CORNWALL'S BORDER: CELTIC FRONTIER OR ANGLICISED TERRITORY?

Submitted by

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Abstract

Cornwall has had a long history of difference compared to the experience of other English counties. As landscape and identity have interwoven, the river Tamar has represented a clear divide between Cornwall and the rest of the United Kingdom undoubtedly, an important facet of the Cornish identity. Whilst it has functioned as a historic and symbolic break in the landscape, the 'borderlands' of the Tamar have begun to emerge in the Civic Society of the South-West in their own right as part of the evolution of living close to the border has changed and opportunities for investment, protection and prosperity have emerged. This thesis therefore seeks to explore the impact of the bordering and re-bordering process of Cornwall and more specifically, East Cornwall. Thus, though this thesis we can explore the sub-national border, an area of border studies that is far less developed, but in

Reflecting on their daily interactions with neighbouring Plymouth and Devon, built on historic connections, we see how life differs in East Cornwall compared to the rest of the county. An interdisciplinary approach considering the political, cultural, and socio-economic history of these communities, particularly focused on post-19th century life, but also drawing on precedence from earlier examples, sees how divergence has grown across parts of the borders. There is the struggle of the voice of local communities on both banks of the River Tamar, some advocated, others challenging the construction and re-organisation of cultural and political borders.

Cornish studies has traditionally focused on Cornwall as a whole, defining its distinctive sense of place and identity as a Celtic nation and a constitutional part of the Celtic fringe in the context of the British State. This thesis, building on the growing body of more micro-historical, localised histories within Cornwall, seeks to challenge the orthodox narrative that has found West Cornwall, which has been the subject of most of these intra-Cornwall studies, to be 'more Cornish'. Unearthing new narratives about the 'forgotten Corner' of Cornwall amongst other parts of East Cornwall not only disputes the homogeneity of Cornwall and Cornish identity, but also the brings to light the shared heritage amongst these more rural communities.

Through Border studies, we can explore how competitive territory, overlapping jurisdictions and implications of social mobility have changed over time and in doing so reshaped perceptions of the border. The field also recognizes that border politics will continue to be reshaped, and in doing so, alter the relationships and territories they define. Looking towards Cornwall's future, this thesis reflects as to how it is evolving amidst a backdrop of devolution, de-centralization, and threats to the British constitution. This has implications for Cornish identity, which may be multiple identities, in a more globalized world, changing rapidly for those living near borders.

Contents

Chapter 1 - Introduction

A peninsula of South West Britain, Cornwall is 'almost an island' surrounded by the Celtic Sea and the English Channel on almost all sides, except to the East.[1] Here, Cornwall's parameters are almost totally defined by the River Tamar and as such, Cornwall as an entity is defined by its natural landscape. It is the division centred on the Tamar that primarily addresses the differential between Cornwall, Devon, and the rest of the United Kingdom.

The image of the River Tamar and its two major bridges is intrinsically associated with the Cornish experience. As John Neale describes 'The Tamar is so important that it is entrusted with a singular duty, which no other river in the entire country undertakes, as, for most of its course, it separates Devon from Cornwall and, apart from a few kinks, it effectively marks the jealously guarded borderland between the two counties'.[2] We have seen how this image has been romanticised for tourism purposes in both pictorial form and in literature.

Cornwall is an administrative county of England but also the first and only non-metropolitan area that has been granted devolved powers, these in 2015.[3] This is formal recognition of Cornwall being defined and treated as a constituent part of the United Kingdom and its negotiations as a composite unitary parliamentary democracy.[4] In doing so, the political value of the Cornish border is recognised and consecrated into the British fold. This thesis therefore is interested not only in the border formation, but also the impact of the bordering process on daily life for communities both in and near Cornwall.

As Border Studies has clearly demonstrated, borders heighten nationalist consciousness, usually triggered from a security perspective, and routed in territorial integrity. The desire for permanence amid the threat of expansionism, usually on an international scale, creates conflict.[5] The Cornish experience, whilst not an international border, has been built upon an ongoing historic tension between what it means to be Cornish rather than English, and thus parallels to studies of nationalism and borders can be drawn. Whilst the people of Cornwall were recognised as a national minority, Cornwall itself has never received the same protections. As this thesis shall demonstrate, the border itself has moved on several occasions owing to a number of factors including war, nature and political will, not withstanding social and economic change that has altered Cornish life and its

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[1] Philip Hayward, "Bounded by Heritage and the Tamar," (2017), 1.
[2] John Neale, *Discovering the River Tamar* (Chalford: Amberley Publishing : [distributor] Orca Book Services, 2010).
[3] "Cornwall Devolution Deal" Communities & Local Government,
[4] Philip Payton, *The Making of Modern Cornwall : Historical Experience and the Persistence of "Difference"* (Redruth: Dyllansow Truran, 1992).
[5] M. Hechter, *Containing Nationalism* (OUP Oxford, 2000).

interactions with the communities both within England and beyond.[6] Some explanation for it, may stem from the argument by Payton that 'Cornwall is a natural and self-contained geographic unit, bounded on three sides by the sea and on the fourth almost entirely cut off by the River Tamar, and this has facilitated – indeed, almost predisposed Cornwall towards – the creation within these bounds of distinct territorial and cultural units'.[7] Cornubia as an ancient distinct region, the Stannary Parliaments and the Duchy of Cornwall are some examples of the vehicles of Cornish mobilisation as a 'stateless nation'. Symbolically it encompasses a national rhetoric without the established construction of a nation with defined borders.

936AD is the year when people often talk about Cornwall and the consecration of its border. Legend tells of how King Athelstan fixed the eastern boundary of Cornwall as the East bank of the Tamar through religious concession.[8] Whilst this remains part of the narrative of Cornwall its border has continued to fluctuate seeing change as recently as 1977 as part of *The Cornwall and Devon (Areas) Order 1977* that some changes to the North Cornwall boundary, with Torridge in Devon. These changes built on those recommended in 1966 by the Boundary Commission which abolished the Broadwoodwidger Rural District to cement the division between Cornwall and Devon. The premise was that the border would follow the centreline of the River Tamar and the tributaries in the North and estuaries in the South.[9] Many of these changes, as well as other prior boundary reconfigurations, are discussed later in the thesis in a dedicated section which proves how contentious the border can be. Prescott encourages the researcher to consider the effects of the political boundary has had on the cultural landscape, as we see how communities respond, react, and engage in the process surrounding proposed boundary changes, in some cases supporting, others challenging where territory is being disputed.[10]

One may consider at this juncture Berg & Houtum's reflections on borders; 'crucial to our understand of borders is that we would see, what are often termed processes of 'de-bordering' and 're-bordering' as dynamic practices and discourses and not as objects. We would argue that processes of 'de-bordering' and 're-bordering' are mutually constitutive and cannot be separated or fixed, hence the quotation marks above these terms. Rather than searching for and attempting to fix,

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[6] "The Cornish Identity," https://bernarddeacon.com/identities/the-cornish-identity/ (Last Accessed - 20/11/2018); Joanie Willett, "Cornish Identity: Vague Notion or Social Fact," in *Cornish Studies: Sixteen*, ed. Philip Payton (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2008); Bernard Deacon, "County, Nation, Ethnic Group? The Shaping of the Cornish Identity," *The International Journal of Regional and Local Studies The International Journal of Regional and Local Studies* 3, no. 1 (2013).

[7] Payton,1992, p. 44.

[8] Jesse Harasta, "'Arise St Piran': The Cult of the Saints and the Redefining of Cornwall," *Cornish Studies* 17, no. 1 (2009).

[9] Ordnance Survey, "Broadwoodwidger (Abolition of Rural District), Devon and Cornwall. Map Showing Boundaries.," ed. Kew The National Archives (The National Archives, Kew, 1966).

[10] J. R. V. Prescott, *Political Frontiers and Boundaries* ([Place of publication not identified]: Taylor & Francis, 2016), 159-65.

protect or rationalize de-bordered or re-bordered spaces in time and space [*sic*], we study bordering practices and discourses, focusing our attention on the often implicit, latent, meaningful, and contextual strategies that are implied, rooted and included in bordering processes'.[11]

This border theory is based on change over time, which is crucial to the understanding of the Cornish border. Where the border has been fluid over time, so has people's construction of space and time around them. The process of 'de-bordering' and 're-bordering' allows for multiple perspectives on the border. This theory encourages us to explore those who are empowered with the decision-making for moving borders. Where this thesis builds on theory is exploring how the pre-conception of the border and of Cornish space has shaped the border re-negotiations and how this in turn has altered the course of the re-bordering process.

White argues we must 'remember the agency of people in marking, claiming, and making landscapes. The political implications of this are clear. The landscape is a product of negotiation expressed through the activities and performances of people working in cooperation, or in tension with one another in the past. By seeking to recover everyday lived experiences and the complex, contradictory, messy processes that have shaped and reshaped the landscapes and places in which we live, the activities of ordinary people are revealed as being of central importance'.[12] Evidence from the Cornwall-Devon case study has demonstrated that changes to the border have often been driven by political elites rather than coming from the grass-roots. In many of the examples, despite some evidence of cross-border engagement and the importance of the city of Plymouth that has grown out from the greater convenience of connectivity in society, change is being proposed in order to appease centralised targets set by government along national lines. Local communities though have a vital role in whether these are acceptable and, in many cases, fully realised. Some have sought to support change in line with their view on space, but others have highlighted the inconsistencies between the cultural border and the political border.

Understanding the border is in essence to discover the framework for conceptualising Cornwall and its place within the United Kingdom. It recognises that to fully appreciate Cornwall in the Twenty-First century, one must digest not only the history of Cornwall alone, but rather as a series of relationships, some ideological and identity driven, others more practical and utilitarian.

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[11] E. Berg and H. J. van Houtum, "Prologue : A Border Is Not a Border : Writing and Reading Borders in Space," in *Routing Borders between Territories, Discourses and Practices*, ed. E. Berg and H. J. van Houtum (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003), 1.

[12] Rosalea Monacella and SueAnne Ware, "Introduction," in *Fluctuating Borders : Speculations About Memory and Emergence*, ed. Rosalea Monacella and SueAnne Ware (Melbourne: RMIT Publishing, 2008), 1; Nicola Whyte, "Senses of Place, Senses of Time: Landscape History from a British Perspective Au - Whyte, Nicola," *Landscape Research* 40, no. 8 (2015): 936.

Cornwall's Border?

It is important to define the parameters of this research given the slightly ambiguous terminology of 'Cornwall's Border'. The border does not in essence belong to Cornwall, nor would it be correct to call it 'Devon's Border' either, it straddles the two. Etymology of borders in border studies and border theory is very important, particularly with regards to possessives. The reason that it is described as 'Cornwall's' here is because it is set within a question. What does it mean to belong to Cornwall? Are we referring to Cornwall as a place, an institution or as a broad embodiment of the Cornish population? Border theory is synonymous with power struggles and who it belongs to is subjective and the value of the border is equally subjective.

In a study focused on the border, it is firstly important to define what exactly a border is. Berg and Van Houtum argue that 'borders have become predominantly interpreted as the communication of practices, as stories narrated by some for some and believed, identified with or contested by others' and that as such 'a border is not a border'.[13] Paasi considers how a singular theory for all borders would be unachievable, but that there are some area of commonality – The value of the lived experience, state-building and the competing agencies of states and people in the quest for territoriality.[14] As Rumford recognises 'Borderwork democratises cosmopolitanism; new forms of bordering are just as likely to be developed from the 'bottom up' as well as 'top down''.[15]

Cornwall has a 'unique history as a nation, region, and county' and the difficulties of this given its ancestry as the homeland of Celtic peoples recognised as a 'Celtic Nation' by the Pan-Celtic Congress in 1904, but its unsettled constitutional status has raised a number of issues, some of which are yet to be resolved.[16] One of these outstanding issues has been the fluidity of its border, reflecting political change created at Local, Westminster and International levels. These changes in the Cornish context have come from both bottom up and top down, as Rumford describes the bordering process.

The border in this case study, is defined by the natural landscape similar to many examples within North and South America.[17] Academics such as Juliet Fall suggest that we should challenge how 'natural' a boundary is and how many are shaped by human geography.[18] The River Tamar has been

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[13] Berg and Houtum, 2003.

[14] Anssi Paasi, "A Border Theory: An Unattainable Dream or a Realistic Aim for Border Scholars?'," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Border Studies*, ed. Doris Wastl-Walter (Farnham; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011).

[15] C. Rumford, *Cosmopolitan Borders* (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2014), 36.

[16] Bernard Deacon, *A Concise History of Cornwall*, The Histories of Europe (Wales: University of Wales Press, 2007).

[17] P. Readman, C. Radding, and C. Bryant, "Introduction: Borderlands in a Global Perspective," in *Borderlands in World History, 1700-1914*, ed. P. Readman, C. Radding, and C. Bryant (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2014), 6.

[18] Juliet Fall, "Drawing the Line : Nature, Hybridity, and Politics in Transboundary Spaces," (2018).

similarly shaped in part by human use as it 'is unique in its dual role of being the boundary of Devon and Cornwall - and also its link'.[19] We have seen how both Cornwall and Devon have laid claim to the Tamar as their own and also how from this ambiguity of ownership, locals have continued to share usage. Furthermore, the Tamar has also been subject to natural and man-made change. It is a living river, it has moved course, new land masses created, and ways to cross it developed. A few studies have explored how rivers function as cross-border spaces of collaboration and therefore arguably the Tamar is not so 'unique'. Nonetheless, the history of the Tamar as a region has been omitted in studies of Cornwall despite the alternative perspectives, we can gather from the various communities situated within it. These vary based on geographical location and the daily lives of their inhabitants. This makes describing the border in its entirety more difficult as the cultural construction of border does not necessarily reflect the actual borderline that has been recognised in law. Nor does the 'borderline' rhetoric matter to some communities as much as many may think when considering Cornwall's unique culture and identity.

Bringing together the border studies and Cornish studies opens avenues for discussing how the notions of the 'fringe', connectivity and shared space all interact; This thesis introduces of key themes and ideas that could promote debate surrounding what it means to be Cornish in differing social spaces. Both Cornish Studies and Border Studies have many key publications related to them individually, but this thesis can begin show how discussions of the border are fundamental to the Cornish identity, but also how border studies needs to go beyond the traditional nation-state to develop fresh perspectives. Border Studies outline the structure of this thesis but omits to mention sub-national borders sufficiently. Some studies have looked at intra-state comparisons, particularly with reference to the United States, but have not focused to the same degree on English examples. The edited book *Borderlands in World History 1700-1914* contained several studies that began to explore some of the internal political border experiences between the constituent nations of the United Kingdom but omitted no reference to Cornwall. Likewise, Cornish Studies, which drives the substantive body of historiography containing the localised content, has neglected studies of the eastern parts of Cornwall. Harris's study of the Cornish identity and localism emphasises Perry's analysis of Cornish identity from spatial dimensions. This explored how Cornish Identity has 'strands' that can be similar or different, both in how important they are to an individual and the ways they are manifested.[20] These largely reflect both Mid and West Cornwall as their primary focus with East Cornwall challenging some of their conclusions. Much has been written about the core-periphery models that exist within the United Kingdom and thus further space and the distant nature of West and Mid-Cornwall therefore lend themselves more comfortably with what many construe

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[19] Sarah Foot, *The River Tamar* (Bodmin: Bossiney, 1989), p. 6.
[20] Richard John Pascoe Harris, "Locating Identity and Ethnicity in Cornish Civil Society: Penzance, a Case Study " (University of Exeter, 2017), 15.

as the Cornish experience. The history of the Cornish language and some analysis of 2011 census data has re-enforced the perception of an East-West gradient within Cornwall that sees more Cornishness in the West and significantly less in the East.[21] What these narratives ignore is how the Tamar border, with its nationalistic symbolism, has heightened pertinence to those living in closest proximity to it. The interactions with Devon and Plymouth, the reliance on shared services, the dual-responsibilities over some places all demonstrate evidence of latent Cornishness that manifests itself at times through protest, but also more generally in Civic Society as shall be the focus of discussion in later chapters.

As impetus for debate, I refer to the discussions in the report from the Political and Constitutional Reform Committee, regarding the Parliamentary Voting System and Constituencies Bill in 2010:

> 'In the case of Cornwall in particular, including the Isles of Scilly for parliamentary purposes, we wish to make a number of specific points as to why it has a very strong identity and should not be joined with parts of Devon or Plymouth.

> The east of Cornwall is made up entirely of small towns and rural areas, in direct contrast to the city of Plymouth in particular. Only Bodmin and Saltash have populations of over 15,000, and none over 20,000. Ever compared to small towns and rural areas in West Devon the nature of the respective towns and rural areas is quite different to even the casual observer.

> The Office of National Statistics, when amending the areas for which it prepares statistics, support and implemented, "the separation of Devon and Cornwall into two separate areas, recognising the very different economic conditions of the two counties, and Cornwall's sparsity of population, geographical peripherality and distinct cultural and historical factors reflecting a Celtic background'.[22]

These comments were made as part of the internal re-organisation of the British State. This was instigated by the recommendation of reducing the number of Members of Parliament and the report from the Boundary Commission of England in redefining constituency boundaries on the British map at that time. The quote above aligns with Payton's 'Persistence of Difference' which is being specifically used in relation to the communities of East Cornwall to those on the other bank of the

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[21] Bernard Deacon, "Are Cornish Politics Celtic," in *The Politics of the Celtic Fringe Symposium*, ed. Garry Tregidga (University of Exeter, Tremough Campus2013).
[22] Constitution Great Britain. Parliament. House of Lords. Select Committee on the, *Parliamentary Voting System and Constituencies Bill : Report : 3rd Report of Session 2010-11* (London: Stationery Office, 2010), ev.93.

Tamar, emphasising that there are shared values and common experience that remain throughout Cornwall.[23]

Their remains a significant re-shaping of the cultural and political landscapes of the United Kingdom, and the trickle-down effect is creating a crisis of identity for the sub-nation states and encouraging a 're-bordering' process from within. With regard to the fiercely contested Scottish Independence referendum in 2015 followed by a further referendum in 2016 on whether to remain within the European Union, an equally robust discussion of 'taking back control' of borders, we can identify how border studies are inherently pertinent to the conceptualising and understanding of the nation, the nation-state and also the 'stateless nation' in Britain.[24] Profound reflections for sub-national borders prove their value to academics as examples of how strong regionalised identity movements and their spatial constructions that do not conform to stringent national cartography.

Celtic Frontier?

'Frontier' imagery is perhaps best described by Neil Smith, writing in the *Urban Geographic Reader*, who looks at how it 'serves to rationalise and legitimate a process of conquest', focusing on nationalism built on the mythology and reality of the geographical space.[25] Modern Border Studies have developed from analysis of frontiers, but we can see how frontier theory can still be applied and provides the foundations for how we conceptualise the border.[26] Donnan & Wilson explore how the terms have been interchanged throughout academia, largely due to similarities but there are some intricate details that distinguish them.[27]

Integral to the image of the frontier, is settlement, expansion, and conflict. In the American context for which it was most used, the frontier was shaped by the natural landscape.[28] These historic images of frontiers largely parallel with the Cornwall-Devon border ideal centred on the Tamar. Studies of the ancient kingdoms of Dumnonia and Cornubia thereof in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries, demonstrate the history of fluidity of the ancient constructions on the land that has become known as modern-day Cornwall. Its border was reshaped through war, dominating the South-West before reverting back to the River Tamar, where the border remains the same today.[29]

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[23] Philip Payton, *The Making of Modern Cornwall: Historical Experience and the Persistence of "Difference"* (Dyllansow Truran, 1992).

[24] Explicit discussions in Karolina Follis, "Maritime Migration, Brexit and the Future of European Borders: Anthropological Previews," 104, no. 1 (2017); more implicit border studies discussion in Aileen McHarg et al., "The Scottish Independence Referendum : Constitutional and Political Implications," (2016).

[25] Neil Smith, "Gentrification, the Frontier and Urban Space," in *The Urban Geography Reader*, ed. Nicholas Fyfe and Judith Kenny (London; New York: Routledge, 2005).p.131

[26] H. Donnan and T.M. Wilson, *Borders: Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State* (Berg Publishers, 1999).

[27] Hastings Donnan and Thomas M. Wilson, "Other Approaches to Borders, Nations and States," in *Borders : Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State*, ed. Hastings Donnan and Thomas M Wilson (Oxford: Berg, 1999), 48.

[28] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (Mansfield Centre, CT: Martino Publishing, 2014).

[29] Bernard Deacon, *Cornwall's First Golden Age : From Arthur to the Normans* (2016).

Significantly for this thesis, politics is integral to the study of frontiers, as discussed in Prescott's seminal piece. Political frontiers, he argues, are zones which have replaced lines since the beginning of the 20th century, defined by political control and sovereignty.[30] Whilst he argues that frontier zones are of interest to academics, no work has been undertaken on this topic relating to Cornwall and Devon. Studies of Cornwall's pre and ancient history have demonstrated fluctuations of the border, but academia has yet to explore the modern changes including the effects of Boundary Commissions' views on the border between Devon and Cornwall. This lack of research that has focused on West Devonian and Eastern Cornish communities near the Tamar overall leaves a significant academic deficit, particularly surprising given the latter could have significant ramifications for how we interpret Cornwall and Cornish identity.

There has always been a tension in field of Celtic Studies relating to discussions of Cornishness and the experience of Celticity. This has also impacted on what researchers have focused on in terms of topics of interest. Whilst some are rooted in antiquarian studies of an ancient peoples, *New Directions in Celtic Studies* encourages the researcher to engage in interdisciplinary studies of more contemporary Celtic landscapes.[31] The regularly used image of the 'Celtic Fringe', as most recognisably used in academic study by Michael Hechter, is created such by 'small areas... [and the] distinct cultural practices from those outlying, *peripheral*, regions'. However, by the composition there is a point where the English 'core' and Celtic 'Periphery' meet.[32] This explored the socio-economic context of the United Kingdom, assessing the impact of these relationships on cultural and ethnic constructions away from the heterogenous image of Britishness.

However, by its ambitious aims, it presents a macro-perspective that does not allow for more localised responses, though does suggest some more micro-perspectives of border exchange that shall be studied here. Hechter makes the assertion that since the Seventeenth century, Cornwall was assimilated, economically and religiously and thus its distinctiveness undermined. In doing so he suggests Cornwall has less in common with Wales and Scotland than it did in the past.[33] In light of this, can we describe the border as being Celtic? What does Celticity mean for Cornish people in the Twenty-First century? or is it an anachronistic label? Is it simply enough to compare the modern-day similarities in border relations between Cornwall, Wales and Scotland and their English counterpart authorities to call them Celtic? These questions are at the core of the argument throughout.

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[30] Prescott,2016, 1.

[31] Amy Hale and Philip Payton, *New Directions in Celtic Studies* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000).

[32] M. Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536–1966,* vol. null, Null (1975), p. 5.

[33] Ibid., 64-65.

Smith deconstructs the nation in his commentary on nationalism; Whilst a nationalist believes the nation is created naturally, the modernist contests the history of a nation and where its origins lie. They would argue the nation is a modern phenomenon created out of ideologies that are born out of post-industrial society.[34] This simultaneous clash of past and present is becoming an increasingly important part of Celtic scholarship of modern-day society. Mabh Savage states her aim 'to draw those [Celtic] aspects together and examine the relevance of such an ancient culture in modern day society. This is not a historical examination of the Celts; it's about how our ideas of Celtic society, mythology and beliefs influence us *right now*'.[35] We can follow Savage's exploration of Celticity today in how Cornwall's identity and the nation is built on Celtic iconography and rhetoric. We must therefore ask where the nation-state of Cornwall originates from? Furthermore, where did they apply the border and the line where Cornwall ends? This is a long-standing argument that is still being contested today, as agency over border creation differs.

Thus, we must bring together the fields of Celtic Studies and Border Studies. Donnan & Wilson argue for 'borders as a place for researching the structures and agencies of the state and the ways in which national and other identities provide meaning and order to the forces of the state'.[36] However how does one assess identities at a border? Willett concluded that the 'social fact' of Cornish identity was rooted in life experience within Cornwall, a result of cultural, socio-economic and political processes, that have added importance to a sense of place and belonging.[37] She draws several comparisons to the Welsh and Scottish experience, but there is no direct reference to Celticity in her research. Celtic Identity was not even mentioned in the questionnaire that was the basis of the article, which suggested it was not worth consideration. This perhaps reflects how Celticity is an abstract framework for comparison of 'non-English' identities and places, rather than a shared identity. That, therefore, is the defining remit upon which Celticity is explored in this case-study.

This thesis predominantly explores the political dynamics of the border. Therefore, let us consider one example broadly relating to borders in Celtic Politics. In the context of East Cornwall, Tregidga's *The Liberal Party in South West Britain since 1918* has explored Celtic parallels of the prominence of the Liberal Party in the Celtic Fringe.[38] It was more broadly discussing how the Liberal Party embodied the politics of difference on the Celtic Fringe, drawing support build on

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[34] Anthony D Smith, "Gastronomy or Geology? The Role of Nationalism in the Reconstruction of Nations," *Nations and nationalism* 1, no. 1 (1995): 18.

[35] Mabh Savage, "Modern Celt : Seeking the Ancestors," (2013).

[36] Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan, "Nation, State and Identity at International Borders," in *Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers*, ed. Hastings Donnan and Thomas M. Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 26.

[37] Willett, 2008, 199-200.

[38] Garry Tregidga, *The Liberal Party in South-West Britain since 1918 : Political Decline, Dormancy and Rebirth* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000).

longstanding Celtic identities that challenged the Westminster model of power and the core-periphery subtleties. Where his book provoked intrigue and debate was in his analysis of 'Tamarside Liberalism', where the residual Liberal support could be found even doing the lowest performing years of the Liberal Party, which could be found by the River Tamar. This straddled both sides of the border and undermined any notion of an established frontier. It does however complement the idea of a zonal frontier aspect that Prescott raised and discussed. Rather than being displaced by the border, identity can in fact be centred on the border itself. This is a subject for discussion that could undermine the statement of a Celtic frontier. A frontier may not encompass Cornwall in isolation, but also infers internal fractures within the political landscape of Cornwall itself.

Given the scope for 'expansion' of the frontier, one might consider how applicable Bowman's Cardiac Celts theory may well apply. She explores how, beyond DNA and the ethnic construction of Celto-Cornishness, how people identify as Celtic 'from the heart'.[39] One may interpret this from the perspective that even if the Cornish no longer identify as Celtic as for example the Welsh or Scottish peoples, some could still relate to Celticity based on individuality. There have been significant demographic shifts in Cornwall born from increasing population change in a globalised world, inspired by opportunities and lifestyle choices that are facilitated by the porous internal borders within the United Kingdom.[40] But whilst people move in both directions, the insider/outsider paradigm of the border have been impacted by political change without the need of relocation. Some communities that were formally Devonian, but now form part of Cornwall, have demonstrated the desirability of identifying as Cornish within the border, regardless of ethnic origin. Later in the thesis we will see how identity, amongst other factors, has contributed to communities asking for the border to be altered. As such we debate the significance of cultural space to the Cornish identity, as opposed to the descendance of the border rhetoric from family lines, particularly where in East Cornwall where space remains a contentious issue.

Henry Reynolds in *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia* hoped the readership 'would find… a new and exciting province providing fresh insights and forcing a radical reinterpretation of old themes'[41]. He aimed to achieve this by reflecting on the experiences of both the Aboriginal peoples and the settlers, finding the inconsistencies in the narratives presented by each side. Despite the imperialistic inference raised in these discussions, there is value to his approach of exploring borders within distinctive communities. This thesis thus draws on life experience from 'each side' of the frontier, where often the approach is to only

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[39] Marion Bowman, "Cardiac Celts: Images of the Celts in Contemporary British Paganism," (1995).
[40] "Population," https://www.cornwall.gov.uk/council-and-democracy/data-and-research/data-by-topic/population/ (Last Accessed - 05/02/2019).
[41] Henry Reynolds and C. D. Rowley, *The Other Side of the Frontier : Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia* (Ringwood, Victoria; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982), p.2.

consider the narrative of one side. Thus, we learn about Cornish Identity from both perspectives, those living in Cornwall and those who reside outside but are confronted by Cornwall's difference in various aspects.

Failure to adopt this approach has been a historic criticism of typical frontier studies that have only associated the narrative with one side of the argument.[42] Cornish Studies is developing a far more relational history of Cornwall exploring its relationships with international and national counterparts. This is in response to the changing world and the growing body of academia interest in regions as part of a wider sphere.[43] Given that there are at least two sides which make up a border, it would seem simple to portray an inside/outside paradox that doesn't consider the push and pull factors for both sides in renegotiations over defining lines. Parker and Vaughan-Williams discuss how analysing in this way is overly simplistic as there are processes in place across a border.[44] As such, the value of this research offers more than a token contribution to intra-Cornish Studies alone. Instead, one can argue this is a perspective on British Studies and fractured landscape of the United Kingdom, reinforced and challenged by several internal border struggles.

Anglicized Territory?[45]

Johnson et al. argue regularly in their interventions on border studies that territorialisation has remained one of the most significant discussion points in Border Studies. Whether through power of the state as recognised territories, the role of borders in affirming territories, the processes of de/re-territorialisation by social processes or simply as the influence of globalisation, there is a symbiosis between territories and borders.[46]

Territories in the broadest sense are geographically undetermined. We may consider recognised and unrecognised territories as part of the configuration of space. Throughout this research we will be interpreting space through a number of different territories. Cornwall as a territory has been reshaped throughout history, both by the state and the people.

One may consider how 'Janus-faced' the Cornish identity can be. Defined as Cornish, they are intrinsically described as 'un-English'.[47] As the Moreno question suggests, there are incompatibilities in dual identity contexts between localism, depicting territorial identities and political aspirations.[48]

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[42] Ibid.

[43] See Cornish Studies Series Two and Three

[44] Noel Parker and Nick Vaughan-Williams, "Introduction: Critical Border Studies : Broadening and Deepening the 'Lines in the Sand' Agenda," in *Critical Border Studies : Broadening and Deepening the 'Lines in the Sand' Agenda*, ed. Noel Parker and Nick Vaughan-Williams (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 3.

[45] Joanie Willett, "National Identity and Regional Development: Cornwall and the Campaign for Objective 1 Funding," *National Identities* 15, no. 3 (2013).

[46] Corey Johnson et al., *Interventions on Rethinking 'the Border' in Border Studies*, vol. 30 (2011).

[47] Deacon, *A Concise History of Cornwall*,2007, 231.

[48] Luis Moreno, "Scotland, Catalonia, Europeanization and the 'Moreno Question'," *Scottish Affairs* 54 (First Series), no. 1 (2006): 12.

The 'kinship border' of the River Tamar is arguably dividing English territories from within. One must therefore explore not only the development of a distinctive identity, but also the processes that contributes to the inhibition of its growth. The process of Anglicisation, or 'englishing' is defined by James Sturgis in one of the most respected articles written on the topic, as 'those processes or policies which had as their aim the assimilation of Afrikaners into a predominantly English culture'.[49]

Importantly for Celtic Studies of the United Kingdom, it is also the accepted vernacular that Hechter used in his study of the Celtic Fringe, particularly in reference to religion and language.[50] A criticism that could be made of Hechter's chronological framework is that it creates epochs. These almost appear as if the processes of anglicisation are separated at separate times. As such this breaks down the cumulative processes almost as if they are significantly different. It is for this reason that this thesis explores themes not timeframes of change. Hitherto, we see how historical notions and ideals of territory are being reimagined and redefined over time in specific circumstances, be they service provision, political movements, or aspects of daily life.

Brambilla et al. argue in *Borderscaping* that border studies and theory require a shift away from the 'normative dimension' adopting a far more 'multiperspectival view' of the '(re)construction of borders'.[51] Agency is not restricted solely to the duopoly of Devon and Cornwall, as the Tamar has traditionally invoked. The entire borderlands theory can be based on a territory that belongs to neither side of the border, instead needing to be interpreted as a territory in its own right.[52] Their edited volume argues for the development of cityscapes and EU Borderscapes. These are both present in this case study, showing further complications with the borders in relation to the European Union and Plymouth.[53]

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[49] James Sturgis, "Anglicisation at the Cape of Good Hope in the Early Nineteenth Century," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 11, no. 1 (1982): p.1.

[50] Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536–1966*, null,1975, 109, 64.

[51] Chiara Brambilla, Jussi Laine, and Gianluca Bocchi, "Introduction: Thinking, Mapping, Acting and Living Borders under Contemporary Globalisation," in *Borderscaping: Imaginations and Practices of Border Making* (Routledge, 2016).

[52] Thomas M Wilson and Hastings Donnan, "Territory, Identity and the Places in-Between: Culture and Power in European Borderlands," *Culture and power at the edges of the state: national support and subversion in European border regions* 3 (2005).

[53] Anna Lazzarini, "Metamorphosis of City Borders," in *Borderscaping*, ed. Chiara; Laine Brambilla, Jussi; Scott, James W.; Gianluca Bocchi (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2016); Alice Buoli, "Addressing Euro-Mediterranean Border Imaginations from a Project-Based Perspective," *Borderscaping: Imaginations and Practices of Border Making* (2015).

Many studies have explored the cultural and economic trade over the external borders of the United Kingdom.[54] But only in recent historiography have discussions of the internal borders been subject of particular study in the British context.[55]

For example, as a Tamar zone, Kayleigh Milden has begun to introduce some of the factors that have impacted on a localised identity on both sides of the 'Kinship border' of the River Tamar. The length of the article however restricted the depth of discussion over the Tamar Borderlands and perhaps some of the resultant inconsistencies contained within and the compatibility of this identity within an Anglo-Cornish paradigm.[56] This was intended as a micro-study rather than explicitly of the borderlands, despite its added value to the topic. The only other major study conducted on East Cornwall, revolved solely around the Market Garden community, but like Milden's article, was almost entirely dependent on oral histories.[57] This approach has some logical and ethical issues relating to selectivity and accuracy, particularly among elderly respondents.[58] Nonetheless, their contributions provide a valuable insight into border relations at the Tamar which shall be developed further and oral testimonies will feature to an extent in this thesis. This thesis has sought to use diverse types of sources for the voice of the people to be expressed. This has been done by using the local newspaper coverage and submissions made by residents in response to issues on which they were consulted. This methodology, whilst not flawless, demonstrates where their message was officially recognised in the rebordering processes.

The study that Milden conducted emphasised the Anglo-Devon and Celto-Cornish divide at the river Tamar. They suggested that the identity was fixed on both banks, never to be mixed or shared. Yet they have worked in harmony in places and a growing body of academia explores 'borderlands' as a shared space. This challenges the binary notion of the question, more of which shall be discussed in the conclusion.

Nonetheless, the UK government and the political establishment has struggled to resolve issues of bounded space. Cornwall's struggle over territorial integrity is one that has been seen across England, though the spatial dynamics of Cornwall has certainly been far more longstanding issues.

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[54] Nick Vaughan-Williams, "Borders Are Not What or Where They Are Supposed to Be Security, Territory, Law," in *Border Politics*, The Limits of Sovereign Power (Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 17.

[55] P. Readman, "Living a British Borderland: Northumberland and the Scottish Borders in the Long Nineteenth Century," in *Borderlands in World History, 1700-1914*, ed. P. Readman, C. Radding, and C. Bryant (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2014); Roland Quinault, "Unofficial Frontiers: Welsh-English Borderlands in the Victorian Period," in *Borderlands in World History, 1700–1914* (Springer, 2014).

[56] Kayleigh Milden, "Kinship and Borders: Identity in the Tamar Valley," in *Narratives of the Family: Kinship and Identity in Cornwall*, ed. G. Tregidga (Redruth: Kresenn Kernow, 2009).

[57] Joanna Lewis, Ted Giffords, and Aonb Service Tamar Valley, *Sovereigns, Madams and Double Whites : Fruit and Flower Pioneers of the Tamar Valley* (St. Dominick: Tamar Valley AONB Service, 2004).

[58] V.R. Yow, *Recording Oral History: A Practical Guide for Social Scientists* (SAGE Publications, 1994), 84-116.

The 1974 Local Government Reform built layers of governance on top of Historic Counties that saw traditional borders disregarded in favour of political boundaries and new administrative counties, widely criticised for disregarding socio-economic and geographic factors in favour of attempting to simplify systems of governance.[59] This is raised as even when we discuss the notion of being 'anglicised', we are discussing the challenges of British State and how it is organised. The issue is often that the Cornish case study is not treated as exception, akin to the experience of the Celtic Nations and several English regions that are protected in statute. Despite much talk around this, the failure to consolidate these words into law leaves interpretation in the hands of those then responsible for the rebordering.

Border perceptions can be altered significantly by internalities and externalities, conceptualised in numerous different ways depending on the lens on which one views it through. The border cannot, and should not, belong to any individual group. Instead, in a democratic sense, the border should be free to evolve as it has done over the centuries. In the case of the River Tamar, the river is live and fluid, it has moved course and its purpose and value to communities has evolved. The physical barrier it presented is now traversed daily as part of a commuter life, allowing for a greater exchange of people, goods, and services. This thesis recognises that the situation surrounding the border is constantly evolving. Political change will constantly occur at the border and as such proposals to amend and alter the border will occur. It is part of the bordering process which will constantly evolve. Nonetheless, there is a permanence to the cultural border, built upon historic precedence. Failing to acknowledge this is where several proposals have failed and border disputes have arisen, as shall be demonstrated here.

The intrigue around the River Tamar as a border is that is it not a closed border. There is no border control, no regulation that restricts the flow and transfer from one side of the border as you see on the international scale. Whilst nationalist and regionalist rhetoric dominates the discussion, decision making over the border remains in the hands of the UK Government. Of course, there is scope for change and input from local communities, which has been historically successful in shaping decision-making, but as regularly seen in the uneven United Kingdom, centralised decision-making creates conflict on the Celtic Fringe. Until the Tamar is given protected status and enshrined in law as a definitive political boundary, these disputes will continue to arise, but to do so would be to transfer significant agency to Cornwall as an entity and thus challenge the core-periphery dynamics and discussions of Devolution which has continued to prove challenging.

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[59] H. Elcock, *Local Government: Policy and Management in Local Authorities* (Taylor & Francis, 2013).

Chapter 2 - Thesis structure and Historiography

The structure of this thesis has been framed around several different conceptualisations of the border within border studies. This allows for the evaluation of not only the case study in terms of change over time, but also how the Devon-Cornwall border has characteristics that are not easily defined by existing border studies literature. The themes of border studies explore the strength of a border, the defining and moving of borders and cross-border cooperation. These are reflected in the topics addressed in the substantive chapters in this thesis, each being appraised for how they have identified   and reflected society in this example.

In part, this thesis has taken its lens of study from Popescu's *Bordering and Ordering the Twenty-first century: Understanding Borders*. His framework is based on the space borders create for analysing historical experience to complement the theory applied to the modern-day and beyond.[60] The publication explores several different border scenarios and the merits of border theory in each example given. Written in 2012, he compiled a few the key theoretical discussions of border studies but incorporated reflections on contemporary developments. His theory argues that we can conceptualise the border in three ways; 'borderlands, borderlines and networked borders'. [61] He prefaces these ideas by stating that 'these spatial contexts for bordering are not mutually exclusive and should be understood in conjunction, as they can occur simultaneously in the same geographic setting'.[62] What his work encapsulates is how theories can be explored independently, but also the interplay contained therein. This and the relationship with historical precedence, compared with modern-day activity that both implicitly and explicitly relates to the border, have driven the agenda of this thesis. The concluding chapter here, therefore, is an evaluation of how communities in the Cornwall-Devon borderlands reflect existing theories, or where there are distinctive localised omissions.

Paasi's work on challenging the field of Border Studies, encouraged academia to develop innovative ideas and how theory continues evolve. The postmodern theorist no longer looks at borders as simply markers of sovereignty, power, and territoriality. Instead it is the human interaction, built from an interdisciplinary approach to borders and boundaries, that reveals much about them.[63] The argument is made for cultural and political processes, that manifest images of the border that may or not conform to the official border that was consecrated by the natural landscape.[64] This is a far more progressive perspective, that goes back to Rumford's exploration of where the construction of

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[60] Gabriel Popescu, *Bordering and Ordering the Twenty-First Century : Understanding Borders* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2012), 7.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Anssi Paasi, "Boundaries as Social Processes: Territoriality in the World of Flows," in *Boundaries, Territory and Postmodernity*, ed. David Newman (1999).
[64] Anssi Paasi, "Generations and the 'Development' of Border Studies," *Geopolitics* 10, no. 4 (2005).

borders emanates from; whether the power lies within the institutions or with the people. However, what has been interesting in the Cornish context, is how the voice of the individual has been largely marginalised by the power and influence of the state. In part, one of the conclusions that this thesis shall draw upon is how the political agency is constantly changing in the UK and how people have increased influence and presence in decision-making and the shaping the border.

The first substantive chapter looks at a potted history of East Cornwall and the relationship of the area with other parts of Cornwall and the wider United Kingdom. Establishing the context of East Cornwall explores the origins of the border, but also incorporates the foundations from which we can begin to apply border theory. Whilst much of the thesis focuses on 19th century to the modern day, this summary of earlier history demonstrates and highlights the roots of cultural identity. This explores aspects that are both exclusively Cornish and more specific in terms of a Tamar Borderlands identity from an earlier date. This includes an examination of historic mining communities, the bearing of the manor economies in relation to the economy of Cornwall and the wider South West, as well as the historic tensions created by War and territorial claims around the Tamar. In doing so it seeks to demonstrate the complexities of the border between Cornwall and Devon as a long-drawn-out process, rather than newly founded political tension opening up still further the debate. This chapter also highlights the potential value in the use of border studies in earlier episodes of history and their relative significance.

An important part of moving into the modern era, has been exploring the way in which Cornwall is now far more connected than ever before. Where the first chapter explored these communities purely in a historic sense, the next investigates their legacy in terms of connectivity in East Cornwall. The 'networked border' is a modern conceptualisation describing the border, which places great emphasis on 'cross-border' co-operation in wider networks.[65] There is the role transport networks play demonstrating the ease of connectivity to West Devon and Plymouth. These pose a direct question regarding the containment of Cornwall and traditional perceptions of space and time within and beyond the border. It is widely acknowledged that the development of the railway with Brunel's Royal Albert Bridge opened Cornwall and with it the opportunity for new relations with the rest of the United Kingdom.[66] Sadly, in light of the applied Beeching Cuts, communities were in effect disenfranchised from each other. There is also evidence that the growing road network demonstrates the importance and priority of certain routes over others. This chapter also explores the significance and contribution of ferries and Bridges to the process of crossing the Tamar as an important aspect of the evolving way of life particularly in South East Cornwall.

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[65] Popescu,2012, 81.
[66] S. Chapman and D. Chapman, *Iconic Cornwall* (Alison Hodge Publishers, 2008), 108.

There is still a value in the traditional approach to borders of borderlines – 'focusing on such issues as the drawing of lines, the role of borders in enhancing physical security and the relationship between borders and territorial sovereignty'.[67] Donnan & Wilson's approach here is very relevant because it reminds the reader that borders are never fully defined and completed. Whilst the security risk surrounding the Devon-Cornwall border does not correspond to their consideration of the Israeli-Palestinian case study in their book, the notion of unfixed borders certainly applies. As has been discussed, there have been periodic fluctuations in the status of official border between Cornwall and England that remain unresolved.

An interesting proposition by Burridge et al finds that 'that these borders come into force through the cooperation of a range of actors, but through different institutions, by multiple logics of inclusion and exclusion, often unintentionally. The authors range of spatial practices and strategies, which demonstrate there is not a single border logic nor a ubiquitous border. Rather, inclusion and exclusion work through polymorphic spaces, produced by the specific coming-together of people, institutions, resources, law, territory, and mobility'.[68] This demonstrates a potential solution to the Paasi's problem of border theory. Thus, a chapter is needed in which we explore the growing difference between where the status of the cultural and geographical border. With the cultural border being so entrenched in the minds of the local population and the space for Cornwall defined in the landscape as it is, any attempt or challenge to this politically has and will continue to create issues and disharmony within the resident population.

Thus, the subsequent chapter explores borderlines and the role of Boundary Commissions in this process. Established for Westminster Elections, but in addition for the profile of Local Authorities, these Boundary Commissions have had the power invested in them to actually move geographical borderlines. The Commissions have thus attracted a lot of attention from the media and the general public, making them well documented processes that can be explored. Where attempts have been made to move the border, we can clearly see the proactivity of the communities in this process, to want to revert back to an 'unconquered' border. Through this we also see legislative movements to formalise the border. This chapter demonstrates where changes to the border have originated from and who has driven the process. Perhaps most importantly, this highlights the effect of how local resistance has risen, particularly in relation to the threat of Devonwall.

Whilst an initial refection would explore Cornwall and Devon as the two participating agents in the discussion over the Border, one cannot ignore the significance and impact of Plymouth and the presence of 'the cityscape' within border relations. The following chapter therefore focuses on how

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[67] Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan, *A Companion to Border Studies* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 261.

[68] Nick Gill, Austin Kocher, and Lauren Martin, "Polymorphic Borders Au - Burridge, Andrew," *Territory, Politics, Governance* 5, no. 3 (2017): 247.

Plymouth, as an entity and a political body, has shaped the border and attempted to assert dominance over the landscape through formal landgrabs. Beyond the formal attempts to expand the borders of the City of Plymouth, we can see the 'soft borders' and exertion by Plymouth City Council protruding into Cornwall in terms of both housing and employment opportunities. At the same time, it also reflects on how the Cornish population has been shaping Plymouth and stood up against Plymouth perceived dominance. As well as illustrating the frailties in the relationship, the chapter also explores where they are now able to work in harmony and their shared spaces born out of historical changes made to the border.

Where this thesis particularly comes into its own, is demonstrating how the borderlands of Cornwall-Devon are perceived. The term 'borderlands' is one that can be qualified in many different ways, but this thesis takes its definition from the work of Baud & Van Schendel. They argue that they has no fixed size, instead incorporating new dynamics of time and space; They state 'a borderland is usually understood as the region in one nation that is significantly affected by a [*sic*] border' but also that you need to understand both sides of the border to fully understand the borderlands.[69] They explore not only the role agency, which debates the state and regional influence against that of the 'common people', but also makes the for an interdisciplinary approach to the subject. Politics, economics, language, ethnicity and culture, are all compared as processes and the extent to which they overlap.[70] Their conclusions suggest that the borderland could belong to only one grouping, but perhaps we should also be considering the 'neither/nor' paradigm.[71] The degree of altering perspectives coming from different sides of the argument, is part of the problem of discussing borders objectively. Inevitably, given that this thesis is drawn from an interest in Cornish Studies, its conclusions determine largely whether, Cornwall's claim of the border is representative of reality. It offers some alternatives, which are more reflective of the situation between Cornwall and Devon and of whose ownership is questioned. The conclusion does not create a definitive list of considerations, but it does assert the need for further investigation and debate.

Whilst one might consider these borderlands a construction compiled by academics, some have been defined by the natural and industrial landscape. The border between Cornwall and Devon is almost invisible in some areas and where this is the case, or where crossings have been established, new cultural borders give birth to unique identities. This has been reflected in transregional landscapes such as the UNESCO World Heritage Cornwall and Devon Industrial Landscape and also an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty for the Tamar Valley. Particularly through UNESCO, we can

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[69] M. Baud and W. Van Schendel, "Toward a Comparative History of Borderlands," *JOURNAL OF WORLD HISTORY -HONOLULU-* 8, no. 2 (1997): 216.
[70] Ibid.
[71] M. Fischer, *Intercultural Alterity or Borderland Experience: Minor Literatures of Germany and the United States* (University of Oregon, 1997).

see a memorialisation of the historical legacy of working relationships on the Tamar, but most importantly a desire to preserve and protect the area. The *Friends of the Tamar Valley* are not an insignificant body, and we can see from this where several other movements have emerged, to project the interests of an area that has often felt 'left behind' given its geography. There is some balance to this, exploring how constructs are a Top-Down initiative, but also how the grassroots have embraced the Tamar Valley as a region, irrespective of the border that divides it in places. There is some question over their purpose however – whether these are intertwined in identity and community life, or simply a convenient tourist commodity. A chapter evaluating entitled 'a shared space, a shared identity?' explores the many arguments over the implications of constructed space on identity for those living in it.

More recent developments have ignored the Cornwall-Devon border in favour of conglomerating Cornwall into a broader, more diverse South West imaginary.[72] This has been further created further complications as a result of EU directives and funding opportunities. Furthermore, with European elections for example, the political representation of Cornwall as an entity appears growingly diluted in favour of this broader structure. The constructs made have not even been confined to the British Isles as we have seen space been blurred with Cornwall being paired with Gibraltar as a European-defined region. Thus, exploring the use of wider South-West imaginaries, another chapter explores how the Cornish have engaged and responded to imaginaries over concerns of territorial integrity with no conformity to established constructs. This has been particularly heightened by EU's support towards protection of the Cornish People as a National Minority.

Local resistance and grassroots movements, driven by the people in a bottom-up resistance to the British State, have collectively fought back as the decision-making powers of Cornwall appear to be disappearing and moving over the border. This ever-increasing threat has reinvigorated national rhetoric, to get behind and promote the pro-Cornish cause. As institutions have merged and moved 'up-country', a defensive ideology has been instilled in the Cornish ideology, one that believes it is losing out by way of these shared partnerships.[73] Pelkmans has argued that 'even if it is the boundary that defines the group, it is the mobilization of culture on that boundary that creates the defence.[74] Therefore, one must recognise how this defensive political rhetoric has manifested itself. Certainly, there have been a number of cross-party campaigns, particularly noteworthy *Keep Cornwall Whole*, whose campaigns have applied significant pressure to political campaigns against these cross-border

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[72] Martin Jones and Gordon MacLeod, "Regional Spaces, Spaces of Regionalism: Territory, Insurgent Politics and the English Question," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 29, no. 4 (2004).
[73] Bernard Deacon, Dick Cole, and Garry Tregidga, *Mebyon Kernow and Cornish Nationalism* (2003), 114.
[74] M. Pelkmans, *Defending the Border: Identity, Religion, and Modernity in the Republic of Georgia* (Cornell University Press, 2006), 46.

unifications. The chapter on this topic considers how as much as East Cornwall may challenge these amalgams, they are an integral part of everyday life of Cornish citizens living near the border and the negligible impact they have on identity.

Furthermore, in this chapter, we have seen how Cornwall has been shaped politically by the devolution arrangements of the United Kingdom in recent times. This explores how Cornwall's campaigns for a National Assembly alongside the appeals for devolution have culminated in powers being ascribed to Cornwall as a region. These denote the Cornwall-Devon border as an important feature on the political map of Britain. By comparison, we explore how political developments on the Celtic Fringe, trigger responses elsewhere within it that have invigorated discussion of the border in national rhetoric.

Kramer concluded in *Borderlands in World History 1700-1914* that:

> 'Historians of the borderlands therefore reject monocausal explanations for human conflicts and social changes, and their research provides fresh perspectives on the 'centres' of past societies as well as the 'peripheries.' The history of borderlands, in short, guides us into new intellectual territories, but it also takes us on a critical journey across the national and methodological terrains in which historians have been traveling for a long time'.[75]

This demonstrates how border theory provides new perspectives on existing historiography. In understanding the border in the context of Cornish Studies, we are in turn exploring the strength of Union across the United Kingdom and the implications of the unwritten British Constitution. This thesis seeks to address the 'spatial turn' that Deacon sought of studies of Cornwall and re-addresses the dominance of West Cornwall within studies of Cornwall and its identity. Simultaneously the study of East Cornwall and the localized sub-divisions thereof, explores the relationship with England and how it differs, based on the English influence for opportunities in everyday life.[76]

One could argue this thesis looks to the border territories as a direct response to Richard Harris' study of Cornish Civil Society in Penzance.[77] He reflected that 'Cornish identity, particularly on Treneere, is phenomenological in nature based on images of place, kinship ties and common-place social relationships rather than overt cultural practices'. This is akin to assumptions expressed that Cornishness is stronger in the West made by Dickinson et al. in *Cornish Studies Nine*.[78] Thus based

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[75] Lloyd Kramer, "Concluding Reflections: Borderlands History and the Categories of Historical Analysis," in *Borderlands in World History, 1700–1914*, ed. Paul Readman, Cynthia Radding, and Chad Bryant (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2014), 313.
[76] Bernard Deacon, "In Search of the 'Missing Turn': The Spatial Dimension and Cornish Studies," in *Cornish Studies Eight*, ed. Philip Payton (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000).
[77] Harris.
[78] Ibid., 345; R. Dickinson, P. Aldous, and M. Williams, "A Question of Ethnic Identity," in *Cornish Studies Nine*, ed. P. Payton (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2001).

on the phenomenology in Harris' thesis, we find quite different sentiments, given the common-place social relationships that are not exclusively Cornish. The reactive and defensive Cornish identity can be expressed more clearly when 'England' is seen to be threatening what the Cornish feel is within their domain. This thesis will conclude however, that to collaborate with another region with a different identity is not to diminish in any way the pride of self-identification.

As border studies are increasingly theorised as individual processes, we consider the virtues of a historicisation of the border and explore change over time. What is evident throughout this thesis, is that no matter how one understands and frames the border, be that a borderline, a networked border or as a borderland itself, these are by no means fixed. This thesis also finds that elements of all three concepts are not independent of each other and can all be present in one case study. Imaginaries and practicalities of borders are fluid, much like identity. Bounded space and bounded identities are constantly changing in the globalising flows of the Twenty-First century.

Agnew synopsises in his assessment of border theory that 'Using the standard of a decent life, therefore, can lead beyond the present impasse between the two dominant views of borders towards a perspective that re-frames borders as having both negative and positive effects and that focuses on how people can both benefit from borders and avoid their most harmful effects. In political vision as in everyday practice, therefore, borders remain as ambiguously relevant as ever, even as we work to enhance their positive and limit their negative effects'.[79] The theorisation of borders is a continuous living process and one that is still finding its feet in terms of local intra-national border. This thesis therefore begins to explore, the context of the UK which has been largely ignored in much of the historiography.

Whilst this thesis cannot hypothesise a future for Cornwall, it can reflect on how perhaps Cornwall's borders are far more permeable and connected, than the natural peripheral landscape of the peninsula has traditionally presented itself. From the relationship with England in various forms, or with its more distant neighbours we see exploratory discussions of new future opportunities and partnerships. As such, Celticity, which etymologically is about distancing one's self from someone else, predominantly England in the British context, is becoming less relevant in the Twenty-First century; though what remains is that the bordered space of Cornwall has been unmoved, and the crossing of the Tamar remains a significant symbolic activity enshrined in Cornish communities as well as with tourists and onlookers alike. Celtic identity per se does not appear mainstream within Cornish Society, particularly in terms of policy and official processes which this thesis uses largely as its basis. We can identify how lessons are consistently being learnt from the experiences at the borders of Wales and Scotland, which shows a latent Celticism, promoted by the context of

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[79] John Agnew, "Borders on the Mind: Re-Framing Border Thinking," *Ethics & global politics* 1, no. 4 (2008): 189.

devolution, but how there remains challenges to direct parallels due to the national status of borders for those nations when compared to the sub-national border of Cornwall.

We are also witnessing greater rejection of the 'them and us mentality' as modern ways of life within this localised case study. Everyday life does not conform itself exclusively to Local Government structures which dominate this discussion. The term 'West-Country' is heresy to most communities in the South West, though new localised identities are emerging from the bottom-up that do not exclusively align to borders. In fact, some could argue they are a product of the border in which those reside at the periphery seek to gain recognition having often felt 'left behind'.

Using the approach of official processes of rebordering through Boundary Commissions, devolution settlements and the establishment of Civic Society relating to a Tamar Valley identity, has provoked strong localised identity in Cornwall. Recognising the history of this landscape and how crossing the border has been an established way of life throughout history, can explain from where some of the newer forms of cross-border identity have emerged. In the context of Nationalism, one can also clearly see that this poses a threat to the bounded space that existing identity is built upon. This thesis, therefore, lays the foundations for exploring this area to a greater degree and the need to examine more of the specific localised context in East Cornish communities and the differences hitherto, compared to the traditional narratives of Cornish life. What this thesis disputes however are that these experiences are any less distinctive Cornish than those described to a greater degree in West Cornwall but are nevertheless adapted to the Cornish landscape and where they are situated. The presence of neighbouring communities of differing identities means that therefore, interaction is inevitably different.

Chapter 3 - The Blurring of Cornish Myth, Cornish History, and the Context of the Cornish border

When we look at the field of Cornish Studies and how it has developed, there are two main factors to consider; The narratives that have come to embody Cornishness and consideration of its authenticity. As has already been raised, mythmaking can constitute part of a mindset and rhetoric of an identity.[80] The first volume of Cornish studies focused on two aspects; the natural landscape of Cornwall, but also from a historical perspective, routed in Archaeology and pre-history.[81] This largely echoes the basis of Celtic studies, from which the narrative often begins in the ancient world. This chapter therefore shall seek to revisit some of the existing academia surrounding Cornish Studies and the role that the border has played in shaping this sense of difference, drawing on Border Studies to enrich the understanding of how and why the sub-national border impacts. In the borders fluidity, we see how there is a perceived fragility of identity that shapes a sense of place for not only those living in proximity to the border, but people across Cornwall.

The inherent danger with Celticism in the modern context is how 'examples of mystical and myth-making activities are directly linked to the preservation and building of a 'Celtic' identity'.[82] Gibson et al.'s collection of articles on *Mysticism, Myth and Celtic Identity* opens up this dialogue, but does not however, explore it from the perspective of localisms within Cornwall. Dafydd Moore's focus on the English County of Devon and its close neighbour Cornwall, encourages a refocusing of Celtic History, as being related to English areas, particularly in of the romanticisation of the myths surrounding Cornish history.[83] It is on this basis that this thesis now explores the competitive space between Devon and Cornwall in an historical narrative. Whilst the border has not been subject to a dedicated study, there are implicit facets of border studies that have been the subject of much discussion within existing literature produced on Cornish Studies.

Anderson & O'Dowd remind readers in their 1999 article on borders that 'every state border, every border region, is unique. Their meaning and significance can vary dramatically over space and time, as regimes change in one or more of the adjoining states, as borders are 'closed' or 'opened', or as price advantages lurch from one side of the border to the other'.[84] Thus, the notion of change over

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[80] van der Steen and T.P.F. Verburgh, *Researching Subcultures, Myth and Memory* (Springer International Publishing, 2020).

[81] Charles Thomas, ed. *Cornish Studies : Journal of the Institute of Cornish Studies*, vol. 1, Cornish Studies : Journal of the Institute of Cornish Studies. (Redruth, Cornwall: Institute of Cornish Studies, 1973).

[82] Marion Gibson, Shelley Trower, and Garry Tregidga, *Mysticism, Myth and Celtic Identity* (London: Routledge, 2013).

[83] Dafydd Moore, "Devolving Romanticism: Nation, Region and the Case of Devon and Cornwall," *Literature Compass* 5 (2008).

[84] James Anderson and Liam O'Dowd, "Borders, Border Regions and Territoriality: Contradictory Meanings, Changing Significance," *Regional Studies* 33, no. 7 (1999).

time is important in terms of the historical interpretation of the border. Whether historical episodes are fictionalised realities or not, bares little relevance to the cultural value ascribed to a border constructed in times past. Therefore, whilst the main emphasis of this thesis focuses on the post-1900 period, of which this chapter still engaging in to some degree, understanding the changing spatiality in the Devon-Cornwall context provides insights into the 'golden ages' of Cornwall and Devon. The evidence will also suggest that whilst the sense of division between the two regions has been born out of individual threats, unity at times has been equally as prevalent in the way of life for those living near the current established border.

One of the most poignant images and memories of an unconquered Cornwall, is one that was born out of the kingdoms of King Canute, who was never able to cross the Tamar or enter Wales.[85] This failure is on a parallel with the fate of other Celtic Nations. Recognition of this experience consolidates what we now understand as the Celtic Fringe. The populations spoke Celtic languages, emphasising their cultural differences and lives within a land politically independent of its English neighbours.[86] This practice followed King Athelstan who made a declaration that the border be confirmed at the River Tamar from AD936.[87]

The importance of this boundary in a historical context cannot be understated. Whether in speeches by Parliamentarians, rallies or historical texts, the Tamar is, in many ways for all inconsistencies, interpreted as the border of Cornwall with Devon. Whilst many consider this definitive, ongoing border negotiations continue. There is also far more shared history with Devon than is often debated.

Bernard Deacon's book on *Cornwall's First Golden Age*, documents the history of Cornwall from the Romans through to the Norman period. The premise of his book challenges the understanding of the Kingdom of Dumnonia, arguing instead that 'Dumnonia in practice meant Greater Cornubia'.[88] It represented the entirety of Modern-day Cornwall, a latinised name from the Fifth century that derived from the Celtic tribe Cornovii whose people occupied the land.

On a less positive note, for the status of the Cornish state, there has been the argument that Britons, based in Exeter, encroached into Cornish territory beyond their entrenchment at the Tamar.[89] Arguments within academia indicates that East Cornwall was progressing into becoming more English, as part of a pushback against Celtic cultures and the erosion of a border. The Domesday Book would seem to demonstrate the Saxon and Norman dominance in North-East

[85] D. Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society* (Penguin Books, 1965), 8.

[86] M.F. Wakelin, *Language and History in Cornwall* (Leicester University Press, 1975), 22.

[87] J.T. Koch, *Celtic Culture: A-Celti* (ABC-CLIO, 2006), 1054.

[88] Deacon, *Cornwall's First Golden Age : From Arthur to the Normans*,2016.

[89] W. Maclean Carey, "The Geography of Cornwall," *The Geographical Teacher* 6, no. 2 (1911).

Cornwall, with the establishment of a bishopric in St Germans.[90] Some argue, this process had begun as early as the Eighth century, reinforced by anglicised place names depicted in some areas of East Cornwall. Simultaneously, some Cornish place names can be observed on the outskirts of what is now Plymouth and parts of East Devon.[91] There is clearly a blurring of interaction of these communities, which is recognised within these names, more of which shall be discussed later. But certainly, it is indicative of a less formalised border in early society.

We find inconsistency in the re-interpretation of early human history, which are inconclusive in terms of the landscape and the boundaries thereof. Dumnonia is centred on Devon and constitutes what became known as Wessex, incorporating some parts of modern-day Somerset and Dorset.[92] Thus, again we see another layering of new larger territories on the map of the South West. Is there enough conclusive evidence to promote the argument that Cornwall did in fact control the South-West at this time? That remains to this day a matter of debate. What Deacon reflects though, is the inconclusive and highly contentious politics of control and power, exercised in the South-West.[93] The difficulties of managing and collaborating with such distinctive communities on a regional basis shall be addressed and discussed later. We will also see, how history has set a precedence of conflict of interests and difficulties, over where power fundamentally lies and thus where decisions are made.

Significantly for the discussion about the border, maps from the 18th century of Cornwall, all demonstrate slight differences as to the definition of the borderline. Furthermore, where the border was not fixed specifically to the Tamar at this time, the Devonian enclaves are sometimes included in maps of Cornwall, but equally, sometimes omitted. This reflects the reality of the enclave in North Cornwall being both Devonian, but also possibly a broader Cornish territory. This is just one area where land has been both Cornish and Devonian in time, dependent upon the period under discussion. More of this aspect shall be discussed later in this thesis. What is evident is the revisionary history that continues to bring to light the tensions that have and continue to exist, between cultural and political borders.

Religion has an intriguing geographical construction, which demonstrates some shared value across the border. The religious narrative of difference within Cornwall, is one that many nationalist figures have sought to propagate in the 19th and 20th century during the Celtic Revival.[94] This harks back to a time when Celtic religion flourished, aided by difficulties in connecting Cornwall to the rest of the

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[90] M. Tanner, *The Last of the Celts* (Yale University Press, 2006), 225.
[91] Mari Jones and Ishtla Singh, *Exploring Language Change* (Routledge, 2005), 135.
[92] Barbara Yorke, *Wessex* (A&C Black, 1995).
[93] Deacon, *Cornwall's First Golden Age : From Arthur to the Normans*,2016.
[94] Carl Phillips, "Mystical Geographies of Cornwall" (Citeseer, 2006).

United Kingdom, across the natural border of the River Tamar.[95] Religious studies of the border areas are largely concentrated on the North Coast where communities are geographically closer and traversing the Tamar was a far simpler process. This made it a natural landscape for indoctrination of faith, but the evidence is inconclusive as to how successful this was from either perspective. Some argue that 'stow', a word that features quite prominently in North Devon and North-East Cornwall, is a nexus of where English churches met Celtic speaking communities. This is comparable to some examples across the English-Welsh borders, where the name appears at what were highly important locations for the areas.[96] Similar nuance can be found in Insley's appraisal, in which he discusses the controversial attempts of 'ethnic cleansing' of the Cornish by the English, in the Tenth century, but he believes that actually we should consider Rees Davies' appraisal of "conquest and coexistence' with perhaps a little bit of change'.[97]

Turner argues that except for Tintagel, Boscastle and some Parishes in that locality, Hartland Church in Devon sought to extend its ecclesiastical political reach across the border over not only North West Devon Churches but those in North-East Cornwall in the Twelfth century.[98] This demonstrated ebbs and flows of ecclesiastical power and influence across the Anglo-Cornish border. What Insley and Rees Davies to an extent demonstrate, is the intense campaigns from both sides of the Tamar, to preach and in effect dominate the landscape through the power bestowed in religion. Conflict is something that continues to rear its head in this competitive space, a natural by-product of many cross-border relationships. This interchange is described in many words, depending on how one interprets the exact basis of that confrontation.[99] Whether this is the rise of the Celtic people or the Anglicisation from the English is a matter of interpretation and debate, depending on the individual academic's perspective, where their focus is made with only one side of the border argument or the other.

Following on with the theme of conflict, The English Civil War embodied the history of rebellion that Mark Stoyle described as being synonymous with the Cornish Identity and its distinctive

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[95] Garry Tregidga, "Reconstructing West Wales: Welsh Representations and Cultural Memories of Cornwall," in *Mysticism, Myth and Celtic Identity*, ed. Marion Gibson, Shelley Trower, and Garry Tregidga (London: Routledge, 2013), 188-89.; L. McClain, *Lest We Be Damned: Practical Innovation and Lived Experience among Catholics in Protestant England, 1559-1642* (Routledge, 2004), 171-202.

[96] Susan M. Pearce, "The Early Church in the Landscape: The Evidence from North Devon," *Archaeological Journal* 142, no. 1 (1985): 261.. She states in hr introduction however she is less concerned with discussions about the Cornish churches which form part of her research area which demonstrates a selectivity to her narrative.

[97] Charles Insley, "Athelstan, Charters and the English in Cornwall," in *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland*, ed. Marie Therese Flanagan and Judith A. Green (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2005), 28.

[98] Sam Turner, *Making a Christian Landscape: How Christianity Shaped the Countryside in Early-Medieval Cornwall, Devon and Wessex* (Royal College of General Practitioners, 2015), 136.

[99] B. Feuer, *Boundaries, Borders and Frontiers in Archaeology: A Study of Spatial Relationships* (McFarland, Incorporated, Publishers, 2016), 8-10.

experience.[100] Cornwall's case study is a notable omission from *Celtic Dimensions of the British Civil Wars*, which sought to demonstrate differences within the Celtic Fringe, notwithstanding the comparisons that could be identified between Cornwall and other fringe nations.[101] Frontier imagery is inextricably linked with war, particularly in the American context, but it can equally be applied retrospectively worldwide.[102] Pocock's assessment of the Cornish war effort, strongly implies that it was a far less traditional Royalist drive that inspired the troops from Cornwall to side with the King. He does, however, recognise the weakness of this argument given the lack of conclusive evidence to support it. Rather like Welsh soldiers, they saw opportunity through the King, to express explicit cultural and social distinctiveness, more so than under Parliamentarian rule.[103] Similar parallels can be drawn between Wales and Cornwall, as their borders each became a strategic battlefield withstanding intense pressure from Parliamentarians.[104] Where Wales and Cornwall differed however, was in how Cornwall's geography had already been divided up between the Royalist West and the more Parliamentarian supporting East. Barratt's assessment of the Parliamentarian war effort in the borders, seems to imply that their movement in this area was centralised around Plymouth which suggests it was their hub. Their retreat from both Launceston and Liskeard, followed the route through Saltash ending within the Plymouth area.[105] One could infer from Barratt's assessment a historic significance of the border. He makes the argument that whilst the Royalists advanced on Tavistock and other parts of Devon, Baron Hopton, an important Royalist Commander, refused to cross the Tamar. The border-crossing of the River Tamar remains symbolic to this day and its importance is echoed in more recently published travel journals of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries by both the local population and visitors alike. In this respect, the Cornish border appears like a zone on the peripheral claim of both realms, its loyalties fluctuating akin to that of a definitive frontier.[106] This is largely based on Gamson's interpretation of Frontiers in Social Movement theory along lines of identity.[107] He argues that the blurring of identity and loyalty, occurs most frequently amongst those living on the peripheral boundary. This shows that the border of Cornwall, has not

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[100] Mark Stoyle, "The Dissidence of Despair: Rebellion and Identity in Early Modern Cornwall," *Journal of British Studies* 38, no. 4 (1999).

[101] John R. Young, "Celtic Dimensions of the British Civil Wars" (Edinburgh, 1997).

[102] James Paul Wesley, "Frequency of Wars and Geographical Opportunity," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 6, no. 4 (1962): 388.

[103] J. G. A. Pocock, "The Atlantic Archipelago and the War of the Three Kingdoms," in *The British Problem, C. 1534–1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago*, ed. Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill (London: Macmillan Education UK, 1996), 181.

[104] P.R. Newman, *Atlas of the English Civil War* (Taylor & Francis, 2005), 29; Mark Stoyle, "English 'Nationalism', Celtic Particularism, and the English Civil War," *The Historical Journal* 43, no. 4 (2001): 1123.

[105] J. Barratt, *The Civil War in the South-West* (Pen & Sword Military, 2005), 26.

[106] Tayyab Mahmud, "Colonial Cartographies, Postcolonial Borders, and Enduring Failures of International Law: The Unending Wars Along the Afghanistan-Pakistan Frontier," *Brook. J. Int'l L.* 36 (2010): 24-25.

[107] William A. Gamson, "The Social Psychology of Collective Action," in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory.* (New Haven, CT, US: Yale University Press, 1992), 74.

always been as clear cut a linear divide, that we would normally associate with a conventional border, a theme that is explored further in later sections of this thesis.

The narrative of the Anglicised history of East Cornwall focuses on that 'one crucial factor within Cornwall's relatively successful integration seems to be that it did not begin with a ruthless and long-contested conquest of the Norman type, that it happened while the nation as a whole was itself coming into existence, a nation in which Cornishmen were no more alien to Englishness than Danes, and that Cornwall participated in the institutional development of England at every point. It was in fact excessively well represented in Parliament from the Fourteenth century, with the enfranchisement of no fewer than six boroughs: Bodmin, Helston, Launceston, Liskeard, Lostwithiel and Truro'.[108] One should note that four of these boroughs are eastern territories. These constituencies demonstrate the historical value given to the status of East Cornwall, within the region and re-enforces its history as being at the heart of Cornish Civic Society at the time.

So, why might this be the case? Predominantly their geographical proximity to England made them the first point of contact for both trade and influence. The commercial links of the border regions cannot be understated. The historic market town of Tavistock and the farming markets of Launceston were significantly particularly important trading points. The substantial amounts of fish trade that were evident and growing within Cornish communities, were often sent direct to Exeter.[109] The important British port of Plymouth functioned as a natural hub, not just to British markets, but globally, playing a crucial role in the success of both local and national markets. Thus, we see how a localised economy and trading links combined. They depict a history of collaboration between the Cornish and Devonian communities. Additionally, we shall see how Plymouth has expanded and with it, its status and substantive claim over the landscape.

Whilst we have considered the theme of conflict, we can also consider that of connectivity, not least in the development of communication. Thus, we can consider aspects of the history of the Cornish Language and its geographical limits. The Cornish language differs in no way to the other Celtic languages – 'Wherever the languages clashed, English invariably predominated – a reflection of the economic vigour and cultural buoyancy of the English-speaking peoples. We know that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Cornish was the prevailing language west of the River Tamar. From the late sixteenth century, however, it receded with astonishing rapidity. In 1701 Edward Lluyd could find it in only fourteen parishes stretched along the inaccessible coastline from Lizard's point to

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[108] Adrian Hastings, "England's Western Neighbours," in *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*, ed. Adrian Hastings, The Wiles Lectures (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 66.
[109] M. Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), 311.

Land's End… English influence spread into Cornwall through the fishing and tin-mining industries'.[110] Thus there is fluctuation of English Control and Cornish difference expressed through industries, economies, and ways of life. Burgeoning industries built on the rich resources available towards the border disrupted the finite border and emphasised its porous nature.

Written some five hundred years after events took place, we can see how culturally the Tamar has demarcated the division of language. Henry Jenner, a champion of the Celto-Cornish revival in the Twentieth century, commented that 'until at least the Fifteenth century, the Tamar was the general boundary of the English and Cornish; though there is said to be some evidence that even as late as the reign of Elizabeth [The First], Cornish was spoken in a few places to the east of the Tamar, notably in the South Hams'.[111] Intertwined in the Cornish experience and its identity, has been its distinctive language, which has undergone a modern revival and re-surfaced on the updated map of Cornwall. The historic growth of language has been synonymous with the spreading of dialogue way beyond recognised conventional borders.[112] The growth of online communities has seen the use of Cornish Language increase, not just within Cornwall, but in fact globally with many individuals taking a keen interest. Thus, the Geography of Cornish language is more blurred than that depicted in the inconsistent documentation of early Cornish speakers before its 'death' after Dolly Pentreath.[113] Whilst more people might now be speaking the language, it is by no means firmly rooted within the landscape. The notion of borders in the Cornish Language are thus, lost as a historical anecdote in an increasingly borderless world. The opportunities of global communities online provides new opportunities and space for identity that borders cannot control or alter. The reasoning behind this viewpoint is that Cornish is not the first language of any community around the world, let alone within Cornwall itself. Thus, its significance cannot contribute towards the history of the current Cornish border but does highlight where borders were previously identified in times past.

Hadi-Tabassum wrote how 'post-structuralists have characterized language and though processes according to gaps, discontinuities and suspensions of dictated meanings in which difference, plurality and multiplicity and the coexistence of opposites are allowed free play and are not confined by strict borders and boundaries'.[114] As will be seen throughout the thesis, there is a particular perception of national borders as be able to control the flow of information and identity based on historic

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[110] Victor Edward Durkacz, *The Decline of the Celtic Languages : A Study of Linguistic and Cultural Conflict in Scotland, Wales and Ireland from the Reformation to the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1996), 214.

[111] H. Jenner, *A Handbook of the Cornish Language: Chiefly in Its Latest Stages, with Some Account of Its History and Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[112] Netta Avineri and Paul V Kroskrity, "On the (Re-) Production and Representation of Endangered Language Communities: Social Boundaries and Temporal Borders," *Language and Communication* 38, no. 1 (2014): 4.

[113] Kensa Broadhurst, "The Death and Subsequent Revival of the Cornish Language," (2020).

[114] S. Hadi-Tabassum, *Language, Space and Power: A Critical Look at Bilingual Education* (Multilingual Matters Limited, 2006), 9.

experience. There is now though recognition that for many, border are far more porous and in doing so, the openness allows for a very different perspective on the state. The value of post-structuralism is that in many ways the structure does not exist. The defined limits of the United Kingdom and the constituent nations is well represented and documented, but the history of the sub-national borders is something the Government have struggled to engage in and appreciate. Government re-organisation attempts to satisfy statistics and quotas on representation, but they don't always recognise the cultural constructions of space that exist in places. Conversely, In *A World Beyond Borders*, the argument is made about how the 'Francophonie' language group in the modern day, do not rely on the use of French as a first language, but allows membership based on a historical or cultural connection.[115] We are encouraged to be more abstract in how we specifically interpret notions of identity and language. Its diffusion does not in itself determine territorial identity. But where language was spoken more in one locality at any given time, this is a sign of where some cultural dominance might have emanated from. This dominance has been subject to change over time, but we can see how some placenames, road names and landmarks have withstood history as relics of the diffusion of the Cornish language. Where particularly relevant in parts of West Devon, they are raised in the argument continuously. This approach also makes us question how important a role, borders have played in the understanding of community interaction, which is at the heart of this thesis.

Communicating with the rest of Britain was both significant and important. There is a well-established history of the Falmouth Packet Service at the centre of the mail network between the 17th and 19th centuries, making Cornwall, in many aspects, right at the heart of the British Empire.[116] David Cornelius' *Devon & Cornwall - A Postal Survey 1500-1791* documents the changing routes of the postal service. From these, we see how the notion of Counties did not prominently feature within the map of connections in Britain. Instead, it was towns in their own right that had direct relevance. The earliest map known of this service demonstrated the importance of Plymouth in connecting the strategic hub of Penryn, Falmouth, and Truro, originally as the core of the postal service in the West Country. This will be discussed in the section outlining the relationship of Plymouth with East Cornwall but Cornelius' narrative profiles Plymouth as the dominant area, particularly in respect of South East Cornwall. Significantly, Launceston connected independently with Exeter at this early stage, bypassing the main postal route established through Cornwall and thus highlighting the divergence between the experience within the North and South.[117] However, over the course of the period 1600-1793, there was a shift which saw South East Cornwall become

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[115] D. MacKenzie, *A World Beyond Borders: An Introduction to the History of International Organizations* (University of Toronto Press, Higher Education Division, 2010), 104.

[116] A.H. Norway, *History of the Post-Office Packet Service between the Years 1793-1815* (Good Press, 2019).

[117] David B. Cornelius, *Devon & Cornwall -- a Postal Survey, 1500-1791* (Reigate: Postal History Society, 1973), 10.

progressively more disconnected in favour of the Launceston to Exeter route. Notably, this route underwent significant development in future years and would supersede much of the need of the other. Not only does this begin to demonstrate from which the Rame Peninsula takes its name, as 'Cornwall's Forgotten Corner', but also the increasing role of Launceston as a Gateway into Cornwall.[118] Thus, understanding networks and relationships rather than linear constructions, can be more informative than fixed geographic lines can illustrate. The 'networked border' theory is one which influences the conclusion of this thesis.[119]

It is interesting to observe the role of East Cornwall, historically providing the administrative centre of Cornwall, until Truro was bestowed this honour by Queen Victoria. This recognised its development as the ecclesiastical capital containing a Cathedral. Launceston, until 1835 was the County town and whilst Bodmin was its successor, Truro has since achieved the status of being Cornwall's capital, though the legislation confirming this process cannot be easily identified.[120] Everitt describes 'the rise of the county town as the focus or heart of the county community, or in other words as a kind of regional capital', emphasising the potential that these towns have represented hubs of communities in the past.[121] However, one marked difference with the Cornish experience he mentions, is how the development of regional newspapers emerged from St Ives, in an act that did not conform to English conventions.[122] The County Court between the Twelfth and Fourteenth century fluctuated between Launceston, Bodmin and Lostwithiel, reflecting the profile of the bordering towns and communities in Cornwall.[123] Whilst reflecting on language and borders, Llamas makes the following statement which is a true reflection of the Cornish nation-state; 'The processes of decentralisation allow links between areas which do not pass through a 'centre' and localities on the periphery of the traditional centre, such as border localities, may become centres of the regions themselves'.[124] This argument can be extended beyond that of language into culture and as we will see, the geographical centre of Cornwall has not always been the epicentre of Cornish Civic Society. Furthermore, recent attempts by Cornwall Council to improve localism and reinstating a less Truro-Centric model for local development, has seen further hubs of transport and culture being revived around Cornwall. More detail of these is discussed later.

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[118] Ibid., 15.

[119] Gerard Delanty, "Borders in a Changing Europe: Dynamics of Openness and Closure," *Comparative European Politics* 4, no. 2-3 (2006): 183.

[120] Carey, 102-03.

[121] Alan Everitt, "Country, County and Town: Patterns of Regional Evolution in England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 29 (1979): 89.

[122] Ibid., 93.

[123] R.C. Palmer, *The County Courts of Medieval England, 1150-1350* (Princeton University Press, 2019), 8-9.

[124] Carmen Llamas, "Convergence and Divergence across a National Border," *Language and identities* (2010): 228.

The fertility of the East Cornwall landscape promoted more agricultural processes, demonstrated by the number of farms in the community, many of which remain to this day. Whilst mining and fishing have often been considered traditional industries of Cornwall, there is increasing recognition regarding the historic value of agriculture, something which is being highlighted in more modern reinterpretations of Cornish identity.[125] To paraphrase Tregidga, the geographical location and physical environment, is an intrinsic part of Cornwall's identity.[126] Therefore, there is no reason why these important farming communities should not be considered equal to the mining communities in terms of Cornishness. This statement is not without supportive evidence, for example, Ruddick suggests that Cornish land tenancy and farming patterns in the late medieval period, were distinctive by comparison to what can only be described as much more of an English pattern.[127] This despite Ruddick's direct criticism of excessively pro-Cornish academia contributing to a narrative of difference.

Central to this rich fertile land has been the River Tamar, which has served as the main artery of the farming industry. In this respect the working networks were established by virtue of the natural landscape. For example, 'the market gardening industry was concentrated in six parishes although it spilled out into those bordering them such as Stoke Climsland. On the Cornish side these were St Dominick, Calstock, Botus Fleming and Landulph and on the Devon side, Bere Ferrers and to a lesser extent Bickleigh'.[128] There was of course a rivalry that evolved over time, particularly given that these industries were individual farms in competition with each other. More importantly however, this way of life was not confined purely to either side of the Tamar. The question as to whose narrative it is to tell, depends on where you believe power lied. The majority of Market Gardeners were based on the Cornish bank. However, the trading centres of Devon forced these communities to cross the Tamar daily, using ferries and roads en-route for selling their goods and wares.[129] Thus, the economy was indisputably a shared narrative. This reiterates the importance of the 'networked border', one which identifies its natural division as a resource and not purely a river that dissects communities as has been argued historically. In fact, traversing by various means of transport is ingrained in the way of East Cornish life, dating right back to the very origins of these communities. This goes back in time to the importance of transport in terms of connectivity across a border. This warrants a separate section in its own right to discuss its merits or otherwise to life in the area.

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[125] "White Paper for Historic Environment." Truro, 2012.

[126] Garry Tregidga, *Memory, Place and Identity : The Cultural Landscapes of Cornwall*.

[127] A. Ruddick, *English Identity and Political Culture in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 84.

[128] Lewis, Giffords, and Tamar Valley,2004, 5.

[129] Ibid., 12, 24.

That is not to dispute the recognised history of productive mining in East Cornwall; The UNESCO designation of the Cornwall and West Devon mining landscape discussed later in this thesis, confirms the significant contributions made to the East of Cornwall. This designation commemorates the later contributions from the 1800s and 1900s, but consideration must be given to the far earlier mines of East Cornwall and West Devon. This includes the King's Silver Mines of Bere Ferrers, which could be seen as a precursor to the borderlands economy that would later develop. Whilst there can be no dispute this location is in Devon; it is in fact part of a Tamar Valley borderlands. The management of the sites, detached from English crown tradition, encouraged tighter control from the Crown highlighted by its own officer appointments, thus they became anglicised.[130] This is perhaps a decision made given the tumultuous political tensions between the King and the Celtic peoples which led to the need of royalty to become more actively involved than was typical in other parts of England. But the role of Cornwall in running these mines cannot be understated. Calstock particularly represented an important administrative hub for the running of the operation, intermittently from their opening in 1292 throughout the whole of the medieval period. But this networked border, centred around the Bere peninsula and the mines stretched to Tavistock and thereafter developed settlements in South-West Devon, namely Tamerton Foliot, Buckland Monochorum, Whitchurch and larger numbers of Hamlets which included Landulph, St Dominick and Calstock.[131] The importance shown here is how the Tamar Valley grew out of cross-border economies and businesses, though one might argue, this happened largely under English rule.

Psephologists often comment on the 'persistence of difference' in Cornish politics and Adrian Lee has talked about how Cornwall 'marches to a different drum'.[132] This difference has grown from a time in which politics in Cornwall was notably different. Constitutionally it has been argued that Cornwall was, and still culturally may be, 'one of the four nations of Britain', reiterating the sense of a finite border at the Tamar.[133] But East Cornwall has had far stronger connections historically with the English state, which adds a further complexity to understanding the spatial dynamics of Cornish Politics. Hastings, whilst sympathetic to 'politicisable' civic nationalism, duly notes that whilst Wales and Scotland maintained some political distance, Cornwall had a larger representation in Parliament by comparison given its smaller size.[134]

This was in no small part due to the impact of the Duchy. The Duchy of Cornwall warrants specific studying in its own right. Significant contributions on this topic have been made by John Kirkhope,

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[130] S. Rippon, P. Claughton, and C. Smart, *Mining in a Medieval Landscape: The Royal Silver Mines of the Tamar Valley* (University of Exeter Press, 2015), 54.

[131] ibid., 136.

[132] Adrian Lee, "Cornwall: The "Celtic Fringe" in English Politics."

[133] Hugh Kearney, *The British Isles: A History of Four Nations* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1.

[134] Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge University Press, 1997).

but they have a role to play here in understanding and framing Cornwall spatiality. In an assessment of the border, the Duchy as an entity is an interesting spatial construction.[135] Describing Cornwall as a Duchy is in essence an inaccurate analysis, largely because not all of Cornwall is within the Duchy, or vice versa. Established in 1337, the Duchy estate remains. The Duchy's website depicts a sum of 52,760 hectares of land across a total of 21 counties, though with a significant proportion based in the South West.[136] Whilst these figures are the subject of dispute, some argue that the landholdings may in fact be significantly higher nowadays. Evidence suggests the Duchy has in fact continued to grow since its heyday of political influence. In fact, Dartmoor and Devon represents the largest landmass of the Duchy despite being normally Cornish. The little holdings of the Duchy in Cornwall can be found predominantly within East Cornwall, being largely the land conquered by either Saxon or Norman Kings. Little remains of the Duchy Palace in Lostwithiel which was the administrative centre for the Duchy, again highlighting East Cornwall as once a power epicentre. This cemented what Julian Cornwall describes as the 'illusion of autonomy' amid a culture of 'Celtic survival not yet assimilated into the English Nation'.[137] Whilst the Duchy shares its name with Cornwall, the narrative of the Duchy should be disconnected from the Land mass we know as Cornwall. The spatial map of the Duchy is largely independent of the region of Cornwall, and it is misleading to conflate the two narratives. That is not to say however that in the cultural psyche these have not been intertwined.

Similar conflation of Cornwall and notions of self-governance, can be seen within the narrative of the Cornish Stannary Parliament, creating 'an aura of semi-independence', which again was not necessarily reflective of a total Cornish State.[138] Being the responsibility of the Duchy, its Parliament also sat at Lostwithiel, but exercised very little legal power despite having the authority to do so. Whilst Cornish Stannaries had defined borders, in the context of East Cornwall, the Foweymore Stannary is said to have been of very minor importance despite its relatively large size.[139] The proximity to the Devonian Stannaries, which were far less defined spatially, may have exercised influence over the border, particularly as argued by Hatcher, in South East Cornwall.[140] What happened subsequently, is following the destruction of the Duchy Palace during the Civil War, the administrative hub was moved to Truro, thus helping it to emerge as the Capital of Cornwall as it is today. This is evident from the records of the final sittings of the Parliament that in fact took place

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[135] John Kirkhope, "The Duchy of Cornwall : A Feudal Remnant? : An Examination of the Origin, Evolution and Present Status of the Duchy of Cornwall" ([Great Britain] : University of Plymouth, 2013., 2013).

[136] "Frequently Asked Questions," https://duchyofcornwall.org/frequently-asked-questions.html (Last Accessed - 15/09/2020).

[137] J. Cornwall, *Revolt of the Peasantry, 1549* (Routledge & K. Paul, 1977), 42-43.

[138] Payton, *The Making of Modern Cornwall : Historical Experience and the Persistence of "Difference"*,1992, 48.

[139] John Hatcher and Erik Hatcher, *Rural Economy and Society in the Duchy of Cornwall 1300-1500* (CUP Archive, 1970), 21.

[140] Ibid., 169-72.

there. Pennington's appraisal of Stannary Law in Devon and Cornwall also brings to light the discussions not often mentioned in the narratives of the Stannary Parliament. He recognises a history of merger and centralisation between them, resulting in shared jurisdiction of Devon and Cornwall by 1855, when there was a vice-warden responsible for both combined.[141] Thus notions of governance, power and influence do not all conform to a historic linear border. Spatial maps of entities draw their own local boundaries, often defined by its people and their interactions within a smaller area.

This does not negate the fact that there was an important part of the political history of Cornwall that developed alongside the aforementioned evidence of national centralisation across the border. In the 14th century, six boroughs were enfranchised, four of which constituted what is commonly referred to as East Cornwall by modern spatial constructions. A major reason for this consolidation of political power in the east, relates to the important contribution by a few families and their specific relationships with the British state. The legacy of these families can be witnessed in the Landscape and created spatial constructions that disregarded any notions of established statehood and territory as we see them. By virtue of this, they created their own geographies that shall be explored next.

Intertwined in politics, has been the development of the localised economy. Hatcher has promoted several articles and books focusing on the diverse economies of Cornwall, during the medieval period, all of which relate to the importance of Manor economies.[142] Concentrating specifically on Climsland, Rillaton and Liskeard Manors, he recognised that following the impact of the Black Death, there was, as a consequence, far more resultant demand and subsequent migration eastwards within Cornwall, towards the more fertile manor lands which developed the area as a hub of agricultural activity. This paralleled the rapid growth of the textile industries and together they created a borderlands economy, one not solely confined to one side or the other.[143] Trade in Border relations remains a key aspect of border theory, though largely focused on modern day intra-national case studies.[144] This thesis believes there is a historic precedence set in localised studies of County borders in Britain, that should be considered in the greater debate regarding the theorisation of borders.

Rather than distinguishing between Devon and Cornwall, the families and their respective estates represent cross-border constructions, covering both the Northern and Southern parts. There is the

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[141] Robert R. Pennington, "Stannary Law a History of the Mining Law of Cornwall and Devon," (1973).

[142] John Hatcher, "A Diversified Economy: Later Medieval Cornwall," *The Economic History Review* 22, no. 2 (1969): 214.

[143] Ibid., 224-5.

[144] International Trade, Border Theory Martin A Andresen, "Geographies of International Trade: Theory, Borders, and Regions," *Geography Compass* 4, no. 2 (2010).

general principle that the closer Families resided to the Tamar, the more anglicised their roots became.[145] That being said, families often played a continuing role in Cornish Civic Society and thus shaped the very perceptions of the border and the politics of difference within Cornwall. In fact, when we consider borders, the estates of Lanhydrock, Cothele, Antony, Mount Edgcumbe and Port Eliot stand aloft like forts defining the line between the English and Cornish nations. These estates and their boundaries are not fixed solely along County line definitions. The influence of families was in fact spread right across the areas of East Cornwall and West Devon area and beyond.

The Carew Baronetcy of Antony was created in 1641 for Richard Carew who had served as MP for Cornwall & St Michaels. The family would continue to serve in various political capacities for Cornwall, a lineage that lives on through the Carew Pole family who still live today, in the Antony estate. Another branch was granted Baronetcy at Haccombe in 1661 and served to inherit several manor estates across East Devon, demonstrating how large influential families would shape the political landscape of the West Country as a whole. Though we find little evidence of any co-operation across the family. The family's shared heritage perhaps explains why they wanted to invest in the Torpoint Ferry crossing, as a commercial service. However, the Pole Carew family did not embark on this venture alone. Parliamentary approval obtained for this crossing was developed equally with the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe.

The Edgcumbe family history, whilst fixed within Cornwall, is one that spans the entire South West. The family origins began in Milton Abbot, but ultimately, they settled in Mount Edgcumbe in the 16th century. Prior to this the family had been based at another manor, namely Cothele, which again sits on the Cornish border. The title Earl of Mount Edgecumbe was created as a peerage 'in the County of Devon', despite this the family would go on to serve as MPs for a number of Cornish constituencies and family members would also serve as Lord Lieutenants for Cornwall on numerous occasions. The family, prior to the move to Cornwall, had a reputation for being leading rebels within Devon. Therefore, this is a prime example depicting the family's history as cross border. As well as the Torpoint Ferry, the family developed the Cremyll Ferry which connected the family house directly to the village of Stonehouse which they also owned, but that was situated on the other bank of the Tamar.

The Grenville family also straddled the border, acting as Lord of the Manor of Stowe in Kilkhampton, Cornwall, and Bideford in Devon. They also purchased Buckland Abbey in 1541, another significant location at the heart of border territory. The Courtenay family equally have come to reside in Devon, but they nevertheless had an important estate based at Tremere in Lanivet as well as holding the Earldom of Devon within another branch of the family.

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[145] Crispin Gill, *The Great Cornish Families: A History of the People and Their Houses* (Cornwall Books, 1995), iii.

The overarching narrative of the families of the South West is that they are far more 'West Country' in reality as their family histories do not conform exclusively to the state of Cornwall. Undoubtedly, there are individuals, such as Richard Carew, author of the Survey of Cornwall, who have been far more invested in Cornwall than other parts of their family tree. but describing these families as 'West Country' is a far more representative image of the expanse of the families. Narratives of Devon or Cornwall can be shared, but they are not often presented as such. Particularly in the Cornish case, their identity is routed in the fact that Cornwall is like an Island and geographically separate from England.[146]

The paradox of borders within the Cornish experience is identified in its rich transnational history, particularly during the Cornish Diaspora of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. Its emigratory communities are internationally renowned, particularly for their contributions to the success of the mining industries. Deacon in 2004 asked the question 'How do we explain the rise, decline, and rise again of Cornish transnationalism, the feeling of belonging to a worldwide Cornish community spanning many borders?', a question which appears to generate a very simple answer.[147] The Cornish community created microcosms of home – Traditional industries, defined by the landscape and with a strong spatial identity, that incorporated their Cornish identity within a clearly defined landscape. As such the diasporic community were transposing their home identity and embedding it, into the ways of life such as communities do in California and South Australia amongst others. Payton's work on the Yorke Peninsula has explored a sense of place and being within the community area. He reflects on how contemporaries felt that the mining communities that existed were 'more Cornish than Cornwall', fundamentally shaping the landscape and creating an enclave in a place that is defined by its natural isolation.[148] Cultural boundaries were drawn that would shape the landscape irrevocably. Ingrained in this process was a sense of what can be described as Cornish frontierism; A dawning for Cornwall beyond the border of the Tamar, but exclusively in an area where its culture could be dominant.

Thus, there is no clear narrative of the border from its role in historical narratives. What this section has aimed to do is exemplify the numerous ways in which border dynamics evolved. There is evidence of numerous border theories playing out and from this clear evidence of how the sense of border has changed over time. What this thesis will now go on to demonstrate in the other substantive chapters, is how in modern society, the complexities of this border relationship remain

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[146] Hayward.

[147] Bernard Deacon, *The Cornish Family : The Roots of Our Future* (Fowey: Cornwall Editions Limited, 2004), 171.

[148] Philip Payton, "Place, Community and Identity: South Australia's Cornish Mining Landscapes," in *ICOMOS: Fabric - The threads of Conservation* (Adelaide2015).

unsettled and how the historic border continues to matter and not purely depending on circumstance.

What is also underlined here, but not in any way advocated, is the historic precedence of a Devonwall construction. In East Cornwall, there has been a strong history of exchange across the River Tamar, something which has been missing from landscape research, that is still in its infancy as an area of analysis.[149] For this case study, this shared resource also represents the historic evidence of borders, not as a dividing line, but as a shared space and a place of interaction. The networks of living space outlined in the numerous examples represented in this chapter, forebodes the diverse ways through which Devon, Plymouth and Cornwall have each worked together. Not only is this social interaction, but by definition it is also unmistakably intertwined in power relationships and authority over land, particularly in the Medieval and Middle Ages.

What this chapter has also sought to demonstrate is that as a precursor to many of the developments in the 20th and 21st century, we are identifying trends that have existed and continued for Centuries in East Cornwall. The border, therefore, has thus changed over time as social interaction has. But far from bringing new perspectives of a new, more porous Cornish border, these are reflective of a time when space was defined differently and when Cornwall did not need to argue its difference. In the modern climate of Devolution and nationhood in the Cornish context, Cornwall needs to embrace its history and accept that its difference is not compromised by co-operating with external bodies.

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[149] Marc Antrop and Veerle Van Eetvelde, "Territory and/or Scenery: Concepts and Prospects of Western Landscape Research," in *Current Trends in Landscape Research* (Springer, 2019), 6.

Chapter 4 - Transport as part of the space-time reconfiguration of the border

Ciccantell and Bunker argue 'transport and transport systems provide a critical medium for the structuring and periodic reorganization and expansion of the world-system' with transport acting as the 'articulation and integration of the core and periphery' in understanding the spatial organisation and processes that the world system theory revolves around.[150] Whilst this theory is encompassed in the grand narratives of explaining the world order, the case study of Cornwall & Devon can explore some of the relationships that world-system theory is trying to understand in microcosm, with London, Plymouth & Truro competing as Cores to the periphery. Across the United Kingdom, we are witnessing the competing cores across the political battleground of Britain which has seen Governments of Wales and Scotland competing with the Core of Westminster, and even within England, the empowerment of 'Powerhouses'. In each example, the discussions of Transport are always high on the agenda, forcing the debate about which places need to be connected, the frequency by which they are done so and how fast that service must be. Henceforth, exploring transport and transport systems demonstrates a non-conformity to the notion of 'bounded space' of Devon and Cornwall as separate entities and the challenges this poses to a spatial identity.[151]

In doing so, we can also critique and understand the interplay between the constructions of the border in border studies, but also incompatibilities of the Cornish identity at the border. Through the lens of transport on border studies, the Institute of Geography and Spatial Organization at the Polish Academy of Sciences in 2012 explored the Polish-Slovak Borderlands.[152] The study profiled the natural and socio-economic conditions before considering the flows of people through the developments of roads and railways and the effect this has had on border relations. In their case study, the residents and authorities in the area recognised the issues of a borderlands construction, which they believe is the best for the tourism industry, in light of the differing pace on each side of the border and how barriers would be built by existing authorities.[153] If they did not co-operate effectively as a unit, the appeal of visiting locations would be negated by the difficulties in accessing the places, either to visit or for residents supplying the services through premises and labour. One could compare their conclusions as reaffirming the ideals of a closely intertwined 'networked border' with the node-and-link structure.[154]

In the Devon-Cornwall case study however, one could argue the borderlands are becoming a 'zone of discontinuity' as there are inconsistencies as to who is responsible, Devonian, Cornish,

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[150] P.S. Ciccantell and S.G. Bunker, *Space and Transport in the World-System* (Greenwood Press, 1998), 2.

[151] T. Edensor, *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016).

[152] M. Więckowski et al., *Polish-Slovak Borderland: Transport Accessibility and Tourism* (Institute of Geography and Spatial Organization, Stanislaw Leszczycki, Polish Academy of Sciences, 2012).

[153] Ibid., 310.

[154] Popescu,2012, 82.

Plymothian amongst other bodies, for maintain the passageways across the Tamar which are part of everyday life for residents near the border.[155] A degree of self-sufficiency has been ingrained in the borderlands psyche that has seen people from towns and villages near the border commute using private transport in response to changes to public transport networks, but also how the growing 'cityscape' of Plymouth acts as the transport hub and the mediator in transport systems in the borderlands. Through this section it becomes evident how the lack of local agency in border crossings has created the need for private transportation as historic cross-border exchanges remain a key characteristic of living close to the border, particularly in the Cornish experience. The importance of the provision of rural transport services, is not a new issue and scholars have been exploring the lag between provision in built up areas as compared to urban landscapes for a long time.[156] This thesis goes further and explores how the localised demand based on employment patterns instigated significant improvements before more modern interpretations of the demands of communities in the twentieth and twenty-first century. One must consider the Devon-Cornwall border permeable, after all they are of the same legislative state, but also how there are growing disparities between crossings to the north and south that shape one's conceptualisation of space and time. By this I mean how the fact that the border may not be as visible in more northern areas, the transport network of public transport and road networks distorts the time taken to cross the border in areas despite geographically closer.

Bridges

The river now has twenty-four crossings, a figure that has grown and shrunk as new bridges have been built and others lost. The importance of the Tamar Crossings has been recognised by the Institution of Civil Engineers who have looked at how the area has been synonymous with pioneering spirit and engineering proficiency.[157] Significantly now, of the existing Tamar Bridges, four of them no longer connect Devon and Cornwall, rather they are internal bridges within each county as the boundaries have been altered. Harry Sewell Jr describes how he sees bridges in the simplest terms reflecting the concepts of agency and understanding how social structures change over time.[158] These crossings represent formal changes to the border landscape and the narrative of their constructions represents social processes to be studied.

Thomas' research on Tamar Bridges is largely architectural observations but also presents some interesting reflections on crossings as a process. He notes that the first bridge across the Tamar was

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[155] Więckowski et al.,2012, 308.
[156] "Accessibility: The Rural Challenge." 1979.
[157] "Build a Crossing over the River Tamar to Move People or Vehicles," https://www.ice.org.uk/what-is-civil-engineering/what-do-civil-engineers-do/tamar-crossings (Last Accessed - 15/02/2019).
[158] W.H. Sewell and University of Chicago Press, *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (University of Chicago Press, 2005), 19.

the Youlstone Ham Bridge, located in the parish of Kilkhampton.[159] There are no records of the bridge being built, but it is unsurprising that crossing the Tamar became a feature of the landscape first in the North where the practicalities required for crossing the River are less demanding on resources and simpler. The bridge itself, whilst unimpressive in design, pre-dates the medieval period and was built as a culvert, despite the Tamar minor presence in the landscape nearby. This suggests a pertinence to the maintenance of this route, a track which is still in use today, though a far more minor part of the more established road networks in the area.

The medieval period represents a significant phase of bridge building and usage. Research identifies that during this time many of the bridges were built, but became significant sites of resistance and battlegrounds during the English Civil War where Devon and Cornwall were most divided.[160] Fleming's research emphasised the Horsebridge crossing, built in 1437, as being part of a vital route across Dartmoor into Cornwall and a major meeting point for 'English Devon' and the 'Cornish Frontier' as part of early settlement patterns.[161] It's historic significance has now been preserved and memorialised, since 1929, by Historic England as it is now protected as a monument though the route it represented has largely disappeared from the Cornish landscape.[162] It would be fair to say of most of these ancient crossings, few remain part of border commutes in the modern era.

Significant changes to the formal crossings took place during the nineteenth century, which saw many of the routes as we know them today being re-constructed, a point raised by Thomas but not discussed in any great length. It is during this peak of railway development that we see a number of new bridges being built, not least in the case of the Royal Albert Bridge which today still stands as a monument and a vital passageway in and out of Cornwall, and that warrants its own discussion later in this section.[163] Hammond and Sloan's edited collection of articles on rural and urban communities discusses a number of ways in which railways provided new opportunities and new connections between villages, towns and cities, many of which required bridges to traverse the natural landscape.[164] This case study of the borderlands of Devon and Cornwall finds that the road network in existence now is based on the train network of Victorian England and these routes have superseded the ancient routes. This mirrors developments across Britain that remain remarkably

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[159] D. L. B. Thomas, "Medieval Tamar Bridges," *DEVON HISTORIAN*, no. 64 (2002): 3.. Though this is disputed as Horsebridge is often described as the oldest bridge. Such is the difficulty of conducted detailed work on the origins of these crossings as the records we have are highly limited.
[160] Ibid., 4.
[161] Andrew Fleming, "The Crossing of Dartmoor," *Landscape History* 32, no. 1 (2011).
[162] "Horse Bridge," https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1020813 (Last Accessed -
[163] H.L. Sussman, *Victorian Technology: Invention, Innovation, and the Rise of the Machine* (Praeger Publishers, 2009), 26-29.
[164] T.M. Charlton, *A History of the Theory of Structures in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 56; M. Hammond and B. Sloan, "Introduction," in *Rural–Urban Relationships in the Nineteenth Century: Uneasy Neighbours?*, ed. M. Hammond and B. Sloan (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis, 2016), 8-10.

similar, the exceptions to this rule occur in areas where the railway never developed. As such, whilst often described as a rural hinterland, it has been part of a network.

Further to this, we see major upgrades to the existing road network. Polson Bridge is an outlining example of one bridge re-built in the nineteenth century as a joint venture by Devon & Cornwall that remains an important landmark on the border landscape. It had a long-standing duty as a meeting point for the Duke of Cornwall when he visited the Duchy, but also had been important with Launceston being a parole town and the centre of the bridge being the parole limits.[165] The A30 has since bypassed Polson bridge, largely due to the volume of traffic, but discussed later, the vitality of the bridge as a relic to times gone by has made it a site of protest at times of boundary changes. The building of Dunheved Bridge in 1975 facilitated more road traffic than the historic Polson bridge could sustain, especially given its history of collapse during the eighteenth century and the regular need for renovation. Therefore, whilst its practical purpose has declined as it could not meet the demands of twentieth and twenty-first century society, but symbolically holds a value to society, a visual reminder to a bygone era that still provides a connection for the communities of Launceston to Lifton and other Devonian villages.

The post-1900 period era has seen as many, if not more closures as it has new bridges builds, several being dismantled, or as seen with Horsebridge, preserved, and listed for their architectural significance and historical contributions to border communities. In this case study, the Tamar Bridge was celebrated when built in 1962, and remains the latest new structure to be built across the Tamar, with improvements to existing crossings being a preferred option when raised. On this basis, it warrants its own section, but its development also sheds important light on how border relations have developed in more recent times and how agency is disputed in border-crossings between Devon and Cornwall.

Rodrigue et al. comment on how 'the land [transport] network development and cross-border crossings throughout the world have far reaching geopolitical implications' as the supply and demand of territories implicated the need for cross-border negotiation and relationships.[166] This production and freight traffic created huge demand for not only the road network, but also the railways and ferry crossings.[167] As demand increased, calls for cross-Tamar bridges and transportation has increased, and further crossings raised in Parliament, but these have only resulted in traffic calming improvements at either end of existing crossings.[168] But one can note how traditional cross-border

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[165] Neale,2010; J. Rendell, *Launceston from Old Photographs* (Amberley Publishing, 2012).
[166] Jean-Paul Rodrigue, Claude Comtois, and Brian Slack, *The Geography of Transport Systems* (Routledge, 2009), 53.
[167] J. B. Snell, *Tamar Valley Trains* (Ottery1997), 1-2.
[168] "River Tamar Crossings Study - Final Report." Berkshire, 2013.

routes have now been lost in favour of high-speed travel to more westerly parts of Cornwall that largely by-pass East Cornwall.

However, there are now signs that the neglected cross-border routes of North Cornwall, that predate the crossings towards the south, are now getting the investment from the Council they have needed for a long time. But on many of these routes, were it not for the signs indicating that you had entered or left Cornwall, there would be great difficulty in distinguishing where one was. To compare to Ireland, Nash & Reid discuss the material differences in some of the roads that cross between the Northern and the Republic of Ireland. There, the quality of some roads differs significantly as some routes are prioritised over others and the line markings are distinct colours so one can always tell when you have crossed the border.[169] The same cannot be said for Cornwall and Devon where the roads are continuous and maintained to the same level.

However, a policy directive from Cornwall Council has brought the crossing of the border back to the traveller's attention. There is a notable difference in the number of 'Welcome to Cornwall Signs' as compared with the number of Devon signs including on a number of the Tamar Crossings already discussed here. Harasta has written about how 'for the Cornish nationalist, the land of Cornwall is unique and absolutely fundamental in creating and maintaining Cornishness' drawing attention to the number of Piran and Celtic Crosses on the landscape, as well as Saints Names in Towns, but, I would argue, this also manifests itself on the road network.[170] The visitor to Cornwall is almost universally greeted by a reference to Kernow, a flag, or a big sign with the word 'Cornwall' on it on many routes in, but if leaving Cornwall, you are often reliant on looking at the same sign in your reversing mirror. Even in remote locations, the landscape is demarcated even though the roads often continue. One may argue in many cases this was not necessary, the Tamar is the cultural marker. But where border in the North is not so obvious in some locations, the Cornish still maintain their markers of identity in road signs that the Devonians do not. Even in spite of the natural border that is very distinguishing in the landscape, Cornwall has made the invisible border visible.

Ferries

As demonstrated from the bridges, without the visual signposting, one might not know that one was travelling from one side of a border to the other. Nonetheless, particularly towards the south where the border landscape is more pronounced and the mouth of the River Tamar widens, crossing the border is a far more political issue. It is through exploring these crossings we can see how the agency and responsibility of each side of the border has changed throughout the process of construction and continuous running of the services since. This section focuses on the three ferry services of Cremyll, Saltash and Torpoint that have been in existence since at least the fourteenth

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[169] C. Nash and B. Reid, *Partitioned Lives: The Irish Borderlands* (Taylor & Francis, 2016), 10.
[170] Harasta, 200.

century, but also to several other water crossings that have since disappeared. Each of these services remain in some form, but the purposes of each crossing have changed significantly. In understanding the ferries as constructions, we observe how accountability of the service has remained an issue for residents and how the agency of Cornish authorities and residents is still largely subjected to the urban domination of Plymouth amongst other authorities. In fact, the role of Plymouth here represents many different entities. Whilst in Devon, it has its own authority but is also subject, due to its naval history, significant English, and Governmental intervention. One may infer that the negotiations surrounding the cross-Tamar ferries are a microcosm of the disputable Cornish agency at the border. By this, this section is exploring how Cornwall control over the delivery and maintenance of these services has varied and how it has had to work constructively with outside bodies to resolve the issues presented for bordering communities in relation to these crossings.

In Saltash, a plaque is dedicated to the Saltash Ferry which closed in October 1961 after seven hundred years of operation in one form or another. Originally opened by the Valletort family before being sold to the Earl of Cornwall, Hatcher discusses the significant contribution of the ferry service as a vital passage. The crossing connected the 'Un-English' manor of Tremanton which contained Saltash, an important Cornish Port, to Duchy of Cornwall land in Little Ash, part of what is now St Budeaux, Devon.[171] Thus, the ferry originally connected territories that were part of a larger cross-border construction. During this period of ascendancy for the Duchy, we see East Cornwall as the hub of a construction not bounded by the Tamar and how cross-border relations are still embedded into the everyday practices of the community. Crispin Gill's *the Great Cornish Families* implicitly recognises the number of prestigious manors of East Cornwall as the prized assets of families who made their wealth during this period, more of which is discussed in other sections of this thesis.[172] Importantly, despite boundary disputes, the ferry has remained an important lifeline to the residents of the Rame peninsula.

The Saltash ferry would be run by the burgesses of Saltash from 1337 with a number of charters confirmed by numerous Monarch, most notably Henry VI, Henry VIII and Elizabeth I.[173] The service failed to modernise in line with the demands of the population of Saltash, relying on old boats through until 1829, with tragic consequences in 1733. The ferry would return in various iterations the use of a floating bridge before the steam Ferry Company under the Saltash Corporation were established in 1852. It is interesting to observe that Saltash Borough Council lobbied for bylaws on the running of the service given the numerous issues raised by regular users, particularly in the

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[171] J. Hatcher et al., *Rural Economy and Society in the Duchy of Cornwall 1300-1500* (Cambridge University Press, 1970), 18.

[172] Gill,1995.

[173] J. Polsue, *A Complete Parochial History of the County of Cornwall: Compiled from the Best Authorities & Corrected and Improved from Actual Survey ; Illustrated* (W. Lake, 1872), 136-7.

1930s. Nonetheless, no concessions are made, and thus a disconnect between residents demands and the service offered becomes a poignant issue, and whilst service did not cease until 1961, the ferry was always inferior to those being developed in other locations, largely owing to the lack of investment in the service. The selection of this site for the Tamar Bridge though demonstrates that the service itself provided an important lifeline to residents, more of which shall be discussed in a later section.

Following an act of Parliament sponsored by the Carew family and the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, the Torpoint ferry became operational in 1791 under the nomination of the 'New Passage' to distinguish itself from its Saltash predecessor. The demand for the Torpoint Ferry was born from the new naval-related industry that was developing on the estate of the Carew family, responsible for 'ballasting naval and other ships', but there is evidence of crossings at this point before the official ferry.[174] Kittridge also notes how this process opened the space for expansion of the Plymouth Docks in new areas beyond the Three Towns.[175] The Cornwall Council Development Plan from 1957 recognises how 'Population trends were affected at both Saltash and Torpoint, and in the case of Saltash the town increased from 1,150 in 1831 to 1,637 thirty years later, but the upward trend was not resumed until after 1851, and it is probable that the operation of the steam ferry at Torpoint accounted for the recession'.[176]

Once again, the Torpoint Ferry, like its precursor demonstrates the direct influence of the English state in daily business and how the agency of Cornish and Devonian authorities was often reliant on state intervention. Following the period of family estate ownership, we see how there is a power struggle between who is responsible for them. There are the important influences of the admiralty and Plymothian authorities who hold significant control over the process, as well as commercial feasibility as an issue. In office correspondence, we see how the issue of 'crown servants' and exemption from tolls remains an issue that continues to plague the Torpoint Ferry Co. in their control of the ferry.[177] Furthermore, correspondence from the Company shows how the Admiralty were exceedingly difficult in negotiations surrounding improvements to the service. The Company would end up seeking legal proceedings to secure the cancellations of deeds to allow for chains to be built across the Hamoaze in 1891.[178] Despite being a cross-border dispute between Cornwall & Devon, the matter was strictly resolved as a business relationship between Col. Reginald Pole Carew and Lord St Levan as proprietors of the ferry and the land that was strictly responsibility of the Admiralty as it entered the Navy estate. There was no space for public consultation or consideration

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[174] Alan Kittridge, *Steamers & Ferries of the River Tamar & Three Towns District* (Truro: Twelveheads, 2003), 10.
[175] Ibid., 12.
[176] "Cornwall Council Development Plan " 1957.
[177] *His Majesty's Attorney General Vs Cornwall County Council*, (1933).
[178] Department for Admiralty, "Plymouth - Torpoint Ferry," in *Admiralty: Record Office: Cases*, ed. Admiralty (National Archives, Kew, 1892).

but given the influence that both bodies had over the community of Torpoint this would undoubtedly have been of major public interest.

The company would serve until the 1920s when Cornwall County Council bought the ferry under Council control as a marker of the importance of the service to the region. The County of Cornwall Act of 1929 facilitated the movement to ensure that this 'vital link', as it has been described, was maintained properly, which was the reason behind the need to acquire ferry service due to the resistance met when the Company tried to double tolls to pay for the repairs needed.[179] This was in direct response to the request by Torpoint Urban Council and demonstrates the representation of local agency and Cornwall spearheading investment near the border.

Once again however, even with the growth of Local Government and its now ownership of the asset, it continues to have to seek legal proceedings with national bodies to resolve issues over the way in which the service runs. In 1933, we see the Attorney General, on behalf of Her Majesty, go to court with Cornwall County Council to resolve the settlement of fees, which demonstrates the importance of control over the crossings, the impact of which important as Councils in Cornwall sought to claim responsibilities from the Government and build its own financial base to maintain itself.[180]

Service usage on the Torpoint Ferry would grow in line with the growth of the communities it sought to serve. The demand for the ferry crossings by 1950 was such that Cornwall County Council described the 'chaotic conditions of traffic congestion at the Torpoint Ferry' and emphasised the need to find another long-term solution.[181] Regular social media postings of issues surrounding delays are still occurring almost daily because to the commuters rely on this service, as summarised by an article from 2017 in the *Plymouth Herald* which summarised the discontent when it fails to run a service.[182] A petition in 2018 led by the Torpoint Mosquito Sailing Club reached 600 signatories as the local communities suffered 'through negligence and bad management' of the Torpoint Ferry and Tamar Bridge despite it being 'a critical part of daily life'.[183] This was a complaint made of the Tamar Bridge & Torpoint Ferry Joint Committee which was established following the opening of the Tamar Bridge. This committee made up of Plymouth City and Cornwall Councillors demonstrates an intention to localise and dedicate resources to border crossings, but evidence of frustration remains a feature of many local newspapers.

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[179] Kittridge,2003, 130-31.
[180] *His Majesty's Attorney General Vs Cornwall County Council*.
[181] "Torpoint and Saltash Ferries: Report on the Tamar Crossing and Report on a Low Level Road Bridge." Plymouth, 1954.
[182] "People Are Raging About the 'Unreliable' Torpoint Ferries," *Plymouth Herald*, 29 September 2017.
[183] "Call for Travel Chaos Inquiry; Petition Launched to Urge Whitehall to Review Ferry and Bridge," *The Plymouth Herald*, December 6 2018.

They are other significant ferry crossings that were important to the local communities but have now lost their value. The Cremyll ferry, south of Torpoint has been a foot passenger route with records of rowing boats using the crossing since the 11th century. Plymouth Boat Trips now incorporates Sound Cruising and Tamar Cruising who took over the service in 1985 after both companies began to collapse in 2005. They are run in conjunction with Plymouth City Council; The lack of Cornish ownership of the route reflects the way in which this crossing is no longer a priority service as engrained in a way of life for Cornish communities. Instead, the marketing on the website reflects a shift towards the tourism industry for the service rather than part of the everyday process of bordering. This suggests Plymouth are realising the tourist potential for this crossing that Fernandez and Escampa argued for as opposed to a valuable route for local residents on both banks of the River Tamar.[184] That being said, there is something to be said for the tourist borderlands of the Tamar whereby these crossings can be valuable to both banks of the Tamar. The Cawsand Ferry is another service that has been invested in heavily through the development of the Barbican Landing stage in 2008, proving how these are commercially viable for Plymouth, but how the focus of water passage has now shifted away from the local to the tourist.[185]

The Antony ferry was also a service provided from around the fourteenth century, but this route, despite never officially closing, has ceased service since 1952. Kittridge agues 'its value to those on the Saltash side wishing to communicate with the Antony or Maker districts can be gauged by comparing the alternative route around the Lynher and Tiddy rivers to St Germans'.[186] The ferry was sold off during the sale of the Antony estate, but improvements were made to the road network to allay the loss of this service.

The remnants of the ferry network and their regular usage demonstrate how the historical crossing points of the Tamar still represent important crossings in the twenty first century. Those that have been lost have largely owed to the shifts in industrial focus for the border areas. One will also note however, this is a reciprocal relationship in which changes to the transport network have similarly forced changes on the industries of the Tamar Valley in particular.

The Royal Albert Bridge and the Cross-border railways

There is recognition of the great opportunities that the Royal Albert Bridge offered Cornwall as a whole.[187] Built in 1859, the development of the railway by Brunel and the Great Western Railway opened up Cornwall, proving very lucrative for the tourism industry of Cornwall which they

[184] Daniel Barrera Fernández and Marco Hernández Escampa, "Spatial Analysis of Tourist Activities and Services in the Historic City: The Cases of Malaga and Plymouth," *European Journal of Geography* 8, no. 1 (2017): 157.
[185] SJ Essex and P Ford, "Urban Regeneration: Thirty Years of Change on Plymouth's Waterfront," (2015): 87.
[186] Kittridge,2003, 13.
[187] D. Gore, *A Cornish Inheritance: The Harveys of Chacewater* (D. Gore, 1997), 24-25.

marketed to conjure up Celtic imagery.[188] It is not coincidental that Booker notes that 'not until 1859 was a Cornishman able to travel the length of his county by a continuous line of railway', demonstrating the fractured public transport network within Cornwall at the time.[189] In turn, one must consider how journeying westward at this time was not necessarily easier than travelling eastward. In opening the bridge, Cornwall County Council state 'the opening of the railway bridge over the Tamar was undoubtedly of major importance affecting settlement, as before this date there was no direct communication with Plymouth and it is probable that the expanding area of Saltash accommodated many former residents of Plymouth'.[190] The commanding structure still in use today, meant Cornwall was no longer a region 'beyond railways'.[191] Even during its development stage, it would attract crowds 'from 30000 to 40000'.[192]

Much has been written on the influence of the Great Western Railway and how Cornwall was viewed from a tourist's gaze, however this thesis will look at the loss of radical changes to the railways in the twentieth and twenty-first century from the residents' eyes.[193] Harris argues 'For many crossing the Tamar, the subsequent journey also carries an emotional charge, the embodiment of an amalgam of opportunity, loss, memory, anticipation and regret, emotions which are part of the experience of leaving and arrival' which shows the way in which coming in and out of Cornwall by train was a cultural moment that played on emotion and identity.[194]

The Prince Albert bridge offered what the railways in Cornwall until this point had been unable to do. Built largely on former mining routes for business purposes, train travel would become a prominent feature of public life, changing the way in which towns, villages and cities interacted. Over a period of a number of years, companies and railways would be bought out and revived by various companies and entities to begin to unite the lines which had all been running on different gauges. The impact would be the opening for business to transport more goods, more quickly, but also people able to reach parts of Cornwall in far quicker times. Thus, the Bridge brought about a new age for the train in Cornwall & Devon.

Thomas wrote that 'the railway companies … provided a symbolic span (of at least equal importance to Brunel's Royal Albert Bridge at Saltash) that (re) constructed Cornwall as a land of romance and

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188 Philip Payton and Paul Thornton, "The Great Western Railway and the Cornish-Celtic Revival," *Cornish Studies 3* (1995).
189 Frank Booker, *The Great Western Railway: A New History* (David & Charles Publishers, 1977).
190 Plymouth, 1954.
191 Anthony Richard Kingdom, *Brunel's Royal Albert Bridge / by A.R. Kingdom* (Newton Abbot: Newton Abbot : Ark Publications Railways, 2006., 2006), 7.
192 Ibid., 10.
193 Amy Hale, "Selling Celtic Cornwall: Changing Markets and Meanings," *Tourism, Consumption and Representation: Narratives of place and self* (2006): 278.
194 Richard J.P. Harris, "Building Regional Identity: Social and Cultural Significance of Railways for Cornwall in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *The Journal of Transport History* 41, no. 2 (2020): 274.

residual values in a changing, modernising world'.[195] As its symbolism grew, so did its political capital. Michael Foot, speaking at the Plymouth Central Labour Party Conference in November 1944, said 'I have read in the newspapers the story of a meeting which took place in Cornwall recently, where it was said that not an inch of Cornish soil was to be surrendered and that Trelawny was not dead. I have a great respect for Trelawny, but I believe he is as dead as Queen Anne. However, if Trelawny is not dead and if we are really eager to solve this question on a parochial basis, I suggest a proposal which we can undertake to satisfy those persons at the meeting in Cornwall. We could blow up Saltash Bridge. That is the way some of us apparently want to replan. I believe we must remember that local authorities, like the National Government, are there to serve the interests of the people'.[196] Foot, speaking around the controversial topic of Planning and the Plymouth Plan. Within this quote, the value of the bridge as an important artery is clear, but also the balance of power that was held over its future beyond the Cornish border.

Rail use grew considerably, major resorts built at various points on the rail network and the sense of rurality felt by some communities need to the border were diminishing. However, the hey-day of the railway would soon come to pass, and the freedom enjoyed by communities to travel around Cornwall would suddenly be changed drastically in the mid-twentieth century. The Beeching Cuts of the 1960s began with a document entitled *The Re-shaping of the British Railways*, the impact of which not only reshaped the railways, but also communities. Significantly in the development of Border crossings of the Devon-Cornwall border, the Tamar Valley Line was exempted from the cuts due to the poor road conditions and the importance of this route and the Looe Valley line to East Cornwall and Plymothian communities. Griffiths argued in 1968, as the cuts were being delivered, 'The reprieves [of the train lines in South East Cornwall and Exeter] are gratifying, but one regrets that bad cases of Bideford, Tavistock and Bude being allowed to proceed. All are regional centres, and Bude was a much better railhead than Okehampton for its hinterland in North Devon and Cornwall'.[197]

The figure below highlights not only the scale of closure in Cornwall to passenger services, born out of the extensive industrial lines on which they were based, but particularly illustrates that North Cornwall impact. Connecting with the mainline which was acting like a spine to Cornwall, it is unsurprising that this met such media attention.

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[195] Chris Thomas, "See Your Own Country First: The Geography of a Railway Landscape," *1997* (1997): 120-21.
[196] "A Boundary Solution," *Cornish Guardian*, 30 November 1944.
[197] GA Griffiths, "Aspects of Transport Rationalisation in South West England" (Durham University, 1968), 63.

Figure 1 - Map of the proposed withdrawal of passenger train services as part of the Beeching Cuts[198]

Griffiths argues that these decisions went ahead because of the 'public being virtually powerless to intervene, the social geography of many parts of the South-West has been radically altered within two years'.[199] The lack of public consideration is particularly poignant in the North Cornwall example as demonstrated by 78 objections made and heard at the Transport Users Consultative Committee South-West when they met on 2nd and 3rd September 1964 in Okehampton to discuss the future of the Okehampton – Bude – Wadebridge railway.[200] Objections were raised by both Cornwall and Devon County Councils, local councils on both sides of the border and members of the public both living on the route, and those who enjoyed by holiday. It is worth noting, that for discussions, the route was broken down into two sections; Okehampton to Bude one segment which was considered to be treated as a separate entity and Halwill to Wadebridge the other. From

[198] British Railways Board, "The Reshaping of British Railways: Part 2 (Maps)," (1963).
[199] Griffiths, 63.
[200] "Reporton the Proposal for the Withdrawal of the Passenger Train Services on the Okehampton-Bude Section of Line." London, 1965.

this we can infer how in Eastern parts of Cornwall, the web of train networks means that studying Cornwall in isolation does not reflect the realities of the connected Devon-Cornwall routes that were in operation.

Unsurprisingly, with Tourism of major importance to the economy of North Cornwall, the argument of holiday was used routinely to defend the line. This was immediately tied into the poor roads, particularly the A30, that struggled to handle the tourism traffic in the summer and were in need of major repairs.[201] This echoes the complaint that was made of the South East Cornwall roads, yet the train service there survived. It is also worth noting that none of the objections argue for Cornwall to be regarded with any difference given its distinctive identity, if anything, as particularly strong in the response of the Railway Invigoration Society, the argument is made that North Cornwall needs to be more connected to Okehampton, Plymouth, Exeter and Tavistock in particular for the sake of workers, schoolchildren, hospital staff, hotel business, shoppers and day trippers.[202] The argument is made clear that the closing of the railways distorted the time taken to complete regular routes.

It was also made noticeably clear considering the bus substitution services proposed, that these have continued to be unpopular, as they were at this early stage. Mrs Prior of Padstow emphasises the 'tedious 1 ½ to 2-hour bus journey now proposed' from Okehampton if the cuts went ahead, whilst L.A.T Speer, the Vicar of St. Stephen's vicarage argues that the smaller unused stations should be cut to fast-track the unnecessary hour and a half to get from Launceston to Plymouth that was being used at the time.[203] Both of these arguments argue that Cornwall needs Devonian connections, and thus the border appears far more permeable when exploring the transport network. So, what is different between the Okehampton-Bude-Wadebridge route that means this was cut, as opposed to the Devonport-St Budeaux routes?

The answer is the political capital attached to Plymouth as a hub, a city that was described in relation to the GWR as a 'Metropolis of the West'.[204] In lieu of Devon and Cornwall County Councils investing in the networks, the Plymouth Corporation are described as willing to invest in the railway links across the Tamar as required, an expense which is considerably less than further road connections for which they will benefit.[205] As such, whilst Rame is colloquially known as Cornwall's forgotten Corner, it was certainly not being forgotten by Plymouth. In another letter in May 1962 than discussed a potential Launceston to Plymouth route, the argument is made that the investment required to make this route viable would be at far too great an extent and the lines could not handle the traffic that would be considered, as well as resulting in the closure of the Callington Branch, the

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[201] Ibid.
[202] Ibid.
[203] Ibid.
[204] "Anticipation Realized," *Western Morning News*, 23rd October 1928.
[205] S.E Raymond Esq.

produce from which is seen as far more vital that the commuter traffic of the North.[206] There is a clear prioritisation of South East Cornwall in an agenda that is dependent on the developments of the city. The discussions of Plymouth as a regional hub will be discussed in a dedicated section later.

Simultaneously, one could argue that the regionalist agenda of the Government through numerous policies, including the Beeching Cuts, created a cleavage that was there to be challenged. We can see in the campaign for John Pardoe as he won North Cornwall in 1966 and growth of MK in the same decade directly attacked this approach in policymaking by Central Government. Both sought a change from the idea that everything had to be provided by Plymouth as the city and sought to offer localised strategic planning that reinvigorated communities in Cornwall. For example, Mebyon Kernow, to whom John Pardoe was a member alongside the Liberal Party, established the Cornwall Transportation Committee to challenge the Government's direction with.[207] The anti-metropolitanism of the campaigns was hailed by the communities reeling from the loss of valuable connections to other nearby localities and the outside world.

A thesis was dedicated to exploring branch lines in Devon & Cornwall and highlighted the role of the Tamar Valley Line. The methodology relied on voluntary responses from a wide-spread survey delivered to communities along the line that were asked to send back a pre-paid envelope of pre-determined quantities according to a strict sampling algorithm. Unfortunately, the results of the survey do not provide break down by the individual communities which is disappointing given the questioning that explored reasons for traveling, frequency of use and wider transport use. What the results clearly proved though was the value of the line by the local communities for commuting to work, school, and College. [208] The Thesis compared the Tamar Valley line in comparison to the Truro-Falmouth line and revealed the latter was less important to the community it served compared to the line in East Cornwall. Lowndes explains some of this on the failures to develop a road network by 1997 at the time of her thesis in east Cornwall when compared to Truro and Falmouth. The discussions surrounding this also reflect on Plymouth's displacing a Cornish identity in lived experience, but also how the community have taken control and responsibility for the line as part of a borderlands identity. These are discussed elsewhere in this thesis.

As such despite North Devon and North Cornwall being closer to each other, which less natural border landscape to traverse, the railways have pushed the connections to the south which has resulted in a distortion of the Time-space continuum at the border. By this I mean the agenda of the railways preserved, and the investments made, time taken to cross the border from communities in the North is often now longer than it is from South East Cornwall, despite the distance covered

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206 South Western Division Line Train Manage, 24th May 1962.
207 G. Thayer, *The British Political Fringe: A Profile* (A. Blond, 1965), 186.
208 THERESA LOWNDES, "Privatisation, Rural Railways and Community Development," (1997): 259.

being shorter. It is also clear that the agency in decision-making and the future of the railways is largely taken out of the hands of the residents in the area, an issue which we can see through the Devon & Cornwall Rail Partnership, that the people are trying to reclaim to ensure now repeats of the situations.

The Saltash Bridge as a modern necessity

The latest major border crossing was opened in 1961, offering vehicular transport for cars and lorries to replace the Saltash Ferry that had begun these cotidal crossings many years before. Once again, the process to actually building the crossing became a far more long and drawn-out process due to the complexities of the border dynamics of the River Tamar. That being said, *Cornwall Enterprise*, the Local Enterprise Partnership Company established to represent the interests of Cornwall Council and Local Businesses, recognised in their 2005 report on Saltash how 'when the Tamar Bridge was opened, increased opportunities arose for residents of Saltash to work in Plymouth, and for Plymothians to move and live in the quieter rural setting of Saltash. As a result, a large proportion of the working population now commutes daily'.[209] As a result, both Cornwall County Council and the Plymouth Corporation drove forward the agenda, which questions the simply relationship between Devon and Cornwall that one might perceive in political discourse.

Preliminary discussions took place between 1929-1937 for tunnelling the Tamar but these did not amount to any resulting action from the authorities at the time, largely due to the lack of necessity and large expenditure.[210]

The impetus for a road bridge begins in 1930 when a deputation from the City of Plymouth was received by the First Lord of the Admiralty, stating a shared preference for a bridge near the existing Royal Albert bridge at Saltash. During these preliminary discussions, given the delegation, it is unsurprising that the notes of the meetings revolve around their perspective that 'in view of modern tendencies the construction of the bridge was of great importance to the city of Plymouth'.[211] James John Hamlyn Moses, MP for Plymouth Drake looks to the Devonian traffic as far more significant than anything from Cornwall 'With regard to the Cornish traffic, a visit to the ferry for a short time would prove the amount of congestion that existed', and how for travelling supporters to the football, crossing into Cornwall to enter Plymouth provided a solution to the traffic issues of South Devon, suggesting Torpoint is almost an annex of the Plymouth transport system.[212] Conversely however, he concedes 'from a national point of view this bridge would develop the southern part of

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[209] "Saltash." Historic Environment Service, Truro, 2005.
[210] "Shipbuilding Programme" Hansard, 230 26 July 1929.
[211] "Proposed Bridge over River Tamar - Note of Proceedings," (1930), 1.
[212] Ibid.

Cornwall which had not been developed by the railways', suggesting that Cornwall's agenda is being considered, if only minimally.[213]

A heartfelt plea from James Venning, a Callington resident in the *Western Morning News* clearly outlined the situation from a Cornish perspective:

> 'Such a bridge could be constructed at about one-half the cost and would open up for traffic a much larger area on the Cornish side of the Tamar than Torpoint, besides being close proximity to Plymouth for import and export trading in every way.
>
> Surely after such a generous offer of 75 per cent, of the total cost of such bridge by the Government it is not intended to drop the proposal. From my knowledge of the district of East Cornwall for nearly 70 years, I think Saltash is the best place for the crossing.
>
> There is no part of Cornwall more fertile and productive for fruit, flowers, vegetables, farm, and dairy produce than the Tamar Valley as far up as Calstock and the whole district of East Cornwall, from Saltash to St. Stephens Botus Fleming, Landrake, Landulph, St. Dominick, Callington, Stokeclimsland, and other parishes beyond extending to Altarnun. All these places have at present no direct communication by road to Plymouth, except via Gunnislake and Tavistock, or by at Saltash.
>
> The advantages of a bridge at Saltash would be: —
>
> 1. It could be constructed in one-half of the time and cost, as well as one-half the height.
>
> 2. There would be no opposition from the Admiralty if certain conditions are complied with.
>
> 3. The bridge would receive the support of the Great Western Railway Company if erected adjoining the present railway bridge, and in conjunction with them for a double line of rails.
>
> 4. The Devon County Council offered £100,000 for the approaches on the Devon side if erected at Saltash.
>
> 5. The bridge would open up a far wider area of rich and well-cultivated land in East Cornwall.
>
> 6. It would also give more local employment than a high-level bridge.
>
> 7. It would effect a great saving of time and expense motorists to and from Plymouth to Cornwall, instead of via Tavistock and Gunnislake.

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[213] Ibid., 1,4.

8. A bridge at Saltash would not be in such direct competition with the Cornwall County Council, who now own the Torpoint Ferry, and public opinion and the dire necessity for communication by road all hours the day and night should impel the County Council to assist in the scheme of providing the greatest good for the greatest number of the community.

9. Saltash being only four miles from Plymouth bridge there would greatly relieve the already congested traffic through the streets and principal thoroughfares of the city'[214]

Venning's words here reflect a very practical, economically driven perspective of cross-border engagement. There is no sense of division in what he rights and instead there is recognition of how the local economy is built around the process of traversing the border and the urban core of Plymouth which shall be discussed in more detail elsewhere. There is a sense of urgency and shared responsibility that is also very strongly argued, the recognition to invest in border crossings for the mutual benefits of the local communities for opportunity, again, another facet of the borderlands that is discussed later in the cross-border initiatives section. It is markedly devoid in any sense of rivalry or identity, but instead on shared value that is so important to understanding the evolution of the relationship between Devon and Cornwall which whilst often seen as the facing off of two nation-states across a dividing border diminishes the shared space of the river.

He was prompted to write by Plymouth City Council's decision to reject a high-level crossing for the Tamar Bridge scheme, a decision criticised in another letter to the editor, by a Plymouth resident under the pseudonym of 'Sailor Jack'.[215] His letter encompasses the frustrations of the Cornish population by decisions made from outside of Cornwall. What resonates is how any developments towards the mouth of the River Tamar are subject to not only Devonian interests, but Plymouth and the Admiralty, complicating the ownership and development of a cross-border relationship. Not only does this emphasise the complexity of Civil Society over responsibility of the Tamar, but also how fractured and disconnected many of these areas were, not least Plymouth and Devon, who despite being part of the same historic county cannot agree over their decision. Likewise, the Admiralty did not align wholly with the Government would were far more sympathetic to the prospect of a road bridge in this location. The failure to cooperate means that the project stagnated for many years.

The Tamar Bridge would be a political 'hot-potato'. Plymouth City Council, having rejected the early schemes attempted to incorporate the Tamar Bridge as part of its City recovery Plan at a meeting of the East Cornwall Joint Planning Committee.[216] David Nash, a Plymothian wrote in 1945 of the

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[214] "The Tamar Bridge," *Western Morning News*, 25 April 1931.
[215] "Progress Backward or Forward," ibid.
[216] "Offer to East Cornwall," *Western Morning News*, 14 January 1942.

'Lessons of 1845'; '1845-1945. One Hundred years. Again, men's thoughts are of a bridge. This time not a railway company's bridge but a people's bridge. A bridge half Devon, half Cornwall. A bridge twice blessed-blessing him that comes and him that goes. A bridge that will immeasurably increase the prosperity and happiness of those who live on either bank of one of the finest estuaries in the world'.[217] Whilst this article suggests the will on both sides of the Tamar and the popular support for the cause, the cost of such plans being approved would see land annexed as part of Plymouth, as discussed in more detail in the Plymouth section. It seems that the cost of accepting the Plymouth Plan would be too great for Cornwall to proceed at this juncture.

Unable to agree at local level, the issue would also appear on the national agenda at general elections, not least between Douglas Marshall MP and John foot in the lead up to the 1950 General Election.[218] Numerous exchanges between the prospective candidates in Bodmin Constituency revolved around accusations that a Liberal Government would have brought about a Tamar Bridge in the Post-War Years. It did not hinder Marshall's success, especially with the Government at the time still in principle agreed with the scheme.

It is not until 1950, that Cornish authorities are brought into the discussions regarding the new bridge, with representation from Cornwall County Council and Saltash Borough Council, ensuring both the local and 'national' voice of Cornwall were being proposed. The minutes of the meeting note how Cornwall County Council had plans for development of the road between Liskeard and Saltash in their 1950 Development plan and had agreed in principle with the Ministry of Transport for the bridging of the Tamar at Saltash at some future date as it had become a 'matter of vital and urgent necessity' for Cornish communities.[219] More specifically, Saltash Borough Council recognise 'as a long term policy a new road bridge will be for the benefit of Saltash'.[220] This is a significant shift as newspaper reports from the time of the original consultations in 1930 suggest that Cornwall County Council was not in favour of the scheme to road bridge over the Tamar more so than had already been set up in Gunnislake most significantly to the south.[221]

By 1953, negotiations over the border crossings brought Cornwall is at the forefront of the process driving for the new road bridge. For the first time, Cornwall was driving change rather than attempts to force Cornwall to go along with schemes that had many caveats and conditions around the bridge being built. Sir John Carew Pole, Chairman of Cornwall County Council, a man from East Cornwall and a member of the influential Carew-Pole family who had been pioneers in the Torpoint Ferry,

[217] "'Gulf' Bridged by Grit," ibid., 30 November 1945.
[218] "'Would Not Have Built Tamar Bridge'," ibid., 3 October 1949.
[219] "River Tamar: Suggested New Bridge at Saltash", (Art Gallery, Tavistock Road, Plymouth, 13 December 1950).
[220] Ibid.
[221] "Tamar Bridge Scheme," *Western Morning News*, 18th Feb 1930.

was elected chair of the Saltash-Plymouth bridge conference. This coincided with the representation from Cornwall massively increased with members of the Torpoint Urban and St Germans Rural District Councils also present alongside Saltash and Cornwall Councils that had been present to date.[222] Furthermore, in lieu of the Government desire to push the bridge as part of the national agenda, Cornwall County Council and the Plymouth Corporation collaborated to push the need for a road bridge up the agenda. This shows Cornwall actively instigating these cross-border projects which suggests they were the real drivers of change. One could also argue however that it was not the influence of the Cornish Authorities that made the difference or whether they had held up progress until they were completely satisfied with the plans in principle. I would argue that it was a hybrid of both. Cornwall had demonstrated its reluctance to agree to plans driven by the Plymouth for fear of the repercussions of land grabs by Plymouth. With the greater clarity over the vision for the project as a necessity rather than a political statement, Carew-Pole brought gravitas and assurance that the Cornish Councils needed to make this project a success.

The Tamar Bridge Act was drafted in 1957, but we still see significant delays to the process of actually building. Correspondence between the Admiralty and the Treasury discusses the issue of land ownership required to facilitate the building of the bridge as some of the land was Navy land. This is just one obstacle faced in the construction of a bridge in spite of cross-border agreement from authorities from Devon and Cornwall. Whilst a minor point, the sense of pride over the river does feature in the discussions whilst the bill was discussed in Westminster. Douglas Marshall, MP for Bodmin 1945-1964 responds to J.J. Astor, the MP for Plymouth Sutton when adding a clause to the bill and has some choice words for his Conservative colleague; 'I want to thank the Minister for accepting this Clause. My hon. Friend the Member for Plymouth, Sutton (Mr. J. J. Astor) referred to the bridge as being located in Plymouth, but as it crosses the Cornish River Tamar into Saltash, which is in my constituency, I am glad of the opportunity of expressing my thanks'.[223] Whilst one can imagine the comment is made slightly tongue in cheek, we can see the protective rhetoric that emerges when discussing the River Tamar and ownership.

More serious reflections on the delays to the bridge are made in 1962 by Mr F.H. Hayman, MP for Falmouth & Camborne in a House of Commons Debate. Amid the cuts to train services and angered by the forced reliance that he perceived emerged from these cuts he remarked:

> 'I shall now be even more controversial. The Tamar Bridge was opened by Her Majesty the Queen Mother a fortnight ago. We were very pleased that the Queen Mother was able to come to the far West to perform the official opening. We are all pleased to have the bridge.

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[222] "River Tamar: Suggested New Bridge Saltash - Plymouth", (Art Gallery, Tavistock Road, Plymouth, 12 June 1952).

[223] "New Clause—(Capital Allowances for Buildings, &C, of Bridge Undertakings) " Hansard, 572 02 July 1957.

But there is a history to the sanctioning of that bridge. There was a great demand from the people of Plymouth and Cornwall, in particular, that a bridge should be provided. Questions were asked in the House, some by me, requesting the Minister to provide one. Ministers refused to do so.

A Private Bill was promoted and passed, but even then, the Minister refused the request of the Tamar Bridge Authority to provide the money to proceed with the preparation of the plans and necessary exploratory work. That refusal continued until I was accorded by Mr. Speaker the opportunity to raise the matter on the Adjournment. By some coincidence, the sanction came from the Ministry of Transport on the day that Mr. Speaker announced that I could have an Adjournment debate on the subject.

The work having proceeded much more quickly than had been expected, the Tamar Bridge authority, and the people of Plymouth and of Cornwall naturally wanted work to proceed, but again the Minister refused. By another coincidence, when I applied for an Adjournment debate, the request of the Tamar Bridge Joint Committee was granted.

The conclusion which I drew was political. The Minister knew that the people of Plymouth badly wanted this bridge. They had two Conservative M.P.s for Plymouth, and they were afraid that it would have an adverse effect on the political fortunes of the Conservative Party in Plymouth if the delay continued. I am entitled to assume that, because I am not one of those in political affairs who think that there is much of a coincidence when Governments make a concession.'[224]

These comments went largely unchallenged at the time, which suggests that there is air of truth to them. Hayman's comments relating to the importance of political parties in timings is a common argument made surrounding major infrastructure projects, something that remains common to this day, the realities of which we can struggle to verify. But what is relevant from this quote, and which can be seen from the research in this section is clear dissatisfaction towards delays in the process of building this much needed bridge, from Devonian and Cornish communities. This also serves to reason that there are high-profiles figures within the County that are not of the view of an isolated Cornwall, despite the 1960s seeing Liberal MPs elected in the Eastern Constituencies whilst also being members of Mebyon Kernow. Perhaps what was at stake was not the idea that Cornwall was determined to close the border to Plymouth, but rather dissatisfied by the stranglehold placed on infrastructure by the Metropolis and the Conservative Government who had failed to deliver. Importantly, the comments reflect the degree of lack of localised control over cross-border transport links. Whilst there is representation of local interests through the elected MPs in the area,

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[224] "Rural Transport" Hansard, 659 11 May 1962.

the Government's priorities have to look across the whole of England when prioritising major schemes. This has contributed to the regular clamour for devolved responsibility, which whilst still subject to the need of investment from central Government to support in large scale infrastructure, would encourage decision-making to better push some of these issues to the forefront of a localised agenda. Hayman draws upon the well established issues of the core-periphery model which plays out and has contributed to the heightened tensions between the Celtic Fringe and the English state.

As has been universal across Britain, significant increases in populations have forced concurrent growth of the road networks to facilitate the needs and demands of residents and tourists. Cornwall Enterprise recognise how 'Notwithstanding the environmental impact of increased traffic flows, the capacity of the Tamar Road Bridge has recently been increased. The commuting relationship between Saltash and Plymouth is likely to continue to grow, although this may have negative effects such as demand for housing, competition for housing between local people and in-migrants, and additional pressures on community facilities and the local countryside'.[225] The concerns they raise here argue that there is a disposition between the Cornish community, and the looming presence of Plymouth on the Cornish landscape. These shall be brought into discussion in a later section but emphasise the role of border crossings in distorting the sense of bordering taking place at the Devon-Cornwall border.

It would be easily to assume a universal dynamic regarding border crossings, whereby your experience is the same whether living near to the border in the north or the south, but actually, we are looking at two distinct internal migration patterns. It is interesting to observe that the *Devon & Cornish Post and Launceston Weekly News*, printed in Launceston, make no reference to the Tamar Bridge opening, save a small 30-word article at the bottom of page 10 on the 28th April 1962 about the first person to cross.[226] The story alludes to people waiting and a sense of anticipation, but there is little evidence of this excitement in the Cornish press. As such, despite amateur footage taken on the day of the opening showing crowds waving the Union Flag, the Coats of Arms of Plymouth and Cornwall flying proudly atop the bridge and the admiralty conducting a gun salute, this appears not be considered of vital importance to the northern parts of the border.[227]

The Bus Network

The Buses are an important asset to Cornwall, with several studies conducted to explore the role of the bus for combatting social exclusion in the county.[228] However, as demonstrated with the bus replacement of trains lost as part of the Beeching Cuts, they do not come without their criticism. A

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[225] Historic Environment Service, Truro, 2005.
[226] *The Devon & Cornish Post*, 28th April 1962.
[227] Anon., "The Opening of the Tamar Bridge - Amateur Footage," (BFI, 1962).
[228] Karen Lucas, Sophie Tyler, and Georgina Christodoulou, *The Value of New Transport in Deprived Areas* (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2008).

focus group on sustainable business in South East Cornwall commented: "We don't have a network. We have buses that come through and all turn round at [the border] and come back. They do not go through to the next town, and the next town. So, when you are looking at all this environmental situation you've got to really work in conjunction with your neighbours. The other thing that I find a little bit difficult to evaluate here is the fact that we're talking about South East Cornwall. We should be working with the whole of the South West Country'.[229] This quote opens up the discussion of how the bus network has developed in the modern era and the disparity between the demands of the network and the branding associated with it.

First Kernow was the first major step towards the 'Cornishing' of the bus network. The use of the term Kernow as opposed to Cornwall saw the first use of the Cornish language on the network. This developed further in 2016 with more Cornish words written on the sides of busses and a project in conjunction with *Golden Tree Productions* for a 'Go Cornish' project intended to introduce Cornish to learn whilst waiting for busses. The latest incarnation of the bus Network, *Transport for Cornwall* use 'Karyans rag Kernow', their translated name as their tagline across the network. The sense of cultural pride and extroverted Cornishness was a marker in Public Transport in Cornwall, leading the way alongside the use of Cornish on road signs as visible markers of Cornwall identification. Given these are relatively new projects, we don't know the output in terms of language engagement, but based on *Scotrail*, research suggests whilst it raises awareness it does little to increase language usage.[230] Nonetheless, in an area keen to assert its cultural difference, it is difficult to argue it does not increase awareness, though it would be remiss to say that this has always been popularly received as demonstrate with cases of vandalism.[231]

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[229] Jon Vernon et al., "The 'Greening' of Tourism Micro-Businesses: Outcomes of Focus Group Investigations in South East Cornwall," *Business Strategy and the Environment* 12, no. 1 (2003): 65.
[230] Fiona O'Hanlon and Lindsay Paterson, "Seeing Is Believing? Public Exposure to Gaelic and Language Attitudes," *Scottish Affairs* 28, no. 1 (2019): 77.
[231] "'Racist Offenders' Target Cornish Language Signs on First Kernow Buses and People Are Outraged," https://www.cornwalllive.com/news/cornwall-news/racist-offenders-target-cornish-language-321744 (Last Accessed -
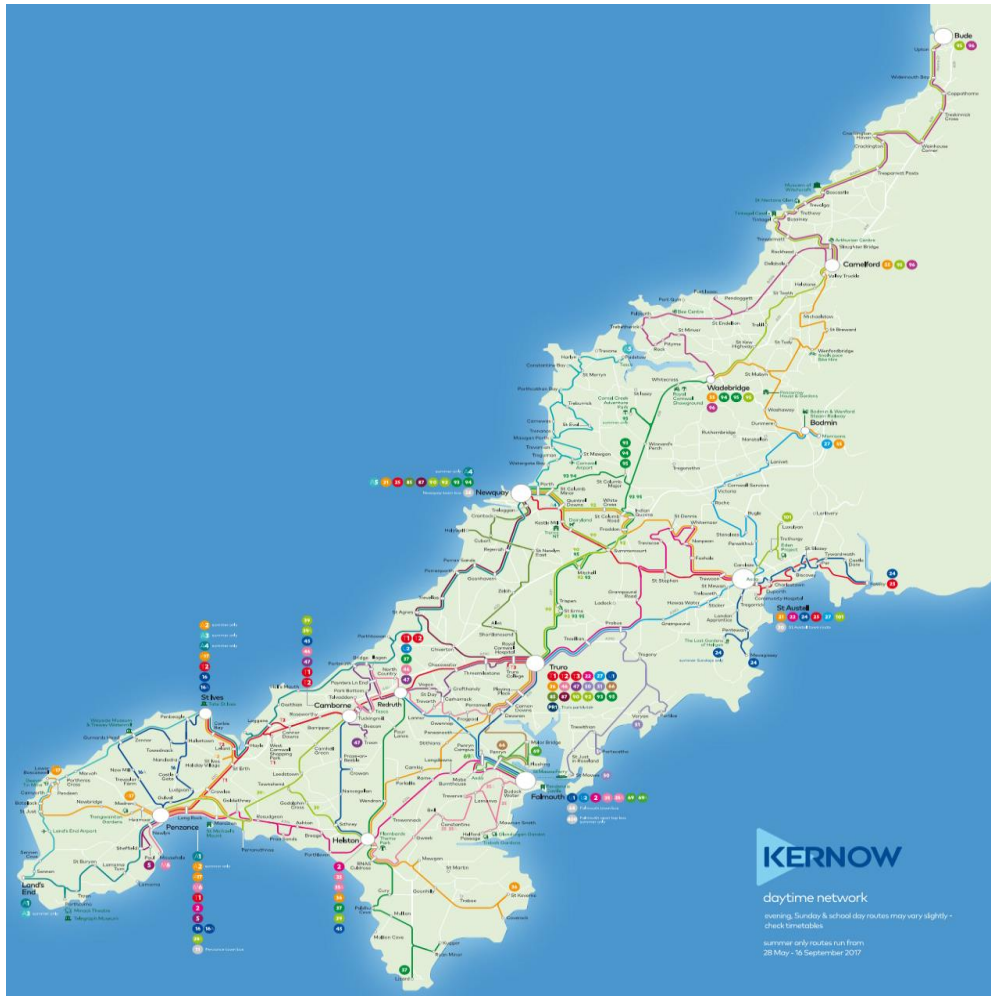
Figure 2: Current *Kernow* network map outlining routes around Cornwall.

Based on the current network map of busses operated out of Cornwall however, we can see how the current bus network reflects the issues of connectivity with Cornwall the East has experienced. Travelling into Cornwall through public transport has remained a significant problem, perhaps why the statistics of car transportation remain so high in East Cornwall compared to more western areas.[232]

Rather than exclusively Cornish bus franchises, East Cornwall also uses several Devonian and Plymouth-based companies, emphasising the networks operating over the border regions of Cornwall. This is despite Cornwall's Devolution deal which made Cornwall the first rural authority to be given powers to franchise bus services.[233] One may consider whether Cornwall should consider the work of Fullerton Jr & Walke who argued for further studies into cross-border transportation 'in anticipation of a time when increasingly integrated border regions may present

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[232] "Data Mapping Cornwall." Manchester School of Architecture, 2017.
[233] Government,

opportunities for interconnected public transit systems'.[234] Therefore whilst a Cornish identity has been created under the *Kernow* brand, especially through the use of Cornish Language on the sides of the new bus liveries, reflections on the network encourage us to reflect of an interconnectivity of the bus network between Devon and Cornwall.[235]

One area that has been developed further from the Devolution deal has been the franchising of bus networks. This was one of the prioritised areas in negotiations between Cornwall Council and the Government suggesting its importance in the development of the region.

Particularly for North Cornwall, the refranchising has brought about a significant increased bus fleet including a number of key routes to the rest of Cornwall from Bude and Launceston. An article in the *Cornish & Devon Post* included quotes from Cllr Adam Paynter who represents Launceston North and North Petherwin saying how 'We have been campaigning hard to improve the bus services in our area. We had numerous meetings with council staff to press Launceston's case as we had been cut off from travelling to Bodmin by public transport for several years. This now opens up the rail network from Bodmin Parkway Station and increases the frequency of journeys to Bude as well as newer, more efficient buses'.[236] This thus shows Bodmin acting as a transport hub for the North East of Cornwall, a regional hub offering access for people seeking to travel into West Cornwall or heading out of Cornwall on the train line. Cornwall has generally well received the improvements, but for South East Cornwall, Bodmin is still a second-rate hub when compared to Plymouth.

Under Stagecoach, Burraton and Latchbrook near Saltash were was named as being part of the 'Plymouth Plus Zone', some of which was on the inner zones.[237] The entire of Saltash and Torpoint now fall into Plymouth City Bus zone 2, which again demonstrates the assimilation of the ferry towns as suburbs of Plymouth, alongside Plympton and Plymstock.[238] The border is of no obstacle in regards to the Plymouth transport maps, demonstrating the networked border as an entity that disregards the notion of a border as a line of delineation.

[234] T. M. Fullerton and A. G. Walke, "Public Transportation Demand in a Border Metropolitan Economy," 45, no. 27 (2013): 3930.
[235] "Go Cornish: Get on Board the Cornish Language Revival," https://goldentree.org.uk/portfolios/go-cornish-get-on-board-the-cornish-language-revival/ (Last Accessed -
[236] "Improvement Planned for County Bus Services," *Cornish & Devon Post*, 29 January 2020.
[237] Plymouth Citybus, "Emplore Plymouth on the Citybus Netwoork," ed. Plymouth Citybus (2018).
[238] Plymouth City Bus, "Plymouth City Bus Zone Map," (2019).
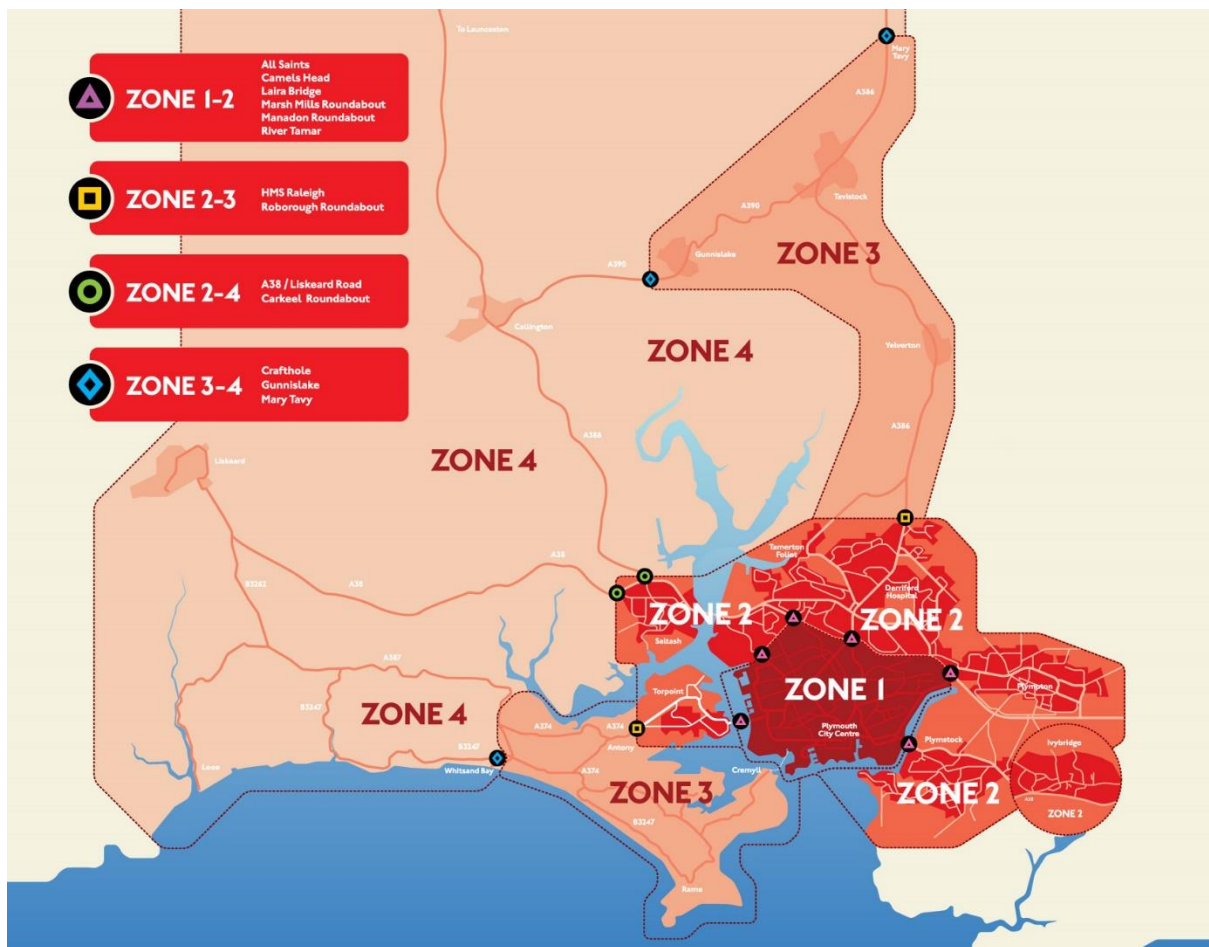
Figure 3: Plymouth Bus Zone Map -
http://assets.goaheadbus.com/media/cms_page_media/2929/ZONES%20FOR%20WEB.jpg

The latest franchise, Go Cornwall, part of the Go Ahead and CityBus network, now control buses operating in the Plymouth area. They have prioritised connections to infrastructure and therefore it is not surprising that Derriford Hospital has been nominated to have its own direct bus from Cornwall. The Plymouth Network, perhaps in light of the negotiations with Cornwall Council, now includes large swathes of South East Cornwall as far East as Liskeard and as far north as Callington, with Torpoint, Saltash and Gunnislake being part of more inner zone to reflect their status as satellite suburbs. The bus company's map of East Cornwall also emphasises a bus hub in Plymouth as the culmination of services, it being the terminus for multiple routes connecting East Cornwall as far as Looe, Liskeard and Bude. Often residents of South-East Cornwall will have to change in Plymouth to reach other parts of Cornwall.

The demand for a Plymouth-based network is emphasised in the ONS data from the 2011 census looking at commutes to work, whereby those seeking employment beyond their own homes or their towns in South East Cornwall predominantly find themselves crossing the Tamar to work in

Plymouth.[239] The evidence of a permeable border therefore seems far more likely in the south-East of Cornwall than in the North-East. This is in part due to the more rural nature of North West Devon. The Travel Devon map illustrates how Okehampton and Tavistock also provide connections to the more northern border communities as part of a sub-region. However, for the services to Okehampton, a number of them must continue to Exeter or Barnstaple in order to be financially viable. Furthermore, Tavistock connections from Cornwall are largely operated by a volunteer community transport network suggesting a demand from residents along these routes not satisfied by the main franchises. As will be discussed in the Shared Services section, there is a growing civic society in Cornwall and Devon that is embracing and nurturing cross-border connections including through rail. It also re-emphasises the dependency on public transport in these rural areas of East Cornwall.

The bus network emphasises the divergence of experience between North Cornwall and South East Cornwall. Whilst one might infer how Cornwall Council is attempting to establish Bodmin as the central hub for the Eastern Region and promote its cultural agenda through the use of the Cornish language, there is far more work to be done. Plymouth remains a core in the Bus Network, even more so as the model of public transport delivery moves towards connecting key infrastructure sites. The earlier quote from the business community discussed the idea of the border not as a delineator but as a marker in the landscape to connect over. Perhaps the posturing of the bus Network with confidently Cornish messaging allows for the crossing of the border to not feel like a concession of defeat, rather a defiance that Cornwall is endeavouring to lead in delivering what residents need regardless of the final destination on the routes.

Reflections on Border Crossings on perceptions of the border

As has been documented here, the scale of cross-border transportation has dramatically increased to reflect the demands of communities in both Devon and Cornwall. However, this supply and demand relationship of transport networks is not being driven by the people. Instead, the commerciality of society, based on Plymouth operating as a hub for the wider Devonian and Cornish population remains the leading factor in border crossings since the city was amalgamated, particularly those living closer to the border. For changes to the transport network, we see that Plymouth, or the Admiralty based out of Plymouth, as the key stakeholders that dictate if a project goes ahead or not. As such, there is not a dichotomy in the Devon-Cornwall border, but a multitude of stakeholders in the border. This is further evidence of the uncontrolled nature of city borders that disregard pre-existing borders.[240]

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239 Paul Bishop and Peter Gripaios, "Spatial Externalities, Relatedness and Sector Employment Growth in Great Britain," *Regional Studies* 44, no. 4 (2010): 445.
240 Lazzarini, 2016.

Whilst some attempts to protect Cornish interests is emerging in the geography of transport networks at the border, it has had more success in other areas. For example, commercial interests and competition from Flybe to drive traffic to Exeter and Newquay accordingly resulted in the demise of Plymouth airport.[241] This, whilst not a decision made on cultural grounds, showed that Cornwall could compete with the city of Plymouth. The deployment of Cornish identity on the bus fleet pioneered for other services such as the train to embrace some Cornish credentials, a symbol of what some would consider 'banal nationalism', symbols of everyday nationhood.[242] Undeniably the magnificent structure of the Royal Albert Bridge has inspired many a writer to talk about their experience of entering Cornwall, the greeting of the St Piran's flag and Cornish language at Saltash Station clearly reiterating the desire of Cornwall to define its parameters on a transport networked border.[243]

Cole has argued that in the case of the Wales & Borders project, looking at rail in Wales under the directive of the Welsh and UK government, there is scope for Welsh led transport initiatives to support the border communities. He argues 'The rail network in Wales is a key element underpinning the WAG's [Welsh Assembly Government's] vision for a coherent transport network, and that is reflected in its support for the Wales and Borders franchise. Powers of direction are essential for the delivery of train services in Wales and to support an integrated transport policy. WAG could work closely with the English border authorities to ensure their needs and aspirations are also fully integrated into the services provided'.[244] The similarities between the Welsh model of train delivery in border regions and the bus provision in Cornwall cannot be understated as the models of transport on key lines relies on the ability to traverse the border. State-led and clearly branded so, the auspice of responsibility is clearly placed with the Celtic nations to take control of the border regions, something which Cornwall at this early stage in devolution is demonstrating its willingness to do. Again, as a challenge to much of the existing Border Studies theory around cross-border relations, the United Kingdom is built on the existing relationships. Since the Act of Union, the importance of travel and interconnectivity across all of the lands remains an intrinsic part of British life. Borders cannot act as barriers in the British context, the political boundaries allow for localised decision-making, but no border, or boundary is intended to cut the nations and regions off from eachother, despite the cultural differences.

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[241] Simon Pilsbury, "Predatory Entry: The Curious Case of Flybe Economic Focus," *Competition Law Journal* 10, no. 3 (2011): 65.

[242] Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (2018).

[243] Joan Passey, ""Imagined Ghosts on Unfrequented Roads": Gothic Tourism in Nineteenth-Century Cornwall," in *Virtual Dark Tourism: Ghost Roads*, ed. Kathryn N. McDaniel (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 46.

[244] Stuart Cole, "Devolved Government and Transport—Relationships, Process and Policy," *Public Money & Management* 25, no. 3 (2005): 182.

With the Tamar being wider towards the south, the opportunities for crossing have continually grown to the south and diminished in the north. Some historic routes in the north have been neglected due to their poor use in favour of developing the important connections with massive transport numbers in the South. The A30 is a bypass for the communities of East Cornwall, which has always been in their interests for the sake of avoiding throughfare of heavy goods and cars at all times of the day but has had to compete to get the attention it needed when it came to repairs.[245] Simultaneously, roads like this shape Launceston, and as is the case with the A38 for Saltash, give reason for continued investment and reinvigoration of these communities in their roles as Gateway communities. A 20 metre Celtic Cross was built on the Saltash side of the Tamar Bridge in 2013 and named accordingly to reflect how the Rame peninsula in the south acts as far more of a Gateway than Launceston, emphasising the local shift from Northern crossings to those in the south. [246] Saltash and Torpoint are recognised in Cornwall's Local Plan as the 'Cornish Gateway' community network have been identified for significant investment, as endorsed by local resident associations in feedback sessions.[247] It seems that these border communities, far from being forgotten as they were described in bygone eras, are at the forefront of Cornwall Council's ambitious projects, and road projects including widening have supported this.

Transport studies is beginning to consider the impact of borders in their systems, but this is still largely undeveloped.[248] The preconceived idea that the border halts transport does not reflect the evidence of East Cornwall. In many ways, the evidence from the Devon-Cornwall case study in recent years demonstrates how transport around Cornwall is often neglected in favour of more connections to external areas, and therefore the border is highly permeable and not a barrier, but an important passageway.

Despite the community belief of the A30 as a major route, the Boundary Commission in their 2016 recommendations for Constituencies still determined the A39 route as the strongest link-road between Devon and Cornwall. The report read 'we consider that the most suitable point at which to cross the boundary is in the north of both counties, rather than traversing the River Tamar between Plymouth and Saltash, at which point the river, notwithstanding the bridge, presents a far more significant boundary between the two counties'.[249] Cornwall Council have outlined how this

[245] ""Gateway to Cornwall"," *Exeter & Plymouth Gazette*, 24 December 1936.

[246] "The 'Gateway to Cornwall' Is Erected over Night," https://www.itv.com/news/westcountry/update/2013-04-21/the-gateway-to-cornwall-is-erected-over-night/ (Last Accessed -

[247] "Cornwall Local Plan Strategic Policies 2010-2030: Community Network Area Sections" Cornwall Council, Truro, 2016.

[248] Mimi Sheller, "Sustainable Mobility and Mobility Justice: Towards a Twin Transition," in *Mobilities: New Perspectives on Transport and Society*, ed. Professor John Urry and Professor Margaret Grieco (Basingstoke: Ashgate, 2012), 289.

[249] "Initial Proposals for New Constituency Boundaries in the South West." Boundary Commission for England, 2016.

'extremely narrow in parts and causes traffic problems particularly during the summer months' at Camelford and in need of improvements which they commit themselves to.[250] But these do not sound like comments of the local residents, rather an aiding of the tourism industry and those visiting Cornwall rather than living there. Thus, there is a conflict between the paper-based approach taken by the commission, and the sentiment and usage demonstrated by people. The Boundary Commission contradict interconnectivity demonstrated in the transport network in the area and supported by passenger usage which has dictated the new routes. As previously discussed, the A38 and A30 have met far greater response from residents and politicians thereof for their value to the local communities. And thus, we return to the intrinsic issue surrounding border crossings, the competing agency over the border and competing agendas for delivering the infrastructure needs of the community.

Evidence of the nineteenth and early twentieth century has emphasised how a networked border was being created, where there was a sense of overlap between the territories. More specifics on this will be discussed in the Plymouth section, but there can be no denying that crossing the border is a daily ritual for a multitude of reasons for those living in proximity to the border. As populations in the border territories has increased, so has the need for cross-border transportation and access.

The difficulty in negotiations from early in this period were marred by the lack of cooperative working on projects, often being developed by one side of the border more so than the other, often Cornwall's role was largely as a minority stakeholder despite its vocal population. This was not helped by the intervention of Government and the Admiralty to the south often being disruptive towards local authorities rather than co-operative.

Significant investment in the transport portfolio in East Cornwall, particularly in the investment in major bridges and its continued role in the Tamar Bridge and Torpoint Ferry Joint Committee have demonstrated the importance of the crossings but also saw a new way of thinking in terms of crossings. The Post-war period representing a shift away from partisan views on both banks of the Tamar and a divisive relationship with little trust to one of working in partnership. Partnership working has ever since played a role in the delivery of some public transport and some more elements of a 'borderland' identity with people taking provision into their own hands to deliver the needs of a bordering communities as a collective. This has increased in more recent years and is discussed in more detail in the cross-border agency later in this section. But can be said is that the visibility in these partnerships from Cornwall is vastly increased in recent years, no doubt buoyed by the Devolution deals which have empowered the Council which has increased use of flags and language in more recent years.

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[250] Council, Truro, 2016.

But the lesson to be learnt from a study of transport networks in border studies is not only how people engage across the border, but also how the state is able to reconceptualise time and space across a border. Earlier in the section, the thesis drew upon the 'Opening of Cornwall' with the Royal Albert Bridge that boosted the major tourism industry that Cornwall continues to rely on today. Daily life and commutes now sees more cross-border exchange than ever before, and access to places that once took much longer around Cornwall can now be done a lot quicker through improved roads and improved public transport.[251] Where the Rame Peninsula saw itself as 'Cornwall's forgotten Cornwall', Plymouth intervened to provide the void for the Cornish communities, and has continued to draw on South East Cornwall for a number of reasons, facilitating it with its increased provision of public transport offerings. Likewise, when the Beeching Cuts were introduced, the ways in which communities in North Cornwall engaged with each other were significantly challenged. Some would argue that the recovery from those cuts is still ongoing through the new routes being developed.

As such, the Tamar is evidence of 'Networked border' with significant overlap in terms of transport networks with regular exchanges across the river by several different means that are 'movement-friendly'.[252] This somewhat relates to notions of translocalism that has emerged in literary studies around borders and the idea that borders exist as points and places of exchange. As previously mentioned, the limits of border theory to this study at times is that whilst there is dispute across borders, there is no control over the exchange at the borders in the British context. Whilst responsibility is something which creates confusion and conflict, the desire for the 'movement friendly' is very much accepted by all sides and actively sought by all. Such an arrangement has been made possible by the arrangements made between the Local Authorities in Cornwall, Devon & Plymouth to facilitate this. Devolution from Government, if not confusing and messy with the areas it supports, can help expedite the process ensuring external intervention does not create problems in when work and investment is needed. This is supported by the examples of Wales and Scotland where representative Governments have been able to work to delivering for their communities and engaged in constructive dialogue with English neighbours to ensure their needs are also met in the delivery of their future. At the time of writing, it appears the Cornwall model is learning the lessons from these case studies and providing a robust transport system that includes its border communities rather than excluding them.

As a result of the higher population, the issue of traversing the Tamar continues to feature, and it will be interesting to see where the next call to the Tamar emanated from. Considering the maintenance of these routes will also be important, but Cornwall is taking a far more people-based

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[251] Harris.
[252] Popescu,2012, 85.

approach to its prioritisation of highways works. It is one of 111 local authorities in the UK using the *National Highways and Transport Public Satisfaction survey* to determine the local priorities and satisfaction with roads and public transport. But these improvements come at a cost. Major infrastructure is not cheap and one barrier to this 'movement-friendly' nature of the border will remain keeping up supply on the services.

Whilst as has been expressed, there is no visible differences in the road condition as seen in some border roads in Ireland, maintenance of the crossing have fallen on those who may need to use the Tamar crossings. Whilst excluding pedestrians, cyclists and motorcycles, charges are levied at those importing and exporting over the bridge, charging commuters who rely on crossing in order to seek opportunities and of course may impact on those choosing holiday locations in an eastbound location. The Welsh Select Committee paper on the Severn Crossing from 2010-2011 addressed concerns raised by local communities and businesses that people would not travel to these areas due to costs, but there was no change in action then.[253] This suggests, whether fully quantified or not, that charging for crossing creates an additional barrier, thus impacting on perceptions of doing so. In the case of the Severn Crossing, tolls have since been suspended by Highways England who were responsible for them, increasing usage significantly. One will also note this toll is only paid to leave Cornwall whereas it had been also been paid to enter Cornwall when opened. Rationale for this decision to only charge one way in 1979 was based on the need to alleviate congestion on the Plymouth side as opposed to any other local concerns surrounding the charging and crossing.[254] As well as illuminating the continued heavy usage of the crossing between Plymouth and South East Cornwall, evidence would suggests there is further growth to be had when charging is removed. This is subject to change in light of the funding gap in major infrastructure but could be another area of research for future consideration.

In summary, the political landscape for improving border crossings appears to have improved significantly over the period that this chapter has covered. The rivalry over control of the border crossings is no longer as enthusiastic as it once was. Whilst writers and politicians such as Du Maurier and the Foot family have played with the notion of 'blowing up the bridge' over differences between both sides, there is a mutual benefit for both banks of the Tamar and the northern estuaries to maintain regular, strong links between the two. The limits of Border theory in the British context are also exceedingly clear because there is a sense of the 'borderless world' owing to the value given to the Union as an overarching construct on which much of the networks of the

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[253] Great Britain: Parliament: House of Commons: Welsh Affairs Committee and D.T.C. Davies, *The Severn Crossings Toll: Third Report of Session 2010-11, Report, Together with Formal Minutes and Written Evidence* (Stationery Office, 2010).
[254] W.I. Halse and Stephens R.L.C, "Engineering Management of the Tamar Bridge," in *Bridge Management: Inspection, Maintenance, Assessment and Repair*, ed. P.J.E. Harding, P. Gerard, and M. Ryall (Taylor & Francis, 2006).

constitute communities are built. As has been demonstrated throughout this section, there is evidence of increasing demand from all sides to invest and develop on cross-border transport. Whilst disputes over responsibility, funding and the timing of these decisions have all arisen, there is no evidence that increased border-crossing potential has any impact on identity. Instead, and as concluded similarly in latter sections, these historic processes are now being protected as part of the local heritage. These journeys and exchanges have continued to demonstrate that a borderlands exists to the net beneficiaries of communities on both sides and is part of a living borderscape.

Chapter 5 - Boundary Commissions and the re-drawing of the Cornish Border

In 2001, O'Leary, Lustick and Callaghy edited the book *Right-sizing the State: The Politics of Moving Borders*, a book which sought to explore borders in the twentieth century, how they have moved and how they displaced people thereof. By the term 'right-sizing' they refer to 'the preferences of political agents at the centre of existing regimes to have what they regard as appropriate external and internal territorial borders', concerned with not only the causes but the consequences.[255]

For Cornwall, with its nationalistic perspective of territory, there has often been a perceived imposition, a desire for the English state to challenge its natural boundaries, despite the independence of the commissions. Particularly during the twentieth century, we have seen a number of bills and commissions established, to reshape political entities. Some of these challenges are part of a wider reorganisation of space across the whole of the nation state. Some of these have specifically sought to engage in the bordering process of Cornwall, culturally considered as the River Tamar. Thus, exploring these legislative attempts of 'right-sizing', the causes and consequences, one can begin to identify the specific issues that have affected border negotiations at the Anglo-Cornish border.

In this thesis, the section on Europe focuses on the international perspectives of the Cornish border and how Boundary Commissions relating to Europe reflected elements of the 'Devonwall' mentality and the greater South West. But even within the UK there have been several renegotiations of bounded space of Cornwall for National & Local elections. This chapter will be split accordingly but draw reference when these reviews both intersect and impact upon each other.

Before we look at the specific details of the various boundary reviews, it is worth us first considering the process by which a review is established as there is a centralising force at its core. The desire for rationalisation of government throughout the years has been an integral motivation of the reform.[256] Above and beyond this, the opportunity for Gerrymandering has remained a potential threat and one that is levied when proposals are brought forward that disturb the status quo.[257] Despite the relatively low prosecution rate, the perception and the opportunity often distorts peoples trust in the process and this remains something that undermines the objectivity of the process for many.

In order to combat accusations, commissioners have historically been appointed to act as independent voices, tied to the terms of reference set for each of the reviews. David Butler's

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[255] B. O'Leary, I.S. Lustick, and T. Callaghy, *Right-Sizing the State: The Politics of Moving Borders* (OUP Oxford, 2001), 2.

[256] J. P. D. Dunbabin, "British Local Government Reform: The Nineteenth Century and After," *The English Historical Review* 92, no. 365 (1977).

[257] Colin Pilkington, *The Politics Today Companion to the British Constitution* (Manchester University Press, 1999).

foreword points to how even in the earliest nineteenth century reviews, concerns of political interference even at this early stage were evident and thus their findings questioned.[258] Initially appointed as Royal Commissions, it has remained the responsibility of Government to oversee the appointment to individual boundary reviews and subsequently to the Boundary Commission, and whilst only recommendations are presented for Government consideration, many residents do not trust in the proposals. For Cornwall, boundary reviews have been encompassed in the reviews on an England-wide basis, resolute representatives of the state appointed for Cornwall have been based out of offices often in London and the South East, often appointed undertake reviews of either a region or multiple localities across England. To this day, the roles have largely been given to distinguished individuals who have made extensive contributions to the Civil Service, serving on committees or commissions, or through vast experience of Local Government. As shall be evidenced in the chapter, the credentials and the appointment of relevant commissioners have been challenged in the case studies presented on occasion owing to the lack of localised knowledge and the lack of recognition afforded to the historic county boundary. These will be raised at the relevant junctures, but we can see how the failure of Government to address this issue has floored the process for the independent commissioners. Whilst Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland have directly appointed representatives to engage with their fixed geographies, the incorporation of Cornwall as part of the calculations for England without the 'special considerations' afforded to some geographic localities within England have meant that its boundary has been the subject of much controversy. This applies for both Westminster constituencies and Local Government reorganisation. Being independent commissions, there is no need for them to be aligned in strategy and therefore we see contrasting strategies on resolving the appropriate apportionment. The role of local communities in the reviews has been crucial in the final determination of recommendations and this thesis not only explores the proposals, but the often-overwhelming local response from communities on both banks of the Tamar to the issues when raised.

Boundary Commissions for Westminster Elections

The core-periphery relationship between Cornwall and England has been raised in numerous seminal pieces of the Politics of Cornwall.[259] The legacy of an 'overrepresented Cornwall', prior to the abolition of Rotten Boroughs, has created a culture of belief in Cornwall that it now is being ignored by Westminster.[260] Initially composed of Borough and County Constituencies, the Cornish Family dynasties dominated the landscape of Cornwall as the sparse population was represented by many

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[258] David Butler, "Foreword," in *The Boundary Commissions: Redrawing the Uk's Map of Parliamentary Constituencies*, ed. David Rossiter, Ron Johnston, and Charles Pattie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

[259] Philip Payton, "Socio-Economic Change in Post-War Cornwall: The Dynamics of the Centre-Periphery Relationship," *Journal of Interdisciplinary Economics* 4, no. 3 (1992); Payton, *The Making of Modern Cornwall : Historical Experience and the Persistence of "Difference"*,1992, 37.

[260] Ed Jaggard, "Cornwall Politics in the Age of Reform, 1790-1885," (1999): 25.

small constituencies formed. Whilst reports were firstly conducted at the request of Parliament, the formalisation of the Boundary Commission lead to established rules and processes for the organisation of constituencies across the UK. Whilst these independent commissions sought to establish principles of fairness and equality, the impact upon Cornwall threatened the territorial integrity of the region. Thus, these proposals have been an ongoing issue of much public and political scrutiny, not least since the threat of a 'Devonwall' constituency was proposed. Therefore, through analysis of commissions, public enquiries, Hansard records and press cuttings, this chapter explores the 'right-sizing' of Cornwall and its internal constituencies and the incompatibilities with its identity.

The proposals have often triggered significant emotive responses from communities in Cornwall who see their identity threatened. Where they have brought these representations officially to the Commission has been the main thrust of the research. This is not to say there is not a significant underbelly of resistance, but it is difficult to quantify opinion beyond the actions taken forward and recorded. However, the issue of boundaries and borders have not threatened solely Cornwall. Considering the experience across the border, in areas which may in the future share a constituency with Cornwall, or that have already been suggested to do so, this provides worthwhile contributions to the discussion. As is evident from the papers of the Boundary Commissions, whose work is based on electoral quotas, suggest that some decisions made have wider implications for other areas, not least in relation to special geographical dispensation. Furthermore, the jurisdiction of the Boundary Commissions has historically protected the Celtic Fringe well through separate ones for Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. As shall become apparent, the aspirational nationalism of Cornwall has looked to these areas for additional protection as a constituent nation of the United Kingdom, based on a definitive border at the Tamar.

The findings of the Constituencies review of 1832 led directly to the Parliamentary Boundaries Act 1832 which was required following the Reform Act passed in the same year owing to the aforementioned imbalance between urban and rural areas. The bill would be devastating to the level of representation that Cornwall had received prior to its passing, in respect of its population size as opposed to appeasing historic communities. These bills created two County Constituencies for Cornwall, The North-Eastern and South-Western divisions. The reports admit 'it is impossible to divide the County into two parts which will not be extremely unequal, either in extent, or in population' even with the division of Mid Cornwall that has already been established.[261] One further impact that is made clear by Lefevre, who signed off the report on Cornwall is that 'the proposed

[261] Britain Great, *Parliamentary Representation; Further Return to an Address to His Majesty, Dated 12 December, 1831; for Copies of Instructions Given by the Secretary of State for the Home Department with Reference to Parliamentary Representation; Likewise Copies of Letters of Reports Received by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in Answer to Such Instructions. Reports from Commissioners on Proposed Division of Counties and Boundaries of Boroughs* ([London: n.pub., 1832), 62.

division will, in a great degree, separate the Agricultural from the Mining Population', which only serves to demonstrate the existing divergence in society in Cornwall.[262] In spite of the imbalance, no discussion of sharing communities with Devon for representation is raised, though to the West of Devon there is some border negotiation with Dorset.[263] Cornwall would continue to be unaffected by the subsequent legislation that emerged from the Boundary Commissions of 1867 and 1885, but they did alter the level of representation of Borough Constituencies.

The 1917 Representation of the Peoples' Act also saw a redrawing of boundaries across the country as a whole. The results of this restructuring of Parliamentary constituencies, provided the framework that has largely been in place in Cornwall ever since. The schedule created five constituencies for Cornwall: Bodmin, Camborne, Northern, Penryn & Falmouth and St Ives. The spatial map that was created would then be the basis of Westminster representation until the reorganisation of local government in the 1930s. Even then, as is discussed more in the section on Local Government renegotiations, these political constructions would provide a basis on which people orientated themselves into local landscapes based on trade, travel, and culture. Given the importance of the Celtic Fringe in the context of the inter-war period, representation from these areas remained relatively high and the renegotiation of boundaries, whilst it has been argued they were gerrymandered in favour of the Liberals and Unionists, did remove the rotten practices in those areas that needed reform. There is, therefore, little criticism made from Cornwall to establishing these constituencies. However, as the process for reshaping constituencies has become more recognized, so has the Cornish voice in protecting its representation, not least to the Periodic Reviews of Westminster Constituencies.[264]

Subsequent Periodic Reviews of Westminster Constituencies have taken place following the House of Commons (Redistribution of Seats) Act 1949. It was consolidated in the Parliamentary Constituencies Act of 1986 and the 1992 Boundary Commissions Act. The legislation has now made this a regular occurrence every 8 to 12 years. Pattie, Johnston, and Rossiter have compiled numerous research papers and books on the overall picture of how these reviews have taken place, by whom and the general effect on representation in the nations of Britain. What this chapter shall now focus on is specifically how representation of Cornwall has changed in these reviews, how historic boundaries have been lost through the renegotiation of space, but how the legacy of these borders provides the social landscapes that the Cornish population identifies with.

Whilst the First General Review of Constituencies, in 1954, reports no changes for the Cornish constituencies, this does not mean that the area was not considered. The Deputy Chairman of the

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[262] Ibid.
[263] Ibid., 102.
[264] Michael Dawson, "Money and the Real Impact of the Fourth Reform Act," *The Historical Journal* 35, no. 2 (1992).

Commission in his preliminary judgment states that 'Cornwall I have found difficult. It would seem necessary to divide one or more rural areas, but I have not the data and so have left my proposal as it stands although it cannot be accepted in that shape' prior to the initial recommendations.[265] Thus the recommendations which are published shortly afterwards, proposed a reduction in Cornish representation from 5 to 4 MPs. Following a local inquiry, the first opportunity for residents to engage in the process, the Deputy Commissioner responsible responds to encourage that these be overturned with the Commissioner feeling 'the impression left upon my mind was that it will be impossible to persuade the people of Cornwall, whose representation was cut down in 1918, that they are receiving fair or equal treatment compared with the rest of England, if only 4 seats are allotted to them' provided that Cornwall does not set a precedence.[266] The 1 day inquiry, held on the 28th October 1946 at Truro saw 'a completely united front shown by all local government bodies, political bodies of all parties, the MPs for Cornwall and the Fisheries and Farmers' representative associations and individual electors' against the proposed reduction.[267] This was in light of Cornwall's geography '"almost like an island"' and 'a further and quite separate argument for the retention of 5 Cornish Seats depended on a sense of differentiation between Cornwall and England, it being said that, like Wales, Cornwall had a special contribution to make in Parliament'.[268] It seems that the sense of community spirit and identity politics, all created a compelling argument when promoted by a united front that could resist challenge. That being said, the special dispensation appears from this correspondence, to be based on the St. Ives constituency and the inclusion of the Isles of Scilly rather than any developments or specific representations from East Cornwall.[269] The figure below outlines the alternative arrangements set out as final recommendations for Cornwall owing to the 'geographical and administrative difficulties of the present divisions'.[270] Nonetheless, Cornish politics was vehemently protected, and Cornish interests were being acted upon, and whilst not the border between Cornwall and Devon would move in later years, it respected the county line in its entirety at this stage.

[265] "Proposals Relating to the Administrative Counties of Cornwall, Dorset,Lindsey, Oxford, Salop and Wilts." 1946.

[266] "House of Commons (Redistribution of Seats) Act, 1944." London, 1946.

[267] Ibid.

[268] Ibid.

[269] "Reports of Parliamentary Boundary Commission." Boundary Commission for England, 1947.

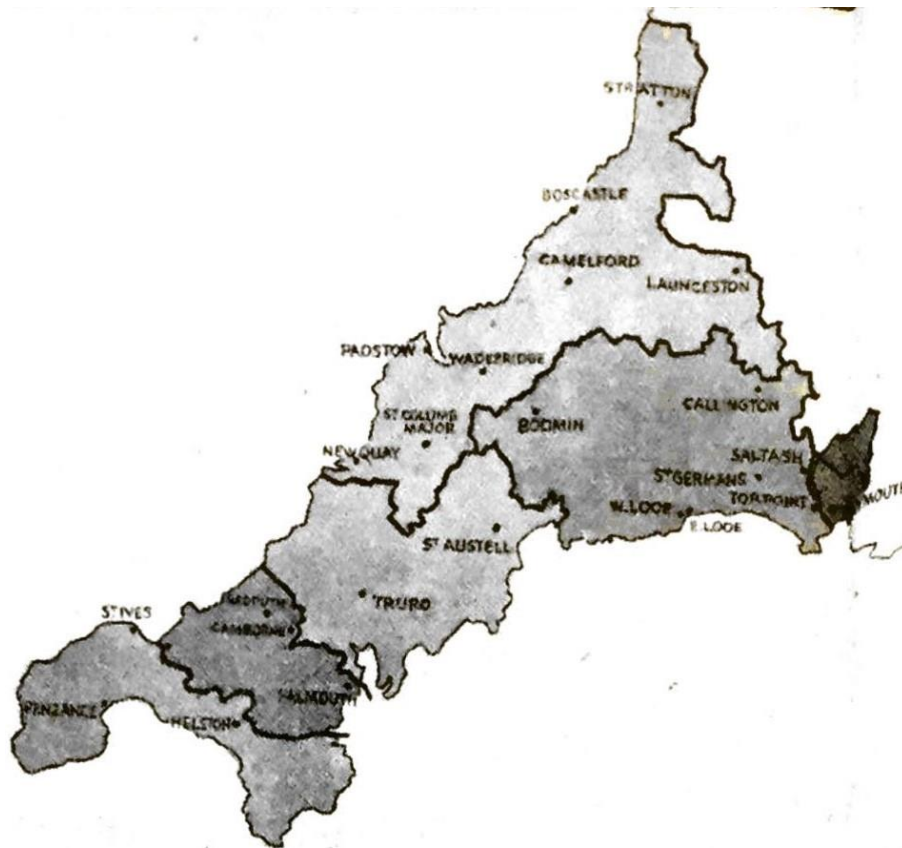[270] "Big Cornish Reshuffle by the Boundary Commission," *Western Morning News*, 12 December 1947.

Figure 4 - A Sketch map from Western Morning News of the proposals of the Boundary Commission in 1947 on Parliamentary Constituencies in Cornwall & Plymouth[271]

On the other side of the border, Plymouth's radical regrowth was also resulting in representational changes at Westminster which were equally controversial. What distinguished this review, as compared with later commissions, was the value ascribed to historical precedence, as Plymouth defended the naming rights of its constituencies and ensured that Devonport and Sutton retained their nominal status amid the growth of the city. The context of the Local Government Boundary reconfiguration did shape the constituency but did not seek to eradicate the history of Plymouth's roots. One noteworthy consideration is that even in the light of the significant restructuring across the whole of Devon, the number of submissions was only twenty-four, as compared with Cornwall's 34 which reinforced the sense of territorial integrity within Cornwall that is less prominent in Devon.[272]

Once again, the Second Periodic Review in the context of Cornwall and Devon was not without controversy and had nothing to do with the negotiations of the external boundaries of Cornwall but focused on its over-representation. The Commission reported at their meeting in 1967 that they needed to clarify their stance, as the local inquiry had been dominated by the perception outlined from the commissions reports that Cornwall was over-represented. Both the Assistant

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[271] Ibid.

[272] K. Lightfoot.

Commissioner from the enquiry, and the meeting of the Core team of the Boundary Commission for England, agreed that this did not reflect their beliefs. Therefore, they would clarify subsequently after the provisional statements were made.[273] As part of this internal reconfiguration, the proposals sought to unify East Cornwall County Constituency under the name of Launceston which was met by equal distaste by Cornish communities. The pride in the community and the desire not to disrupt was established as the standard response to any Boundary Commission's recommendations for change henceforth.

There is a sense of growing resentment towards the Boundary Commissions in East Cornwall due to the emphasis on reducing representation for Cornwall. Thus, a number of the submissions to the Commission call for the special geographical considerations for Cornwall, given the satisfaction of the electoral quotas without significant boundary reconfiguration and the enormous size of the constituencies proposed. This approach is taken by all major political parties in the region, who make strong representation, particularly from the Camborne & Redruth and Truro areas. This is a general statement that could also be made for almost all of the subsequent reviews. Mebyon Kernow develop these considerations and argued for a fixed quota of Members of Parliament 'in the same way as Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, and that the number of Members of Parliament should not be varied by the Boundary Commission of England'.[274] The Devon & Cornwall Liberal Federation Cornwall Sub-Committee share the sentiment. We may consider these attempts are comparable to Boyarin's belief that nationalism tries to 'map history onto territory' and through the request of special circumstances to align Cornwall to other Celtic nation-states, a strong Cornish national identity is performed.[275] There is a confidence in its border, which is being considered as uncompromisable and implicit to the sense of nationhood that is shown. Little other evidence of Celtic identity is expressed in the submissions otherwise, but the nationhood rhetoric remains strong. The enquiry report confirms the unanimous opposition to the proposals and the Assistant Commissioner states 'I have no hesitation in recommending that Cornwall should be regarded as have a very strong claim for maintaining their present representation'.[276]

The Commission concedes to the strong representation that 'on geographical grounds an additional seat should be allocated to both Cornwall and Cumberland so as to restore their present representation'.[277] In this context, it is the rural landscape with sparse population that is being considered, though the presentation in the media is far more akin to a victory for Cornwall in 'her

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[273] "Boundary Commission for England", (paper presented at the 3rd Meeting, Somerset House, 13th October 1967).

[274] Secretary of Mebyon Kernow Paul Thomas, 27th May 1966.

[275] Jonathan Boyarin, "Space, Time, and the Politics of Memory," in *Remapping Memory: The Politics of Timespace*, ed. Charles Tilly (U of Minnesota Press, 1994), 16.

[276] "Cornwall." Grays Inn Chamber, Grays Inn, London, 1967.

[277] Boundary Commission for England, "Boundary Commission for England" (paper presented at the 1st Meeting).

battle' against the proposals.[278] The article quotes John Pardoe, Liberal MP for North Cornwall at the time, who described the news as 'a famous victory for Cornwall and common-sense' but omitted that the fact that geographical consideration to Cornwall was also shared by Cumberland, an area where a distinctive identity is not prevalent.[279]

The revised recommendations also demonstrated some of the more localised concerns of East Cornwall that had been made clear. Peter Bessell, the then MP for Bodmin, submits with no objections that the name of the Bodmin constituency should be preserved, which reiterated the resistance to loss of history should the constituency be renamed 'Mid Cornwall'.[280] But far more pertinent in the discussions is how Cornwall is linked up. A number of representations are made at various levels of governance with concerns over the Launceston constituency, from Cornwall County Council and Members of Parliament down to the local District and Parish councils. Consistent across all of them is the belief that the ability to serve the interests of Constituency from the North of the Cornish border down to the south, a distance of over 60 miles, was unrealistic. The spatial pattern of Cornwall is one that is described as East-West, not North-South, based on the way in which roads and other forms of transportation are constructed. Such claims may be successful in achieving an increased representation at this point, but also set a dangerous precedence for the most recent considerations made by the Boundary Commission for England.

Meanwhile on the other side of the boundary, there was a far more complex negotiation of bounded space, not least due to Plymouth. Whilst the press does reference the initial proposals to reduce Cornish representation in relation to the changes in Devon a year later, they do not go into any great detail.[281] One may assume, given the negativity in the article towards the proposals for Devon, that they were trying to argue that the South West as a whole, was losing out. Furthermore, the chaos of the creation of the West Devon constituency from Tavistock is attributed in part to the Broadwoodwidger transfer to Cornwall, as documented by the Secretary to the Prime Minister.[282]

Until this stage, County constituencies had been protected by the Boundary Commission, but following the 1970s and the significant changes to Local Government already raised, the protection of County borders was, no longer set.[283] Thus we reach a turning point in Boundary Commissions as no one had even made the suggestion in any official capacity to the Commission, nor to the media, that a means of protecting representation might come from a cross-border resolution.

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[278] "Cornwall Keeps Her Five Mps," *West Briton & Royal Cornwall Gazette*, May 2, 1968.
[279] Ibid.
[280] Grays Inn Chamber, Grays Inn, London, 1967.
[281] "Big Constituency Changes Are Proposed in Devon," *Western Evening Herald*, 15 March 1967.
[282] Draft Reply Prepared for No. 10.
[283] John R. Hibbing and Samuel C. Patterson, "Representing a Territory: Constituency Boundaries for the British House of Commons of the 1980s," *The Journal of Politics* 48, no. 4 (1986): 994.

Waller has criticised the process of the Third Periodic Review of Westminster Parliamentary Constituencies in 1983; 'This result has in many ways come about after a muddied and inconsistent process, in which few unchanging principles can be observed. Indeed, it may well be because of that very inconsistency that electoral parity has been restored', as he looks favourably on the final recommendations.[284] However, a local enquiry does reveal the community's input in preserving the political landscape. Whilst Waller commends the Commission rounding up representation from both Devon and Cornwall above the electoral quota, partially because they were considered together, this is likely because of the significant impact of the 1967 proposals which had attempted to reduce Cornwall's representation further.[285] 7 Schemes were developed, each appraised for their advantages and disadvantages and from that Scheme 5 was taken forward in the initial proposals.

At the time of development, the advantages of this scheme were that all constituencies were within 5,000 of the average electorate for counties. Furthermore, the disparity between the largest and smallest was not significant, three districts were wholly contained within proposed constituency boundaries and no district was divided between more than two. The plans would see the creation of two new constituencies, namely North Cornwall and South East Cornwall. The impact of the border changes in the Devon & Cornwall (Areas) Order 1977 is referenced as some of the reason why there needed to be a rethinking of what was defined as North and South Cornwall. The concessions and disadvantages observed were that Callington and Gunnislake would be disconnected from Liskeard and Saltash by moving them from South East Cornwall into North Cornwall and this increase in North Cornwall would make it the 11th largest constituency on land size in the England.

By March 1981, a meeting of the Commission team, being made up of the chairman and the assistant commissioner, amongst other appointed delegates for this review of the whole of England, reported that 'thirty-five representations have been received. Most of the objections concerned the two proposed constituencies in the east of the county, although some support had been received for the recommendations in other areas'.[286] As became inevitable with Boundary Commission reports, the Secretary of the Commission wrote to the Clerk of Hayle Town Council to inform them that 'in view of the nature of the representations received, the Commission will be obliged to hold a local inquiry into their provisional representations'.[287]

Attracting some media attention, the local enquiry was organised over two days, dealing with issues relating to West Cornwall on Day 1 and East Cornwall on Day 2. Mr Swingland, the Assistant Commissioner delegated responsibility to conduct proceedings, argued that the proposals for the

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[284] Robert J. Waller, "The 1983 Boundary Commission: Policies and Effects," *Electoral Studies* 2, no. 3 (1983): 203.
[285] Ibid., 199.
[286] Boundary Commission of England, "Cornwall (Representations Period Ended 27 February 1981)" (paper presented at the BC/E/1981/2nd).
[287] C.J Kington.

Eastern Boundary change to Truro and the Clockwise consequential adjustments to the new Eastern Constituencies were 'neat'.[288] However he states that that 'unfortunately there was a good deal of criticism at the Inquiry for these proposals, particularly relating to principal centres of population, such as Newquay, St Austell and Bodmin and the fairly substantial transfer from the Bodmin constituency to the North Cornwall Constituency'.[289] Whilst not all of these relate to the area of East Cornwall in question, the underlying criticism from all examples was that consideration was not being given to the historic social and community grounds on which certain towns and villages interacted with each other. This was not just an issue for the Clay Country, for which counter proposals were made to accommodate this historic landscape as a whole, but also other market towns and the satellite communities they served. A number of residents from the Liskeard area were concerned that movements within the East are 'a deliberate attempt to get people confused to where they are' as the places they reside in 'are South East Cornwall in reality and clearly relate to the South Eastern part of the County of Cornwall'.[290] This may be based on their local district council boundaries, for which they belonged to Caradon and not North Cornwall.

Politically no representation was made by the County Council, but the Town Councils and Constituency Parties for the three major political groupings made their representations in substantial number, as well as several well-informed residents presenting their research. Despite the suggestion of criticism, it is worth noting that there is cross-party agreement largely for the initial proposals from both the North Cornwall Conservative and Liberal Associations, as they saw the proposals as trying to maintain the Westminster Constituencies from the previous review 'with little disturbance'. This despite the elevated levels of opposition emanating from Bodmin Town Council as well as the other communities that would fluctuate between North and South East Cornwall.[291]

There are two crucial interlinked elements that are however especially important in the recommendations and the responses to:

The first of these is the issue of Plymouth. The City is mentioned repeatedly in a number of submissions by Councils and residents alike. The argument proposed in the recommendation appears to be that if you are part of the 'Plymouth Travel to Work' area, then you should be part of South East Cornwall.[292] The entire shaping of the South-East Cornwall constituency, therefore, seems to be based on the way in which people interact with the City of Plymouth. One submission from a resident in Launceston does suggest 'Plymouth City is expanding into Cornwall via the Tamar Bridge, and for political matters I can see no valid reason why the River should give rise to a

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[288] "Report on the Public Enquiry Held at Truro, Cornwall, Relating to the Boundaries of the Parliamentary Constituencies in Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly." Boundary Commission for England.
[289] Ibid., 14.
[290] Sue Hannah, 22nd January 1981.
[291] "Appendix C: Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly - Summary of Representations." 1981.
[292] Boundary Commission for England.

boundary, when so many of the population work, and play in or near Plymouth, and would propose that Callington and S.E. Cornwall should be further revised to include Torpoint and Saltash in Devon (Plymouth, Devonport) to permit of Callington and the other places remaining in S.E. Cornwall. Education and trade, and Employment are all in Plymouth and this part of S.E. Cornwall is the hinterland and market garden for feeding Plymouth, not Cornwall N.'.[293] There is almost universal agreement that as a development area, Saltash would be an area that would grow far quicker and larger than Truro or St Austell, by the time the boundaries were next reconfigured. This is largely based on the shaping of East Cornwall occurring as a result of the rapid growth of the city of Plymouth and the Counter-urbanisation taking place as a result. This trend is something that has been explained in another section of this thesis dedicated to that topic.

The second other consideration is the issue of the village of Stoke Climsland, a community that became a bargaining chip between North Cornwall and South East Cornwall. At the Public Inquiry, a number of residents brought forward the proposal to remove Stoke Climsland out of North Cornwall, something which was then taken forward as a revised proposal by the Assistant Commissioner the following year. This prompted outrage from North Cornwall due to the historic community and connections being disrupted. The Truro Constituency Liberal Association response sums up the sentiment well:

'We believe that many of the objections which the commission will receive to the revised proposals will be to the transfer of Stoke Climsland ward to the South East Cornwall constituency. This is the only respect in which our proposals differed from those of Dr Thorneycroft and the Caradon and Restormel Councils. Local pressure may well lead the commission to consider keeping them in the North Cornwall constituency. This has some advantages. It would keep North Cornwall district all in one constituency, it would reduce the amount of disturbance to the existing constituency boundaries, it would probably reflect what the local people want, and it undoubtedly makes sense in geographical terms. The ward looks north to Launceston as its service centre'.[294]

The issue of Stokeclimsland is intertwined into the longer internal renegotiations of borders within Cornwall as part of the Local Government Review in the 1950s and 1960s which is discussed elsewhere. This campaign for Westminster representation is championed in no small part by Councillor Neil Burden, who represented the village at the time of the proposals, leading the action to try and reverse the effects. However, he fails to achieve unanimous cross-party agreement on the future of the village of Stokeclimsland and Bodmin. Whilst most other Conservative Associations supported the proposals, Mr Parker, the representative of the South East Cornwall Conservative

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[293] Mr R.G. Peter.
[294] "Representations to the Boundary Commission for England on Their Revised Recommendations for Parliamentary Constituencies in Cornwall." 1982.

Association appeared opposed to many of the principals promoted by Caradon Council, upon whose representation many of the parties followed. Not only does this emphasise the detachment between Bodmin and North Cornwall, but also how there is an invisible border built between the two eastern constituencies. Some assessment of the process of 'redistricting' has been conducted in US election studies and discusses the impact on voting for a representative because the candidate may not have been familiar with their new constituents and communities.[295] This may naturally lead on to accusations of gerrymandering, which has been discussed and the political gains a party could expect make as a result of the renegotiations. This thesis instead focuses on the residents' experiences. In a political landscape, in which the Liberal Democrats have traditionally adopted a 'community politics' approach, the feeling of detachment from your natural community would grow if boundaries were shifted.[296] Thus, by detaching a part of the local government unit of North Cornwall that it has historically looked towards, the community of Stokeclimsland feels its identity would be threatened. These local identities are almost as important in the representations as an overarching Cornish identity.

By the time of the Fourth Review, lessons had been learnt and thus there were no proposed changes to the existing boundaries or to change the name of the Truro Constituency, to better reflect the area under the name of Truro & St Austell. With no major changes, the Boundary Commission received no responses, except from the Truro constituency and the analysis of schemes determined that any proposed improvements would need such significant work that they were not appropriate to be taken forward.[297] Conversely for Devon, there was major upheaval from the population of West and South West Devon, particularly in relation to South Hams. The issues, significantly for the context of the Cornwall-Devon border, had been the use of the River Plym as the natural divide for the Plymouth Constituencies. The legacy of this had led to unusual constituency boundaries for the surrounding areas. At the first enquiry, the MP for Torridge and West Devon at the time, Emma Nicholson, was reported as being 'opposed to the idea of the "numbers games"' dividing up this crucial political identity from her 'historical constituency' for which she obtained support from the MP for Plymouth Devonport.[298] Unfortunately for the residents, the Assistant Commissioner concluded that 'whilst I am sympathetic to historical connections, I must be more sympathetic to questions more directly concerning the representations of the people… Communications are not good in that part of Devon but I do not see that this will be altered or affected by the proposed boundary changes'.[299] This in many ways documents the shift in approach from the third to the

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[295] Seth C. McKee, "Political Conditions and the Electoral Effects of Redistricting," *American Politics Research* 41, no. 4 (2012): 630.

[296] John Ault, "Liberal Democrats in Cornwall - Culture, Character or Campaigns?" (University of Exeter, 2015), 25.

[297] "Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly: Schemes." Boundary Commission for England, 1991.

[298] "Report on Local Enquiry Devon." 1992.

[299] Ibid., 49.

fourth review of Westminster Constituencies, the less historically concerned and more number-based approach. Furthermore, there is reference to the disregard of 'geographic considerations', once again foreboding the way in which future reviews would be conducted. Despite the rules allowing the need to cross County Boundaries, as established by the provisions of the Parliamentary Constituencies Act 1986, to avoid major disparities, this continues to be ignored as a possible idea by residents and the commission alike. The Counterproposals still wish to retain the county borders throughout, though dispute the urban boundaries of the city, an issue that is dealt with in the Plymouth Section and the Cityscapes that develop in light of the city's growth.

The fifth review was not without controversy for Cornwall, though East Cornwall remained largely satisfied by the proposals taken forward. Whilst in West Cornwall there were a significant number of representations made, including a 370-strong petition, East Cornwall appeared to support the increased representation and shaping of the constituencies.[300] This is largely owing to the fact that the constituencies, which are still in effect today, were only coterminous of the District of North Cornwall and the District of Caradon, with the inclusion of Lostwithiel. Consistency between Local Government organisation and the Westminster constituencies provides no opposition. Some research in Scotland has found that coterminous boundaries between local government and Westminster constituencies are important to avoid confusion and tensions.[301] Evidence found that MPs were very much opposed to the end of coterminosity, which is mirrored in the responses of Cornish MPs to the numerous Periodic and General reviews of Westminster Constituencies.[302]

These periodic reviews, whilst numbered and therefore, it would seem intended to build on the previously raised, have not followed the same set of rules and criteria consistently.[303] This has meant a discretionary approach has been taken based on decisions on a case-by-case basis. This has its virtues, but in Cornwall's case has led to repetition of responses from Councils. At each review they have had to repeat their claims based on the peninsula landscape and sparse population densities, to protect their representation and argue for special circumstances at each juncture. The use of 'island' rhetoric, therefore, has been used to draw more parallels with the Isle of Wight which has protected political boundaries. On Celtic lines, Cornish representations have often looked to Wales and Scotland's separate Boundary Commissions for fair representation. But the process is not the

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[300] "Fifth Periodical Report." 2007.
[301] Jonathan Bradbury and Meg Russell, "The Local Work of Scottish Mps and Msps: Effects of Non-Coterminous Boundaries and Ams," *University of Wales Seansea, The Constitution Unit (UCL)* (2005): 6.
[302] Ibid., 27.
[303] Ron Johnston et al., "The Changing Interpretation of Ambiguous Rules: The Boundary Commission for England," *Urban Geography* 14, no. 6 (1993); Ron Johnston, David Rossiter, and Charles Pattie, "A Change in the Rules and a Change in the Outcomes? An Evaluation of the Work of the Boundary Commission for England in Its Third and Fourth Periodic Reviews," *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* 14, no. 3 (1996).

same. Each review serves its own purpose, it builds its own unique evidence base and thus has met significant criticism.

The major turning point, however, would be the sixth Periodic Review which has been met with the most popular and academic criticism. Releasing its preliminary findings in 2011, the rules once again changed, but this time removed the protections placed on the Celtic Fringe in their entirety, establishing an electoral quota for the United Kingdom, not the individual nations.[304] Local government boundaries have been negated almost entirely to ensure that except for 2 Scottish Islands and the Isle of Wight, all constituencies can be altered. That being said, there is no evidence of any cross-border constituencies raised for Scotland or Wales. The change in public hearings and representations were intended to allow the general public to engage more than the space for political parties they had become. This only further restricted the considerations for community and geographical circumstances that had already been tightened under new guidelines.[305] For Cornwall, an area which had already struggled to achieve parity in its own right, this would mean some of the most radical changes and henceforth the most significant response from the Cornish population to date.

In 2010 a 'Devonwall' proposal is brought forward. 'Devonwall' is the colloquial definition given to a cross-border constituency between Devon and Cornwall, threatened to reshape Cornwall from the entity that it had been widely regarded, both within Cornwall and by most of the world. Based on the work conducted by the Boundary Commission, Cornwall, was over-represented, arguing that it 'not possible to propose a whole number of constituencies with electorates within 5% of the electoral quota within the County of Cornwall'.[306] The notion of crossing the border, has, as has been mentioned, was only been raised on one occasion to the Commission by an individual who suggested South East Cornwall may look towards Plymouth for Parliamentary representation. The notion appears to have been rejected out of hand, not even commented on, in any of the reports by Assistant Commissioners, nor considered fully as an alternative proposal. As such, the proposals appeared to catch the general population of Cornwall and West Devon by surprise.

In 2013, the initial proposals were deferred in Parliament for the 2015 General Election and have remained unresolved, though the proposal for a cross-border constituency has persisted and perpetuated into academia, media, and political discourse. Deacon and Payton have previously spoken about 'the desire to protect the territorial integrity of the cultural space' in Cornwall, of

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[304] Michael Thrasher et al., "Electoral Bias at the 2010 General Election: Evaluating Its Extent in a Three-Party System," *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 21, no. 2 (2011): 274.
[305] Ron Johnston, Charles Pattie, and David Rossiter, "Manipulating Territories: British Political Parties and New Parliamentary Constituencies," *Territory, Politics, Governance* 1, no. 2 (2013): 226.
[306] "Initial Proposals for New Constituency Boundaries in the South West." Boundary Commission for England, 2016.

which the rallies against the proposed Parliamentary constituency provides some evidence. [307] This thesis takes a more 'micro' perspective to the resistance, whether it is emanating from one side of the border or the other, or the localised response of the affected communities to the proposals.

Between the 9th and 10th October 2010, demonstrators from the *Keep Cornwall Whole* campaign rallied across a number of border villages and towns in their hundreds embodying the anti-Devonwall sentiment from Cornwall. No such rallies are documented from communities in Devon, which suggests a lack of concern from a Devonian perspective or if they were, they lacked the organisational capacity and media presence that was at the heart of the Cornish movement. It too suggests that they were insignificant with regard to the debate taking place. The significance here is that it was on the Cornwall side of the Tamar that this campaign had its organisational strength, largely underpinned by the work of the Saltash Mayor at the time, Adam Killeya. That said, the event itself was largely side-tracked in the local press coverage, though attention is given to visits to Saltash, Bude and Launceston, largely owing to the presence of the MPs for photographic opportunities at these locations. Though Bude's event was the best attended, the coverage given to it is limited to a single article on page eleven of the issue of the *Bude and Stratton Post* and a half a page coverage on page 14 of the *Cornish Times*.[308] In fact, the *Launceston & Bude Journal Gazette* has more words written on the announcement of the Liberal Democrat Parliamentary Spokesperson for Torridge and West Devon on the same page than of the rally. The paper also highlights the 'many hundreds' that turned out on the streets for the revival of the Launceston Carnival as more pressing news, obtaining more coverage and appearing more prominently in the paper.[309]

A campaign spokesperson is quoted as saying that 'we [Cornwall] have different needs, different economies and indeed, different histories. Our 1000-year-old border should not be erased at the stroke of a civil servant's pen'.[310] Dan Rogerson echoes the sentiment of a cultural assimilation being forced when he said at a similar time that, 'there is an issue of the very natural boundary of the Tamar, doing it as a mathematical exercise is too rigid. We are economically different, there is all the cultural aspects as well, and we need to make sure that we come up with boundaries which make sense'.[311] The cultural emphasis is key to the debates conducted, suggesting an emotional attachment to the border, perhaps more so than a pragmatic one. It was on this cultural basis that the

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[307] Bernard Deacon and Philip Payton, *The Making of Modern Cornwall: Cornwall since the War* (1993).
[308] "Keep Cornwall Whole Campaign Hits Bude and Launceston," *Bude and Stratton Post*, 13th October 2010; "Rallying Protest Support," *Cornish Times*, 15th October 2010.
[309] "Keep Cornwall Whole Campaign Hits Bude and Launceston," *Launceston & Bude Journal Gazette*, 13th October 2010.
[310] "'Devonwall' Battle Steps up a Gear as 'Keep Cornwall Whole' Campaign Visits Bude," *The Devon & Cornwall Post*, 7th October 2010.
[311] "Devon-Cornwall Border Merge in Constituency Proposal," (Last Accessed - 26th March 2018).

arguments for an exception be made, although these exceptions were made for the Isle of Wight and 2 Scottish Island constituencies on a more practical basis.

For the most part, the protests were championed by Liberal Democrat figures geographically located in the affected areas, such as the aforementioned Adam Killeya and Dan Rogerson. Conversely, Gary Streeter, the MP for South-West Devon was quoted as saying 'Plymouth currently has two-and-a-half MPs, if you like, me being the half, and the other half of my constituency being rural. With this, it would probably end up with two-and-a-quarter [constituencies for Plymouth]'.[312] There is evidence of the competition for representation and political space over the issue on both sides of the Tamar, but the major difference between the two is that the Cornish argument is an emotional one, rooted in Cornish antiquarianism and its cultural landscape, whereas for Devon, it appears as one of solely practicality.

The agenda of the rallies finally attracted political attention in 2011 when Westminster was forced to confront the issue seriously for preserved constituencies to be kept within Cornwall. Though, rather than the point of order being raised by one of the MPs affected by the boundary changes, it was Andrew George, MP for St Ives, who was at the forefront of the proposals. Much had been said, that despite his championing of Cornish issues, he did not engage with the *Keep Cornwall Whole* campaign like some of his colleagues. Again though, it was the Liberal Democrats, in their traditional party position of championing Cornish identity, at the forefront of the opposition.

That being said, the Campaign believed its strength was in cross-party activity with representation from all major parties. This impetus from South East Cornwall also saw Sheryll Murray Conservative MP speak at protests. Labour were the only group to withdraw their support when the national party voted against the bill when it came to be voted upon, but locally were very supportive.

The House of Lords had the opportunity to address the issue following Lord Teverson's amendment to the Parliamentary Voting System and Constituency Act in February 2011. In fact, there are many facets we can take from this discussion in the context of identity centred around the Tamar. The amendment intended to make Cornwall a 'protected county', an unsuccessful venture which did not achieve the same success of similar protections that were established for the Isle of Wight, protecting its natural borders.[313] Without this ratification in law, and without protections for Cornwall, there was no need for the Boundary Commissions to consider any protections for any boundary in Cornwall going forward, internal or external. Nonetheless, the rhetoric is still important and shows the consistency of the message from those intending to protect the landscape of Cornwall in its purest form.

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[312] "Devon and Cornwall Cross-County Constituency Proposed," (Last Accessed - 26th March 2018).
[313] Ron Johnston, Charles Pattie, and David Rossiter, "The Principles and Processes of Redistribution: Issues Raised by Recent Uk Legislation," *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 50, no. 1 (2012): 14.

'It is often argued that much of East Cornwall depends economically on Devon and the unitary authority of Plymouth, and indeed that close economic relationship is welcomed by people in Cornwall. But I recall in the 1990s when trying to become the Member of the other place for South East Cornwall that, if there was one thing sure to arouse strong feelings in the border town of Saltash, it was to suggest that maybe the boundaries of Plymouth could extend over the Tamar into Torpoint and Saltash. Believe me, the reaction to that suggestion was far greater than you would have seen in West Penwith or Truro or on Bodmin Moor. The feeling throughout Cornwall of its political, geographical, and cultural integrity is as strong as that.'[314]

Lord Teverson's personal experience of South East Cornwall appears to align his perspective, presented above, with the *Keep Cornwall Whole* campaign, finding Saltash to be one of the areas that has the strongest opinions on the matter. But further to this, he suggests that for those who live in geographic proximity to the Tamar, the issue is prioritised. Whilst as will be discussed later, much is made of the need to resolve some of the administrative and geographical challenges of the internal boundaries of Cornwall, the border with Devon remains the most important. Whilst there is unilateral agreement from within Cornwall that the Tamar is a natural border, the issue is more pertinent to those in close proximity to that border, and those are the communities that are most active to come to its defence.

Adam Killeya took a more nuanced view on this that it was both a local issue that matter to East Cornwall, but also a campaign that meant a lot to the whole of Cornwall in the end, and it was the strength of the following from other parts of Cornwall that gave the campaign momentum. He said when asked 'it gained traction because of that conglomeration between the people from Saltash who were very much "we don't want be joined up with Plymouth". Largely for local reasons, but a little bit of the Cornish side, and then there was the movement within Cornwall, which was more from the west, which was "we want Cornwall to keep its integrity, keep its identity and we also recognise the issues in Saltash.[315]

Whilst Celticity is not explicitly mentioned at any stage, comparisons to other Celtic nations are used to strengthen the argument. The amendment was based on the preserved status given to the Islands of Scotland for whom exemption had already been granted. It is raised that several Acts of Parliament protect rivers as boundaries which this Bill does not allow parliamentary constituencies to cross. Lord Teverson also draws upon the Welsh experience to support the Cornish one in their common desire for territorial integrity given their degree of non-Englishness: 'Much of the passage of the Wye, at its south, is the border between Wales and England, and the Bill does not allow that to

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[314] Great Britain. Parliament. House of Lords. Select Committee on the,2010.
[315] Adam Killeya, interview by Thomas Fidler.

be crossed. How does Cornwall see itself? Some call it a nation; others see it as a historic nation of the United Kingdom'.[316] It does suggest some evidence of how Cornish individuals look to their Celtic neighbours to rally support to their cause.

The response from Baroness Butler-Sloss only further re-enforces how important this issue is to Cornwall symbolically, from the perspective of a Devonian, suggesting a recognition of the Tamar as Cornwall's border from inside and out; 'My Lords, as a Cross-Bencher, I wonder whether I might be permitted to say something as someone who has lived in Devon for 45 years. I should like to endorse the fact that Devonians have absolutely nothing in common with Cornwall… So far as we in Devon are concerned, Cornwall is foreign territory. Indeed, that is exactly what the author Daphne du Maurier said in her famous books about Cornwall. She wrote a splendid one that I think is called *Rule Britannia* in which she wished Cornwall to become independent of the rest of the country. I am not suggesting that Cornwall should be independent, but I believe it should have its own MPs and that they should not trespass upon Devon'.[317] Whilst she suggests there is a Devonian identity, it is clearly not as strong in her eyes as that of Cornwall nor based on the Tamar being part of its heritage, despite its shared history and that she is opposed to the combination of these distinctive identities.

The latest report from this review, released in 2016 called for a Bideford, Bude and Launceston constituency, based on the strength of the A39 as a connection between these communities. Perhaps most significantly though, they report 'we consider that the most suitable point at which to cross the boundary is in the north of both counties, rather than traversing the River Tamar between Plymouth and Saltash, at which point the river, notwithstanding the bridge, presents a far more significant boundary between the two counties'.[318] Willett describes the findings of the Coalition Government's proposals of a cross-boundary constituency as surprising, presumably in relation to the Liberal's desire to protect the integrity of the Cornish border until then and therefore a reflection of the party's complicit position as a coalition partner.[319] What her narrative perhaps does not reflect is the long unresolved issues in both Devon and Cornwall of representation and electoral quotas set out by Boundary Commissions since they were first conceived that this is trying to address. When you consider that the issue of representation for both Counties has been a feature of every local enquiry in Cornwall and Devon, the suggestion seems reasonable, if incompatible by the relationship between the two historically.

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[316] Great Britain. Parliament. House of Lords. Select Committee on the,2010.
[317] Ibid.
[318] "Initial Proposals for New Constituency Boundaries in the South West." Boundary Commission for England, 2016.
[319] Joanie Willett and John Tredinnick-Rowe, "The Fragmentation of the Nation State? Regional Development, Distinctiveness, and the Growth of Nationalism in Cornish Politics," *Nations and Nationalism* 22, no. 4 (2016): 778.

The issue and the case against the proposal, was specifically outlined in the Mebyon Kernow and Labour manifestos for the Cornwall Council election in 2017. Thus, whilst both parties failed to achieve a significant breakthrough, it suggests this was an issue of conscience which both wanted to establish at the forefront of their respective campaigns. Comparatively, the Liberal Democrats, the leading party who having been elected were to lead Cornwall Council with the support of the Independents, failed to develop a single election manifesto for Cornwall and the Conservatives opted not to mention the issue at all. The Liberal Democrats did delay the implementation of the boundary recommendations and given the current political climate; it is unknown as to whether these proposals will be promoted by the current administration at Westminster.

Importantly in light of the collapse of the Liberal Democrats in the South West at Parliamentary level, one has to consider the Conservative response. Geoffrey Cox, MP for Torridge, and West Devon, uses the identity issue to re-enforce the political problems saying 'I believe it is not desirable to have a constituency that straddles the divide. These two counties are distinct and have strong separate identities.'[320] But what cannot be ignored is the unwillingness of Scott Mann, the MP for North Cornwall to publicly commit to opposing the Commission proposals in an interview with Laurence Reed for BBC Radio Cornwall on the 17th October 2017. Instead, he stated that 'I haven't given any assurances to the whips how I'll vote one way or the other' and when questioned specifically on whether he supported the proposals he simply responded by saying 'I will go back and consult the people I represent'.[321] He has since been reported to support the mandate of opposition that was consistent from the local Parish and Cornwall Councils.[322]

However, is this as controversial as many would consider revelations would suggest? Media coverage of the protests on Polson Bridge in 2016, a repeat of the previous demonstrations, report that only 'around 200' campaigners attended this time round as compared with reports of 'around 500' at the 2010 protests.[323] The image created by the media and reporters certainly suggest that the scale of the protests was smaller than at the first demonstrations. Not only did the specific wording of the reports suggest this, but also the limited amount of media coverage overall. The demonstrations also lacked the high-profile attendees which suggests a lack of profile to make a real difference.

Markedly, whilst Cornish communities feel they have the most to lose, the response from Devonian communities to the Commission's proposals are far more positive, largely for the possibilities it could bring. Torridge is described as 'tucked away' and 'forgotten' currently. The Mayor of Holsworthy looks at how the boundary commission would bring a geographic re-shaping with

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[320] "Mp Disappointed in 'Flawed' Plans for 'Devonwall' Constituency," *North Devon Gazette*, 15th September 2016.
[321] Scott Mann MP, interview by Laurence Reed.
[322] "Anger as Devonwall Plan Remains on the Agenda," *Plymouth Herald*, 17 October 2017.
[323] "Protestors Turn out in Force at Polson Bridge against Proposed 'Devonwall' Boundary Changes," *Bude & Stratton Post*, 2nd November 2016; "Rallying Protest Support," *Cornish Times*, 15th October 2010.

Holsworthy being 'slap bang in the centre of the new constituency', suggesting seeing itself as a potential new hub and the opportunities that opening up Cornwall presents to English communities.[324] In doing so, perhaps it reflects some of the attitudes of Cornish communities who continue to look inward. This is something that Cornwall Council is embracing and its Local Plan, for communities and development, which shall be explored in detail later, demonstrates a strategy of self-sufficiency and reflects the small townscapes of Cornwall and the diverse spatial map.

Thus, the evidence presented from the experience of Boundary Commissions for England reporting into Cornish Westminster Constituencies is a narrative of mistrust and a lack of local consideration. Consistent responses from residents, political parties and local groups in Cornwall show how the distinctive landscape of Cornwall has needed to be brought to the attention of the Commissions, with growing reference to a distinctive identity in more recent responses. The basis of the recommendations, to disrupt the local government units which Cornwall had come to trust, remained an issue and the legacy of these government units provides the natural shape of the Cornish constituencies. The inconsistencies in special geographical considerations by the Boundary Commissions over their history further exacerbates the sub-national identities of the regions of England that do not identify comfortably within their community.

Wilks-Heeg's assessment of electoral modernisation is that it treats voters as an afterthought based on how the Electoral Commission has failed to win over the trust of the British public despite its pioneering attempts to deal with the biggest issues that voters are concerned with.[325] The Boundary Commission could be accused of doing acting likewise. Academia on 'knowledgeability in the nexus of identification' explores how researchers can immerse themselves in landscapes, understanding the boundaries and practices as examples of best practice.[326] By its independence, the Boundary Commission and its rules has to engage with the boundaries that exist in the landscape, but the perception by the public and politicians of the latest review, seems to suggest that the Boundary Commission is examined unfavourably towards in public opinion, not least in the case of Cornwall. This has been because of its failure to recognise distinctive landscape identities, communities, and diverse localised issues in the face of a far stricter statistical approach to the matter. Thus, the reports of the Commission and their proposals have not as yet passed through various stages of process in either the House of Lords or Commons.

For Cornwall specifically, the issue of Westminster constituencies has developed from more practical assessments of the political landscape, into a far more emotive and cultural discussion. This

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[324] "Mixed Reaction to 'Devonwall' Cross-Border Constituency Proposals," *Camelford & Delabole Post*, 8th March 2017.

[325] Stuart Wilks-Heeg, "Treating Voters as an Afterthought? The Legacies of a Decade of Electoral Modernisation in the United Kingdom," *The Political Quarterly* 80, no. 1 (2009): 109.

[326] E. Wenger-Trayner et al., *Learning in Landscapes of Practice: Boundaries, Identity, and Knowledgeability in Practice-Based Learning* (Taylor & Francis, 2014).

statement however should not understate the latent nationalism that exists in the majority of responses built on the backbone of the Tamar as the definitive county border. Even though these have not yet been achieved through legal protections such as the Parliamentary Voting System and Constituencies Act in 2011, the defence of this cultural border continues to be a political issue. There has long been cross party support from all local political stakeholders in Cornwall. Harris' study of ethnicity and identity in Cornish Civic Society stated, 'the apparent erosion of spatial boundaries does not reduce the significance of space'.[327]

Conversely, the proposals of the Sixth periodic review do seek to resolve the long-standing issues in West Devon, that have been unresolved since the major expansion of Plymouth. The issue over the border however is far less emotive, as is not an issue of Core-Periphery cleavages, but of Urban-Rural balance. That is not to say these developments do not affect Cornwall, as raised, and suggested elsewhere. They have not been without contention. However, what is pronounced is the marked difference in the way North Devon would perceive its protections as a largely rural community. It feels that to share with Cornwall, a rural constituency would be far less important than to lose a community to the metropolis of Plymouth, despite this being the way in which the issue has been approached in earlier reviews. This chapter does not seek to offer any solution to break this deadlock between the identities of constituent communities on both banks of the Tamar but would suggest that a review of the history of cooperation suggest natural community breaks and boundaries that would be far more broadly accepted, regardless of the sub-national identities.

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[327] Harris, 91.

Local Boundary Commissions

The Nineteenth century, where this section begins, was synonymous with the 'confusion of areas' at local government level.[328] The complexity of administration saw the introduction of Urban and Rural Districts, adding to the middle tier of governance alongside Municipal Boroughs. The role of the Parish was being changed and the boundaries of Unions and Sanitary Authorities, no longer coterminous to each other, let alone alterations to other forms of governance. Furthermore, by the twentieth century, coinciding with the increased role of the County Authority, the situation in Cornwall required significant political attention. This section therefore follows that period and process of Local Government re-organisation and the significant issues that arose at each attempt to effect change. These internal boundary disputes were also affected by the significant changes to the actual eastern border of Cornwall, which as communities transferred status between Devon and Cornwall, were reshaping interaction and the spatial construction of Cornwall. Thus, understanding the process of Local Government reform in Cornwall re-affirms the importance of Cornish Identity in its localised landscapes, which are rooted in history notions of territory and community.

Prior to the introduction of formal Boundary Commissions, the Counties (Detached Parts) Act 1844 sought to 'remedy the said evil' that 'parts of counties detached from the main Body of the County… shall be considered for all purposes as forming Part of that county of which it is considered a part for the purposes of the Election of Members to serve in Parliament' and thus annexed.[329] The Act authorised the movement of North Tamerton and Kingsand from Devon into Cornwall, whilst Bridgerule moved in the opposite direction. The Act was therefore important as it was the first of several legislative moves to consolidate what was hitherto confusion, as to administrative remits. Based on press coverage, the issue appeared to not to be too pertinent to the contemporary debate in East Cornwall. Far more focus is given to developments in relation to the expansion of the central railway than to the Bill. However, the Royal Cornwall Gazette does have one line on the effect on Cornwall: 'The effect of the passing of such a Bill will be, to make some exchanges between Cornwall and Devon, and in particular, to declare Mount Edgcumbe to be part of Cornwall'.[330] As is discussed elsewhere, the ownership and belonging of Mount Edgcumbe is a landmark in the landscape which could be interpreted as being a battleground for identity politics and territory. On its Royal Assent, the Bill received a single line mention in the paper on Parliamentary business noting it had occurred.[331]

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[328] J. Dearlove, *The Reorganisation of British Local Government: Old Orthodoxies and a Political Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, 1979).

[329] "Act to Annex Detached Parts of Counties to the Counties in Which They Are Situated," (1844).

[330] "Domestic," *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 1844/04/05/.

[331] "Multiple News Items," ibid., 1844/08/09/.

Perhaps part of the reason why it got so little attention was that the overlapping of Unions and Sanitary Authorities would remain largely unresolved. Thus the 1887 Local Government (Boundaries) Act, sought to develop further proposals. Those formulated for resolution were developed by two delegations, one from the Cornish side, the other from the Devonian. The media report of the discussions showed that both Devon and Cornwall agreed that the Tamar should be the County boundary wherever possible. Whilst discussions over North Petherwin, Werrington, St Stephens-by-Saltash were raised for consideration by the Devonian delegation, the Cornish contingent make no agreements on these areas at this time. Instead, the only action that appeared was with regards to Calstock which was to remain Cornish despite the requests of the Devonian delegation to the contrary. This was in part because of the failures of the mining industries on the Devon bank of the Tamar. This meant that the community that remained in the parish had firmly established themselves on the Cornish side with Cornish identification.[332]

The Poor Law Unions, which were largely the driving reason for the Bill, could not be completed in unison given that the parish of Werrington would have to be divided in two, which could not be achieved given public opinion. The lack of resolutions coming from the Act of 1887 with regard to the County boundary between Devonshire and Cornwall meant that the issue spilled over into the 1888 Local Government Act. Hence, subsequent enquiries were held to try and resolve some of the underlying outstanding issues.

A local enquiry was held in Launceston in April 1888 specifically on the issue of the local Unions and County boundary issue.[333] Representatives from Broadwoodwidger, Werrington and St Giles in Heath were present, whilst those unable to attend had their viewpoint spoken for by the delegates present. The areas were in conflict by virtue of the larger settlements they had an affinity towards in a Poor Law Union. This was largely based on the distance between parts of their parishes and the towns of Launceston, Holsworthy and Tavistock. Despite this, they found agreement in a proposal to create a contributory Union of their own to the Union of Launceston, made up of areas that did not conform to the county boundary. By the end, they also decided that for County purposes they would rather remain attached to Devon. As shall be explored, these attitudes towards County affinity were subject to changing opinion.

Thus, by the end of this process in 1888, the recommendations do conform to the notion that the County Boundary be respected with respect to the following proposals:

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[332] "Proposed Inclusion of Calstock in Devonshire," *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 1888/01/20/.
[333] "The Boundaries Commission," *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 1888/04/12/.

a) The transfer of the Parish of North Tamerton in the Union of Holsworthy to the Union of Launceston. The object of this recommendation was to secure that the Union of Holsworthy should be wholly in the County of Devon.

b) The transfer of the Parishes of Northcott Hamlet, St Giles in the East & Virginstow in the Union of Launceston but in the County of Devon to the Union of Holsworthy.

c) The transfer of the Parish of Broadwoodwidger in the Union of Launceston but in the County of Devon to the Union of Tavistock.

d) The transfer of the Parishes of North Petherwin & Werrington in the Union of Launceston but in the County of Devon to the County of Cornwall
The Object of the above transfers B, C & D was to secure that the Union of Launceston should be wholly in the County of Cornwall.

e) The transfer of the parish of Calstock in the Tavistock Union but in the County of Cornwall to the Liskeard Union in the County of Cornwall. Had this been adopted, the Union of Tavistock would have comprised only parishes in the County of Devon.[334]

Whilst this satisfied the criteria laid out to establish a stronger, more defined County border, it did not resolve the local tensions that were increasing. The 'blame game' grew with Liskeard guardians feeling that they were paying for the errors and problems in Calstock Parish caused by Devon.[335] This followed the protests made by Stokeclimsland to proposals that the Callington Union would have equally satisfied the demands of the parishes affected by the boundary move.[336] It appears that the recommendations outlined above were not adopted, but it showed how the process had been initiated.

In 1894, the Local Government Act once again provided the opportunity to build upon the work undertaken in 1887 to resolve the contentious issue of the border between Devon and Cornwall. The proposals for Local Government in Cornwall were not well received by the public. This was perhaps as a legacy of the Boundary Commission Report on Cornwall from 1884-5. This had been unpopular in Cornwall, though largely relating to problems in the more westerly parts of Cornwall. Chadwick discusses how the West Cornwall Conservatives had been unhappy with proposals that would have seen the mining communities split. More importantly however here, the Liberal MP for East Cornwall 'moved an amendment to restore Cornish boundaries to those originally proposed by the Boundary Commission'.[337] The nature of these debates indicated the internal 'community

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[334] W.A. Holdsworth, *The Local Government Act, 1888: With Introduction and Notes. An Appendix Containing the County Electors Act, 1888, and an Index* (G. Routledge & Sons, 1888).

[335] "The Local Government Bill," *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 1888/08/23/.

[336] "Protests against the Proposed Callington Union," *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 1888/04/26/.

[337] "Second Reading Local Government (England and Wales) Bill - Bill 182" Hansard, 324 16 April 1888.

boundaries' beyond the external border that were more pertinent as elected councils at Parish and District level were introduced.[338] But nonetheless, there are some important discussions of border relations in the North, even if little action was ultimately taken.

Following the initial difficulties in establishing a Joint Committee for the purpose of the Boundary review, Devon County Council sought more representation from both County Councils and an enquiry was held in June 1894 at Holsworthy.

The Parish of North Tamerton was the main focus of discussion at this enquiry, largely owing to the strong delegation present to submit evidence for the area to be transferred to Devon on the proviso that the parish would not be divided. Once again, the importance of the localised spheres of influence on the communities cannot be understated. The Reverend Richard Chamberlain Smith stating that 'The division of the parish into two parts, one on each side of the Tamar, has not been discussed but in my opinion that would be disastrous'.[339] However, despite the strong representation to this effect, the decision of the House of Commons Committee was influenced largely by Cornwall's drive to resolve the boundary issue definitively. They had sought to establish that 'the River Tamar might, so far as possible, be constituted from its source to its mouth the boundary between the Counties of Cornwall and Devon'.[340]

The Earl of Mount Edgecumbe's submission stated that 'if the committee refused to confirm the Order, Cornwall County Council would not oppose a proposal for the transfer of North Tamerton next year' in light of the strong representation.[341] Some of this concession may have been due to the County Council being in its infancy having only been established four years earlier in 1888. But once again there was a lack of resolution.[342] It may be assumed that the larger population size and Church being on the Cornish side meant the wholescale change would have been difficult to implement, especially in light of the strong and increased local resistance, building in West Cornwall which objected to internal boundaries changes. Therefore, North Tamerton Parish Council and the Holsworthy District Council took the issue of border disputes into their own hands. They effectively isolated Cornish traders away from the Devonian markets and prevented the Northern parishes from attending markets at Launceston. The impact of this trade blockade highlighted the strength of identity conflict in the political landscape in the north of Cornwall. History demonstrates that they had a history of cooperation prior to local government reorganisation, but as the formalisation of

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[338] A.P. Cohen, *Symbolic Construction of Community* (Taylor & Francis, 2013), 40.
[339] "Local Government Act, 1894: Joint Committee - Devon & Cornwall" (Holsworthy, 18th June 1894).
[340] Ibid.
[341] Ibid.
[342] "District News," *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 9 November 1894.

the landscape into distinctive political entities evolved, this became increasingly more difficult to sustain. This has been often been a common experience in political relations following political upheaval.[343]

In 1899, North Tamerton's statement was clear:

'That the Parish Council call the attention of the Holsworthy District Council to the loss and inconvenience caused by the swine fever orders of Devon and Cornwall (now in force) to farmers, pig dealers and labourers residing near the County boundaries, and more especially to those north of the parish of Werrington and North Petherwin, whose distance to Launceston would be increased by from 12 to 15 miles in order to avoid crossing the county boundary instead of following the direct road of 2 ½ miles through Werrington, Devon. They therefore would feel grateful if the District Council would use its power and influence with the County authorities to get this hardship removed or mitigated, and they suggest that this night he done by agreeing that the parishes of Werrington and North Petherwin might be considered on a: part of the County of Cornwall for the purposes of the Contagious Diseases (animals) Act'.[344]

With no resolution to be found, newspaper reports demonstrated increased trepidation in the rural farming communities of North Devon and Cornwall, to the continued trade of Cattle across County boundaries for fear of spreading of Foot & Mouth amongst other diseases. The situation was at a complete stalemate until Cornwall County Council tried to take ownership of the issue in 1929.

The County of Cornwall Bill of 1929 is one that has been largely neglected in historiographies of Cornwall, despite its importance in defining the landscape of Cornwall. This, alongside a number of other Regional Acts which engaged in municipal renegotiation, sought to alter the boundary of Cornwall. The justification given by Cornwall County Council to promote this bill through Parliament was 'the desirability of making some alterations in the present irregular boundary in order to avoid the many difficulties which now attach thereto'.[345]

Cornwall County Council's response justified the expenditure involved to improve the difficulties faced by local communities at the border, who had been subject to the effect of inconsistencies in

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[343] C.B. Breuer, *The Regional Puzzle: How Regions and Encompassed Actors Are Involved in Eu Regional Policy* (Lit, 2012), 201.
[344] North Tamerton Parish Council, "North Tamerton Parish Council Minutes".
[345] Brian S Miller.

responsibilities. Whilst this came at an expense for the Council, they justified on the basis of the following:

1) The River Tamar is the natural boundary between the two counties.
2) The interests of the parishes of North Petherwin and Werrington are closely allied to the market town of Launceston in preference to any town in Devonshire. Launceston is the shopping centre for the two parishes and the natural market for cattle; it is the centre of the Poor Law and Rural District Administration and the town to which the inhabitants natural move for business purposes.
3) The difficulties under which many agriculturalists suffer, particularly in the Cornish parishes on the border, will be greatly mitigated, whilst no hardship will be ensured by any famer in the Devon parishes.
4) The administrative arrangements regarding such matters as weights and measures, highways and police can be improved and much expenditure which is now wasteful can be avoided.
5) The change is desired by some of the residents in the parishes affected and by many people in Cornwall.[346]

Negotiations surrounding the Act were protracted on for a considerable amount of time, not least due to the twenty-three petitions received from various bodies over a number of several aspects of the Bill. Of these, not all relate to the issues surrounding the border. The Bill also engaged with issues over Penryn Bridge, Fowey Harbour and the rest relating to the Bodmin County Asylum estate and highways. These were equally met with opposition within Cornwall from the local corporations affected. They are not discussed here as they are not pertinent to the topic in question. Nonetheless, they do demonstrate some of the underlying tensions between the County Council and local decision-making bodies and representatives within Cornwall. This Bill is evidence of when the County Council's agenda had confidence in the Cornish nation-state and propelled towards a state-building agenda emphasis. Given these domestic issues represent the majority of petitions submitted, the importance of the border seemed far less a priority to the communities of Cornwall than its internal issues.[347]

Devon County Council presented the strongest response about the 'annexation' of Devonian parishes as they 'deny that it is expedient or that sufficient or any reason exists for altering the boundary of the two counties as proposed and they allege that they and the inhabitants of the

[346] "County of Cornwall Bill 1929: Part V - County Boundary." Cornwall County Council, 1929.
[347] G.W. White and E.A. White, *Nation, State, and Territory: Origins, Evolutions, and Relationships* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 65.

County of Devon will be injuriously affected by such alterations and by the provisions of the Bill for the reasons amongst others hereinafter appearing'.[348] The Council believed that the parishes affected 'have less community of Interest with the County of Cornwall' and 'the areas in question have from earliest times formed part of the County of Devon and the population of them is proud of its connection with that County and has no desire to sever its connection with it.[349] Their strong rebuttal as well challenged the Bill's proposal that the County boundary should be the eastern bank of the Tamar 'where the said river forms the existing boundary the dividing line between the two counties has in most places for several hundreds of years been considered to be the middle of the stream'.[350] In particular they objected to the river as the boundary for Local Government purposes as 'the course of the Tamar in its lower reaches is extremely erratic', a position that they swiftly U-turned on in later boundary discussions.[351] Interestingly, reports from Devonian press suggested that Devon Standing Joint Committee pressed for the movement of these communities at the outset, which seems to be confirmed in the records of minutes.[352] What is probably the underlying pertinent issue is that Cornwall was set to gain approximately 13,519 acres of land from Devon, whilst Devon only gained 1058 acres.[353] Such an imbalance would be a radical reshaping of the border communities. Earlier correspondence indicates that in 'individual discussions with members… [they] expressed themselves as entirely hostile to the suggestions that any part of this County should be transferred to Cornwall'.[354] Thus even through an ongoing formal dialogue, Devon appeared to be reneging on its work through the Standing Joint Committee, whose evidence was submitted to the House of Lords when the Bill was under consideration.[355] The issue was thus one of principle rather than practice.

Cornwall County Council's aggressive stance on the natural landscape is also an issue to the Fowey Harbour Commissioners, the Carlyon who challenged the power that the Council sought to give itself to shape the rivers and streams in Cornwall. Also relevant to the border are discussions concerning the extension of the Torpoint Ferry which was objected to by Torpoint Urban District Council. They raised concerns over the potential of leasing the ferry to private firms and the dangers of profit making on the ferry, as well as the route extending over the Hamoaze into the City of

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[348] Brian S Miller and Ellis & Ellis, "County of Cornwall [H.L.] Petition of the Devon County Council against, on Merits, by Counsel, &C," (1929).
[349] Ibid.
[350] Ibid.
[351] Ibid.
[352] "County Boundary," *Western Times*, 1929/02/01/.
[353] "Boundaries," *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 1929/03/13/.
[354] Brian S Miller, 22nd January 1929.
[355] "County of Cornwall Bill -Part V - County Boundaries - Correspondence with Devon Authorities," ed. House of Lords.

Plymouth's territory.[356] The significant extension of the waterfront area of Torpoint to facilitate further boats using Ferry Beach, the landing point in Torpoint, is also a matter of importance with the Urban District Council. It called for funds to widen other roads accordingly, alongside the development and assurances of reimbursement for the charges of transferring goods during construction.[357] Both issues are mirrored by Plymouth City Council who were concerned that they would be burdened with the cost and undefined land grabs. Thus, whilst there was an objection to the extension of the route, it is not because they were opposed to being linked more together. The importance of this link for the community has been raised in the section on transport and expansion of the route is largely welcomed by its community today. It does highlight the importance of negotiation in cross-border transport links however and of equal partnerships at all levels.[358]

One will notice that the issue surrounding North Petherwin and Werrington remains unresolved, despite the proposals to move them appearing in both schedules. The reason for this not being taken forward was the depth of strength of the local community in opposing the proposals. The reasons for these are varied but outlined in the response document compiled by Cornwall County Council in 1929.

These were:

1) 'As a county town, Truro is much more inaccessible to us than Exeter.
2) Cornwall has not a consuming area for our livestock, and no slaughterhouses, consequently the outlet for our livestock and produce lies through Devon. Therefore, we should suffer whenever any boundary regulation is enforced to transfer us to Cornwall (e.g., Foot and Mouth Disease, Swine FEVER, Sheep bomb, etc.)
3) The County rate of Cornwall is 2/1 in the £ per year higher than the present Devon County Rate (1927)
4) The agricultural labourer will suffer as the Cornwall wages board has fixed 31/- per week against the Devon rate of 32/6 per week.
5) There are twelve County Council small holdings in the North Petherwin parish with a total acreage of 225 acres, who do not wish to come under the Cornwall County Council.
6) We feel the Educational facilities afforded by the Devon Educational committee are in advance of those offered by the Educational Committee of Cornwall. In addition, the scheme

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[356] Alfred N.F. Goodman and Lees & Co., "County of Cornwall [H.L.] Petition of the Torpoint Urban District Council, on Merits, by Counsel, &C," (1929).
[357] Ibid.
[358] Robert Knippschild and Thorsten Wiechmann, "Supraregional Partnerships in Large Cross-Border Areas— Towards a New Category of Space in Europe?," *Planning Practice & Research* 27, no. 3 (2012): 299.

for the development of rural science at the Werrington Council School is one which the Devon Educational Committee, having already supported, should carry out, and not hand it over to the Cornwall Committee who may possibly drop it.

7) The majority of the inhabitants of Werrington are strongly opposed to the proposed division of the parish in any shape or form and plead for its maintenance in its entirety as it now stands.

8) Cornwall has not adopted Housing (Rural Workers) Act, this act offers to help owners to reconstruct and improve cottages for rural workers up to £100 for the County Council and £50 for the owners, or in the same proportion according to the outlay necessary.

9) In our opinion no case has been made out for the abolition of the Broadwoodwidger Rural District Council either on the grounds of inefficiency or redundancy, and the parishes concerned are averse to going to another district which is inconvenient to attend as a market town especially so for registration purposes of Births and Deaths'.[359]

The nature of these arguments is largely political point scoring, trying to justify how well Devon had served these communities rather than engaging and addressing specific local ideals. In fact, throughout the process, the reports on the Bill and newspaper coverage from both local and regional newspapers indicate a lack of local agency attached to it.

Following two years of dialogue, correspondence indicated an element of closure in March 1929 with a letter from Cornwall County Council to its counterparts in Devon. Devon County Council had offered 'in the hope of saving parliamentary costs and possessing the friendly relations between our counties, to agree to the variations of County Boundary contained in the Bill north of Werrington Parish, excluding if desired by Cornwall the portion of North Tamerton, on the understanding (a) that North Petherwin and Werrington remain in Devon (b) that the boundary be the centre of the River Tamar and not the Eastern Bank wherever in its total length the river is or is to become the boundary and (c) that the Foot & Mouth Disease Regulations of the two counties be varied to permit of free movement of stock west of the Tamar and of stock from Bridgerule East to and from Bridgerule West'.[360] Cornwall however conclude that 'the terms of the offer are though by the Cornwall Representatives, with regret, to be insufficient to justify a settlement upon that basis'.[361]

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[359] "County of Cornwall Bill 1929: Part V - County Boundary." Cornwall County Council, 1929.
[360] Miller.
[361] Ibid.

Interestingly, by May 1929 when the Bill is presented before a local legislation committee, 'as a result of negotiations conducted in a friendly and wise spirit', the 23 petitions against the Bill were not presented before the committee.[362] The Bill was granted Royal Assent in the same month yet seems largely unadopted with regards to the Devon-Cornwall border issue.

Simultaneously the Local Government Act of 1929, a 'landmark in the local government of the Country' with 'far reaching' effects, was being developed to reshape the way in which local government functioned.[363] This Bill would empower the Local Authorities at act more robustly in reconfiguring the boundaries of District Councils within Cornwall. Importantly, media coverage of this Act compared with that given to the County of Cornwall Act is far greater. This is because, as foreboded by Cornwall County Council that 'they had to prepare to the satisfaction of the Ministry a scheme of revision of County areas, and in a widely-scattered county like theirs it would involve a great deal of work, provoke conflicting interests, and cause some temporary trouble which it was hoped the committee would get over in time'.[364]

Comments in the *Newquay Express* demonstrated what it believed to be 'Cornwall's position', that 'here is a primary Act of Parliament sent down to us as a County to administer and we have to conform to the law as it stands'.[365] Encapsulated in this quote is the tension between the British State and Cornwall's status as a County of England during Boundary Reviews. In the County of Cornwall Act, it was in complete control, able to decide its boundaries that conformed to its own spatial map. Conversely, with the Local Government Act 1929, it had to oblige by a quota decided upon by outside forces that disregarded the local viewpoint.

What stands out is that the same areas affected by the Local Government Acts of 1889 and 1894 are those same areas highlighted for significant rethinking as part of the remit of this Act. Launceston, Callington, Calstock to name but a few, are part of the 'much redistribution from the Fowey to the Tamar'.[366] As a result, the Launceston Town Clerk expresses his concerns 'that the County Council are not very clear about their aims in that district' citing a lack of local consultation with the local authorities.[367] *The Western Independent* responds to these concerns and informs its readership that as part of the 'bold and largely-conceived scheme… No Boroughs are extinguished. There are many historical and other reasons why the ancient towns should be left with their charters untouched and

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[362] "Cornwall Bill Unopposed," *The Cornish and Devon Post*, 4th May 1929.
[363] I. G. Gibbon, "Local Government Act,: 1929: Administrative Measures," *Public Administration* 9, no. 2 (1931).
[364] "County Areas of Cornwall," *Western Morning News*, 29th October 1930.
[365] *Newquay Express*, 8th January 1931.
[366] "New Boundaries for East Cornwall," *The Cornish Times*, 5th June 1931.
[367] "Boundary Schemes," *Western Morning News*, 17th June 1931.

their powers unimpaired. But in most cases their municipal areas are extended, and they are asked to undertake to provide such amenities as water and lighting to the districts they absorb as early as possible'.[368] The article, written presumably as a Public Relations piece from the County Council, tried to assure residents that they were concerned with historic community boundaries that were precious to communities right across Cornwall. In fact, the assurances having to be made to the public here suggested that they were far more precious and precarious than the border amendments at the Tamar.

Comparisons to boundary changes in Devon indicate how differing the responses were on each side of the Tamar to spatial reorganisation and the territorial integrity of Cornwall in comparison to Devon. An anonymous 'Cornishman' living in Plymouth suggests that 'the adjoining county of Devon has not found it necessary to be nearly so drastic, and the policy of our Cornwall Council is resented in many parts'.[369] The hub of this protest from Cornwall seems to be once again from West Cornwall as opposed to East, perhaps indicating where historical communities mattered more. The *Western Morning News* suggested 'it is strange, by the way, that little or nothing is heard of opposition to the Devon scheme of rearrangement. The absence of comment on it would suggest either that the plan is less open to objection than the Cornish one or that the Devon authorities are less litigious than their neighbours west of the Tamar'.[370] There were inquiries in Devon to a number of challenging reorganisations of the county, but not as widespread as in Cornwall.

Only at this point in time were some of the anomalies in Local Government administration being ironed out. For example, only now was North Tamerton, which had officially been part of Cornwall since 1844, to be administered by a District Council in Cornwall.[371] Having placed on record their desire to maintain this as part of Devon in 1898, the area had already been part of Cornwall. Subsequent to these proposals, it became a part of the Stratton Rural District in 1934.[372] By the time this happened, it was almost invisible to the public with no newspaper records of this significant and final local government movement. Overall, the transfer from Devon to Cornwall of North Tamerton took almost 90 years, the idea muted slightly over this time but never silenced. It would also continue to be a parish that crossed the Tamar despite of the rulings on the Tamar as the defined border. The strength of these parish boundaries as a historical unit cannot be understated,

[368] "The New Cornwall," *The Western Independent*, 29th November 1931.
[369] "Cornwall Local Boundaries," *Western Morning News*, 3rd December 1931.
[370] "Local Boundary Changes," *Western Morning News*, 12th August 1932.
[371] "Devon Area Boundaries," *Western Morning News*, 7th March 1932.
[372] "The Tamar Boundary Question," *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 1898/09/29/.

reiterating why it was important that County Councils were seen to respect their status and integrity.[373]

Whilst North Tamerton was a negotiation that was prolonged, the process was also extended for other districts in the North that were on the banks of the Tamar, who had a history of being both Cornish and Devonian. The deadlock over North Petherwin and Werrington was only resolved when the local Parish Councils organised a postcard poll as a proxy referendum on their future in 1947. The process for this had to be administered by the Parish Council, with no financial support from the Rural District Council of Broadwoodwidger whatsoever. Interestingly the *Western Morning News* reported that Cornwall at this point had made no demand for extension to its boundaries, nor the Broadwoodwidger Rural Council having any viewpoint when submitting their local demands to Devon County Council.[374] This suggests that this was a community-inspired project promoting the argument to be Cornish. Correspondence shows the individuality of the communities in the communities with each Parishes not willing to speak for those around them, which shows the respect held for the smaller units of local government and how localised the issue of the border was. The nearly unanimous support that was received on this issue at the postcard poll and the various local meetings shows strength in opinion.

Inspired by the 1945 Local Government Boundary Commission request for considerations, the District and Parish Council sought to judge local opinion. The results of the poll indicate there is an initial resistance to the adoption of the proposition of Cornwall County Council 'that the River Tamar shall be the boundary between Devon and Cornwall', but the responses indicated this is because such an arrangement would split the parish which was against the residents' desire.[375] As evidenced by their earlier responses, both Parish Councils did not believe in splitting the parishes in any form.[376] Conversely, as raised in the Plymouth section, the boundaries to the mouth of the Tamar were being challenged as the post-war growth took hold and inspired communities but not along county lines.[377] This was unsuccessful because of the widespread understanding that the Tamar was a defining county border. Gilbert reports on the strong sense of regionalism that challenged these proposals; "'if these iniquitous proceedings go on, then 20,000 Cornishmen will know the reason why, supported by at least as many Devonians'.[378] This despite G.D.H Cole, an expert in

[373] S. Rippon, *Making Sense of an Historic Landscape* (OUP Oxford, 2012), 165.

[374] "Two Parishes in Devon Want to Be Cornish," *Western Morning News*, 23th July 1947.

[375] Werrington Parish Council, "Boundary Papers, Local Government Boundary Commission," ed. Werrington Parish Council (Kresenn Kernow, 1947).

[376] "County of Cornwall Bill 1929: Part V - County Boundary." Cornwall County Council, 1929.

[377] H. Meller and M. Kirby, *Towns, Plans and Society in Modern Britain* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), 75.

[378] E. W. Gilbert, "The Boundaries of Local Government Areas," *The Geographical Journal* 111, no. 4/6 (1948): 184.

Local Government at the time, creating alternative units that were not confined either to Devon and/or Cornwall for efficiency.[379]

The 1958 Local Government Act encouraged County reviews to which Cornwall was one of only six counties that proposed ways in which its landscape could be reconfigured. Whilst they made proposals during this time, the Minister was told to only approve changes that were widely accepted, rather than those which provoked controversy.[380]

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[379] Ibid., 177.
[380] M. Minogue, *Documents on Contemporary British Government: Volume 2, Local Government in Britain* (Cambridge University Press, 1977).

Figure 5 - Excerpt from map demonstrated proposed boundary changes in the 1958 Local Government Review[381]

In this commission, as part of the South Western General Review area, there was no opposition to the proposals to alter the boundary of the Tamar, but the impact meant a small part remained in Devon. Correspondence between the representatives of the Ministry of Housing and Local

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[381] Boundary Commission for England, "Maps of Cornwall Prepared under Local Government Act, 1958: Proposals for County Districts," (1958).

Government and the Broadwoodwidger Rural District Council, indicated that it was the desire of the Council to transfer of what remained in Devon to Holsworthy Rural District. Thus, abolishing any cross-border district between Cornwall and Devon.[382] The Broadwoodwidger stance vehemently makes clear that 'On 21st March, 1963, my council wrote to the Devon County Council stating that, should the Tamar become the County boundary, the parishes of the district remaining in Devon should be joined with the Holsworthy rural district. My Council's views on this point have remained unaltered'.[383] The importance of this process though was that it set in motion some of the most defining orders in the Cornish border. Henceforth the Cornwall & Devon (Broadwoodwidger) Order was sponsored and taken forward based on the proposals.

The defining of the Broadwoodwidger Order was important as the intention was to set in motion legal status of the border that would be definitive. Mr Lightfoot raises his concerns in a letter in 1965:

'On the paragraph numbered 2, I had thought that under Article 5 (1) any part of Broadwoodwidger on the western side of the Tamar would be transferred to Cornwall. We have also been under the impression that the words "for the time being" in Article 5 (1) indicate that if there are further natural changes in the course of the river the boundary would move with it, and that it is not entirely a once-for-all transfer as assumed by Devon'.[384] This echoed Devon County Council's concerns for other points along the Tamar, for example near Byton Bridge where the wording needed to reflect the centre of the Tamar, to ensure that lands part of Devon, remained as Devonian.[385] Both this order and the South Western Counties Order, had defined lengths of the Tamar because they couldn't achieve the full survey of the river required, if the orders were to come into effect on the 1st April 1965. Thus, the boundary remained inconsistent in part.

The debate in Parliament considered the two orders simultaneously and both met universal agreement. On the topic, there was a light-hearted nature to the discussion but with a purpose to seek resolution.

Sir Henry Studholme, the MP for Tavistock containing the Broadwoodwidger District until the proposal came into being commented: 'I am very glad that my hon. Friend the Member for Cornwall, North (Mr. Scott-Hopkins) put down this Motion, because this is the only way in which we can discuss an Order of this nature. I do not oppose the Order. No representations have been made to

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[382] Lightfoot.
[383] G.L. Davey, 30th July 1964.
[384] K. Lightfoot, 21st July 1965.
[385] Mr Godsall, 16th July 1965.

me in opposition to it. It seems to be an Order which is generally dictated by common sense. On looking up the ancient records, I find that at the time of the Domesday Book this small enclave, consisting of North Petherwin and Werrington, West on the Tamar, was included in the County of Devon, but although I shall always be a Conservative, I see no reason why I should be conservative enough to oppose the Order. I am all for change when it is sensible'.[386] Both MPs affected by this change avoid any discussion of the cultural significance of an area shifting between Devon and Cornwall which could be an indication of how this decision was very much one of practice rather than any natural affinity or desire to identify with one area or the other.

That is not to say the debate does not raise some of these other identity connotations. Engaging more with the cultural aspect of the proposed change, Mr Peter Mills, MP for Torrington at that time stated: 'The way the boundary has run in the past has always been something of a mystery to me. It is extraordinary to have this piece of Devon jutting across the Tamar and into Cornwall, because the Tamar is the great dividing line running from the Tamar Lake to Plymouth. It is always said in this area that things are different across the river. We even go so far as to say in my parish that "across the river they be furriners", and such things as, "Doan't 'ee marry a Cornish maid". There is a very big dividing line between Devon and Cornwall, and the Tamar is the natural boundary. This Order provides a sort of squaring up of the situation'.[387] He goes on to discuss the way in which people look towards the cities of Truro and Exeter, but this thesis, argues that perhaps these considerations of the City are not as important as the more localised hubs of Launceston and Tavistock to which communities were really engaged.

The Redcliffe-Maud report, relating to Local Government reorganisation between 1966-1969, sought for 'functional effectiveness' in the face of the 'historically anachronistic arrangements' of County Boundaries that were largely unchanged over time.[388] Whilst Cornwall County Council believed that 'in view of geography, tradition and relatively low density of population, any such first tier Authority should not include any area outside the present County of Cornwall and could not do so except to the disadvantage both of Cornwall and of any adjoining authority' there was fierce pressure being applied externally for change, despite Cornwall's full engagement in the 1958 process.[389] Mr Senior's approach that used datasets to draw boundaries, if adopted, would have looked at the relationship between East Cornwall and Plymouth as opposed to connections to Bodmin.[390] This belief was born

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[386] "Local Government Boundaries (South Western Counties)" Hansard, 724 15 February 1966.

[387] Ibid.

[388] M. Savage and M. Savage, *Identities and Social Change in Britain since 1940: The Politics of Method* (OUP Oxford, 2010), 188.

[389] "Royal Commission on Local Government in England - Memorandum of Evidence" 28th October 1966.

[390] R. Lawton, "Changing Population," *Area* 1, no. 4 (1969): 11.

out of the significant financial and political pressure being driven by Plymouth City Council to look at the Plymouth Wider area, in light of the proposed rationalisation discussed in the Plymouth Section. This became colloquially referred to as 'Tamarside'.

Given the profile of the changes to Local Government across England, it is hardly surprising this has attracted the most academic scrutiny of any local government area changes that Payton has written about.[391]

What these Kernow-centric readings do not acknowledge is how the response of Cornwall was mirrored on the Devonian side. Devon County Council state how 'Cornwall's only landward boundary is the Tamar with its one bridge at Plymouth and for the rest following the upper reaches of the Tamar through sparsely populated country. Regionalisation across this boundary is going to solve no problems and improve no service in that county, or in Plymouth or Devon. There is no practical benefit to be gained'.[392] Devon which had similarly seen changes in 1958 was also keen to reiterate that 'Plymouth is a dockyard town with little influence on the surrounding rural areas (which are amongst the most rural in the county) save as a shopping centre' amid fears of the proposals as 'too little regard has been had to the special character of Devon, and policies which might well be suitable for other parts of England but which have little relevance in the South West'.[393] The one resounding difference between the two is the acceptance of Devon as part of England. There is only one mention of the word England in Cornwall's Memorandum of Evidence, save for the title and the campaign against played out on the Celtic Fringe to protect itself.

Despite the argument that Cornwall's border should not change for the propose upper tier of Local Government at the time of the Royal Commission in 1969, this did not mean that Cornwall's border should not fluctuate further. The Cornwall & Devon (Areas) Order 1977 is the latest statutory instrument to change the local government areas. Effective from March 1977, the Order declared that 'the boundary between the County of Cornwall, the District of North Cornwall and the parish of Whitstone and the County of Devon, the District of Torridge and the Parish of Pyworthy shall be he line for the time being of the centre of the River Tamar'.[394] Thus all parishes and Local Government districts were either specifically in Cornwall or Devon, none divided by the River between the two Counties. Note the use of 'for the time being' which suggests these were not

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[391] Payton, *The Making of Modern Cornwall : Historical Experience and the Persistence of "Difference"*,1992, 212.

[392] "Royal Commission on Local Government in England - Memorandum of Evidence of the Devon County Council" 27th October 1966.

[393] Ibid.

[394] *The Cornwall and Devon (Areas) Order 1977,* (14th March 1977).

intended as finalised decisions, never to be altered. We can see how the issues of the enclaves on either side of the Tamar remained and continue to remain a point of controversy.

The overseeing of Boundary changes since 1972 has been the work of the Local Government Boundary Commission for England. They have had two terms, the 1972-1992 period following the Local Government Act 1972, and 1992-To Date following the 1992 Act of the same name. They would establish Periodic reviews akin to the Westminster Boundary Commission alongside the new Local Government legislation, allowing for roughly 10 years to complete the reviews across the country. Alongside these would be a number of supplementary reviews. These would take place as the criteria for specific areas would need to be considered.

The First Periodic review was conducted in two parts. The Initial part concluded in 1980 that dealt with the internal District County reviews, but this was supplemented by a report that looked at Cornwall as a whole in 1983. In the reviews, the desire to protect the parish unit wholly within boundaries remained a highly important issue and this was the grounds on which much of the opposition was based.[395] They amended their proposals on the basis of the strong arguments made from a number of communities in the North Cornwall District, but not in Caradon, on the basis of a lack of fresh supporting evidence.[396] This may not be particularly important in the context of the Cornish border, but does demonstrate the competence of civic Society in North Cornwall on the issue of borders, which they are clearly passionate about and able to defend effectively. Comparatively, Caradon and South East Cornwall appear far less organised professionally to challenge the electoral system, which would have perhaps made the area far more susceptible to boundary reconfiguration in the south.

In 1987, a report considered the Counties of Cornwall and Devon together, in light of the representations made in order to fix the County Boundary as being the course of the river. The strength of opinion voiced to 'rectify alleged anomalies' of 'Launcells, Marhamchurch, Morwenstow, North Tamerton and Whitstone in the District of North Cornwall, and the Parishes of Bradworthy, Bridgerule, Clawton, Hartland, Pancrasweek, Pyworthy and Welcombe in the District of Torridge in Devon' encouraged the Commission to write to the affected authorities.[397] This encouraged Cornwall County Council to reconsider its position against outright boundary changes to one that required local consultation. The response of this Consultation found agreement from the Parishes that would not be split by using the Tamar but by contrast was met with fierce opposition from

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[395] "Proposals for the Future Electoral Arrangement for the County of Cornwall." 1983.
[396] Ibid.
[397] "The Counties of Cornwall and Devon." 1987.

those who were to be divided. It was the latter group that would ultimately be successful with their lobbying. The Boundary Commission, once again focused on local government efficiency, rejected the suggestions made by the Cornish Nationalist Party that West Bridgerule looked towards Bude-Stratton for social life and that the condition of the road B3254 suffered as a consequence.[398] Thus the boundary was not changed. Once again, the strength of local opinion on bounded space outweighed the value the Tamar as a definitive border.

The Second Periodic review again took the approach of engaging with internal boundaries in separate reports before preparing a final report for the whole of Cornwall. Much akin to the Westminster Reviews, there are recurring places of conflict made over proposals for change. Most notably they are the Bude-Stratton and Bodmin areas, which were protected by residents successfully last time, but again were subject to further scrutiny. It would appear that the Boundary Commission have a limited number of areas they can propose for change and these are often recurring places. The report for Cornwall, published in 2004 was able to make amendments without the need to amend any county boundaries. This suggests that the appetite for 'anomalies' had disappeared, given the comprehensive review taken last time round.[399] By admission in the final report from the first commission, the response rate had been extremely low to the local consultation suggesting there was little appetite for this change in the first instance in any event. But what is accepted was again protection for the wards in Bude-Stratton and Bodmin, as well as nominal recognition for the expanded St Germans ward. These small concessions show how community identity has significant importance to communities across Cornwall. But intertwined in these local community identities is the special landscape that befalls Cornwall.

Subsequently, Cornwall has now dropped its two-tier governance structure in favour of a Unitary Authority, a move which has not been without controversy. As such, given the connotations for devolution and regionalism, this has warranted a separate section that follows especially given the added significance this gives to the established borders of Cornwall.

Despite being entirely independent of the process for Westminster Constituencies, the territorial integrity of Cornwall can be found at all levels of governance. Cole and John recognise how 'each locality is shaped by a range of historical, socio-economic, cultural, and political influences', but the

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[398] Ibid., 5.
[399] "Final Recommendations on the Future Electoral Arrangements for Cornwall County Council." 2004.

issue of boundaries has been further politicised in Cornwall by the profile of Cornish identity in society.[400]

As well as internal boundary reviews, which have always been well represented by Cornwall, the state of Cornwall as an entity has also been reconfigured by the Local Government modifications. Perry argued that Cornwall was 'a homogeneous rural region made up of small towns serving an agricultural hinterland' when considering Cornwall until the 1950s.[401] Significant social change since then has evolved the way in which Cornwall has interacted and this does not necessarily conform to established networks.[402] As Cornwall has become more connected, the way in which its residents interact has changed and therefore the historic role of some towns as focus points for the community is no longer as strong, particularly close to the border where the way of thinking is not restricted to the confines of the County boundary.

A common misconception is that the Tamar has represented the indisputable border between Devon and Cornwall continuously since 936ad. The evidence from this chapter suggests otherwise quite comprehensively. This has shown how attitudes towards the Tamar as the County boundary have fluctuated significantly over time. As communities have grown, evolved, and adapted to a changing world, so have their attitudes to whom they look outwards. But the research here shows how it has only been established in its current form since 1977 and even then, has not been conclusive as seen through challenges on a localised basis.

When we consider Devonwall in the context of Local Government, aside from shared services, we can see the difficulties in boundary disputes, particularly between North West Devon and North Cornwall. Resolution to land conflicts in Cornwall and Devon have only been resolved by land belonging to one or other, no community wants to straddle the two, that is noticeably clear. There is a foreboding message from the evidence of these local boundary configurations to the attitudes towards the proposed Devonwall constituency. The landscape of South East Cornwall and its peninsular shape has often presented the barrier to further consideration by Local Government, despite an appetite expressed on both sides. Using a historical lens however, it appears evident that attitudes have always resisted any notion of Devonwall, but that does not necessarily mean they

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[400] A. Cole and P. John, *Local Governance in England and France* (Taylor & Francis, 2012), 150.

[401] Ronald Perry, "Cornwall Circa 1950," in *Cornwall since the War*, ed. Philip Payton (Redruth, Cornwall: 1993), 28.

[402] Jane Wills, *A New Geography of Local Government: The Changing Role of Town and Parish Councils in Cornwall, Uk* (2019), 30.

identify clearly with either authority as an alternative, so long as their localised historic landscapes are retained.

All Commissioners are appointed on a contractual basis, expected to deliver on the specific review they have been selected for in a term of period, now with a statutory cycle of five years. The scale of the task before all commissioners to deliver the review for either the entire country or for vast swathes of, depending on the remit, does not allow for the process to engage with local communities at an early enough stage. In the commissions remit to remain objective and independent, its contribution is limited. As will be discussed in more detail in the subsequent section, whilst contributions could be made, they were limited to serve in the remit set to them by Government, usually only able to clarify around statistics and procedure.[403] As such, some of the blame attributed to those selected on the commission may be undue. Indeed, the contradiction of the criteria, in seeking 'One vote, One Value' and also the need for respect for communities often leave the commission in an impossible predicament. The criteria, as set out by Government, do not allow for the some of the longer deliberation and pre-consultation with local communities that would often resolve some and also allow for some interplay between the various commissions. In Cornwall's specific case, Government intervention would allow for the formal decision making around the need, or not, for special circumstances for Cornwall. Whilst much clamour is made in the debates, often by Cornish representatives of both houses, until statute is brought in, there will continue to be a very emotive and impassioned debate about the territorial integrity of Cornwall and definitive border before any reasonable discussion of the contribution and need to achieve parity and equality in representation with the other constituent parts of the United Kingdom.

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[403] Iain McLean and Roger Mortimore, "Apportionment and the Boundary Commission for England," *Electoral Studies* 11, no. 4 (1992).

Chapter 6 - Plymouth – Cornwall's external city?

Plymouth, both as a city and its precursor communities, have played a crucial role in the development of South West Britain. The development and growth of the city is one that has also impacted on the way of life, not only for people on the Devonian side of the border, but also across the border in Cornwall. Importantly for the border and the River Tamar, the blurring of the city region over existing local government boundaries and the impacts of urban life on the rural landscape are continuing to reshape perceptions of the border.

Borgmann's philosophical reflection of society in 1992, stated that contemporary culture is 'inescapably urban and indeed megalopolitan'.[404] Urban Growth has been a feature of British Society, but the rate has no doubt increased significantly since industrialisation, a process which would change Cornwall's future. But to take stock of the local situation in the present day, one must consider it in the context of devolution deals and spatial planning in the UK.

The 'polycentric state' is often the way in which the UK is described; An asymmetrical map of devolution and proposed decentralisation, has plunged the UK into somewhat of a constitutional crisis between local and national agents.[405] Therefore whilst the appetite is there for more discussion of devolution and respacing of power and reterritorialization, the policy surrounding it is inconsistent. Lloyd & Peel have looked specifically at the city regions 'invoke [sic] a duality of place-competition alongside cooperative working in shared spaces and across boundaries', but how 'defining the actors and institutional arrangements for carrying the vision through can prove to be much more elusive – and potentially divisive'.[406] Divisiveness of place competition emanates from established identities, routed in place and heritage, threatened by the expanse of new city space-planning and the pressures of the city. The job for 'new regions', be they new spaces or re-imagining of existing ones, is to engage with existing territorial identities, to thin them into more malleable identities, that respects why people still connect with their old spatial rhetoric yet not losing them to large scale urbanisation.[407] The rapid growth of Plymouth therefore provides an important case study in the development of a Cornish identity to the east, where borders have been threatened and soft power exerted and where large scale redrawing of lines has been rejected largely by the population.

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[404] A. Borgmann, *Crossing the Postmodern Divide* (University of Chicago Press, 2013), 128.
[405] Kevin Morgan, "The Polycentric State: New Spaces of Empowerment and Engagement?," *Regional Studies* 41, no. 9 (2007): 1237.
[406] Greg Lloyd and Deborah Peel, "City-Regionalism: The Social Reconstruction of an Idea in Practice," in *Territory, Identity and Spatial Planning* (Routledge, 2006), 300.
[407] Kees Terlouw and Bouke van Gorp, "Layering Spatial Identities: The Identity Discourses of New Regions," *Environment and Planning A* 46, no. 4 (2014): 863.

This chapter therefore challenges the independence of Cornwall from the Plymouth metropolis and the ways in which they have been threatened. The evolving situation with Plymouth represents the struggle of borders at sub-national level, particularly in the context of the Rural-urban divide. Furthermore, it encompasses how borders operate by formal governmental structures, but also through the networks of industries, transport, and the impact on the ways of life.

Conversely, it does also demonstrate however is the 'banal nationalism' and symbolism used in the landscape that push back against the looming presence of the city. This markers in the landscape have been shown in defiance, buoyed by the various pushbacks Cornwall has achieved against the aggressive land and strategic policies of Plymouth, particularly in the post-war era. Whilst chapter is focused on how the direction of policymaking has continually threatened Cornwall, it will draw attention to the grassroots campaigns that have undermined this directive from Cornish residents, something that warrant further study.

The Domesday book of 1086 already established the Plymouth and District, as spanning both banks of the Tamar and the names of communities in the Plymouth area. It reflects some elements of Celtic language, for examples Manadon and St Budeaux, place names of Celto-Cornish influence in the landscape of Plymouth and the nearby towns.[408] In 705AD, King Geraint had given a promontory of the Rame Peninsula to the Abbey at Sherborne who administrated the parishes on behalf of the Kings of Wessex. The Church at Maker was then given to Plympton Priory in 1121, with the 14th century Church dedicated to the St Julian, the patron saint of Ferrymen, recognition of the importance of the connections across the mouth of the Tamar to the way of life in the area. Also related to the role of churches for Plymouth in South East Cornwall was the church based at Rame. Records show Plymouth paying a watchman there to ensure they could warn ships and communicate incoming ships with the Port town of Plymouth. Similar confusion over the bounds of this land can be seen in adverts describing Rame as Plymouth in newspaper adverts.[409] This evidence of diffusion at the Anglo-Celtic border, demonstrates the permeability of the border in cultural constructions, similar to how other names were born out of the old industries that created the communities they once served.

The amalgamation of the Three Towns into Plymouth in 1914, paved the way for a new city that would be at the forefront of the West Country's contribution to the Great War. Bonnie White writes how 'between the 1889 Naval Defence Act and the First World War, new construction accounted for over half of the labour resources employed in Plymouth and Devonport', to such an extent that 'the housing industry in Plymouth had not kept pace with population growth, leading to

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[408] W. Best Harris, *Place Names of Plymouth, Dartmoor and the Tamar Valley* (Liskeard: Stannary Press, 1987), 25-31.
[409] "Places Vacant," *Western Daily Mercury*.

an acute housing shortage by 1914.[410] Between 1914 and 1917 the city experienced a large influx of residents, naval staff and personnel, adding to its overcrowding'.[411] The importance of Plymouth to Wartime Britain cannot be understated, but with this came a significant responsibility that saw it providing opportunities for large parts of South West England. The City status was granted in 1928, granted by the king at the request.

Plymouth is not a twin city, but the growth of the metropolis mirrors the definition of them as argued by Meijers et al. for disrupting the independence and distinctiveness of smaller towns.[412] Whilst bringing together of Plymouth, Devonport, and East Stonehouse, 3 working communities in the far South West of Devon fulfils this definition, Garrard and Mikhailova develop the definition further and incorporate border dynamics. They believe that twin cities contain 'contain multiple towns/cities, a few kilometres apart, often possessing common borders, often merging and becoming indistinguishable in most senses, except possibly the governmental and (decreasingly) self-identification senses… increasingly interdependent in terms of their economies, labour markets, transport & communications, social interactions, service-provision, politics, etc.'.[413] Not only does this quote incorporate the cultural tensions that develop from city growth, but also how the process disregards state borders.

Immediately on the news of the announcement of City Status, the *Western Morning News* reports how 'Alderman Solomon Stephens referred to the possibility of reviving the proposal that Plymouth should become an assize centre for Devon and Cornwall' and the Mayor of Truro said 'The eyes of Cornwall always turn to Plymouth as the first and most important town across our border, because of its commercial prosperity, largely to the fact that it is one of the most important port in the kingdom and because it is the centre of so much military and naval activity'.[414] Recognising the regional and national role of Plymouth as a naval town cannot be understated.

Undoubtedly there is now a sphere of influence that Plymouth dictates over, some of which is governed by Plymouth City Council, but beyond this, there are other localities which appear to be shaped almost entirely by the metropolis. ONS data reveals that the Travel to Work area for Plymouth, is almost triple the catchment area of Redruth and Truro, representing the core of Cornwall and the data indicates the vast majority of residents living in East Cornwall commute to

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[410] Bonnie White, "Wigwams and Resort Towns," in *The Great War: Localities and Regional Identities*, ed. N. Mansfield and C. Horner (Cambridge Scholars Publisher, 2014), 109.
[411] Ibid.
[412] Evert Meijers, Marloes Hoogerbrugge, and Koen Hollander, "Twin Cities in the Process of Metropolisation," *Urban Research & Practice* 7, no. 1 (2014): 39.
[413] J. Garrard and E. Mikhailova, *Twin Cities: Urban Communities, Borders and Relationships over Time* (Taylor & Francis, 2018), 3-4.
[414] "Royal Honour for Plymouth," *Western Morning News*, 18 October 1928.

Plymouth.[415] Maps such as 'The Environs of Plymouth and Plymouth dock' from 1812 showed that it historically covered a district of seven miles east and west of Plymouth and 20 miles to the north. It took in Launceston in the N.W. corner, Looe in the S.W., Moreton at the extreme N.E. and Kingsbridge in the S.E..[416] Essex and Brayshay take expand this vision further and state that the redevelopment of the city of Plymouth in the 1940s was a vision of regional planning, more of which will be discussed later. [417] Thus the shaping of East Cornwall has been determined by developments of the Metropolis and its polymorphic borders.

But how did this impact on developments in Cornwall? Even before the creation of the city of Plymouth, there is a history of the Three Towns serving the Cornish communities, largely because of their on the position at the mouth of the Tamar and therefore strong trading links. Burnard notes that 'the 1851 census for Plymouth shows the birthplaces of migrants. It is calculated that 10.6% of these migrants were from Cornwall', though interestingly the population of East Cornwall at this time did not change significantly, suggesting their population was coming from more westerly parts of Cornwall.[418] However Roche comments on how 'the rather isolated Cornish town of Launceston was determined to link up [with Plymouth]' with the Tavistock Railway Line and the opportunities that the Plymouth area could offer as early as 1862. [419] This indicates that East Cornwall was already adjusting to life in the shadow of the metropolis, but trying to do so without losing its population, a commuter belt had been established. Informally, Cornwall has contributed to the city in a number of ways, rewarded for doing so by Plymouth trying to recognise some of the Cornish communities as within a Plymouth district.

The issue of borders and fear of incursion into Cornwall, has been exemplified on a number of occasions by these attempts to push the city's boundaries into Cornish territory. The City of Plymouth formed a Sub-Committee in 1945 that included representation from Cornwall County Council through Edward Bolitho as the Chair as well as the Mayor of Saltash and the Vice Chairman of the St. Germans Rural District Council.

From the outset, Bolitho clearly states that 'we informed the representatives of the Local Authorities that while the County Council were of the opinion there must be the closest co-operation with Plymouth, Cornishmen had, through the centuries, always regarded the River Tamar

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[415] Richard Prothero, "Method of Travel to Work," ed. ONS (2020).

[416] John Amery, *1912-1913*, ed. John Amery, vol. 7, Devon & Cornwall: Notes and Queries ([Place of publication not identified]: Commin, James, 1913), 274.

[417] Stephen Essex and Mark Brayshay, "Town Versus Country in the 1940s: Planning the Contested Space of a City Region in the Aftermath of the Second World War," *Town Planning Review* 76, no. 3 (2005): 239.

[418] J.H Burnard, "Local Migration in North East Cornwall: A Study of Migration Patterns" (University of London, 1990).

[419] T. W. E. Roche, *Plymouth and Launceston* (Teddington, Middlesex: Branch-Line Handbooks, 1965), 5.

as their rightful boundary'.[420] This has been the underlying tension that whilst Cornwall and Plymouth want to work together, this should not come at the cost of compromising the border. One Councillor, Mr S. Pearce vivid description of the Plymothian approach argued that 'Plymouth had groped out to Plympton and now it was like the Nazis, grabbing part of Cornwall'.[421] This would be the undoing of all attempts by Plymouth to grow into Cornwall.

The difficulty, as summarised by the County Council debate in May 1943 and reported in the Cornish Guardian describes 'the great difference between Cooperation and absorption. If Plymouth, or Devon, wish to absorb part of East Cornwall, the Cornwall County Council should protest by the strongest means'.[422] The crucial element was how to resolve the housing crisis in Plymouth. Plymouth needed to provide for its growing population but was unable to do so within the city limits. Whilst Cornwall was willing to provide, it was only willing to co-operate with the understanding that Cornwall was a distinct landscape. Criticisms had been levelled that the County of Cornwall had neglected the Rame Peninsula, which the Council rebutted arguing the War disrupted their plans to which critics conceded would be unfair to judge Cornwall on.[423]

Some arguments made in the 1990s have argued vehemently for the effects of counter-urbanisation in Cornwall. This process is the migration of people from Urban areas to Rural areas, often believed to offer a better quality of life. Williams' thesis explored the counter-urbanisation across Cornwall and the attractiveness of the region with its small communities. Her thesis built on her working paper in 1995 which emphasised the housing need and the scale of short distance migration from the South West, but most significantly to Plymouth.[424] What the thesis developed is how people might not want to live in Plymouth, they would still continue to engage with the city on a regular basis even after moving away. Some left to live in nicer surroundings in Cornwall but still commuted, whilst those who had moved to East Cornwall from other parts of the United Kingdom looked to the city for the opportunities.[425] This shows how people moving to Cornwall still connect with the urban landscape and rely on it, whether they are from Plymouth or not.

Unscathed by Cornwall's criticism of Planning developments during the war, Plymouth proceeded with its intention to expand. The Plan of Plymouth, a document written to help rebuild and reshape post Second World War Plymouth, identified significant overspill from Plymouth into other areas; From Devon, it sought to incorporate the Rural District of Plympton St Mary and part of the Rural

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[420] "City of Plymouth Sub-Committee." 1945-1946.

[421] "Plymouth and East Cornwall," *Cornish Guardian*, 14 December 1944.

[422] ""No Annexation" of East Cornwall," *Cornish Guardian*, 13 May 1943.

[423] "Plymouth and East Cornwall," *Cornish Guardian*, 14 December 1944.

[424] Carol Williams, *Housing Need in Cornwall* (University of Plymouth, Faculty of Human Sciences, Department of Applied ..., 1995).

[425] Carol Williams, "Counter-Urbanisation, Housing and Households in Cornwall" (University of Plymouth, 1997., 1997).

District of Tavistock. From Cornwall it expected the Parishes of Antony, Botusfleming, Landulph, Maker, Millbrook, Rame, St. John & Sheviock, the Borough of Saltash and the Urban District of Torpoint to be absorbed.

Significantly to support these proposals, a meeting on the 25th April 1945 of the Torpoint Urban District Council, saw the Council opted against opposition to its inclusion in the Plymouth boundaries, contrary to the Cornwall County Council's vehement opposition made in 1944.[426] However the other areas of Cornwall affected, remained vehemently opposed to being subordinate to Plymouth. From the minutes of the meetings that followed, it is clear that whilst Torpoint was in favour of the decision, its support was not strong enough to divorce itself from the general opposition from Cornwall and that an alternative plan was adopted instead.

One may question why Torpoint took offence to the anti-Plymouth rhetoric of Cornwall County Council and how that has made Torpoint the exception on the border. Joe P. Plant's Second World War Diary, reflects on the significant contribution made by Torpoint to the war effort, particularly to the Devonport dockyards. Crispin Gill's *New History of Plymouth* also makes frequent reference to Torpoint in the development of the City and John Neale describes how Torpoint almost came into being as a result of the expansion of Devonport.[427] The Carew-Pole family, who commissioned the planning of the town, are one of the old manor house families of the Devon-Cornwall border, also commissioned the Torpoint ferry to link the communities of the Antony estates which were found in Torpoint and what is now Plymouth. Since its inception therefore, Torpoint has been a place of interaction between Devon and Cornwall and the community that resides there today, still relying on these cross-border connections. Since the 1940s, the town has also been home to HMS Raleigh, the main Royal Navy training base and they remain one of the major employers in the area. As demonstrated in the Ministry of Defence reviews in 2010, the training camp is reliant on the prosperity of Devonport and the Docks. This was an argument emphasised in Paul Bishop's work written in the 1990s that argued for a potential 'lack of confidence in the region' that would have resulted from cutbacks to the docks.[428] As such, the town of Torpoint is operating largely as a disconnected suburb of Plymouth, for which its confidence and prosperity is intertwined with the development of the city.

The South Yard, which is part of the Plymouth Docks site, underwent significant transformation when it became increasingly privatised and whilst it is no longer used by the Ministry of Defence, it remains restricted for security reasons. Given its value to the South West, the location is due to be

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[426] 1945-1946.
[427] Neale,2010.
[428] "Navy Slashes Number of Recruits at Hms Raleigh," BBC News, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-devon-11286163 (Last Accessed - 11th November 2019); Paul Bishop, *The Impact of Devonport Dockyard/Naval Base on the Economy of Devon and Cornwall* (Plymouth Business School, 1995).

'unlocked'. The City Council have developed a masterplan for it following the Plymouth and South West Peninsula City Deal made in 2014 that sought to develop Plymouth as a marine 'hub'.[429] Such a hub is a move towards regionalisation emanating from the City, one that threatens the marine sector that has developed in Cornwall and attempted to centralise on Plymouth. A core-periphery model is therefore in effect in this industry, which sees places like Falmouth being invested in as subsidiaries of Plymouth that impacts across borders.

Waite and Morgan, using the Cardiff Case Study argued that 'In the context of appraising City Deals, indeed, one needs to consider "territory", which is expressed in terms of the spatial limit of interventions, "scales" of government and their hierarchical structures, which bind actor relationships (intersecting UK Government, Welsh Government and local authority activities), and "networks" of knowledge and expertise that reach into the locality to inform and shape urban policy agendas'.[430] The impetus of the Plymouth City deal is that it demonstrates the 'metrophilia' of space policy making in the UK which was decided and confirmed prior to a devolution deal with Cornwall being made. Not only does this make the Cornwall Devolution deal appear as an afterthought, given it was only granted in the subsequent year, but the Plymouth City deal clearly lays the foundations for the city to determine significant decision making for the wider South West and specifically Cornwall, including education which shall be discussed later in this section.

This was not the first regional development centred on Plymouth that also sought to amend the boundaries. In 1971 at the time of Local Government reorganisation, opportunity was found in the non-conformity of Devon and Cornwall to the White Paper Criteria which led to proposals to incorporate Saltash and Torpoint into a Plymouth County Area.[431]

The campaign by the City of Plymouth Council backed up the proposals from the South West Economic Planning Council, which also argued in *A Draft Strategy for the South West* and the *Plymouth Area* produced in 1969. Here again it split the borderlands and argued for partial inclusion of part of South East Cornwall to be included with Plymouth, whilst of North Cornwall in a Bodmin-Exmoor subdivision. The Bodmin-Exmoor subdivision shall be discussed elsewhere, but the impetus placed on Plymouth in the proposals for the whole of Devon & Cornwall, cannot be understated in these documents. The strategy argues that 'Cornwall and Devon must look to the development of Plymouth as being for their common advantages. Plymouth, which historically has looked outwards across the oceans must turn and look inwards towards the land'.[432]The radical reinterpretation of

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[429] "Plymouth and the South West Peninsula City Deal"

[430] David Waite and Kevin Morgan, "City Deals in the Polycentric State: The Spaces and Politics of Metrophilia in the Uk," *European Urban and Regional Studies* 26, no. 4 (2018): 392.

[431] City of Plymouth Council, "Local Government Reorganisation of the City Council," (Kresen Kernow, Redruth, 1971).

[432] "A Draft Strategy for the South West." 1969.

space, built upon 'spheres of influence' saw the urban boundaries as overriding any sense of governmental boundary, something that is consistent with much theory around city borders.[433] In some contexts this has been taken further and the city considered part of the process of 'translocalism' in which culture is also exchanged in networks beyond the traditional border, but in this case study, this was driven by the practical and economic agenda rather than a cultural one.[434]
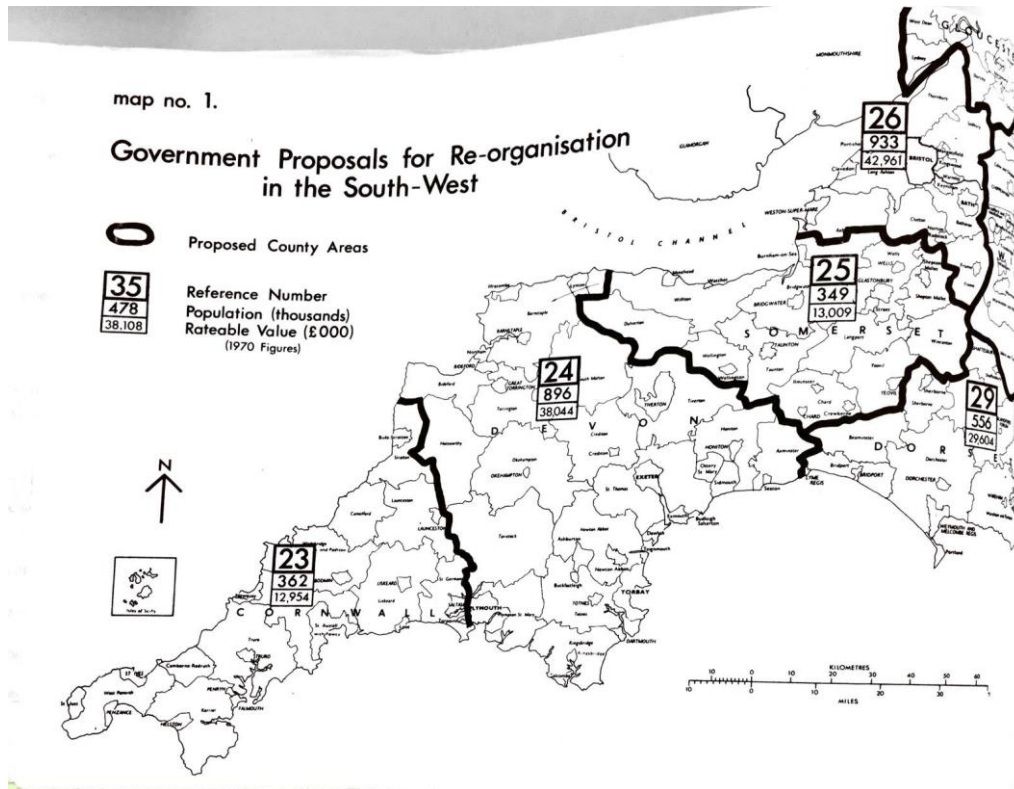
Figure 6 - Map of Government Proposals for Local Government re-organisation in 1969[435]

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[433] See figures 6 and 7 Council; Robert Freilich, Robert Sitkowski, and Seth Mennillo, *From Sprawl to Sustainability: Smart Growth, New Urbanism, Green Development, and Renewable Energy* (American Bar Association, 2010).
[434] Taedong Lee, *Global Cities and Climate Change: The Translocal Relations of Environmental Governance* (Taylor & Francis, 2014).
[435] Council.
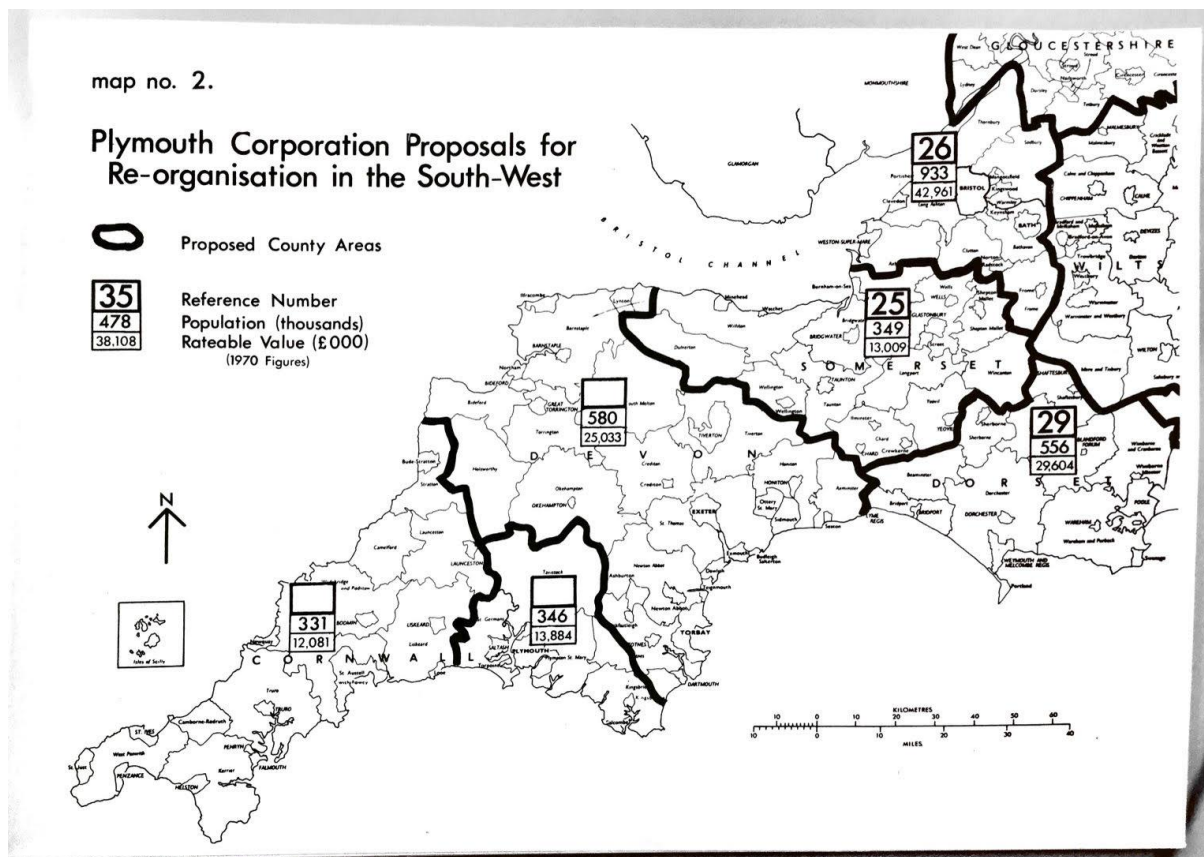
Figure 7 - Map showing Plymouth Corporations proposals for Local Government Re-organisation in 1969[436]

Once again, the County Council emphasised the sentiment that the 'Boundary of the Tamar is the historic boundary; it is an admirably strongly defined geographical boundary, so that, unlike many County Boundaries there is no doubt when one moves from Plymouth into Cornwall. Moreover, the Tamar, in spite of the new Tamar Bridge, is still a very substantial physical and psychological barrier between Plymouth and South East Cornwall. The Tamar Bridge is the only road crossing (apart from the Torpoint Ferry) for the twenty-three miles from Rame Head northward to Gunnislake Bridge. Certainly, the boundary proposed by the Royal Commission has no natural features whatsoever and could never have been of any greater significance than as a line on a map'.[437] This reflection reiterates the emotional attachment to the border emanating from Cornwall, when compared to the practical Plymouth suggestions.

Thus far this chapter has engaged with the redrawing of boundaries lines on the map and visible land grabs by Plymouth to attempt to control East Cornwall. The evidence presented thus far has given the perception that Cornwall rejects the redrawing of boundary lines on the map differing to the historic cultural border. Only Torpoint has presented an alternative perception to this. However, as now will be demonstrated through discussion of soft power, there is still an elevated level of

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[436] Ibid.

[437] "Comments of the Cornwall County Council on the Proposal to Alter the South East Boundary of Cornwall."

engagement with Plymouth. Some of this is historic in nature and time has allowed acceptance of cooperation in this way by Cornish population in the East. Other aspects are reflected on more positively attempts of collaboration which suggests that City-based spatial planning is not so challenging to the cultural construction of Cornwall and can serve equally both communities of Plymouth and East Cornwall. Therefore, it is worth considering how several other 'land grabs' of Cornwall have been made by the 'Metropolis of the West' in a less formal manner than incorporation into the Plymouth city limits.

The rhetoric of City deals in the polycentric British state, can be a challenge to the regional space-planning and the borders thereof. We may therefore consider some international comparisons by way of describing fears of cultural dilution. Let us take Brussels as a case study:

'By the Flemish cultural movement, the migration flows from Brussels are frowned upon, raising suspicion for "Frenchification" of the Flemish neighbouring municipalities of BCR. Consequently, the Flemish regional government invests largely in support of Dutch-language education and cultural activities in these suburban communities. The municipalities themselves have a long tradition in their housing policy, only sparingly allowing new homes to be built and continuously seeking ways to attract Dutch-speaking residents (Meert, 1993, p. 110). These mechanisms have been successful to some extent and have limited population growth, especially regarding the non-Flemish'.[438]

In conventional educational programmes, discussions of the local history do not always feature and as such the culture of difference felt in Cornwall is sometimes feared of being lost. This can be seen in the way that East Cornwall has resisted notions of cooperation in the history of the area's development. There is always a fear that people who move to the area do not respect the Cornish way of life. Tradition still plays a role in Cornwall to defend this cultural assimilation as discussed elsewhere in this thesis. Cornwall Council has also made it clear in their reasons for rejecting proposals for absorption of select Cornish communities that 'in the past [Saltash and Torpoint, which the report suggests Plymouth's links to would grow stronger] have suffered from being joined in the Plymouth Employment Exchange Area'.[439] Therefore whilst the Plymouth City Deal also tightens the influence of Plymouth City Council over the Cornwall and Isles of Scilly Local Enterprise Area, Cornwall will fight defend its identity in the face of border discussions with the City.

In less formal ways, the legacy of Cornwall's relationship with Plymouth is visible in the Postcode allocated for the whole Eastern area and parts of Mid-Cornwall. As discussed in an earlier section, the Plymouth postal service played a crucial role in communications throughout East Cornwall in the

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[438] Kobe Boussauw, Georges Allaert, and Frank Witlox, "Colouring inside What Lines? Interference of the Urban Growth Boundary and the Political–Administrative Border of Brussels," *European Planning Studies* 21, no. 10 (2013).
[439] 1969.

16th through to the 18th century. That legacy laid the foundations for the current postcode dimensions.[440]

Figure 8 - Postcode Map of PL District (Image from Wikipedia based on Ordnance Survey Data - https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:PL_postcode_area_map.svg)

Little work has been done on Postcodes and identity, particularly in the sense of displacement. A major contributing factor may be that the general population are not concerned overtly concerned by what their postcode expresses, but in the case of Cornwall, there is much underpinning the spatial tensions. The postcode map of Cornwall also illustrates spheres of influence from the two major competing centres in the Case of Cornwall; the Cornish hub, emanating from its capital Truro and the Metropolis of Plymouth. Plymouth is assisted in its ambitions benefitting from regular studies by academics that argue for the spatialization based on postcodes that ignore the cultural disparity between Devon, Plymouth, and Cornwall.[441] Yvette Taylor has begun addressing Class and Gender and how people can be defined simply by a few letters at the end of a postal address. This thesis believes there is also a place for Nationalism and identity in Postcode constructions which discourages the use of Postcode based matrices.[442] If one is proud to identify as being of Cornish descent, how compatible can it be compared with a Plymouth based Construction? Whilst the focus of this thesis has been in the relationship with Plymouth and Devon, there are a number of Cornish

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[440] See figure 8

[441] R. Webber and R. Burrows, *The Predictive Postcode: The Geodemographic Classification of British Society* (SAGE Publications, 2018); M. Coombes et al., *Developing Indicators to Assess the Potential for Urban Regeneration* (HMSO, 1992).

[442] Y. Taylor, *Fitting into Place?: Class and Gender Geographies and Temporalities* (Ashgate, 2012).

people who will make the effort to engage only with Cornish business and look more Westerly to protect the Cornish nation despite the ease of connection to Plymouth.

Discussing politics, the presence of Plymouth and urban growth is a disruption to the Liberal Democrat-Conservative battleground that has been a feature of Cornish Politics in spite of realignment. If one therefore constitutes the Labour vote as being indicative of a more anglicised political party in the Cornish political debate, then the spatialization of representation presents a narrative affected by the growth of Plymouth. Whilst the Labour movement has grown in Cornwall in Westminster elections, this has not embedded itself into the Cornish communities for local elections. Insignificant Labour representation in local elections has been seen in Cornwall Council, but they have made some breakthroughs. The majority of the seats they succeed in locally were based in the historic seat of Falmouth and Camborne, with its significant student presence and working-class connections with the Falmouth docks and former dependence on the mining industry for its livelihood. Childs and Cowley's research identified the importance of a locally based candidate with local grassroot connection in local elections.[443] Where this working class background has been effectively grasped by the Labour Party, they have been able to make breakthroughs. Their other breakthroughs have most notably been in Penzance where they won 2 seats, and also in Mevagissey, though at the by-election called in 2014, they collapsed to third place, though there were personal issues again that contributed to the candidates success initially. These appear to have been based on the candidates commitment to working hard in the local community and contributing to Cornish Civic Society.

The other seat is located in Gunnislake & Calstock, one of the wards located on the Cornish border where the dominant feature of the landscape is the Viaduct, a visible reminder of the connection with Plymouth. David Friend's analysis of the Labour Party has explored how the dockyards allowed the Labour movement to re-emerge in Plymouth in the 1990s and laid the foundations for their revival in the area, which was also added by increased professionalism of the party in the City.[444] One may infer that the re-emergence of Labour in this part of Cornwall is a reflection of the overspill of the strength of the party in Plymouth on the other bank of the Tamar.

Dorothy Kirk's election has been successively re-elected since 2009, and whilst the Labour Party in Plymouth contributed to her success is debatable, she has consistently emphasised the importance of Plymouth in each her campaigns. For example, she part funded a research project on the Tamar Valley Line in 2018 through her localities fund. In the Stakeholder Survey, she was quoted as stating

[443] Sarah Childs and Philip Cowley, "The Politics of Local Presence: Is There a Case for Descriptive Representation?," *Political Studies* 59, no. 1 (2011).
[444] David Friend, "The Labour Party, the Trade Union Movement, and the Cooperative Movement : A Study of the Inter-Relationship in the Labour Movement with Particular Reference to Exeter, Plymouth and Torbay / David Friend" (Exeter : University of Exeter, 2002., 2002), 272.

'[The Tamar Valley] Line makes a huge difference to employment and income: average salary in Cornwall is £15k p.a. and in Plymouth it is over £20k. One of the largest employers in Cornwall is Ginsters in Callington; connection to Plymouth means links to the Dockyard, energy plant and centres of education. A lot of naval officers live in places like Calstock – away from the city and in attractive, less populated areas'.[445] This quote demonstrates not only the counter-urbanisation of Plymouth as previously mentioned, but also her belief of the dependency on Plymouth for the community to thrive. The politics of connections are also discussed more explicitly in the section on cross-border transport. Dorothy Kirk's analysis is largely based on the quality of life that Plymouth offers people living in South East Cornwall. Underlying her sentiments is the drive and desire for better infrastructure, something with the City of Plymouth can offer in abundance. Therefore, as well as understanding why Plymouth can sometimes be considered undesirable by Cornish communities it is understanding what value its amenities and potential have to those living in close proximity to it, increasing the permeability of the border.

If we consider Dorothy and her pro-Plymothian perspective in her re-election in Gunnislake and Calstock, we may also consider the role of Ginsters in bolstering Cornish Nationalistic tendencies in Callington which has returned a Mebyon Kernow councillor for many years. The intertwining of identity and local politics is undeniable, and there are spatial dynamics that should be considered on part of that.

Discussions of Ginsters bring in discussions of other markers of Banal Nationalism in the area. These are more pertinent given the increasing privatisation of Local Government and Public Services in the United Kingdom.[446] Whilst they have sponsored Launceston Rugby Club in the past, one of their most high-profile sponsorship deal has been with Plymouth Argyle football club which began in 2002, their 'local club' according to the official Ginsters website.[447] The use of the world 'local', despite being across the border shows how some within Cornwall feel far less detached from Plymouth than some Cornishmen would want. Described often as a 'West Country' brand in media coverage of the deals, the branding of Ginsters has dropped much of its Cornish iconography over the years as the company has been bought out my biggest firms outside of Cornwall.[448] The *Plymouth Argyle Supporters on the Internet (PASOTI)* forum has several posts in discussions over sponsorship deals in 2018 where fans argue 'I love Ginsters as a sponsor, a perfect synergy with our identity', unfazed by the historic

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[445] "Value of the Railway to Communities on the Tamar Valley Line." 2018.
[446] David Heald, "The United Kingdom: Privatisation and Its Political Context," *West European Politics* 11, no. 4 (1988).
[447] "Fans of Football," https://www.ginsters.co.uk/blog/fans-of-football/fans-of-football/ (Last Accessed -
[448] "Ginsters Extend Plymouth Argyle Sponsorship,"
http://www.footballshirtculture.com/Sponsorship/ginsters-extend-plymouth-argyle-shirt-sponsorship.html
(Last Accessed - 21/01/2020).

association and roots with Cornwall.[449] Many of the fans are keen that the company maintain their Cornish production in order to maintain their Cornish credentials given the protected status of the Cornish Pasty. In the same year however, an article on *Cornwall Live* was far more negative about the Cornish credentials of Ginsters, prompting this press-piece pushed by Ginsters to challenge the 'flurry of negative urban myths and legends' as they are 'puzzled and slightly hurt by what people in Cornwall might think of us'.[450] Far less compromising, the Edgcumbe Arms, a St Austell Brewery pub in Cremyll flies Cornish flags outside all year round as it faces the Tamar, a proud Cornish establishment that faces Plymouth. It is interesting how assorted brands have viewed their relationship between Cornwall and Plymouth.

Catchment areas can also be seen as crossing the border without raising conflict or concern. For example, Derriford Hospital is a community asset based in Plymouth that is very much shared with Cornwall. The hospital, first proposed in 1950 and finally built in 1981, has served a catchment that is not confined to the geographic confines of Plymouth City or even only Devon. The 2019 report from the University Hospitals Plymouth NHS trust, confirmed that 26% of its patients live in either North, East and South Cornwall. This is a higher percentage that from South and West Devon on the register of patients.[451] The dependency on Plymouth for hospital care is very evident. In fact, the history of Healthcare before the creation of the NHS was the South Devon and East Cornwall Hospital, now known as Plymouth General Hospital (Greenbank). Twice it was name-branded with East Cornwall, between 1840 – 1934 and again in 1948-1963. Contradictory to this, Rod Sheaff suggests that the Cornish healthcare was centralised at an 'accelerated rate' following the creation of the NHS and that 'since 1974 repeated NHS reorganisations have established ever more complex and stringent mechanisms for financing, managing, regulating and reforming the Cornish health system as a peripheral element in an ever more centralized English Health System'.[452] This forms part of a trend in British healthcare that has seen centralisation of hospital services set away from small community hospitals to encompass large hospitals in urban areas.[453] In this context, the remote communities of East Cornwall are therefore being forced to rely almost solely on healthcare in Plymouth and the English models.

 The justification in scientific academia for the use of Derriford, is that it is 'just over the county boundary' and that 'consideration of the population distribution and irregularity of the coastline and transportation network, indicates something of the inadequacy of conventional crow-fly distances in

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[449] "Re: Would You Buy an Argyle Shirt with a Gambling Sponsor?,"
https://pasoti.co.uk/talk/viewtopic.php?f=30&t=102273&start=26 (Last Accessed - 21/01/2020).
[450] "Ginsters and the inside Story on Cornwall's Biggest-Selling and Most Hated Pasties," *Cornwall Live*.
[451] "Annual Report & Accounts 2018-19." University Hospitals Plymouth NHS Trust, Plymouth, 2019.
[452] Rod Sheaff, "A Century of Centralization: Cornish Health and Healthcare," *CORNISH STUDIES-REDRUTH THEN EXETER-* (1996): 137.
[453] Joan Higgins, *The Future of Small Hospitals in Britain* (University of Southampton, 1993), 71.

estimating the actual barriers to travel between population and service locations in this type of rural environment'.[454] The article describes how 'The Cornwall Public Transport Timetable (Cornwall County Council, 1999) has been used as a data source for public transportation and all routes which connect directly to these hospital sites, or via Truro and Plymouth Bus Stations, have been encoded into a segment-based data structure'.[455] This demonstrates two key considerations; Firstly the importance of public transport, not only as a service to help people habitually, but also how the public transport network is shaping wider relationships and decision making for Cornwall. This is discussed further elsewhere. It also emphasises that whilst Cornwall Council proposes models of 'hubs' across Cornwall in their local plan, it is evident that in reality Cornwall has two competing urban centres, Truro and Plymouth, that serve the many sparse communities.

Conversely, a study in 2010 explored how devolution had disrupted the notion of a 'UK NHS' and created 4 NHS authorities which continue represent the majority of the Celtic Fringe. The research identified how more resources were being allocated in the Celtic Fringe historically, largely owing to the Barnett Formula, but concluded in agreement with the House of Lords Select Committee report into that formula, that funding should base on relative need not by per person.[456] Furthermore they quote from Hauck and Street's research, specifically exploring Hospitals on the border near North East Wales comparing pre and post-devolution NHS authorities in England and Wales. They found that NHS England hospitals were outperforming Welsh hospitals in terms of activity, without compromising on quality.[457] It mentions how 'joined up thinking' was being encouraged by the Welsh Government, but how the NHS took an insular view of Wales and its engagement with its own local governments, as opposed to being open to discussing the cross-border potential.

 Meanwhile, the *Cornwall Devolution Deal* 2015 according to the Department for Communities and Local Government, gives NHS Kernow and healthcare leaders the platform to integrate services and shape those services for Cornwall. They are still being held accountable to NHS England for targets and the UK Government for some funding decisions, and therefore is in danger of mirroring developments in the rest of the Celtic Fringe rather than learning lessons.[458] As has been the case with much of the Devolution settlement, this remains one of the areas still under development with the transformation underway. In the meantime, East Cornwall is becoming more dependent on the services at Derriford as local services continue to be cut internally in Cornwall and the shortfall

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[454] D. Martin et al., "Increasing the Sophistication of Access Measurement in a Rural Healthcare Study," *Health & Place* 8, no. 1 (2002): 8.
[455] Ibid.
[456] Sheelah Connolly, Gwyn Bevan, and Nicholas Mays, "Funding and Performance of Healthcare Systems in the Four Countries of the Uk before and after Devolution: A Longitudinal Analysis of the Four Countries, 1996/97, 2002/03 and 2006/07, Supplemented by Cross-Sectional Regional Analysis of England, 2006/07," (2010): 108.
[457] Ibid., 107.
[458] "Cornwall Devolution Deal: What Does It Mean?" HM Government, 2016.

being picked up by Plymouth's hospitals because of funding opportunities presented by NHS England.[459]

There are a number of the joint partnerships between Plymouth and Cornwall Councils, most notably the Tamar Ferry and Bridges, which are discussed elsewhere. The Mount Edgecumbe House and Country Park estate, which represents the historic legacy of the Edgecumbe family who for years were at the forefront of Cornish Politics is another important case study. The house built between 1547 and 1550 is situated on the Rame Peninsula, its 865 acres represent the dominance of the family in the area. The family's connections with Plymouth are well recognised and it is perhaps for this reason that in 1971 Plymouth & Cornwall Councils bought the site from the family and have managed the estate as a joint committee ever since. What is often not mentioned about this Cornish Stately home, is that part of the estate was formerly a detached part of Devon.[460] Here the history of land ownership has shaped the way in which people lay claim to what is rightfully belongs to them in the Anglo-Cornish context. Through the touristic gaze, the site itself lies ambiguously between the two regions, appearing on both the Visit Cornwall and Visit Plymouth pages respectively, both staking their claim to the popular attraction.

The competing narrative of the space and locality can be found in old travel journals. In 1872, John Timbs describes Mount Edgecumbe's location as 'occupying a peninsula forming the western boundary of Plymouth' and quotes Baretti, an Italian visiting in 1760 who described it as 'being a promontory which juts out into the sea on the right side of Plymouth harbour… one of the finest [situations in the world]… in Devonshire'.[461] This contradicts Cyrus Redding who wrote 30 years prior about how 'On the Cornwall side, after quitting the Narrows at Devil's Point, the private gardens at Mount Edgecumbe are perceived in all their redolence'.[462] A more nuanced interpretation describes how 'Part of Whitsand Bay is discernible over the narrow isthmus that connects the peninsula of Mount Edgecumbe with Cornwall'.[463] What is not disputed however is the importance of the family to the West Country as a whole. They served in numerous political capacities for Cornwall, Plymouth, and Devon. On the death of the family's last direct heir, the responsibility fell to a cousin from New Zealand who secured the sale to protect the historic site as a National Park. We find little evidence of controversy with this arrangement.

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[459] "Future of Three Closed Cornwall Hospitals to Be Undecided for Two Years," *Cornwall Live*, 3/10/18; "Frequently Asked Questions," https://www.kernowccg.nhs.uk/get-involved/engagement/integrated-community-services-plans/st-barnabas-community-hospital/frequently-asked-questions/ (Last Accessed - 23/12/19).
[460] J. Harvey, *Restoring Period Gardens: From the Middle Ages to Georgian Times* (Shire Publications, 1988), 59.
[461] J. Timbs and A. Gunn, *Abbeys, Castles and Ancient Balls of England and Wales, Their Legendary Lore, and Popular History. Re-Ed. By A. Gunn* (1872).
[462] C. Redding, *An Illustrated Itinerary of the County of Cornwall* (How and Parsons, 1842), 76.
[463] William Byers, *A Walk Round Mount-Edgecumbe*, 7 ed. (Plymouth: W. Byers, 1821), 11.

It continues to serve the community to this day. The Committee is led by both a Cornwall and Plymouth Councillor is a co-chairmanship role with equal power and representation. This is another indicator that the pooling of resources for common good of the local community is generally well received. Local governance does need to promote division, but instead can be a positive collaborative effort from all concerned parties, be they from Devon, Cornwall, or Plymouth.

An interview with a former Cornwall Councillor who served on both this Committee and the Torpoint Ferry & Tamar Bridge Joint Committee found they had a lot of similarities in how they worked. He reflected on how the house was 'an item of South East Cornwall identity', based on the membership from Cornwall comprised almost entirely of councillors from that part of Cornwall.[464] Being a Councillor from Cornwall, he reflected on the dichotomy of ownership that both felt over the site, though it is located in Cornwall. The impression he had from his time on the committees in the early 2000s was that it acted as the 'Green Lung' for Plymouth, and the impression that many more people from the City would travel to the Country Park for a day out than from Cornwall itself, though he couldn't prove in any statistics.[465] It was, as he described 'the jewel in their crown of their hinterland' whilst forgotten by large parts of Cornwall given that it was so far away from West Cornwall.[466] Discussions therefore moved onto how this was as an asset for most Plymothians and only some of the Cornish population. Hutzschrenreuter et al. raise the displacement of manmade political units around discussions of culture and the need for more 'relational turn' in terms of landmarks like this.[467] Thus whilst it might be in Cornwall, given that relative importance to Plymouth, it seems right that they would want to be active in maintain and developing an asset that culturally means a lot to the community. By ensuring balance in the Joint Committee, the interests of the visitor, and the interests of the Indigenous community where the site is situated are both balanced and discussed and therefore can be resolved without too much political controversy.

However, less successful to a certain extent, has been the development of a Cornish University, which was centred around the fact that students were being lost to other parts of the UK. There are several datasets that can be used to build an understanding of Higher Education in the East of Cornwall, but there are significant gaps in this research that perhaps suggest further discussions are required. However, the HESA has identified that the majority of students going on to Higher Education are studying in the South West.[468] The difficulty in assessing this data, lies in the fact that there is no breakdown statistics determining exactly where these students are actually going.

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[464] John Ault, interview by Thomas Fidler, 03/11/2020.
[465] Ibid.
[466] Ibid.
[467] Thomas Hutzschenreuter, Tanja Matt, and Ingo Kleindienst, "Going Subnational: A Literature Review and Research Agenda," *Journal of World Business* 55, no. 4 (2020): 10.
[468] HESA, "He Student Enrolments by Domicile and Region of He Provider 2014/15 to 2017/18."

However, one may infer based on POLAR4 data, representing the likelihood of students in an area going to University, that Plymouth plays a major role in students going to further education.

Mark Stone and Adrian Lee have documented the narrative of how the University of Plymouth sought to lead on higher and further education in South West since the 1970s with varying degrees of success.[469] They note the Cornwall 'Brain Train' which rather than keeping residents in Cornwall, in fact took them into Plymouth after some short lived ventures that had seen the City's University trying to spread the pupil population among the existing institutions in Cornwall.[470] The competition with the University of Exeter and its branding is described as a reason for failure in Cornwall. This is a just conclusion in the light of the success of the Combined Universities in Cornwall project which has delivered some of the aims of the University of Plymouth's aims in Cornwall. Deacon and Westland argue for a centre-periphery dynamic of further education and in celebrating their own institution talk about how 'the 'centre' [of one course] is the Department's base in Truro, housing offices and seminar rooms; the main venue is a nearby FE college with larger lecture rooms'.[471]

The Combined Universities in Cornwall began as a joint venture, but one cannot University of Plymouth made a significant early contribution in this process. Whilst Exeter took the lead on the development at Tremough, the University of Plymouth and Institute of Health Studies within, instigated the Peninsula Medical School. Furthermore, the University of Plymouth College Network still incorporates the two major colleges in Cornwall, offering more practical and apprenticeship styled courses for further education. The brand of Plymouth on education made their initial efforts unpopular, but as their work in Cornwall has developed, they have also incorporated a far more Kernow-centric perspective and branding. Therefore, whilst Plymouth is still exerting its soft influence over future generations of Cornish residents, the barriers to the potential disposition of a distinctive Cornish-led curriculum have receded.

It should be no surprise to those reading that Plymouth, given its city status and major industries has served the communities of not only East Cornwall but the whole of the Duchy. What this chapter has instead tried to focus on is how a formalisation of partnerships between Plymouth and East Cornwall have moulded the area, both through council and private company initiatives. There is a growing trend in academia to discuss the 'city-region', difficulties in this relationship have emerged as Plymouth has sought to exert its control by annexing territory from Cornwall as part of a wider Plymouth. Similar examples from Wales and the 'discovery' of the cross-border city region there led

[469] "The Upc Story: The Continuing Development of University of Plymouth Colleges." University of Plymouth, Plymouth, 2010.
[470] Ibid., 6.
[471] Bernard Deacon and Ella Westland, "Centering a Degree on the Periphery: Curriculum Design in Cornwall and the Politics of Place," in *Annual Standing Conference onUniversity Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults* (Exeter1998), 5.

the Celtic League to write in 2008 that, 'Cross-border cooperation may be all well and good economically, but when English Counties and Businesses are able to exert an influence over important local decisions such as housebuilding, then something has gone seriously wrong'.[472] Such moves by Plymouth across local decision-making, ranging from education to housebuilding, compromise the cultural border that exists. The exception to this has been Torpoint which has a far closer relationship with Plymouth and has seen the most formalised reterritorialization, as a part of a greater Plymouth. This has been largely owing to the growth of the town directly as a suburb of Plymouth following Urbanisation in the late nineteenth century. One could argue that Saltash and Gunnislake perhaps are softening their stance towards Plymouth, reflected in their desires to improve connectivity to the city. The sense of opposition from a Cornish perspective has certainly been inconsistent. With the increased blurring of the public and private spheres with many services tendered out to private companies, an increased diversification of attitudes towards Plymouth and the amount they engage.

The pressures of devolution to Scotland forced a significant shift in the response of local authorities in the North East of England and Cumbria, the re-emergence of the 'Borderlands' ideal have re-emerged, in which actors from both sides of the Scottish border could collaborate as 'a fresh perspective on how the Anglo-Scottish border' emerges. The development studies work, summarised by Shaw, Robinson & Blackie, suggests that this new collaboration 'provides an example showing how the abolition of the English regions provides an opportunity to think anew about the value and values of collaboration above the local level' given that 'the areas are similar in many economic and demographic indicators'.[473] This aligns with the theory surrounding 'soft borders' where the reconfiguration of space allows for an unbundling of sovereignty instead of devolution which creates the problems raised above.[474] This demonstrates the importance of establishing space and respecting boundaries for communities to move forward confidently that their identity is not being threatened.

This once again demonstrates the incongruity between identity, boundary formation and associated white papers which have been used in ways which are incompatible with the various and diverse identities of the United Kingdom. Plymouth has been guilty of straddling the City-Region Analytical Framework, uncertain whether in order to achieve its own aims, it needs to be nationalistic and politically driven or economically driven in its approach to regional shaping. Calzada and Bjork in comparing case studies from Cross-Border European cities have identified merits on either approach

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[472] Graham Haughton et al., *The New Spatial Planning: Territorial Management with Soft Spaces and Fuzzy Boundaries* (Routledge, 2009), 157.

[473] Keith Shaw, Fred Robinson, and Jonathan Blackie, "Borderlands: Rescaling Economic Development in Northern England in the Context of Greater Scottish Autonomy," *Local Economy* 29, no. 4-5 (2014).

[474] J. Mostov, *Soft Borders: Rethinking Sovereignty and Democracy* (Palgrave Macmillan US, 2008), 100.

but find little synergies in the processes and successes of the projects.[475] Though this conclusion would largely suggest that the relationship between East Cornwall and Plymouth is entirely undesirable, Plymouth is not always Cornwall's enemy, despite often being perceived so. In actual fact, evidence appears to suggest that partnerships can be successful as long as the project's Cornish credentials are not lost. In ethnographic studies, this would appear to be far more important to the Cornish population, but this is something that should be explored further. This chapter has focused far more on the official relationships between Plymouth and East Cornwall, but we can see how the grassroots have expressed some more tension in the formal relationships. Simultaneously, there is no clear timeline or significant turning point to indicate that Cornwall has a desire to embrace Urban growth out of Plymouth. As Coombes argues, 'there is an alternative conception of city-regions which does not presume such a dominant role for the city' which can be useful in Cornwall's case as, by protecting its own identity, is thus keen to appear shackleless from the growing influence of cities on the British economy and society.[476]

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[475] Igor Calzada and Fredrik Björk, "Cross Border City-Regions Beyond Nation-States: Basque & Oresund Comparative Cases" (paper presented at the Diverse Regions: Building Resilient Communities and Territories).
[476] Mike Coombes, "From City-Region Concept to Boundaries for Governance: The English Case," *Urban Studies* 51, no. 11 (2014): 2429.

Chapter 7 - Amalgamated Services & the practice of Cross-border Public services

This thesis has already established how the maps in certain areas do not conform to county boundaries resulting in the blurring of local authority areas. Similarly, the same distortion of Public Service borders also prevails resulting in 'messy' organisation. The spatial organisation of Public Services has been confused by consistent government policy since the 1960s pushing for a regionalist approach, one that neglects the County construction. This clashes with the Cornish communities belief in a Kernow-centric spatiality.

The provisions for Healthcare, Policing and Fire services are across Cornwall are inconsistent. Some are decided exclusively in Cornwall, some as part of partnerships with Devon and some more widely across the South West.[477] Discussing the merits and successes of these services within a disjointed approach and a comprehensive study of their provisions, is not something that this section can comment upon or analyse fully but should be discussed elsewhere. Nonetheless the narrative and discussion surrounding Public services reveals the complexities of competing identities within decision-making and negotiations surrounding blue-light services. We have already seen how the historic provision of service delivery has contributed to the desire of some areas to move between Devon and Cornwall.

The *Case for Cornwall*, produced in 2005, was a report co-authored by Cornwall County Council, the 6 District Councils of Cornwall, the Devon & Cornwall Police Authority and the Cornwall and Isles of Scilly NHS Health Authority. It was written as 'an eye-opening briefing on how Cornwall's public funding needs are not adequately addressed' and sought 'support in influencing the Government to take account of Cornwall's distinctiveness when allocating support in the future'.[478] Part of the justification for this need was that 'Cornwall cannot call on multiple neighbours for help — it's a maritime county with only one neighbour' drawing comparisons to the allowances made for Wales and Scotland in NHS funding amongst other requests.[479] A member of the Celtic Fringe, its landscape provided unique challenges that Cornwall sought to resolve alone. What this document did not highlight was the significant restructuring that has occurred surrounding public services and how they are delivered. This has resulted in an untidy map of exclusively Cornish-led services, some localised partnerships, and some South-West constructs. The situation surrounding the border and services has been a part of increasing public awareness in light of Cornish Devolution which has equally brought significant changes to the delivery of services.

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[477] Patrick Fuller, "The Future of the Emergency Services in England and Wales: An Examination Using Strategic Practitioner Perspective's" (Coventry University, 2015), 2.
[478] "Case for Cornwall." 2005.
[479] Samantha Rayne, "No Mere County? Cornwall and the Cornish in the Historiography of the Civil War," (2005), 2; "Case for Cornwall." 2005.

Disjointed borders and lack of uniformity across the board in service provision is having an impact on the very future of these services. Academia is beginning to explore more deeply the importance of borders in the delivery of services.[480] At this point we may consider Social Capital in the context of the provision of services. Putnam defined Social Capital, which underpins much of this section, as 'the features of social organizations such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate the coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit'.[481] There is evidence from Scandinavia that moving borders impacts on the trust in society based on historical relations, but suggests that trust can be built over time if the community is involved as part of the movement.[482] Therefore, this chapter will explore how the redrawing of boundaries and borders in the Cornish context has created issues but also found solutions to the provision of local services and how the battle of rhetoric really matters.

One of the key Public Services mentioned in a Journal article written in 1995 based a public survey was Policing. It was conducted by the Devon & Cornwall Police Force and reiterated 'the link with the community is seen as crucially important by the vast majority of those surveyed', an unsurprising development within a landscape of communities that have maintained a strong sense of place.[483] One Policeman, who joined in 1983 stated in an interview with Retired members of the force how 'I was totally overjoyed and shocked when I was accepted into Devon and Cornwall Police, because I'd heard that they were only recruiting local people into the roles. The Force at that stage was still being heralded as the one that was community based. Being from the Black Country, I didn't think they were going to accept me'.[484] This emphasised how integral the community was to the Police force and perhaps explains how, even after the merger engagement was important even though 'county and city boundaries no longer existed… and local identity started to erode'.[485]

Therefore, exploring how this 'social aspect of Policing' has been affected by significant reorganisation and rationalisation and comparing the experience on either bank of the Tamar, demonstrates some of the areas of similarity and differences in the profile of those living on either side of the River.

Deacon, Cole & Tregidga believe that the amalgamation of Cornish and Devonian Police forces in 1966 represented an early example of a Devonwall agenda. It sought to erode the value and degree of separation of Cornwall with the rest of England.[486] The suggestion is that this amalgamation was

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[480] C. Pollitt, *New Perspectives on Public Services: Place and Technology* (OUP Oxford, 2012).

[481] Robert D Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (Simon and schuster, 2000), 67.

[482] Rasmus Fonnesbaek Andersen, "Trust in Scandinavia: Findings from Moving Borders between Denmark and Germany," *Scandinavian Political Studies* 41, no. 1 (2018).

[483] Janet Redshaw and Frank Sanders, "What Does the Public Want," *Policing* 11, no. 1 (1995): 60.

[484] Mark Rothwell and Kim Stevenson, *50 Years of Policing in Devon and Cornwall* (Plymouth: University of Plymouth, 2017), 32.

[485] Ibid., 1.

[486] Deacon, Cole, and Tregidga,2003, 47.

one driven by Central Government, however the Memorandum of Evidence from Cornwall County Council for the Royal Commission on Local Government in England, suggests that the County Council were complicit in the process. They state, 'if it were decided, for instance, to have a larger authority to administer police functions this should certainly not lead to any other functions going to a larger authority'.[487] Thus, whilst their comments are quite clear that this would only apply to Policing, it suggests there is scope for consider of amalgamation on a case by case basis. That being said, given the rest of the evidence provided as discussed in the Local Boundary Commissions section, they still believed in self-sufficiency and exhibited a strong sense of spatial awareness that Cornwall was a defined entity not to be changed.

'Though the Cornwall County force has long since vanished in an amalgamation with Devon Police to become the Devon and Cornwall Constabulary, the 1988 programme of the Cornwall Police Choir tells how it was 'founded in 1956 to celebrate, the following year, the Centenary of the Cornwall Constabulary, [and its] members still proudly wear those buttons and insignia on their choir uniforms'.[488] This defiance to losing its connection to the County remains in the strong Cornish tradition of maintaining identity.

Equally outraged by the reconfiguration of the Police force in 1967 were the West Devonian Police force who were 'entrenched into the Plymouth City Police mould', but who maintained a different identity as the 'County Men'.[489] Whilst amalgamated however, the two units were distinguishable by their uniforms and helmets. However, Simon Dell MBE who wrote about his experiences and reflections on serving in the Devonian Police Force for 32 years, argues that the influence of the City would continue to shape the county of Devon through into the 1990s. He states how 'the radio system and communications remained at Plymouth, as they had done, with little interruption since 1948. The influence of the Plymouth City and its travelling Offender could not be overlooked'.[490] What is lacking from Dell's narrative is the threat to identity and as such, whilst he feels the presence of the city has irrevocably changed the internal dynamics of the Police force, the tone is different to that from the Cornish viewpoint. This difference in attitude may be due based on how the boundaries of Plymouth have varied in West Devon greatly and as such a number of communities in the area have been encompassed as part of Plymouth and various times in Local Government reorganisations.

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[487] "Royal Commission on Local Government in England - Memorandum of Evidence" 28th October 1966.
[488] Malcolm Young, *An inside Job: Policing and Police Culture in Britain* (Oxford University Press, USA, 1991), 33.
[489] Simon Dell, Devon, and Constabulary Cornwall, *The Beat on Western Dartmoor : A Celebration of 150 Years of the Policing of Tavistock* (Newton Abbot: Forest in association with the Devon & Cornwall Constabulary, 1997), 50.
[490] Ibid., 52.

Whilst both accounts from Devon and Cornwall suggest that their Police forces were the ones to lose out the most in the merger, Richard Brown, who served during this period reflected on how 'the Plymouth City lot knew what the city was about', but when they were merged 'it became very fragmented'. In the process of the merger 'there were some members of the Plymouth City Police force who gave up their right to stay in the city, because you had a choice; you either accepted moving away to another part of the force or you didn't'.[491]

Timothy Brain has written on how the Police Act 1964 was cleverly actioned as such a widescale reduction in Police forces, it would discourage local resistance, something which was achieved.[492] The amalgamation of Cornwall, Devon and Plymouth was just part of a widescale change as 117 forces were reduced to forty-nine. Nonetheless, there was still some active local protest about what was proposed for South-West Britain.

It is a unanimous view that even following the merger, territorial knowledge and integrity was still engrained in the culture of the serving Police force, no matter which authority you had previously belonged to. What stands out in both scenarios is the vital importance of retaining pride and a sense of place in the Police Force for those serving in it. This has often been facilitated through the use of the symbolic parts of the uniform which are retained. Current Policy is to continue to drive a regional agenda, one that is threatening localised identity and therefore meeting increased resistance.[493]

This can be further evidenced in the response from the public survey conducted on behalf of the Devon & Cornwall Police and Dorset Police forces in 2018, over a proposed merger between the authorities. The Report, which also explored staff attitudes towards the merger, saw telephone, paper and online questionnaires being completed by people from Devon, Cornwall & Dorset. Most importantly in this merger though, is the way in which the public can share in the decision to oppose the merger because of clear communication between the public and the Authorities, something which was lacking when Devon & Cornwall first combined as one force.[494]

Several parts of the report demonstrate some of the concerns people have with the terminology of 'merging':

As well as being the County generating most opposition to the merger when directly asked as part of the data set, the qualitative responses, being the opportunity for people to write their own comments emphasised that Cornwall felt most threatened by this merger. The most popular

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[491] Rothwell and Stevenson,2017, 31.
[492] T. Brain, *A History of Policing in England and Wales from 1974: A Turbulent Journey* (OUP Oxford, 2010), xii.
[493] Fuller, 60.
[494] Paul Sturges and Louise Cooke, "Finding the Grey in the Blue: Transparency and Disclosure in Policing," *GREY JOURNAL-AMSTERDAM- 4*, no. 1 (2008): 1578.

comment made, was that 'the proposed merger would be inefficient/impractical – area too large/forces and needs of counties too different'. [495] Cornwall provided the bulk of this targeted response. Furthermore, Cornish respondents too argued that 'the proposed merger would be bad for Cornwall and Devon would benefit more' as well as choosing to write that 'Other mergers have not been successful / learn from other mergers'. [496] The message from Cornwall particularly was that merging was not seen as an option. It would have been useful to have had some data of the then current condition of the strategic alliance, which meant that territory was retained.

Research on private sector cross-border mergers in Scandinavia, found that 'In the cross-border merger setting, for example, national identification plays a key role when the people involved make sense of their new situation, their role, and their own identity and that of others, of the organizational changes they experience and of their joint future. The interesting thing about these identifications is not whether they represent 'facts' or refer to any particular kind of organizational 'reality', but that they — at a certain time and in a specific context — represent shared meanings'.[497] Whilst the subject matter is different, the Police force aspect will only heighten this sentiment, especially given the political competition that surrounds it, but also its role in national identity in Britain.[498]

Whilst delivery is not a focus of this thesis, Nick Lynn conducted research on the relationship between Police and Mental Health services in Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly on behalf of the Authorities. His report stated that 'initial fact-finding phase of the research showed, the relationship between Police and Mental Health services has been strained and very often non-existent'. He pointed to a number of ways in which the experience of East Cornwall differed from that in other parts of Cornwall. [499] Presented in 2011, it suggests that there was a difference in perception and delivery of public services in East Cornwall and a perceived lack of joined-up thinking across the various bodies.[500] It is interesting to see that since then, far more has been done to connect services in order to perhaps deal with the gaps that were identified in the diverse landscape of Cornwall, not least in the East where there was already limited provision despite an increasing population.

In the section on Plymouth, I have already raised the issue of how Hospital coverage is provided by the City to large swathes of East Cornwall and some facilities for the whole of the County. A 2016 report into healthcare still found the following, 'Access to services that are available close to work or home and easy to access was more of a priority for more remote towns that are further from

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[495] "Devon & Conwall Police and Dorset Police Proposed Merger Survey." 2018.

[496] Ibid.

[497] Janne Tienari et al., "Gender and National Identity Constructions in the Cross-Border Merger Context," *Gender, Work & Organization* 12, no. 3 (2005).

[498] R. Reiner, *The Politics of the Police* (OUP Oxford, 2010), 67.

[499] Nicholas J Lynn, "Working Together?," (2011): 53.

[500] Ibid.

the main hospitals in Truro, Plymouth or Exeter, in particular, Penzance, Fowey, Wadebridge, Bude and St Marys on the Isles of Scilly'.[501] What stands out from this comment is how a core-periphery model is also visible within the construction of Cornwall.

The controversy arises from the running of NHS and Public Health provision in discussions of localism and Devolution.[502] As part of the Cornwall Devolution Deal, 'Boundaries are coterminous, so devolution will involve a single Council, CCG, Health and Wellbeing board, Acute Trust, Mental Health trust, community provider and GP federation'. Cornwall has benefitted from being 'an integration pioneer' that has seen a significant amount of rebordering established.[503] What this demonstrates is how Cornwall is actively trying to re-establish the same border in Public Service provision. By doing so though, it made significant changes to the way it operated, particularly in East Cornwall.

The desire to reclaim the border is born out of the pressures being expressed to work on a South-West model. As recently as 2012 in the PenCLAHRC, Central or National organisations have developed approaches on establishing local priorities on a regional basis.[504] This was preceded by the South West Ambulance Service increasing the size of the West Country Ambulance Service in 2006. The early 1990s had already seen national legislation develop the service with a new hub in Plymouth, for the whole of Cornwall & the Isles of Scilly, Devon & Dorset. As such a paradox is created; A national agenda endorsing regionalisation in contrast to a localised Cornish agenda to drive a Kernow-centric project.

Papers from Joint Committees of the border communities demonstrate the ways in which care had been delivered in partnerships and illustrate the value of Devonian services for most key medical provisions for the region. Cornwall Partnership NHS Foundation Trust's *Summary Strategic Plan Document for 2014-19* established that 'the aim is to move towards care which is provided through multi professional teams, across the County and across organisational boundaries to support people at home, intervene quickly and appropriately when necessary, building social capital and community resilience thus reducing reliance on traditional hospital facilities'.[505] All of this suggests ways in which the notion of barriers should be removed from the delivery of Public Service.

In the aftermath of Cornish Devolution, the 2016 Cornwall Council report on public engagement found people living in Cornwall believed 'there is fragmentation of services across borders both

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[501] "Shaping the Future of Health and Social Care in Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly." Cornwall Council, Truro, 2016.

[502] D. Birrell, *The Impact of Devolution on Social Policy* (Policy Press, 2009), 55.

[503] "Devolution: What It Means for Health and Social Care in England." The King's Fund, 2015.

[504] Rebecca Whear et al., "Establishing Local Priorities for a Health Research Agenda," *Health Expectations* 18, no. 1 (2015).

[505] "Summary Strategic Plan Document for 2014-19." 2014.

locally within county and between Cornwall and Devon, in particular, there is a lack of information sharing across services and borders which impacts people'.[506] Further difficulties may be found in the devolved landscapes that have also seen Plymouth given further devolved powers as part of a series of City deals which may well threaten development of healthcare provision in Cornwall yet again.[507] Devolution has been delivered, it has been argued, with 'a lack of constitutional coherence. It has evolved piecemeal, in asymmetric and specific fashion in each case, making public understanding harder'.[508] Given that devolution has been delivered at the same time, it may be that the negotiations can be considered fully from both sides of the border, or it may be the case, that areas close to the border suffer from the lack of clarity in competing documents and deals. At the time of writing, it would be premature to decide, but it does suggest that Devolution may not be the perceived improvement but in fact a hindrance for those in bordering areas.

Having said this, one could argue devolution settlements have encouraged NHS bodies in Cornwall, to consolidate further to create a Cornwall-sized framework in the delivery of healthcare. The NHS Kernow Clinic Commissioning Group does cover the whole geographical area of Cornwall and covers a number of clinics, including dedicated clusters for North and East Cornwall which include the border areas GP practices. However, it does not cover all NHS Services with the notable exception of Hospitals.

In 2014 Peninsula Community Health, who ran Poltair Hospital and a number of other Primary Care facilities, considered merging with the Cornwall Partnership NHS Foundation Trust, though their contract would be not be extended before this became a reality. However, their facilities and staff largely became part of the Cornwall Partnership with the exception of Poltair which was closed permanently. There was also expressed interest from the Royal Cornwall Hospital NHS Trust, though again this would not be possible, owing to problems in the wider healthcare economy that needed first resolving.[509] Nonetheless, prior to this collapse they did establish a Provider Board in May 2017 which was 'not a 'merger' between organisations but a joint effort to integrate services wherever possible in a way that benefits people and their clinical outcomes'.[510] Thus the void in the map of Cornwall's NHS Hospital services has been far more aligned, except for East Cornwall. Whilst small Community Hospitals were available in Launceston, Stratton and Saltash, operated by

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[506] "Shaping the Future of Health and Social Care in Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly." Cornwall Council, Truro, 2016.

[507] David M. Smith and Enid Wistrich, *Devolution and Localism in England* (Farnham, UNKNOWN: Taylor and Francis, 2014), 88.

[508] Patrick Dunleavy, Alice Park, and Ros Taylor, *The Uk's Changing Democracy the 2018 Democratic Audit* (London: LSE Press, 2018), 272.

[509] "Trusts Halt Merger Plans after Nhs Improvement Feedback," https://www.hsj.co.uk/cornwall-partnership-nhs-foundation-trust/trusts-halt-merger-plans-after-nhs-improvement-feedback-/7021428.article (Last Accessed -

[510] "Chief Executive Report." Royal Cornwall Hospitals NHS Trust, 2017.

the Cornwall Partnership, these have been subject to sudden closures either entirely, or specified facilities. This has thus increased the pressure for University Hospitals Plymouth NHS Trust to deliver facilities for the area, through Liskeard and Bodmin hospitals. An underlying problem with this Trust appears to be a disconnect with local services; The Trust reported 'A survey of local GPs was sent via email from our Associate Medical Director for Primary Care to GPs in Plymouth and East Cornwall. Primary care is difficult to engage with and the response was low, with 22 GPs coming back'.[511] This is further concerning when '78% felt relationships between clinical teams could be improved' with themes for improvement including 'a lack of joined up IT, poor communication, lack of clear lines of communication/advice'.[512] Whilst this data is not specific to East Cornwall it suggests that as a unit, the area lacks a cohesive strategy and voice, and no doubt the border will play some role in this given that its catchment straddles both Devon and Cornwall as well as the city itself.

In 2019, the Royal Cornwall Hospital Trust stated 'our geography means that for much of the Cornwall and Isles of Scilly population, we are the only acute provider which can be easily accessed. The Isles of Scilly also present a further challenge to the provision of care due to their inaccessibility at times throughout the year. Whilst people living towards the east of the county may access services in Devon, for the majority of Cornwall, we are it'.[513] The majority, whilst not underlined, represent the body of West and Mid Cornwall. These comments appear to align to the Peninsula Clinical Services Strategy, established in 2019 with the aim of 'Providing safe, high quality, affordable clinical care which provides equitable outcomes and timely access for the people of Cornwall and Devon through a sustainable network of local and specialist services that will attract and retain the high calibre workforce we need'.[514] This suggests that there will be an empowerment of local decision making bodies, but that the border territories, will remain on the periphery of models and likely rely on cross-border services.

The Fire Service has been forced to adapt to the ever-changing picture of local governance but has also continued to serve non-uniform borders. Whilst the service has operated on a County-basis since it was decentralised in 1948, belonging either to Cornwall or Devon County Authorities, their jurisdictions have not conformed to County Boundaries. Provision under the 1947 Fire Services Act meant that there are some areas of Cornwall that are served by Devonian Fire Crews. Likewise, parts of Devon are served by Cornish Fire Brigades in order to provide 'the most effective fire cover'.[515] This means that Launceston Fire Station remains serving as the official fire service covering

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[511] "Healthier Lives: Making a Difference." University Hospitals Plymouth NHS Turst, 2019.
[512] Ibid., 24.
[513] "Rhct Strategy 2019-2022." 2019.
[514] "Peninsula Clinical Services Strategy." 2019.
[515] Graham G. Edwards, "Fire and Emergency Planning" (paper presented at the Saltash/Torpoint Local Member Steering Group, Cornwall County Council, 9th October 1995).

Broadwoodwidger, Lifton and St Giles on the Heath, part of its almost 200 mile coverage area. Other anomalies in the area cover map that were located in North Cornwall and Devon appear no longer to remain, but recent news reports show how fire response in the border areas is still handled collectively through shared response where necessary. There does not appear to be any specific documentation about how this arrangement came into being, but perhaps it is living proof of how residing at the border is shaping service provision.

In the 1990s the position was outlined 'as a consequence of the reorganisation of the Brigade from a two divisional command concept to that of today's eight Area Commands with the two divisional headquarters being predesignated as Eastern and Western Group Administrative Offices'.[516] Given Cornwall's landmass, which is often raised as one of the unique facets of Cornwall as an administrative region, it is unsurprising that the need to divide the force into separate divisions was necessary. However, there are two aspects of the rationalisation of the Fire Service that remain important here. One is that the Eastern Administrative Offices remain based at Bodmin, an area that has been promoted as a hub for the East Cornwall region. Historically the profile of Bodmin was distinguished as the County Town of Cornwall, now it is fulfilling the role for the Eastern area, despite it being recognised for its location as the 'geographical centre' by Cornwall Council.[517] Once again the language that distinguishes between centre and eastern can often cause conflict, as seen in responses to the Boundary Commissions, both local and Westminster. However, the two Areas have since been consolidated into one new headquarter, interestingly located at Tolvaddon, near Camborne, but the local divisions and stations have remained. In line with amalgamation of the District Councils into Cornwall Unitary Authority we can also see how the fire service is moulded to follow this model unlike the other Emergency Services.

Retaining its independence as a Cornish Authority has not come without threats from South West Models. In 2013, Cornwall Council voted unanimously to retain the running of this service in Cornwall and repeated their opposition to passing responsibility of the Fire Service, to the Police and Crime Commissioner, when proposals were raised by David Cameron's Government in 2015. Geoff Brown, Cabinet Member for Communities at Cornwall Council in 2015 wrote to the Guardian that 'Though I will resist the handover of fire services to the PCC, I am not averse to closer blue-light integration – but it needs to be at an operational level'.[518] In the case of the Fire Service this can be seen by it continuing to be a member of the South West Emergency Services Collaboration Forum, adopting the policy of 'Mutual assistance' that was encouraged in the 2004 Fire

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[516] A. Ivan Rabey, *Cornwall County Fire Brigade, 1948-1998 : The First 50 Years* (St. Columb: I. Rabey, 1998), 117.

[517] "Bodmin Conservation Area Character Appraisal and Management Plan." Cornwall Council, Truro, 2012.

[518] "In Cornwall, We Refuse to Give up Our Fire Service to the Police Commissioner," *The Guardian*, 14th September 2015.

and Rescue Act. Interestingly an article in *UK Fire* states how 'Cornwall Fire and Rescue Service Critical Control Centre works in partnership with North Yorkshire Fire and Rescue Service to provide a resilient network' and thus how borders and service delivery have changed in an increasingly connected and globalised world.[519] A high-profile incident in which North Yorkshire Fire Teams were sent to the wrong address by a responder in Cornwall gained significant media attention in Yorkshire but averted any media backlash in Cornwall as the reverse did not occur.[520] This is in contrast to the proposals scrapped in 2010 for the FiReControl project, which was designed to consolidate the Devon and Somerset, Dorset, Avon, Cornwall, Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Fire and Rescue Services Control Centres operating as one as the South West.

The FiRe Control Project undoubtedly suffered as it was a national project; The National Audit Office concluded in its report that 'the approach and regional structure underpinning the project were not generally supported by those that were essential to its success – Fire and Rescue Services. The Department did not make sufficiently clear the case for a centrally dictated standard model of emergency call handling and mobilisation, operating from new purpose-built regional control centres. From the start many local Fire and Rescue Authorities and their Fire and Rescue Services criticised the lack of clarity on how a regional approach would increase efficiency. Early on, the Department's inconsistent messages about the regionalisation of the Fire and Rescue Service led to mistrust and some antagonism'.[521] This was reflected in the Cornish response in which 'Critics raised concerns that if local knowledge was lost because calls were being answered in Somerset instead of Cornwall it could affect response times and risk lives'.[522] Given that Cornwall would develop the scheme with North Yorkshire in 2013, for implementation in 2016 of a shared control centre, after this proposal, it suggests that Cornish opposition was far more directed towards a south-west construction than the pooling of resources for mutual assistance.

A solution to ease pressures on these services and to improve community engagement has been the development of Tri-Service Officers. These new officers, funded by all three emergency services, primarily focus on engagement, early intervention, prevention and reducing demand for police, fire and ambulance service as well as responding to critical incidents on behalf of the fire and ambulance service'.[523] These were initially introduced in a pilot scheme in Camborne, but have, since 2019, been expanded to cover 10 locations across Cornwall. Notably, the location of these servicemembers appears to link with those remote areas identified in the health report of 2016

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[519] "Cornwall Fire and Rescue Service," *UK Fire Magazine*, 12th February 2020.
[520] "Yorkshire Fire Crews Sent to Wrong Address by Cornwall Control Centre," *Yorkshire Post*, 13th April 2017.
[521] "The Failure of the Fire Control Project." National Audit Office, 2011.
[522] "Fire Control Centre Scrapping Welcomed in Cornwall," https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-cornwall-12042027 (Last Accessed -
[523] "Tri-Service Safety Officers," https://www.devon-cornwall.police.uk/news/behind-the-blue-line/tri-service-safety-officers/ (Last Accessed - 07/04/2020).

including Bude. Through this scheme, Cornwall was able to deliver additional resources to its public services that operated on a far more localised basis that followed the policy of decentralisation that Cornwall had sought. Since 2017 when Cornwall Council first asked this question in its Residents Survey, the satisfaction in Fire and Rescue had increased which suggests that improvements in this service are working, but as no breakdown of the statistics are available for responses based on location, we can ascribe little value to this thesis as to whether the border communities have any difference of opinion.[524]

At the time of expansion, similar projects were being developed in Devon, known as 'Community Responders' who appear to undergo the same training but operate in Devonian localities.[525] Barring the Cornish Fire & Rescue Service, the Devonian officer budget coming from the joint Devon& Somerset Service, the funding for these officers has been jointly shared again by the same authorities, yet the branding is different. One may infer that the 'one size fits all' ideal of the regional authorities are having to tailor and deliver localised services and in doing so recognise the individual differences in the landscapes of Devon and Cornwall. Promoting the schemes independently of each other gives the impression that these two roles are distinctive, tailored to each locality. This may indicate how despite being centralised, localism and identity on each side of Devon-Cornwall border requires changes in the rhetoric.[526]

The issue of Public Service is Cornwall is not about delivery of service, but far more about including local decision makers in the process and empowering the Cornish communities. The 1990s – 2010s, sought to bring about 'bounded rationality', one that was incompatible with Cornwall and its desires of autonomy and the 'hybrid nature of statecraft' that were built on border reconfiguration.[527] Progress following Devolution seems to be fulfilling the criteria of branding Cornwall and delivering its services within a Cornish framework, or at least one that is sympathetic to the various communities that make up Cornwall. In 2015, Geoff Brown said 'However, should an opportunity arise for the council to take responsibility for Cornwall's police, it could be a different matter and one that might just receive more widespread support' and in a post-devolution Cornwall we can see how they have tried to work around existing structures to provide increased resource locally. Some of this has been delivered by working in partnerships, however these are working most effectively in models in which Cornwall does not appear to be lost to a South-West construction.

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[524] "Residents' Survey Report July 2019." 2019.

[525] "New Combined Emergency Services Responders for Communities in Devon," https://www.devonandcornwall-pcc.gov.uk/news-and-blog/multimedia-hub/new-combined-emergency-services-community-responders-for-communities-devon/ (Last Accessed -

[526] J. Newman and J. Clarke, *Publics, Politics and Power: Remaking the Public in Public Services* (SAGE Publications, 2009), 3.

[527] Patrick Diamond, "New Labour, Politicisation and Depoliticisation: The Delivery Agenda in Public Services 1997–2007," *British Politics* 10, no. 4 (2015): 445.

The balance of power in negotiations over local services appears to be unresolved. Perception matters as demonstrated by the aftermath of the North East England devolution referendum in which 'There was also a strongly held view that the regional level had stripped powers and responsibilities from local government'.[528] In fact when this was developed, the first thing to go was local decision making over fire and emergency services which suggests that Public service provision using the county spatialization is the most direct threat from regionalisation.

At this juncture it is worth considering that based on the Cornwall Council's residents Survey in 2019, through whom much of the liaison with Public Services in conducted, found that East Cornwall believed Cornwall Council were making the area a better place to live which suggests policies of mutual assistance in public services and public provision could be higher where they are most visible.[529] This is a limited but effective way of measuring peoples' satisfaction in public emergency service provision, especially given that no one ant to use them unless they have to. Rhys Andrews article argues of how in different localities, the empirical evidence for measuring residents opinion is difficult and may not align with the actual quality of management'.[530] Nonetheless, this may be a sign of a positive future.

Perhaps the Tri-Service officers are able to fulfil the gaps in the services that might be affected both close to the border and further afield, but this thesis is not intended as a study of the effectiveness of public services, simply their perceptions and the identity issues that arise in the decision-making process. What also resonates is that even if the border is respected and Cornwall takes a far more introspective approach, for border communities there will remain a level of share partnerships to be able to deliver what residents will expect having used services in Devon for many years. As such, radical reconceptualization of space and place will serve the parts of Cornwall already served by Cornwall based services, but the border communities it would appear are still going to experience a hybrid service. Schneider discusses the need for 'bridging social capital' for welfare reform, the difficulty appears to be the constantly moving gateposts and lack of community input in the Cornish example.[531] Perhaps even if partnerships are maintained, but that the delivery of services are established within the construct of Cornwall, the core-periphery issues of funding and delivery will not clash with identity borders.

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[528] John Mawson, "Regional Governance in England: Past Experience, Future Directions?," *The International Journal of Public Sector Management* 20, no. 6 (2007).
[529] 2019.
[530] Rhys Andrews, "Social Capital and Public Service Performance: A Review of the Evidence," *Public Policy & Administration* 27 (2012): 59.
[531] J.A. Schneider, *Social Capital and Welfare Reform: Organizations, Congregations, and Communities* (Columbia University Press, 2006), 37.

Chapter 8 - Cross Border Initiatives – A Shared space, a Shared identity?

In the context of the Cornwall-Devon border, some of these borderlands have been designated for preservation. The Tamar Valley as an area of outstanding natural beauty for its natural landscape, and the Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape, a UNESCO world heritage site for the human geographical dynamics, both of which transcend the traditional border of Cornwall as an entity. The shared Mining Heritage landscape is recognition of the history of commerce and enterprise that has been a longstanding relationship across the Tamar, whilst the Tamar Valley is shaped by the natural environment. In fact, even this history of man has been shaped by the natural resources of the land, demonstrating how there is common ground that is sometimes as much between Devon & Cornwall that unites them as divides them. The growth and development of these cross-border initiatives not only helps to preserve and nurture the existing landscape, but also offers opportunity for future investment to support the communities that are often on the fringes of both their constituent localities.

Whilst the Tamar Valley may present the defining feature of the local government division, has actually been at the heart of the re-organisation of space. The area, with its rich history of industrial development and natural beauty has a long history that is now recognised and designated so that the historical prowess of the region is recognised and protected. This relates closely to Brambilla's theory of the usefulness of 'Borderscapes', discussing how we are now looking at 'alternative border imaginaries 'beyond the line' in that regardless of the border, there are areas of shared space.[532]

Amelina's studies of sociocultural boundaries suggests that 'Entangled History' provides perspectives that are able to 'avoid the ethnocentric arguments in the style of the concepts of social space and social field that generalise the singular experience of Western societies'.[533] The Area of Natural Beauty and a large section of the UNESCO World Heritage designation represent a shared space that has great cultural value to Devon and Cornwall, a narrative of transregional human geography across the border.

One would presume therefore that a balance of power and rhetoric is met that is of equal value to both agents involved in the borderlands. However, these new opportunities for regeneration and preservation express that the necessary dominance Cornish Civil Society is still largely shaping the future of the region in spite of partnerships with external bodies. For the functioning relationship, there is an uneven balance of Devonian and Cornish input that strays from the entangled history of the Cornwall-Devon border, particularly the human engagement with the natural landscape. This is

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[532] Chiara Brambilla, "Exploring the Critical Potential of the Borderscapes Concept," *Geopolitics* 20, no. 1 (2015): 17.
[533] A. Amelina, *Transnationalizing Inequalities in Europe: Sociocultural Boundaries, Assemblages and Regimes of Intersection* (Taylor & Francis, 2016), 79.

particularly prevalent in the mining heritage, although the Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty perhaps demonstrates how the narrative of shared space has evolve, how the Cornish communities have connected with their landscape in a far more active way, but also how the identity of the Tamar Valley competes with the regional identities.

One cross border initiative that has been created is the Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty of the Tamar Valley. The area designated does not include the urban hub of Plymouth or the larger towns of Tavistock, Saltash, Torpoint, Callington, Gunnislake or Yelverton, but does include several small towns and villages that line the banks of the Tamar, the Tavy, and the estuaries thereof. As a remit, it spans two counties, five local authority areas and twenty-four parishes, demonstrating the scale of the project, as demonstrated in the below figure. It's curious outline reflects some of the tensions with existing protected areas, but also its division as 2 units reflects the urbanisation of Plymouth and the surrounding towns on the map. As an opportunity for collaboration based on locality, this shows the successes that one can have in a Tamar Valley construct, but also the level of preservation that resonates on both sides of the border.

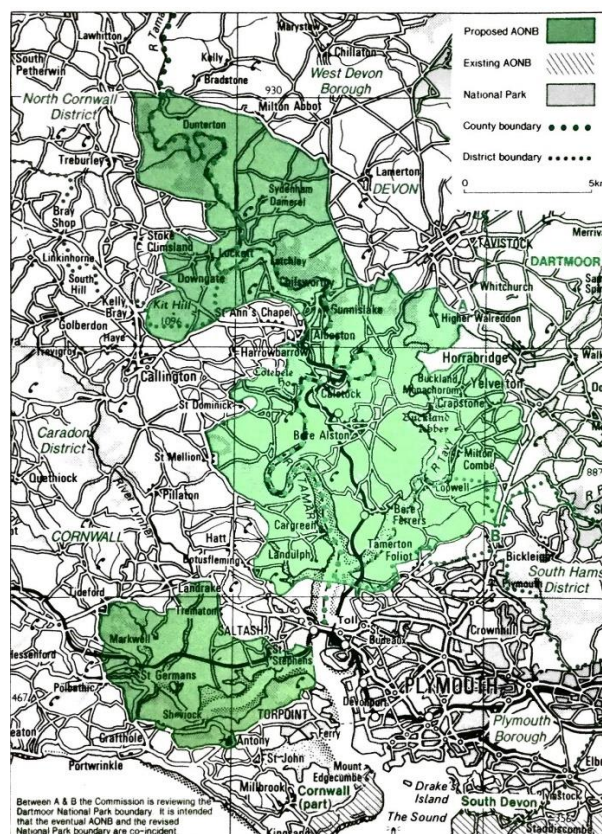*Figure 9 - Map of the proposed Tamar Valley Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty, 1992[534]*

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[534] "Tamar Valley Proposed Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty - Draft Statement of Intent." Tamar Valley, Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty, 1992.

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Herzog has explored ecology and International Borders and argues that there are 3 critical factors that shape the environmental preservation in borderlands.[535] The article argues there is a desire to protect the ecosystems in these areas, and that appears apparent from the case study of the Tamar Valley, and despite focusing on international case studies, this can be localised. His first argument related to laws and institutional capacities; the latter is important for who is in the position to protect the area best. His second is about cultural views and there is evidence of a disparity in priority favouring the Cornish side over the Devonian. The third discusses the cross-border management, and this is where the Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty designation offered an established framework to monitor the ecology of the borderlands.[536]

The proposals presented by Devon and Cornwall County Councils for designation began in 1963, but it was not until 1995 that the status was granted to the area. Part of the delay had been the desire of Cornwall County Council to include the Lynher Estuary as part of the area which had been part of the Countryside Commission's programme of designation since 1983 which it has succeeded in achieving.[537]

Virginia Spiers, a regular reporter on the Tamar Valley as part of the 'A Country Diary' section of *The Guardian* hails the official recognition 'a fillip to groups such as the Tamar Protection Society which has striven for many years to protect the area's unique character from exploitation and will help the planning authorities ensure that any future development is in keeping with the area'.[538] The history of the Tamar Protection Society is one which has strong Cornish roots for its cross-border remit of the Valley and the ecology and local history of the local villages and countryside.

Born from local resistance to the installation of a pylon line up the Tamar Valley to Tavistock in 1967 by the South Western Electricity Board, the Tamar Protection Society formalised the desire to protect the natural beauty of the area. Despite this cross-border outlook from the start, they appear to take a Cornwall-Centric focus in their projects. They continued this campaign into the seventies with their challenges to the proposal for a power station at Innsworke Point, near Millbrook and have gone to significant lengths in Saltash to protect historic buildings in the town centre. But importantly, they remained key driver in the area's designation. There is no evidence of any similar campaigns or societies working similarly on the Devonian side of the border, which could imply one of two things. Either that Devonians are content with their area and trust in local government to represent them, or that they simply are not as interested in preserving their area as much as those

[535] Lawrence A. Herzog, "Globalisation, Place and Twenty-First-Century International Border Regions: An Introduction to the Special Issue," *Global Society* 28, no. 4 (2014): 394.
[536] Ibid.
[537] Tamar Valley, Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty, 1992.
[538] "A Country Diary," *The Guardian (1959-2003)*, 11/08/
1995 Nov 08.

from Cornwall. The groups legacy can be seen in the activity in 2014 to reduce the impact of power lines and pylons in the area that is reported in several news outlets and through their work to preserve historic buildings in Saltash.

Therefore it seems that the AONB was a natural course for local residents given that 'Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB) in England and Wales have, as their principal purpose, 'to conserve natural beauty".[539] There is a growing pressure across the UK for these areas to reflect on their methodology and approach regarding development. Some of this pressure is mitigated by the importance of the land to Plymouth's Green Space Strategy, for which the Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty has its own pressures.[540] This relates to a reorganisation of spatial geography and the expansion of Plymouth's cityscape which is discussed elsewhere but reiterates how Plymouth is an active player in civic society in East Cornwall, but doing so in a way that does not threaten any Cornish communities.

The Tamar Valley Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty Sustainable Development Funds which are accessible on both sides of the border are now also providing value to the community groups as a means of supporting groups in the area. These are providing additional funds for the community based on the areas designation, and the statistics indicate this is being fairly shared between authorities and community groups on either side of the border. For the communities of the Tamar Valley, once again the area represents a working sub-area that people are proud to be part of and thus a shared working space is beginning to flourish disregarding any clashes over national identity. The Tamar Valley AONB is instead adding value to the local community.

The identity of the Tamar Valley is being endorsed in no small part by the Friends of the Tamar Valley, who since 1978 have published their journal *Tamar*. The Group were formed in 1969 as the friends of Morwhellam with the intention of 'fostering interest in the Valley', but following the designation of the land as an area of Outstanding Natural Beauty, have made use of the staff and the centre that came with the new area since 2011.[541] Whilst described as 'merely a change of name' in the journal, one may argue that this was a formalisation of the vernacular surrounding the area and a sign of how the space is once again being redefined. Frank Booker, the chairman of the group at the onset of the Journal's publication wrote how 'Although the Tamar Valley is a relatively small area, the maritime significance of the Tamar, the striking relationship it has forged between the normally separate worlds of the farmer and the seafarer, the Valley's mineral resources, its market gardening tradition, the romantic appeal of its scenery and the historic role of the Tamar itself as a boundary

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[539] John Powell, Paul Selman, and Amanda Wragg, "Protected Areas: Reinforcing the Virtuous Circle," *Planning Practice & Research* 17, no. 3 (2002): 279.
[540] Ian Gilhespy, p.148
[541] Friends of Morwhellam Editorial Board, "Editorial," *Tamar* 5, no. 33 (2011): 3.

between Celt and Saxon, have all exerted an influence far transcending its geographical range'.[542] The working relationship of this area I will discuss in greater depth elsewhere, engaging with the natural and human geographical narratives of the area and how this has shaped the lived experience of those within it. But most significantly he discusses the borders of the Tamar Valley and the working relationships from those outside.

Therefore, one may conclude that the formalisation of this partnership has contributed to a shared home territory that has been in place for centuries through the working of the lands and rivers that are now defined as the Tamar Valley. Clout has begun to explore the value of human landscape evaluation and how one can assess 'people's comparative reactions' to defined areas.[543] The growth of branding surrounding the Tamar Valley area of Outstanding Natural Beauty and the lack of public dissatisfaction demonstrates the normalisation of the new territory to the communities living within it.

These human geographies of the region have also seen recognition not only through national bodies, but also International ones too. Isar concludes in his comments that within UNESCO and its designation of World Heritage status that there has been a 'shift from a paradigm of aesthetics to a paradigm of representation… being about people as well as things, and about the ways in which people use those things in the present and mnemonics of what they call their cultural memories and to construct visions of what they see as their collective identities'.[544] Therefore in a cross-border landscape as in this case study, one may challenge the extent to which a 'collective identity' is shared.

UNESCO recognised Cornwall and West Devon mining landscape as 'a testimony to the contribution Cornwall and West Devon made to the Industrial Revolution in the rest of Britain and to the fundamental influence the area had on the mining world at large'. But in doing so, it transcended the traditional borders of Cornwall as an entity, recognising the relationship in a constructed landscape. What is perhaps significant, beyond the statistical studies of Cornwall and its impact on mining around the world, is the embracing of this image. The nominated sites cover almost 20,000 hectares of land, a majority of this clustered in West Cornwall, but reaching into Devon. Tamar Valley Mining District and Tavistock, referred to as Area A10 in the designation documents, represents the second largest area in hectares of the nominated sites and represents the only designation that crosses the border between Devon and Cornwall.[545] It is 1 of only 2 areas in the whole designation that features all 7 components that justified the landscape's inclusion, meaning

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[542] Frank Booker, "Bon Voyage "Tamar"," ibid.1, no. 1 (1978): 5.

[543] H.D. Clout, *Rural Geography: An Introductory Survey* (Elsevier Science, 2013), 131.

[544] Yudhishthir Raj Isar, "Unesco & Heritage: Global Doctrine, Global Practice," in *Heritage, Memory & Identity*, ed. Helmut Anheier and Yudhishthir Raj Isar (2010), 52.

[545] Barry Gamble, *Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape: World Heritage Site Nomination Document*, An Tirwel Balweyth Kernow Ha Dewnens West (Truro: Cornwall County Council, 2004), 2.

that whilst it is often not discussed in the same way as the Camborne-Redruth mining district or the China Clay district, its value to mining heritage should not be understated. A reclaiming of the landscape is part of Hilary Orange's argument of industrial archaeology in Post-Industrial society and the establishment of the East Cornwall Mining History Association in the year 2000 amongst other groups, established to restore some of sites in A10, demonstrate the desire to do so in the East of the Duchy.[546]

Knight and Harrison concluded that 'The landscapes of Cornwall, Southwest England, are ideal for exploring relationships between landscape/geomorphology and culture/heritage because the physical geography and geology of this region has profoundly affected the processes and patterns of human activity - and how this activity has expression in the landscape - for at least the last 2500 years. Moreover, this expression is both material and nonmaterial, and forms part of an ongoing narrative of reinvention, rediscovery and reimagining that has made Cornwall and its peoples and cultures considered distinct from those of the rest of England. In particular, culture and heritage in Cornwall are best set within a landscape geomorphological context, because of the important economic role that geology (tin and China clay mining) and geomorphology (landscape and tourism) have played in Cornwall's development in the past and present day (Westland, 1997)'.[547] What is interesting is how these 'patterns of human activity', particularly in reference to the period since and including the industrial revolution have transcended the borders of Cornwall. In part, that is what the UNESCO World Heritage Status aligns with. Described as 'a testimony to the contribution Cornwall and West Devon made to the Industrial Revolution in the rest of Britain and to the fundamental influence the area had on the mining world at large', it memorialises this working relationship between Devon and Cornwall.[548]

Whilst only a small amount of land surface was affected by the mining activity, the map generated by the Cornwall and West Devon World Heritage Site Bid Team shows significant miners' smallholdings over the Tamar outside of Cornwall.[549] The dominance of Cornwall in the profile and proliferation of the image of Cornwall in this narrative suggests a cultural expansion beyond the entity of Cornwall. This has been a common trend in relation to emigration from Cornwall during this mining boom, in which we see the dominance of Cornish identity over a localised one.[550] Cornwall's value to the land is also seen in the significant investment made in the lead up to the bid

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[546] Hilary Orange, "Cornish Mining Landscapes: Public Perceptions of Industrial Archaeology in a Post-Industrial Society [Open Access Via Http://Discovery.Ucl.Ac.Uk/1417864/]" (2012), 87.

[547] Jasper Knight and Stephan Harrison, "'A Land History of Men': The Intersection of Geomorphology, Culture and Heritage in Cornwall, Southwest England," *Applied Geography* 42 (2013): 193.

[548] "Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape," http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1215 (Last Accessed - 22/11/2018).

[549] Adam Sharpe, "The Evolution of the Cornwall and West Devon Landscapes as a Result of Industrialisation from the Mid-Eighteenth Century to the Early Twentieth Century," *Landscape History* 27, no. 1 (2012): 65, 67.

[550] The site is colloquially referred to as 'Cornish Mining'

on preservation and conservation in the Tamar Valley which Cornwall Council is at the forefront of preserving. At times, whilst there is a value attributed to the UNESCO site that Aplin considers a prime example of how we can teach values for future generations on the relationship between Human geography and physical landscapes, the evidence provided here suggests that their spatiality and border rhetoric may perhaps still be inhibitive to this process at this time.[551]

In the evolution of mining in the South West, the 1830s saw the development of much of the copper mining industry in East Cornwall and there was significant renewed activity in Tavistock in the 1840s. Furthermore, the bid document raises the oft-forgotten profile of Arsenic production in the 1870s in the Devon Great Consols and other mines in the West Devon and East Cornwall area that produced half of the world's supply.[552] Even with the Royal Silver Mines of Bere Ferrers omitted, with their rich history of mining dating back to the medieval period, Area A10 features the most owners and managers of key components of all of the nominated Areas showing the competitiveness of the space and the desire to protect it.[553] But this does demonstrate how selective a narrative has been constructed in the world heritage status.

As a project, this shows how successful cross-border co-operation can be. This list of stakeholders included the European Union and the Objective One Partnership for Cornwall and Scilly, the government through the Department of Culture, Media, and Sport, 2 national interest groups in the English Heritage and the National Trust, the Tamar Valley AONB group, the 6 District Councils and Cornwall County Council as well as Devon County Council and West Devon Borough Council. The mass-representation of Cornish authorities might be unsurprising given the majority of the site in located in Cornwall.[554] In area A10 alone, the dialogues required also included the Duchy of Cornwall and the Morwhellam and Tamar Valley Trust, adding to the success of the project to bring together organisations not only active at national level, but also local.[555] Conversely however, one may believe that the dominance of Cornish Civil Society in the bid was pivotal to its success. In the narrative of Border Studies, this reflects the cross-border movement since the European Union began whereby one side dominates another.[556]

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[551] Aplin, Heritage as exemplar, 379
[552] Gamble,2004, 46.
[553] Barry Gamble, "Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape: World Heritage Site Nomination Document / Barry Gamble," (2004), 181; Gamble, *Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape: World Heritage Site Nomination Document*,2004.
[554] Gamble, *Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape: World Heritage Site Nomination Document*,2004, 238.
[555] Gamble, "Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape: World Heritage Site Nomination Document / Barry Gamble," 181; Gamble, *Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape: World Heritage Site Nomination Document*,2004.
[556] James Anderson, Liam O'Dowd, and Thomas M. Wilson, "Introduction: Why Study Borders Now?," *Regional & Federal Studies* 12, no. 4 (2002): 2.

The value that the UNESCO world heritage site offers both authorities on either side of the Tamar is recognised in several documents emanating from both councils, but the management plan outlines how this has aligned with significant investment in the region. It recognises how the Tamar Valley Mining Heritage Project and East Cornwall Regeneration Project of 2007 and 2008 respectively have seen a combined £9.1million invested in the region.[557] The basis of these funding opportunities appears dependant on the cross-border partnership boards. Thus, whilst the borderlands present a viable option for delivering new frontiers and opportunities, it shall continue to function alongside the established vehicles of local governance.

Hilary Orange concludes of the Cornwall & West Devon Mining Heritage site in 2012 'findings on impact of WHS are tentative; however, it appears that WHS has had considerable intangible impact (community pride) but has not led to a noticeable increase in visitors. Mining in the future in these particular locales does not appear to be considered a viable option. There are diverse cultural, economic, and political dimensions to the materiality of mining, some of which connect to concepts of identity, and indeed Cornish nationalism, whilst others are more instrumental in nature. There are also political boundaries around the concept of the 'local' and within this research I have identified several distinctions between the 'local', the 'incomer' and the 'outsider'.[558] Though one may assume that designation reaffirms a shared identity, Vainikka's conclusions based on a focus group from the area found that 'Throughout the interviews, the sociality of the local communities, both also the strength of local and regional symbols, had an effect on imagining region-wide communities. The emblems of territories gain strength when they have a feel of unchanged continuity, whereas administratively introduced and poorly described symbols can cause members of a community to turn against them'.[559] This has not occurred to the same extent that Heartlands in Pool has struggled to connect with the local community but is evidence of the clash of spatialised identities in cross-border territories.

Her reflections are based on the cultural capital that people feel living in Cornwall with the mining heritage. Consideration is not made for Devon; however the evidence appears to demonstrate Cornish characteristics. A visit to Tavistock today reveals pubs named 'The Cornish Arms' and images of the standard of the Duke of Cornwall in architecture and buildings; far from defying markers of identity, Tavistock appears to revel in its status as 'the eastern gateway and 'urban jewel' of the Cornish and West Devon Mining Heritage site.[560] Jesse Harasta believes that 'the local interest and activism around mining and industrial history culminated in the 2006 recognition of the

[557] Cornish Mining World Heritage, *Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape World Heritage Site Management Plan 2013-2018* (Truro2012), 87.
[558] Orange, 308.
[559] Vainikka, 17
[560] "The Guildhall Gateway Project," https://www.heritageintavistock.org/guildhall (Last Accessed -

"Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape World Heritage Site" by UNESCO, locally known as the 'Cornish Mining World Heritage Site," which emphasizes ethnicity (Cornish) over place (Cornwall and West Devon)'.[561] All of this shows how a Cornish identity has transcended the border and dominated the shared space of the UNESCO site.

But perhaps what is more important in this case is not any sense of identity created by the landscape, rather a refocusing of economies to deliver and revitalise these areas. Continued investment is still being welcomed in Tavistock as a new Gateway Heritage Centre following the initial investment. There is perhaps more pride in the landscape than there is of any sense of identity. Media attention has largely followed the investments made as part of the status and the most read article on the Mining Heritage Status came from 2012 when a report criticised the world heritage for not delivering on key investment and growth. Perhaps this has shaped Cornwall's Local Plan which has seen a focus on localism and working with key stakeholders in the region. The legacy of East Cornwall being 'Cornwall's Forgotten Corner' has not been lost despite the international recognition.

The evidence from both of these examples indicates again though a Cornwall-centricity to the movements. The communities east of the Tamar are not in opposition, but certainly not at the forefront of these preservation movements. As effective as these designations are in terms of recognition at a national and international level, it is the journey that has culminated in these designations which is more important. Extraordinarily little criticism has been made of these movements, and there has been no significant opposition to the either UNESCO or AONB in the area. This is largely because it has been community activism that has now been championed by these bodies. These have been part of a process since the 1960s to recognise both the natural and human geographical significance of the Tamar Valley.

Importantly in the context of the whole border, both of these designations are largely rooted in the southern part of the border. Why is there no such collaboration taking place towards the north where the proximity of Devonian and Cornish communities is equally close, if not closer? One contributing factor may be the way in which the border is more threatened in the North, particularly in the light of Devonwall constituencies. Perhaps to be seen to work together provides further evidence that there is a harmonious conglomeration of communities that could form the basis of a constituency and therefore undesirable from a Cornish perspective. This reflects similar patterns identified on the Scottish / English border observed by Watt et al.. They found that 'not ever trans-border region results in the meeting of minds, nor do they necessarily bring about a form of transitional hybridity' and how 'we must, in other words, be careful not to view the

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[561] Harasta, 74

Scottish/English border all of a piece, and guard against glib predictions of the likely linguistic consequences of the shifting social and political currents along this particular border and other borderland zone to which it might be compared'.[562] Thus locality matters, and the divergence in attitudes towards cross-border cooperation indicates how different the North and South parts of the border can be.

Therefore, in concluding on cross-border partnerships, one must reflect on how the process and attitudes vary based on locality. There is undoubtedly more appetite in the South East of Cornwall, but even then, it seems that the driving force for collaboration is from the Cornish side of the border. Perhaps one conclusion that could be drawn is that Cornwall is self-serving; Where collaboration benefits Cornish communities it will act to protect itself through any vehicle that is effective.

This section has aimed to focus on the roots of both of these designations, both of which have elements of grassroot campaigns at their point of conception. They suggest a move away from nation-state, to shared spaces. Gualda et al. have done significant work in looking at how people are engaging with cross-border cooperation and initiatives that have become more established on the Spain-Portugal border by interviewing key stakeholders and their formal and informal engagements with these initiatives.[563]

From the evidence in the Devon-Cornwall case study, that grassroot engagement at the onset should help people support the shared space and there has been little resistance to the aims of the project. Preliminarily though, one can conclude that these initiatives do little to make people alter their perceptions of what is Cornish and what is Devonian. Vainikka sums this up well by saying that 'while geographers are often trained in spotting differences and misrepresentations on actual maps, it would be naïve to assume that ordinary people would align their identities along rigid territorial grids or networks. When people scale their identities, they do not consider every imaginable form of 'us' and their imaginaries can be incongruous to institutionalised territories and symbols. Such rescaled identity narratives simply reflect their positionality in the world'.[564]

Could one say that in some circumstances a Tamar Valley identity supersedes a Cornish one? Evidence thus far would suggest not. The *Man Engine*, which began its journey in Tavistock demonstrates where the industrial heritage of the Tamar Valley its intertwined in the mining

[562] Dominic Watt et al., "Language and Identity on the Scottish/English Border," in *Language, Borders and Identity*, ed. Dominic Watt, James Landon, and Carmen Llamas (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 26.

[563] Estrella Gualda et al., "Social Networks and Identity Building Processes through Transnational/Cross Regional Experiences and Experts in Southern Europe," *Transnational Spaces and Regional Localization. Social Networks, Border Regions and Local–Global Relations* (2012): 55-57.

[564] Vainikka, 19

narrative that is at the heart of many people's perception of Cornwall. One should also not understate the contribution of the local authorities in establishing both the AONB and UNESCO world heritage status and one should be careful not the view these designations as undermining any local government structures. However, they do indicate where historic boundaries are respected, the space for cross-border collaboration can be fruitful and constructive.

These designations are undoubtedly though still hindered by the perceived threats to space experienced towards the north of the border. Conversely, South East Cornwall has demonstrated from its long-shared use of the Tamar for industrial and agricultural purposes and as such the notion of cross border relationships appear far more normalised by the communities. As shall be discussed with regards to Plymouth and Cityscapes, there is the argument to be had that perhaps this will change in the not-too-distant future. But what is clear is that bounded space in the South East cannot be easily defined by geography, and the competing spheres and designations demonstrated identities, both compatible and incompatible with a distinct Cornish identity.

But what of the future these present for the communities of East Cornwall? Waniek and Castanho have assessed the impact of European Union projects in border regions and recognise the strategic goals of these projects centralise on enhancing and preserving cultural, natural, and residential space through the sustainable growth of tourism.[565] The importance of the European context is discussed in the subsequent chapter, but importantly before leaving the European Union, we saw how the they had supported these cross-border initiatives, and whilst this financial opportunity may no longer be present, the blueprint has been set up to allow for similar prospects, no doubt with the same aim.[566] Certainly from an eligibility perspective, more partners means more opportunities as some bodies, local authorities and interested parties will qualify for funding streams where other may not. This was something explicitly referenced in *The Case of Cornwall,* Cornwall Council's bid for Devolution document, in which they felt at the time that 'while this is not unique to Cornwall… [their] geography provides limited options for cross-border funding and can exacerbate many issues', therefore maximising where these opportunities present themselves is crucial for the economic prosperity of the border communities and the wider Cornwall.[567] Importantly these do not carry the degree of identity politics that is identified in the national context that much of the theory around this operates. This is where Combined Authorities and Regional Governance have met resistance, as they attempted to assimilate cultures, rather than encourage positive cooperation and respecting their differences. As was seen in the success of the body that led on the Newcastle City Futures

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[565] Malgorzata Waniek and Rui Alexandre Castanho, "The Impact of European Union Projects on the Development of the Border Region," in *Analyzing Sustainability in Peripheral, Ultra-Peripheral, and Low-Density Regions* (IGI Global, 2022).
[566] "European Funding to Protect Devon's Landscapes," *North Devon Gazette*, 4 November 2010.
[567] "The Case for Cornwall" Truro, 20 January 2015.

project, delivering opportunity in the Post-Brexit world, the scope for working cross-authority, leveraging engagement from across multiple sectors, can work alongside the existing political structures, rather than the desire to flatten civic society.[568] Whilst the Newcastle example largely operated without any state co-operation, in the Cornwall-Devon example here, we have direct support and partnership at a sub-national level which only strengthens the arrangements in place.

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[568] Paul Vallance, Mark Tewdwr-Jones, and Louise Kempton, "Facilitating Spaces for Place-Based Leadership in Centralized Governance Systems: The Case of Newcastle City Futures," *Regional Studies* 53, no. 12 (2019).

Chapter 9 - Europe and Cornwall's *New Frontiers*

The evolution of European influence and the European Union as a supra-national entity have had profound impacts on the perceptions of Cornwall and, even in a post-Brexit Britain, the legacy of Europe can still be seen. Both in the way in which the European project has re-organised space, promoting a borderless Europe, but also in how borders were constructed in terms of representation at the European stage, we may reflect on the implications for the Cornish border. This chapter shows how the value of the border has been both strengthened and simultaneous weakened by the externalities of Europe and looks towards the future of Cornwall and how it views all of its borders, following the decision by the United Kingdom to leave the European Union.

Attitudes from the British perspective towards European Integration and the European Union has generally been met with a degree of scepticism, a marked difference to mainland Europe.[569] Whilst Sandford recognises the Western European trend of territorial identity during the 1970s that was also present in the Celtic Fringe, including Cornwall, attitudes towards European integration were more nuanced.[570] Devenney reflects on the reaction of the Celtic Nationalist parties and how, during this period, the nationalists were being marginalised. On joining the EEC in 1973, the SNP had originally decided that Europe provided additional bureaucracy and were inhibiting a Scottish independence, a stark contrast to their beliefs now of an Independent Scotland thriving in the EU.[571] Thus we must consider how the relationship between Celtic Nations and Europe has not been consistent with the generalised British context. This has largely been dependant on how the European project, be that the EEC, the EU or any such European body, respects the cultural borders of Celtic identity, fostering their pride and not threatening their cultural landscapes.

There is a growing body of literature that explores how the sub-states, and the 'stateless nations', see the EU as a mechanism to support them politically and financially.[572] Whilst one may consider the role of the EU as the project that has brought peace to Europe, encouraged harmony and collaboration, in Britain now it represents a vehicle to divide. Border theory and the European Union has explored the borderless utopia that the project creates, especially in light of the Schengen agreement and the freedom of movement that makes crossing borders seamless until one reaches the outer fringes of the European Union.[573] Simultaneously, there is the feeling that within the

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[569] J.D. Medrano, *Framing Europe: Attitudes to European Integration in Germany, Spain, and the United Kingdom* (Princeton University Press, 2010), 214.

[570] M. Sandford, *The New Governance of the English Regions* (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2005), 34.

[571] Duncan McTavish, "Politics in Scotland," (2016): 188.

[572] J.W. Friend, *Stateless Nations: Western European Regional Nationalisms and the Old Nations* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 162.

[573] R. Zaiotti, *Cultures of Border Control: Schengen and the Evolution of European Frontiers* (University of Chicago Press, 2011), 31-32.

European union, regions and stateless nations have a space to flourish.[574] Thus is created the paradox of borders and the bordering process within the European Union. Migration has been both a national and international crisis that Governments have failed to manage the misrepresentations and henceforth perceptions of. In Cornwall, the threat of in-migration however is not of those coming from overseas but believed to be those coming down from 'up-country'. Nonetheless, hysteria has been whipped up surrounding people moving into Cornwall, regardless of their ethnic background.

For Cornwall, this presents several significant issues. Whilst its population has been recognised as a minority under the European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, suggesting recognition of Cornwall as a distinct geographical unit, its representation is blurred in the South West region. Evaluating the relationship of Cornwall with its European neighbours and authorities provokes discussions of nationalism built on its confidence in its borders. By borders in this context, this thesis draws not only the border with Devon, but also the maritime borders that have a rich transnational history.[575]

The significance of Europe to Cornwall is perhaps at its most visible and influential since 2000 when Cornwall, as a 'lagging behind region', qualified for the highest level of European Funding on major projects, or Objective One funding. Joanie Willett has explored how in the Cornish campaign for Objective One funding from the European Union, 'the embeddedness of EU institutions to the identity politics of new regionalism allowed the space for discussion about national identity, contrary to Whitehall'.[576] But the catalyst for this funding was only made accessible to Cornwall through its territorial integrity and when it was treated as an entity in its own right. It was only as a result of the reform of the NUTS in 1998 that saw Cornwall distinguished from Devon, its previous partner in its statistical area, that the true levels of deprivation in the region were recognised.[577]

The campaign for Objective One funding used Cornwall's cultural distinctiveness to bolster the economic argument for the highest levels of European funding. This was important as it had been the 'Devonwall' bloc for Objective Two status originally in the 1980s and real drive was made about how this was a problem on a regional scale, not just countywide.[578] Willett and Giovannini take this further and suggest the Europeanisation of Cornwall was a direct response to the failure of the

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[574] Michael Keating, "Plurinational Democracy Stateless Nations in a Post-Sovereignty Era," (2004): 136.

[575] J. N. Bayeh and G. C. Baltos, "From a Culture of Borders to Borders of Cultures: Nationalism and the Clash of Civilizations in International Relations Theory," *J. Edu. Soc. Res. Journal of Educational and Social Research* 9, no. 1 (2019).

[576] Willett, "National Identity and Regional Development: Cornwall and the Campaign for Objective 1 Funding," 305.

[577] Marco Di Cataldo, "The Impact of Eu Objective 1 Funds on Regional Development: Evidence from the U.K. And the Prospect of Brexit," *Journal of Regional Science* 57, no. 5 (2017): 819.

[578] Deacon, Cole, and Tregidga,2003, 1987.

centralizing policy of New Labour under the mirage of devolution. They state that 'While Scotland and Wales were granted respectively a Parliament and a National Assembly, England remained at the margins of this process, and was given only regional structures of government (such as Regional Development Agencies and Government Offices in the Regions) with no political clout and with no actual link to regional identities'.[579] The borderless European movement, encouraging and protecting regional identities appealed to pro-Cornish rhetoric, rather than the core of New Labour's movement which still saw power very much in the halls of Westminster for 'English devolution' in spite of the devolution to Wales and Scotland. Furthermore, whilst Tony Blair mentioned Cornwall explicitly in his *New Vision*, no reference is made to Cornwall beyond their generalised 'English regions' comment in their manifesto. At a crucial time of the development of the nations of Britain, there is significant uncertainty over the body championing the Cornish cause, but certainly Europe became more of an opportunity to recognise a distinctive Cornwall, shaped by its natural boundaries.

Despite this new dawn of regionalism in the European context Cornwall has never treated as a separate entity as a constituency. One could argue that as the profile of the Cornish identity increased in European debate, their voice in the European Parliament was being marginalised. Originally Cornwall & Plymouth, this became Cornwall & West Plymouth in 1994 until the major voting reforms saw the 1999 formation of the South West England European Parliament Constituency, which also includes Gibraltar. At each redrawing of the boundary, the space for a distinct Cornwall is being threatened further. These 'artificial constructs' have only fed into the administrative regionalisation of Cornwall as part of a greater South West.[580] Following a policy change in 2002, member states also control their own constituencies for European elections provided they don't affect proportionality. However no action has been forthcoming, largely owing to the fact that to consider Cornwall exclusively would result in a reconfiguration of all other constituencies, potentially causing a democratic deficit in another area. [581]

As an evidence base of the issue of the border in the European context, the Boundary Commissions for the European elections provides quantitative and qualitative evidence of Cornwall's Border and the issues surrounding Europe. We have no less than 5 boundary reviews for the European Assembly Constituencies and later European Parliamentary Constituencies: 1978, 1983, 1988, 1993 and 1997. Each time, Cornwall's border disappeared in favour of a greater creation of no established

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[579] Joanie Willett and Arianna Giovannini, "The Uneven Path of Uk Devolution: Top-Down Vs. Bottom-up Regionalism in England – Cornwall and the North-East Compared," *Political Studies* 62, no. 2 (2013): 346.
[580] Isabelle Hertner, *Centre-Left Parties and the European Union : Power, Accountability, and Democracy* (2018), 106.
[581] David M. Farrell and Roger Scully, "Electing the European Parliament: How Uniform Are ?Uniform? Electoral Systems?," 43, no. 5 (2005): 970.

space and defined by an electoral quota. As such there has been a growing conflict between the need to meet a quota and the desire of people to protect their territorial integrity.

The Boundary Commission for England held several public meetings regarding the European Assembly and European Parliament constituency boundary changes, and we see how there is an early fear of Cornwall disappearing from the European map. The boundary commission enquiry log is filled with counterapplications for a separate Cornish constituency. It suggests that despite significant representation from various community groups, local councils and organisations representing residents interests, the commission acted of its own accord. As a point of reference, for the discussions in 1978, representations on Cornwall (and Plymouth) accounted for 25% of all submissions on all proposals. These individual responses all spoke of a range of issues including sovereignty, democracy, culture, environmental, economic, and personal experience that differentiated Cornwall from the rest of England and the need for Europe to acknowledge that. As shall become apparent, these strands will be recurring trends that overlap in arguments and continue to be raised at each inquiry.

Europe had been a contentious topic, not least for the nationalist party in Cornwall, Mebyon Kernow, who were extremely critical of the lack of a Cornish European Parliamentary Constituency, and other groups shared their concerns.[582] The party appear to lead the grassroots campaign in regular public enquiries held specifically for European Constituencies in the South West. Each time the border of Cornwall's constituency moved, expanding into more of Devon each time. They have been joined by representations from almost all major parties, all local authorities in Cornwall and many from the Devonian side of the Tamar too. Unsurprisingly for an inquiry, most representations are objecting to the proposals, but what is significant is how agreement is largely made on both sides of the Tamar that as a European entity, Cornwall and Plymouth and Devon is not necessarily harmonious.

Even with a petition of six hundred signatures submitted to the Boundary Commission in 1983, no agreement over special considerations was accepted.[583] It was also the Penzance branch of Mebyon Kernow that led the petition and residents of West Cornwall dominated the signatories. However, the commission did note how Penwith District Council raise no objections, and this contradiction between signatories and those in a position of authority perhaps hinders their cause. Whilst the data could be indicative that those primarily concerned with the border were from the far west of the region, this is largely down to the organisational capacity of the party at the time, as demonstrated

[582] Deacon, Cole, and Tregidga,2003, 87.
[583] "Area 7: Counties of Cornwall and Devon and Isles of Scilly. Representations on Provisional Recommendations." Boundary Commission for England, 1983.

by subsequent petitions made by local branches across Cornwall at the 1993 and 1997 boundary commissions that included representations from people across Cornwall.

It is not exclusively representation from West Cornwall however that was recorded, the East Cornwall Social Democratic Party make two representations to omit Plymouth on the grounds of Cornwall's 'local, social, cultural, and geographical differences'.[584] On both occasions, despite support from other political parties, the response was simply met by the required quota. The Cornish Nationalist Party, based largely out of mid-Cornwall, also distinguished a 'homogenous unit whose cultural background differentiated it from lands east of the Tamar'.[585] The Cornish Stannary Parliament were also a recurring presence in correspondence, despite having no active role in civil society at the time. Their knowledge of historic law pertaining to Cornwall's border and external engagement is indisputable, but their lack of credible status by UK and European bodies inhibited their representations in the final reports on recommendations. That being said, the points they raised are important to the construction and consecration of the border in the minds of the Cornish people and relate to the issues raised of its historical context. What is important is that Cornish Civil Society is engaged in this process greatly and for them the issue of the border is one that affects not only the immediate community close to the border but Cornwall as a whole.

The final report published acknowledged the representations made but did not alter its decision based on them. There was also a significant essay written by Philip Payton, Director of the institute of Cornish Studies at the time. Despite this, it seems that the voice of those affected by these proposals were still not being listened to. The Devonian Conservative associations outside of Plymouth largely supported the proposals.

In 1988 when the boundary was up for renegotiation again in line with the changes to UK parliamentary constituencies, the issue once again met significant resistance at the Inquiry. They recognise 'the same submission [of the petition] was made at the 1983 inquiry and was found not to be warranted' but the report concedes they did they not have the information at the 1983 inquiry compared to one in 1988 on the matter.[586] This demonstrates how unprepared the boundary commission were for the scale of opposition voiced regarding the need to recognise and respect the territorial construct of Cornwall.

With reference to the Cornish border, the report has a significant portion dedicated to dealing with the 'special geographical considerations' that are raised, the definition of which legally the Electoral

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[584] Ibid.
[585] Ibid.
[586] "The Report by Mr. Assistant Commissioner G.D. Flather, Q.C. Upon the Local Inquiry Held by Him on 12 and 13 July 1988 in Bodmin, Cornwall, into the Porposed Changes in the European Parliamentary Constituencies of Cornwall and Plymouth and Devon." The Boundary Commission for England, 1988.

Commission struggled to define as they were unqualified by the European Parliamentary Elections Act 1978.[587] They recognised the majority of responses fixed the Cornish border by King Athelstan's demarcation of the Tamar and referred specifically to Mr Pengelly and Dr Payton's comments on the 'important physical barrier' with 'few access points'.[588] They also reflected on the lack of a trunk road, that Plymouth are seen to be pushing for with Cornwall and the single track railway that Paul Tyler, the Liberal Democrat former MEP and MP in his personal response, but seemed to listen most to the Cornwall County Council objections on the grounds of the size of Cornwall as well as the 'distinct problems of Plymouth' as the major reason.[589] Arguably the lack of consistent messaging from those in power at the time hindered the cause, with David Mudd not mentioning physical and geographical problems at all and Matthew Taylor on specifically cross-border communications.[590] Though one may consider how layered the experience of the border is therefore, as well as the fear of economic disparity created by the boundary, there is the more cultural division, that of the Celtic other, that comes to the forefront. There is far more than just the satisfying of electoral quotas that the final report deals with, there is the feeling cultural subjugation dominates the responses.

One will note that these representations are made largely from within Cornwall and they are representative of the population, with only 3 residents of Cornwall speaking up in favour of the proposed changes to the Cornwall and Plymouth constituency and the Falmouth & Camborne Conservative association favouring a cross-border model. The incumbent Conservative European Constituency Council made the other representations, presumably keen to not lose their seat, and a few associations based in Devon, not least Plymouth City Council. The number in favour does not speak particularly favourably of the cross-border constituency, perhaps more latency towards the process. The borough of Restormel's letter was considered supportive despite the fact that they explicitly stated that the 'ideal European Constituency boundary should comprise the county of Cornwall alone'.[591] This perhaps was the most indicative marker of the border as possessive on the Cornish side and apathy largely from Devonians at this stage.

Flather, the assistant commissioner felt compelled to state on the basis of the evidence that he had 'no doubt at all that the culture I have identified will never be endangered by joined with anyone else beyond the River Tamar. Neither would it be with Plymouth in particular'.[592] He made this on the basis of 'the often-repeated claim that the Petition signed by 939 people was quickly and easily drawn up. The words of Mathew Taylor, M.P. to the effect that "there will always be 20,000 Cornishmen

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587 Ibid., 10.
588 Ibid., p.13.
589 Ibid., 14.
590 Ibid., 15.
591 "Representations:1988 Review," in *European Parliamentary Constituency Reviews 1988 and 1990,* ed. Boundary Commission for England (National Archives).
592 The Boundary Commission for England, 1988.

prepared to sign another petition", has no hollow ring about it to anyone who attended the Inquiry. It is to be recalled also that together with the County Council of Cornwall, the views from other democratically elected bodies were virtually unanimous in their opposition'.[593] This warning serves as a reminder of the strength of Cornish opposition to territorial threats to their individual space and hence the regular political conflict we see across the chapters.

Residents during the 1988 public enquiry raised how they 'felt that with its urban needs and selfish development, Plymouth was absorbing the best that Europe could offer and in doing so was obscuring the needs of Cornwall which lay beyond unrecognised by Europe', the result of which had created a drain rhetoric across the Cornish-Devonian Border. Like Wales and Scotland, Cornwall wanted to be an actor on the political landscape, but what differs for it, is it does not know who it considers its allies as it feels let down by both the political establishment of the European Union and Westminster. On the Russian-Estonian border, the association of being 'European', was one associated with economic prosperity and opportunity and therefore desirable.[594] One may interpret this, as a renegotiation of its relationships with both political establishments and serving its interests as a distinct region.

The representations made relating to the Cornwall and West Plymouth constituency were not geographically restricted. Whilst Winnie Ewing, who was MEP for the Highlands and Islands, supported the cause for geographical considerations of Cornwall at its border, the Scottish example works against Cornwall as the size of her European Constituency was over 10 times bigger than Cornwall in land size and Cornwall was equivalent of a third of the average size across Scotland.[595] However, the fact that a representation was made by such a high profile nationalist indicates the desire to work harmoniously as a Celtic front, which brings back the cultural conflict dynamic and shows how the recognition of the Cornish 'border' is far reaching.

The unity of 'Celtic Britain' once again is problematic when we look at the result in Wales and Scotland as a framework given the difference in the vote between Wales and Cornwall, and Scotland. That being said, with the bordering process Gerry Hassan's analysis of the Brexit vote in Scotland reflects on the territorial integrity and identity of Scotland one considers 'the vision of independence that has been promulgated by the SNP since the late eighties has been one of 'independence in Europe'.[596] Thus, whereas in England and Wales membership of the EU has often been portrayed as a constraint on the sovereignty of the UK, in Scotland it has been presented as

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[593] Ibid., 27.
[594] Alena Pfoser, "Nested Peripheralisation: Remaking the East-West Border in the Russian-Estonian Borderland," *EAST EUROPEAN POLITICS AND SOCIETIES* 31 (2017): 34.
[595] The Boundary Commission for England, 1988.
[596] G. Hassan and R. Gunson, *Scotland, the Uk and Brexit: A Guide to the Future* (Luath Press Limited, 2017).

helping to facilitate the realisation of Scotland's sovereignty'.[597] This in turn changed the perspectives of Cornish nationalists who were still highly sceptical but were influenced by the growing popularity of the SNP and Plaid Cymru and seeking to make a breakthrough.[598] The discussions surrounding Scotland centre on the discussions of difference built on a national pride north of the Anglo-Scottish border. Conversely, in Wales it was concluded that 'in its Brexit activity, Wales can be usefully characterised as both a 'Good Unionist' and a 'Good European''.[599] One may argue, that whilst the approaches of both nations appear contradicting, they both seek to assert a sense of territorial integrity as a means of bolstering their profile as a political entity. In the Cornish example, several objections were raised, as seen with the communities over discussions of border crossings, objected to 'Greater Plymouth' report emanating from Plymouth in 1943 relating to communities such as Torpoint & Saltash 'as "sub regions" of Plymouth'.[600] These discussions are picked up elsewhere, but we can see how British and European authorities believe the city of Plymouth, which is outside of Cornwall's borders, has a role in Cornish society.

No study verifies that this has made Europe more accountable to the Welsh or Scottish electorate, but theory generally suggests that fixed frameworks for elections increase feelings of accountability in elections and elected officials.[601] But Harris & Hooper note how the worthwhile potential for development of political strategy that re-enforces the spatial dimensions of Wales and Welsh identity, no doubt rooted in the confidence of the spatial construction based on a fixed border and coastline.[602] Certainly in Europe, the Cornish agenda has been led by the British Government using European funding rather than directly from its elected representatives, as seen with the Objective One campaign.

The significance of the 1999 elections, for which there were no public enquiries over the change, also saw the use of administrative regions under the D'Hondt model used for European Parliamentary representation. Despite the lack of opportunity to express discontent to the South West Constituency in this form, Akartunali and Knight argue we should consider the desire to maintain the relationship of an MP to the geographic parameters of a constituency.[603] They discuss the network models with considerations for 'existence and uniqueness', but these do consider the

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[597] Ibid.
[598] Deacon, Cole, and Tregidga, 2003, 88.
[599] Jo Hunt and Rachel Minto, "Between Intergovernmental Relations and Paradiplomacy: Wales and the Brexit of the Regions," *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 19, no. 4 (2017): 660.
[600] The Boundary Commission for England, 1988.
[601] A. Rehfeld, *The Concept of Constituency: Political Representation, Democratic Legitimacy, and Institutional Design* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 190.
[602] Neil; Harris and Alan Hooper, "Redefining 'the Space That Is Wales'," in *Territory, Identity and Spatial Planning : Spatial Governance in a Fragmented Nation*, ed. Mark Tewdwr-Jones and Philip Allmendinger (London: Routledge, 2006), 139.
[603] Kerem Akartunalı and Philip A. Knight, "Network Models and Biproportional Rounding for Fair Seat Allocations in the Uk Elections," *Annals of Operations Research* 253, no. 1 (2016): 2.

geographical considerations that were raised at boundary commission inquiries. Observing the elections, John Fitzmaurice describes thus:

'The nature of the electoral system and the electoral mechanics – the need, for example, to appoint one agent for all seven candidates on each list – militated strongly in favour of a centralised approach, with coordination of each candidate team and of a major part of the campaign resources available to each party in terms of funds, literature, the free post communication, campaign buses and key campaigners from a regional centre. There was little or no localised literature. Traditional canvassing was limited to core support areas and was often done by telephone, again from a central point. Voters tended to receive one single, centrally produced team leaflet by the free post and some form of party newspaper (Labour's Rose, for example, or the Liberal Democrats' Focus) and leaflets were used in street and door-to-door activities. This literature was often only very slightly adapted from regional to region. Literature with no sub-regional or local content gave the campaign a distant, disembodied feel'.[604]

That 'distance, disembodied' feeling undoubtedly impacted on the election results then, and the feeling has enhanced the residual Euroscepticism in the region. But the discussions do then make us consider how space is imagine, particularly with reference to borders. The Isles of Scilly are widely respected as compatible territories of Cornwall, despite their own local governance, but one may consider how Gibraltar fits into the South West Model. Following the resolution of court battle in the European Court of Human Rights, Gibraltar was represented for the first time in the European Parliament in 2004 as part of the South-West constituency. Glyn Ford, the Labour MEP for the region suggested that 'there were connections between Gibraltar and his region. Not only is Cornwall a "peripheral" region, like Gibraltar, but "a lot of people in the South-west have members of their families serving in the armed forces in Gibraltar"'.[605] Previously mentioned has been the space-time continuum, in that the geographic proximity of the Cornwall to England does not suggest compatibility. Instead, more commonality is felt with a distant region of the United Kingdom than its nearby neighbours based on its relational history to the English core.

There is an insecurity of the place of communities, the side-effect of the borderlands rhetoric, one which has supported and challenged a definitive sense of Cornwall and Cornishness to residents of the duchy. In the European construction of space there is very little that the commission act on; 'As for the potential encroachment of Plymouth across the River Tamar, that is not something that I see relevant to the question that I have to address myself'.[606] Therefore whilst not appropriate for

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[604] John Fitzmaurice, "Candidates' Views and Activities and the Campaign in the Regions: The South-West," in *British Politics and European Elections 1999*, ed. D. Butler and M. Westlake (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2000).
[605] "Gibraltar Joins South-West England for European Poll," *The Independent*, Friday 29 August 2003.
[606] The Boundary Commission for England, 1988.

Europe in this context, we can see how these enquiries provided a platform for Cornish fears of an eroded border with its English counterparts as discussed elsewhere in this thesis. The results of the European Union referendum perhaps still suggest there is an uneasiness regarding Wales and its perception of the European Union particularly. But for Cornwall, losing its border in favour of broader territories perhaps makes the EU feel somewhat aloof from the needs and voice of Cornish residents.

This would be pertinent for the later boundary commission review of 1993. Once again, Mebyon Kernow were at the forefront of the grassroots campaign; another petition, this time with almost 2,200 signatories. Unlike the first petition, this was a more co-ordinated attempt that had a wider geographic spread of signatories across Cornwall.[607] One may observe the decline in signatories to the Mebyon Kernow petition at each public enquiry as signs of waning interest with regards to the border and a distinctive Cornish European constituency. However, as a scale compared to representations made for other areas, Cornwall still outnumbered the representations made from other areas facing notable change at each interval.

In 1997, despite a last-minute change of address for the inquiry to Taunton, the first day of business was entirely dedicated to issues relating to Cornwall.[608] And the responses made by the officials demonstrate that their conclusions are built on the responses to the numerous objections raised before. Submissions by residents and organisations refer back to past inquiries and use lots of the same basis of argument for Cornwall. The notable change in perspective were in east of the Tamar, where Plymothians were quite happy with their representation alongside Cornwall, perhaps owing to the fact the city is represented by 2 MEPs and was seen to dominate the agenda of the Cornwall and Plymouth constituency given its urban nature. The enquiry in 1997 held in Taunton did demonstrate however a slight change in perspective. Whilst lots of opposition was again shared from the Cornish side, there seemed to be a degree of sympathy from across the border for the Cornish cause. Given that there had been so much impetus placed on getting Cornwall to be an individual constituency, which still represented the majority of responses, there was now an element of compromise in discussion. The Totnes Labour party recommended the addition of Torridge and West Devon in place of Plymouth in the Cornwall constituency on the strength of its rural nature, that is at least more akin to Cornwall than the urban city. The other submission, that gets a mention in the final report came from Mr Cartwright who looks to North Devon as an addition to Cornwall on the basis of his objection of Plymouth as a shared entity for Cornwall which provided numbers akin to the recommendations alongside other changes in Devonian European constituencies. In both

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[607] "Provisional Recommendation Reporesentation 5; Cornwall Pre-Representations Petition ", ed. Boundary Commission for England (The National Archive, Kew, 1993).
[608] "Minutes of Proceedings at a Public Enquiry Held at Council Chamber, County Hall, Taunton on Monday 21 July 1997." 1997.

cases, there was not enough evidence of support to recommend these suggestions, but perhaps show an alleviation in the weight of the Tamar as a line of delineation. The 1990s in space theory was majorly invested in notions of networks and social relations as seen through academics such as Massey which was being applied in policy in the UK.[609]

Submissions to the boundary review also included almost a hundred representations from residents of Cornwall and beyond in calling for a Cornwall European Constituency. The content of the letters ranged, but all were keen to respect the distinct cultural identity. Undeniably though, the territorial turn was present regularly. One letter spoke of 'beyond the Tamar' in a similar theme of how there is an insider/outsider paradigm created by the river.[610] These were the voices of everyday people from Cornwall wanting to protect their territorial integrity.

As previously mentioned, the campaign for Objective One funding for Cornwall evolved over time and pertinent to this research, there is some interest in the rebordering of the designated area as the campaign sought to break away from the constructions of space in the European agenda. Gripaios comments on how Cornwall 'was split off from Devon in the redrawing of the NUTS level 2 map despite the fact that there is extensive net commuting from Cornwall to Plymouth, in particular, on the other side of the River Tamar. Interestingly, if the two counties are combined GDP per head comes out at 74.8 percent of the UK figure and just over the qualifying level for Objective One at 76.4 percent of the European one. This raises the possibility that a different configuration of territory might have enabled much of Devon also to qualify for the main regional funding stream'.[611] This emphasises the desire within the Cornish Civil Society to break away from the model proposed for European funding despite the economic arguments and look to confine Cornwall as a unique space. This aligns somewhat with the proposal of Willett in that for the Objective One Campaign between 1992 and 1999 much more emphasis was put on their differentiation between the Devon and Cornwall.[612] Whilst Willett's article focuses on identity, I'd argue that success was routed on a lived experience that is markedly different on either side of the border and that is what was being sold to the Cornish People and to Europe. It is for that reason the use of the word 'space' is more central than the identity that is at the forefront of Willett's article. Without a definitive space for the cultural identity to flourish, the sense of nationhood would have been lost, this campaign emphasised the value of Cornish space for economic prosperity, and that Europe needed to respect the bounded space of Cornwall.

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[609] D. Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, vol. null, Null (1994).

[610] "European Parliamentary Constituency Inquiry Documents: South West Region," ed. Boundary Commission for England (The National Archive Kew, 1997).

[611] P. Gripaios and E. McVittie, "Uk Objective One Regions: A Suitable Case for Treatment?," *EUROPEAN URBAN AND REGIONAL STUDIES* 10 (2003): 370-71.

[612] Willett, "National Identity and Regional Development: Cornwall and the Campaign for Objective 1 Funding."

Willett et al. have attempted to determine some of the reasons behind the significant Brexit vote in Cornwall but conclude that their sample of leave voters demonstrate far greater variety than the stereotypical expectation of voters and their reasoning.[613] They note that 'in the uncertainty that individuals experienced about their present, they were looking to a combination of nostalgic perceptions about the past or were specifically calling on the nation state and national identities to protect themselves from the threats and uncertainties that lay in the future', which is far more English and British Nationalism than evidence of concerns for the future of a distinctive Cornwall.[614] The control of borders was an issue raised, but the presentation of this issue is one that aligned with the construct of Britain as opposed to Cornwall specifically; Ahonen describes how 'Geography has made partial isolation from the continent a long-lasting dream and an at least occasional possibility for the island nation and erstwhile empire master, feeding persistent and frequently distorted perceptions of cultural and political separateness' and this is something that was played upon throughout from the leave campaign.[615] Both Cornwall and Wales appear to be far more British in their outlook towards borders in the European context, than Scotland which is confident about its internal border and therefore can be more bold in its international outlook.

It seems appropriate in a discussion of borders that the Cornwall and Isles of Scilly Leadership Board has named its new its documentation for a post-Brexit Cornwall *New Frontiers*, as it 'transforms' itself for the revised political framework as Cornwall Council attempts to assert itself as a geographic and political unit to best deliver for the residents of Cornwall. One argument that has resonated with the English electorate, whether accurate or not, was the 'desire to break out of the border-less jail of Neoliberalism', a reclamation of sovereignty, though the discussions of borders in this context is the crisis felt by the United Kingdom as a whole.[616] A similar argument could be constructed that Cornwall felt underrepresented, their territorial identity leaving the feeling of being on the periphery once again, but this time the supra-nation of Europe being the core. The evidence of this we have seen regularly throughout the various public enquiries.

Borders, in the context of Europe, are both physical and psychological, cultural constructs. The contemporary debate surrounding borders shows how contentious these can be and recent political movements have reflected that. The reconfiguration of European constituencies has continued to meet objections from the Cornish population, though these have been largely inconsequential to the amendments made. But also, there is the emotional attachment to bordered space that underlines

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[613] Joanie Willett et al., "Why Did Cornwall Vote for Brexit? Assessing the Implications for Eu Structural Funding Programmes," *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* (2019): 15.

[614] Ibid.

[615] Pertti Ahonen, "Of Walls and Fences: Brexit and the History of Cross-Border Migration," *Contemporary European History* 28, no. 1 (2019): 42; Sara B. Hobolt, "The Brexit Vote: A Divided Nation, a Divided Continent," *Journal of European Public Policy* 23, no. 9 (2016): 1262.

[616] A. Barnett, *The Lure of Greatness: England's Brexit and America's Trump* (Unbound, 2017).

these discussions. Throughout the representations made, there is a clear consensus as to the natural space that defines Cornwall and these impact on the relationship of Cornwall to another body. What part of this argument seeks to recognise is that Euroscepticism in Cornwall has not been subsided by the catalogue of failures to respect Cornwall as a territory.

The discussions about Cornwall's border in Europe is one that encapsulates the interplay between the defined theories of Border Studies, engaging in the economic, cultural, and political interpretations of borders and bordered space. From the discussions here, it is fairly difficult to distinguish them as too many people the interplay is what makes the border so precious to the Cornish communities. To describe the border not being respected from beyond the border would be a misrepresentation, but it seems that for English purposes, there is far more relaxed view to the definition of Cornwall's eastern boundary. One might argue that Europe has been the scapegoat for the Boundary Commission for England's decision making on the Cornish border and that growing Euroscepticism has been gerrymandered by the British Government. But regardless, one can differentiate Cornwall from its Celtic counterparts by its ideological view of Europe and how a sense of territorial identity has been challenged in European contexts. Border negotiations are at the heart of the European project and this plays out on the local scale with stateless nations almost, but these are not given the profile of the national border negotiations that take place.

Chapter 10 - Senedh Kernow and the protection of Cornish territory amid Devonwall

Wilson and Donnan note that:

> 'Distinctive histories, languages, religions, and other cultural resources have been the wellspring of an ongoing social and political rebordering devolution process in Britain. This is not to say that the UK state is necessarily weakened by such a process. Rebordering through regionalization may add to "post devolution blues" in the northeast of England.'

> However, perceptions of a strengthening divide in economy, society, and polity across the "Anglo-Scottish border" is qualified by the continued bridging provided by the UK state context.[617] The UK was not a unitary state before devolution. Rather, it has rested on multiple asymmetrical unions that have changed in response to circumstances'.[618]

One though may question whether Cornwall, as a region contained within England perhaps provides an interesting example of the re-bordering process in respect of devolution. Discussions around devolution for Cornwall continue to play out against the backdrop of further reorganisation of government and constituencies that threaten the territorial integrity of Cornwall. The contrasting images of a Cornwall seeking to bolster its self-determination and status as a constituent part of the United Kingdom whilst being undermined by the redrawing of boundary lines illuminates the fragility of the border and why it remains such a sensitive topic. Therefore, this chapter explores how campaigns for devolution and a Cornish assembly and the resistance to Devonwall proposals have evoked strong sentiment around the border and its importance and value to the Cornish identity, consolidated by use of sites along the border as sites of active protest to strengthen the Cornish cause.

Romanticised images of the Duchy and Stannary Parliaments have been revived as part of the Celtic Revival of the 19th and 20th century.[619] These romanticised visions explore the balance of power and the role of decision making for Cornwall, which had historically been based at the Palace in Lostwithiel. As discussed elsewhere in this thesis, the landscape of the makeup of the Duchy and the

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[617] Andy Pike, "Post-Devolution Blues? Economic Development in the Anglo-Scottish Borders," *Regional Studies* 36, no. 9 (2002): 1079.

[618] Wilson and Donnan, *A Companion to Border Studies*, 2012, 225.

[619] Samantha Rayne and Exeter University of, *Henry Jenner and the Celtic Revival in Cornwall* (2012), 254.

spatiality of the Stannary Parliaments across an undefined landscape, not confined to Cornwall, is somewhat irrelevant within the overall rhetoric of Cornish political control.

As Cornwall entered the new millennium, momentum behind the calls for Cornish Devolution have grew. In 1999, Philip Payton, a founding member of the Millennium Convention and director at the time of Cornish Studies, wrote in the introduction of Cornish Studies Seven: 'As the United Kingdom slowly re-invents itself at the end of this millennium, as 'Britishness' is increasingly open to debate and dispute, so Cornwall is increasingly an enigma – not falling neatly or happily into the new categories that are appearing, a battleground perhaps for conflicting visions, constructions, imaginings of Cornishness and Celticity'.[620] P. Ward has written on how development, funding and resource deployment are intertwined in British Unionism. Unionism being the ability to create a highly politicised identity that transcends the internal borders of the United Kingdom.[621] Where Cornwall's border has not been protected as a national one, akin to Wales and Scotland, this has resulted in fluctuations of Britishness. Quantifying this can be difficult, but developments in contemporary politics suggest that the integrity, political and cultural value of Cornwall's border has significantly increased in recent times.[622]

To illustrate the strength of an identity, remains one of the challenges of the researcher on Cornwall; how does one discern the relative strength of territoriality in the region? Comparative regionalism has shown that we can make empirical comparisons and recognise trends based on similar models, but that does not distinguish one identity as being superior to others, especially when we consider the relativity between areas.[623] There are undeniable parallels between peaks in the Cornish Nationalism and calls for devolution and related campaigns in Wales and Scotland.

The strength of Scottish Nationalism has not been based on its large land mass, but the formal and informal manifestations of identity through political culture, protest and cultural manifestations and symbolism.[624]

The 1979 umbrella group for a Cornish Assembly emerged at the time the then Labour Government had committed itself to hold referenda on the creation of assemblies for Wales and Scotland. The Cornish campaign called for a Cornish Assembly to be formed and potentially sit at Bodmin Guildhall

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[620] Philip Payton, "Introduction," in *Cornish Studies: Seven*, ed. Philip Payton (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999).

[621] P. Ward, *Unionism in the United Kingdom, 1918-1974* (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2005), 6.

[622] Payton, *The Making of Modern Cornwall : Historical Experience and the Persistence of "Difference"*,1992; Deacon, Cole, and Tregidga,2003.

[623] F.H. Lawson, *Comparative Regionalism* (Taylor & Francis, 2017), 38-47.

[624] M. Pittock, *The Road to Independence?: Scotland since the Sixties* (Reaktion Books, 2008).

(as opposed to Truro). It was intended to 'safeguard the physical integrity and identity in Cornwall', demonstrating how the Cornish Assembly was as much about protecting Cornwall's border as its identity.[625] Whilst no Celtic Campaign would establish any devolved body at this stage, the issue remained in uppermost political consciousness.

The 1997 referenda would enhance devolved powers for both Wales and Scotland, but also importantly for this research, provided representative figures detailing the calls for devolution and territorial integrity of the nations based on localities. Evidence from Wales showed the easterly constituencies voted against devolution for Wales in 1997, and Scotland, Dumfries & Galloway, located on the Anglo-Scottish border was one area that rejected the calls for tax-varying powers.[626] In Wales, this becomes known as the 3 Wales Model with 'English Wales' representing the areas opposed to devolution. The 'two corners' of Scotland were problematic for the Yes campaign.[627] The sentiment of unionism certainly was more evident in the Welsh example, but there was a degree of scepticism towards nation building in both countries. Significantly in both models, spatiality and proximity to the border appear to show ideological differences. The borderlands therefore create 'political oddities' that has been seen in numerous international examples.[628]

Exploring the sentiment of nationhood created from national institutions of decision making, the notion of a border as a delineating force seems somewhat diminished. Kenneth Morgan reflects on Owen Smith's statement from 2014 in which he makes the point that 'Wales was smaller and poorer than Scotland, with half its population living within a few miles of an all-too accessible border with England'.[629] In the Scottish argument, 'the shift has contributed in a sense to rebuilding the border, in other words identifying what is specifically Scottish within a history and culture where 'Britishness' was sometimes taken for granted in the past'.[630] Whilst political nationalism in Wales and Scotland may be at a highpoint in the United Kingdom, border communities continue to provide areas of hybridity largely due to the ease of access with England and opportunities beyond the border.

From the Welsh 2011 Assembly Referendum, there is some statistical evidence of localised perspectives on devolution. For example, Wrexham on the border, whilst voting strongly in favour,

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[625] Derek Williams, *Following 'an Gof': Leonard Truran, Cornish Activist and Publisher* (Cornovia Press, 2014), 31.

[626] Pittock,2008.

[627] Hugh Bochel, David Denver, and James Mitchell, *Scotland Decides* (Routledge, 2013), 134.

[628] Alexander C. Diener and Joshua Hagen, *Borderlines and Borderlands Political Oddities at the Edge of the Nation-State* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010).

[629] Kenneth O. Morgan, *Revolution to Devolution: Reflections on Welsh Democracy* (University of Wales Press, 2014), 288.

[630] Henrice Altink and Chris Weedon, "Introduction," in *Gendering Border Studies*, ed. Jane Aaron, Henrice Altink, and Chris Weedon (University of Wales Press, 2010), 196.

had one of the lowest turnouts, suggesting to an extent that the issue was of little importance to them. Neighbouring Flintshire which also borders England also exhibited a similar pattern. In Powys, we may argue the high turnout was because the issue was highly contentious, given the small majority in favour of the deal 51.6% to 48.4%. Furthermore, Monmouthshire, given its historic pertinence to the English experience, was the one area to vote No overall in the referendum.

Analysis of voting behaviour across different voting platforms and bodies, as discussed by Copus and Clark is possible, but you must consider the reasoning of voters in the various systems and the ultimate outcomes.[631] Therefore whilst there are some notable trends, it is difficult to compare to the experience in Wales and Scotland. In fact, it makes the point that quantifying Cornish opinion towards Devolution is limited. This is particularly given the continued low levels of support for Mebyon Kernow in Cornish elections at both National and Local Elections, though that in itself may be statement.

Ward's work, focusing on Unionism between 1918 and 1974 explores how this is done within the party structure, and how UK parties engage in dialogue internally to improve their success across the nation of Britain.[632] To this effect we may consider how, as Willett argues, 'Cornwall and Cornwall-centric issues form part of the narrative in four of the key marginal UK seats, which help explain the use of identity politics. Although MK have maintained and shaped some of the key debates around this narrative in Cornish politics, it forms an exploitable quantity to bolster the electoral capital of those wishing to form a UK government. This must also mean that identity politics resonates strongly with civil society in Cornwall or it would not have acquired this type of significance. It appears that this shift has happened relatively recently or presumably the Liberal Democrats and the Conservatives would have taken up these keys and deeply symbolic MK policies far earlier, supporting the thesis that the mobilisation of Cornish identity is growing in popularity over time'.[633] The recent collapse of the Liberal Democrats in Cornwall only serves to further complicate the political map in terms of support of key issues relating to devolution and the border and perhaps suggests that momentum has dwindled in recent times.

However, the campaign for a Cornish Assembly provides one way to look at levels of support towards a more independent and self-dependent Cornwall. The issue has also been that without this

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[631] C. Copus et al., "Minor Party and Independent Politics Beyond the Mainstream: Fluctuating Fortunes but a Permanent Presence," *Parliamentary Affairs* 62, no. 1 (2008).
[632] Ward,2005, 6.
[633] Willett and Tredinnick-Rowe.

mobilised force, it is difficult to determine patterns of voting behaviour that suggest support or rejection of Cornish Devolution in voting.

Nonetheless, there are some studies that have been done that can provide a sample to suggest some of the spatiality of sentiment towards Devolution. The 2003 MORI polls conducted on behalf of Cornwall Council found 55% of residents questioned were in favour of a democratically elected, fully devolved regional assembly for Cornwall. This poll, commissioned as a submission for the government's proposals for a referendum on electing regional governance. Less commented upon was the 72% who favoured a regional South West Assembly as compared with 70% for a Cornish Assembly, these figures derived from the same poll. Given this was done to promote a Cornish-only model as opposed to a regional approach, the data set was not wholly sympathetic to the Cornish Cause. It is notable how this context is often omitted when the poll is referred to subsequently and demonstrates the multiplicity of political agendas with differing aims. The report identified that the net community identity with the County of Cornwall was the highest, by contrast, the South West Region was the lowest. English Community Identity was centred at the midpoint between the two.[634] There was no breakdown for where the responses to each were highest.[635] The final report concluded that 'Caradon and North Cornwall residents are most aware of their region', which indicates a heightened spatial awareness in the far East of Cornwall.[636]

The only other official Poll conducted was in 2014 by Survation on behalf of the University of Exeter, in which the residents of Camborne & Redruth were asked about voting intentions primarily for the upcoming General Election, but also including questions on attitudes towards devolution. The majority were in favour of more powers being given to Cornwall and 49% in favour of a Cornish Assembly. In both cases, the data provided has limited value to the discussion of the border as it is not localised enough sufficiently to the border areas. Thus, assessing the border requires alternative sources to ascertain its importance to the communities of Cornwall and how power and decision-making, be brought within a Cornwall encompassing a finite border. For this we may then consider results of the Cornish Assembly petition data from 2001 which contained more localised data.

The Cornish Constitutional Convention represents the strongest body with the specific aim of safeguarding and distinguishing a separate Cornwall and led on the campaign for the Cornish Aim. Formed in 2000, the cross-party, cross-sector organisation was established to create 'a form of modern governance which strengthens Cornwall, her role in the affairs of the country, and positively

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[634] "Attitudes to Regional Government in Cornwall - Summary Report." Cornwall County Council, 2003.
[635] Ibid., 19.
[636] Ibid., 5.

addresses the problems that have arisen from more than a century of growing isolation and loss of confidence'.[637] They mirrored a similar organisation that had been established in 1989 in Scotland making claim for greater territorial integrity and calls for constitutional changes for the nation of Scotland. The movement firmly established Cornwall on the map of devolution, something which the Cornwall Millennium Convention, established two years prior failed to do.

Regardless, this data set provided by the Cornwall Constitutional Convention allows us to take an even more micro-perspective and detailed analysis of the map of support for devolution to Cornwall. We can see the areas where the nationhood of Cornwall is best exemplified.
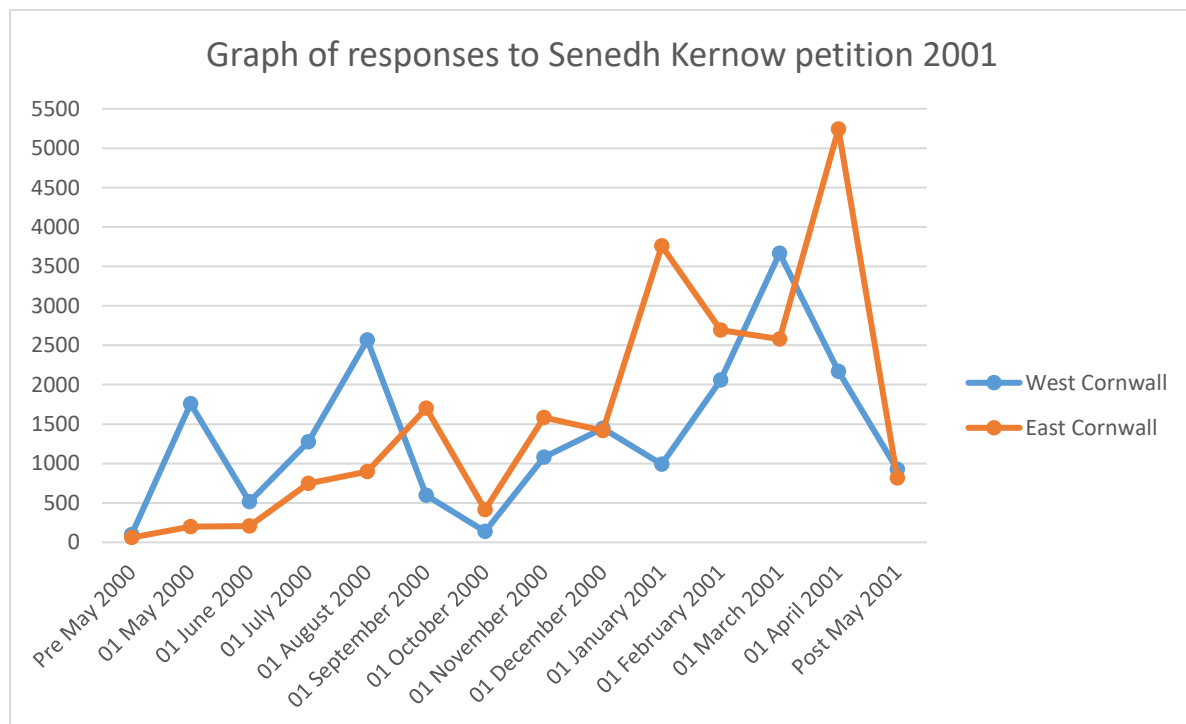

Figure 10 - Graph of date of responses to Senedh Kernow petition 2001 (Data from Cornish Constitutional Convention, held at Kresenn Kernow)

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[637] Convention Cornish Constitutional, *Devolution for One and All : Governance for Cornwall in the 21st Century* (Truro: Cornish Constitutional Convention, 2002).

Responses to Senedh Kernow Petition by Constituency

- St Ives: 26%
- Falmouth & Camborne: 23%
- East & Mid Cornwall: 51%
  - Truro & St Austell: 17%
  - North Cornwall: 19%
  - South East Cornwall: 15%

Legend: St Ives ■ Falmouth & Camborne ■ Truro & St Austell ■ North Cornwall ■ South East Cornwall

Figure 11 – Chart of responses by signatory's constituency to Senedh Kernow petition 2001 (Data from Cornish Constitutional Convention, held at Kresenn Kernow)

The data, collected and collated by the Cornish Constitutional Convention, suggests that East Cornwall provided slightly more responses than the traditional Cornish stronghold of West Cornwall, though the margin of difference is very slight. The figures are also somewhat arbitrary given that the 'East Cornwall' bracket includes what most of the local population would consider Mid-Cornwall, as represented by Truro & St Austell. It would appear unsurprising that given the relationship between Plymouth and South East Cornwall, this part of Cornwall offered the least number of signatures on the petition per constituency. Relative proximity to the border does not appear to be as much of a determining factor in the attitudes towards governance structure in Cornwall as articles published on Cornish Identity might suggest as North Cornwall outperforms Mid Cornwall. It would also come as no surprise that St Ives, being so distant from both England and Truro which would provide the geographic base of an assembly and Westminster was the area that gave the most support to the campaign. There does therefore appear to be a proven geographical influence on devolution and identity, though not as clear cut as the East-West gradient that has been discussed by Deacon and Willett.

Constituency	Number of Signatories	Electorate (at time of Petition)	% Signatories of the Electorate
St Ives	10162	73905	13.75%
Falmouth & Camborne	9120	72679	12.55%
Truro & St Austell	7251	79210	9.15%
North Cornwall	8527	84478	10.09%
South East Cornwall	6536	78976	8.28%

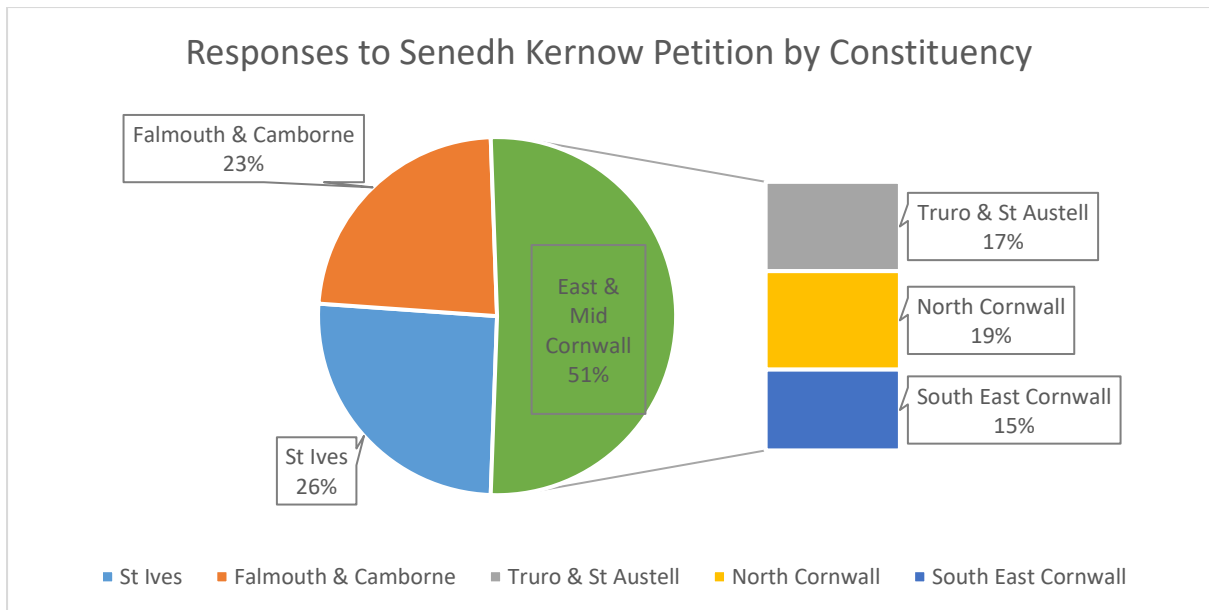*Figure 12 - Table of responses to Senedh Kernow petition 2001 (Data from Cornish Constitutional Convention, held at Kresenn Kernow)*

The above table therefore explores the number of signatories as a percentage of the electorate to account for population spread. Having set out to achieve 5% of the electorate in each constituency, they exceeded this in all of them. That being said, it is clear that taking population spread into account demonstrates the contribution from the East significantly outweighs that from other parts of Cornwall. North Cornwall also was notably far more supportive than South East Cornwall as a percentage of the population when considered in this way as well.

At this juncture it would be worth noting some of the shortcomings of the data and the methods of collections that may well have impacted on the response rate from various parts of Cornwall. It is also worth noting the relative scale of support for such a move. At the time of delivery to Downing Street, the group only just surpassed the 10% of the Cornish population that the convention had aimed to reach what could be deemed as an appropriate cross section of the public.

Furthermore, the campaign methodology of data collection needs questioning. Interviews suggest the use of major sporting effects for Cornwall, namely the Cornish Pirates and Cornish Rugby teams as arenas for collecting signatures. Research has explored how attendees to these events have a heightened Cornish national identity.[638] Without knowing how many were questioned, we cannot account or those who rejected the idea. There has also been a number of entrants written in that appear to be the same hand and some were repeat signatories. Nonetheless, taking these factors into account, you cannot ignore that the response rate is noteworthy, hence why the petition and

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[638] P. Dine and S. Crosson, *Sport, Representation and Evolving Identities in Europe* (P. Lang, 2010).

campaign is still referenced in political statements today. This is only more heightened when recognising this campaign was largely unorganised and relied on volunteers driving responses from their neighbourhoods on a purely paper-based petition.

The campaign was deemed unsuccessful in its primary aim to further Cornwall's claims for an Assembly, a claim ignored predominantly by the political classes. It did lead on to some discussions regarding the future of governance in Cornwall, which may have contributed towards a move for achieving Unitary status, though this status has been criticised by members of the convention since. Despite this, devolution itself remains relatively low priority for a significant proportion of the Cornish community.

The 1999 Mebyon Kernow White Paper specifically stated that 'Cornwall has been failed by the "Devonwall", "South-West" /"West Country" project which has inflicted damage to Cornwall and its economy, taking jobs, influence and wealth out of Cornwall'.[639] Aughey identified that 'Mebyon Kernow was not opposed to English regionalism but only opposed to Cornwall's inclusion within the South-West region', preferring the government to proceed 'with Cornish devolution and English regionalism separately and independently from each other without the other one interfering'. These quotes demonstrate that even when there were proposals for further de-centralisation, there were significant issues for the territorial integrity and distinctive identity of Cornwall, who felt different to their neighbours. This New Labour policy was the subject of extensive research of the South West Region with relation to creative industries by David Harvey.

Describing the space in question as an administrative 'regional imaginary', he supported the Macleod and Jones argument that Cornwall is a 'non English… space for regionalism' and as such does not fit comfortably into an Westminster-led Anglicised model.[640] But also significantly 'the practices of SWS [South West Screen] reflected a negotiation of boundaries, both within and beyond the South West, with the permeable nature of boundaries emerging through its international agenda of imagination and operation'.[641] To a certain extent, the collaborative dynamic was successful, for example as seen with the Combined Universities in Cornwall project, bringing together the Universities of Exeter and Plymouth to prevent the 'brain drain' of the region.[642] But largely when we look at the emergence of

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[639] Mebyon Kernow, "Your Region, Your Choice: Mebyon Kernow Response," (1999).
[640] David C Harvey, Harriet Hawkins, and Nicola J Thomas, "Regional Imaginaries of Governance Agencies: Practising the Region of South West Britain," *Environment and Planning A* 43, no. 2 (2011): 476; Jones and MacLeod.
[641] Harvey, Hawkins, and Thomas, 482.
[642] "Stemming the Brain Drain: The Combined Universities in Cornwall," https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/projects/united-kingdom/stemming-the-brain-drain-the-combined-universities-in-cornwall (Last Accessed - 21/11/2021).

Partnerships in the Cornish context, they are generally reflect the pooling of resources across Cornwall rather than incorporating the greater regions. The next chapter will explore how these working practices have now resulted in closer collaboration within the South-West regions, but still retaining a 'region of regions' dynamic, rather than one of homogenous agreement and shared values. The Boundary Commissions chapter also engaged with the issues that Europe created as it used South West Constructions for its Parliamentary Constituency as the threat to National Identity rears its head when the phrases South West are involved.[643]

Through the cross-cultural Celtic parallels, it is possible to see that whilst Nationalism is prevalent in Wales, Scotland & Cornwall, all three nations are on significantly different trajectories. Whilst Scotland's nationalism manifests itself politically, in Wales, the situation appears to be more akin to Cultural nationalism largely dependent on the language, which statistics show was, and still is, on the decline.[644] Furthermore, there is a maturity to the recognition and protections afforded to both Wales and Scotland as nations that does not translate on the sub-national theme. Politically, there is a far greater separation of the English state of daily affairs in both of those areas as compared to Cornwall, where it's border falls under the dominion and determination of Central Government.

In Cornwall, it seems the failure of any single organisation or body so far truly spearheading a movement of the people, meant that despite the relative success of the petition, the movement for Cornish Devolution has not fulfilled the potential that aligned with the successes of other Celtic Nations. At the time of writing, the lack of ownership of Devolution has meant the protect has failed to build on Cornishness consistently, leaving a patchy network of pro-Cornish resurgence. It can often be believed therefore that West Cornwall is the nexus of much Cornish Nationalism. However, there is growing evidence that a lot of the momentum for devolution and patriotism in Cornwall emanates from communities in the East, particularly Saltash & Callington, as supported by the Devonwall Protests.[645]

Thus, this thesis will now explore some of the timeline of changes to the governance structure in Cornwall and devolution, but with a micro-historical focus on the role of civic society in East Cornwall.

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[643] Harvey, Hawkins, and Thomas, 74.

[644] S. Brooks, *Why Wales Never Was: The Failure of Welsh Nationalism* (University of Wales Press, 2017).

[645] Tregidga, *The Liberal Party in South-West Britain since 1918 : Political Decline, Dormancy and Rebirth*, 2000.

The Unitary Authority, now known as Cornwall Council, originated as the 'One Cornwall' project. This project, the extensive work conducted by Cornwall County Council at the time leading the District Councils of Cornwall sought to define Cornwall as a single political entity.

The project would also have had to satisfy the internal boundaries and community barriers built up over time. Of all of the existing areas, the Caradon District welcomed the largest number of responses to the consultation. There was a dedicated meeting of the implementation Executive for South East Cornwall in July 2009, as the initial plans 'did not represent optimum solution in terms of community identity'.[646] The problems of community interaction in the East suggest the fragility of cooperation in the area and the difficulties in matching community, landscape, and identity. For example, Calstock Parish Council acknowledged their size meant that as a quota their population were too large for one councillor but insufficient for two. Therefore, they stated that transport provision meant their links were specifically with Tavistock, Plymouth or Callington and asked for this to be taken into consideration.[647] There are also numerous threatened ecclesiastical parish units that are raised within the responses to the Consultation.

Competition for space is also evident in the responses and shows how even in the vision of 'One Cornwall', Cornwall was made up of a number of diverse communities with differing interests. One resident raised how experiments of bringing the communities of Deviock and Sheviock together had failed. There also remained an insider/outsider paradigm to the Rame Peninsula.[648] Landulph Parish Council expressed its concerns over how its then current representation could be maintained or argued as an alternative to create a Tamar Valley Division that preserved 'the rural identity of the area'.[649] Conversely in the North Cornwall district, which also shares the border with Cornwall, only 5 representations were made and these largely came from Parish Councils seeking to retain their boundaries in a single member ward or on their agreed community terms in partnership with a nominated parish. This once again serves to demonstrate the unique difference between the northern and southern parts of the Cornish borderlands. The section on Local Boundary Commissions engages in far more detail on the growing rivalries that have built upon within Cornwall which are almost as problematic as the Devon-Cornwall border itself.

The recognition in 2014 of the Cornish people as a national minority under the Framework Convention for Protection of National Minorities has heightened the tensions relating to the border. This created a level of equal recognition alongside the 'Celtic' communities of the Scots, Welsh and

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[646] "South East Cornwall Community Network Boundaries - Consultation Results." Cornwall Council, 2009.
[647] Ibid.
[648] "One Council One Cornwall." 2009.
[649] Ibid.

Irish, all communities who have definitive national borders respected within and by the British state. Designation has developed a sense of 'ethnie border', taking it a step beyond the cultural border that had existed before. Cisneros' book on the rhetoric of borders argues for 'the possibility of vernacular discourses to challenge and remake the borders of citizenship and belonging. What are the possibilities that rhetoric possesses to rewrite these boundaries and redefine political and cultural space?'[650] Sue Wright's study of Catalonia developed and highlighted the difficulties surrounding this concept; 'A difficulty for ethno-linguistic communities who are dispersed across the borders of administrative units of all sizes – provincial, regional and international – is that these dimensions tend to conform to and to become exacerbated by these borders. In some more extreme contexts internal ethnic cleavages arise along such border'.[651] As such, whilst an ethnic people are protected, their territory is not protected politically, and their border thus threatened. This has been the case in Cornwall as seen with the protests on Polson Bridge discussed elsewhere

The awarding of minority status was celebrated in Cornwall, attracting national media attention, but the evidence suggests that in reality it was a non-event, as very little change has actually occurred since. This has been largely owing to Government changes and the resultant collapse of the Liberal Democrats, who had been vital to achieving minority status as partners in the coalition Government. There is something to be said that since the party have not been in Government, the Conservatives have not upheld the empowerment of the Cornish community.

Martin Loughlin and Cal Viney explored in detail the implications of the Coalition government on the constitution following the pledge 'to effect a 'fundamental shift of power from Westminster to people' by giving new powers to local councils and local communities'.[652] In terms of the ramifications for the Celtic Fringe, the chapter focuses on the constitutional implications for Scotland and Wales and how the rushing through of policies during the Coalition had raised significant concerns regarding the 'foundations of the UK's entire constitutional architecture'.[653] This is vitally important research conducted by Pete Woodcock of Huddersfield University, researching Yorkshire and Cornish Identity pinpointed from his online survey revealing an overwhelming sense of Cornish

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[650] J.D. Cisneros, *The Border Crossed Us: Rhetorics of Borders, Citizenship, and Latina/O Identity* (University of Alabama Press, 2014), vii.

[651] S. Wright, *Language, Democracy, and Devolution in Catalonia* (Multilingual Matters, 1999), 78.

[652] Martin Loughlin and Cal Viney, "The Coalition and the Constitution," in *The Coalition Effect, 2010–2015*, ed. Anthony Seldon and Mike Finn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 80.

[653] Ibid., 84.

Identity from respondents in the build up to the Scottish referendum. Minority status will certainly have been a factor having been awarded established and confirmed in the year prior.[654]

The strength of localised internal boundary negotiations in this transition to Unitary also over spilled into the negotiations since the Unitary Status was given. In July 2015, Cornwall Councillors accepted a Cornish Devolution deal, with the UK Government, as part of the Conservative *One Nation* agenda. In doing so, Cornwall became the first rural county to be given devolved powers in this form. Interestingly, the deal has been extremely limited as to what it can deliver when compared to what has been seen in other Celtic Nations. Cornwall has been treated like an English region and the devolution package reflects that, not giving it the control of its workings and its border remains threatened. Whilst Cornwall Council's *Devolution News* was intended to keep residents informed, the reality was that little progress could be seen in the updates provided, instead repeating snippets of what the deal stated in bitesize form. The comments of the Skipper in the *Falmouth Packet* in March 2015 sum up some of the arguments that could be presented regarding progress to date:

> 'The newsroom has been treated this week to a slick devolution of powers campaign by Cornwall Council, launched to make the "Case for Cornwall", and while it is stuffed with buzz words galore.... there is a big BIG problem. Much of this campaign sounds like perfect sense, on first reading, and to take the sting out of the barbs that will fly, I am all for wresting powers from central government and a cabal of unaccountable distant politicians and quango bosses, but this is not a "Case for Cornwall" for one glaringly clear and simple reason. This is that Cornwall has not been asked about it, at all'.[655]

The quote above reflects the growing frustration that the Devolution package was far less about delivering substantive change, but simply an appeasement of the Cornish Identity. The initial joy of the deal has now been exposed for the cynical empty statement it was. Even at the time, John Pollard, the former Cornwall Council leader at the time of the *Case for Cornwall* spoke of 'Our ambition is to achieve 'double devolution' so that the Council's partners, including our town and parish colleagues and our partners in the voluntary sector, benefit from the transfer of powers from London to Cornwall. These are actions that the unitary Council, collaborating with partners, can

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[654] "Cornwall and Yorkshire Show Regional Identities Run Deep in England, Too " https://theconversation.com/cornwall-and-yorkshire-show-regional-identities-run-deep-in-england-too-41322 (Last Accessed - 19/06/2018).

[655] "Comment 'Case for Cornwall' or Cornwall Council Power Grab, You Decide," *Falmouth Packet,* 31st March 2015.

achieve, but to what extent is this trickle-down process of power really reaching the local communities?

The proposed solution from Cornwall Council was to give more support to localism in the different areas. *Cornwall Local Plan* outlined its strategic policies from 2010-2030 and demonstrated its spatial imaginations of the internal borders of Cornwall. Formally adopted in November 2016, the document reflects on the current situation of Cornwall as it is, drawing on policies since 2010 and looks forward to how it sees Cornwall develop. For the purpose of this thesis, I shall focus on two key aspects with particular emphasis placed on the eastern Cornish communities and their associated 'hubs': How does this document explore the sense of place and distinct Cornish identity throughout and to what extent is there a working relationship or dependence on Devon for eastern Cornish communities?

Cornwall Local Plan's foundation lies in the way in which it perceives Cornwall itself. It looks to Cornwall as 'distinctive', at how it 'encompasses a diverse environment and rich economic and cultural history… an area of many contrasts and varied landscapes… characterised by a disperse settlement plan'.[656] It also explores how 'being a peninsula means that Cornwall does not and cannot rely heavily on neighbouring area to supplement many infrastructure requirements such as health, employment and education. While this geography creates challenges for economic growth and accessibility it also provides us with opportunities. It has helped create some of Cornwall's distinctiveness and cultural identity', a sentiment that is shared in Hayward's conclusions in *Bounded by heritage and the Tamar* in which he explored the natural geographic landscape of Cornwall in identity formation describing it as almost an island, and the psychological implications. [657] What Hayward fails to recognise is the smaller cultural constructions and how Cornwall's communities 'are equally diverse having developed strong local identities and traditions – many of which continue today' or as the case may be, are lost, revived, reinvented and reimagined in constructing a Cornwall of the future.[658]

Thus, in endeavouring to establish its border with the rest of the United Kingdom, it cannot ignore the myriad of localised conflicts and local borders that remain in the Cornish landscape. The pressures of localised community identities are still important, if not sometimes more important than the border between Devon and Cornwall if the project is to be a success.

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656 "Cornwall Local Plan Strategic Policies 2010-2030" Cornwall Council, Truro, 2016.
657 Ibid.
658 Ibid.

The desire for Double Devolution comes, quite simply from the issues surrounding the delivery of Devolution. As discussed in more detail elsewhere, the devolution package offered to Cornwall shows that Cornwall is still competing at its border for the control of its border, as City Deals for Plymouth allow the cityscape to dominate the business of East Cornwall. Similarly issues Cornwall was the first rural area to receive devolution, decision making is not confined to the border. Its Police & Crime Commissioner is shared with Devon and based in Exeter. Devolution was also offered to the City of Plymouth as a competitive city in its own right and Ambulance coverage determined overall as a south-west collective model. On this issue however, theory has several conflicting case-studies that demonstrate issues with borders in devolution, some describing its ability to restrict access, others arguing it improves competition.[659] As discussed in the Cityscapes section, the pressures of increased nationhood from Scotland is that devolution does not need Cornwall to act in isolation, and new opportunities are emerging from the borderlands that suggest cooperation is possible when the constitutional status is settled and national identities not threatened.

Nonetheless, the work of East Cornwall residents for the Cornish cause has not gone unrecognised by those who are considered the protectors of the distinctive Cornish Identity. Gorsedh Kernow was established by Henry Jenner during the Celto-Cornish revival in 1901 and its bards have continued to 'maintain the national Celtic spirit of Cornwall' ever since.[660] Maureen Fuller's foreword to *Cornish Bards of the Tamar Valley* states that 'these battles [referring to Vikings and Saxon conflicts] have bred a proud, defiant, stubborn people who have defended their borders constantly from before Hingston Down to the recent Devonwall rally on Brunel Green in order to keep Cornwall whole. It should be no surprise that some names chosen by bards of the Tamar Valley often include reference to this using the words, guardian, borderer or shield-bearer'.[661] Written in 2014 and launched at the Gorsedh Kernow Conference held in Torpoint that same year, the book had a clear political message that sought to remind the audience of the strong Cornish sentiment espoused in Torpoint and across the Tamar Valley. Names that stand out include 'Man of the Frontier', though unfortunately not much is known about him and 'Cornishman of the Plym' for his services to the Plymouth Cornish Association.[662] There is no particular period when politicised Bardic names with reference to the border of communities outside of Cornwall based on the sample in the book. This instead suggests the Tamar and the border have always been a matter of pride to

[659] Guy Lachapelle and Pablo Oñate, *Borders and Margins: Federalism, Devolution and Multi-Level Governance* (Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2018); Eoin Magennis, "The Impact of Devolution on Everyday Life, 1999–2010: The Case of Cross-Border Commerce," in *Everyday Life after the Irish Conflict* (Manchester University Press, 2018).
[660] Rayne and University of,2012.
[661] Gorsedh Kernow, *Cornish Bards of the Tamar Valley*, Gorsedh Kernow Bards (2014), v.
[662] Ibid.

the Cornish Nationalists since the organisation was established, though it is not a pointed subject for the community there.

This was a markedly different tone to the one used in the *Cornish Bards from the North Cornwall area* which had been released in 2012 to commemorate the Gorsedh that year in Camelford. The message from Mick Paynter, the Grand Bard at the time was different and sought to send a message far more appealing to nation of Cornwall. He argued that 'the people of Cornwall's High Country, Tiredh Ughel, more commonly known as North Cornwall have given a great deal to our country. I know the people of the district often feel that this is not generally recognised and so there is the feeling of neglect… Bards from this area were among the first in our Cornish Gorsedd, initiated in 1928, and this has continued from those early days right up to the present day. The Bards of the district have continued their work for Cornwall. Among them people prominent in all areas of our culture and some holding Gorsedd offices at the most senior level'.[663] Whilst South East Cornwall and the Rame Peninsula is regarded as 'Cornwall's forgotten Corner', the foreword here implies that North Cornwall shares a similar sentiment. The *North Cornwall Area* in the title describes how there is a lack of spatial definition to North Cornwall as compared with the Tamar Valley which is clearly defined. Agnes M Taylor who went by the bardic name 'Daughter of Devon and the 'Son of the Border', The Reverend Julian Metherell Davey are the two distinctive names of the selected bards are the only references to the border and of interaction over the border.[664] In neither North Cornwall or South East Cornwall are the number of bards using the iconography of the Border in their bardic names to the level that one might expect given their proximity. Clearly the Tamar and the border do not symbolise the Cornish experience for Bards in both areas, but that does not mean to say the individuals do not respect it.

Whilst the debates over devolution continue and whether Cornwall should have greater powers is once again being discussed. Wider academia, and what this section has sought to focus on, is the variable extent to which the need to protect Cornwall as a political entity is and the struggle in the competing devolved landscapes. The impact of these deals can be seen in other sections, but devolution has, and will continue to play a vital role in daily life. Particularly in East Cornwall with many more disparate populations, usually more rural, the need for governance to engage with the micro seems almost as pertinent as the discussions surrounding the Tamar and Cornwall's increased powers and responsibilities.

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[663] Gorsedh Kernow, *Cornish Bards from the North Cornwall Area*, Gorsedh Kernow Bards (2012).
[664] Ibid., 40,48.

Minority Status has undoubtedly reaffirmed the Tamar as an ethnic border. It has been hoped that the 2021 census would allow people who identify as Cornish to do so which has not yet been possible. This would have also quantified the Cornish national Identity. Despite campaigns being actively pursued by Golden Tree with their Cornish Embassy Bus and championed in Parliament by Steve Double MP, it seems this is not going to go ahead. Pertinent to the discussions here, is that Bodmin was chosen as the location for the announcement on Minority status. Behind the push to achieve this appears to be a strong connection to North Cornwall with a number of the key individuals living in or from the area. Not only was the announcement made in North Cornwall in Bodmin, with Dan Rogerson championing the project, but also the editor for the successful proposal was Ian Saltern from Bude. This comes back to the how the political border is being shaped by the 'spatialization of identities, nation and danger'. In this case the desire to be spatially recognised as Cornish, in what are the overlapping realms is possibly at odds with Englishness and Britishness as part of the British political image.[665] This is as yet an unresolved issue.

Border theory demonstrates how sentiments of threat heighten tensions surround the border and perceptions of them.[666] This in turns raises the profile of discussions of the border and as we see a number of significant socio-economic challenges, people often look closer to home to find answers. Where the Celtic Fringe other than Cornwall can look to the degree of self-governance afforded to them at times of difficulty, Cornwall remains in a battle to defend its territory. The uneven devolution of the United Kingdom will mean that we see the issue be raised repeatedly until protections are put into place. However, it does seem that the momentum behind devolution is not sustained. The ebbs and flows reflect a waning of support to devolution that is also visible in the current political make-up of Cornwall. The threat of the internal border conflicts and the upscaling of governance will continue to be a controversial topic for the Cornish communities. Cornwall Council is currently reducing its members and with that comes more discussions of Cornish representation. Devolution needs scrutiny in Cornwall as the empty rhetoric that accompanied the deal in 2015 is now being recognised for what it was. But at the same time, there is a feeling that Cornwall Council is losing its connection with local communities, and with that comes further threats of internal boundary disputes. The importance of borders can be determined as part of a struggle for recognition and power, recurring motifs of the Cornish Identity.

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[665] Anssi Paasi, "The Changing Discourses on Political Boundaries: Mapping the Backgrounds, Contexts and Contents," (2005), 18.

[666] K. Staudt, *Border Politics in a Global Era: Comparative Perspectives* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2017).

Chapter 11 - Conclusion

Rumford recognises that 'border studies now routinely addresses a wide range of complex "what, where, and who" questions. What constitutes a border (when the emphasis is on processes of bordering not borders as things)? Where are these borders to be found? Who is doing the bordering? It is still possible to ask these questions and receive a straightforward and predictable answer: "the state". This is no longer a satisfactory answer. Seeing like a border involves the recognition that borders are woven into the fabric of society and are the routine business of all concerned. In this sense, borders are the key to understanding networked connectivity as well as questions of identity, belonging, political conflict, and societal transformation'.[667]

Rumford's analysis presumes we are operating on the national scale, but actually the questions we ask of borders at that level can also be asked at sub-national level where this study operates. Fundamentally borders are political; the responsibility of the border lies with the British Government, who have it within their power to enshrine the River Tamar as a definitive border in this case study. But to leave the study there would be to undermine the agency of the local communities and the breadth of opinion expressed by those to whom it matters, or indeed those who it doesn't matter to. Ordinary people, both as individuals living their daily lives, or as part of civic society have changed their minds at time, and in doing so, we've seen some changes to the political boundary. Symbolically though, for a far greater audience, the cultural construction of the border holds equal, if not more value to some. The delineation created by the natural landscape represents a clear divide, but in an evolving world with far greater connectivity, the re-bordering process is already happening with those commuting on a regular basis and the emergence of cross-border agencies and initiatives. This thesis has sought to show just how multi-faceted the Tamar has become.

Cornwall's constitutional status provides an important backdrop for any discussions concerning its border. Described as a Duchy or a County or a region or a nation, interchangeable depending on the author. It is a highly subjective topic for discussion, one that continues to play out in the political debate. In his updated edition of *Cornwall: A History*, Payton writes how 'It has been fashionable since at least the 1980s to declare that Cornwall is 'at a cross-roads'. Now, in the second decade of the twenty-first century, the phrase rings especially true. One the one hand, Cornwall's identity is expressed with increasing confidence, and the Cornish have won recognition in ways thought unlikely, if not impossible, just a few years ago'.[668] Payton's statements are based on his belief that Devolution is the resolution for all. What this thesis has sought to demonstrate though is that prior

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[667] Rumford,2014, 40.
[668] Philip Payton, *Cornwall: A History* (University of Exeter Press, 2017), 367.

government intervention may be needed before such a decision could be taken. Whilst Cornwall Council's Devolution deal with the Government promises much greater power, its remit is subject to the geographical area of Cornwall Council's jurisdiction. Local Government Boundary reviews have demonstrated how this defined area has evolved over time. One of the key conclusions of this thesis is based on the way in which Cornwall is discussed as an entity, but very rarely defined geographically consistently. Wales and Scotland, have for many centuries held consistent borders with the English state. Devolving responsibility to a recognised geographic nation is far more straightforward. In Cornwall, the complexities of a sub-national border that is both politically part of England, yet distinctive as a region, make this a far more inconclusive example and where this thesis offers its unique perspective on both Cornwall and on border studies.

Vaughan-Williams writes 'Borders are ubiquitous in political life. Indeed, borders are perhaps ubiquitous of political life'.[669] Payton's quote above, building on some of his other academic works, reflects how the political and the cultural are increasingly aligned in Cornish studies, the interplay between them becoming an increasing focus of study. This thesis has sought to demonstrate the many ways in which the study of borders can shed new light on some of the existing academic discussions around Cornwall's political representation, devolution, and relations with neighbouring authorities. Many of these relate to the explicit discussion of borders, but operating on another level is the ways in which the border plays an implicit role. Border theory operates on the subliminal level, the way in which borders become part of common rhetoric, how they reshape peoples perceptions of time and space. Engrained in much of the discussion around the political is the sentiment of nationalism that still operates at this sub-national level. We've also seen how the way of life has also diminished the border in some cases and how increased connectivity, through shared initiatives, through increased number and ways of traversing the border and shared skills and opportunities alter the perceptions of division that we commonly associate with the border.

The social construction of borders, that which gives voice to the work of human interaction is not ignored, but instead, explored through political activity. We have seen political protest, both in writing and in action, taking place within the political landscape. Cultural constructions of place are significant, because they challenge the political norm, but we can see how every-day bordering is a product arising from political decisions. Examples are varied. They can consist of shopping experiences, places to live, means of transport and infrastructure expectation and delivery. All of these in their own way determine the variation perceptions of the openness or closed nature of the border. Whilst movements such as *Keep Cornwall Whole*, have always believed in Cornwall as an entity in itself, nothing suggests that Cornwall is isolated from the rest of the world. Adam Killeya reflected that this the movement was all about 'distinct identity, geography, needs culture. I don't

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[669] Nick Vaughan-Williams, *Border Politics* (Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 1.

think, for me, it was ever about "we don't like people from Devon". It was never about that we don't want to be with them, and it was about "this area is distinct from Devon" … To me, Cornish Nationalism is quite distinct from English Nationalism or British Nationalism, because, like Welsh Nationalism, a more positive emphasis on history and culture and distinctiveness rather than "we want to keep people out", not to say there weren't a few people involved who thought like that.[670]

Whilst thematically, there is an important contribution to Celtic Studies here, there is an inherit difficulty in drawing too many parallels between the experience of borders for Cornwall to the English state as opposed to the experience of Wales or Scotland, or indeed discussions of Ireland. Whilst their common Celtic identity that opposes the centralised anglicised state, Cornwall is constitutionally not a nation. That is not to say that anyone who identifies Cornwall as a Celtic nation is wrong for doing so, but on the topic of borders in particular, this can be very problematic as the control and designation of a border is very different. Certainly there is consistency in the sentiment of borders across the Celtic Fringe. Co-operation certainly does exist across the borders of the Celtic Fringe with England as part of the United Kingdom and the ways in which identity has been shaped by the borders and indeed shapes the borders. Indeed, reference has also been made in this thesis to transport links across borders between the Celtic Nations and England, the shared spaces and initiatives that have emerged on the borders and how these have provided opportunities that benefit both England and the Celtic Nations. Focus should be given to the relational history and how this has changed over time which is crucial to understanding why there is such diverging views about how the border is viewed depending on one's experience of it. But England has direct rule over the future of Cornwall; Cornwall cannot disassociate itself from the English experience and that is why, at times, reference has been drawn to the experience from other parts of England because these provide the relevant comparisons for some of the areas that have been focused on in this thesis.

Expression of identity is key to the understanding of Cornwall, its culture, and its borders. Whilst Willett's approach of quantifying Cornish identity in 2008 provided a snapshot in time, it did not take into consideration, spatial differences in expression nor change over time. Instead, exploring how identity had been utilised in debates surrounding the border, or how the border consecrated ideals of identity is far more relevant to the discussion. As demonstrated throughout and summarised by Tregidga, the relationship between place and identity in Cornwall is undeniable.[671] Part of the understanding of place is one of confidence in Cornwall as a whole. Therefore, implicitly, the border is part of that construct. But the intricacies of the border, its fluctuations and reconfigurations are often overlooked in these discussions. That's why the opening chapters of this thesis revisited some

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[670] Killeya, interview by Fidler.
[671] Tregidga, "Reconstructing West Wales: Welsh Representations and Cultural Memories of Cornwall," 2013.

of the existing academia that exists around Cornish Identity and sought to layer in the fresh perspectives and some of the localised differences. As mentioned in the introduction, the flattening of Cornwall as a single entity diminishes the vast local history that exists across Cornwall's great expanse and diverse terrains. Recognising the historic contribution of East Cornwall, the competition for space in the East and how these provide fresh and interesting insights on the Cornish identity is intertwined with the experience of life near the border.

Having opened the discussion around Cornwall, the discussions of transport then bring more value to the discourse of Border studies, which demonstrates the value that this thesis can offer to different theoretical bases. Whilst there is a focus on borders as markers of delineation, this chapter reflected on the increasing connectivity across the border and how this has contributed to the re-bordering process. The desire and need to seek opportunities across the border, recognising the contribution of Cornwall to both Devon and Plymouth and visa versa has seen large scale investment in the border crossings. In doing so, the process of crossing the border has become more commonplace and that has a profound impact on the way in which the border is understood. In turn, this has contributed to the discussions around shared space that we're developed later and show how, especially at the sub-national level, those cross-border partnerships ensure that communities feel less forgotten and left behind, both concerns raised historically in East Cornwall.

One way in which we can see the value of studying borders at the sub-national level is how the dynamics of border theory are both supported and challenged when operating without the nation state being defined and enshrined in law. Exploring how emotion and identity around the border have been adopted to galvanise support at various public enquiries and consultations on Boundary Commission Reviews, demonstrates these fears and perceptions of the border amidst these ongoing tensions. Responses demonstrate Community pride of bounded space, that has been reinforced by historical narratives of Cornwall, whether proven or not. These have played on the minds of the residents, concerned by the prospective loss of their treasured localised identities. Importance is given by residents to the distinctive voice of Cornwall, keen to remind decision-makers that shared values across Cornwall and Devon do not justify the case for assimilation. These recognise that its peninsular identification and hitherto feelings of isolation and experiences of difference, need localised solutions to resolve. There is the feeling that any desecration of the border through contrived cross-border constituencies would fail to address key issues. But we have seen also how on a more localised scale, some areas have changed the affinity between Cornwall and Devon whilst at the same time not undermining the cultural and political differences that exist between the two. Drastic action taken in changing County definition, has emerged from historic responses to localised issues. This emanated from the simplistic failure to collaborate and work together in addressing the differing responses from the two Authorities.

When discussing 'development' and the threat of 'Urbanisation' these also play out in the full description of the border. The City of Plymouth warranted significant discussion not only in the context of Cornish devolution, but also for how space is imagined close to the border. The discussions of 'cityscapes' was one that showed how the city of Plymouth has formally attempted to annex Cornish territories. However, also highlighted is its soft 'control' over Cornish communities and Civic Society. An element of dependency upon Plymouth in East Cornwall has also been demonstrated, most notably in relation to infrastructure. It is the challenge for Cornwall to strike a balance which, in turn, ensures a degree of independence. To counteract the threat of the City, Cornwall must develop and grow to provide its own unique, robust alternative. The current devolution arrangements and investments from the European Union for example, have facilitated and promoted some of this necessary growth, in time, as the demands of its population has increased. However, the provision close to the border still means that there remains shared services. The 'unequal' devolution settlements applied across the UK have been subject to significant academic criticism, but they are playing out and continue to create confusion as to clear understanding of boundaries, spheres of influence and the Devon-Cornwall border.[672]

Whilst Cornwall only has one City, Truro its Capital, we can see how other towns in Cornwall are responding, also, to the demands of Cornwall and led to the emergence of key towns within the landscape. Whilst the tone of Mike Smallcombe's article from 2017 is 'tongue in cheek', looking at *Four Towns that could be Cornwall's Capital instead of Truro*, it reflects the growing feeling within the Cornish Population of the need for decentralisation and localism within Cornwall.[673]

Focusing on East Cornwall on which this thesis is based, Bodmin is playing an ever-more increasing role in the Civic Society of Cornwall, akin to its position as a County Town. As history vividly demonstrates, these have been a feature of East Cornwall and the importance of towns there thus play an increasingly key role. But of equal importance, Newquay is fast emerging as a frontier town to airspace, becoming one of the major airports of the South West, replacing Plymouth as well as being home to Spaceport Cornwall. Where journeys are not reliant on the land, Newquay has become an important gateway that reshapes the wider spatial experience for visitors to Cornwall, as well as making it more international in appearance. This means that towns in Cornwall are in direct competition with Plymouth as alternative hubs for transport, opening up opportunities that previously Cornwall relied upon outside Cities to provide. Cornwall's adopted Local Plan appears to

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[672] J. Mohan, *A United Kingdom?: Economic, Social and Political Geographies* (Taylor & Francis, 2014).
[673] "Why These Four Towns Could Be Cornwall's Capital and County Town Instead of Truro," *Cornwall Live*, 11/08/2017.

reflect the 'hubs' of Cornish society in a modern take, similar to the themes proposed by Perry of townscapes across the Cornish landscape.[674]

Wilson & Donnan recognised that 'Distinctive histories, language, religions and other cultural resources have been the wellspring of an ongoing social and political rebordering devolution process in Britain'.[675] As Payton explicitly expressed, he believes that Devolution plays a significant role in shaping the future of Cornwall. Implicitly within that process is rebordering. The context of Cornish Devolution amidst the wider negotiation of power in both debordering and rebordering, has already limited the opportunities for Cornwall to uniquely express its own individual identity. However, it is interesting that Celtic Unity follows similar patterns to the individual timelines of devolution applicable to each Celtic nation. The actions of one inspires the other. Cornwall has seen the consolidation of power beyond the border which has strengthened the Celtic Nation States. Cornwall has tried to follow suit, but even with its Devolution 'success', it has had to contend with the threat of its border being classified as part of the Government's overall 'Devonwall' agenda. This means that whilst Devolution gives opportunities for greater local decision making to take place within Cornwall, its spatial integrity continues to be questioned and undermined. Such moves challenge the spatialization of the Cornish people and their territory implying that Cornwall, in the longer term, will remain subservient to decisions made about its future by people elsewhere with no affinity to the County. This has been witnessed already based on the experiences of the unpopular South West Regional Development Agency.

Devonwall is not simply one unique event, but a series through time which has led to redefining both the landscape and the infrastructure close to the border with varying outcomes. The term itself, leading with the classification 'Devon' will always be associated with negativity for the simple fact that its etymology puts Devon first and foremost. This in turn, reflects the perception within Cornwall that decision making always favours those residing in Devon. What is often omitted however, is the demonstration of the success of positive collaboration that has and continues to prevail. The success of the UNESCO initiative, was that it placed the impetus and drive of the project directly from Cornish Civic Society. Precedence was set and established that clearly demonstrated that where Devon took the lead on projects cross-border, these often flowed in the face of Cornish population resistance.

Cornwall often discusses being 'left behind' or 'forgotten' in the many narratives of British and English history.[676] The same also can be said for the lack of micro-studies of Cornwall which have in consequence neglected to examine the communities whose lives are intertwined in the Cornish

[674] Ronald Perry and Philip Payton, *The Making of Modern Cornwall, Cornwall since the War*, vol. null, Null (1993).
[675] Wilson and Donnan, *A Companion to Border Studies*,2012, 225.
[676] Willett et al.

experience, but are not part of Cornwall itself. The need to go into greater detail about the history of East Cornwall and its communities reveals some of the ways in which Cornish identity has manifested itself against the threat of incursion. This conception arises from the way in which the Cornish language and identity did not manifest itself near the River Lynher in the South-East or River Ottery in the North going as far back in history as the Eleventh century.[677] Stoyle's analysis that points towards a 'less articulated ethnic identity' is possibly more representative of East Cornwall that other parts of the county. Whilst writing about the early-modern period, the influence of bordering 'English' towns and communities has fundamentally shaped the way of life in these areas.[678] We might question however the relativity of this sentiment in the modern context.

Given that the Celtic Nations of Wales and Scotland are recognised as such and their boundaries respected and given the contemporary focus of much of the research presented here, it is difficult to draw direct parallels in experience. What this thesis has done however is examined how and where borders and boundaries have been left unchanged, a growing cross-border civic society is rejuvenating communities. These are often equally as rural as those found at the Cornwall-Devon Border. Respecting the border has facilitated improved dialogue that in turn provides localised solutions to issues. Transport, jobs, and tourism are but a few of the recognised local concerns at the borders and thus demonstrates similarities compared within the Celtic experience.[679]

This thesis has sought to reintroduce these micro case studies in a range of differing scenarios to explore the very fringes of Cornish identity. In doing so, it has also demonstrated the difficulties of applying border theory in practice. The experience along a border does not need to be a consistent one, particularly where we consider 'borders in motion'.[680] This feature is a growing body of research that explores border formation as a process and the ways in which borders change over time. What has remained, is that a border which exists, acts a demarcation line to differentiate one community from another. Places and times of co-operation have changed the border in the quotidian lives of some people that demonstrates that politics learns from and applies retrospective aspects. This is why we have clearly seen the movement of communities from Cornwall to Devon and vice versa. This has occurred by both personal decisions of individuals, but also the transfer of communities on a formal basis.

This has come about because borders are in themselves far less, objects for study. They are rather a series of political relationships that need exploring and examining. Whether that is the relationship

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[677] Deacon, *The Cornish Family : The Roots of Our Future*,2004.
[678] Stoyle, "English 'Nationalism', Celtic Particularism, and the English Civil War."
[679] Jesse Heley, Graham Gardner, and Suzie Watkin, "Cultures of Local Economy in a Celtic Fringe Region," *European Urban and Regional Studies* 19, no. 4 (2012); Deborah Lloyd Greg Peel, "Urban Regeneration: Experiences and Insights from the Celtic Fringe," (2017).
[680] Victor Konrad, "Toward a Theory of Borders in Motion," *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 30, no. 1 (2015).

of intra-Cornish Communities, their relationships with local community units and interest groups, their relationship with national, international Governments and Parliaments, they all create spatial constructs that can conflict with what we understand as individuals' perspectives of space.

The difficulties of this research return us to the question of 'whose border is it?'. Historical narratives of the border have been intertwined in the Cornish experience. Myths surrounding the Tamar have created an ancient precedence that does not conform with the political constructions of the Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries. Decisions made from beyond the border, do not appear to align with the Cornish border definition. One may conclude that whilst a border might be fluid, fluctuating and alive with political updates, there is an entrenched border that is unmistakably part of the Cornish identity.

In conclusion, border studies reveal more about Cornish identity and its connections with places. When you look beyond the border as a defining line and explore it rather as a point of division, a place where two communities come together or as a region in its own right, you see how this perspective significantly alters the value placed on the border.

The romanticised notions of an unconquered border since the time of King Canute, has played a significant role in how the Cornish population perceives itself. Writers have often spoken warmly of the experience of coming into Cornwall. The dramatic moment as one crosses the Tamar out of Cornwall is what the locals speak of as going 'up country'. There is a sentimentality associated with the border. Simultaneously, the 'Tamar Valley' demonstrates a recognition of localised working that has its own history and the sense that the bordering communities, their economies, and day to day lives have been linked for far longer than one would imagine or appreciate.

S.J. Drake reflected on his research into *Cornwall, Connectivity and Identity in the Fourteenth century* and his epilogue drew specific references to the boundaries of Cornwall;

> 'There can be little doubt that the notion of Cornwall remains contested to this day. Within and without its boundaries, sundry folk reimagine the peninsula as both a shire of England and a Celtic nation, fiercely debating contemporary Cornish identity and the county's place in the British Isles. The history of Cornwall itself forms one of the most disputed strands of this struggle for Cornishness, with the so-called 'Kernowsceptic' and 'Kernowcentric' interpretations of the county's past vying for dominance. Arguing that an Imperial England subverted Cornwall's nationhood and forever regarded its Celtic people as a conquered

alien other, the Kernowcentric school of thought holds that the history of Cornwall is entirely separate from that of England.'[681]

The reality is that political space is more complex and is becoming far more disconnected from historic communities. The world in the twenty-first century has become far more about notions of interconnectivity. But Drake is very clear that there is a cultural dynamic, independent of any political manifestation, that surrounds the Tamar which is difficult to quantify, but is very evident in much of the rhetoric. What is interesting about interconnectivity is that whilst it appears a new phenomenon, this thesis demonstrates a long-shared history in the border regions. A borderland for communities in East Cornwall, West Devon and Plymouth has existed for Centuries, but it has not been popularised as it would celebrate cross-border relations. The crisis facing Cornwall is that without confidence in the longevity of its distinctive Celtic identity, any discussions of relationships across the Tamar feel like a veiled attempt to impose Colonialism in a national sense. Thus, the paradox of the disunited Kingdom remains, one in which disproportionate devolution and empty promises from Central Government, far from empowering communities in this part of the Celtic Fringe, leave them feeling more threatened and isolated than ever before.[682]

If Cornwall's border were protected in law and enshrining the territory of Cornwall, it could galvanise the community not to feel threatened by further collaboration with Devon. From the experiences of Wales and Scotland, there is a growing body of research that recognises the opportunities Cross-border partnerships bring.[683] The political protection of the border however should not be seen simply as the opportunity for Cornwall to work in isolation. Bringing further devolution and decision making as an entity in itself, should allow Cornwall opportunities to reinvigorate communities, many of which have struggled to find their own individual identity since the demise of the mining industry. But it is universally accepted that where a border is created, a new core-periphery is established in its place.[684] The chapter dedicated to this looked at ensuring that the feeling of being left-behind and forgotten still occurs within the sub-nation state, the periphery of the fringe therefore must find new spaces and new ways to thrive and find opportunities. Particularly for sub-national borders, there is no need for these to be confined to one side of the border or the other, and the ability to operate without comprising or challenging

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[681] S. J. Drake, "Epilogue
Contesting Cornwall," in *Cornwall, Connectivity and Identity in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. S. J. Drake (Boydell & Brewer, 2019), 317.

[682] Joanie Willett and Arianna Giovannini, "The Uneven Path of Uk Devolution: Top-Down Vs. Bottom-up Regionalism in England - Cornwall and the North-East Compared," *Political Studies* 62, no. 2 (2014).

[683] Shaw, Robinson, and Blackie; B. Ilbery and G. Saxena, "Integrated Rural Tourism in the English-Welsh Cross-Border Region: An Analysis of Strategic, Administrative and Personal Challenges," *Regional Studies* 45, no. 8 (2011).

[684] Alberto Vanolo, "The Border between Core and Periphery: Geographical Representations of the World System," *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie* 101, no. 1 (2010).

identities and preconceptions of space is vital for the ongoing prosperity that is increasing recognised in border studies for those who live near the border.

We are seeing Cornwall Council having to reconsider its Truro-centric model in its unitary form to empower communities in their hubs across Cornwall and the growing unpopularity of some centralised decision which has taken place there. Drake argues that 'when combined with a rich array of local myths and customs, a complex and engaging history, and an endlessly reimagined range of identities, it is no surprise that Cornwall is somewhere whose history and Cornishness itself is worth contesting. Yet the many contrasting aspects of Cornwall surely deserve to be studied, debated, and discussed at length and for their own sake, and not forced into reductive narratives of relentless repression, national destiny, or quiet homogenisation. No history is unchanging'.[685] What Drake identifies is not the need for revisionary history about Cornwall, but instead the enriching of the academia around Cornwall and Cornish identity. These narratives and experiences from East Cornwall have been typically either been ignored or been side-lined in the studies of identity, when actually their lived experiences enrich our understanding of what it means to be Cornish and do not conform to the stereotypes that we've come to associate. As has been raised in the introduction, there is great difficulty in quantifying the levels of Cornish sentiment in society, but we see much evidence of how the underlying traits of defending territory and difference influence decision-making in the rhetoric during border negotiations.

One aspect of Unitary Status that is often overlooked is the power given to Cornwall in lobbying for its own political control within its border. As Cornwall Council, they were able to negotiate the first rural Devolution Settlement in England which empowered the newly reconfigured NHS Kernow body. This was also important to make claim for potential EU funding at the time.[686] The European project has had a profound impact on Cornwall, a region that had been a net beneficiary of much European funding. Despite the representation of Cornwall being part of the wider construct, and whilst this may well have impacted on perceptions of the EU at the time of the referendum in which Cornwall voted to leave, its voice was being heard. Much needed investment has encouraged Cornwall to look internationally for opportunities. Returning to the parallels drawn between the Cornish peninsula appearing almost like an Island, the opportunities to maximise the opportunities and explore its relations in a borderless world is an exciting prospect for Cornwall. History has demonstrated that it has much to contribute to the global community, as demonstrated during the great diaspora. This will with it present challenges to isolationist Cornwall in its current form as the

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[685] Drake, 2019.

[686] Ed Cox, Jack Hunter, and Research Institute for Public Policy, *Empowering Counties : Unlocking County Devolution Deals* (2015).

need for urbanisation would follow, but what this thesis has shown throughout is that there are both internal and external opportunities to resolve this.

Jane Wills' article on Local Government in Cornwall following Unitary Status acknowledged that 'Even without moving the physical borders around towns and larger villages, there is scope for forging more reciprocal relationships between the towns and their neighbouring parishes'.[687] She does recognise pitfalls in the governance model based on tax discrepancies, her evidence being based on interviews with Local Government representatives from West and Mid Cornwall. Importantly however, she is reflecting on the fact that a spirit of collaboration is one that has been extended through a 'One Cornwall' model. This thesis has sought to demonstrate that Cornwall's border communities near the Tamar, have a history of collaboration and shared heritage that also should not be ignored. These histories have unfortunately been side-lined in conventional narratives of Cornish Identity, despite often playing a significant role. In many ways, one could conclude that the borderless ideals of local service provision that are now entering the psyche of West Cornish Politics, something has long been established as widespread practice with its East Cornwall and Devonian counterparts.

Quantifying identity is very difficult to determine as communities are continually evolving and are responding to the everchanging international and national picture around them. As the *Tamar Journal* has demonstrated, there is a community expressing its own narrative, forging its place within this competitive space trying to convey its voice and remind the world of its meaningful contribution.[688] But defining it as simply English or Cornish is very much an oversimplification. Identity Politics in 21st century Britain is very fractured, but history serves as a reminder that precedents can be found. Respecting and understanding history goes a long way to resolving community conflicts.

Wastl-Walter describes how 'borders are a very complex set of social institutions that exist on and through various spatial scales and are related to a number of social practices and discourses in which they are produced and made meaningful' that 'are rarely only local, but may have their origin and constitutive power at a distance, on various *scales* (which are not fixed), from local to global'.[689] Borders therefore reflect society, something that in Cornwall is being reinvented and revitalised. Much like in the 1990s Cornwall was at a cross-roads, in a post-Brexit era, in a far greater devolved United Kingdom, Cornwall is again adapting to a world shaped by the impacts of globalisation. Given the way in which power is intertwined with borders, it is not surprising that we see the border as an issue of contention within Cornish society yet again. It is equally unsurprising that we see that for others, rather than the border being an issue, it does instead provide opportunities as a borderland

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[687] Wills,2019.

[688] The Friends of the Tamar Valley, "Editorial," *Tamar: The Journal of the friends of Morwhellam* 1 (1971).

[689] P.D. Wastl-Walter, *The Routledge Research Companion to Border Studies* (Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012).

and that the feeling of the living landscape is thus valued more than any line drawn from political structures. The section on Senedh Kernow and Devonwall has shown how there has always been a strong sentiment expressed about the entity of Cornwall. The campaigns amid the threat of loss and homogenisation are ones that has emerged from the grassroots on several occasions. We have seen parish councils, local interest groups, concerned residents at various times turn the course of history through their vocal and visible protests and lobbying of senior politicians. Their sentiment has fed through and shaped the political discourse around the border. Any campaign for Cornish devolution must be built upon strong foundations and the designation and protection of the limits of Cornwall is an integral part of that. The unease of British Governments to recognise the border is fundamental to all the discussions of the sub-nation state. That no offer has materialised to enshrine the border, despite centuries of debate, is a baffling misnomer in the narrative of Cornwall. This thesis has sought to encourage the reader to pause and reflect on how it has come to be that this has been left unresolved for so long, but how doing so has also changed the nature of the relations on the border. Simultaneously, Cornwall must also not take these border regions for granted. The 'Forgotten Corner' of the Rame Peninsula is just one example of the fracturing around the Cornish entity. We may reflect on Wales and Scotland's historic referenda on Devolution and independence raised earlier and how they have demonstrated how the relational history of border communities with the English state has changed the way in which they view themselves.

Thus, one must return to the question proposed in the title of this thesis. Celticity and difference is synonymous with the Cornish experience. No matter what happens, the Cornish people will continue to celebrate their differences, something now at last recognised by the nature of minority status. But importantly the border has changed significantly over the years between Cornwall and Devon. The fluidity and the cultural and political conflict surrounding the boundary makes us focus on frontier imagery, with the experience of border change not uncommon. What resonates most is that Devonwall, for all that has been written here about it, is simple based on an Anglo-Centric construction. Whatever local communities at the boundary have decided to do to bolster opportunity for them, it is ultimately a decision made by its people. The imposition of any structure by a Boundary Commission organised by Central Government which threatens to politically merge these areas as history demonstrates, will always be met with strong resistance. As Sandford reflects, there may be similarities between parts of Cornwall and Devon, but the incompatibilities of identity and culture throughout the Centuries, has been a stumbling block to agree any formalisation of the kind.[690] To use similarities in this case as the basis of assimilation is a direct threat to the spirit of

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[690] Mark Sandford, "English Regionalism through the Looking Glass: Perspectives on the English Question from the North-East and Cornwall," *National Identities* 8, no. 1 (2006).

Cornwall which is at the heart of what it means to be Cornish, be that distinctly Celtic, or more accurately, certainly not English.

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