy faith in the Celtic Countries.* Just as she had been for Dr Rhys Phillips' *Celtic Nations & their Literary Activities*, Morrison was invited to contribute to the Manx section of Evans-Wentz's publication.[128] Indeed, Evans-Wentz had called upon leading authorities in each of the Celtic countries. He wrote of his contributors:

> I am under a special obligation to the following six distinguished Celtic scholars who have contributed, for my second chapter, the six introductions to the fairy-lore collected by me in their respective countries :— Dr. Douglas Hyde (Ireland); Dr. Alexander Carmichael (Scotland); Miss Sophia Morrison (Isle of Man); the Right Hon. Sir John Rhys (Wales); Mr. Henry Jenner (Cornwall); Professor Anatole Le Bras (Brittany).[129]

Rhys Phillips came from Swansea and was secretary to the Celtic Congress from 1917-1925.[130] In an undated letter to her sister, Morrison wrote that Rhys Phillips: 'said in his book that I deserved the gratitude of the Manx Nation.'[131]

Edmund Goodwin (1844-1924)

Morrison's later work focussed on the collection of English dialect on the Island, in order to complete A W Moore's project of the *Vocabulary.* This will form the basis for

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[126] Box 4, letter from JDK→SM, 29/09/1915.
[127] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 23/10/1908 (possibly 1905).
[128] W Y Evans-Wentz, *The fairy faith in the Celtic Countries* (Oxford: OUP, 1911).
[129] W Y Evans-Wentz at www.belinus.co.uk/folklore/FaerypiecesWentz.htm
[130] see www.egt.ie/celtcong/cc-hist-mellis.html
[131] Box 1, letter from SM→LM, date unknown.

discussion in the following chapter. Morrison's collaborator for this project was the musician and linguist, Goodwin, who, like Morrison, was a native of Peel. Goodwin was related to the Morrisons on his mother's side. His parents ran a small private school in Castle Street, Peel.

Available biographical evidence makes much of Goodwin's physical disabilities. Goodwin's problematic health has often been cited as the motivation for his linguistic achievements:

> Edmund Goodwin was lame virtually from birth, and contracted in childhood an illness which made him a semi-invalid and cripple for life, unable to walk abroad like other men. Later he also became very deaf. But he refused to be defeated by these handicaps and set to work to create for himself within the restricted area of his own home a mental kingdom. (Douglas 1964, p.109).

Goodwin considered himself fortunate to have been brought up within the setting of a private school. It was to prove a stimulating environment for his interest in languages:

> At the age of twelve I picked up my first knowledge of German and French from old books which had belonged to my father. My first inducement to learn Latin and Italian was to be able to understand the words of Mozart's Masses and Italian opera libretti. I learnt Icelandic in order to read the Sagas, and Old Irish to read the Irish Annals and hero-tales, and each new language I learnt made me eager to learn yet another, for the language of a people gives one not only the Open Sesame to its literature but also to a fascinating new kingdom by the understanding it brings of a nation's mentality and outlook upon life. (Douglas 1964, p.109).

This comment reveals a lot about Goodwin's linguistic interests. Although his pursuit of languages was initially literature-driven, this interest was soon transformed into the pursuit of new linguistic experiences. Language is perceived here as a key element of national identity.

Goodwin was familiar with languages in the Celtic, Slavic, Romance and Germanic groups. Greek and Latin provided a basis which he built upon with the addition of Manx, Irish and Scottish Gaelic, Welsh, Breton and Cornish, German, Dutch, Swedish,

Icelandic, Russian, French, Spanish, Italian, and Romaic. (Douglas 1964, p.109). He tended to use the New Testament as 'a reading book,' and this is confirmed by reading lists found amongst his personal papers. In essence, Goodwin was an amateur comparative philologist who used the Bible as an aid to learn various languages. In George Goodwin's papers, examples of Edmund Goodwin's reading lists show that in January 1917 he was concentrating on the following:

> St Luke – Danish
> St John – Dutch
> Acts of the Apostles – German
> Psalms – MxG, ScG, IrG

Goodwin expressed his contentment with reading morn till night.[132] The advantage of this method would have been that he was working with familiar passages, and texts would have been more readily available. This appears to have been a strategy employed by MxG learners, having been adopted even by Morrison, who had contact with many native speakers. She reveals this in a letter to a Mr Kerruish of Cleveland:

> As to myself my love of things Manx was born in me & I learnt the language by spelling out the Manx Bible with the English version before me. There were no Manx Grammars in those days.[133]

The lack of grammatical texts on MxG was to be changed by Goodwin. He was responsible for the first thorough MxG primer, *First Lessons in Manx*, which was published in 1901 with the help of the Celtic Association. Dr Clague, one of the circle's icons, approved of Goodwin's writing on MxG, saying in a letter to Morrison: 'I am very much pleased with Mr Goodwin's work. It is really the best that I have seen so far as the structure of the Manx language is concerned...'[134]

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[132] MNH MS 9909 George Goodwin papers, Box 1. My thanks to Sandra Caley for this reference.
[133] Box 2, letter from SM→Mr Kerruish, 01/08/1913.

[134] Box 3, letter from DrC→SM, 29/03/1899.

Goodwin made his living by teaching music privately, and it was through this teaching that he had the opportunity to come into contact with a varied selection of the Manx population. In addition, he is said to have gathered round him Peel fishermen to speak MxG, as well as Manx Gypsies. Mona Douglas wrote that: 'One of the last of these, Mrs. Hart, told me some years ago that Goodwin was the best Gorgio she ever heard speak Romany.' (Douglas 1964, p.110). A meeting with him would have been an obvious choice for visiting foreigners, and Douglas reports that such visits were: 'one of his greatest pleasures.' (Douglas 1964, p.109). From these observations, it appears that his contact with languages and what he termed 'dialects' would have been more extensive than his house-bound status would initially suggest.

Goodwin was by no means merely an absorber of information regarding languages, but someone who actively used his languages. In his biographical entry about Goodwin in the second edition of *First Lessons in Manx* (1947), Joseph Qualtrough confirms Goodwin's friendship with Peel fishermen: 'He wore the mantle of scholarship with the utmost modesty and he made a host of friends, particularly among those fishermen who *could* converse in Manx.' (Qualtrough in Goodwin, p.6, italics added.)

Goodwin's relationship to MxG

Despite such contact, personal correspondence between Goodwin and Morrison reveals that he remained insecure in his own knowledge of MxG. He would frequently caution her as to the limit of his capabilities, saying about his *Simple Lessons* that: 'I am afraid to invent sentences of my own in Manx for even if grammatically correct they might be contrary to native idiom.'[135] In fact, Goodwin became quite anxious about these *Aght aashagh lessoonyn* [Aght lessoonyn aashagh], writing to Morrison in 1902 that they were:

> intended only for the use of you and your immediate friends…But since the mooting of having them printed, all has become a most disagreeable labour. In their very defective form they must <u>not</u> be printed. They are now as loathsome to me as the "First Lessons in Manx"…the whole thing sickens me.[136]

Whereas he considered the 'dialect' to be his natural code, he was conscious that MxG was, in contrast, very much learned and awkward to him. 'The aght aashagh things shall never be printed with any consent…I can myself print out a score of phrases said in a way no Manxman would do.'[137] Goodwin's self-doubt seems to throw into question any conception we may have that he considered himself an authority or standard for MxG. He is all too aware of the shortcomings of his translations. His doubts are revealed repeatedly: 'Thanks for your suggestion as to making Manx versions, but my Manx would be Foreigner's Manx - stiff and stilted.'[138] Similarly:

> I have turned the English into Manx but my Manx is at best only book Manx - foreigner's Manx. You had better get some one to look it over and make any alterations desirable.[139]

If Goodwin feels it necessary to ask Morrison for help, it strongly suggests that she must have been in more frequent contact with native MxG speakers than he was. If this were not the case, he would have no reason for asking her to check his translations with her own contacts. This stems partly from his mobility problems, as it seems that he was unable to leave the house without difficulty. It further suggests that he was not overly concerned with his reputation as a MxG scholar, and that Morrison was on good terms with 'authoritative' MxG speakers to whom Goodwin repeatedly referred. For example: 'Before you copy it in <u>printed</u> letters you had better get some of your Manx speaking friends to mend it where needful.'[140]

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[135] Box 2, letter from EG→SM, 13/04/1899.
[136] Box 2, letter from EG→SM, 07/11/1902.
[137] Box 2, letter from EG→SM, date unknown.
[138] Box 2, letter from EG→SM, 16/01/1900.
[139] Box 2, letter from EG→SM, 05/01/1902.

Goodwin was, however, quite happy to edit others' MxG, revealing to Morrison that: 'my chief delight in Manx is in scrutinizing.'[141] This lack of confidence calls into question how Goodwin was persuaded to publish *First Lessons in Manx.* Goodwin's 'Preface' reveals a number of significant points. Firstly, he confirms that the lessons were not written for publication, but for MxG lessons in Peel, which involved Morrison, Miss Joughin and William Cashen. Goodwin cites the influence of one of his and Morrison's icons, Dr John Clague, in bringing the lessons to publication, but immediately offsets any praise due to the author by the nature of the title, *First Lessons,* which implies the work is of a simplistic nature, and also by stating:

> These lessons do not claim to be a complete theoretical grammar, but they will be found sufficient to enable anyone to make a reading acquaintance with the Manx Bible and Prayer Book. (Goodwin, p.5).

Goodwin goes on to express his hope that: 'some other Manxman may write a more extensive grammar, detailing all the facts of the language.' (Goodwin, p.5). This is a further example of Goodwin's reserve and caution. He effectively apologises for the very edition he is prefacing, and negates some of its value. This self-deprecating style is typical of Goodwin's writing about MxG.

Considering Goodwin's own insecurities about his linguistic capacities, it would have hardly been surprising to him to know that his work was met with criticism. The only criticism that is available is that regarding his translations of MxG. In a copy of a letter from Rev W W Howard, there is criticism of his methods: 'I have a little bit of work by a man under your jurisdiction – E Goodwin – It is not well arranged, and is not always at one with itself.'[142] Thomas Moore, too, wrote to Morrison, criticising Goodwin's MxG heavily:

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[140] Box 2, letter from EG→SM, St Swithen's Day 1903.
[141] Box 2, letter from EG→SM, 27/09/1904.

> The translation Mr Goodwin made is not a translation of the English, it is very poor indeed. but don't say anything to any person about it, as I would not hurt the feelings of Mr Goodwin for anything, the English was a very poor specimen so it is very hard to translate from poor English. a person who cannot speak manks fluently cannot translate manks to read beautifull [sic.] they must have it in their head to make a good job.[143]

Thomas Moore intimates that Goodwin could not speak MxG fluently. Equally, though, it could be that Moore was not one of those who called upon Goodwin at his home, therefore unaware of Goodwin's oral capabilities. In such a close knit community, however, this would have been unlikely. If Thomas Moore was in doubt as to Goodwin's fluency, it seems more likely that he would have checked with other native speakers. In writing to Morrison, however, Thomas appears to be including her in the MxG speech community. If she were not considered to be a competent enough *speaker*, it is unlikely that he would have felt able to confide in her.

Goodwin's self-criticism with regard to MxG extended to him frequently asking Morrison to check his translations and entries for *First Lessons in Manx* with her MxG-speaking friends. For example:

> Do you think would any of your Manx-speaking friends be willing to make us a Manx translation of the portions of O'Growney…Perhaps our good friend Mr Cashin would help us in the matter.[144]

Goodwin is, however, sometimes indirectly apologetic for this constant questioning: 'I am afraid we are all very troublesome to our Manx speaking friends but I can find none of these phrases in books.'[145]

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[142] Box 1, typed copy of letter from Rev W W Howard, date unknown.
[143] Box 1, letter from Thomas Moore→SM, 15/01/1914.
[144] Box 2, letter from EG→SM, 20/02/1899.

This lack of confidence is not, however, typical of his writings on Anglo-Manx. Regarding those, Goodwin proudly asserts native speaker competency, a status bringing with it confidence and authority. His relationship with this variety will be discussed in the following chapter.

First Lessons in Manx was arguably Goodwin's greatest contribution to the MxG revival. He ends the preface to the first edition with his thanks:

> My grateful thanks are due to all the friends who have so liberally contributed towards the expenses of the publication; to Miss S. Morrison and Miss O. Joughin for collecting colloquial phrases from our Manx-speaking friends, and for furthering the work in every way; to Mr. W. Cashen, Custodian of Peel Castle, for much valuable material and assistance; and, lastly, to Mr. E.E. Fournier d'Albe and the Celtic Association, who have made possible the publishing of these "First Lessons in Manx." (Goodwin, p.5).

This reveals that Morrison and Joughin were considered by Goodwin primarily as field-workers. They would have been ideal candidates for this role, as their positions as MxG teachers were in classes which attracted not only MxG beginners, but also fluent or even native speakers, some of whom would have seen the lessons as an opportunity to acquire or improve literacy in the language.[146]

Conclusions

These comments about Morrison underestimate her contribution. If a relative, friend and collaborator such as Goodwin was able to make such underestimating comments about her, it is hardly surprising that the rest of the world should have failed to acknowledge the scale of her achievements. Morrison acted as a facilitator, as the agent working to further the general population's understanding of a Manx 'Kultur'.

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[145] Box 4, letter from EG→SM, date unknown.
[146] This was the case in the 1930s, to which Leslie Quirk refers in a private interview, 02/03/1999.

Morrison's roles can be summarised under the following headings:

1. collector and fieldworker
2. learner and teacher of MxG
3. secretary of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh*
4. Manx representative in the pan-Celtic movement
5. promoter of Manx music, e.g. in Manx Music Guild
6. encourager/facilitator, especially of the young
7. published author and editor of *Mannin*
8. amateur comparative philologist

Crucially, her roles in the first two categories saw her acting as a bridge between social classes. This is what makes her unusual within the circle of antiquarians on the Island at the turn of the 20th century. Her role in the shaping of *A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect* is but one example of her contribution to developing Manx identities.

CHAPTER FIVE

Historical context and sources for *A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect*

The lexical, phonological, and grammatical forms which become popularized and emotionalized via the moving literature that is prompted by or contributory to the mass awakening of nationality sentiments and nationalist activity have a subsequent directional grip upon language planning which it may well be impossible to displace. (Fishman, p.52).

The need for a national code to accompany national revival

Fishman's quote reveals the highly charged power of a national literature. At the turn of the 20th century, revivalists in the Isle of Man were involved with the development of that literature. Morrison's papers include an article 'The Future of the Irish Language' by the translator Maud Joynt. Of Ireland's nationhood, she wrote: 'Her nationality will only be realised when her people...have come fully to recognise, and are willing to take on themselves the grave responsibilities of a nation.'[1] As an important part of this, Joynt wrote of the need for IrG to have a: 'great writer', and also the need for good translations. Her calls were for an IrG literature that combined the authority of its historical tradition with the dynamism of newly generated material.

The need for a national literature was perhaps even greater in the Isle of Man. The paucity of MxG literature presented revivalists with a dilemma. There was no way of establishing an impressive historical literary tradition, and there were not many MxG writers producing new material. As in Ireland, there were many more authors writing in English on Manx themes. If the revivalists chose MxG, they were embracing an exclusive and declining code, thereby limiting both appeal and effect of a national literature. They could not even call upon the literary tradition to provide authenticating weight. Morrison wrote: 'the older generation is passing away. The last census showed

8 per cent spoke Manx but the vernacular is seldom used – only among the very oldest people."[2] Their alternative was to identify and develop a distinctively *Manx* variety of English, and, in many respects, Anglo-Manx proved successful at that time. The ways in which this linguistic code offered itself as an inclusive, popular means of carrying cultural baggage and traditions from the MxG domain will be discussed here. In contrast even to MxE, Anglo-Manx offered a fusion of purism and popularism, of inclusivity and exclusivity.

The previous chapter presented examples of some of the doubts and insecurities as to the future of MxG felt by leading MxG scholars such as Kneen, Goodwin and Morrison. Goodwin, although he was author of the first primer in MxG, *First Lessons in Manx*, repeatedly expressed his concerns relating to his own MxG competency. The sense of insecurity in the preferred language of national revival posed many problems for revivalists at the turn of the 20th century. This chapter will discuss the ways in which the instability of MxG prompted a change in focus to embrace a form of MxE: the Anglo-Manx code.

Goodwin's relationship to Anglo-Manx

In stark contrast to his doubts concerning his knowledge of MxG, Goodwin revelled in his relationship with Anglo-Manx:

> In the matter of Anglo-Manx phonetics, &c, I feel quite at home for "was'n it me cradle tongue" and the tongue of all my young companions - which Manx Gaelic was not more's the pity.[3]

This quote raises questions as to Goodwin's actual relationship with the dialect. It implies that his childhood friends were vernacular speakers, even though Goodwin

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[1] Box 3, note by Maud Joynt, 'The Future of the Irish Language' (cont.), date unknown.

[2] Box 2, letter from SM→unknown party, date unknown.

came from a fairly isolated, middle class background. However, it must be noted that class structure on the Island has more fluid boundaries than that of England, for example. In areas such as Peel, the tendency to disregard social wealth and apparent status continues to some extent, locals being comfortable in the knowledge that information about and within the community is strong enough to deny any attempts at pretension. This appears to be in the interest of maintaining social cohesion.

Such confidence and belief in his own native-speaker competency in Anglo-Manx take away Goodwin's doubts about this area of study, and reveal him to be an authoritative commentator on Morrison's contributions to the *Vocabulary*. Furthermore, his confidence gives him the freedom to play around with the dialect. This language play is apparent in the frequent introduction of fragments of it in letters to Morrison:

> The cars are rolling by in "sthrings"[4]
> "the win' tha' was in"[5]
> "jus' aback o' the sof-cheer wheer I'm sittin' bes part o'the day by the fire"[6]

These show how Goodwin relished using Anglo-Manx, albeit not as part of his usual written code. It tends to appear in self-conscious and undisguised forms, the Anglo-Manx items being placed within inverted commas, or underlined, in order to emphasise that they are 'different'.

This is crucial to Goodwin's relationship with Anglo-Manx. Although Goodwin was competent in a wide variety of languages, his attitude towards his own MxG usage is revealing. His constant apologies suggest that he was highly embarrassed at making mistakes in MxG. By way of contrast, he accepted that he could make mistakes within

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[3] Box 2, letter from EG→SM, 27/10/1903.
[4] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 24/08/1907.
[5] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 27/12/1907.
[6] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 23/12/1912.

the domain of other languages. Anglo-Manx was set apart from such judgements. Because he regarded himself as a native speaker, it allowed him the freedom to play around with the language, accept challenges from other sources as to the accuracy and 'authenticity' of his usage. This freedom and power stemmed from his confidence in a native 'dialect', a code which was not standardised. Work on the *Vocabulary* offered Goodwin a unique linguistic experience – to act as an authority.

Nostalgia for Anglo-Manx

Goodwin's attitude towards the code is overlaid with distinct nostalgic overtones. This can be seen in his descriptions of the variety in his correspondence with Morrison and Moore: 'the thought that the memory of the *dear old words* will be safely preserved for ever.'[7] The emphasis is on words and phrases from times gone by: 'The sight of the *once familiar terms* brings to mind many *half forgotten recollections of what we used to hear* spoken every day by old & young.'[8] Writing to A W Moore, Goodwin refers to having gone over Morrison's *Vocabulary* slips:

> adding here & there an occasional word or colloquial phrase heard by me *long ago*...I much like the idea of preserving in print the *memory* of the *homely old words* that will soon be quite out of use & forgotten in the spoken language.[9]

Goodwin often wrote to Morrison that he was enjoying compiling the Vocabulary, because it reminded him of his childhood, of the days gone by: 'Old words & phrases heard in childhood keep coming back to my mind and I make free use of them in the word lists.'[10]

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[7] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 16/08/1913, italics added.
[8] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 03/07/1909, italics added.
[9] Box 8, copy of letter from EG→AWM, 09/09/1909, italics added.
[10] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 18/10/1910.

Knowledge of other works concerning dialectology and Celtic languages

Goodwin had studied philology and phonetics almost all his life. (MMG, p.v). He was an avid reader of Celtic and dialectological publications, especially Joseph Wright's work *The English Dialect Dictionary* (*EDD*), which was published between 1898-1905.[11] Goodwin's correspondence with Morrison reveals that they were reading the following works and authors, books which they passed to each other and then discussed. For those authors where no particular text was specified, suggestions or general descriptions of their contributions have been made:

IrG
F N Finck – author of many works on IrG, including *Die araner Mundart*

Henebry – Father Richard Henebry, 1863-1916 – Gaelic scholar and collector of Irish music

Father Mullin – wrote on Irish pronunciation and dialect

Father Eugene O'Growney's *Simple Lessons in Irish* (Dublin: Gaelic League, 1917-19)

Dictionaries:
N Barley, *An universal etymological English Dictionary comprending the Derivatives of the Generality of words in the English Tongue either ancient or modern from the Ancient British, Saxon, etc.* (1724).

Dwelly or MacDonald's – *Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary* (1901-1911)

John Kersey, *Dictionarum Anglo-Britannicum or a General English Dictionary* (1715)

T L Kington-Oliphant, *Old & Middle English* (1878).

Charles Mackay, *Lost Beauties of the English Language*[12]

John Martyn, *Glossographia of a Dictionary of Hard words...* (1670).

Moseley

W Toone, *A Glossary & Etymological Dictionary of obsolete & uncommon words* (1832).

Thomas Wright, *Dictionary Of Obsolete & Provincial English* (1857).

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[11] Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary*, 6 volumes, (London: Henry Frowde, 1898-1905).
[12] The Gossets offered to lend SM the following books in a letter, Box 8, letter from Mary Gosset→SM, 16/06/1910: Barley, Kersey, Martyn, Toone, Thomas Wright, Kington-Oliphant and Mackay.

Dialects:
W Grant's *The Pronunciation of English in Scotland*

Mary Hayden & Marcus Hartog, 'The Irish Dialect of English' in *Fortnightly Review*, April & May 1909

Stanley Houghton's play, *Hindle Wakes* This is written mainly in Lancashire dialect.

Joyce – possibly P W Joyce's *English as we speak it in Ireland* (1910).

Peacock & Atkinson's *Glossary of the hundred of Lonsdale Dialect* (1869).

Simm's *Memories of Mary Jane* (a text in Cockney)

Elizabeth Wright's *Rustic Speech and Folklore* (1914).

Joseph Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* and *English Dialect Grammar*

Of the works listed on IrG above, Goodwin notes:

> Anglo-Irish, whatever its sources, seems to have developed on somewhat similar lines to A.Mx. I do not know of any publication treating of Anglo-Irish. The speakers of it have neither pride nor interest in it. I have three works on the phonetics of Irish Gaelic – Mullin on Ulster Irish, Henebry on Munster Irish, and Finck on Western Irish. Finck's work ("Die Araner Mundart") is most thorough going, quite a monumental work. It taught me indirectly a great deal about Manx.[13]

With only a fraction of their reading listed above, it suggests that Goodwin and Morrison had a good deal of competency with regard to various varieties within the British Isles. For example, Goodwin gives the phrase 'between wind & water' as being common to Black's South of England tale 'Spring haven."[14] This shows that Goodwin was referring to other works constantly in order to compare what they thought was the Anglo-Manx dialect with other dialects in the British Isles.

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[13] Box 8, copy of letter from EG→AWM, 12/09/1909.

Celtic elements in Anglo-Manx

Goodwin commented in a letter to Moore that: 'Though many of our local expressions are very characteristic of Manx ways of doing & thinking, only few are peculiar to it.'[15] This was important to stress to Moore, who favoured the Irish connections with the Island in many different areas of his research. Moore wrote to Goodwin, saying:

> I should greatly esteem some remarks from you on the subject of intonation when you are returning *B.* It is essentially Celtic, but there are English elements in it also. Undoubtedly it is very different from the intonation of Anglo-Irish.[16]

Moore sent word lists to Goodwin and Morrison, with Goodwin replying that many of the words and phrases Moore considered peculiar to the Island were also used in Ireland.[17] Goodwin did, however, acknowledge the influence of MxG on the variety:

> My own impressions – I can hardly call them convictions – are that while the vocabulary & pronunciation of the colloquial English spoken in the IOM are mainly those of the south west districts of Lancashire, the Manx-Gaelic has greatly influenced the form of the sentences & the idioms. Perhaps the strongest & most durable influence of the Manx Gaelic is shown in the "intonation", which is likely to remain Celtic even after all local peculiarities of pronunciation have disappeared.[18]

The Lancashire connection

Goodwin in particular developed very definite ideas about the influences on the Anglo-Manx concentrating on the links with Lancashire varieties, as well as the effects of audience design, socio-economic and geographical factors on language use:

> Like the dialect speakers of elsewhere, the Manxman uses his dialect to full extent only when in free converse with his social equal. It must be borne in mind that there are different strata of dialect according to the different status of the speakers...The dialect varies to some slight extent from parish to parish... (Goodwin in MMG, p.x).

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[14] Box 8, copy of letter from EG→AWM, 21/09/1909.
[15] Box 8, copy of letter from EG→AWM, 21/09/1909.
[16] AWM in MMG, *Vocabulary*, p.vii, quoted after letter in Box 8, AWM→EG, 14/09/1909.
[17] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 27/10/1909.
[18] Box 8, copy of letter from EG→AWM, 12/09/1909.

A letter from Brown to Roeder in 1895 had similarly opened with a discussion of the influence of Lancashire on the Isle of Man:

> You are no doubt quite right in the belief that the long sway of the Derby family in the Island left a deposit of Lancashire dialect and folk-lore. I have over and over again come upon traces of this influence - in games, for instance...Many of our nursery rhymes are English. It is almost inconceivable that these could have been translated from the Manx.[19]

The influence of Joseph Wright on Goodwin and Morrison

Goodwin and Morrison were both familiar with Wright's two most significant works, the *EDD* and the *EDG*. Goodwin frequently wrote to Morrison about how useful Wright's work was to him. Its influence is shown in the following passage from an undated fragment written by Goodwin:

> I have Wright's permission to quote the necessary elucidatory paragraphs from his Dialect Grammar & Dictionary & to use his system of phonetics together with the due explanations.[20]

Wright's reply is confirmed in 1911, when Goodwin wrote to Morrison that: 'He [Wright] has kindly given permission to use his system of phonetics in the Anglo-Manx Vocabulary and to make quotations from his Dialect Grammar.'[21]

In August 1910, Goodwin noted that he was reading the: 'delightful Dialect Dictionary every day,'[22] and that he was using the work as a model for the Vocabulary: 'I find Wright's Dialect Dictionary a great help in what to do, and in a few cases what not to do in the treatment of our so-often mishandled Anglo-Manx.'[23] This is interesting because it reveals that Goodwin felt that Anglo-Manx had been mishandled, suggesting that other commentators, or possibly even dialect writers had misused it for their own ends,

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[19] Box 8, copy of letter in SM's hand, from TEB→CR, 04/11/1895. This version is taken, and not the version in *Mannin* no.9, 520-523.

[20] Box 1, fragment of letter from EG→SM, date unknown.

[21] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 18/03/1911.

[22] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 18/08/1910.

or had used it in spite of being less than familiar with it. This perception will be discussed later in this chapter.

Morrison as reader for Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*

Joseph Wright's work on English dialects exerted huge influence on the collection and study of MxE sub-varieties such as Anglo-Manx. Not only did Wright's *EDD* include Manx entries, but the authors of the *Vocabulary* took his work as an example of how dialect should be collected and presented.

Morrison's contact with Wright was through Mary Carter, who had been teaching Morrison Italian by correspondence. Carter wrote:

> I have just been talking to Professor Joseph Wright, who is bringing out a great English Dialect Dictionary, he tells me he badly wants a "reader" in the Isle of Man. It occurred to me it would probably be work that would interest you, but I fear you would scarcely be able to spare time for it? Prof. Wright's method of collecting material is to get people in all the different counties to write down each different dialect word on a separate half sheet of paper or to undertake a book with dialect in it, & put down each word as it occurs on a separate sheet, noting page & line - He is very anxious to hear of someone who would undertake & read one or more of Mr Brown's books in this way - & I thought you would not mind my asking you about it? as I thought it might interest you, if you had time for it. If not, perhaps you know of someone who takes an interest in dialect & would be willing to offer their services to the Dialect Dictionary. Full information as to method, & books requiring reading, can be had from Professor Joseph Wright, Langdale House, Park Town, Oxford, who would be only too pleased to hear from anyone in the Isle of Man, on the subject.[24]

Wright clearly had identified Brown's dialect writing as an important source. The letter also outlined the methodology for the project, and provided the necessary contact details for Wright himself.

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[23] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, date unknown.
[24] Box 8, letter from Mary Carter→SM, 20/11/1897.

The following month, Carter wrote again, this time sending a phonetic alphabet from Dr Wright: 'who has asked me to forward it to you - Hoping it will be what you want.'[25] This suggests that Morrison had proposed collection from oral sources. A phonetic alphabet would have been an unnecessary request for someone working from Brown's manuscripts alone. A letter from A W Moore over a decade later confirmed Morrison's participation in the project, and that she was collecting material from oral sources:

> I understand that the sentences you give in Wright's Dict. are not from books, but from conversations you have heard. The list is no doubt very imperfect. I think that we shall be able to make a very interesting book.[26]

Moore also suggests that he believed the Anglo-Manx sources not to have been exhausted by Wright's work.

On hearing that Morrison had been accepted as a reader, Goodwin wrote to her asking: 'Perhaps you will kindly write to him naming me. I think of writing to him myself offering my services.'[27] Later, in 1908 (possibly 1905), Goodwin wrote to Morrison noting the omissions and deviations in Wright's publication, and concerning his contribution to the *Vocabulary*, saying:

> The whole work seems admirably done – a monument of painstaking labour…I must thank you too for giving me the opportunity of helping to preserve the memory of our local pronunciation after the elementary schools have modified it beyond all knowing.[28]

Following his introduction, Goodwin corresponded with Wright. Writing to A W Moore shortly before his death in 1909, Goodwin recalled that:

> Dr Wright, when collecting materials for his 'Dialect Grammar', said in a letter to me (Dec. 9 1903), "I have written dozens of letters to all sorts of people in Ireland but up to the present, I have only got one worker there for the 'Grammar'. I am almost in despair about the Anglo-Irish dialects."[29]

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[25] Box 8, letter from Mary Carter→SM, 30/12/1897.
[26] AWM in MMG, *Vocabulary*, p.iv, from letter AWM→SM, Box 4, 01/06/1909.
[27] Box 2, letter from EG→SM, 27/10/1903.
[28] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 23/10/1908 (possibly 1905).
[29] Box 8, copy of letter from EG→AWM, 12/09/1909.

After Moore's death on 12 November 1909, Morrison wrote to his widow to ask if they could borrow his copy of Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*.

> We are adding a good many words to the Vocabulary of Mr Moore's book, but we are unable to quote the counties to which the words belong as we have no books of reference. We wonder if you would be so very kind as to lend us Dr Wright's Dialect Dictionary.[30]

Two months later, Goodwin writes to Morrison to thank her for letting him see the last volume of Wright's Dialect Dictionary: 'Thanks too for the last volume of Wright's huge Dialect Dictionary – a splendid work. I am still pegging at the Vocabulary of our Anglo-Manx.'[31]

Joseph Wright

Wright's influence on Morrison and Goodwin can begin to be seen by these fragments of correspondence. It would have been unlikely that they would not have consulted his work, as it represented the most significant study of dialects in the British Isles at that time. Because Wright's work influenced the authors of the *Vocabulary* to such a great extent, the background to the development of his *EDD* will be discussed here.

In many respects, Wright, like Morrison, functioned as an integrated member of a number of social spheres. Wright was not a distanced observer of dialect, rather he was involved in both its presentation in the form of recitation, and in its collection. In the preface to his *A Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill*, he writes: 'As a guarantee for the general accuracy of the material contained in the book, I need only state that I spoke the dialect pure and simple until I was practically grown up.'[32] Wright came from a working-class background where dialect recitation was an accepted art form, moving

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[30] Box 8, letter from SM→Louisa Moore, 14/06/1910.

[31] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 18/10/1910.

[32] Joseph Wright, *A Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill, in the West Riding of Yorkshire*, (London: Trübner & Co. for the English Dialect Society, 1893), p.viii.

later to embrace the German tradition of the Junggrammatiker or neogrammarians as his academic career developed.

Wright developed an early interest in languages and dialect. A self-educated Yorkshireman, he only began to learn French and German at night school while he was still working at a mill. He later taught himself Latin, Greek and some Welsh. The background of the manufacturing trade meant that Wright actively participated in various aspects of working-class culture, and it was these which would prove of benefit to his academic work on dialects and to the *EDD* in particular. Wright attended Primitive Methodist chapel gatherings, and also took part in Penny Readings. According to his wife, Elizabeth Wright: 'He used to read humorous or pathetic pieces written in the dialect, taken from Ben Preston's Poems, John Hartley's 'Yorkshire Puddin', or his 'Yorkshire Ditties'.[33] Wright was, in effect, an insider to dialects in his area, capable of both participation and observation.

Wright's career involved teaching at various public and private establishments, having begun his own night school at the age of eighteen. Through contacts made at work, Wright was able to practise his French and German: with French weavers living in Windhill and Germans living in Bradford. (E Wright, p.57). Wright's developing interest in language saw him study at the University of London, where he matriculated in 1878 with a First in French, German, Latin, English, Natural Philosophy, four Books of Euclid, Arithmetic, and Chemistry. Following this success, Wright moved in 1882 to study at the German universities of Heidelberg and Leipzig for six years.

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[33] Elizabeth M Wright, *The Life of Joseph Wright*, 2 volumes, (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), p.49.

Wright's university education is an important way in which amateur researchers such as Morrison and Goodwin had indirect access to the German linguistic tradition. At Leipzig, Wright came into contact with leading scholars in the neogrammarian tradition, studying under Osthoff, Bartsch and Holthausen, and proceeding to examination for the degree of PhD in 1885.

It was primarily the work of Osthoff and Brugmann that had inspired a group of young philologists known as Junggrammatiker or neogrammarians, who were based around Leipzig from the 1870s onwards. Karl Brugmann (1849-1919) was an important figure in the establishment of the Indo-European family of languages, and professor of Sanskrit and comparative linguistics at Leipzig for much of his academic career.[34] Following in the tradition of Grimm's proposal of *Lautverschiebung* or 'sound shift', the neogrammarians went further by proposing that sound laws were absolutely regular in their operation. Their work greatly influenced the development of the comparative method.

In 1886, Wright moved to Leipzig, studying with Leskien, Zarncke, Scholvin, von Bahder, Kögel and Techmer. There, he also completed a translation of Brugmann's renowned grammar on Indo-European, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* in 1888.

Elizabeth Wright comments that, whilst at Leipzig, Wright took courses in practical phonetics, taking particular interest in studying Modern English dialects in order to understand: 'general principles of Language'. (J Wright in E Wright, p.76).

Such was the influence of the Germanic linguistic tradition on Wright, that Professor Hoops wrote that Wright had done: 'more than anybody else towards the naturalization of German scientific philology in England…' (Hoops in E Wright, p.87).

In 1893, Wright's *The Dialect of Windhill* was published for the *English Dialect Society* (*EDS*), although much of it had been completed by 1886. This year is significant in that it marked Professor Skeat's address in Manchester concerning the 'ultimate object' of the *EDS*, the society which Skeat had founded in 1873, and over which he presided. This object was the production of a Dialect Dictionary which would involve the collection of material from all the English dialects. Skeat wrote to Wright asking him to consider editing the work, saying:

> We hope to have some day a big Dialect Dictionary. Mr. Palmer is provisional editor *pro tem*, for collection of material. but we want a good man for final editor. He should be a phonetician, a philologist, & shd. have some dialect knowledge…will you undertake it? (Skeat in E Wright, p.353).

Wright took on the project, adopting the slip system whereby each word was listed on pieces of paper with pronunciation, meaning, county where used, together with an illustrative sentence. By the time of the Third Annual Report in 1890, Wright and his team had transcribed all the known glossaries of the different dialects onto slips:

> Our next object is to gather up those incidental notices and uses of provincial English which lie scattered here and there in the highways and by-ways of general literature, e.g. in plays, novels, guide-books, county histories, newspapers, etc. (quoted after E Wright, p.354).

Elizabeth Wright reports that her husband bought dictionaries costing c.£600, as well as dialect novels:

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[34] www.eb.com

> He had bought whole sets of the classic authors such as Hardy, George Eliot, the Brontës, Blackmore, Stevenson, Scott, Barrie, Crockett, Galt, &c., and scores of others, good, bad, and indifferent, anything which contained even a smattering of dialect here and there. (E Wright, p.378).

The Dictionary project was, however, to experience financial pressures of its own, with Cambridge University Press removing itself from responsibility for the printing of the volumes. Skeat reported that in the case that another publisher could not be found, subscriptions would have to be returned. Nevertheless, the work of the project team continued, with the *EDS* stopping its own activities in 1896 due to work on the Dialect Dictionary having taken over in importance.

Wright used the newspapers to publicise the appeal for new words and new workers. An article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in December 1894 read:

> There is a great deal of dialect which has never yet got itself printed, and it is this which Professor Wright is particularly anxious to get hold of inasmuch as it will undoubtedly be extinct in the course of a generation of two, when they are dead in whose memories alone it survives. (quoted in E Wright, pp.358-9).

Negotiations with Clarendon Press and Henry Frowde were unsuccessful, and Wright decided to publish the work by subscription, undertaking financial responsibility himself. (E Wright, p.362). Frowde had been concerned with the Oxford Press being identified: 'with an undertaking which may break down in the middle.' (quoted in E Wright, p.367).

Wright's work inspired interest in dialects throughout the British Isles. For example, the Yorkshire Dialect Society was founded in Bradford on 27 March 1897 as a direct response to Wright's appeal for material from Yorkshire.[35]

Attitudes towards dialect and its collection

Not everyone viewed dialectology favourably, however. Wright frequently faced opposition to his work. Andrew Lang, for example, wrote: 'I fear I have no desire to be one of the subscribers...Moreover English dialects are of a wonderful hideousness, and one sees only too much of them in novels.' (letter to JW 5/3/1895 in E Wright, p.378).

The stigmatisation of dialect has been well documented. Hughes and Trudgill (1979) comment that three types of speech are often said to be incorrect: 'elements which are new to the language...features of informal speech...*features of regional speech.*'[36] Milroy & Milroy (1991) outline the effects of codification and prescription: 'there is a general belief that there is only one form of correct, i.e. legitimate, English, and a feeling that colloquial and non-standard forms are perverse and deliberate deviations'[37]

Accent is often singled out for stigmatisation. Studying attitudes towards speech varieties in New Zealand, Bayard (1991) found that a female speaker with a broad New Zealand accent: 'was judged to be lower class...' Comments as to her character and social status included suggestions that she was a: 'glue sniffer, unemployed, on the dole.'[38] Schiffman, too, notes the power imbalance between Standard English and other dialects: 'standards have often been used capriciously and maliciously, to deny non-standard speakers access to power.'[39]

The 1890s saw the proliferation of dialect texts based around the English Dialect Society. Wright's *A Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill* appeared in 1893, and Dartnell and

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[35] see Yorkshire Dialect Society homepage at www.clanvis.com/loc/dialect/yds02.htm
[36] Arthur Hughes & Peter Trudgill, *English Accents and Dialects*, (London: Arnold, 1979), p.11, italics added.
[37] James & Lesley Milroy, *Authority in language: Investigating language prescription and standardisation*, (1985; repr. London & New York: Routledge, 1991), p.37.
[38] Bayard quoted in Elizabeth Gordon, 'Sex speech, and stereotypes: Why women use prestige speech forms more than men', *Language in Society* 26/1, (March 1997), 47-63, here p.49.

Goddard's *A Glossary of Wiltshire* appeared in the same year. Dartnell and Goddard commented on attitudes towards dialect: 'The use of dialect would appear gradually to be dying out now in the county, thanks, perhaps to the spread of education, which too often renders the rustic half-ashamed of his native tongue.'[40]

The genesis of *A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect*

A W Moore's proposal to produce a 'Dialect Book' for English spoken in the Isle of Man saw him facing a very different situation to Dartnell and Goddard, for example. Whereas they were working with seven main works on Wiltshire dialect dating from 1809 onwards (Dartnell & Goddard, pp.vi-vii), Moore only had the few references to Manx English outlined here in Chapter One.

Work on his 'Dialect Book' began in 1909, but its result in the form of the *Vocabulary* was not published until 1924 after the death of two of its authors, Moore and Morrison. With the death of A W Moore at the end of 1909 coming so soon after commencement of the project, the *Vocabulary* was prepared for the press largely by Morrison with the help of Goodwin, who acted as the work's phonetician.

Moore laid out the framework which Morrison and Goodwin were to follow. He foresaw his role as overseer and reviser as including tracing the linguistic developments of the variety. A complete list of sources would be, however, of little importance. After all, it was not a scientific exercise, but a populist production which offered scientific interest:[41]

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[39] Harold Schiffman, 'Standardization or restandardization: The case for "Standard" Spoken Tamil' in *Language in Society* 27, (1998), 359-385, here p.368.
[40] George Dartnell & Edward H Goddard, *A Glossary of words used in the county of Wiltshire*, (London: Henry Frowde, OUP for the English Dialect Society, 1893), p.vi.
[41] AWM in MMG intro p.vi 'I want to treat the whole subject in a popular manner'.

> Dr Wright has of course done the thing scientifically, but I do not see any need to follow on the same lines...I shall not make it complete...I want to treat the whole subject in a popular manner; of course the most valuable part of the book to philologists will be the appendix, which will afford ample material for a really scientific discussion of the dialect at any time. (Moore in MMG, p.iv & vi).

So, although Moore considered the work to be a popular publication, he anticipated that the collection of material would be done in such a way as to make the *Vocabulary* a comprehensive source for linguists at a later date.

The introduction to the work was written by Morrison, drawing from private correspondence between the three individuals. This correspondence makes reference to social and linguistic standards and ideals, which are echoed throughout the text itself. Moore's intentions are explained repeatedly:

> In our copy these words are illustrated by quotations from Tom Brown and other dialect writers or from pure conversation never printed, and they are also fully explained when necessary. They are divided under four heads as you will see: of these the 2nd will be the most difficult to establish with any certainty. No. 4 will merely consist of *a list of the more striking words in general dialectical use.* I shall not attempt to make it complete. (Moore in MMG, p.vi).

Immediately, we encounter references to these standards. *Dialect writing* is to form the basis for illustration, and the works of Brown are to provide the main examples. Moore also hints that orally collected material would also contribute to the quotations used as examples. There is also an attempt to be selective, to take the richest pickings from the dialect: 'a list of the more striking words in general dialectical use.' What are the implications of these approaches? Can we view the language presented in the *Vocabulary* as anything more than exciting but stereotypical elements, suitable for use as a source for 'more genuine' dialect writing, perhaps? Clearly, the matter is not so simple.

It is uncertain as to who suggested the grouping of subjects. Moore does, however, suggest that the following should be presented: 'How would it do to display the Manxman as Fisherman, Farmer, at the market, at a wedding, funeral, &c., using all the

Manx and Anglo-Manx words possible?' (Moore in MMG, p.iv). Roeder wrote to Morrison in August 1909 approving of this principle of: 'presenting the Manx at home, at the market, at sea, weddings.'[42]

Part 4: the Vocabulary

In the 'Introduction' to the *Vocabulary*, Morrison quotes A W Moore as saying:

> No. 4 will merely consist of a list of the more striking words in general dialectical use. My idea is that the foregoing should be the appendix and that in the text there should be chapters on such topics as the reasons for the forms of the various words and phrases such as the influences on idioms and words of the Manx language in various ways, the influence due to Manx character, to ignorance of English, &c., &c. (Moore in MMG, p.vi).

Moore wrote to Morrison outlining the sections into which the vocabulary part of the work should be divided:

> I think of dividing it into three parts: (1) Gaelic words, (2) English words used in a peculiar sense in the Isle of Man only, (3) English words in Man and elsewhere in the United Kingdom… (Moore in MMG, p.iii).

Goodwin commented in October 1909 that although Morrison had got to the end of the alphabet: 'We have however by no means yet exhausted the supply of Insular colloquialisms.'[43]

Consulting Anglo-Irish sources

It appears that Moore was trying to get assistance with regard to Anglo-Irish. He had been looking for a dictionary or vocabulary of Anglo-Irish, and wrote to Goodwin to ask him if he knew of one. Moore also asked Goodwin if he knew in which period Anglo-Irish had affected the dialect in the Island.[44] With regard to the search for assistance, Goodwin wrote to him saying:

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[42] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 25/08/1909.
[43] Box 8, copy of letter from EG→AWM, 08/10/1909.
[44] Box 8, copy of letter from AWM→EG, 10/09/1909.

> I hope you may succeed in securing the co-operation of a student in Anglo-Irish. Some of our local phrases have a family likeness to those used in Ireland though few are exactly similar in the wording.[45]

In October, Moore wrote to Goodwin, commenting that he had read an article on Anglo-Irish in the *Fortnightly Review*, and was contemplating writing to the author.[46] This was Hayden and Hartog's 'The Irish Dialect of English.'

Assistance was indeed realised in the form of Professor Hartog and Mary Hayden, as acknowledged by Morrison in the introduction to the *Vocabulary*, and commented upon by Goodwin in this letter to A W Moore: 'I am glad to hear Mr Hartog wishes to see some of the word-lists.'[47] A W Moore notes that Hayden had been looking over the lists: 'I have received A-D back from Miss Hayden with the result, as I suspected, of the transference of many words & phrases from No. 2 to No. 1.'[48]

Moore sent Goodwin a copy of Hayden and Hartog's article, who passed it on in turn to Morrison. Goodwin notes in a letter to Moore, that: 'Many of the general remarks are almost as applicable to Anglo-Manx as to Irish English. Your pencil markings make this very evident.'[49]

The effect of A W Moore's death

Moore's death in 1909 left Morrison and Goodwin with a number of problems. Despite having developed the concept himself, Moore's papers did not include any other sections of his proposed work. Apart from some word lists, Moore had not had the opportunity to complete his intended chapters:

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[45] Box 8, copy of letter from EG→AWM, 08/10/1909.
[46] Box 8, copy of letter from AWM→EG, 05/10/1909.
[47] Box 8, copy of letter from EG→AWM, 12/10/1909.
[48] Box 8, copy of letter from AWM→EG, 23/10/1909.
[49] Box 8, copy of letter from EG→AWM, 22/10/1909.

> such topics as the reasons for the forms of the various words and phrases such as the influences on idioms and words of the Manx language in various ways, the influence due to Manx character, ignorance of English, &c., &c. (Moore in MMG, p.vi).

Having agreed to participate in the project, Morrison and Goodwin were led to believe that Moore had already completed a great deal of the work. He had described his grand scheme, and suggested that he had completed some of it. It was, after all, meant to be a 'Dialect Book' rather than a 'Vocabulary', with sections other than the word lists they had been preparing.

Suspicions were raised with regard to the amount of work done by A W Moore in a letter written by Goodwin, presumably in 1909:

> I wonder how much of his projected Anglo-Manx Vocabulary did he complete. I have now got all the words of ours written out in alphabetical order from A. to Z. and am finishing (in pencil mostly) a copy of it for my own keeping. There has been such an immense profusion of local words & phrases that I suspect there are many still ungathered by us - large as is our collection.[50]

A letter from Goodwin to Morrison reveals how little Moore had completed by the time of his death:

> I am greatly disappointed that there are none by the late Speaker Moore himself. Do you think he ever wrote any? As to his intended plan of tracing and indicating the local source and period of introduction of each of our colloquial dialect words and phrases, I am afraid that it could not be carried out with any degree of exactness. I think he had begun to realize the difficulty or rather the unfeasibility of the task, as you may gather from what he says in some of his own letters which I now send you. *A general index or vocabulary done in alphabetical order would be quite practicable.* Such words as have come into the dialect from the Manx language could be easily distinguished. If not making the book too bulky the quotations and colloquial examples could be retained in the index, or if necessary they might be omitted without altogether destroying the value of the collection. The definitions given by Mr Moore are concise and exact and could be used throughout.[51]

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[50] Box 1, fragment from EG→SM, date unknown.
[51] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 27/11/1909.

Goodwin's words reflect the trend in many dialect works to include a glossary, for example that of Joseph Wright in the preface to his *A Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill*:

> It was originally my intention not to give any specimens of the dialect in this volume, but to reserve them for a second which was to contain a complete glossary of such dialect words as are not in use in the modern literary language, together with extensive specimens of the dialect. (Wright 1893, p.viii).

Moore's words: 'A general index or vocabulary done in alphabetical order would be quite practicable'[52] were taken by Morrison and Goodwin as the only feasible way of approaching Moore's project. Other aspects of his intended plan would be included in the explanatory passages accompanying each word or phrase.

As it was, finances for the project were in doubt, especially after Moore's death. This will be discussed later in this chapter. The loss of Moore was felt more deeply than that merely of a co-worker. Moore represented Manx cultural research to a great number of revivalists. Morrison wrote to Moore's widow:

> Mr G. & I write in expressing our deep sympathy with you & your family in your great grief, & our keen sense of the loss which we & all Manx people have sustained by his death.[53]

Those around Morrison such as W H Gill attempted to encourage her to complete the *Vocabulary*:

> I hope the Anglo-Manx Vocab.^{y} will acquire a new interest & impetus from the very loss you have sustained. In this work you must be Socialists and your watchword "Every man to the pumps"*
> [*Sh^{d} think what is needed is an organised band of collectors as in <u>the tunes</u> [,] only in this case they need not be <u>experts</u>, and <u>any one</u>, even schoolchildren can help. Isn't that so? Indeed, the school children w^{d} be far more observant & critical than their elders who have become blind to their own peculiarities of speech.][54]

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[52] Box 4, letter from AWM→SM, 14/07/1909.
[53] Box 8, letter from SM→Louisa Moore, 20/11/1909.
[54] Box 6, letter from WHG→SM, 17/11/1909.

Morrison's contribution

Morrison had been asked to collaborate on the project by Moore in January 1909. It appears that Moore spent the first few months of the year in Madeira, as Morrison writes: 'On his return in May I sent him copies of the lists of words which had been sent in by me to Dr. Wright for his Dialect Dictionary 1899-1900, together with lists of words excerpted from books or heard colloquially.' (Morrison in MMG, p.iii).

Moore had put the idea to Morrison after a meeting of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh*. She began work straight away, amazing Moore by both her knowledge and the extent of research she had completed by June:

> Your lists have made me quite ashamed of my imperfect ones, which, however, were only preliminary. But apart from this you have given words I did not know of. I would certainly put in all the local words.[55]

After briefly considering asking other people to help with the *Vocabulary*, such as Ernest Savage, Canons Kewley & Quine and Miss Kermode (Cushag), Moore soon dismissed the possibility that they could provide significant examples not obtainable by Morrison: 'You are so searching & accurate that I am rather inclined to doubt it.'[56]

Moore looked to Morrison as an authority on the dialect. His own doubts about whether words or phrases should be included in a definition of Anglo-Manx surfaced from time to time, and he turned to Morrison to verify their current usage. For example, he wrote in July 1909 saying: 'If you would compile a list of the dialect words used by Rydings & T. E. B. which are not Anglo-Manx it would be valuable.'[57] In the same letter, Moore expressed his delight at how much she had collected: 'I am returning B & C & am more than ever impressed with the way in which your net has swept in

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[55] Box 4, letter from AWM→SM, 21/06/1909.
[56] Box 4, letter from AWM→SM, 09/08/1909.
[57] Box 4, letter from AWM→SM, 14/07/1909.

everything.'[58] As Goodwin wrote to Morrison: 'Speaker Moore says your knowledge of the dialect is marvellous.'[59] Goodwin, too, was convincing in his praise for Morrison's knowledge in a letter to A W Moore: 'Miss S. Morrison is indefatigable in searching out dialect words from her acquaintances.'[60]

Goodwin's invited contribution

By August 1909, Morrison had suggested to A W Moore that he write to Goodwin in order to ask him about adding phonetics to the word lists. A W Moore writes:

> I have been corresponding with Mr Goodwin & think he will be a valuable assistant. He is putting the phonetic sounds to the words. I have told him that the book will be in the joint names of you & I, but I have since been considering whether it would be desirable to associate him with us. What is your opinion? You will know what he can do better than I.[61]

Goodwin wrote to Morrison to confirm that A W Moore has asked him to provide phonetic spelling used by Wright in his *English Dialect Dictionary.*

> He wishes me to add phonetic spelling (Wright's Dialect System) to the Anglo-Manx Vocabulary. He has sent me his lists of words under letters "A" and "B"...I was pleased to think that any one in the Isle of Man cared for a phonetic transcription. Of course I have only been able to give the pronunciation as I have heard it from dialect speakers belonging to Peel and the adjoining parishes'[62]

Similarly:

> Our Peel Anglo-Manx dialect is even richer in quaint turns of phrase than in stock of words. When the MS. is given into your hands I wish you to go over every line of it before parting with it, and to make every needful correction.[63]

These two quotes reveal that Goodwin's knowledge of the code related in the main to the Peel area. On the dialect there, Goodwin commented that: 'Our Peel Anglo-Manx

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[58] Box 4, letter from AWM→SM, 14/07/1909.
[59] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 14/09/1909.
[60] Box 8, copy of letter from EG→AWM, 12/09/1909.
[61] Box 4, letter from AWM→SM, 21/09/1909.
[62] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 14/09/1909.
[63] Box 1, fragment from EG→SM, date unknown.

dialect is even richer in quaint turns of phrase than in stock of words.'[64] This implies a greater number of non-standard syntactical forms than lexical items. Writing to A W Moore, he noted that it was for the region of Peel and its neighbouring districts alone that he possessed native speaker competency:

> Of course there are variations of pronunciation in the different spots of our little Island. *I am only thoroughly familiar with the dialect as spoken at Peel & adjoining parishes.* You will know that I am completely house-fast and have been so for many years. I shall give the pronunciation exactly as I have heard said here, but you will understand that a few of the words may be pronounced rather differently in some other corners of the island.[65]

This confirms that the majority of phonetic transcriptions provided by Goodwin have regional relevance. The *Vocabulary* may therefore give us a more accurate picture of a sub-variety of MxE, i.e. that of Peel and its immediate environs.

Goodwin became so involved in the project, even before Moore's death, that Moore wrote to Morrison to discuss the inclusion of him as an author of the work: 'I think we should give him the opportunity of refusing to co-operate on equal terms with us. If you agree perhaps you will kindly talk it over with him.'[66]

A fragment in Goodwin's handwriting, presumably to Morrison, reveals that she suggested he put phonetic spelling to *each* word:

> As to your own suggestion about adding a phonetic spelling to each word, it would be a very good thing, but who is to do it where the same word varies so from mouth to mouth? Would it at least be feasable [sic] to add diacritic marks where certain letters have two distinct powers?[67]

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[64] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, date unknown.
[65] Box 8, copy of letter from EG→AWM, 09/09/1909.
[66] Box 4, letter from AWM→SM, October 1909.

Morrison's preface to the *Vocabulary* concludes by summing up Goodwin's involvement: 'Mr. Goodwin has gone through the lists of words, added some, arranged them alphabetically, added phonetics, and prepared them for the press.' (Morrison in MMG, p.viii).

Goodwin's boredom with the project

Goodwin fluctuated between feelings of hostility and feelings of eagerness towards the project. Some of the first hints of his weariness with the project are revealed in a letter in 1909: 'You will, I am afraid, think me strangely lazy when I tell you that I have done very little yet at A W Moore's MS of the Anglo-Manx Vocabulary.'[68] Nevertheless, Goodwin continued work on the manuscript, working on the organisational aspects of the *Vocabulary*:

> I have got all the words & passages from them taken down in pencil & hope to send you the whole MS of interminable Vocabulary. I'm wantin to gerrit all [?on the] road be the Crissamus.[69]

During the period 1909-1912, Goodwin's letters to Morrison concerning other matters would often include a comment such as: 'and to do a little every day to this weary Anglo-Manx word-list that has been trailing for such a queer length of time under my hands.'[70]

Problems with publishing

If the absence of Moore had not already been a set-back to the production of the *Vocabulary*, the absence of funds to publish the work posed yet more problems. Shortly after his death in November 1909, Moore's widow wrote to Morrison indicating that,

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[67] Box 1, fragment of letter from EG→probably SM, date unknown.
[68] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 31/12/1909.
[69] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 25/11/1912.
[70] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 06/06/1911.

according to his wishes, she would send all the manuscripts concerning the *Vocabulary* to Morrison together with the sum of £25 towards publication costs.[71] However, £25 was by no means enough money to publish the work.

In the same way that Wright had to appeal for subscribers in order to finance publication of his work, Morrison put an advert in *Mannin* appealing for more sponsors, after an initial call had generated only limited interest.[72] Goodwin, too, was worried about who would buy the book.[73] The problems in raising subscriptions resulted in Morrison writing to Milford of the Oxford University Press in July 1913 expressing her concerns about potential market: 'I fear that not more than 50 copies would be sold in the Island itself.'[74] This suggests that Morrison hoped the wider Celtic and philological fields to take an interest in the publication. This would mean that efforts to bring it into line with Wright's work, for example, would be worthwhile. Indeed, it was A W Moore's original intention to found some of the sections on Wright's work: 'A most interesting section should be the one (founded on Dr. Wright's researches) showing where the Anglo-Manx words and phrases (under no. 1) come from.'[75]

In 1913, Goodwin wrote:

> I greatly admire - though I could never imitate - your determination to get the book printed and published, and your willingness to link so much money in the undertaking. I am not likely to live to see the volume, but you and others will. What above all pleases me is the thought that the memory of the dear old words will be safely preserved for ever.[76]

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[71] Box 4, letter from Louisa Moore→SM, 17/11/1909.
[72] Box 2, note in black letter book.
[73] Box 2, letter from EG→SM, 16/06/1913.
[74] Box 2, copy of letter from SM→Milford, OUP, probably July 1913.
[75] AWM in MMG, *Vocabulary*, p.vi, from letter AWM→EG, 08/09/1909.
[76] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 16/08/1913.

By 1914, advertisement for subscriptions had already cost almost half of that sum, £12. Mrs Clucas herself proved unable or unwilling to contribute anything more to Morrison's exasperation:

> If you are unable to bear the whole of the expenses, I would contribute a certain quota rather than that the work should be entirely lost, but it is only right for me to openly [sic.] that I cannot really afford to do so & that it would necessitate my selling out part of my small capital.[77]

Mrs Clucas did indicate, however, that she may be able to contribute at a later date. This did not help Morrison's fears, especially with costs of canvassing more subscribers were high. Although Morrison and Goodwin would see the papers through to the press, Morrison's negotiations with Milford anticipated that the actual publishing of the *Vocabulary* would cost an extra £60 to Moore's legacy. In September 1914, she wrote to Milford suggesting a scheme whereby she would pay this personally in instalments of £20 over three years:

> I wonder whether, if I were to take the responsibility upon my-self, you would accept payment by instalments from me?...I am very anxious to bring out the Vocabulary both because of my desire to fulfil the wishes of our late Speaker with regard to it & because of my great interest in our Manx Language & Literature.[78]

In 1915, Morrison again approached Mrs Clucas with the hope that she would bear some of the expense so that Milford could publish the work, as Milford considered that time: 'the least unfavourable…the longer the delay in publication, the more difficult & expensive it will become.'[79] Morrison ends by saying that she would take on responsibility for its publication: 'I would much rather do so than that the work should be lost, although it will not, of course, be quite an easy matter for me.'[80]

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[77] Box 2, copy of letter from SM→Mrs Clucas, 07/06/1914.
[78] Box 2, copy of letter from SM→Milford, OUP, September 1914.
[79] Box 2, letter from SM→Mrs Clucas, June 1915.
[80] Box 2, copy of letter from SM→Mrs Clucas, June 1915.

Problems between Morrison and Goodwin on publication

From a letter written by Morrison whilst preparing the work for publication, it is revealed that Goodwin was not happy with the way in which the introduction had been worded. Morrison wrote in reply:

> I am loathe to think that you could credit me with the un-generosity of wishing to belittle your work, but I fear that that is the only meaning that can attach to your remarks. I need not say that such is far indeed from being the case...as the whole idea, origin & plan of the book were his [Moore's], & his only, I considered that the only general Introduction possible was one in which his own words should be used...I intended in the paragraphs by which I linked these letters together, to show fully the value of your work & hoped I had done so, but if you wish the exact number of words which you added to be stated I will gladly do so. (I have, also, a record of the source of all the words & can count those which were contributed by you...)[81]

Morrison reiterates these difficulties in a letter to J J Kneen. Her loyalty to Moore remains paramount: 'My first duty in the matter is most certainly to give Mr Moore due credit, & in the second place it is only right to state what I have done myself…I have all the trouble & no other return but this.'[82]

In addition, an undated letter from Morrison to her sister, Lou, sees Goodwin having volunteered explanatory sentences which were not to the liking of Morrison:

> Then there is the huge mass of Manx dialect papers which I have but dipped into. Goodwin's one idea, so far as I have read - seems to be to have his name to a Big Book - not so much as one on Manx Dialect- he has added 100's of words in general dialect use all over the kingdom since I last saw the MSS. Words such as "April Fool", "Cock Robin", & so forth, & added two or three illustrative sentences to each word - Mr Moore had one sentence only – Goodwin's method would treble the cost of printing, & moreover take away the value of the book. He has "cheapened" the whole work indeservably [sic.]. How a "gentleman" can stamp whatever he takes in hand. Goodwin's sentences - … "lice running on his head as big as hay seed") "The only tune that he could sing was kack in the shovel & throw it away" – "she kept the bithag crock under the bed & the flays were falling in & when the customers that wor getting the butter wor complainin she wor sayin "Aw, its on'y carvis seed to make the butther tasty." nice, isn't it – there's a great deal worse in it too I have merely given a fair sample of sentences which he has added. And I shall certainly draw

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[81] Box 2, copy of letter from SM→EG, date unknown.

[82] Box 2, copy of letter from SM→JJK, date unknown.

> up a list of words & phrases which I think ought to be omitted - & I shall write my own introduction also! Won't the Goodwins rage! Christian especially, the sleech! I suppose they thought that I wouldn't have enough courage to alter what he has written - & that "modesty" would prohibit me bringing in my own name. It does – I'll let Mr Moore do it by printing extracts from his letters. I hope I'll live till I get through with all I have planned, but I feel dragged out with the influenza fiend.[83]

The entries for 'bithag' and 'kack' in the *Vocabulary* itself are as follows:

> **BIDDAG, BITHAG** [biḋag] (Mx.), thick milk for churning.
>
> Aw, as innocent as a biddag bowl (B.). An' Billy Boyd the Bithag, an' Johny Bob the Kithag. (MMG, p.13).

> **KECK** [kek] (Mx.), excrement, dung of any animal.
>
> The way he got the name 'Jonny-be-wise' was, 'cause when he was at Tynwald Feer sellin gingerbread, a cow upset the table and everything on it in the keck, and he shouts out to his lil boy – 'Johnny ! be wise, be wise, and pick up the gingerbread nuts, they'll be none the wuss, it's only keck-y-vooa' (cow-dung).
>
> Aw, that man is slingin behin' and lettin every boat in the harbour gerrout before him ; he's a keck-'sy-phurt (dung in the port), i.e. a stick-in-the-mud.
>
> And the hens and ducks all over the house, keckin everywhere. (MMG, p.98).

It seems that Morrison has the final say in what was included in the Vocabulary. Her use of Brown's *innocent* quote for bithag/biddag given above is the antithesis of Goodwin's suggestion, evidence of her tendency to "clean up" material collected.

Organisation of the *Vocabulary*

The layout of the *Vocabulary* takes the form of an Introduction by Morrison being based on correspondence between the three authors, an Introduction to the phonetics by Goodwin, followed by a straightforward alphabetical listing of items. Items are listed sometimes with three or more variants, accompanied by typically one or two phonetic equivalents from Goodwin. If the item originates from MxG, the MxG spelling and translation is given in brackets thereafter.

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[83] MNH MS 9495 additional deposit, folder 2, letter from SM→LM, 'Friday'.

A typical entry reads:

> CALLAG, KILLICK [kalag, kilɘk] (Mx. *keilleig*), the white pollock, *Merlangus pollachius.* Pronounced always 'callag' in the south, and 'killick' in the north of the island. (B.).
> A string of callag or blockin (B.). You'd aisy knaw that callag-eyed man anywhere, i.e. that man with the large round eyes would be recognizable anywhere. (MMG, p.28).

The *Vocabulary* is concerned with a restricted number of domains, being divided into three overlapping worlds:

1. **the natural world** and human interaction with it: wild plants, creatures, farming, fishing, etc.
2. **the naive world** - a world of innocence, quaintness, of children and rustics
3. **the other world** - fairies and fantastical creatures

Charms and superstitions overlap all three worlds, binding the *Vocabulary* together with mythical strength.

It was probably due to family involvement in the fishing industry that meant that Morrison was very knowledgeable in this field. She had helped Roeder to write a piece about Manx herring fishing, and A W Moore was amazed by her knowledge of dialect words in this area, saying: 'I am astonished by the number of fishermen's terms.'[84]

Sources for the *Vocabulary*

> As regards quotations I have come to the conclusion that it will add so greatly to the cost of the book that it is not worth giving the sources. Not one person in a hundred that reads the book will even trouble to verify them. After all the sources are very limited & can be generally stated.[85]

Moore's advice was taken by Morrison and Goodwin. The published version of the *Vocabulary* provides details of only two sources, both literary. The dialect writers Brown and 'Cushag' are represented throughout the work by the initials 'B' and 'C' respectively.

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[84] AWM in MMG, p.iv, from letter from AWM→SM, 22/07/1909.
[85] Box 8, letter from AWM→EG, 23/09/1909.

Literary sources

- **T E Brown**
- **Cushag**

T E Brown

Brown's influence on the authors of the *Vocabulary* was great. The reasons for his iconic status have been introduced in previous chapters, and aspects of this status will be examined here.

The authenticity of Brown's Anglo-Manx has been discussed without hope of arriving at any concrete conclusions. Following a seminar in November 1997 given by myself on preliminary work on Morrison, Derek Winterbottom communicated 'Some thoughts on T E Brown's use of "Anglo-Manx" dialect'. Winterbottom suggested that Brown himself could possibly have spoken with a strong Manx accent whilst at Oxford, as: 'he strongly disliked his position as servitor at Christ Church – partly because he was ostracised as a "poor scholar" by snobbish undergraduates. Did he have a "Manx" accent that marked him out from the rest?'[86] Winterbottom asks: 'Did Brown up to a point invent his own Manx dialect, based on his gifts of memory, mimicry and poetic story-telling?'[87] It seems that this matter is not so easily resolved. Kewley Draskau (2000) provides the nearest explanation in her discussion of the dialect writing of Brown, Hall Caine, Christopher Shimmin, et al. by commenting on how authors other than Brown gave more erratic rather than accurate representations of the dialect.

One of the factors often proposed in Brown's defence is his renown as a mimic. Winterbottom's book on Brown (1997) describes how various characters from Brown's

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[86] unpublished personal communication with Derek Winterbottom, November 1997.
[87] unpublished personal communication with Derek Winterbottom, November 1997.

childhood at the vicarage in Braddan such as Charles Gell, 'Chalse a Killey' were a great influence on the poet:

> 'Chalse a Killey', a simpleton whose "wildered brain" had mostly taken leave of its senses. In a many-coloured coat and a battered top hat he would launch into wild, impromptu speeches and mock sermons: yet he was liked, and, in a way, revered.[88]

Fellow author and friend, Hall Caine, also wrote of this mimicry:

> Brown was a mimic of the first order. If you shut your eyes you heard his victim's voice; if you opened them you saw his face. He loved best to mimic his friends, even his dearest friends, and if it ever occurred to you to whisper to yourself, 'It will be your turn next', you generally answered (if you were a Manxman), 'Lerr'm! He'll do no harm anyway'. When one day a member of his family took him to task for mimicking a good old Manx Archdeacon (Moore) to his very face he replied, 'Goodness me, woman, why shouldn't I mimic him? I love the man.[89]

Similarly, H S Gill wrote: 'He had a strong sense of humour and a keen eye for any peculiarity of voice, accent or manner. Sometimes his power of mimicry gave offence to those who did not know how incapable he was of willingly hurting people's feelings.' (quoted in Winterbottom, p.29).

The authors of the *Vocabulary* were in no doubt as to the value of Brown's writings as a source for the dialect. Brown was seen as someone who faithfully presented the Manx way of life, without removing any of its dignity. Goodwin writes to A W Moore that he had been going through Brown's works in order to find more quotations: 'In the quotations from B, I have in most cases given the name of the piece, but I have not given the page, as I possess only the separate volumes - not the complete one volume edition.'[90] Similarly, Goodwin writes: 'I came upon the word gasey in "the doctor"

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[88] Derek Winterbottom, *T E Brown. His life and legacy*, (Douglas, Isle of Man: The Manx Experience, 1997), p.21.
[89] Hall Caine in Arthur Quiller-Couch, *T E Brown. A Memorial Volume. 1830-1930*, (London: CUP, 1930), pp.123-4.
[90] Box 8, copy of letter from EG→AWM, 21/09/1909.

where it is applied to foul vapour like that of coal-gas."[91] This example was not, however, included in the published version of the *Vocabulary.*

But Brown's writings moved beyond the realms of dialectological interest. In a letter to Roeder found in the final number of *Mannin,* Brown's fulfils his role as Manx national commentator, a role expected of him by the Sophia Morrison Circle. The identity of the Manx nation is discussed at length, with Brown giving reasons for the lack of a strong national tradition in the Isle of Man:

> We have evidence that men like Moore and Deemster Heywood were interested in Manx literature. And we find this phenomenon just after the removal of Wilsonic severity, corresponding exactly with the more human episcopate of Hildesley. This is remarkably significant. These worthy men thought it worth their while to take down a fragment of an old Manx Epic from the lips of an aged country-woman. This is the lucid interval. Then comes Methodism and sweeps everything into the drag net of theological jargon. What chance had the wayside flower? A thing unheard of in the history of any other country - we have no love song, no war song, except in obscure, precarious fragments. Nothing that expresses the heart of the people. Poor souls! They loved, even if they did not fight. But love, and hate alike went down beneath the ecclesiastical harrows. When we think of the rich profusion of our Border Ballads, what are we to say of this Manx poverty? It must have been a poor history, no great cause to fight for, no thrill, no glow. After all what sparks of poetry can be kicked out of a foot-ball? We were a foot-ball. And we were not big enough to have great families like those of the Border, the Armstrongs, the Scotts, the Robsons, with their bards and minstrels...Heine, you recollect, speaks of that period as the era of "Kites and Crows". Perhaps we croaked! We certainly did - not sing, or, if we did it was all drained off into the mediaeval midden, and is gone for ever. Spilt milk & spilt much? In any case irrecoverable & no use crying over. Wealth, & the generous spirit that, sometimes, & in some races accompanies it, seems always to have been wanting here...no cast of Bards, & without them...the deeds of heroes & the heartbeats of the humble are alike forgotten. We speak of ourselves as an independent community, an island kingdom, but for at least 500 years we have been merely a Manor, and, at best, a poverty-stricken Manor destitute of the rude splendours that lighten up the contemporary life of our neighbours.[92]

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[91] Box 2, letter from EG→SM, 03/04/1899.

[92] Box 8, copy of letter in SM's hand, from TEB→CR, 04/11/1895. This version is taken, and not the version in *Mannin* no.9, 520-523.

Brown's comments make it clear that he considered the development of a national identity as necessarily beginning with a clean slate. Chapter Three introduced some of his comments about language, namely:

> we have arrived at the last squeak of the Manx language proper. So I think what we have now to do is to make a *new start*, making Anglo-Manx dialect the basis. In its turn this will probably become obsolete, but meanwhile the catastrophe will be deferred by your stories, and, perhaps I may add, by mine. (Irwin, p.83).

In this letter to Rydings, Brown considered Manx history to be unworthy of note, and MxG to have essentially vanished. It is hardly surprising, then, that he considered his own work as a starting point for the modern Manx nation. Winterbottom writes of Brown's reputation as an authority on all things Manx:

> His reputation as an authority on Manx social customs and culture was further increased during his five years of residence on the Island by the lectures he gave and articles he wrote on Manx cultural themes. (Winterbottom, pp.147-8).

Brown was prominent enough for his views on Manx character to carry some weight, even when his humour shone through: 'behold your Manxman in one of his best capacities. He is a magnificent rhetorician. Everyone must have noticed what talkers we are; conversationalists, tellers of stories.' (Brown in Winterbottom, p.148). In this way, Brown set himself up as the archetypal Manxman. By stressing qualities he possessed as noble Manx traits, he effectively raised the importance of language use to the Manx nation.

Brown was not alone in his conclusions. His writings were said to have captured the national spirit. Lamothe's *Manx Yarns* (1905) contains a portrait of Brown's childhood acquaintance, Chalse. Writing less than a decade after Brown's death, Lamothe was concerned about the loss of aspects of Manx culture.

> I feel, also, to touch on deeper ground, that, as the many peculiarities and characteristics of former life in Man are quickly becoming obselete [sic], the examples I am about to give of our national sayings, anecdotes, modes and

> habits of life, etc. are heir-looms that ought not to be entirely lost to posterity. We are fast becoming Anglicised, owing to little care bestowed on retaining our language and traditions by our pedagogues. Let us, therefore, by all means in our power, endeavour to record and preserve them on the printed page, or they may be lost to us for ever; and let the parents repeat the old tales and folk-lore to their children, so that they may live from generation to generation. (Lamothe, p.10).

Brown was so important because he presented positive images of the Manx, and of the Isle of Man itself. As Percy Kelly commented at the Brown's centenary celebrations in 1930:

> the Manx people had been without a voice; they had never had a poet or a historian to make them realise they were people of any importance...By what Brown wrote Manxmen had come to have a new idea of themselves; they were no longer ashamed to say, "I am a Manxman or a Manxwoman". (quoted after Winterbottom, p.179).

The fondness of the Manx people for them is exemplified by the way in which they continue to be popular choices for recitation today. On his death in 1897, the dialect writer, Christopher Shimmin wrote: 'of all our Manx poets, Tom Brown stands out as the chief, the best...The greatest part of his poetry is written in everyday speech and the idiom of farmers, miners, fishermen, boys and girls...' (Shimmin in Winterbottom, p.176). In a way, the power of Brown's writing lies in the power and passion of exile writing. His poem, 'Clifton' is a strong illustration of the contrast between worlds: the sterility of his life in England as contrasted with the elemental power of his homeland:

> I'm here at Clifton, grinding at the mill
> My feet for six long barren years have trod;
> But there are rocks and waves at Scarlett still,
> And gorse runs riot in Glen Chass—thank God![93]

At the turn of the 20th century, the Sophia Morrison Circle organised events such as the T E Brown Day in the hope that Brown's powerful words would be taken as inspiration to younger generations. Brown had, after all, taken his own legacy seriously.

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[93] Brown, H F, H G Dakyns & W E Henley (ed.), *The Collected Poems of T E Brown* (London: Macmillan, 1900; repr. Manx Museum 1976), p.78.

One of his poems 'Spes Altera. To the Future Manx Poet', Brown implores:

> ...Be nervous, soaked
> In dialect colloquial, retaining
> The native accent pure, unchoked
> With cockney balderdash. Old Manx is waning,
> She's dying in the *tholtan.* Lift the latch,
> Enter, and kneel beside the bed, and catch
> The sweet long sighs, to which the clew
> Trembles, and asks their one interpreter in you.
>
> Then shut the *tholtan.* Strike the lyre,
> Toward that proud shore your face reluctant turning;
> With Keltic force, with Keltic fire,
> With Keltic tears, let every string be burning. (Brown et al, p.106).

In this poem, Brown firmly puts MxG behind him. MxG is presented as a dying language, belonging in the past. He asks the Future Manx Poet to: 'shut the *tholtan*', to leave MxG in the ruins, but only after paying homage to it, breathing in its last sighs. This can be taken as a poetical vision of Anglo-Manx. Leaving MxG behind it, Brown's Anglo-Manx was to embrace its 'Keltic fire' whilst looking firmly to the future. The altar-like T E Brown Memorial Room in the Manx Museum, complete with stained glass window designed by the Manx artist, William Hoggat, was opened in 1934. It confirms Brown's status as 'patron-saint' of the Manx nation.

Cushag

One person heralded as the next Manx poet was the dialect prose and poetry writer, Josephine Kermode, who wrote under the pseudonym Cushag. Cushag was a great friend of Morrison, and appears to have sent many of her manuscripts to her for a second opinion. Morrison, in this way, acted as a standard, and furthermore encouraged others to conform to it. Yet again, her involvement was behind the scenes, and it is this sense of guiding others, and in turn the course of Manx culture, that becomes significant.

Her role as overseer came into play most noticeably in her editorial role, e.g. for the journal *Mannin.* If, however, the original choice of 'dialect' was not to Morrison's liking, she responded with a checklist of corrections for discussion, here for a playlet by Cushag:

> I...consider the dialect perfect...I <u>think</u> Foawr & fairies should speak in dialect...
> (4) I have never heard "sew" in the sense in which you use it...
> (5) Chimlee is right...
> (6) As to "feathag" for fairies. It would not be correct to use the word...'
> [later on] 'I do not know the word "parthag" for heap. I have heard "pellag"...[94]

What is striking here is the fact that Morrison considers that 'foawr and fairies' should speak in dialect. This linking of the variety to the mythical or other world is important in Anglo-Manx's presentation as being the result of ideological considerations. With regard to point 4 in the list above, Morrison, in turn, sought the advice of Goodwin. He replied: 'I see that she still keeps to the word <u>soo</u>. I have heard <u>soo</u> used in place of <u>sown</u>, but never in place of <u>sewn</u> as "Cushag" has it.'[95] This may, of course, have been due to regional differences, with Goodwin and Morrison being most familiar with that of Peel, whereas Cushag would have been more familiar with the variety from the north of the Island. However, the fact that she checks so much of her work, and that she checks it with Morrison, implies that she doesn't feel secure in her knowledge of the variety...or what the variety *should* be. This is crucial, as Cushag was perhaps the most prolific and popular dialect writer of the period, and her work influenced many writers after her. Similarly, Morrison plays an authenticating role regarding Cushag's story on Eary Cushlin by making reference to Cashen:

> Cosnahan becomes Cushlin or Cushlan in Anglo-Manx. Your way of spelling Cushl'a'n would be permissible, but it is more often pronounced Cushlin...the older Manx people, like Cashin [sic.], pronounce it as you have written it.[96]

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[94] Box 8, copy of letter from SM→Cushag, 06/06/probably 1908.
[95] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 01/07/1908.
[96] Box 8, letter from SM→Cushag, 25/09/probably 1908.

This, by way of contrast, suggests that Cushag had been listening to 'native speakers' of the variety. Nevertheless, neither Roeder or Faragher were totally convinced by Cushag's writing. Roeder's commitment to folklore collection meant that he was antipathetic towards what he saw as imitation:

> I have read Miss Kermode's lyrics, some are good, & some indifferent, if not rather artificial in emotion; I don't know if she has got the right grip - Mr Ed Fargher poo-poohs her poetical pose & denies that she represents the mouthpiece of the real old stock of the Manx peasantry & fishermen; myself I believe she has <u>much</u> to learn yet & can only have seen a little corner of Manx life and not penetrated the deeper recesses of their hearts & emotions; she should study in the first line the old folk lore & legend of which we have now such a fine treasury & if she can do <u>practical</u> justice to them & open up & out this golden lore, she'll prove her metal as a Manx poetess...[97]

Again, Roeder emphasises the importance of legend to the development of the national literature.

Other sources

Correspondence in the Sophia Morrison Papers reveals other sources, both literary and oral. Morrison names a few dialect reciters such as Jack Sayle, whose: 'forte is Manx dialect & recitation'[98] and Mr Meyrick and Tom Dodd.[99]

As late as 1911, Goodwin notes that he had found new phrases in a story called 'The Ballakindry' which should be included in the *Vocabulary*. Goodwin also remembered a penny weekly called *Manx Punch*, which must have been in print in the 1890s: 'There was some good Anglo-Manx in it amongst much rubbish…There used to be some good dialect in the "Mona's Herald" and much very poor stuff too.'[100]

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[97] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 04/02/1908.
[98] Box 8, letter from SM→Cushag, date unknown, probably May 1908.
[99] Box 2, letter from SM→unknown party, 25/03/1913.

Evidence of collection from oral sources

Morrison and Goodwin exchanged letters concerning the *Vocabulary* on a regular basis after A W Moore's death. Some of the phrases and words they discussed were those they had heard recently, for example, Morrison wrote: 'Here are some words & sayings that I have heard lately:- I'm coming spie earree (=walking alone).'[101]

Goodwin, too, noted the speech of the younger residents of the Island, especially those who were studying music with him. Here he notes two examples of hypercorrection:

> A pupil of mine from Foxdale, probably knowing that it was wrong to say oul for old or coul for cold, told me one day that he had an olis nest. When I asked was it an owl's nest he meant, he said, "yes", a "frowl's nest.[102]

Similarly:

> A smart young country woman had in a basket some fowls for sale. She called on a lady, asking, "Do you want any foles? I've got some nice ones here." "Foals!" said the lady in astonishment, looking up & down the street for a sight of the foals, but in vain: "Foals! where?" "Aw, they're here in my basket" said the girl, lifting the lid & pulling out a pair of fowls. [103]

Goodwin was determined that the hard work should not go to waste: 'It would be a great pity that such a quantity of material - first-hand material - should be thrown away.'[104]

Morrison, too, was collecting from the young as well as from the old. Here, the two phrases overheard from younger speakers MxG idioms, 'couldn' get neither bun nor baare of it' = couldn't make head or tail of it, and 'from the neear & the niar' = from the west and the east:

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[100] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, August 1909.
[101] Box 1, loose sheet: fragment of letter or draft from SM→EG, date unknown.
[102] Box 8, copy of letter from EG→AWM, 09/09/1909.
[103] Box 8, copy of letter from EG→AWM, 09/09/1909.
[104] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 27/11/1909.

> Dialect, I find, differs according to the age of the speaker as does the pronunciation. The older people use very many Manx words, the Board School young people but few. Yet I lately heard a young girl of 14 say that someone had told her a yarn & she "couldn' get neither bun nor baare of it". She did not know that these words were Manx, but had always heard them used in this sense. I overheard a lad say at Tynwald Fair that "the people had come from the neear & the niar to the fee'r"! He also was unconscious that he was using Manx. One constantly comes across this. Of course the older the speaker the more Manx words one hears him use - the idiom too is more Manx...[105]

A letter from Goodwin dated 14 August 1909[106] is interesting for various reasons. It is a discussion of remarks made by a Mr Kerruish as to certain lexical items. It shows Goodwin's comparative philological knowledge, as well as other items remembered by him. Items in the letter can be compared to a number of entries in the *Vocabulary*, some of which have been modified - perhaps in order to make them seem less like hyper-dialect. It also reveals that not every item reached the *Vocabulary*. For example, features of pronunciation such as 'oul' for 'old' are included, whereas Goodwin's suggested inclusions of 'behoul' for 'behold', 'rumberella' for 'umbrella', 'lavoly' for 'lovely', and "dividjal' for 'individual' are not.

Goodwin ends the letter in self-generated MxE, saying: 'Them flowers is lavoly uncommon. The lil feerns and the roses and every 'dividjal thing is beautiful to behoul.' It is interesting to note that he doesn't abide by the standards set out in the *Vocabulary* totally, by not dropping the /d/ from the word 'and', for example. The majority of the lexical items used in this passage are phonetic spellings of the local pronunciation, presumably of Peel, where Goodwin lived.

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[105] Box 1, fragment of copy of letter from SM→ probably AWM, date unknown.
[106] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 14/08/1909.

In addition to examples heard in general conversation, Morrison in particular will have relied on three of her most reliable friends and informants.

- **William Cashen**
- **Edward Faragher (Ned Beg)**
- **J R Moore**

All three of these informants were not Island-bound 'peasants' with poor literacy skills, part of the Imagined Village, which is laden with such romanticism. All three were fluent speakers of MxG, possessed a love and knowledge of Manx folklore and an awareness of the need for it to be recorded. Cashen and Moore were widely travelled, and Faragher was widely read. Perhaps these glimpses of the outside world made them more aware of the importance of all things Manx. It certainly made them interesting informants for the *Vocabulary*.

William Cashen (1838-1912)

William Cashen was born in 1838 in the west of the Island at Dalby, near Peel. A monoglot MxG speaker until the age of nine, Cashen began work at sea at the age of fifteen, later travelling the seas to Australia, China, the Pacific Islands and Newfoundland. (Morrison 1912b, pp.ix-x). The last seventeen years of Cashen's life were spent as custodian of Peel Castle, and Morrison notes that he was: 'a real student, and was always adding to his information on the subject of the history, archæology, and legends of Peel, and of the Castle especially.' (Morrison 1912b, p.xi). A W Moore, John Rhŷs and T E Brown all spoke highly of him. (Morrison 1912b, p.xii). *Manx Folk-Lore* was published by Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh in 1912, the year of Cashen's death. Its introduction was written by Morrison, and the original ledger is to be found in her papers.

Morrison's work as editor on Cashen's notes was limited. She grouped them into chapters, letting the prose speak for itself. Miller reminds us, however, that we should not be so naive as to think that Cashen's words were simply notes jotted down:

> The quality of the prose suggests that they are not notes jotted down in a time of reflection but material written with the aim of publication despite Cashen's own protestations to Morrison that they were otherwise.[107]

Cashen's work included folk songs, riddles and sayings, together with chapters on 1) the home life of the Manx, 2) fairies, bugganes, giants and ghosts, and 3) fishing.

J R Moore considered Cashen's writings to be a 'racy' read: 'To my mind his folklore is more racy reading that that of Mr Moore and is nicely spiced with Gailck.'[108] Here J R Moore is probably comparing them to the writings of Joe Moore. This is unusual comment from J R Moore in that Cashen's *Folklore* is largely written in Standard English with MxG items inserted and MxE constructions appearing occasionally, e.g. 'When stones would be thrown down the chimney' (Morrison 1912b, p.23) instead of 'When stones were thrown…'. What is important to note about Cashen's work is the type of domains featured. Supernatural creatures appear in chapter 2, and chapter 3 deals with Cashen's trade, fishing. These two areas were important to Morrison's collection of folklore, and consequently to the *Vocabulary*.

Edward Faragher (c.1831-1908)

Roeder's most celebrated informant was Edward Faragher, also known as Ned Beg Hom Ruy. Faragher was not a typical informant either. Working on the fishing, and briefly as a safe-maker, he was an outsider in Cregneash village by the very fact that he

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[107] Stephen Miller, (ed.), *William Cashen's 'Manx Folk-Lore'*, (Onchan, Isle of Man: Chiollagh Books, 1993b), p.1.
[108] Box 2, letter from JRM→SM, 17/03/1913.

was literate.[109] In addition, he acted as both collector and informant for Roeder by noting down incidents and remarks in a notebook given to him. Roeder was extremely impressed by the extent of his knowledge, writing that he had:

> a very retentive memory for the recitations of old ballads and folk-tales. his knowledge of Manx lore is simply unique; and as a man who can tackle a fish, or knows the ins and outs of the coastline and its creeks and its caves, he is, I believe, unmatched...and is considered to be one of the best vernacular conversationalist extant in the Island. (Roeder in Faragher repr. 1991, pp.1-2).

Faragher was widely read, and was known as a poet, with work published in Island papers as well as in those in Ireland. 1901 saw the publication of his translation of a selection of Aesop's Fables into MxG. Basil Megaw notes in his note in Faragher's *Skeealyn 'sy Ghailck* that:

> From the age of about 26 years Faragher began to keep copies of his verses, which were mainly on lyrical or sacred subject, in Manx and English. During the twenty years following 1880, when he became a total abstainer, he is said to have composed about a thousand sacred songs, and numerous others. (Megaw in Faragher, repr.1991, p.2).

Letters from Faragher reveal that Roeder regularly sent him tobacco and books, especially books concerning other Celtic countries. Their friendship developed to such extent that Roeder fought to keep Faragher on the Island in his final years. This was unfortunately not realised, with Faragher moving to live with his son in Derbyshire shortly before his death.

Following Faragher's death, Roeder wrote to Morrison of his disgust at the attitude of the majority of the Manx to his friend:

> by the Manx people who ignored him, amongst them that patronizing Hall Caine...If he would have in any way been encouraged, he could have done an enormous lot with his immense knowledge of Manx ways & life & folk-science & language.[110]

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[109] personal correspondence with Stephen Miller.

[110] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 17/06/1908.

Although it seems less likely that Faragher was used extensively as an informant for the *Vocabulary*, as the majority of his work was in MxG, Morrison used some of his papers passed to her by Roeder's sister in order to supplement her *Vocabulary* lists:

> I find several good Manxy phrases & words in the letters of Hudson-Faragher. I am now adding some…phrases to the never ending vocabulary list. I should be sorry to have missed them.[111]

In addition, Faragher's account of life in Cregneash was published in English as an appendix to his *Skeealyn Aesop* (1901), and later in volume V of *The Journal of the Manx Museum* in June 1943.[112] His description included many MxG terms, some of which, such as 'conney freoaie' (=heather fuel) and 'eekad' (=stack) appear in the *Vocabulary*. It is by no means certain that Faragher's descriptions and definitions were those taken by the authors of the *Vocabulary*, however, as they would have been familiar with terms such as these from their knowledge of MxG and from other rural informants.

J R Moore

One of the key informants to the *Vocabulary* was James R Moore of Cronk Gennal, Laxey. It appears that it was Roeder who had drawn Morrison's attention to J R Moore, as he had encouraged him, like Faragher, to write down Manx folklore and 'dialect' words in a notebook. Such a notebook survives in the Sophia Morrison Papers. The notebook contains 41 pages of folklore and dialect recorded by J R Moore:

- story: with the fairies
- words in constant use
- story: ancient mounds
- sounds for calling animals
- farm implements
- domestic implements
- story: myrrh
- story: fairy music and singing
- word lists

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[111] MNH MS 1513B, letter from SM→JJK, 'Friday'.
[112] Edward Faragher, 'A Sketch of Old Cregneash: Reminiscences of a Country Bard', *Journal of the Manx Museum*, Vol. V, no. 68, (June 1943) 97-9.

- personal names of those named after their trades
- words still in use (cont.)
- story: charms
- words

What is interesting is that for the 'sounds for calling animals', J R Moore includes a detailed description of the tempo of some of the calls, together with jaw and dental positions. Goodwin wrote with respect about J R Moore's language use, saying: 'His dialect is good - natural & true'[113] and J J Kneen describes a story written by J R Moore in MxE as being: 'told in graceful idiomatic Manx'[114]

J R Moore later emigrated to New Zealand, where he spent some of his time writing dialect stories, searching out other MxG speakers and writing letters home to his friend, Miss Morrison. After emigrating, J R Moore continued to make lists of dialect words, including specialist terms, e.g. for farm implements, which he sent to Morrison. Writing to A W Moore, Morrison reveals that these word-lists only came into her possession in the autumn of 1909. The lists correspond to numerous entries in the *Vocabulary*, with some of J R Moore's explanatory phrases having been directly used. For example, out of c.130 terms given in his word lists in Box 2[115] of terms *still in use*, over 100 are to be found in the *Vocabulary*. Furthermore, the examples given by J R Moore these words for just over 40 of these terms, are included in the *Vocabulary* as illustrative contexts.[116] What is interesting is that the dialect items listed by J R Moore include many MxG items, as well as pronunciation-reliant spellings of English words.[117]

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[113] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, date unknown.
[114] Box 1, letter from JJK→SM, date unknown.
[115] i.e. Box 2 of Sophia Morrison Papers.
[116] Box 2, black notebook, JRM.
[117] see correspondence between JRM and SM in Box 2, much of it undated. JRM's folklore notes can also be found in Box 5.

J R Moore provides us with an interesting example of modifying his written version of 'MxE' with the aim of making it appear more consistent. For example, at the start of one of his stories/folklore accounts, he uses the progressives 'going' and 'living' with final 'g'. By the final paragraph on the page, however, he has moved to a more consistent usage of *goin'* and *livin'*.[118] This suggests that J R Moore, too, was involved in the codification of literary Anglo-Manx.

In one of Morrison's letter books, there is a curious entry signed SM, addressee unknown. It talks about dialect a hundred years ago, and also provides significant comment on the speech patterns of the older generation during her lifetime:

> A hundred years ago? And is there any specimen in existence of the Manx dialect <u>as spoken then</u> or did most people speak Manx then, or would their English be spoken rather correctly, or say as the <u>old</u> people speak it now? I should imagine it would be like that. What I specially want to know is - would they, in those times, drop their finals [sic] gs & other consonants or would they speak, as I say, rather correct English made picturesque by the translation into it of <u>Manx</u> expressions?[119]

J R Moore also provided 'Suggestions re <u>Story of the fairy pig.</u>' This list seems to be an attempt to deliberately intensify the MxE elements in the story, suggesting replacements from: boy→lad, heather→ling, cliff→steep brough, great boulders→big stones & rocks. These changes do not only apply to lexical items, but also to syntactical features. J R Moore suggests the inclusion of more progressives, and of certain passive phrases such as: 'I was soon <u>put</u> <u>to</u> <u>bed</u>.'[120] He justifies much of this by the use of phrases such as 'country folk' and 'country speech.'

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[118] Box 2, J R Moore notes on folklore in book stamped "C. Roeder."
[119] Box 8, letter from SM→unknown party, date unknown. "And can you tell me please…"
[120] Box 2, loose sheet, probably by J R Moore, entitled "Suggestions…"

In response to enquiries from Morrison about 'MxE', J R Moore wrote:

> I cannot for the moment think of any words still lingering in use, but if I had any idea of the parts into which you wish to introduce old words I might be able to gather some that would suit you. The word 'skanking' means speaking...[121]

This is important, because it reveals that J R Moore, probably born in the early to mid 19th century, was deliberately looking for old words, words that he remembered from older speakers, or from his past. Skanking is included in the *Vocabulary* as 'scankin'. (MMG, p.156).

Remaining sources in Sophia Morrison Papers

The main evidence remaining for Morrison's collecting activities is contained within two exercise books.[122] The first, a green exercise book, contains three main areas of dialect: prepositions, Manx regional names and fishing terms. The second, a brown exercise book, contains alphabetical listings with examples for each, followed by these subject areas:

- swear words
- ejaculatory prayers
- terms of endearment
- of women
- of men
- (continuation of alphabetical list from N)
- description of Oie'l Verree
- description of Old Christmas Day

In addition, folklore notes with some dialect examples can be found in the first of three folders catalogued as the additional deposit to MNH MS 9495. These include conversations directly noted from informants such as 'Kirry's sayings' and 'Joe Moore's sayings'. In addition, some dialect words and their definitions are given in the same format as they appear in the *Vocabulary*.

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[121] Box 1, letter from JRM→SM, 23/11/1909.
[122] see Box 2.

Other developments observed in the dialect include the following comments by Goodwin. In a letter to A W Moore, Goodwin wrote that:

> We talk more "Englified" now-a-days & not without some now curious mispronunciations. "Rubbish" used to be called "rubbidge" but now I sometimes hear "roobbish".[123]

Here, Goodwin could be suggesting one of two developments:

- that the /u:/ sound was one that was being introduced where it had not occurred before, at least not in the region of Peel and its neighbouring parishes.
- that standard /ʌ/ was being replaced by Northern /ʊ/. This reflects the use of 'oo' as an orthographic convention for /ʊ/.

He also confirms that the dialect was changing rapidly during his lifetime, with the loss of many lexical items. This could, of course, be due to the changes in lifestyle and occupations. As work methods changed, certain lexical items would have become increasingly archaic. Where some survive, others are swiftly replaced.

Language play

There is a strong tradition for language play in the Island. This includes 'deliberate mistakes' such as 'a bit hasty on the horizontal' for 'a bit hazy on the horizon.' Goodwin quotes the following from an old neighbour when he was a child: 'Lurd! Lurd! Shaw me the addher of me wayss.'[124] Such language play is still in use at the time of writing, with 'beresk' for 'beserk' to be heard in Peel, for example.

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[123] Box 8, copy of letter from EG→AWM, 09/09/1909, italics added.

Morrison's role as codifier of the written dialect

Morrison emerges as the leading proponent of a general process whereby MxE was being codified. She was, however, by no means alone. Sophisticated informant-collectors, dialect writers and other revivalists were all involved in the process. Her role has been sharpened through the focus of this discussion on her personal correspondence. Nevertheless, she remains central to the process through the inter-disciplinary nature of her activities as a Manx cultural revivalist.

A prime example sees Morrison being invited to comment on a comedy written by J J Kneen. She wrote:

> I have read it through with some interest – but (you asked me to criticise it) without a single smile. I should like to see more animation in it, & more natural ease & faithfulness of dialect. I found however two words in it for adding to the vocabulary, and I think three turns of phrase not already set down.[125]

Both Goodwin and Morrison acted as standards, as proof-readers, 'correctors' and authenticators for dialect writing. On reading Morrison's *The Lazy Wife*, Goodwin comments that the Manx surnames should be kept in the older spellings, and one phrase is put in doubt:

> I have not heard in Anglo-Manx the phrase "anger was <u>on</u> him," or "anger was <u>at</u> him [sic] though I have heard "the anger was doing on him" and "the anger be was in. [sic] But I have heard 'He was in a red rage'"[126]

Goodwin suggests substituting this for the 'doubtful phrase' she uses in the story: 'Your Manx setting is even now much more characteristic than any I have seen and your proposed heightenings of colour will be a still further improvement.'[127] Goodwin was, however, not always sure about some of the phrases recorded, for example:

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[124] Box 1, fragment from EG→SM, date unknown.
[125] MNH MS 1513B, letter from SM→JJK, 'Friday'.
[126] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 25/10/1907.
[127] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 'Wednesday'.

> Among the many peculiar uses of the Anglo-Manx "on" I had not heard "divided on" although among my later additions I find the somewhat similar phrase:- He shared it on them all.[128]

This suggests that certain syntactical features were *not* commonly used at the time of writing of the *Vocabulary*.

Goodwin refers to Cushag, and, like Morrison herself, asks whether some of Cushag's usages are correct or not: 'Do you think such expressions as "the day is doin in" really Anglo-Manx? They sound rather forced and foreign.'[129]

Authenticity seems to have been an important issue, but one raised only sporadically. Goodwin would use words such as 'genuine' to emphasise a particularly definite example of the dialect, e.g.: 'Chimlee is a genuine Anglo-Manx word and is in every day use with us...'[130] This is significant, because Goodwin identifies it as a word in contemporary usage. This is not the case for many of the other terms included in the *Vocabulary*.

Writing to a Miss Burne, Morrison reveals that she: 'asked Miss J K to make the corrections in the dialect which she has done as you can see.'[131] This means that Morrison was asking Cushag to be the standard, or maybe it would be fairer to conclude that Morrison, Cushag, Goodwin, J R Moore, etc. were all acting as codifiers, working on each other's dialect writing to produce a more consistent written variety.

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[128] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 14/03/1914.
[129] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, date unknown.
[130] Box 1, fragment of letter from EG→SM, date unknown.
[131] Box 8, letter from SM→Miss Burne, date unknown, probably 1908.

A W Moore also refers to the validity of usage of certain terms by two dialect writers: 'Creepanin, clanderin, are given by Cushag & Rydings respectively…Am I to take it that they are not used here! I notice that Rydings sometimes uses Lancashire words…'[132] The *Vocabulary* does, however, include them as 'creepin' (p.41) and 'clandhern', defined as 'clandering, gossiping talk.' (MMG, p.33).

Rydings is mentioned in a letter from Brown to Roeder, copied by Morrison to be featured in the final volume of *Mannin.*

> Mr. Rydings is a Lancashire man, almost more than naturalised – he is an authority. He speaks broad Lancashire himself. The mystery of his Manx is a secret between himself and his Maker. He loves the Island; that has something to do with it. *No Englishman that I have met, not even Mr. Rydings, can pronounce the Manx dialect like a native.* A good mimic can manage individuals decently, but will flounder dismally in attempting, for instance, to read aloud Mr. Rydings' stories; I believe, however, that North Countrymen will not have much difficulty in understanding them. (*Mannin*, 9, p.519, italics added).

It appears that Rydings' dialect usage was questionable. The following letter reveals Brown's wariness concerning Rydings' tendency to exaggerate his dialect usage:

> You have picked the plums of Ryding's porridge. As a rule he is a perfect phonograph, & you can thoroughly rely upon him. He lives in a district which has preserved much that formerly was common to the whole island. At the same time, *he is apt to carry things too far and to neglect certain niceties of distinction. In going over his MS I had to correct many of these errors.* For instance, you quote his ger, but you must not suppose that his pronunciation is invariable. It only takes place before words beginning with a vowel, e.g., "gerrout" = "get out", not "ger strong" = "get strong". "Nawthin burra fool" is all right; "Naw bur fools", would be a solecism. A lovely example is "Norrabirrarit" which I wrote as one word = "Not a bit of it".[133]

Brown reveals himself to have played a part in the codification of the dialect by 'correcting' Rydings' texts.

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[132] Box 4, letter from AWM→SM, 21/06/1909.
[133] Box 8, copy of letter from TEB→CR, 04/11/1895, also in *Mannin* 9, p.523.

Roeder also criticises Brown as having: 'some fine things which he grafts on a Manx tree, but it has only produced a hybrid.' It is clear that, looking at the dialect writing from an objective, distanced perspective, Roeder was not impressed.[134]

In a similar fashion to Brown, Goodwin comments on the words 'aburem and aburim':

> I have never heard aburrem for "about them" nor arrem for "at them". The Manx do not seem to use the English pronoun 'em though it is an old enough form, Chaucer uses it habitually for "them". I have however often heard abburim for "about him" and also arrim for "at him". I have heard quite recently:- "I dunnaw nothin aburrim," and "I dunt knaw nothin abourrim" (= I don't know anything about him).[135]

It was by no means Cushag alone who 'benefited' from Morrison's advice. Miss Graves wrote dialect stories, and Morrison replied: 'I think the dialect very good...Tommy Quayle's Will seemed one of the best - the character drawing is so well done & the types are so peculiarly Manx.'[136]

W H Gill did not approve of the dialect writing in an article, 'Manx Cat' in the English Review of July 1915. The article appears to have been written by a Miss Mabel Corran. 'Whoever she is the dialect seems to me too pronounced to be understood by general English readers."[137] This is interesting in itself. Did he consider that dialect writing *should* be understandable to 'general English readers', i.e. not be too pronounced, or is he criticising a possible example of hyperdialecting?

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[134] Box 2, letter from CR→SM, 04/02/1908.
[135] Box 1, letter from EG→SM, 03/07/1909.
[136] Box 1, copy of letter from SM→Miss Graves, possibly October 1906.

Reception of the *Vocabulary*

The *Vocabulary* seems to have been received well on the Island. Cubbon wrote a review for the journal of the *World Manx Association*, commenting:

> The result is a rich and striking collection of words in general dialectal use…The study of dialects has, since Mr Moore commenced his researches, now reached a science, and claims universal interest. To the student of Manx Gaelic or other Celtic languages, to the student of folk-lore, and customs, the present volume opens a rich mine of information, *for in it lies embedded our country's past.*[138]

Cubbon's comments reveal the significance of the *Vocabulary* beyond the realm of English dialectology. The work is not only seen as a means of access to MxG, but its role as a holding device for cultural and national identities is also made explicit.

Three years later, a review was published in *Modern Language Notes* in 1927.[139] George Flom of the University of Illinois wrote:

> Of philological commentary there is but a minimum ; however, the folk-lore contained in many of the discussions of the use of words is of great interest and value. It is a fine contribution to English philology to have been made by a lover of his dialect and a student of English.[140]

The emphasis here is the work's merits as a labour of love rather than as a philological contribution. The importance of the *Vocabulary* as a folklore resource is also correctly identified. Flom notes with regret the absence of intended chapters, lamenting in particular the absence of: 'a reliable discussion of the sources of the Celtic element' (Flom, p.209). He also notes the confusion of some of the lists given with prepositions such as 'at' as being of Gaelic origin, and gives the only example from the list that fills that criterion. This review can be said to begin the process of contextualising the

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[137] Box 6, letter from WHG→SM, 12/08/1915.
[138] William Cubbon, 'A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect' in *Ellan Vannin. Magazine of the World Manx Association*, No.2, Vol. I, (June 1924), 81-4, here p.81, italics added.
[139] my thanks to Stephen Miller for bringing this to my attention.
[140] George T Flom, 'A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect (review)' in *Modern Language Notes*, Vol.42/3, (March 1927), p.208.

Vocabulary's listings in terms of their origins, a process for which the authors lacked time and perhaps expertise.

The significance of the production of the *Vocabulary*

Even though Oxford University Press published the *Vocabulary*, key members of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* were responsible for its development. The reasons for their involvement lie with the various functions of the work. One of its central aims was to record and inform the Manx population about aspects of MxG, and, to a lesser extent, the Manx way of life. In the introduction to the *Vocabulary*, Morrison writes:

> *All students of Manx* will deeply regret that Mr. Moore did not survive to complete a work which his scholarship and discriminating judgement would have made most valuable. (MMG, p.viii, italics added).

The power of the word 'Manx' to be used as a linguistic reference to either Gaelic or Anglo-Manx 'dialect' has already been discussed in Chapter One. The term is used by Morrison and others frequently, but not in an unambiguous sense. Nevertheless, the ambiguity created by this duality can be and was consciously exploited in order to emphasise inclusivity rather than exclusivity. It affords the freedom to associate notions of 'traditional culture' with each code, denying the exclusivity of MxG, thereby allowing the language movement to widen its focus and appeal. Furthermore, it enables authenticating features of MxG to be transferred to English codes, making it acceptable for the *Manx* language movement to embrace not only the dying Gaelic form, but also its related English varieties.

Correspondence such as that discussed at the close of the previous chapter shows that many of the leading revivalists did not believe in the success of a Gaelic revival. In accepting this, their task therefore became twofold: to revive the MxG language to the

greatest possible extent, but also to provide a safety net for their interpretation of 'Manx culture'.

The revivalists appear to have recognised the need for a successful strategy, accepting that this may fall outside the confines of the MxG language itself. The ways in which Manx cultural baggage could be secured to more than one linguistic code therefore became crucial. Morrison wrote: 'I am very anxious to bring out the Vocabulary... because of my great interest in our Manx Language & Literature.'[141] The ambiguity of this statement lies in the duality of Morrison's approach.

Morrison was instrumental in bridging the gap between the domains articulated by MxG and English codes, using the transference of cultural and national values within the linguistic domain as the key to continuation and revival. Parallels have already been drawn in this respect between the Manx situation and that in Ireland in Chapter Two, with reference to Douglas Hyde's influence on the development of Irish English codes. The *Vocabulary* is very much a product of Morrison's ideology, and its many aspects reflect areas of research and interest pursued by her in her work leading up to its realisation. Without her involvement, it would certainly have been a very different publication.

The *Vocabulary* balances the formal philological tradition, the revivalist and the amateur antiquarian approach. It attempts to present philological research in a popular manner, whilst still retaining some scientific interest. The function of the work was and is complex. It did look to the fading generation, to Brown, to nostalgia, but it also looked

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[141] Box 2, copy of letter from SM→Milford, OUP, September 1914.

to modern comparative philological thought, to the work of Joseph Wright, and to dialectological practices in Western Europe. The meanings we attach to the *Vocabulary* nowadays are continuations of these strands.

Despite Goodwin and Morrison attempting to approach the collection of dialect in a scientific manner, there is increasing evidence that the work was shaped by the following factors:

- the influence of T E Brown as tradition bearer
- nostalgia for the code – especially that of Goodwin, remembering the language of his grandparents, circa 1800-1850
- regionalism – Goodwin and Morrison's location in Peel
- restricted domains – reflecting Morrison's own research interests

The danger today is that, because lexical items are contained in the *Vocabulary*, they are considered to belong exclusively to the domain of MxE. I argue that the Anglo-Manx variety is the outcome of the codification of MxE. As W H Gill commented, Anglo-Manx, especially that of T E Brown, was embalmed in amber (W H Gill, p.xi). It is an unchanging variety embodying a set of Manx traditional values. The *Vocabulary* enables Anglo-Manx to become a codified MxE. This does not deny the validity of its sources, but rather stems from the ways in which they have been collated and presented. Anglo-Manx, as it is presented within the confines of the work, is an ideological construct. The space occupied by Anglo-Manx will form the basis for the final chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

The legacy of the *Vocabulary*: Kneale's *English Passengers*

Standing on the borderland between the going out of the Manx and the coming in of the English I have thought it advisable to save all that is possible of the customs, legends, superstitions, and folklore of the Isle of Man... (Cashen in Morrison 1912b, p.vii).

Cashen's comments are an appropriate motto for the *Vocabulary*. The underlying motive for its production was the preservation of the cultural inheritance of the Isle of Man. The *Vocabulary* can be held up as a symbol of the process whereby aspects of MxE have been stretched around the cultural legacy of MxG, the result of which has been the formation of Anglo-Manx.

Cashen highlights the liminal nature of the linguistic situation at the turn of the 20th century and it is this sense of borderland which is crucial to an understanding of the period. Once revivalists came to terms with the spaces they were inhabiting, they found they were faced with opportunities to transform potential losses into potential gains. All that could have been lost with the anticipated disappearance of MxG *could* be saved, but more importantly, could be *transformed*. Again, the example of Ireland provides us with comparable developments. There, the language question was crucial to the realisation of Irish national identities:

> When Patrick Pearse wrote in 1899 that the concept of a national literature in the English language was untenable, he cannot have reckoned with the emergence of a writer such as Synge. Pearse's doctrinaire statement became a major policy of the Gaelic League and this led to an artificial division between writing in Irish and English on the island. (Kiberd 1979, p.5).

When the Gaelic League was founded in 1893, there were only six books in print in IrG. The effect of the League was so great that, according to Yeats, 50 000 textbooks were sold in one year.[1] Nevertheless, it was the work of key IrG revivalists such as Hyde that was responsible for creating a linguistic duality.

Linguistic duality in Ireland

It has been argued that Hyde's bilingual publications defeated his own cause for the revival of IrG. Kiberd writes of Hyde's 1893 bilingual edition of *Abhráin Ghrá Chúige Chonnacht: Love Songs of Connacht* that: 'along with popularizing Irish literature, it made the creation of a national literature in English seem all the more feasible.' (Kiberd 1995, p.155). This is one of the reasons why the translator Robin Flower, discussed in Chapter Three, rejected the use of Hyde's created literary dialect: 'This literary dialect could not be used to render the forthright, colloquial simplicity of the original of this book.' (Flower in Ó Crohan, p.x, italics added). Flower implies that the original IrG of the text in question, Ó Crohan's *The Islandman*, should be the first point of reference, and that his translation of it should not detract from that principle.

In many ways, it was because Hyde made the IrG literary tradition available to Irish writers of English that Yeats's literary nationalism could be realised. Robert Tracy writes of Yeats that:

> by striving to create an Irish cultural identity as a prelude to political independence, Yeats had found a way for literature to be profoundly political without being conventionally propagandist. Yeats's literary nationalism was paralleled by Douglas Hyde's linguistic nationalism...[2]

Yeats wrote openly about the language question, championing his role in the development of a new Hiberno-English literature:

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[1] Declan Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland*, (London: Cape, 1995), p.145.

> Is there then no hope for the de-Anglicising of our people? Can we not build a national tradition, a national literature which shall be none the less Irish in spirit from being English in language? (Yeats in Kiberd 1995, p.155).

Even though the Gaelic League was far from conservative in its language policy, the development of an Irish literature in English was seen as a way of including more of Ireland's people than an IrG policy could hope to. It was ironic that the increase in quality of Anglo-Irish or Hiberno-English literature coincided with the decline in quality of IrG literature. Writers such as Synge soon personified the inclusivity of this new duality:

> At home Synge was always keen to emphasise his Anglo-Irish heritage, but he invariably presented himself in foreign countries as a Gael. In his strictures to the narrow nationalists of the Gaelic League, he celebrated the Anglo-Irish tradition as a vital component of "the nation that has begotten Grattan and Parnell" (Kiberd 1979, p.5).

Kiberd's work on the language of Synge raises this theme repeatedly: 'In his art, he succeeded in his search for a bilingual style through which he could translate the elements of Gaelic culture into English, a language ostensibly alien to that culture.' (Kiberd 1979, pp.5-6). Kiberd points out that a clean division between IrG literature and Irish literature in English cannot now be made, because it cannot contain those who write across both languages such as Patrick Pearse, Brendan Behan, Flann O'Brien and Liam O'Flaherty. (see Kiberd 1979, p.6). He goes further to propose that to use a form of English is a political act against the coloniser: 'liberating the enemy language from its historic meanings.' (Kiberd 1995, p.163).

Linguistic and national duality in the Isle of Man

The Isle of Man offers not only the example of linguistic duality, but that of national duality as well. Previous chapters have discussed how even revivalists described

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[2] Robert Tracy, *The Unappeasable Host. Studies in Irish Identities*, (Dublin: UCD Press, 1998), p.168.

themselves as being Manx and British at the same time. This duality is evident in *Mannin*, and in letters from Morrison, for example:

> It seems to me that it is well to hold to as many words of our old Mother tongue as possible. We love it, & though we love English too & consider ourselves part of the Empire…[3]

At other times, Morrison refers to a native of Peel as *English*. The Manx identity was perhaps, more elusive then than it appears today. It is probable that the relative political independence experienced by the Manx meant there was no immediate need for the overt de-colonisation process favoured by the Irish. IrG revivalists would never have championed their place in the history of the British Empire, for example. Anglo-Manx becomes important to this dual identity because it presents a static and manageable linguistic identity which has widespread appeal. It fits snugly over the combination of Manxness and Britishness in a way that MxG never could.

Such a passive acceptance of a Manx-but-British identity has meant that the Isle of Man has, at times, experienced conflict with the other Celtic countries. Irish commentators such as Seoirse Mac Niocaill could not understand this duality. Writing at the time of the First World War, his article, 'Language and Nationality in Mann. An Irish educationist's opinion' saw him vehemently denouncing the dual identity of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh*:

> The causes of the sterility of Yn Cheshaght are not very far to seek: they may be worth considering lest any of us should ever be tempted to sin in a similar way. First and foremost is **Patronage**. In the report of the society for 1902 we read: "It is a matter of encouragement to us also that, when his Majesty King Edward was in the Island, he expressed a desire to hear the language, etc." Again, in the 1908 report: "Her Majesty the Queen has expressed her interest in Manx music." Neither of the aforesaid Majesties has ever expressed a desire to hear the Irish language nor an interest in Irish music, and, truth to tell, I don't think we are any the worse for the omission. Our fellow Gaels in Mann are allowing their backbones to be patronised into jelly.[4]

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[3] Box 8, letter from SM→Cushag, date uncertain, probably May 1908.

[4] Seoirse Mac Niocaill, 'Language and Nationality in Mann. An Irish educationist's opinion', *Isle of Man*

Mac Niocaill continued with perhaps unfair criticisms of the lack of attention paid to native speakers. Evidence presented in previous chapters disputes his findings:

> Another cause of failure is the society's neglect of the native speaker, who in Ellan Vannin as in Eirinn, must save the language if it ever is to be saved. Yn Cheshaght Gailchagh (sic.) commits a fatal error in making Douglas – the most hopelessly Anglicised spot on the Island – its head-quarters, and in confining all its meetings to this town. It is busy seeking the support of the "daoine mora" while the native speaker is fast disappearing. The number of native speakers of Manx is now alarmingly small – something about 250 – and if Manxmen do not quickly awaken to a sense of their national responsibilities and do something effective, the next generation will see the last of the Manx nation. (Mac Niocaill).

Mac Niocaill advised Ellan Vannin to: 'take her proper place in a greater Gaelic Union' and, above all: 'let each and everyone of them learn and speak the national tongue, in season and out of season, everywhere and to everyone.'

Manx revivalists generally ignored such criticism. Whereas they continued working for the revival of MxG, or at least for a change in its status, Anglo-Manx was cultivated as an exciting, 'racy' code, a code which could take the Manx cause around the world in the form of plays, poems and other literature. Just as in Ireland, where Synge was responsible for the invention of Anglo-Irish terms such as dreepiness, pitchpike, to swiggle, louty, curiosity man, many of which had their roots in IrG, (Kiberd 1995, p.200), the literary dialect community in the Isle of Man looked to ways in which they could spice up their new national literature.

The need for 'racy' writing

A review in the *Evening Mail* of Synge's *Playboy of the Western World* conceded that the: '"peasant's talk is racy of the soil...a far cry from the stage Irishman' (quoted after Kiberd 1995, p.203). Kiberd outlines how Synge achieved this new, exciting form:

Examiner, 04/06/1914.

> His language is a heightened version of natural peasant speech. The heightening is achieved by emphasising those aspects of peasant dialect which have their sources in Gaelic speech and syntax. (Kiberd 1995, pp.204-5).

In the Isle of Man, the prolific playwright, Christopher Shimmin, provides an example of attempts to heighten an Anglo-Manx writing style. Shimmin was an active force in the Peel Players, and was generally considered as their resident playwright. This meant that Morrison was involved in the production of many of his plays. Shimmin appears to have offered some work to Morrison, possibly for inclusion in the first copy of *Mannin.* Morrison writes to Mr C., presumably William Cubbon, anxious for him to approach Shimmin with the desire to change his work:

> I don't know what to say about Shimmin's. If I am to give my true opinion - I think it is dull. Why did he write in such a precise sort of way? It cannot be like his little plays at all. Can you not persuade him to rewrite it in racy Anglo-Manx - as supposed to be told by one of the men of the crew?[5]

Similarly, J R Moore had written of Cashen's writing: 'To my mind his folklore is more racy reading than that of Mr [Joe] Moore and is nicely spiced with Gailck.'[6]

Whatever Anglo-Manx was considered to be at that time, its survival relied on it being an accessible and exciting code. Universal intelligibility was key to its success outside of the Island in particular. W H Gill refers to an article 'Manx Cat' in the *English Review* of July 1915 by a Miss Mabel Corran. Gill writes: 'Whoever she is the dialect seems to me too pronounced to be understood by general English readers.'[7] An author who did not suffer that problem was Hall Caine. With reputed sales of ten million copies by the time of his death in 1931[8], and accompanying world-wide recognition, he took aspects of Manx life to a world stage. Caine used aspects of Anglo-Manx, and his work should have offered the ultimate in exposure. However, both Caine's character and work have

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[5] Box 2, copy of letter from SM→Mr C[ubbon], date unknown, but pre first *Mannin* – 1913.
[6] Box 2, letter from JRM→SM, 17/03/1913.
[7] Box 6, letter from WHG→SM, 12/08/1915.
[8] sleevenote to Vivien Allen, *Hall Caine. Portrait of a Victorian romancer,* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic

been repeatedly criticised by his contemporaries, as well as by commentators after his death. Revivalists such as Morrison expressed a strong dislike for Caine. When Milford from Oxford University Press was writing to her about the *Vocabulary*, it is clear that he had suggested Caine as someone who could help out, either by name alone, or financially. Morrison replied:

> As to your suggestion about Mr Hall Caine, I should much prefer, if you do not mind, to rely on the support of Sir John Rhys, Professor J Wright or Lord Raglan. I think their names would have at least equal influence.[9]

Caine was seen as hostile to the Manx cause championed by the Sophia Morrison Circle. He had failed to support Edward Faragher, and had criticised the Manx martyr, Illiam Dhone. The letter from Mrs V Christian of the Christian family home at Milntown, Ramsey, to Morrison expressing her fears for the generation of new plays on historical subjects has been introduced in Chapter Three. She wrote with concerns about her ancestor, William Christian, known as Illiam Dhone: 'I do not want Hall Caine or his son or any other person antagonistic to the Christians to take it up, nor any uneducated person.'[10]

Despite the popularity of Hall Caine's novels, his use of Anglo-Manx was and still is considered questionable. Kewley Draskau (2000) begins this discussion. Caine's plagiarism of W W Gill's main informant, George Quarrie, suggests that he was not as familiar with MxE speech patterns as he would have liked others to believe. Kewley Draskau identifies incorrect usages, e.g. of *middlin'*, and the introduction of non-native elements from Stage Irish, Cockney and other dialects of English. (Kewley Draskau 2000, pp.73-4). Writing in 1899, Goodwin, too, had recognised Caine's lack of knowledge of the MxE dialect and the Anglo-Manx literary code: 'Mr Hall Caine's

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Press, 1997).

[9] Box 2, letter from SM→Milford, 02/08/1913.

Anglo-Manx is never the real native dialect. It is at best only a clever imitation. He frequently misapplies even our most familiar local words.'[11] It is interesting to note that in a letter to Morrison, A W Moore refers to Hall Caine as using Cumberland words: 'some of which Dr. Wright gives as Manx.'[12] This would suggest that Caine was using Wright's work as a reference, or indeed that Wright had used Caine's novels as sources. Caine not only failed to consistently reproduce MxE speech patterns, he did not recognise the boundaries of the Anglo-Manx code, moving freely in and out of its domain.

Anglo-Manx as a fixed code

> the reality in which we live – and which language is our primary means of expressing, dealing with, and mitigating – is not static, but always changing. ...it is demonstrable beyond any possibility of exclusion that language is in a constant state of change.'[13]

The main limitation of Anglo-Manx is that it is a fixed, unchanging code. The *Vocabulary* will remain a satisfactory point of reference because of this. If Anglo-Manx is taken as the form of English spoken in the Isle of Man, it will seem like a dying variety. If, however, it is separated from the vernacular code of MxE and is taken as a separate entity, it can be assumed that the MxE variety will continue to change, and will continue to be influenced by the increasingly strong presence of MxG. For, as Crowley points out: 'Despite all the attempts to delimit the language, to restrict it, to force it to serve only specific functions, it carries on changing, developing and meeting the needs of its speakers.'[14] The special relationship between Anglo-Manx and those who use it will also remain: 'Language use creates a social identity for the user...Language as

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[10] Box 1, letter from V Christian→SM, 11 July, year unknown.
[11] Box 2, letter from EG→SM, 15/07/1899.
[12] Box 4, letter from AWM→SM, 21/06/1909.
[13] John E Joseph, *Eloquence and Power. The Rise of Language Standards and Standard Languages*, (London: Frances Pinter, 1987), p.25.

speaking practice creates and identifies social group membership.'[15] As Alan Kilday remarks in Mairead Nic Craith's, *Watching one's tongues* (1996):

> Language is a window on culture. It goes beyond simply communicating and embodies history, traditions, meanings, customs, attitudes and outlooks...Perhaps the cultural expressions of language can be said to go beyond the obvious. Literature, song and communication between creative people can influence cultural expression in a general sense.[16]

The aspects of literature and society contained by the *Vocabulary* can reveal a great deal about Manx communities at the turn of the 20th century. Although previous commentators have considered Anglo-Manx the predecessor to the more accurate term of MxE, this thesis has argued that, whereas links clearly exist between the two varieties, they are not simply the same. It is only out of an attempt at reconciliation between MxE and MxG that a distinct variety emerges, one that we shall refer to as Anglo-Manx, the term chosen by those writing at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. The different approaches are presented in figures 1 and 2 (p.249). Figure 1 outlines the system of relationships if Anglo-Manx and MxE are considered one and the same. By way of contrast, Figure 2 shows how powerful the 'cultural baggage' of MxG proves in persuading us that we are viewing MxE objectively, when in fact we are dealing with the ideologically-loaded concept of Anglo-Manx.

The journey of Anglo-Manx can be said to have begun with early appearances in newspapers in the 1820s, being used as a satirical device. Andrew Hamer's forthcoming work for the University of Liverpool will help to clarify its roles at this time. From that point, Anglo-Manx moved through nostalgic and Heimatliteratur type use by poets such as T E Brown and Cushag, to its adoption as a 'national code' by playwrights to the Peel

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[14] Tony Crowley, *Proper English? Readings in Language, History and Cultural Identity*, (London & New York: Routledge, 1991), p.10.
[15] Jupp, T C, Celia Roberts & Jenny Cook-Gumperz, 'Language and disadvantage: the hidden process' in *Language and social identity*, ed. John J Gumperz, (1982; repr. Cambridge: CUP, 1993), 232-56, here p.239.
[16] Alan Kilday, 'Europe, Culture, Language and Regions' in *Watching One's Tongue: Aspects of Romance and*

Players in the early 1900s. Dialect recitation and plays have flourished as forms of entertainment since that time at least. What is remarkable is that it is still current today in little changed form: it is accepted as an identifier of Manxness.

Those who now choose this particular concept of Manxness see it as an alternative to so-called 'traditional' culture, to the Gaelic experience. For them, it offers accessibility: it contains the Gaelic language to such a degree that it is available as an insider code. Those outside it may also find it relatively easy to access, but will miss the depth of meaning understood by those within. Nevertheless, it satisfies both these sectors of the population, being popular in entertainment and competition.

If, as Kewley Draskau (2000) comments, we take MxE to be the variety which evolved from the: 'confrontation between two disparate language systems' (Kewley Draskau 2000, p.67), i.e. MxG and English, then Anglo-Manx occupies space within this confrontation. It is an ideologically laden product of the confrontation between MxE and MxG. (see Maddrell 2000). Within Anglo-Manx, the *Vocabulary* presents a yet narrower linguistic realm.

It is not surprising that the *Vocabulary* has been turned to repeatedly by dialect and other writers. The significance of its adoption by an award-winning writer in the year 2000 will be discussed here.

Celtic Languages, ed. M Nic Craith, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996), 253-255, here pp.253-4.

FIGURE 1: what previous research has led us to believe

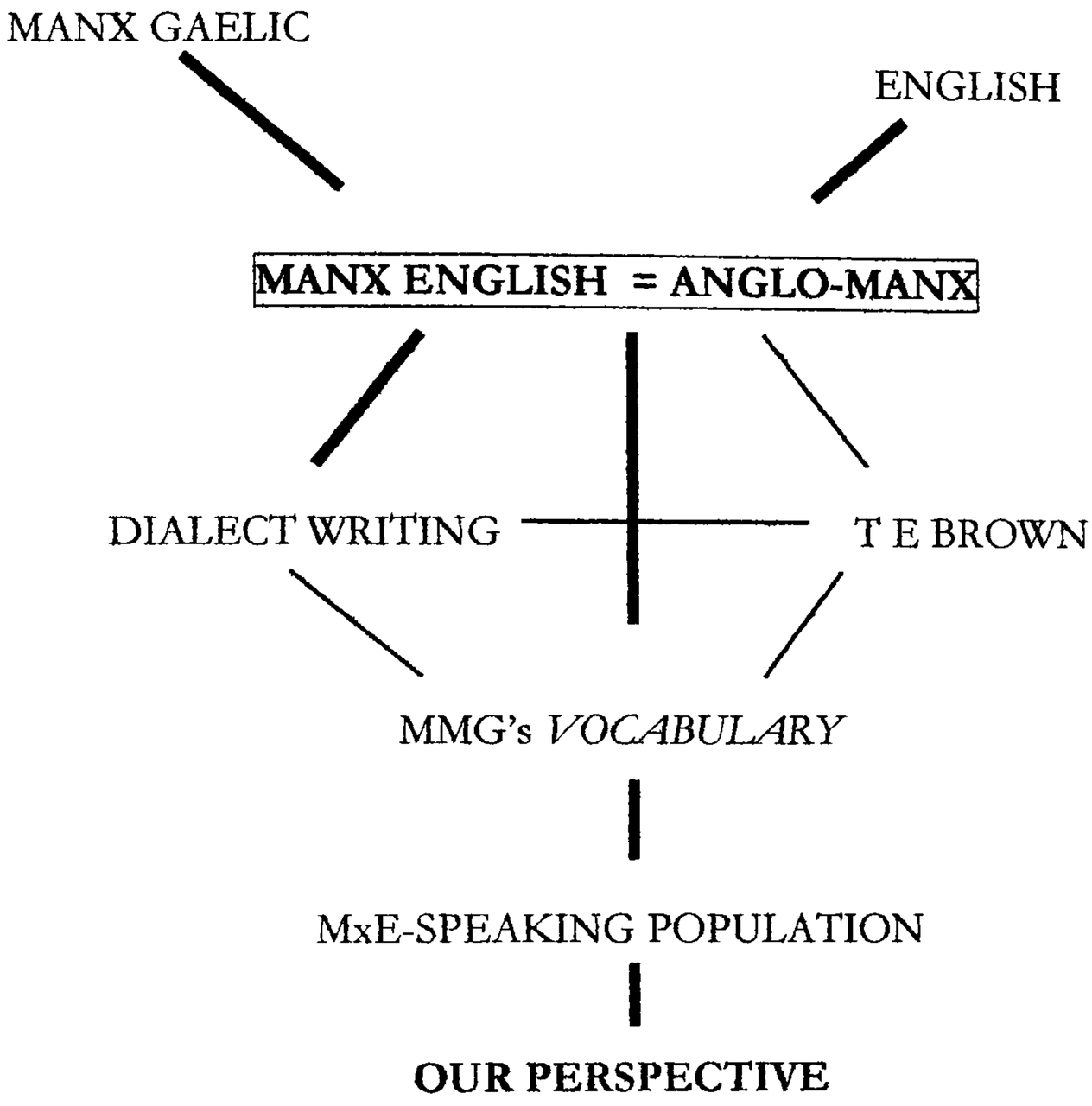
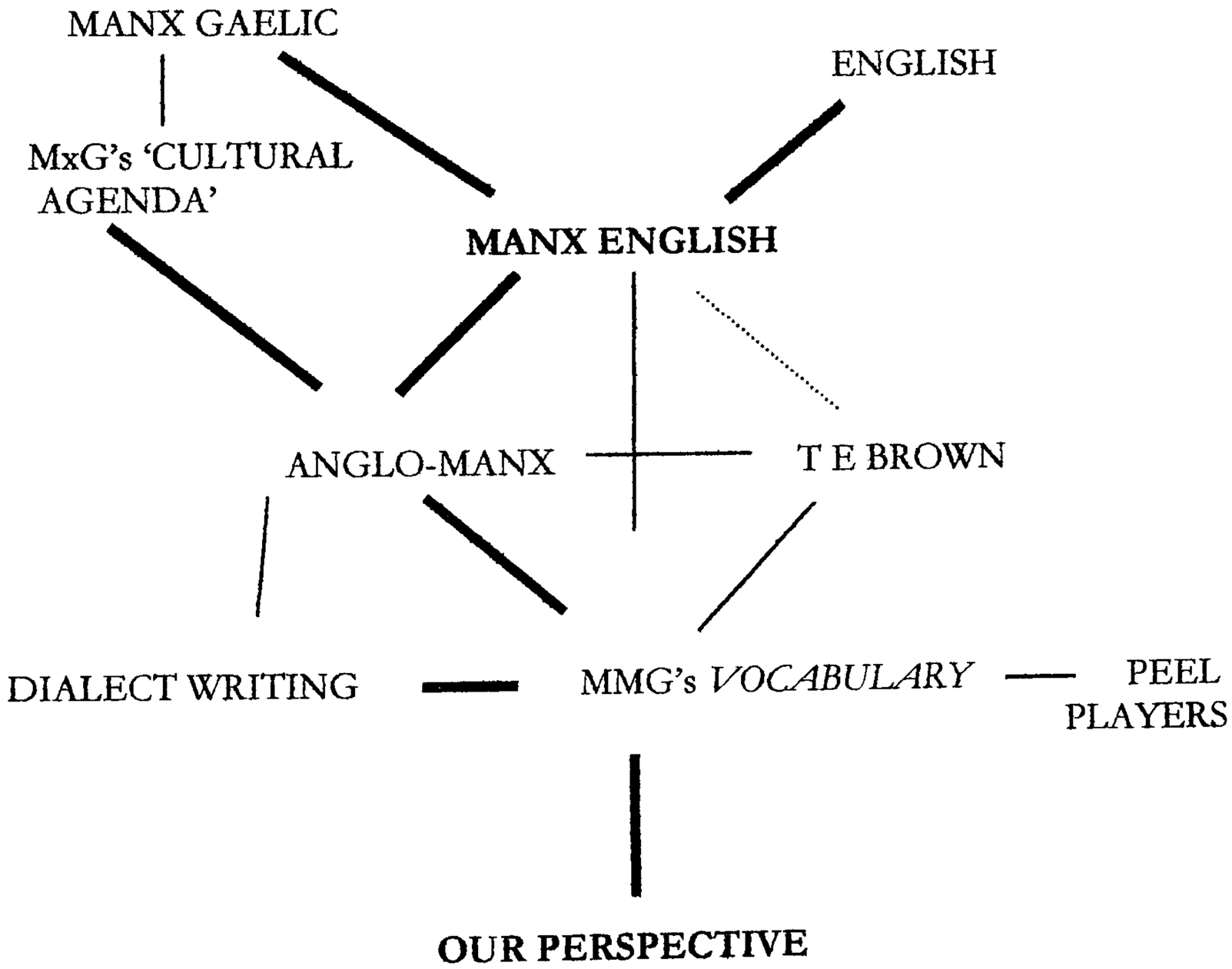


FIGURE 2: the readjustment argued by this thesis



Matthew Kneale's *English Passengers*

This chapter and thesis will conclude with an examination of Matthew Kneale's highly successful novel, *English Passengers.*[17] Deconstruction of the novel will be used as a means of illustrating the relationship between MxE, MxG and Anglo-Manx. It will also reveal much about the *Vocabulary*, as Kneale uses it as his sole source of Manx linguistic reference.[18]

Published by Hamish Hamilton in March 2000, Kneale's novel has received critical acclaim. It was not only been nominated for the Booker Prize, but won the Whitbread Prize in January 2001. The critics' interest in Kneale's writing style has focussed on the multitude of voices which he uses to present his story. Of particular interest to this discussion is the first narrator encountered, a Manxman, Captain Illiam Quillian Kewley. Together with his crew, Kewley presents very different language use to the novel's other characters.

English Passengers takes us on many journeys, both in terms of its plots, and in terms of its relationship with different Englishes. The main theme concerns the chartering of a ship by a party in search of the Garden of Eden, the ship, the *Sincerity*, is owned by Kewley. Their destination is Tasmania, an area inhabited by penal colonies, new settlers, and the dwindling indigenous population.

Kneale is highly conscious of language use in the work. A 'Note on Language' precedes the novel itself, referring not, as one might expect, to the languages of the Manx, but to the language use of the Tasmanian aboriginals. Kneale writes:

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17 Matthew Kneale, *English Passengers*, (London: Hamish Hamilton, 2000).
18 see Annie Proulx's *The Shipping News* as a comparable work, in this case using Newfoundland English.

> One of the characters in this novel is a Tasmanian Aboriginal. When I wrote his sections my intention was to portray someone intelligent and interested in words, who is from a culture wholly remote from that of white men but has been educated by them, absorbing English phrases, both formal and informal, that were common in the 1830s. He does not sound like a modern mainland Australia aboriginal speaker, nor is meant to: my hope was to depict a particular character from this distant time. (Kneale, p.vi).

This is interesting for a number of reasons. Firstly Kneale separates the experiences of the Manx and the Tasmanian aboriginals by their contact with white men, for the fact that the aboriginals were 'absorbing' English in the 1830s is a concept not too alien to the Manx experience. He is careful to explain that he is not trying to imitate or even reproduce the Tasmanian aboriginal variety, freeing himself from accusations of appropriation. In an interview with Sean McDonald, Kneale is questioned about the necessity of explaining Peevay's language use, with Kneale answering that:

> I'd had some feedback from Australian friends who pointed out that Peevay sounded very different from the mainland aboriginal style of speaking English of today. That was fine by me – I wanted Peevay to sound quite different, as he came from another place and time--but I felt it was important to clarify the matter.[19]

Such care is not taken with the Manx experience, which Kneale effectively appropriates. The Anglo-Manx dialect is made to wait until after the epilogue, compounding the marginalisation of the Manx. The framework of Standard English is forced onto the Manx crew of the *Sincerity,* even though this stands in contradiction to the text's explicit reference to their preferred use of MxG. Kneale himself writes of the MxG revival:

> I think it's marvelous that there's a real attempt to revive Manx Gaelic. It will be hard now – the last natural Manx speaker died in the 1970s – but it's well worth doing. I'm fascinated by languages, and feel very sad that so many are presently disappearing. In some ways it seems almost like the loss of biodiversity. After all a language contains not just another set of words but another way of thinking, and will frequently contain notions that are untranslatable into any other tongue, because they contain a unique way of seeing the world.[20]

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[19] Sean McDonald, interview with Matthew Kneale in *Bold Type online magazine*, Vol. 3.12, April 2000, www.randomhouse.com/boldtype/0400/kneale/interview.html

[20] www.randomhouse.com/boldtype/0400/kneale/interview.html

In certain respects, although the work has been quite accurately described as a post-colonial novel, Kneale's attitude towards the Manx is more typical of a colonial discourse. Kneale considers the Anglo-Manx code strange, different:

> The Anglo-Manx dialect was the version of English that the Manx came up with. It's often a direct translation from the Gaelic, which gives it a strange richness and ability to surprise. The Manx wouldn't say 'he has a new house' but 'there's a new house at him'.[21]

In an audio clip of an interview with Emma Yates of Guardian Unlimited[22], Kneale reinforces the bizarre nature of Anglo-Manx and the Manx themselves: 'so you've got the, the Manx use Anglo-Manx dialect which is full of strange Manxisms and Celtic, Celtic phrases and things…'[23] What is even stranger about this comment is the fact that it mysteriously does not appear in the text of the printed version of the interview.

The plot of *English Passengers* contains two key incidents of appropriation. The first incident is of a violent nature, and sees the ship's doctor, Potter, stealing the bones from the corpse of an aboriginal woman, the mother of the narrator, Peevay. The second involves a seemingly more civilised attempt to collect representations of the decreasing aboriginal population by a Mrs Denton.

> Climbing into the room within, he found a most awful spectacle, with skin and bodily remains lying in profusion upon the ground, suggesting some terrible murderous struggle had taken place… (Kneale, p.339).

The image of cutting bones from the flesh and muscle is key here. The bones are to form part of the doctor's quest to determine the national characteristics of various populations. In many ways, Kneale mirrors Potter's actions, cutting lexical items out of the body of the linguistic variety, and putting them on display within the text. Kneale appropriates Anglo-Manx and carves it up as he sees fit, in order to make the display

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[21] www.randomhouse.com/boldtype/0400/kneale/interview.html
[22] www.guardian.co.uk/Archive/Article/0,4273,4119401,00.html
[23] audio clip 0116kneale3 from www.guardian.co.uk/Archive/Article/0,4273,4119401,00.html

more vivid. The *Vocabulary* had already begun the process of displaying the Manx by restricting domains and sources for its record of Anglo-Manx, and Kneale's practice leads to increasing restriction, to a process of ever diminishing returns. Whereas the *Vocabulary* includes not only lexical items, but also examples of syntax, a discussion of pronunciation and intonation, Kneale reduces his use of the variety to lexical items within further restricted domains – character types and sea-lore. In his interview with McDonald, Kneale commented that:

> Their dialect was peppered with words about superstition, ghosts and ogres, fishing and the sea, and the more I learned the more I felt I was getting closer to this largely vanished culture.[24]

Kneale fixes on the supernatural aspects to Anglo-Manx, and, by implication, links this firmly to Manx character and culture. He participates in the process of mythologising the Manx nation. The occasional MxG syntactical feature appears, only to be swamped by Kneale's development of a colloquial style for the Captain. It is as if the process begun in the *Vocabulary* tempts the author of *English Passengers* to follow it, so that the linguistic variety becomes increasingly removed from its sources.

If we return to the image of the corpse, it seems that Kneale is doing something more complex than just picking the bones out of the body. Perhaps he is not touching the bones at all, but sleekly skinning the assumed corpse, leaving the bones of the syntax, of the structure, intact. After all, the very presence of his words of explanation denies the need to use 'Anglo-Manx' lexical items, let alone other aspects of the variety. He points out that he has: 'used it sparingly, so it does not become too much of a distraction,' (Kneale, p.460) and has attempted: 'to make the meaning of words apparent from their context.' (Kneale, p.460). Anglo-Manx thereby undergoes further decontextualisation by being included for no other reason than for display.

By peppering the text with lexical items alone, by denying all but one of the Manx crew any space for narration, we find Anglo-Manx resting unnaturally high on the tides of the text. The Captain's use of Anglo-Manx lexical items becomes irritating, and his audience design confusing and questionable – he slips into the realm of the stereotype. Kneale's novel at once continues the mythologising of Anglo-Manx which is found in the *Vocabulary*, and extends the *Vocabulary's* restriction of its domain. Confined to the colloquial, and reduced to a few lexical items inserted into a framework of standard syntax, it becomes a mere display variety, a signifier of social class.

What is interesting here is to consider the ways in which Anglo-Manx is being presented and re-presented, and the implications this brings:

> that he might ask his blacks to bring with them objects of their own manufacture, such as bead necklaces, wooden figures or spears, which they might be willing to part with in exchange for simple gifts. My hope...was to assemble a small, yet perhaps not unimportant collection of memorabilia of this vanishing race. I could quite imagine the sitting room of our London house in some future time, its walls displaying spears and throwing sticks, and a crowd of savage figurines hunched upon the mantelpiece, forming a delightful and also most touching reminder of our time spent upon this faraway shore. (Kneale, p.313).

These are the words of Mrs Denton, the wife of the Governor of Tasmania, whose concern for the dwindling aboriginal population has led her to invite them to a social gathering. Her description echoes the ideology of the *Vocabulary* itself. She talks of walls '*displaying* spears and throwing sticks', and A W Moore, the instigator of the *Vocabulary*, talks of *displaying* the Manxman:

> How would it do to display the Manxman as Fisherman, Farmer, at the market, at a wedding, funeral, &c., using all the Manx and Anglo-Manx words possible? (MMG, p.iv).

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[24] www.randomhouse.com/boldtype/0400/kneale/interview.html

It is this sense of display, of show, that distances the *Vocabulary* from the spoken and written codes it appears to want to record. Like others before him, Kneale accepts the work freely as a standard reference, confidently saying that:

> fortunately a full record was made when it was still widely spoken, at the beginning of this century (*Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect* by A W Moore, Edmund Goodwin and Sophia Morrison), which offers an intriguing picture of past Manx preoccupations. (Kneale, p.459).

I would argue that *English Passengers* helps confirm that the *Vocabulary* is not what it at first seems. It is more than merely a dialect dictionary. Echoing the aims of *Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh* itself, the *Vocabulary* is an attempt to preserve and promote elements of Manx culture. As a standard source for dialect writing, it provides a blueprint for cultural accessibility.

> the *Sincerity* wasn't just some piece of cheap faked-up carpentry...[it] was two entire vessels, one inside the other. The inner hull was those timbers I'd bought from the boat that was being broken up, and though I'd thinned it out a little, still it didn't sound hollow if you gave it a thump. It even looked weathered and damp, just like it should. (Kneale, pp.34-5).

Anglo-Manx attempts to preserve elements of traditional culture, attempts to stretch a new skin around an old frame. In certain respects, the *Vocabulary* is a cultural legacy, centred on the hope of the revival of MxG. Anglo-Manx occupies the space between the hulls of MxG and MxE - it is a holding device. Like the space between the *Sincerity's* hulls, it adds buoyancy to the Manx passengers it carries. The *Vocabulary* temporarily holds the MxG language, keeping it afloat until the revival of MxG becomes a more certain option. Part of the work's power lies in its ability to inform the MxG and cultural revival. It provides a reminder of Gaelic syntax, lexical items and their usage, in key areas. It preserves many children's games and rhymes, personal names, and even suggests pronunciation, albeit with sometimes ambiguous phonetics. Its characteristic, however, is inextricably linked with constriction and stagnation.

The *Vocabulary* is offered, then, as a starting point, a tantalising reminder and pointer for Manx 'traditional' culture. Snippets of stories lead you to other works such as Morrison's *Fairy Tales*, dialect conversations lead you to Anglo-Manx plays and recitation, and domain-specific vocabulary points you to traditional ways of life, such as farming, fishing, crofting, and to the 'other' world. MxG is ever-present, resting upon its pages.

To make these suggestions is to raise many questions. Were the authors of the *Vocabulary* missionary figures, or were they preaching to the converted? How did they knit Anglo-Manx so closely onto the linguistic and cultural baggage of MxG? They were so successful in this that a recently published volume of the journal *Inheritance* lists the *Vocabulary* in its section of Manx *Gaelic* books.[25]

Writing in 1917 on the death of one of the Vocabulary's contributors, Sophia Morrison, Philip Caine suggests that MxG did not present itself as the most attractive means of: 'reviving the sentiment of national individuality before it expired beyond hope of resurrection.'[26] He continues by saying:

> It may be argued that the instrument selected for this purpose, the original Gaelic language of the Island, was inadequate and artificial : that a flame that has gone spark out cannot be rekindled ; and that this particular flame, if it be not absolutely extinct, is so nearly extinct that its remaining embers can only be kept red for ritual purposes (Caine 1917).

This had undoubtedly been considered by the revivalists themselves – we should not be so naive as to think that they were unaware of the problems in reviving the MxG language. Their efforts in promoting Manx culture were significant in boosting the support network for MxG, despite their sometime pessimistic predictions about its fate.

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[25] Valerie Cottle, (ed), *Inheritance*, No.3, (Douglas, Isle of Man: Manx Heritage Foundation/Executive Publications, 2000), p.38.

The promotion of Anglo-Manx did present them with the probability of success. It was popular, entertaining, easily accessible, appearing to strike a balance between the old and new, between MxG and English. In addition, it satisfied one of the most intriguing trends of the time: that of dual nationality and identity. This was particularly pronounced during the years of the First World War, with antiquarians and revivalists often referring to themselves as Manx *and* English, or sometimes British, whilst at the same time reacting violently to suggestions of annexation of the Island by the United Kingdom.[27]

Chapter Three referred to John Edwards' statement that the Irish have used Anglo-Irish as a means of forging a sense of identity, that they did not: 'lose their national identity through language', but rather that they had enshrined it in English. (Edwards in Trudgill, p.491). This has been the experience of Anglo-Manx. Its development as a variety in its own right has proved so successful that it is currently being used as a political and satirical device, in social comment. It informs perceptions of identity and inhabits a complex cultural domain. Others suggest, however, that this popularity has been to the detriment of the MxG revival. Indeed, like Stage Anglo-Irish, Anglo-Manx writing often presents negative archetypes and stereotypes, and this further compounds the problematic development of national pride. (Kewley Draskau 2000, p.76) Kewley Draskau raises such questions, asking:

> Did the Manx, aware, either consciously or subconsciously, of the close relationship between Manx Gaelic and Manx Vernacular English, noting the disparaging presentation of vernacular characters in literature, harden their resolve to abandon their linguistic heritage, in their desperation to assimilate into an English-speaking language community perceived as promising economic, social and cultural advantages? (Kewley Draskau 2000, pp.76-7).

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[26] Philip Caine, 'Death of Miss Sophia Morrison' *Isle of Man Weekly Times*, 20/01/1917.
[27] see Clucas (1916) and Derwent Simpson (1916) in *Mannin*, No.8.

Whether we view it as a holding mechanism or as a harmful force acting against MxG, we cannot fail to notice the adaptability which has ensured the survival of Anglo-Manx. It has continued to change in application, if not in its substance. MxG is currently enjoying an energetic revival, and Anglo-Manx has not lost its appeal either, as its presence in Kneale's *English Passengers* would suggest.

The *Vocabulary* takes on board Manx passengers, presenting a series of snapshots of the Manx English linguistic situation of the late 19th century in particular. Kneale continues this process, appropriating elements of Anglo-Manx as his passengers. By doing so, however, he is taking snapshots from the *Vocabulary* and placing them in a wider context, in a more accessible place. This is not without its dangers or its advantages. It is not Kneale's decision to make use of Anglo-Manx that is in question here. If his note on Anglo-Manx had mirrored that for the aboriginal language use, then the matter would have provoked less comment. Because of the complexity of truths and sources within the *Vocabulary* itself, its presentation as an authenticating principle is not powerful enough to deflect such criticism from the novel. It is, rather, Kneale's attempt to justify and, to some degree, authenticate his use of the dialect, that opens his work to criticism.

The thoughts of one of Kneale's characters, the Reverend Wilson, provide a fitting end to our passage. His journey's goal is to find an explanation for the Garden of Eden's place in the evolution of the earth:

> I surmised that Eden had lain upon a unique form of rock, one that was wholly impervious to heat, and which floated upon the rest like a great raft, probably surrounded by clouds of steamy vapour. (Kneale, p.20).

The experience of Anglo-Manx mirrors that of Wilson's Eden, floating happily and discretely on the seas of Manx English.

Conclusions

The championing of Anglo-Manx has meant that Manx national identities have been repeatedly reinforced through a duality of British Imperialism and Manxness. In order to move beyond the confines of the colonial situation, several factors must be considered.

The intricacies of Anglo-Manx can only be revealed through the continued deconstruction of dialect writing. This should focus in part on an examination of stereotypes within the corpus in order to provide suggestions as to what are and are not acceptable portrayals of Manx character and speech. The dismantling of representations of Manx identity there will free the discussion to develop a more integrated view of Manx identity, which is no longer bound by the colonial attitude that MxG is inferior to English, whether it be Standard English or MxE. There are already signs that the strengthening MxG revival is choosing to embrace rather than oppose Anglo-Manx once again, but this time as an equal rather than as a means of preserving its associated cultural baggage. The Gaelic linguistic identity in the Isle of Man is no longer an exclusive, restricted choice, which means that such a reconciliation is not necessarily to the detriment of MxG. With the opportunity for all school children to learn the MxG language, and to gain employment due to their knowledge of it, MxG presents itself as a vital option for a modern world. The Recording Mann project's examination of MxE should provide insight into how these linguistic identities are changing at the turn of the 21st century. Manx linguistic identities will continue to change beyond the images presented in Anglo-Manx writing. The legacies of Sophia Morrison and the *Vocabulary* urge us to move beyond the work's confines.

Appendix 1 Letter posted by R C Carswell to www.feegan.co.uk/flletter.htm

"Sorry to be late to the great cushag debate. But yes, apparently there was some discussion in Tynwald about adopting a Manx national flower, and Lord Raglan, presiding as Lieutenant Governor, remarked that, in view of the numbers all over the place, it ought to be the cushag (he probably called it the ragwort). Lord Raglan was known as a sardonic and sarcastic sort of character. Nevertheless, his remark was greeted with great laughter and tugging of forelocks (a tradition for which I am not equipped, as it happens), and of course they all wet themselves in their rush to follow up on what the great English lord suggested. What is perhaps surprising is that A W Moore, Sophia Morrison and others, in attending the Pan Celtic Movement meeting (forerunner of the Celtic Congress) made up a load of artificial cushag flower buttonholes to hand out to other delegations. One of the Irish names translates, so I'm told, as "yellow mess", and it's poisonous. There was a phrase (or used to be a phrase) that's a sardonic expression. When someone tells you how wonderful some place is, the disbelieving would remard [sic.], "Oh aye, there's gold on the cushags there!" Mona Douglas made this the basis of a sweet fairy tale romance in a very literal way, but the phrase is really just the opposite of all that.
--Bob."

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Lot 2.—One small Hotel, known as the Council Hotel.

Lot 3.—One Little Roadside Public known as the House of Keys

Lot 4.—An extremely substantial, spacious, and well-built Family Mansion, erected in the seventh century, and known as Castle Rushen, with the whole of the antique Furniture, Curious Clock, magnificent Bracelets, splendid Anklets, Unique Apparatus for Cooking your Goose, and every necessary appurtenant. The residence contains ample accommodation for a family of position, is situate in its own grounds, and commands good views of Langness, the Smelt Monument, Hango-hill, and the College, &c, and is within easy distance of the market town of Castletown. Railway communication to all parts close at hand.

Lot 5.—A Noble Residence erected in the 11th century, and situated on an island near the Manx Empire, communication with which is made by a solid roadway from the mainland to the celebrated naval station of Peel. Considerable sums have been expended on the repairs of this property; and it is a lot which the auctioneer can strongly recommend as well worthy the attention of—showmen. The present Steward can remain in charge for a limited period to suit the convenience of the purchaser.

Lot 6.—A large Ecclesiastical Establishment known as the Bishopric, beautifully situate in its own grounds which are adorned by a magnificent belt of valuable Timber, and intersected by a deep river, with ample driving power for milling purposes. This is fine property, formerly belonging to the Poor, but latterly has been devoted to private purposes, having been occupied by the gentlemanly successors of the Fishermen of Gallilee. It is in a perfect state of repair, and can be well recommended to any one desirous of *otium cum dignitate*.

Lot 7.—That rocky Promontory known as Bruda Head, together with that artificial Rockery known as Port Erin Breakwater, the latter having been erected at a cost of about £80,000. [Note: As the Vendor cannot disguise the fact that this is a bad lot, he will not enter into any covenant to indemnify the purchaser from loss arising from any claim which may arise from the Government of the opposite Republic of Ireland compelling the removal of Rubbish which may destroy the Anchorage Ground for the Fleet in Port Erin Bay.]

Lot 8.—All that extensive Shooting Estate known as "The Commons," including a splendid Deer Forest. This lot abounds in mineral wealth, and also offers special attractions to Sheep-farmers and others. The forest is intersected by good roads, and magnificent views are obtainable from the apex of the celebrated Snaefell.

Lot 9.—All the Revenue derivable from Turf and Ling Cutters; and Photographers; together with the Revenue derivable from the Cutters of Rushes in the Curraghs.

Lot 10.—All that well-watered Messuage, Tenement, Dominion, Hereditaments, and Premises lying to the westward of the Empire, and known as Kitterland, together with the extensive beds of Guano thereon and a Reversionary Interest in a large number of Bonds issued by the Government of this Dependency. [Note: All this nice little Property is well protected from Invasion, and would be a most valuable acquisition to an enterprising Company as a Coaling Station, or to Yacht Clubs

Lot 11.—The Lhen Trench or Grand Northern Canal, which is navigable to vessels of light draft of water. This is a very profitable speculation, and the shares are certain to go up.

Lot 12.—All those fine antique and modern Robes and Jewels used on the Tynwald Day, including the Heirlooms which have been in the family of the Vendor for many centuries, comprising the Tent, the Chair and Crimson Cloth and Cushions, and the Sword with the point upwards, and the Deemster's Stone Tokens, and the Clerkes Surplices, and the Coroners' Weapons, Swords and Axes. [Note This last lot, to which the attention of theatrical managers, actors, &c., is particularly directed, will, if necessary, be divided into small parcels to suit the convenience of purchasers.]

Lot 13.—The National Debt of the Manx Empire, which is of so permanent and stable a character that the children yet unborn will never see it paid off. This will be found a desirable lot for Banks, Insurance Companies Toutine Associations, and Capitalists of large means and great patience.

Lot 15.—All that well-watered Messuage known as the Oyster, Salmon, and Trout Fisheries of the Island.

The Auctioneer confidently places himself in the hands of the public, feeling sure that a handsome competency to solace the declining years of his employer will be the result of his efforts, especially as the whole of the above will Be sold without reserve.

Catalogues, illustrated by Woodcuts laboriously executed by the Auctioneer himself, of objects of interest in and about the Property, may be had on application at his office. For cards to view the several Properties apply to the Vendors' Solicitors, Messrs Scratchem and Bite, Athol-street, Douglas, or to the Auctioneer, Government Auction Rooms, Port Erin Lighthouse.

BY MR RABY.

NOTICE

Appendix 3 Canon Savage's parable: Lingua Monensis

Once upon a time there was a great Lord, who owned many estates. He placed stewards in different parts of his property to manage his affairs for him, and he trusted to them to do the best for him and for the whole property, in every way: for of course he could not be every where himself. In all these estates were overseers and keepers, under the stewards, to carry out the will of the owner.

Now it happened that in one small estate, which was an Island, there was a very ancient settlement of a bird called "Lingua Monensis", of a peculiar, in fact of the very rarest, type, for it was scarcely to be found elsewhere. But they had, unfortunately, sadly declined in numbers by many of its members migrating; by death, and by the overcrowding of new-comers to the estate.

It came at last to this, that if some sort of help could not be given to this last remnant of an old stock, struggling for existence, the whole race in all the Lord's lands would become extinct, for that particular breed was only to be found on that Island.

Now it was a boast of the Lord's that so many different kinds of animals found a place of refuge on his lands, and could live happily there; and he had taken an especial interest in this bird when he visited that Island on which it was to be found.

But the stewards and their keepers were inclined to think only of money in such matters. And this came to such a pass that they agreed among themselves to allow only those animals and birds to live on the estates whose bodies, or hides, or plumes they could sell for profit. Wise people remonstrated, and pointed out the value that Science found in rare specimens, yet it seemed as if the Butcher or Poulterer, or Tailor or Milliner and not the man of Science were to settle the question for, if none of them would buy the bird or beast the keepers thought that it was therefore proved to be not worth preserving, however rare it might be. This was their way of looking at it.

The fact is that their idea was simply money; and so, Science was nothing to them, because they saw no money in it.

And yet they were not the owners; they were there to manage the property for the best advantage of the lord, and of the whole ?body.

Things went on in this way until this settlement of rare birds became very seriously diminished; so much so indeed that at last steps had to be taken to save it from dying out altogether; it if was to be preserved at all.

The facts were brought to the knowledge of the keepers by people who took an interest in the case; but still the question of money seemed to dominate the whole matter; in fact it stood up before them quite close, like a brick wall; and they could not see beyond it.

The keepers said plainly that the rare bird – Lingua Monensis – being unmarketable, had better perish, since no one wanted to buy it; and they thought it far better to stock that part of the estate with geese, because money could be made out of them.

And so it seemed likely that a species would be utterly lost to Science for ever for, if it once died out completely, it could never by any possibility be restored again. And all this prejudice against it was not because it was hurtful or mischievous, but simply because it could not be sold in the market. And so it looked as if Lingua Monensis was doomed to die out utterly like the "Dodo" and others extinct denizens of the Earth.

Now there were people living on the estate who had great love for the bird, and they remembered how their forefathers had loved and protected it in former times; so they banded themselves together to do all that was possible to save it. They pressed upon the keepers the great importance to Science of saving a species from extinction, even though it could not be sold for money; and the keepers at last listened and took heed, and orders were given that Lingua Monensis should be allowed to live. Still, however, the keepers would do nothing themselves to protect it, all that had to be done by those who had banded themselves together for the purpose; but they took great joy in doing it, for it was to them a labour of love.

And so it came to pass that Lingua Monensis was saved from dying out; and in course of time it flourished and increased amazingly, and it fairly astonished the whole countryside by the way it multiplied and reoccupied all its old haunts, driving out all the geese that had been put there to take its place.

Source: Box 6, Sophia Morrison Papers

Bibliography

Primary sources

My thanks to the Director and Trustees of Manx National Heritage, under whose protection the following papers are held on behalf of the Manx nation:

MNH MS 9495 *Sophia Morrison papers*, 8 boxes of uncatalogued papers.

MNH MS 9495 additional deposit donated by E M Teare, Mylvoirrey, Peel, 22/08/1957.

MNH MS 1513b correspondence between J J Kneen and Sophia Morrison.

MNH MS 9909 George Goodwin papers, Box 1.

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