Corpses, Coasts, and Carriages:
Gothic Cornwall, 1840-1913

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I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

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Abstract

While there are defined Irish, Welsh, and Scottish Gothic traditions, there has been a notable critical absence of a Cornish Gothic tradition, despite multiple canonical and less-canonical authors penning Gothic stories set in Cornwall throughout the long nineteenth century. This critical oversight is part of a longer tradition of eliding Cornwall from literary and cultural histories—even from those to which it has particular relevance, such as histories of the industrial revolution (in which its mining industry was a major contributor), and the birth of the tourist industry, which has shaped the county and its economy through to the present day. This thesis will rectify this gap in criticism to propose a Cornish Gothic tradition. It will investigate Gothic texts set in Cornwall in the long nineteenth century to establish a distinct and particular tradition entrenched in Cornwall's own quest for particularity from other Celtic nations and English regions. It will demonstrate how the boom in Cornish Gothic texts was spurred by major changes occurring in the county in the period, including being the last county to be connected to the national rail network, the death of the mining industry, the birth of the tourist industry, large-scale maritime disaster on its coasts, and the resituating of the legendary King Arthur in Tintagel with the publication of Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*.

An understanding of Cornwall's historical context is necessary to fully comprehend the use of Cornwall in Gothic texts by authors such as Thomas Hardy, Wilkie Collins, Mary Elizabeth Braddon, Arthur Conan Doyle, Sabine Baring-Gould, Robert Stephen Hawker, and Bram Stoker. The absence of Cornwall from Gothic literary histories— and literary analyses more generally— is a significant gap in our understanding of the role of space and place in the literary imagination which this thesis aims to rectify. Not only will a study of the Cornish Gothic provide new insight into the Gothic as a genre but provide new ways of approaching canonical Gothic authors.

Acknowledgments

Contents

Introduction

Corpses, Coasts, and Carriages: Gothic Cornwall, 1840-1913

Robert Louis Stevenson in *Across the Plains* (1862) recalls the uncanny experience of meeting with Cornish miners abroad:

> A knot of Cornish miners who kept grimly by themselves... discussing privately the secrets of their old-world, mysterious race. Lady Hester Stanhope believed she could make something great of the Cornish; for my part, I can make nothing of them at all. A division of races, older and more original than that of Babel, keeps this close, esoteric family apart from neighbouring Englishmen. Not even a Red Indian seems more foreign in my eyes. This is one of the lessons of travel—that some of the strangest races dwell next door to you at home.[1]

Stevenson's passage summarises the popular perception of Cornwall as a barbarous space in the wider British imaginary in the period. At this time, Cornwall was perceived as "a mysterious race", distinct from the surrounding English race (and seemingly from Stevenson's Scottish kin). They are separate geographically, culturally, and historically. Despite Cornwall being an English county the Cornish are very explicitly "apart from neighbouring Englishmen". They are proximal or adjacent to England, but not English. Instead they are foreign, divided, and their difference is exaggerated by their ancientness, as they are both "old-world" and "older" than "Babel". This ancientness, however, is not elevated—instead, it reinforces the primitivity of the Cornish and upholds their otherness, strangeness, and insularity. The Cornish here are miners forced from their homes by radical economic decline and fighting to preserve their strangeness "across the plains" in the construction of a global Cornish diaspora. This goes some way to explaining why the Cornish jealously guard their secrets, stories, and culture while half a world stands between them and their homeland. Stevenson's observations encapsulate the recurrent association of the Cornish with other seemingly old and threatening, barbarous

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[1] Robert Louis Stevenson, *Across the Plains* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1909), p. 55. Lady Stanhope (1776-1839) was a socialite, traveller, and adventurer.

peoples—Red Indians, Celts, and Phoenicians. Furthermore, Stevenson gestures to one of the central tenets of the mid-nineteenth-century British Gothic—the domestic Gothic, or the return of the Gothic to the homestead, where "the strangest races dwell next door". The nineteenth century saw a turn of the Gothic inwards, away from Ann Radcliffe and Horace Walpole's Mediterranean climes, where "the wild landscapes of Romantic individualism give way to terrors and horrors that are much closer to home".[2] While earlier Gothic authors, such as Clara Reeve, set Gothic tales in England, nineteenth-century Gothic writing demonstrated a particular preoccupation with domestic fiction as encapsulating national anxieties in an increasingly globalised world.

Gothic fiction set in Cornwall in the nineteenth century relied upon Cornwall's simultaneous differences from and proximity to England—its Englishness and its not-Englishness—to provide a sense of the uncanny threat of the foreigner closer to home than initially thought, or within the home all along.[3] Stevenson's reference to "Babel" highlights specific anxieties surrounding the death of the Cornish language in the eighteenth century, often used to exaggerate Cornwall's particularity from other Celtic nations and English regions. Cornwall here is shown to embody the re-emergence of an ancient past; a puncturing of Gothic histories—or "'vestigial anachronisms"— through to the present, where travelling to the Land's End is an act of travelling into the past to encounter its ancient races.[4] This impression of Cornwall continued into the twentieth century, with S. P. B. Mais claiming in 1929 that "[a]t one moment you are in comfortable Devon... the next you are on strange soil, suddenly thrown back five thousand years".[5] This movement of the traveller through time as well as space "informs the early Gothic novel".[6] It is the end of the land, the end of time, and the end of civility. Further, the Cornish are leaking outwards, contaminating the rest of the world with their alien ways. This perception of Cornwall as a newly accessible horror was pervasive and influenced numerous Gothic texts. This thesis will investigate the emergence of

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[2] Fred Botting, *Gothic: The New Critical Idiom* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 74.
[3] See Deacon and Payton.
[4] Robert Mighall, *A Geography of Victorian Gothic Fiction: Mapping History's Nightmares* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 17.
[5] S. P. B. Mais, *The Cornish Riviera* (London, 1929), p. 3
[6] Mighall, p.17.

these texts and what they call tell us about perceptions of Cornwall in the long nineteenth century.

This thesis will explore representations of Cornwall as a Gothic space from 1840-1913 through novels, periodicals, poems, plays, and travel narratives from this period, as a means of illuminating the otherwise lost or forgotten significance of Cornwall to the nineteenth-century cultural imaginary. In moving towards defining a Cornish Gothic tradition I refer to texts about Cornwall by native authors, as well as by texts featuring Cornwall by non-Cornish authors, to provide a rich picture of the wider popular perception of Cornwall in this period.

While there is a broad body of work outlining Irish, Scottish, and Welsh Gothic traditions, there has been a relative absence of similar work to identify a Cornish Gothic tradition.[7] This is despite the fact that the mid to late nineteenth century saw a proliferation of Cornish Gothic texts, including notable examples from such celebrated canonical authors as Thomas Hardy, Wilkie Collins, Bram Stoker, Arthur Conan Doyle, Alfred Tennyson, and Mary Elizabeth Braddon, alongside many texts by less well known authors. This thesis relates this sudden emergence of a distinct and coherent genre of Cornish Gothic fiction to radical changes occurring in Cornwall in the nineteenth century which illuminated the county and its people in the popular consciousness. People became aware of Cornwall as a microcosm of wider cultural anxieties, such as economic downturn, industrial change, the birth of tourism, and developing transportation technologies. Social changes in Cornwall placed the county's jagged peninsula on the map, where authors uncovered a shifting cultural landscape rife with opportunities for Gothic narratives.

Despite the number of authors and texts seemingly preoccupied with Cornwall in this period, there has not yet been a cohesive attempt to define a "Cornish Gothic" in relation to its Celtic and regional counterparts. This in itself is a product of the repeated exclusion of Cornwall in literary and cultural histories—a consequence of its historical, economic, and political marginalisation. Cornwall, in its geographical and cultural (and as I will argue

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[7] See Jane Aaron, *Welsh Gothic* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013); Jarlath Killeen, *Emergence of Irish Gothic Fiction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013); Carol Margaret Davison and Monica Germana eds., *Scottish Gothic: An Edinburgh Companion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017).

later, temporal) distance has been rendered a footnote even in historical studies to which it has particular relevance, which will be discussed in more detail in the overview of Cornwall's unique contribution to the Industrial Revolution. When Cornwall is acknowledged, it is conflated with other regions of England, or with other Celtic nations, rather than being conceived as its own distinct semantic space.[8] In other cases, and as a reaction to these conflations within other national frameworks, Cornish history is relegated to "Cornish studies" and divorced from a larger national context.[9] Cornwall's geographical and cultural separation has enabled its severance from wider historical contexts, and its quest for particularism has seemingly culminated in academic isolationism. This has been a detriment to the ability to fully comprehend Victorian British literary histories—as well as wider intellectual, scientific, and folkloric histories. Relocating Cornwall within a broader national, cultural, and literary framework will provide a more nuanced understanding of the circulation of ideas in the nineteenth century, networks of inspiration, and collaborative relationships across disciplines. This thesis demonstrates that an analysis of nineteenth-century representations of Cornwall allow the county to be fully understood as both particular and distinct, and influenced by wider national interests. Vitally, this thesis is framed as a contribution to the wider field of Victorian studies rather than situating itself as a "Cornish studies" project.

The absence of Cornwall from Gothic literary histories—and literary analyses more generally—is a significant gap in our understanding of the role of space and place in the literary imagination which this thesis aims to rectify. Not only will a study of the Cornish Gothic provide new insight into the Gothic as a genre but provide new ways of approaching canonical Gothic authors. This thesis will use these canonical authors as a framework through which to elevate the significance of otherwise lost or forgotten Cornish Gothic texts to broaden our understanding of the Gothic literary marketplace in this period. Beyond that, this study will illustrate the importance of locating Gothic fiction within its historical and cultural contexts, and how dislocation from this context can

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[8] Bernard Deacon, *Industrial Celts: Making the Modern Cornish Identity, 1750-1870* (Cornwall: Cornish Social and Economic Research Group, 2018), pp. 27-40.
[9] The problematics of attempts to rectify this through a "New Cornish Historiography" are outlined by Philip Payton in "Cornwall in Context: The New Cornish Historiography", *Cornish Studies*, 5, (1997), pp. 9-20.

prevent us from fully interpreting the nuances of references to particular spaces in particular periods. This thesis aims to explicate what nineteenth-century authors and readerships would have understood by reference to "Cornwall" in contemporaneous Gothic texts.

This introduction will provide a brief overview of Cornwall's historical and cultural context from 1840 to 1913. This will be followed by an outline of the Gothic in application to this thesis, with a focus on the regional Gothic and the Celtic Gothic. The final part of this introduction provides an overview of the significance of the following four chapters, each of which corresponds to four motifs central to the "Cornish Gothic" as a genre.

Cornwall: A Brief Introduction

"Perhaps there is no county in all Great Britain less known to the bulk even of the more intelligent portion of the community than Cornwall. Its geographical position has hitherto isolated it, and it will probably be very long ere railways introduce any material alteration either in the character of the people or in the aspect of the land."

Chambers's Edinburgh Journal (1852).[10]

Cornwall is England's most South Westerly county. It is surrounded on three sides by water—to the West by the Celtic Sea, to the South by the English Channel, and to the east by the River Tamar, which forms most of the border between Cornwall and the county of Devon. It is the homeland of the Cornish people and includes the westmost point of Great Britain—the Land's End—and the southmost part—the Lizard. It is a Royal Duchy (the only other in the country being the Duchy of Lancaster), inherited by the eldest son of the reigning monarch. The county has a rich, complicated, and distinct history and culture, a global diaspora, and a wealth of legends. Cornwall has been claimed to be the seat of King Arthur and King Mark of Cornwall, has been the Cassiterides of the Phoenicians, with borders drawn by King Athelstan. It is a county with a historically contentious relationship with England (or the "imperial mainland"), with a revived nationalist movement campaigning for a Cornish

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[10] Anon., "A Cornish Church-yard by the Severn Sea", *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* (Nov 13 1852), p. 7.

Assembly with devolved legislative power.[11] In 2014 the Cornish were granted minority status, meaning recognition as a distinct ethnic group.[12] Historically, Cornwall has been regarded as a foreign nation, and the Cornish as a foreign people, distinct from the English. In 1879, an anonymous author stated that:

> THE story goes that in an old geography of the days of Queen Elizabeth you may find the entry, "Cornwall, a foreign country on that side of England next to Spain." And whether this definition exists or not, there as been handed down as a nickname for the land of the Welsh of the Horn—the Cornu Wealas—the significant epithet, "Western Barbary".[13]

This is demonstrative of the common perception of the Cornish as foreign, barbarous, and Celtic, as "there did seem to be something foreign, not to say barbarous, about the dwellers in the western peninsula".[14] Part of this barbarism is attributed to the loss of the Cornish language, "a solitary instance of the death in modern times of a European language", but even aside from this, "there is still a good deal about the Cornish race that differentiates them from ordinary English people".[15] This overview of Cornish history will serve to provide examples of the different aspects of Cornishness employed in the pursuit for Cornish particularism.

Cornwall's legends, landscape, history, and distinctive identity lent themselves to the Gothic imagination as early as 1798 in Charles Brockden Brown's *Wieland; or the Transformation*, an early American Gothic novel, which features the story of a man visiting Cornwall with his family only to lose his mind:

> Suddenly, however, his limbs trembled and his features betrayed alarm. He threw himself into the attitude of one listening. He gazed earnestly in a direction in which nothing was visible to his friends. This lasted for a minute; then turning to his companions, he told them that his brother had just delivered to him a summons, which must be instantly obeyed. He then took an hasty and solemn leave of each person, and, before their

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[11] Shelley Trower, "On the Cliff Edge of England: Tourism and Imperial Gothic in Cornwall", *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 40.1 (2012), p. 200.
[12] See Martyn Oates, "Cornish people granted minority status within UK," *BBC News*, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-cornwall-27132035> [Accessed 24.04.19].
[13] Anon., "The Cornish Folk", *The Leisure Hour* (1879), p. 167.
[14] "The Cornish Folk", p.167.
[15] "The Cornish Folk", p.167.

surprize would allow them to understand the scene, he rushed to the edge of the cliff, threw himself headlong, and was seen no more.[16]

From the end of the eighteenth century, as far afield as the United States of America, Cornwall is seemingly perceived as a place of hauntings, madness, and death—a foreign, liminal threat composed of precipices and thresholds which would influence subsequent representations of the county. By the nineteenth century these Gothic representations of Cornwall see a sudden boom as the county became increasingly prevalent in the wider British imagination due to a series of rapid cultural changes. These include being the last county to be connected to the national railway, the collapse of the mining industry, the birth of a tourist industry, and a period of mass migration out of the county, all the while the county contended with the more generalised Victorian anxieties of globalisation, modernity, and increased secularisation. People were somehow becoming more *aware* of Cornwall, due to the proliferation of a print culture and increased ease of access to the county, and what people found struck them as strange. John D. Sedding's "A Ramble in West Cornwall" (1887) states that

> [o]n whatever side you like to take it, the historic, the pre-historic, the natural, architectural, geological, ornithological, or on the side of its folklore, Christian or heathen—the place teems with subject matter that is as curious as it is interesting. Cornwall is the nursery ground of the saints; the fabled land of Lyonesse; the home of the giants; the haunt of fairies, pixies, mermaids, demons, and spectres. To speak of its natural aspects, its wild seaboard, and frequent air of savagery, one is almost bound to use terms of fancy.[17]

This thesis will investigate this image of Cornwall as a breeding ground for spectres, mythologies, and fantasies, and ask how this was perpetuated by and influenced literary works across the long nineteenth century. While there is an emerging body of defined regional Gothic fiction, Cornwall, as a unique region, produces a distinct body of Gothic work.

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[16] Charles Brockden Brown, *Wieland, or, The Transformation* (Indianopolis: Hackett Publishing: 1892), p. 136.
[17] John D. Sedding, "A Ramble in West Cornwall," *The British Architect* (1887), p. 443.

History of Cornwall in the Nineteenth Century

While this introduction has discussed at length the county's emphasis on insularity and particularism, it will now outline why this was (or is) the case. Cornwall was not just made defensive and territorial by Brunel bridging the Tamar, or the influx of tourists from further afield, but by the loss of its population from the county. Anxiety over insularity was not just about people coming *in*, but the sheer number of people moving *out.* Cornwall experienced the mass migration of its population out of the county on an unfathomable scale. Philip Payton refers to this as a "culture of mobility".[18] Payton states that between 1861 and 1901, around 20% of the Cornish male population migrated abroad, and refers to the Great Emigration as "central to our understanding of Cornish identity".[19] In total, a quarter of a million people left the county between 1841 and 1901.[20] This landmark work provides an extensive, alternative explanation for the county's anxiety surrounding its borders, and reframed this anxiety as a fear of leaking *outwards* rather than a fear of being the invaded or conquered Celtic populace more familiar to Gothic fiction.[21] These unstable, permeable borders work both ways, and this manifests as an image of the dissolution of culture and identity as atomisation as well as contamination. While the new Cornish historiography emphasises migration to Australia, America, and Europe, a significant number of Cornish, as part of "a forgotten migration stream", emigrated to England and Wales.[22] This "culture of mobility" was already a key part of Cornish culture due to the region's mining industry, seafaring traditions, and the colonisation of America and Australia.[23] Cornwall's unstable borders and mass migration piqued a wider Victorian imagination already concerned with imperial expansion and the function of borders in an increasingly globalised world. Borders and their permeability, too, are of

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[18] Philip Payton, *The Cornish Overseas: A History of Cornwall's "Great Emigration"* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2005), p. 1.

[19] Philip Payton, "Introduction", *Cornish Studies*, 6 (1998), p. 1.

[20] Payton (1998), p. 1.

[21] See Jarlath Killeen, *Gothic Literature 1825-1914* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009), pp. 101-102 for more on the centrality of the invasion narrative to the Victorian regional Gothic literature.

[22] Bernard Deacon, "A forgotten migration stream—the Cornish movement to England and Wales in the 19th century", *Cornish Studies*, 6 (1998), p. 96.

[23] For more on Cornwall and British maritime expansion see Payton, *Overseas*, pp. 37-38.

particular interest to writers of Gothic fiction, as the Gothic "holds the possibility of being revolutionary in its disruption of borders, boundaries, and more often than not social convention", yet "it has conformist potential also, should these borders and boundaries be reasserted".[24] This is due to the Gothic being "a transgressive gesture" which "explores limits and exceeds boundaries such as those between life and death, fantasy and reality, or good and evil".[25] Liminality has thus been described as a "leitmotif specific to the Gothic narrative",[26] derived from the Gothic's focus on disrupting "opposed conditions"—such as those mentioned above, as well as "natural/supernatural, ancient/modern, realistic/artificial, and unconscious/conscious".[27] This disruption of oppositions manifests recurrently in Cornish Gothic narratives, and can be mapped topographically onto anxieties surrounding movement in and out of the county and leaky or transgressive borders. A thorough definition of the Cornish Gothic will follow later in the introduction. It was said that:

> it is quite certain that there is hardly a mining district anywhere into which Cornishmen have not found their way. You will meet them pioneering mining enterprise in all climes, even if you "survey mankind from China to Peru." But wherever you find them they are Cornishmen still.[28]

This demonstrates how the creation of a global Cornish diaspora was used to affirm rather than negate a sense of stable Cornish identity. Cornwall's cultural identity is inseparable from its mining history, and throughout the nineteenth century this industry was under threat, creating both cultural and economic vacuums.

Cornwall was celebrated for its tin and copper mining and later its china clay industry, and mining was (and remains) deeply entwined in a sense of Cornish identity and plays a significant role in Cornish tradition and culture. Roger Burt points out that:

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[24] Carys Crossen, "The Gothic Fairy Tale in Young Adult Literature", *The Gothic Fairy Tale in Young Adult Literature: Essays on Stories from Grimm to Gaiman*, ed. Joseph Abbruscato and Tanya Jones (Jefferson: McFarland, 2014), p. 25.

[25] Isabella van Elferen, "Spectral Liturgy: Transgression, Ritual and Music in Gothic", *The Gothic in Contemporary Literature and Popular Culture: Pop Gothic*, ed. Justin D. Edwards and Agnieszka Soltysik Monnet (London: Routledge, 2012), p. 135.

[26] Margarita Georgieva, *The Gothic Child* (New York City: Springer, 2013), p. xii.

[27] Jerrold E. Hogle, "Introduction", *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction*, ed. Jerrold E. Hogle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 9.

[28] *The Leisure Hour*, p. 169.

> Cornwall was the most important metal mining county in the United Kingdom. It probably had the longest history of continuous production and a total value output that dwarfed its nearest rivals. Together with associated districts just east of the Tamar, it produced nearly all of the country's tin and arsenic and most of its copper.[29]

And that Cornwall:

> became a leader in the early stages of British industrialisation. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Cornwall pioneered deep mining and steam pumping technology and its miners and managers were eagerly welcomed in mining districts throughout the world.[30]

Philip Payton explains that Cornwall's mining industry was at odds with, and has now been largely occluded by, a more Romantic image of Cornwall.[31] And more than that—the image of the technical superiority of the Cornish was at odds with the popular image of them as a barbarous, primitive, backwards people. How could such engineering genius flourish in this racially othered backwater? This barbarous land, after all, nurtured some of the greatest engineering minds of the nineteenth century, including Humphry Davy and Richard Trevithick. The difficulty in reconciling these two contrasting images led to the use mining (and its fall) to "other" the Cornish further, as their technological ability was rendered an aspect of their uncanniness.[32] The Cornish were associated with images of the subterranean, and their life below ground was used to dehumanise the populace. This tied into speciation of the Cornish, as they were proposed to have had bodies more evolved (or devolved) for working in the cramped, dark spaces, or their characters were associated with the subterranean:

> When you scratch the gentle surface of the Cornish soul you may, perchance, strike on some unexpectedness resonant resistance, even with ugly sparks of fire, just as when you penetrate the shallow soil of Cornish land you strike on hard metalliferous strata.[33]

 Their mining culture was also used to dislocate the Cornish geographically, as Philip Payton highlights how Cornwall was seen as more akin to counties of the

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[29] Robert Burt qtd. by Philip Payton, "Industrial Celts? Cornish Identity in the Age of Technological Prowess", Cornish Studies, 10 (2002), p. 117.
[30] Burt qtd. by Payton, *Cornish Studies*, 10 (2002), p. 117.
[31] Payton, *Cornish Studies*, 10 (2002), p. 117.
[32] For the centrality of "Otherness" in the Gothic see T. Khair's *The Gothic, Postcolonialism and Otherness: Ghosts from Elsewhere* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
[33] Havelock Ellis, "Men of Cornwall", *The New Century Review* (May 1897), pp. 415-416.

North than the South due to its mining prowess. This is a part of the county's seeming historical critical neglect:

> the message that Cornwall was one of the birthplaces and nurseries of the Industrial Revolution appeared only occasionally to penetrate the wider academic consciousness of scholars interested in the economic history and geography of the British Isles. At best, Cornwall was merely a sideshow in a more important Industrial Revolution located principally in the Midlands and North of England, in South Wales, and in Central Scotland.[34]

The disregard of Cornwall's role in the history of the Industrial Revolution is emblematic of the elision of the county in intellectual and cultural thought. Yet, the novels, short stories, scientific treatise and examples of travel writing selected for this thesis demonstrate a popular awareness in the nineteenth century of Cornwall's superior mining technologies and important place on the global industrial stage. This nurtured "the belief (encouraged by the Cornish themselves) that Cornishmen the world over were innately qualified above all others as skilled hard-rock miners" and placed "Cornwall at the forefront of technological advance" while "underpinning an enhanced sense of Cornish identity based upon industrial prowess".[35] The loss of the mining industry, then, was a devastating blow culturally as well as economically, and radically impacted the construction of a sense of Cornish selfhood. Cornwall was left littered with mining debris—skeletal reminders of an age of past glory. The county was haunted by this death more than any other, left hollow by the loss of business, money, population, and maybe most damning of all—reputation. The Cornish became a warning story about the collapse of industry.

The collapse of the mining industry coincided with the rise of tourism into Cornwall, largely as a result of the development and expansion of the rail network which made train travel easier, cheaper, and more accessible than ever before (though still incredibly uncomfortable and time-consuming). Writing in 1883, Shand Alexander Innes states that "[u]ntil comparatively the other day, the Duchy of Cornwall was a country hardly known to the tourist, and the Land's End was literally at the end of the world. Travelling was difficult, and

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[34] Philip Payton, "Industrial Celts? Cornish Identity in the Age of Technical Prowess", *Cornish Studies*, 10 (2002), p. 118.
[35] Payton, *Cornish Studies* (2002), p. 118.

accommodation deplorable".[36] Innes describes how swiftly access to Cornwall altered, and this led to a proliferation of guidebooks on Cornish travel and ensuing travel narratives.[37] Cornwall was perceived as an exotic new locale made suddenly accessible and marketed as a Mediterranean resort, with warm blue waters and a uniquely temperate climate, with the claim that "even Italians have been known to come to this Holy Headland for their health".[38] This served to further the othering of Cornwall and associate it with the foreign, while also making it an attractive holiday destination on one's door step. It also exaggerated the benefits of Cornwall as a health resort, which made up a significant portion of the county's tourist economy. Hoteliers invested in the county, and one of the most significant driving forces behind Cornwall as a new tourist location was the Great Western Railway (GWR) itself, to the extent that it was said that the rail company "shaped the enduring image of Cornwall that lasts through to the present day".[39] The GWR and other investors capitalised on an emerging literary tourism to market Cornwall as the lost land of King Arthur, and guidebooks and travel narratives promised that Cornwall was the place to go to encounter ghosts, magic, piskies, and giants. Black's *Guide to the Duchy of Cornwall* (1872) labours to include Cornwall's mythologies alongside its landmarks, discussing at length, as just one example, the legend of the demonic spirit of Tregeagle on one of its recommended routes to Redruth.[40] This was a form of folkloric, supernatural, literary, and Gothic tourism:

> Cornwall has been popular with both domestic and international visitors for more than a century, possessing a cultural heritage often considered distinct from that of England. Nineteenth-century folklore compilations

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[36] Shand Alexander Innes, "A Sketch from Cornwall", *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (Jun 1883), p. 772.

[37] See John T. Blight's *A Week at the Land's End* (1861), James Halliwell's *Rambles in Western Cornwall by the Footsteps of the Giants* (1861), Richard Edmonds's *The Land's End District* (1862), the *Routebook of Cornwall* (1863), Thomas Mills's *A Week's Wandering in Cornwall and Devon* (1863) and R. J. King's *Handbook for Travellers in Devon and Cornwall* (1865) as just a few examples.

[38] F. A., "Literary Notes on Penzance", *The Graphic*, 29.750 (12 Apr 1884), p. 354.

[39] G. Shaw, J. Greenwood and A. Williams, "The Growth of Tourism in the 19th and 20th [*sic*] Centuries", *Historical Atlas of South-West England*, ed. R. Kain and W. Ravenhill (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1999), p. 455.

[40] Adam and Charles Black, *Black's Guide to the Duchy of Cornwall* (Edinburgh: Black's Guides, 1872), p. 354.

saw "Cornishness" as emblematic of a "primitive", dark and wild "Celtic" culture.[41]

The Cornish were sometimes collusive or complicit in the marketing of their own homeland, culture, and self as somehow strange and barbarous, as "[p]erceived by visitors as an exotic 'other', the Cornish were said sometimes to receive 'gazey-money' for permitting tourists to stare at them".[42] The new tourist economy became a lifeline following the collapse of the mining industry. Tourists were attracted to difference, and travellers from urban centres were especially fascinated to find a place where industry had already died during the height of the Industrial Revolution. While aspects of Cornishness were exaggerated and embellished for a tourist audience, as "beneath these folkloric attractions, packaged for and consumed by the visitors, was a genuinely distinctive Cornish culture which was also 'different'".[43] This allows both a tourist version of Cornwall and the quest of an "authentic" Cornish identity to co-exist. For the purposes of this thesis "Cornish culture" is defined as "a way of life, a set of relationships between people; their customs, their dialects, their sports, their politics, their socio-economic activities, and—ultimately—the way in which they see themselves, the quality of 'feeling Cornish', of belonging to an imagined Cornish community", and how this sense of "feeling Cornish" was defended, protected, promoted, and enhanced.[44]

An aspect of Cornish particularism is the tendency of the Cornish to view themselves as an island populace, surrounded on three sides by water, and separated from the "mainland" of England by the Tamar river. Crucially, Cornwall itself is surrounded by the islands—the Scilly Isles, Looe Island, and even the tidal island St Michael's Mount. This opens up Cornwall for an archipelagic analysis. Archipelagic criticism emphasises the "multiple nations and regions of Britain in its resistance to a relatively unified Anglo- or Londoncentric perspective of literary tradition and culture".[45] Archipelagic criticism allows for both similarities and differences to emerge while comparing

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[41] Graham Busby and Kevin Methan, "Cultural Capital in Cornwall: Heritage and the Visitor", *Cornish Studies*, 16 (2008), p. 146.
[42] Busby and Methan (2008), p. 146.
[43] Busby and Methan (2008), p. 147.
[44] Bernard Deacon and Philip Payton, "Re-inventing Cornwall: Culture Change on the European Periphery", *Cornish Studies*, 1 (1993), p. 62.
[45] Trower, p. 9.

regions, nations, and their histories, as a means of acknowledging the complicated history between locations, and the difficulty in defining or maintaining a definition for those spaces. Shelley Trower states that "early work in archipelagic criticism focused on the 'Celtic fringe'—Ireland, Scotland, and to a lesser extent, Wales—but recent years have seen a surge of interest in the regions of England".[46] This thesis will provide a contribution to this emerging field of regional studies and will benefit from archipelagic criticism's ability to reconcile contested identities through an understanding of processes of collaboration and cultures of cohesion. Through its focus on the case of Cornwall, this chapter will contribute to the destabilisation or decentring of English literary criticism's focus on England, English authors (where England is perceived as singular and unified), and English settings. Trower draws similarities between the treatments of Cornwall and Scotland in literary criticism and the popular imagination, stating that archipelagic readings "challenge the normative categorisations of English literature".[47]

Philip Payton's survey of "The New Cornish Historiography" describes the way in which regional analyses are useful in addressing what has been coined as the "British problem", tackling the "inherent diversity of those islands".[48] Payton references Robin Cohen's approach to Britain as one loaded with "inexplicit internal boundar[ies]", identifying the "fuzzy frontiers" and the ambiguity of the boundary between "Englishness" and "Britishness".[49] Payton argues that an analysis of Cornwall's particular position as a region straddling the border between "Englishness" and "other" allows for a more cohesive comprehension of the archipelago as a whole. John Kerrigan attacks the very idea of the "British problem" by pointing out the difficulty in clearly defining "Britishness", while emphasising that most conceptions of Britain are largely Anglo-centric. While postcolonial criticism has worked to destabilise and decentre hegemonic power structures in literature, the "geopolitical parameters of enquiry remain substantially unrevised".[50] Kerrigan quotes J.G.A. Pocock's call in the 1970s and 1980s for a "British history [that] denotes the

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[46] Trower, p. 9.
[47] Trower, 59.
[48] Payton, "The New Cornish Historiography", p. 10.
[49] Payton, "The New Cornish Historiography", p, 10.
[50] John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 2.

historiography of no single nation but of a problematic and uncompleted experiment in the creation and interaction of several nations".[51] Particularly pertinent to the aims (and period) of this thesis is Kerrigan's acknowledgment, while focusing on seventeenth century literature, that it is Victorian imperial paradigms that have historically centred London and England as hubs of power and control:

> the incentive to strip away modern Anglocentric and Victorian imperial paradigms to recover the long, braided histories played out across the British-Irish archipelago between three kingdoms, four countries, divided regions, variable ethnicities and religiously determined allegiances is there even for those who are sceptical about the desirability of Scottish or Welsh independence.[52]

The regions within Britain are less delineated, and more effectively described as "fuzzy frontiers", than a core-periphery approach allows for. This thesis will demonstrate the importance of an understanding of nineteenth-century Cornwall to a wider comprehension of the function of the archipelagic model in British historical and literary analysis.

The end of the nineteenth century saw the "Celtic Revival" movement. This movement, spearheaded by Henry Jenner, sought to establish a distinctly Celtic sense of particular Cornish identity in the face of modernisation and homogenisation. Jenner founded the Cornish-Celtic Society in 1901 and secured Cornwall's membership of the Celtic Congress in 1904. The work of the Revivalists was largely interrupted by the First World War, though later in the twentieth century Jenner was key to the Old Cornwall movement, reinvigorating the revival of Cornwall's Celtic past, seemingly evidenced by its dead Celtic language. The Celtic Revival provided motivation for tourists keen to visit this romantic, ancient land, though Cornish Celticity was and continues to be contested. Some see the revival of Cornish Celticity as integral to the preservation of Cornish particularity, whereas others see it as a romantic projection from middle-class English tourists intended to render Cornwall's resistant, radical, and spiky history palatable and marketable. Regardless of the authenticity of Cornwall's Celticity, the debates surrounding the realities and

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[51] Kerrigan, p. 21.
[52] Kerrigan, p. 2.

fictions of Cornishness provided ample fuel for Gothic authors seeking a microcosm for contested and fractured identities.[53]

During the height of Cornwall's mining exports there was considerable interest from investors in constructing a railway bridge into Cornwall to improve the transport of ore and mineral products. The collapse of the industry led to a dramatic reduction in interest from funders. Engineer Isambard Kingdom Brunel, however, was adamant about the value of a bridge across the Tamar and the extension of his already wildly successful and oft experimental Great Western Railway. After a long battle, work commenced on what is known as the Royal Albert Bridge in 1848. Construction began in 1854, and the bridge was eventually opened by Prince Albert in 1859 to the rapturous reception of 20,000 spectators.[54] A report of its opening in 1859 claimed that it was "the most difficult engineering work ever attempted in any country", and that the "viaduct is unsurpassed by any in the world".[55] The bridge was not only another proud achievement of Brunel, thought to be one of the greatest engineers in the world, but further cemented the association between engineering majesty and Cornwall. It enabled a burgeoning tourist economy and made Cornwall seem more accessible than ever before. An article from the *Belgravia* in 1866 describes the experience of crossing the bridge thus: "as soon as he has crossed Brunel's wondrous bridge over the Tamar, I can promise him a tour as enjoyable, and scenes as new and strange as if he were among the Alps".[56] Descriptions of the bridge were not always quite so celebratory. The introduction of the national rail network was seen by some as an intrusion or invasion of an untouched land, and a threat to Cornwall's unique traditions. William Connor Sydney, writing in 1897, states

> [f]or lovers of the folk-lore and rapidly-vanishing popular superstitions few
> districts of England possess greater interest than Cornwall, though
> whether it will remain so much longer may fairly be questioned.
> Railways, and the gradual assimilation of its people more and more into

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[53] For more on Jenner and the Celtic Revival see Philip Payton and Paul Thornton, "The Great Western Railway and the Cornish Celtic Revival", *Cornish Studies*, 3 (1995), pp. 83-103.

[54] "History of the Bridge", *Royal Albert Bridge—Saltash Cornwall*, royalbertbridge.co.uk, <http://www.royalalbertbridge.co.uk/history.html> [Accessed 10.05.19].

[55] Anon., "Opening of Albert Bridge on th [*sic*] Cornwall Railway by the Prince Consort", *The Observer* (9 May 1859), p. 8.

[56] Anon., "Through Cornwall", *Belgravia* (Dec 1866), p. 217.

ordinary English society will have the effect, it is greatly to be feared, of banishing its huge array of witches and hobgoblins, giants and dwarfs, grim spectres, and haunted corridors to the limbo of things that had been.[57]

This is demonstrative not just of Cornwall's recurrent representation as a place of ghosts and monsters, but of Cornwall as an antidote to modernity. Yet, at the same time, Cornwall is both the breeding ground of technology, and somewhat threatened by technology. This tension between the past, the present, and the future in terms of technological advancement is often represented through the image of the train in this period, and Cornwall, as the last county to be connected to the national rail network, was a site rife with opportunities for articulating these anxieties.[58]

The Gothic

This section will outline the difficulties of clearly defining the "Gothic" before illustrating the definition of the Gothic established for the purpose of this thesis. It will then show how the Gothic manifests in nineteenth-century fiction before describing the "regional Gothic" in relation to Cornwall.

The "Gothic" has been used to describe buildings, clothing, music, makeup, subcultures, film, historical periods, tastes, and literature. Richard Davenport-Hines tracks a path from tribes of barbarous Goths in AD 410 to medieval Gothic architecture; from Edmund Burke to twentieth-century psychoanalysis.[59] David Punter's landmark work *The Literature of Terror* (1980) adopted a psychoanalytic approach to the Gothic, though later criticism separates historicist and psychoanalytic approaches into competing methodologies which continue to blur and interact. Some critics continue to see the Gothic as a series of historical moments, including Chris Brookes, Davenport-Hines, and Nick Groom, while others favour Gothic criticism as influenced by psychoanalysis (Punter) or poststructuralist theory (Julian

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[57] William Connor Sydney, "Superstition in Cornwall", *Belgravia* (Jan 1897), p. 45.
[58] Michael J. Freeman and Derek H. Aldcroft, "Introduction", *Transport in Victorian Britain*, ed. Michael J. Freeman and Derek H. Aldcroft (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), p.5.
[59] Richard Davenport-Hines, *Gothic: Four Hundred Years of Excess, Horror, Evil, and Ruin* (New York City: North Point Press, 1998), pp. 1-3.

Wolfreys).[60] Later advancements in the field led to the development of female Gothic, the postcolonial Gothic, queer Gothic, and ecogothic, amongst others, though there remains a strong historicist predilection. Gothic criticism has consistently shadowed (or haunted) historical movements in literary critical history–such as the emergence of the female and postcolonial Gothics, and more recently theories of the Anthropocene Gothic and analyses of the relationship between the Gothic and object orientated ontology. Gothic criticism's tendency to absorb and respond to historical and political moments as well as to current moments in critical theory renders it less of a marginal genre and more of a dark mirror held up to the mainstream. Gothic criticism has, historically, featured significant overlaps between theoretical and historical approaches and the definition of the Gothic, as well as its critical positioning, has been hotly contested since the mode's inception. William Hughes argues that literary Gothic criticism arguably arose contemporaneously with Gothic literature with Horace Walpole's preface to *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), aware as it is of Gothic conventions. For J. Halberstam the Gothic is "loosely defined as a rhetorical style and narrative structure designed to produce fear and desire within the reader" as distinct from horror, though Halberstam's very approach suggests the necessity of the hybridity of the Gothic as a mode which seeps into other genres.[61] This seepage is present in Punter's definition of the Gothic as "a historically delimited genre or as a more wide-ranging and persistent tendency within fiction as a whole".[62] This expansion of the Gothic from its eighteenth-century origins has been seen by some to render the genre meaningless.[63] Yet Kelly Hurley maintains that critics have generally "found it useful to retain an understanding of Gothic as a transhistorical genre".[64]

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[60] Chris Brookes, *The Gothic Revival* (London: Phaidon, 1999); Nick Groom, *The Gothic: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Julian Wolfreys, *Victorian Hauntings: Spectrality, Gothic, the Uncanny and Literature* (London: Macmillan, 2001).
[61] J. Halberstam, *Skin Shows: Gothic Horror and the Technology of Monsters* (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1995), p. 2.
[62] David Punter, *The Literature of Terror: A History of Gothic Fiction from 1765 to the Edwardian Age*, Vol. 1, 2nd Edition (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 12.
[63] Nicholas Daly, *Modernism, Romance and the Fin de Siècle: Popular Fiction and British Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 12-16.
[64] Kelly Hurley, "British Gothic fiction, 1885-1930", in *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction*, ed. by Jerrold E. Hogle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 193-4.

Resisting this adaptability risks oversimplifying a genre that has survived for and changed throughout hundreds of years of literary history. For Hughes

> Gothic criticism is now, effectively, around 240 years old. […] Methodologically, it has moved from a text-centered antiquarianism, through a surveyor's commitment to historical antecedent, homogeneity, and continuity, towards a specialist's psychobiography and social psychology, to materialism, discourse, and gender studies and, perversely, back again to the novel as the focus of the critical reading.[65]

The Gothic resists reductive definition, but this enriches rather than negates its meaning. A key facet of the Gothic and Gothic criticism are the extensive, elaborate debates and disagreements surrounding what the Gothic *is*. In the Gothic, incoherence can be useful and productive, and attempts to define the Gothic in a sentence are antithetical to the mode itself. This ability to adapt has led Carol Margaret Davison to refer to the Gothic as "a barometer of sociocultural anxieties"[66], and Kelly Hurley to refer to the way "the Gothic can serve as a sort of historical or sociological index".[67] Both of these terms are scientific measures, attempting to couch the adaptability of the Gothic in a more concrete and empiricist rhetoric.

These movements in criticism are far from linear, concrete, or discrete. Throughout the Gothic's history, the genre (or mode, rhetoric, aesthetic, form) has been characterised by contestation. The function of the Gothic is to evade—whether canon, the limits of form, or identification. It is this evasion that leads to the Gothic returning "through various apparitions and manifestations, seemingly everywhere".[68] The Gothic provides a vocabulary for articulating contemporary trauma, while at the same time maintaining a sense of tradition, contingency, and ancestry.

While it is impossible (as well as beyond the remits of this thesis) to reduce the Gothic to a bullet-pointed timeline or to map its development with clean margins through evolving literary critical fields and movements, the

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[65] Hughes, p. 23.
[66] Carol Margaret Davison, *History of the Gothic: Gothic Literature 1764-1824* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009), p. 220.
[67] Hurley, p. 197.
[68] Ruth Robbins and Julian Wolfreys, "Preface", in *Victorian Gothic: Literary and Cultural Manifestations in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Ruth Robbins and Julian Wolfreys (London: Palgrave, 2000), pp. i-xx.

pervasiveness of Gothic criticism is demonstrative of its endurance and persistence in the face of change—or rather, its tendency to exist *because* rather than *despite* cultural shifts. The Gothic, in accordance with Punter's theories of trauma, can be found in the wake of emotional, political, or economic upheaval—as "Gothic has always had the versatility to provide imagery to express the anxieties of successive historical epochs".[69] This makes the Gothic a specifically effective mode of articulation for the changes in Cornwall in the long nineteenth century, and provides one possible explanation for the proliferation of Gothic articulations of the county in this period of radical social change.

Having established that the Gothic is enduring and adaptable, responding to its context, cultural changes, and traumas, while at the same time forever reaching back, embedding itself in history, it becomes apparent that this conflict between the present and the past is central to understanding the genre. This conflict is also central to understanding as Gothic Cornwall in this period, as the country wrestled with preserving its dissolving history while forging a modern Cornish identity. Chris Baldick describes the Gothic as combining "a fearful sense of inheritance in time with a claustrophobic sense of enclosure in space, these two dimensions reinforcing one another to produce a sickening descent into disintegration".[70] Cornwall's fractured inheritance of its history collides in the Cornish Gothic with its geographical and cultural segregation, producing "a sickening descent into disintegration" as Cornwall becomes a warning story the collapse of industry, the boom of tourism, the loss of language, and the dissolution of selfhood in an increasingly modernised, globalised, and homogenised world. The Cornish people become the very embodiment of disintegrated, degenerative humanity. In this way Cornwall forms a microcosm of claustrophobia and disintegration, rife for the projection of wider national cultural anxieties. At the same time Cornwall was associated with technological supremacy, was thought as beautiful as it were ugly, as romantic

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[69] Davenport-Hines, p.1.
[70] Chris Baldick, *The Oxford Book of Gothic Tales* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) p. xiii.

as it were threatening, as attractive as it were repulsive. These contradictions are essential to a Gothic Cornwall, as

> [t]he reason that Gothic others or spaces can abject myriad cultural and psychological contradictions, and thereby confront us with those anomalies in disguise, is because those spectral characters, images, and settings harbour the hidden reality that oppositions of all kinds cannot maintain their separations.[71]

The idea that separations or distinctions—whether geographical, cultural, historical, or physical—are arbitrary threatens a multitude of stabilities and integrities, of the self, society, and the nation. Cornwall threatens these distinctions by being conceptually moved closer to the mainland with the construction of the Royal Albert Bridge, by being both English and foreign, and by being humans (and English subjects) felt to be markedly primitive. This renders the Cornish "the Gothic Other", their subjectivity subsumed into becoming an object of both difference and desire.[72] The Cornish Gothic Other becomes a liminal body:

> bodies that occupy the threshold between the two terms of an opposition, like human/beast, male/female, or civilized/primitive, by which cultures are able meaningfully to organize experience. By breaking down such oppositions the liminal entity confounds one's ability to make sense of the world.[73]

For the purposes of this thesis the Gothic is defined as a genre comprised of texts which aim to affect the reader, generating feelings of fear, discomfort, horror, or anxiety; that depict excess, extremity, or extravagance in content or form; that attempt to negotiate anxieties through manifestations of the supernatural, or through otherwise resisting the limitations of the real; that engage with contemporary anxieties or form a means of articulating or processing cultural or personal traumas; that concern themselves with irrepressible re-emergence—whether of histories, the oppressed, or the repressed; and which articulate transgression or violation of meaning, norms and boundaries, geographical, physical, psychical, conceptual, or otherwise.

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[71] Jerrold Hogle, "Introduction", *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction*, p.11
[72] Vijay Mishra, *The Gothic Sublime* (New York City: SUNY Press, 1994), p. 98
[73] Hurley, p. 190.

The next part of this introduction will go on to describe how this manifests specifically in Victorian Gothic fiction.

The Victorian Gothic: Turning Inwards

This adaptability characterises the Victorian Gothic and can be seen in the way the Gothic came to occupy a variety of forms in the long nineteenth century, becoming "discernible in both popular and classical Victorian literature, from penny dreadfuls ('bloods', 'Salisbury Square' fiction), shilling shockers, ghost stories and melodrama, to works of social realism, imperial romances, sensation novels and science fiction".[74] The Gothic transcends form as well as time to become a hybrid mode.[75] This hybridity responded to numerous cultural shifts across the long nineteenth century.

Many of these shifts can be summarised as causing the Gothic to "turn inwards"—towards the self, the psyche, and the nation. Davison argued that "the most significant overall development in the Victorian era was its greater domestication and internalization to explore the dark recesses of the human— and, thus, the national—psyche",[76] and that the Victorian period "brings the setting of this genre to British shores".[77] Davison points out "[t]he noteworthy shift in the Gothic from foreign Roman Catholic settings to more familiar domestic backdrops that occurred in the early Victorian period", but situates this within a Gothic literature also concerned with the global and the imperial, as "it by no means becomes exclusively domestic in focus".[78] Milbank notes that Gothic tales in the mid-nineteenth-century tend to offer either "Gothic locales in southern Europe" or "a recent British setting", whereas Cornwall, straddling the English and the Mediterranean, has the capacity to offer a combination of both.[79]

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[74] Davison, *History*, p. 220.
[75] See E. L. McCallum, "The 'Queer Limits' in the Modern Gothic", in *The Cambridge Companion to the Modern Gothic*, ed. by Jerrold E. Hogle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 71.
[76] Davison, *History*, p. 220.
[77] Alison Milbank, "The Victorian Gothic in English Novels and Stories, 1830-1880", *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction*, ed. Jerrold E. Hogle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 147.
[78] Davison, *History*, p. 223.
[79] Milbank, "The Victorian Gothic in English Novels and Stories, 1830-1880", p. 150.

The Victorian Gothic can be characterised, then, as a "turn inwards" towards the psychological.[80] This looking inwards was borne of a drive towards discovering the nature of character or self in the mind or body rather than the soul, and the birth of new scientific modes for investigating human nature— psychology, anthropology, phrenology, and later, Freudian psychoanalysis. These theories introduced theories of disintegration and atavism—or the possibility for regression. While it could be said that this "turn" occurred earlier, in nineteenth-century texts it is amplified and contextualised by specific radical challenges to selfhood caused by scientific developments. Kelly Hurley refers to the "destabilizing effects of nineteenth-century Darwinian science", which proposed that "bodies, species, and cultures were as likely to move 'backwards' as 'forwards,' degenerating into less complex forms".[81] Victorian social critic Max Nordau, writing in this climate, proposed the potential for a contagious degeneration of the moral, spiritual, and political, as well as the physical and intellectual self. Nordau's *Degeneration* (1895) is referenced in Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897), and referred to by Glennis Byron as "one of the most notorious and, in its way, Gothic texts of the Victorian *fin de siècle*".[82] This provides the context for the popular preoccupation with the image of the primitive or degenerative Cornish, which displaces the threat at arm's length—or Tamar's breadth—from England.

The displacement of anxieties serves both a psychological and an imperial function. A psychological interpretation of the Gothic suggests the genre was one which uses the supernatural to displace anxieties, or one which uses the "return of the repressed" (whether repressed histories, memories, or anxieties) to generate fear. On the other hand, Patrick Brantlinger defined the "Imperial Gothic" as one centred on racial and social degenerative anxieties, and the potential reversal of colonisation, as a vulnerable Britain could be invaded by colonial forces.[83] This, too, can be read as a "return of the repressed", as oppressed forces turn on the coloniser. This brings with it Gothic

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[80] Milbank, "The Victorian Gothic in English Novels and Stories, 1830-1880", p. 151.
[81] Hurley, p. 195.
[82] Glennis Byron, "Gothic in the 1890s", *A New Companion to the Gothic*, ed. David Punter (New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 186-196.
[83] Patrick Brantlinger, "Imperial Gothic: Atavism and the Occult in the British Adventure Novel, 1880-1914," *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, 28.3 (1985), pp. 243-252.

anxieties surrounding the permeability of borders and boundaries, and the strength and stability of national character. These defining characteristics of the Victorian Gothic are embodied in Victorian Cornwall through concerns over transport developments, the construction of the Royal Albert Bridge, the difficulty in defining a coherent Cornish identity as both distinct from and related to Englishness. The "return of the repressed" can also be seen in the ways in which "most Victorian Gothic works chronicle the invasion of pasts upon presents and raise joint spectres of individual and social regression", demonstrative of the ways in which psychological, historical, imperial, and degenerative rhetoric overlap in the Victorian Gothic mode. [84]

Other concerns central to the Victorian Gothic involve a more general preoccupation with scientific advancement, the birth of the natural sciences, and the increased specialisation of the sciences alongside the increased secularisation of the nation. These scientific advancements were, in part, fuelled by (and led to) advancements in the Industrial Revolution, itself key to an understanding of the Victorian Gothic. This, in turn, led to the rise of the middle classes, increased social mobility, and the expansion of urban areas into the countryside, as well as increased consumerism and an emphasis on individualism. These cultural changes brought with them increased awareness of abysmal living conditions, changing social structures, and economics and exchange. This can be seen in Victorian Cornish Gothic fiction in the focus on the collapse of the mining industry, movement in and out of the county, and graphic representations of debilitating poverty.

Julian Wolfreys argues that the Victorians and the Gothic, in both resisting stable delineation, exist in an "agnostic embrace" of "desirous and destructive strife".[85] Both "the Gothic" and "the Victorian period" evade pinpointing, and escape "anything but the loosest definitions".[86] The Cornish Gothic, then, necessitates we reconfigure this relationship as a triptych rather than an embrace, where Cornwall in Gothic fiction in the Victorian period is, too, evasive, slippery, and difficult to define. Each come to remind us of the uncanny

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[84] Davison, *History*, pp. 220-221.
[85] Wolfreys, 2006, p.63.
[86] Alexandra Warwick, "Victorian Gothic", in *The Routledge Companion to the Gothic*, ed. by Catherine Spooner and Emma McEvoy (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 29.

tension between regression and progress, the past and the future, and the advanced and the primitive. Cornish Gothic fiction in this period is emblematic of the central concerns of Victorian Gothic fiction. As such, an understanding of Cornish Gothic fiction is necessary for understanding the circulation of ideas in the nineteenth century.

What is the Regional Gothic?

There has been a significant amount of critical reflection on the importance of place in Gothic literature, with a focus on national, transnational, and regional Gothic fictions. This manifests in the split between a British and American Gothic, the Southern Gothic, Canadian Gothic, and more recently, Tropical Gothic, to name but a few.[87] We see emphasis on place, identity, and borders and boundaries in the long-term critical preoccupation with the Celtic Gothic—Irish Gothic, Scottish Gothic, and Welsh Gothic.[88] There are also recognisable Gothic modes in regions of England—the Northern Gothic of the Brontës, the Gothic Wessex of Hardy, and the Gothic London of Stevenson.[88] Despite this, there has been no cohesive recognition of a relative Cornish Celtic Gothic literature—a considerable oversight considering the number of Cornish Gothic texts and the specifically contested Celticity of Cornwall during their period of production. A reflection on the pastoral Gothic considers the rural space, and the industrial Gothic considers the urban space, but there has been little consideration of the industrial-rural of Cornwall's mining landscape.[89] Victorian

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[87] For more on the Southern Gothic see Susan Castillo Street and Charles L. Crow, eds, *The Palgrave Handbook of the Southern Gothic* (New York: Springer, 2016). For more on American Gothic see Jeffrey Andrew Weinstock, *The Cambridge Companion to American Gothic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). For more on the Canadian Gothic see Justin D. Edwards, *Gothic Canada: Reading the Spectre of a National Literature* (Albert: University of Alberta, 2005) and for a Tropical Gothic see Justin D. Edwards and Sandra G. T. Vasconcelos, *Tropical Gothic in Literature and Culture: The Americas* (London: Routledge, 2016). For a Gothic London see Lawrence Phillips and Anne Witchard, *London Gothic: Place, Space and the Gothic Imagination* (London: A&C Black, 2010) and Jamieson Ridenhour, *In Darkest London: The Gothic Cityscape in Victorian Literature* (Baltimore: Rowman & Littlefield, 2013). See Jarlath Killeen, *Emergence of Irish Gothic Fiction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), Carol Margaret Davison and Monica Germana's *Scottish Gothic: An Edinburgh Companion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017) and Jane Aaron, *Welsh Gothic* (Cardiff: Wales University Press, 2013).
[88] For more on Wessex and the Brontës, see Jarlath Killeen's *Gothic Literature 1825-1914* (2009), pp. 95-98.
[89] For more on the impact of the Industrial Revolution and the Agrarian Revolution on the development of Gothic fiction see Ruth Bienstock Anolik, *Property and Power in English Gothic Literature* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2015), p. 24.

literature in particular has lent itself to reflection upon the significance of Gothic space. Robert Mighall "maps" Victorian Gothic fiction, considering the urban Gothic and the suburban Gothic, and challenging the predominant psychoanalytical approach to the Gothic in this period with a more discursive analysis of the geographical aspects of Victorian Gothic fiction:

> "regional Gothic" can often demonstrate such a pathological fear of the regional other that it verges on a paranoid nationalism or a reactionary and ultra-conservatism determined to police national boundaries. Even here, however, the Gothic is infected by a desire for the Other disallowed within conventional culture, and this desire destabilises the narrow-gauge identities naturalised within the dominant culture. After all, for the metropolitan man suffering the agonies of modern ennui and angst in which self-identity became increasingly problematic, the Celtic fringes offered a means by which to recuperate and revive.[90]

Tourists visited Cornwall in the nineteenth century for the same reasons that readers and authors gravitated towards Cornwall as a literary setting—because it was as attractive as it was repulsive, in part due to its departure from the perceived norm. Cornwall is necessarily a space of desirable transgression in order to serve as a fantastical antidote to the anxieties of a contemporary readership. This notion of the "fantastical" does not detach us from the historical contingencies of the Gothic, as feared by Baldick and Mighall, but rather serves as a reaction to contemporaneous historical and cultural concerns.[91] The fantastical, in this case, entrenches the Cornish Gothic in the material. The regional Gothic relies upon the region being marked as distinct enough to serve as both alien horror and tempting retreat. This is seen in the tension between descriptions of Cornwall's nostalgic and primitive past, in its images of superiority and inferiority, and in the exaggerated distance between Cornwall and the "mainland". It was thought that "[w]hereas the metropolitan centres were considered sites of manufactured and hollow identity, the regions were believed to be 'authentic' areas for the soul", and that

> [t]he Gothic re-enacts this movement but undermines it; the union of Self and Other is always a nightmare rather than a romantic dream;

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[90] Killeen, *Gothic Literature 1825-1914*, p. 94.
[91] Chris Baldick and Robert Mighall, "Gothic Criticism", in *A New Companion to the Gothic*, ed. by David Punter (Oxford: Blackwell, 2012), p. 269.

> authenticity is not discovered but is revealed as so horrifically Other that the cosmopolitan is completely undone in his encounter with it.[92]

This manifests explicitly within Cornish Gothic texts as the encounter of the "outsider" with the Cornish, which is mirrored in the reader encountering Cornwall through Gothic fiction. The repulsed reader is mapped onto the repulsed outsider—a process key to characterising the regional Gothic. It is worth noting that Killeen's argument is reliant upon a dated core-periphery model of the "Celtic fringe", problematised by the more collusive relationship the Cornish had with travellers and tourists, by Cornish engineering might, by ancient international trading links and the spread of a Cornish diaspora. As such, it is an oversimplification that elides rather than illuminates Cornwall's particularities and the Cornish Gothic as a distinct genre. Cornwall itself is an archipelago as part of an archipelago, framed by the Scilly Isle and Looe Island. Further, Cornwall is a historical trading port of significant global importance, negating its status as "fringe". The overly reductive "fringe" model reproduces the marginalisation of regional histories and perpetuates Anglocentric perspectives.

Raymond Williams asserts that the distinction of regionality (and the regional novel) "began to be significant only in the late nineteenth-century".[93] Dainotto goes on to state that the "obsession with places and regions—and so, also with tourism, map-making, and the like—*is* a nineteenth-century obsession, indeed".[94] Regionalism emerged with the Industrial Revolution, where the rural performed as "metaphor of a resistance against a nationalism often perceived as the destruction of old location privileges" and industrialisation and ensuing notions of Marxist alienation "centered on the new industrial city".[95] Regionalism suits itself not just to the Victorians but to the Gothic, as it resists the homogenisation of the nation state, and its presence in the social

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[92] Killeen, *Gothic Literature 1825-1914*, p. 95.
[93] Qtd. by Dainotto, p. 28. For more on regionality in Victorian fiction see Robin Gilmour, "Regional and Provincial in Victorian Literature", in *The Literature of Region and Nation*, ed. by R. P. Draper (London: Palgrave, 1989), pp. 51-60 and Raymond Williams, "Region and Class in the Novel", *The Uses of Fiction: Essays on the Modern Novel in Honour of Arnold Kettle*, ed. by Douglas Jefferson and Graham Martin (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1982), pp. 5968.
[94] Dainotto, p. 28.
[95] Dainotto, p. 28.

consciousness is motivated by anxious cultural shifts, including industrialisation, urbanisation, and transportation developments. These regional containers raise questions about national and regional identities which provide stimulus for the Gothic, concerned as it is with fragmented subjectivities.

Cornwall is a prime case study for discussing the limitations and adaptability of regionality, as Cornwall is "both 'of England' and 'not of England'".[96] Walter White, in his travel narrative *A Londoner's Walk to Land's End* (1855), expresses wonder at the differences between Cornwall and the nation to which it belongs:

> Frequently did I fancy myself out of England while in Cornwall, and anyone able to use his eyes may well be pardoned for the illusion. Under the influence of strange names, the peculiarities of the people, and unfamiliar landscape features, it seemed to me more than once that I was in a foreign country, and I caught myself saying in conversations— "when I get back to England".[97]

This is particularly pronounced in the nineteenth century due to Cornwall being connected to the national rail network, the Royal Albert Bridge bridging the chasm of the Tamar river—the point of severance between the English and the "not". In the nineteenth century "Cornwall and the Cornish remain an enigma— not falling neatly or happily into the new categories that are appearing, a battleground perhaps for conflicting visions, constructions, imaginings of Cornishness, Celticity, and Britishness".[98] This fluidity—this inbetweenness— lends itself to Gothic articulation and instability as Cornwall becomes a distinctly Gothic "imagined community".[99] The conception of the Cornish as they "teeter on the brink of a conceptual and historiographical crevasse, neither county nor nation" demands space for the investigation of wider cultural anxieties surrounding nationhood and place in the Victorian period, and demonstrates why an understanding of Victorian Cornwall is essential to understanding Victorian perceptions of regionality, locality, and nationhood.

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[96] Bernard Deacon, "County, Nation, Ethnic Group? The Shaping of the Cornish Identity", *International Journal of Regional and Local History*, 3.1 (2007), p.5.

[97] Walter White, *A Londoner's Walk to the Land's End; and a trip to the Scilly Isles* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1855), p. 179.

[98] Philip Payton, *A Vision of Cornwall* (Cornwall: Alexander Associates, 2002), pp. 47 and 65.

[99] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition (London and New York: Verso, 1991 [1983]).

As with slippery definitions of the Gothic and the difficulty of pinpointing the Victorians, we must be careful not to allow the instability of Cornish regional identity to evacuate the concept of meaning. Deacon asks: "if regional identities are volatile and if discourses are constantly reshaping both the identity of a region and its consciousness then can any symbols be appropriated and attached to any place?".[100] In other words—to posit a Cornish Gothic tradition one must establish Cornishness as a coherent and cohesive regional identity, even though the very Gothicity of Cornwall is embedded in the dynamism and fluidity of Cornishness. These notions are not mutually exclusive. This thesis will identify recognisable elements of Cornishness which can be used as a shorthand or symbol within a narrative, while also understanding the instability of Cornishness as a primary marker of the Cornish Gothic. It is these seemingly conflicting but cohabiting tensions which provide fuel for the anxieties of the Cornish Gothic—the spaces between meaning and meaninglessness, articulation and inarticulation, anchored in historical events which shaped the county.

Bernard Deacon questions the very possibility of a coherent regionality and analyses a range of models to demonstrate the difficulty in defining a region. It is worth noting that Deacon's work is often controversial and reactionary, though Deacon's significant contribution to the field of Cornish studies cannot be overlooked. Nevertheless, Deacon's work has been integral to isolating Cornish studies from wider cultural histories, ensuring the perpetuation of the elision of the county from wider historical narratives. Regionality can be understood as relying upon shared and circulated ideas of symbolism and tradition rather than historically unstable topographical boundaries.[101] Anthony D. Smith entrenches regionality in ethno-symbolism, or the "historical myths and memories involved in identity formation".[102] Before nations there were "ethnic communities" defined as "named human populations with shared ancestry, myths, histories, and cultures, having an association with

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[100] Deacon, "County, nation, ethnic group?", p. 7.
[101] H. P. R. Finberg and V. H. T. Skipp, *Local History: Objective and Pursuit* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1967), pp.32-35, qtd. by Deacon in "County, nation, ethnic group?", p. 1; also Applegate qtd. by Deacon, "County, nation, ethnic group?", p. 1.
[102] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), p. 32.

a specific territory, and a sense of solidarity".[103] Smith's ethno-symbolism as a definition of regionalism relies less on geographical borders and blood lineage and more on shared memory and the development of shared narratives through retellings of histories and mythos. While these shared stories relate to or can be contained within geographical containers, they can also transcend and spread, a definition which befits the nineteenth-century creation of a significant global Cornish diaspora. This perspective lends itself to framing the recurrent significance of folklore and legend in Victorian Cornish Gothic narratives, and how the fear of losing these narratives and traditions manifests as a fear of the dissolution of community and identity, as in the antiquarian collections of Robert Hunt, William Bottrell, Sabine Baring-Gould, and Robert Stephen Hawker. The relationship between Cornwall's past and its sense of continuous self was threatened by Victorian modernisation. This can be seen in William Conor Sydney's aforementioned concern over the railways causing "the gradual assimilation of its people more and more into ordinary English society" and how this will threaten Cornwall's "huge array of witches and hobgoblins".[104] Sydney goes on to state that

> [t]he weird, ancient, castellated structures, that have so long bidden defiance to the ravages of time and decay, will no longer contain within their massive walls a phantom to proclaim their hoary and solitary age. The time-worn baronial halls will no longer boast the presence of some mysterious tenant whose appearance is regarded as the certain presage of approaching ill. Even the oldest inhabitants will no longer able to point, as once they did, to many infallible proofs of the presence of an Arthur, a Fitzford, or a Howard.[105]

Cornwall's regionality can be defined by its past, shared traditions, legends, and myths, and its sense of selfhood is made coherent through storytelling. I propose to read this definition of a Cornish regionalism bound by shared stories and traditions into the Gothic's metafictional consciousness of the function of storytelling, and its recurrent use (or reuse) of Cornish folklore and traditions. This is of particular note in the relationship between Sabine Baring-Gould's antiquarian pursuits and his Gothic novels, discussed in more detail in chapter one.

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[103] Anthony D. Smith, p. 32.
[104] Sydney, p. 45.
[105] Sydney, p. 45.

More recently, Ruth Heholt and William Hughes' *Gothic Britain: Dark Places in the Provinces and Margins of the British Isles* (2018) has highlighted the continued importance of regional studies in Gothic criticism. As has Michael Carter, Peter N. Lindfield, and Dale Townshend's *Writing Britain's Ruins* (2017). Significantly, both these collections feature chapters on Cornwall—"Ruins in Focus: Tintagel Castle" by Nick Groom, and Ruth Heholt's "The Hammer House of Cornish Horror: The Inversion of Imperial Gothic in the *Plague of the Zombies* and *The Reptile*". These works demonstrate a perpetual interest in the relationship between Cornwall, the Gothic, and regionality, and render the gap in Cornish Gothic scholarship more noticeable.

Celticity and the Gothic and Celticity in Cornwall

How, then, were the Cornish perceived as a named people, or an ethnic community, in the long nineteenth century, when this abundance of Gothic texts were being produced? Robert Dickinson states that "since the late eighteenth century Cornwall has been a site of contested representations, as outsiders and insiders have portrayed it as a place of difference with labels like West Barbary, Industrial Civilization, Celtic Other and Delectable Duchy", emphasising the role of the outsider in shaping the popular conception of Cornwall.[106] Throughout the nineteenth century the Cornish were recurrently racialised and speciated as a means of accentuating their otherness—not just in culture, landscape, and language, but in body. This was used to reinforce their primitivity and inferiority, justified by evolution and upheld by science, pitching the Cornish further against the enlightened and civilised. *The Sunday at Home* (1865) presents an image of the Cornish engaging with and being aware of their reception and presentation in nineteenth century "England":

> The county of Cornwall up till a recent period, before the magnificent bridge at Saltash […] had linked in closest affinity the soft and sunny vales of Devon with its grander and more rugged scenery, was rarely visited by tourists […] I have heard here now a Cornish lady say, with much animation, if not a little warmth, 'The people of other counties scarcely own us as English people at all; we are looked upon, I think, as

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[106] Robert Dickinson, "Meanings of Cornishness: A Study of Contemporary Cornish Identity," *Cornish Studies*, 18 (2011), p. 170.

a rather rude and savage race, and quite out of the world.' What is comparatively inaccessible, is often misunderstood.[107]

Prominent ethnologist Dr John Beddoe's (1826-1911) ethnographic study "Index of Nigrescence" (1885) measured melanin in the skin, and hair and eye colour, across Britain and Ireland. Beddoe concluded that the further West one went, the darker the people became, with the people of Cornwall "the darkest people in England proper".[108] This is demonstrative of one way in which the emerging sciences of anthropology and phrenology were used to uphold and justify prejudices against racial groups.[109]

The index fed from and into popular prejudices surrounding the West Country in the nineteenth century. As a consequence of Beddoe's study, there was pressure to perform a more thorough survey. Anthropologist Edward Brabrook, writing to the *British Association* in 1893[110], states that:

> the matter is one which will not brook undue delay... The centripetal forces, which impel the country folk towards our great towns, and the rapid means of transit from place to place, of which even the poorest are constantly availing themselves, are fast effacing all special local peculiarities, and inextricably mixing the races of which our population are composed.[111]

Brabrook's constant petitioning led to the "Ethnographic Survey of the British Isles" (1893) which "studied the inhabitants and folklore of Cornwall at 35 locations, since it was presumed that Cornwall's geographical location would provide a remarkably uncorrupted race of primitive people".[112] Victorian Gothic literature investigating Cornwall potentially serves the same function as Brabrook and Beddoe's studies into ethnographically defining the population— as attempts to quantify or qualify the threat.

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[107] Anon., "Impressions and Incidents of a Tour in Cornwall", *The Sunday at Home: A Family Magazine for Sabbath Reading* (13 May 1865), p. 295.
[108] For more on this see John Vernon, "Cornwall and the English Imagi(nation)", *Imagining Nations*, ed. Geoffrey Cubitt (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), p. 166.
[109] For more on the relationship between anthropology, phrenology, and upholding racial prejudices in the nineteenth century, see George Stocking's *Victorian Anthropology* (1991) and Edward Beasley's *The Victorian Reinvention of Race: New Racisms and the Problem of Grouping in the Human Sciences* (2010).
[110] Now known as the British Science Association, formerly the British Association for the Advancement of Science.
[111] E. W. Brabrook, "On the Organisation of Local Anthropological Research", *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 22 (1893), p. 274.
[112] Graham Busby and Patrick Laviolette, "Narratives in the Net: Fiction and Cornish Tourism", Cornish Studies", *Cornish Studies*, 14 (2006) pp. 144-5.

Celtic regions across Britain and Ireland were associated with this darkness of features. Such racial stereotyping had larger ramifications, and Simon Trezise insists that

> the Victorian debate about the nature of the Celt should not be underestimated: race as an explanation, not just for 'animal' appearance but for 'animal' behaviour, meant that there was no need to explain Irish, Scots, Welsh or Cornish issues in terms of environmental problems such as poverty, dispossession of land and language, famine or English prejudices.[113]

It was a way of strengthening the insularity and ostracisation of Celtic groups by rendering them bodily or genetically distinct as well as culturally and linguistically different. Speciation served as a means of both detracting from *and* justifying fundamental social, cultural, and economic disparities and inequalities.

While the notion of the Celtic Cornish was dominant in the popular imagination in the nineteenth century, the legitimacy of an authentic Cornish Celt has been a subject of historic debate.[114] In the late nineteenth century, Cornwall's Celticity was called into question because of the death of its language, as "[l]ike most educated Europeans of the late 19th century the early Celtic Congress equated nationality with language. In the absence of a living Celtic language there could be no living Celtic nation".[115] Celticity in Cornwall is, in more recent criticism, largely thought to be a retrospective fiction constructed and popularised by antiquarian Henry Jenner (1848-1934) at the *fin-de-siècle*.[116] Samantha Rayne relates the development of and increased interest in a notion of Cornish Celticity to the burgeoning tourist industry in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and describes how "the construction of Cornwall as a mystical, ancient and haunted land has been used to market the county to tourists for decades, a trend which has continued into the twenty-first century

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[113] Trezise, p. 58.

[114] For more on the Celtic debate more generally in nineteenth-century popular culture and scholarly work see Matthew Arnold, *On the Study of Celtic Literature* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1867).

[115] Deacon, "On Being a Cornish 'Celt'", p. 1.

[116] Rayne, Samantha, "Henry Jenner and the Celtic Revival in Cornwall" (PhD Thesis: University of Exeter, 2011). Henry Jenner was a Celticist, Cornish activist, and at the forefront of the Cornish language revival project. Jenner saw the Cornish language as key to preserving the separate nationality of the Cornish.

despite the changes wrought on both the Cornish landscape and society by the collapse of traditional industries, and the consequent rise of mass tourism".[117] While Rayne's work focuses on Henry Jenner's activities at the beginning of the twentieth century, they acknowledge the longer tradition of the association between Cornishness and Celticity in the writings of historians John Norden (1547-1645), William Borlase (1696-1772), and Richard Polwhele (1760-1838).[118] Rayne states that, as a result of this written tradition, "figures like Jenner were able to draw on the observations made in earlier centuries to construct a convincing historical Celtic identity for Cornwall and the Cornish people".[119] This relationship between Cornishness, tourism, Celticity, and mysticism emerges in nineteenth-century Gothic fiction as the recurrent trope of the tourist or traveller encountering Cornwall's ancient, mystical past. This demonstrates how the Cornish were "reaching back" to forge a coherent and stable Cornish identity entrenched in history in response to a contemporary dissolution of identity. It is beyond the remits of this thesis to assert the authenticity of a Celtic Cornwall—rather, this thesis will investigate representations of Cornwall as a Celtic space and how they feed into the recurrent Gothicisation of the county. This is investigated in more detail in chapter two.

Celebrated physician and social reformer Havelock Ellis (1859-1939) in "The Men of Cornwall" (1897) outlines in great detail the many unique cultural and racial markers of the Cornish. He describes the Cornish as creative, eloquent, and effeminate; a "truly primitive" people, and this primitivity is entrenched firmly in and seemingly derives from the landscape, as "the restless nervous energy in the race, the underlying sturdiness—Cornish gales and Cornish granite—are combined and displayed in tremendous achievement" in a spirit of adventure, daring, and recklessness.[119] The Cornish body takes on the characteristics of the landscape.[120] Indeed,

> [t]he stranger in Cornwall is quickly impressed by something wild and primitive in the land and the people. To a large extent this is a correct

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[117] Samantha Rayne, p. 183.
[118] Rayne, 183.
[119] Havelock Ellis, "Men of Cornwall", The New Century Review (May 1897), pp. 415-416.
[120] Discussed in more detail in Shelley Trower, *Rocks of Nation: The Imagination of Celtic Cornwall* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015).

impression. The general contours of the country—huge fantastic rocks lashed by angry winter seas, gorse-covered moorlands with rare but luxuriant valleys—are savaged and uncivilised. The prehistoric remains . . . confirm the impression and recall the grander relics of primitive rite and sepulchre in Brittainy, while the quaint wayside crosses scattered so profusely along western Cornish roads recall the simple piety of early days.[121]

For Ellis the Cornish are foreign, distinct from the English, more closely aligned with the Celts of Brittany, though also distinct from other Celtic locales—lacking "the profound conservatism of the Welsh".[122] The savagery, anger, and contours of the country and the people are resistant to outsiders, or the "stranger", and it is this lack of welcome that appeals to Ellis as a visitor—a repulsion that proves itself attractive. This is fundamental to the Gothic—an oscillation between "attraction and repulsion, worship and condemnation", fear and fascination.[123] Ellis glories in tales of "devoted wreckers, fervent smugglers" and the way in which "the fierce winter gales turn the dangerous coasts around the Lizard and Land's End into seething cauldrons of death".[124] Both Beddoes and Ellis demonstrate an interest in Cornwall and its particularisms as ripe for scientific and social inquiry in this period—a breeding ground of strangeness as intriguing to the physician as the Gothic author.

An anonymous author for *The Leisure Hour* in 1879 sees the racial particularities of the Cornish as a result of their ancient, legendary trading relationship with the Phoenicians:

> Whosoever visits the extreme west of the county can hardly fail to be struck with the frequent occurrence of faces of a distinctly Eastern type—half Greek in their clearness and regularity of outline, and utterly unlike anything you will see among the Kelts of Wales or of Brittany, to whom the Cornish Kelts are most nearly related. And to this infusion of the blood of the finest seamen of the ancient world may be due, also, to the noteworthy facts that while Kelts, as a rule, are by no means fond of the sea, the seamen of Fowey were among the most daring mariners of the Middle Ages; and that there are no more daring sailors now than are to be found among the Cornish fishermen.[125]

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[121] Ellis, pp. 414-15.
[122] Ellis, p. 416.
[123] Punter, *Literature of Terror*, p. 190.
[124] Ellis, p. 417.
[125] *The Leisure Hour*, p. 167.

This racial othering highlights the superiority and particularity of the Cornish while entrenching them in ancient mythos. One could visit Cornwall to visit the Phoenicians of lore, and different racial groups are homogenised in the description to present an image of the generalised "foreign other". The speciation of the Cornish is satirised to Gothic effect in the short story "My Father's Secret" (1861). In this narrative a young Cornish man, upon reading the Breton legend of the Bisclavaret, becomes convinced that he will turn into a wolf. He realises his father is watching him "with a fearful expectancy, as if there was about me something alarming or unnatural, that should stamp me as a creature apart from the rest of my species".[126] He becomes convinced that he is experiencing "the slow blending of the human and bestial natures, till the former should be swallowed up in the latter", and that he must have some "personal peculiarity, or sign, or deformity".[127] His suspicion is amplified by his isolation in Cornwall "far from any town of the least importance", where he is "so isolated that often months, nay, I may say years, passed, without our even seeing a new face".[128] The narrative draws from Cornwall's isolation, legends surrounding the bestial and primitive nature of the Cornish, and the speciation, racialisation, and particularism of the Cornish.

This thesis is focused on the representation and perception of the Cornish in Gothic fiction as opposed to trying to ascertain racial identity. Regardless of the authenticity of Cornwall's Celticity the Cornish were clearly and repeatedly speciated, and assumptions about Celticism in the period infested assumptions about Cornwall while contributing significantly to the construction of the Cornish as savage barbarians. The construction of the "West barbary barbarian" is inseparable from Victorian racial prejudices, anxieties surrounding atavism, contemporary phrenological practices, and the perception of other Celtic groups, including the Irish, Scottish, and Welsh.

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[126] Anon., "My Father's Secret", *All the Year Round* (9 Mar 1861), p. 515.
[127] "My Father's Secret", p. 515.
[128] "My Father's Secret", p. 515.

The Celtic Gothic

Inevitably, a Cornish Gothic tradition was influenced by existing (though contested) Irish, Scottish, and Welsh Gothic traditions. The regional site has been pivotal in the development of a Gothic tradition:

> Of course, this version of regional space as a classic site of ghostly energies and horrific creatures has always been central to Gothic convention, and where the plot of a traditional Gothic novel does not take place on the Catholic Continent, it usually locates itself in those geographical areas deemed marginal to metropolitan sophistication. Traditionally, horror and the Gothic take place in what has been called the "outlandish": obscure, out-of-the-way places, usually in the countryside and in villages, or—where the Gothic locates itself in an urban environment—monstrosity emerges from under the stairs, from the attic, out of the cellar, spaces on the edge rather than at the centre. To English eyes, the Celtic fringes were such "outlandish" spaces.[129]

Cornwall, too, is "outlandish", located at the very extreme South West periphery of the country—of the "land" itself. If "the Gothic is often seen as the return of the repressed, the past that will not stay past, Ireland has usually been constructed as a place where the past had never in fact disappeared, a place where the past is in fact the always present".[130] Killeen builds from Christopher Morash, who saw the "the Celtic fringes" as a place of "atemporality, a place of the primitive, the out-of-touch and the backward which the modern world had not yet affected".[131] This can be seen in Cornwall in the recurrent perpetuation of the legend of the "West barbary barbarian" and the wider notion of the criminal, ungovernable Cornish—especially the miners, and especially in periods of mass poverty. It can also be seen in a sense of history being somewhat "preserved" in Cornwall—that the Cornish are not a regressive people, but simply untouched by civilised modernity. In the Victorian Gothic novel, "the past may be a foreign country, but in the Gothic mode the foreign country becomes the past. Or rather, has always been, and it is England gliding expertly into the future".[132] Cornwall is fixed or moving backwards while England progresses.

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[129] Killeen, *Emergence*, p. 9.
[130] Killeen, *Emergence*, p. 10.
[131] Qtd. by Killeen, *Emergence*, p. 10.
[132] Mighall, *Mapping*, pp. 18-19.

The Cornish Gothic shares themes with other Celtic Gothic modes, including anxiety over national identity, images of the foreign other, criminality, poverty, exclusion, tradition, radicalism and resistance, folklore and mythos, and transgression. Jane Aaron, in *Welsh Gothic* (2013), grapples with the problematics of dubbing the Gothic of a Celtic people a "postcolonial" or "imperial" Gothic.[133] Aaron draws upon Hughes and Smith, who argue against the "rather simplistic and restrictive notion of what it is to be postcolonial" in favour of "a broader reading that situates the onset of the postcolonial at the point in which the indigenous culture, with its power structures, has its integrity violated by external (cultural or physical) interference".[134] I will draw heavily from Aaron's methodology in employing a postcolonial and psychoanalytical underpinning primarily motivated by a historicist methodology. This historicity is necessary as it has been otherwise absent from considerations of Cornwall and the Cornish. The use of and references to Cornwall in Gothic texts have been misunderstood or misinterpreted as a result of a failure to understand what Cornwall would have signified to authors and readerships in their period. Aaron argues that a historicist analysis allows for emphasis on the "specificity of the Welsh experience", and similarly, a historical perspective is necessary to extract Cornwall from its homogenised place in Englishness, Britishness, nonspecific foreignness, or Celticity.[135] Only by understanding the historical specificity of Cornwall can we understand the nuances of Cornwall when used as a Gothic site, providing new ways of interpreting canonical (and less canonical) works and authors while uncovering patterns and intertexts previously neglected.

Cornish Gothic shares with the Welsh Gothic an orientation towards historical specificity. Much like the Cornish Gothic canon, the Welsh Gothic is dominated by tourists and travellers into the space, and how they are "startled and sometimes alienated by its threatening landscapes, ruined castles and abbeys, and the perceived barbarities of its inhabitants".[136] Significantly, however, Cornwall lacks the alien language of the Welsh, as well as the nation's comprehensive body of national literature. It also, fundamentally, is not a nation.

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[133] Aaron, p. 3. As first "labelled as such" by Patrick Brantlinger in *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism 1830-1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), pp. 233-235.
[134] Qtd. by Aaron, p. 3.
[135] Aaron, p. 4.
[136] Aaron, p. 5.

It does not have the recognition of Wales or the political autonomy. Some critics have figured Wales as an aspirational nation state for Cornish political campaigners, and Cornwall has even been historically referred to as "South Wales".[137] It is important then to note that there can be no homogenised Celtic Gothic—that despite their proximity and perceived similarities even Wales and Cornwall have radical cultural, geographical, economic, political, and social differences which serve to emphasise the specificity of their own Gothic modes. There are still, however, similarities to draw upon, especially in regards to tensions between Wales and the "mainland" of England and shared mining cultures, as well as historic claims upon King Arthur.

The field of the Irish Gothic has been shaped by critics including Jarlath Killeen and W. J. McCormack. Killeen, in "Irish Gothic: A Theoretical Introduction" (2006), provides an overview of criticisms of the very possibility of the existence of an Irish Gothic, and the problematic implications of words like "tradition" and "canon".[138] One such problem, posited by McCormack, is that these terms suggest a linear line of influence—a "coherence and formal and ideological similarity that simply does not exist between the texts and authors themselves".[139] The body of literature seen as Irish Gothic is "gapped", "discontinuous", and "dubious". But, as aforementioned, the Gothic lends itself to these problems in definition and signification, and even demands fracture and incoherence. The Cornish Gothic resists the notion of "tradition" even further by including numerous authors who are not Cornish and some who have their own Celtic Gothic affiliations. The definition of the Gothic used in this thesis provides room for Irish author Bram Stoker's *The Jewel of Seven Stars* (1903) and "The Coming of Abel Behenna" (1893) to be of both Irish Gothic and Cornish Gothic modes, and indeed, enrichened and enlivened by these co-allegiances (or conflicts). The function of the Gothic is not to delimit, but rather to provide room for further interpretation and illumination. This is enabled through a historicist methodology—as the "appeal to 'tradition' masks historical processes, elides questions of origin and naturalises complex literary and

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[137] *Leisure Hour*, "The Cornish Folk", p. 167.
[138] Jarlath Killeen, "Irish Gothic: A Theoretical Introduction", *The Irish Journal of Gothic and Horror Studies*, 1 (2006), p. 13.
[139] Killeen, "Irish Gothic", p. 13.

cultural relations, and does this for ideological reasons".[140] McCormack's Irish Gothic resists an inward-looking body of national work and instead favours a wider cultural contextualisation.[141] The aim of this thesis is to do the same—to simultaneously provide a survey of possible Cornish Gothic texts while problematising the idea of a Cornish Gothic tradition. McCormack and Killeen push for an Irish Gothic that encapsulates the broad, complicated, tense, contradictory history of Ireland, and draws inspiration from those tensions and contradictions rather than attempting to resolve them into a coherent mode.

The notion of a Scottish Gothic has been shaped by critics including Carol Margaret Davison, Nick Groom, David Punter, T. Baker, Jerrold E. Hogle, Monica Germana, and Alan Bissett. Carol Margaret Davison and Monica Germana's edited collection *Scottish Gothic: An Edinburgh Companion* (2017) is the most recent and comprehensive survey of the field. In the introduction to this volume Davison and Germana reflect on the role of romanticisation in the construction of a Scottish Gothic, whereby Scotland serves as an object of Romanticisation rather than a site of production. Cornwall, too, is a "Romantic object or commodity" as its natives are far from the dominant voice in the construction of Romantic and Gothic images of the county.[142] Davison and Germana describe this Romanticisation as a response to modernisation and industrialisation, where Scotland "was nostalgically reconceptualised as a premodern domain of untouched, natural sublimity, a state from which Britain/England had, lamentably, fallen".[143] While there is a noted tendency to represent Cornwall as somewhat preserved in aspic, a wild antidote to sanitised civility, Cornwall's status as a Romantic object is compromised by its ancient industrial mining culture. Cornwall defined itself by an industry in rapid decline, and thus served the dual function of a reminder of what had been and was lost, and a warning of the catastrophic effects of the implosion of industry. Cornwall was simultaneously pre-industrial, mid-industrial, and post-industrial, and thus

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[140] Killeen, P. 13.

[141] W.J. McCormack, "Irish Gothic", in *The Handbook to Gothic Literature*, ed. by Marie MulveyRoberts (London: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 135-137.

[142] Ian Duncan (2004) qtd. by Carol Margaret Davison and Monica Germana, "Introduction," in *Scottish Gothic: An Edinburgh Companion*, eds. By Carol Margaret Davison and Monica Germana (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), p. 1.

[143] Davison and Germana, p. 2.

served as an ideal (if conflicted and contradictory) microcosm for wide-spread anxieties surrounding industrial modernity.[144] Scotland is a primitive, barbarous "state out of which Britain/England had thankfully emerged"—and Cornwall was this as well as where Britain/England could foreseeably end; a county embodying both a primitive past and the threat of decline.

Ireland, Scotland, and Wales all bear certain cultural similarities to Cornwall in their contested histories, their associations with Celticity, and their temporal location as spaces where the past thrives and threatens the present. All four spaces are characterised by a resistance to homogenisation in tension with a persistent racialised othering from external forces. These two sides of the coin of difference—exclusion and particularity—form the foundations of a Cornish regional Gothic mode. It is the conflict between the similarities and differences of these spaces which provide a rich vein of tensions ripe for Gothic literary inquiry. An understanding of these nuances and peculiarities necessitates that careful attention be paid to Cornwall's unique history.

Cornish Gothic Criticism

There has been scant work produced on the notion of a Cornish Gothic tradition, and less work on identifying its constituent parts. The "Cornish Gothic" was first coined by Avril Horner and Sue Zlosnik in 1998.[145] Their chapter does important work in outlining du Maurier's identification with Cornwall, and how something of Cornwall provided du Maurier with space to move towards Gothic writing. This is, however, necessarily a focused study of du Maurier, and neglects the possibility that du Maurier may be drawing from a significantly longer Gothic tradition. This thesis will build upon Horner and Zlosnik's foundational work to show du Maurier as an inheritor of an established Cornish Gothic mode.

Paul Young's 2011 work on Wilkie Collins's travel narrative *Rambles*

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[144] For more on this conflict between the Cornish as Celtic ideal and industrialised and technologically advanced see Philip Payton, "Industrial Celts? Cornish Identity in the Age of Technical Prowess", *Cornish Studies*, 10 (2002), pp. 116-135.
[145] Avril Horner and Sue Zlosnik, *Daphne du Maurier: Writing, Identity and the Gothic Imagination* (London: Palgrave, 1998), pp. 64-98.

beyond Railways; or, Notes on Cornwall Taken Afoot (1851) establishes Cornwall as a site of Gothic anxieties over globalisation and the collapse of empire based upon concerns over the potential of transportation as a means of increased access and potential invasion. Vitally, Young's work notes the possibility of a broader Cornish Gothic tradition in Collins's *Basil* (1852) and *The Dead Secret* (1856), and Stoker's *The Jewel of Seven Stars* (1903), but is necessarily limited in its scope. It is an important contribution to establishing Cornwall as a Gothicised place through a historicist methodology, and this thesis will work to expand upon Young's work to situate Collins's Gothic tales within a significantly broader body of texts.

Shelley Trower's *Rocks of Nation: The Imagination of Celtic Cornwall* (2015) forms an important foundation (bedrock?) for this thesis in its focus on unearthing the hitherto buried cultural significance and national importance of Cornwall. It is broader in scope than the remit of this thesis allows, though significantly draws heavily upon the impressions of tourists, discovering and uncovering Cornwall in the nineteenth century as a place "of adventure, with its primitive traditions and folklore, its superstitious natives and dramatic landscapes".[146] Trower is less interested, however, in the Gothic as a genre, focusing instead on the significance of geology to Cornwall, and covers a broader span (the nineteenth through to the twenty-first century) meaning it necessarily cannot provide a more detailed overview of Victorian historical context. This thesis builds upon Trower's work by focusing on a narrower time range, specific generic conventions, and a wider body of texts from a more specific period.

Bernard Deacon's review of Shelley Trower's *Rocks of Nation* (2015) and Marion Gibson, Shelley Trower, and Garry Tregidga's *Mysticism, Myth, and Celtic Identity* (2013) takes umbrage with establishing Cornwall as a Gothic space. Deacon sees postmodernist and poststructuralist notions of liminality and fluidity at odds with more seemingly "legitimate" concerns—"[i]nstead of power structures or institutional inertia, we find mystical and mythic discourses" he states, arbitrarily divorcing mythic narratives from their political, economic,

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[146] Trower, p. 202.

and cultural significance.[147] Deacon sees analyses of the construction of the Cornish Celt in fictive forms as an attack on the hopes and ambitions of Cornish particularism, and accuses such literary analyses of negating the validity of Cornish identities. One struggles to imagine that Deacon would feel such vitriol about literary representations of Cornwall in other modes, and it seems that such ire is specifically directed towards the Gothic. This is understandable given the role of romanticised images of Cornwall in the county's historical conceptual marginalisation, yet also seems to derive from a dislike of the Gothic, and a fundamental misapprehension of the mission of historicist literary criticism. While Deacon fears that "the Gothic Cornwall gaze" serves to homogenise Cornwall with other nationalist groups, the historicist literary methodology of this thesis instead seeks to extract Cornish particularisms to build a fuller historical picture of what made Cornwall distinct—in reality, as well as in literature. While Deacon seems to suggest that literature exists in some sort of fictive, imaginary vacuum, dislocated from culture, this thesis will posit literature as responding to (and influencing) real societal, cultural, political, and economic events.

This analysis does not seek to use the Gothic to reduce Cornwall to defanged, romantic fantasy, but rather to use the Gothic and its capacity for articulating trauma to understand the real lived suffering of the Cornish in this period, and how this was represented, reimagined, and digested. This is an important project for a broader understanding of popular perceptions of marginalised populaces. The Cornish Gothic, in fact, seeks to undo the work Deacon proposes it is perpetuating. Deacon claims that

> The Gothic/mystical academic gaze on Cornwall offers some mildly
> diverting speculation about the relationship between imposed and
> internalised representations but its lack of subtlety and the oversimplified
> and jaundiced approach to nationalism ultimately betrays it.[148] Such an
> attack on literary criticism reveals Deacon's own lack of familiarity with
> the body of work under review. Ironically, Deacon concludes his review
> with a reference to Marx's spectre of communism haunting Europe—
> seemingly oblivious to the significance of Marx's spectre to Gothic
> criticism. Gothic criticism, contrary to Deacon's anxieties, is a mode
> fundamentally concerned with economic, political, and social upheaval,
> revolution, and inequality. Carol

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[147] Bernard Deacon, "Gothic/Mystical Cornwall: a review", *bernarddeacon.com,* <https://bernarddeacon.com/recent-articles-on-cornwall/gothicmystical-cornwall/>, consulted 24.04.19, n.p.
[148] Deacon, "Gothic/Mystical Cornwall: a Review", n.p.

Margaret Davison notes the Gothic's "capacity for incisive socio-political representation and critique" and "its unique ability to explore human nature and consciousness".[149] It is unproductive for a figure so central in the development of the New Cornish Historiography to dismiss such a wealth of potential representations and interpretations of Cornwall. The body of work which I propose forms an embryonic Cornish Gothic tradition provides vital insight into understanding the perception of Cornwall at a pivotal time in its economic and cultural development. This work is an important contribution to the field of Cornish studies—particularly given the kneejerk resistance to literary and fictive interpretations from one of the loudest voices in the field.

Horner and Zlosnik, Trower, Young, Heholt, and Deacon have all contributed significantly to a rich and varied understanding of Cornwall as a place recurrently represented in Gothic terms, and aim of this thesis is to draw from their research in order to collate sources into a vision of a popular and influential Victorian Cornish Gothic mode—one which provides significant insight into the imagining of Cornwall across the nineteenth century.

This thesis will employ a range of textual sources, including novels, short stories, periodicals, newspaper articles, travel narratives, and scientific reports and treatise, to build a picture of the dissemination of images of Cornwall in the nineteenth-century imaginary. This use of a variety texts will appeal to "the traces of the tradition" and "non-Gothic experimentation with Gothic conventions".[150] It will resist a rigid definition of the Gothic and instead focus on a "very flexible and inclusive understanding of the Gothic" in terms of its adaptability, influences, and shadows—its hauntings. The Gothic, then, is not just a mode as described by Mighall, or a genre, or a collection of tropes, but a language for the inarticulable, "a de-stabilization of meaning"[151], or "a fascination with the problem of language, with possible fissures in the system of the symbolic as a whole".[152] The Gothic framework in this thesis is entrenched in Julian Wolfreys' establishment of the Gothic as a haunted mode which then in

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[149] Davison, *History*, p. 225.
[150] Killeen, *Gothic Literature 1825-1914*, pp. 2-3.
[151] Berthin, p. 2.
[152] Anne Williams, *Art of Darkness: A Poetics of the Gothic*, 2nd Edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 67.

turn haunts other forms and fictions. The "spectre" at the centre of Wolfreys' Gothic hauntings transcends space, materiality, and canon. Not every primary text in this thesis can be described as wholly and indisputably Gothic—instead, this survey highlights Gothic leakages, where the Gothicity of Cornwall has tainted and influenced different modes; has bled into travel writing, advertisements, and periodicals; has shaped the *perception* of Cornwall beyond the limits of generic containers. For the poststructuralist "every text is haunted" and there can be "no narrative, no story, which is not, in essence or in spirit, a ghost story".[153] In using these documents, this thesis follows the manifesto laid out by E. J. Clery and Robert Miles in their introduction to *Gothic Documents, A Sourcebook, 1700-1820*, where, in collecting a range of materials beyond the literary, they demonstrate that "[i]n the period surveyed, Gothic is in the process of becoming a discrete discursive form, but it shares in the intertextual nature of all writing".[154] The use of a variety of materials in this thesis will expand the notion of a Gothic corpus, while recognising the multivalent "hauntings" of the Gothic as a mode which transcends form.

Chapter Outlines

The four chapters of this thesis each outline a recurrent, central motif of the Cornish Gothic tradition—seascapes, tourism and Arthurianism, mining, and the railway. The first three chapters provide surveys of the significance of their respective themes in a range of texts, including short stories, novels, poems, and periodicals. The railway chapter, however, focuses on Thomas Hardy's *A Pair of Blue Eyes* (1873)*.* Hardy is, arguably, the most canonical author included in this thesis, and the absence of any detailed analysis of this particular novel—his first—as a Cornish Gothic novel provides essential insight into the reception of this mode of writing, popularly and critically. While this chapter also considers a range of sources to contextualise the novel, the analysis primarily focuses on highlighting *A Pair of Blue Eyes* as an emblematic example and a key case study of the Cornish Gothic. A thematic rather than

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[153] Julian Wolfreys, "Spectrality", *The Encyclopedia of the Gothic*, eds. William Hughes, David Punter, and Andrew Smith (London: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), p. 639.
[154] E. J. Clery and Robert Miles, "Introduction", *Gothic Documents, A Sourcebook, 1700-1820*, eds. E. J. Clery and Robert Miles (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 2.

author-centred structure was chosen as key motifs recurred so persistently as to make author or text-centred structures repetitive. In taking a thematic structure, this thesis will highlight the prevalence of certain ways of specifically framing the Cornish Gothic in relation to key nineteenth-century anxieties surrounding maritime activity, the tourist industry, transportation advancements, industry, and national heroes. In this way, a thematic approach more effectively complements the historicist methodology underpinning the thesis. These chapters then provide a Cornish Gothic framework which is used to analyse Hardy's novel in the thesis' culmination, providing a model of the ways in which identifying Cornish Gothic tropes can provide new ways of interpreting texts.

Chapter one describes how Cornwall was, and remains, famous for its shipwrecks. The first chapter of this thesis demonstrates the significance of Cornwall's seas to the construction of a sense of Cornish self (and a sense of Cornish Gothic) through an analysis of shipwreck narratives in the long nineteenth century. It shows how much of our understanding of Cornwall and Cornishness is shaped by the county's relationship with its seascape and how this can be read in Gothic terms to enrich our comprehension of the traumatic realities of Cornish coastal life in this period, and to anchor the common perception of the criminality of the Cornish in a wider cultural and historical context.

This chapter describes the mutually influential relationship between folklore and Gothic fiction to show how Gothic authors were drawing from antiquarian activity in Cornwall across this period, and how that activity was born of an anxiety of a lost or fading past in the face of modernity as a force of historical erosion. It will focus on Wilkie Collins's novel *The Dead Secret* (1857), his travel narrative *Rambles Beyond Railways: or, Notes on Cornwall Taken Afoot* (1852), Robert Stephen Hawker's "Captain Cruel Coppinger" (1866), Sabine Baring Gould's *In the Roar of the Sea* (1891), and the short stories "The Coming of Abel Behenna" by Bram Stoker (1893) and "The Last Mitchell" by Margery Williams (1905).

The second chapter of this thesis looks at the role of the Victorian re-emergence of King Arthur in shaping a notion of the Cornish Gothic, and how ideas of the Cornish Gothic in turn influenced the reception and understanding

of a Victorian King Arthur. While there is a significant body of work exploring many different facets of Alfred Tennyson's epic *Idylls of the King* (18591885), there has been a curious critical failure to contextualise the work within its Cornish setting, and no effort to understand what this setting would have meant for Tennyson or his readership. In providing a detailed picture of how Cornwall—and specifically *Arthur's* Cornwall—was understood during the conception and publication of *Idylls* this chapter provides a new way of appreciating the text's use of Gothic images and expressions of nationhood. This chapter goes on to demonstrate how Tennyson's Arthur became a significant draw for early tourists, and how tourists' expectations (often usurped by reality) were shaped by Gothic literature. Cornwall, then, is a literary tourist site that both influenced Gothic fiction and was influenced by Gothic fiction.

Chapter two provides a survey of examples of Arthurian Gothic literary tourism in Cornwall in the long nineteenth century, arguing for Tintagel as a Gothic ruin and describing the ways in which Arthur's representation as a Gothic figure complicates his standing as a national figure. This chapter then shows how popular literary accounts motivated Victorian tourists to visit Tintagel, and documents their haunted, disappointing, and uncanny experiences of Tintagel as ruin, focusing on examples by Vernon Lee and Dinah Craik.

The final part of chapter two will build from the idea that Cornwall is haunted by the revenant image of Arthur to explore the notion of a haunted Cornwall more generally. It will provide an overview of a popular subgenre of the ghost story set in Cornwall in the period, whereby the stranger, traveller, or outsider to Cornwall is punished or tortured for their trespass by ghosts. This section will comprise of an analysis of Clara Venn's "Christmas Eve at a Cornish Manor-house" (1878), Arthur Quiller-Couch's "A Pair of Hands" (1900), Elliott O'Donnell's "The Haunted Spinney" (1905), and E. M. Bray's "A Ghostly Visitation" (1907). Both the ghost stories and the Arthurian narratives are demonstrative of the recurrent representation of Cornwall as a place of temporal tourism, whereby one travels not just into the county, but into a preserved, ancient, barbarous past. History in Cornwall is consistently re-

emerging, whether in the form of a resurgence of interest in Arthurian Cornwall or in the persistent presence of the county's spectres.

Chapter three investigates the significance of mining to the construction of Cornish selfhood, the impact of the collapse of mining on Cornish culture and economy, and how the anxieties and fears generated by this collapse manifest in Gothic terms in print. Understanding Cornish mining cultures, beliefs, and folklore is essential to understanding one of the key tensions in nineteenthcentury representations of the Cornish: as both culturally (and even biologically) primitive, yet vastly technologically superior. This chapter considers numerous representations of subterranean spaces in nineteenth-century Cornish Gothic fiction within a context of other subterranean intertexts, and perceptions surrounding subterranean symbolism and motifs in this period. The subterranean landscape was drawn parallel to hellscapes as well as being used as a means of understanding criminality (the *under*world), the psyche (the *depths* of the unconscious), and class (the *lower* classes).

The first half of chapter three will work to outline the numerous cultural and imaginative connotations of subterranean space—and mining in particular—in the popular consciousness in this period. The second half will consider these historic and cultural contexts while through an analysis of H. D. Lowry's novel *Wheal Darkness* (written during the late nineteenth century and published posthumously in 1920), and the short stories "The Man Who Coined his Blood" by Joseph Pearce (1896), Emily Arnold's "The Ghost of the Treasure Chamber" (1886), Mary E. Penn's "In the Mist" (1888), and F. Tennyson Jesse's "The Mask" (1912). Ultimately, this chapter will demonstrate that the representation of the Cornish mine as a Gothic structure in the nineteenth century can only be understood through a contextual map of mythic, scientific, religious, and cultural assumptions about the subterranean space in the Victorian period.

Chapter four defines Thomas Hardy's first novel, *A Pair of Blue Eyes* (1873) as an emblematic and exemplary novel in the Cornish Gothic mode. Few critics have acknowledged it as a Gothic novel, and few have noted the significance of Cornwall to the novel in a nineteenth-century context. This seems astounding given the novel's use of graveyards and spectres, not to

mention its finale featuring the heroine returning to Cornwall on the same train as her two competitive former lovers—albeit as a corpse. Even more surprising is the critical neglect of the potential significance of Cornwall—a space which not only provides the backdrop for the text, but fuels its Gothic energies, and is essential to the mechanisations of a plot focused on the problematics of distance, isolation, and revolutions in transport and access. Perhaps the absence of criticism concerning the presence of Cornwall in the novel could be explained as oversight, if not for Hardy's own intimate relationship with the county, his marriage to a Cornishwoman, the pseudo-biographical nature of the novel itself, and the recurrence of Cornwall in the writer's wider oeuvre. Instead, the absence of the Gothic and Cornwall from criticism of the novel gestures towards the long history of the dismissal of Cornwall from literary and cultural histories.

Chapter four will address the exclusion of Cornwall from criticism of Hardy's first novel by considering the context of Cornwall in the nineteenth century, with which Hardy would have doubtless been familiar, with a focus on the way that transport technologies were altering perceptions of the county in the period (as well as altering wider cultural notions of space, place, modernity, and nationhood). Hardy's use of transport is redolent with Gothic anxiety, and Hardy's Gothic Cornwall embodies this fear of advanced travel and what it could mean for the modern world. Cornwall is perfectly suited for this morbid imaginative exercise, not just due to its personal significance for Hardy, but due to its continued representation as a distant, foreign space in stasis, fixed in aspic—a place where the ancient, primitive, and barbarous survive, and even thrive.

Chapter four will conclude with an analysis of similar aspects of Gothic travel in Cornwall in Bram Stoker's *The Jewel of Seven Stars* and "Colonel Benyon's Entanglement" by Mary Elizabeth Braddon (1872). In doing so this chapter will provide a survey of the relationship between Cornwall and transport technologies in the period to ask why and how travel was expressed in Gothic terms, and what this means within the wider context of the Victorian cultural imagination. In doing so, it will provide a new way to approach recurrent motifs of transport, time, and space in Hardy's work.

Conclusion

The Cornish Gothic is a present but overlooked genre, one which proliferated in the nineteenth century in response to seismic cultural changes in Cornwall and an increased awareness of the county. It is driven by the conflict between binary ideas coexisting simultaneously, centring on the primary conflict between the status of the Cornish as the foreign-and-the-not-foreign, drawing upon a rich heritage of imperial Gothic and postcolonial Gothic narratives. In this way the Cornish Gothic is also a saltwater Gothic, concerned with the maritime, its history, its expansion, and its imperial and national connotations. Building upon an already established "intimate relationship between domestic anxieties, the imperial realm, and the gothic sensibility in fictional representation", it feeds upon anxieties surrounding regional and national identities, borders, boundaries, containers—and fundamentally, their failures and leakages.[155] This thesis will demonstrate the importance of incorporating a recognised Cornish Gothic into the wider Gothic canon, and how an understanding of nineteenthcentury Cornwall can provide new ways of interpreting texts.

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[155] Howard L. Malchow, *Gothic Images of Race in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (California: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 231.

Chapter One
"Let us catch the sea-wolves falling on their prey": Folklore, National Identity, and the Gothic in Cornish Shipwreck Narratives

> *Oh please Lord, let us pray for all on the sea; But if there's got to be wrecks, please send them to we.*
> - A Cornish Prayer[1]

> *I came to explore the wreck.*
> *The words are purposes.*
> *The words are maps.*
> *I came to see the damage that was done and the treasures that prevail.*
> - Adrienne Rich, "Diving into the Wreck", 1973[2]

In 1852, an article in The *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* described the unique relationship between the Cornish and their deadly seas:

> The life led by the dwellers near these solitary cliffs can be but dimly imagined by the inhabitants of inland cities. During the long dark nights of winter, they listen between the fierce bursts of the tempest, expecting every moment to hear the cry of human agony, from the crew of some foundering bark, rise above the wild laugh of the waves; and when morning breaks, they descend to the rugged beach, not knowing whether they may not find it strewn with wrecks and corpses.[3]

This demonstrates the close imaginative association between Cornwall and its shipwrecks, and how those shipwrecks serve to emphasise Cornish particularism through the unique experience of, and familiarity with, death and disaster on the Cornish coasts. Further, it is more widely representative of national anxieties surrounding seafaring at a time of increased maritime transport and increased maritime disaster. Shipwrecks were prominent in the wider British imagination across

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[1] "Timber galore for Cornish wreckers", *BBC News* (4 February 2002), < http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/england/1801109.stm > Accessed 05.05.19.
[2] Adrienne Rich, "Diving into the Wreck" (1973) *poets.org* < https://www.poets.org/poetsorg/poem/diving-wreck > ll.52-58.
[3] Anon., "A Cornish Church-Yard by the Severn Sea", *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* (Nov 13 1852), p. 318.

the long nineteenth century, and Cornwall proved to be an ideal site for the distilling of maritime anxieties, being surrounded on three sides by water, and seemingly cursed (or blessed, depending upon perspective) with innumerable wrecks. The Cornish coast was—and remains—famed for its wrecks, the number of which it is "almost impossible to estimate".[4] Yet the actuality was more nuanced, as "[a]lthough popular belief holds that Cornwall has more shipwrecks than any other coastal county, this is not the case. The east coast of England experienced a greater number of shipwrecks than did the more notorious Cornwall".[5] Cornwall's notoriety for shipwrecks was embellished by its existing reputation as a dangerous, wild, and barbarous land. Contrarily, there are many reports detailing local acts of bravery to spare the lives of those dashed against their rocks:

> [t]here will not be found in the world any people who, when a ship is cast by storms on the rocks, exhibit more intrepid daring, when lives are to be saved or to show more humanity and true Christian kindness towards the "half-drowned mariner" than do the Cornish men, "the dwellers on the wild sea-shore".[5]

Sadly, there are even more narratives of the Cornish burying wrecking victims and honouring their graves.[6] This is demonstrative of the contradictions in representations of the Cornish across the nineteenth century, and the tension between descriptions of Cornwall as a welcoming and romantic English county, or land of bloodthirsty barbarians.

This chapter investigates the representation of Cornish shipwrecks in Gothic terms across the long nineteenth century. It will demonstrate how tales of Cornish wreckage have been manipulated to exaggerate the ideal of the hardy, generous Cornishman, or the savage barbarian of lore, to provide context for the wider Gothicisation of Cornwall in the popular imagination in this period.

In doing so, this chapters offers an interjection into the field of the "maritime humanities", or the "blue humanities", which has hitherto neglected the importance of the representations of Cornwall's coasts and seascapes to the wider national

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[4] Cathryn J. Pearce, *Cornish Wrecking, 1700-1860: Reality and Popular Myth* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), p. 20 [5] Pearce, p. 20.
[5] Robert Hunt, "Cornwall Wreckers", *The Athenaeum* (Jun 3 1865), p. 752.
[6] Anon., "A Cornish Church-yard by the Severn Sea", *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* (Nov 13 1852), pp. 317-319.

imaginary. The blue humanities proposes that approaching the overlooked ocean in cultural texts provides a means of re-establishing a humanistic connection with the seascape.[7] This chapter is situated within that framework in its attempts to uncover the ways in which Cornish seas and shipwrecks have contributed significantly to the wider cultural and literary imaginary. It will thus establish a connection between Cornish studies and the wider fields of literary studies, Gothic studies, and Victorian studies.

The first part of the chapter will demonstrate the cultural significance of the shipwreck as image of anxiety in the nineteenth century, and the ways in which the shipwreck permeated literature and the visual arts while playing a notable role in the shaping of the Gothic imagination. It will go on to outline the proliferation of Cornish shipwreck narratives and Cornwall's notoriety as a site terrorised by smugglers, pirates, and wreckers, to establish Cornwall's coasts as barbarous spaces. It will provide an overview of debates surrounding the Cornish as a wrecking populace, and show how these debates shaped the general popular comprehension of Cornwall as primitive and criminal.

The second part of the chapter will investigate the fluid interplay between Cornish wrecking folklore and Gothic fiction, with a focus on Sabine Baring Gould's *In the Roar of the Sea* (1891) and the folkloric origins of its antagonist, Captain Cruel Coppinger, culminating in an analysis of Cornish folklore in Wilkie Collins's travel narrative *Rambles Beyond Railways* (1852) and novel *The Dead Secret* (1856). The final part of the chapter will frame these primary texts within a wider Cornish Gothic wrecking tradition, through analyses of the legend of the Bottreaux Bells, Bram Stoker's "The Coming of Abel Behenna" (1893), and Margery Williams's "The Last Mitchell" (1905). This chapter will locate these narratives within their literary, cultural, and historical context, as well as in their specific regionality, to demonstrate how popular images of the shipwreck, inseparable from and inspired by Cornwall's deadly coast, influenced the perception of Cornwall as a Gothic space. While there are

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[7] This view is proposed by key proponent of the blue humanities, Steve Mentz. See Ian Buchanan, "blue humanities", *A Dictionary of Critical Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018) via *oxfordreference.com* < http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198794790.001.0001/acref9780198794790-e-764 > Accessed 05.05.19.

existing critical studies of Cornish shipwreck histories, they have thus far overlooked literary representations.[8] This chapter will rectify this oversight by considering both literary and historical representations of Cornish shipwrecks and relocating them within a context of more generalised Victorian maritime anxieties.

Cornish Wrecking and British Shipwrecks

The image of shipwreck was prominent in the popular imagination throughout the nineteenth century due to an increase in maritime traffic and, subsequently, a rapid increase in maritime disasters. By 1850 half of the world's carrying capacity was conducted by British shipping companies, and in Britain alone shipwrecks cost over two million pounds in damages and led to the loss of approximately a thousand lives annually.[9] This, alongside the rise of popular print media, meant that stories of maritime tragedy and horror were rapidly circulated, retold, and reimagined. Newspapers and periodicals reported wrecks in increasingly terrific, Gothic ways, inspired by and inspiring fictional retellings. The shipping news was initially a financial service to alert investors of incidents and successes but became a source of sensation for the wider public. News of shipwrecks was "supplemented by eyewitness statements, survivor testimonies, judicial inquiries, and editorial commentary. The graphic weeklies even provided illustrations of major shipwrecks", and shipwreck narratives were produced on stage.[10] The publication and commercial success of William Henry Giles Kingston's *Shipwrecks and Disasters at Sea* (1873) is one example of the pervasiveness of the cultural thirst for shipwreck narratives in the nineteenth century. A review from *The Athenaeum* states that

> there is, perhaps, no case of reading more popular with the young and the imaginative, than that which tells of "moving accidents by flood and field."
> If the romance of real life almost always exceeds the greatest daring of fictitious narrative, the life of a sailor is, beyond all others, an unbroken scene of adventure and excitement. The history of shipwrecks, however,

[8] See Cyril Noall, *Cornish Lights and Shipwrecks* (Truro: D.Bradford Barton Ltd, 1968), Richard Larn and Clive Carter, *Cornish Shipwrecks* (New York: Taplinger Pub. Co., 1969), Richard Larn, *Shipwrecks of the Isles of Scilly* (Nairn: Thomas & Lochar, 1993), Brian French, *Lost Off Trevose: The Shipwrecks of Cornwall's Trevose Head* (Stroud: History Press Limited, 2011) and Bella Bathurst, *The Wreckers: A Story of Killing Seas and Plundered Shipwrecks, from the 18th Century to the Present Day* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013).
[9] Matthew Rubery, *The Novelty of Newspapers: Victorian Fiction After the Invention of the News* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 31.
[10] Rubery, p. 28.

is the theme which offers this species of attraction to the highest possible degree.[11]

The reader is attracted to Kingston's text for the same reason they may be attracted to a Gothic novel, as they are drawn by "that more inexplicable impulse, which, like the fascination of the serpent, fixes the gaze on all we most fear", and "is seized upon with delight by the gentle and simple, by the learned and the unlearned, by the landsman and the seaman; and it is not put down till the last page of doubt, horror, and despair".[12] The reviewer ties the report to a longer history of the shipwreck in literature by referring specifically to *Othello* and feels that there is something universal in the perverse pleasure sought in the shipwreck narrative, something "latent in the human breast".[13] Dennis R. Macdonald proposes that there is something essential to the human condition that is drawn to shipwreck imagery, using the Odyssey and the Bible as prominent examples.[14] The shipwreck has an enduring tradition in literature, history, and culture, is recurrently articulated in Gothic terms, and had particular prominence in the nineteenth century imaginary as a response to an increasingly globalised world. Seapower and the maritime world

> were an integral part of British imperial dominance in the Victorian era. The navy secured the pax Britannica of trade and diplomacy, whilst British domination of the world's shipping lanes created an international traffic in people, goods, flora and fauna, and all the many phenomena that made up an overseas British world of culture.[15]

While the maritime was associated with access, discovery, adventure, and conquering and exploring new worlds, it

> also points to some of the anxieties which surrounded Britain's status as a maritime empire in the nineteenth century—the fate of other seaborne empires, the xenophobia and vulnerability of an island nation on the edge of a continent which at times represented an armed camp, and the ever-escalating arms race as other predatory powers sought to catch up.[16]

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[11] Anon., "A Review of William Henry Giles Kingston's *Shipwrecks and Disasters at Sea*", *The Athenaeum* (1873), p. 544.
[12] "Review", *The Athenaeum*, p. 544.
[13] "Review", *The Athenaeum*, p. 544.
[14] Dennis R. Macdonald, "The Shipwrecks of Odysseus and Paul", *New Testament Studies*, 45.1 (1999), pp. 88-107.
[15] Miles Taylor, "Introduction", in *The Victorian Empire and Britain's Maritime World, 1837-1901: The Sea and Global History*, ed. by Miles Taylor (London: Springer, 2013), p. 1.
[16] Taylor, p. 1.

The shipwreck represents a threat to British culture and to the centrality of the British Empire's sense of cultural, political, and diplomatic superiority.

This increased awareness of the seascape lead to a boom in Victorian "nautical novels".[17] The literary representation of shipwrecks (and haunted ships or ghost ships) is partly the result of a nostalgia for the golden age of sail—a period of maritime glory waning towards the end of the nineteenth century in favour of the steamship. The second half of the century was a period of "transition in maritime history, when the old style of shipping continued over several decades but did so under the shadow of inevitable gloom".[18] The spectral ship is a spectre of the passing of the golden age puncturing through to the age of steam. The golden age comes to represent not just a particular type of rigged sail ship, but a high point in global expansion, imperial dominance, discovery, adventure, and trade. The move from sail to steam was thought to have "stripped the sea of its beauty and unpredictability and broken the special interaction between man and the elements that lay in the craft of sailing".[19] Victorian nautical novelist William Clark Russell bemoaned in 1887 that in the world of steam "a man is hurried from port to port with railway punctuality" and "swept headlong through calms and storms".[20] The mechanisation of maritime technology dislocated humanity from the natural world. Much like the railway engine, it represented a discombobulating shuttling towards modernity, threatening tradition, livelihoods, and identities.[21] The wreck of the ship disrupts this trajectory towards disorientating and threatening progress and the return of the supreme natural dominance of the sea. The development of the Gothic has been described as a "way to thematize and engage with the anxieties produced

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[17] With some of the most celebrated including Frederick Marryat's *Mr Midshipman Easy* (1836), Edgar Allan Poe's *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket* (1838), Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* (1851), Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1882), William Clark Russell's *The Frozen Pirate* (1887), Rudyard Kipling's *Captains Courageous* (1897), and Jack London's *The Sea-Wolf* (1904).

[18] Andrew Nash, *William Clark Russell and the Victorian Nautical Novel: Gender, Genre and the Marketplace* (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 97.

[19] Nash, p. 97.

[20] Qtd. by Nash, p. 97. Russell's Victorian nautical novels include *The Sea Queen* (1884), *A Strange Voyage* (1885), and *The Death Ship, or The Flying Dutchman* (1888), as just a few examples of a significant oeuvre. Some of these novels included supernatural themes.

[21] For more on Victorian Cornish Gothic anxiety over the development of the steamer see the chapter on Thomas Hardy's *A Pair of Blue Eyes*.

as the result of rationalisation, modernisation and industrialisation".[22] It has been framed as a mode which continues to "shadow the progress of modernity with counter-narratives displaying the underside of enlightenment and humanist values".[23] In this contrariness to modernity, "the Gothic simply does not allow itself to be the object of our nostalgia", but "precisely exposes the impossibility" of "modernity's own founding moment".[24] The Gothic does not just *resist* modernity—it negates it. In the shipwreck narrative this manifests in the inevitability of the wreckage and the continued re-emergence of the eternal, ancient power of the sea.

The Victorian relationship with the sea was one of both attraction and repulsion, and manifests in many ways across the century, including through the development of new sea sciences, marine surveys, shell collecting, the first aquariums, the development of seaside holidays, health tourism at the coast, and thalassotherapy (first coined in 1865).[25] The centrality of the sea to the Victorian cultural imagination provides context for the preoccupation with the seemingly uniquely dangerous Cornish coast throughout the nineteenth century.

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Cornwall in particular was strongly imaginatively associated with its wrecks. In 1883 Shand Alexander Innes stated that "[n]othing can be more repulsively formidable than the iron-bound coasts, with their outlying reefs and their tremendous breakers".[26] Of the Scilly Isles it has been said that "her history is chiefly associated with shipwrecks and with flowers. The shipwrecks make a formidable list and are frequently added to".[27] The Manacles, the name of the rocks jutting off the coast of the Land's End, were thought to be particularly fearsome, and "fishermen in the neighbourhood regard the spot

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[22] Jesse van Amelsvoort, "Anxious about a Changing World: Twenty-First Century Low Countries Gothic Novels", *Dutch Crossing* (2018), p. 1.
[23] Botting, *The Gothic*, p. 1.
[24] Joost de Bloois, ""A Postscript to Transgression: The Gothic in Georges Bataille's Dissident AvantGardism", in *Nostalgia or Perversion? Gothic Rewriting from the Eighteenth Century until the Present Day*, ed. by Isabella van Elferen (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), p. 46.
[25] See D. H. Cushing, *The Provident Sea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); John Hannavy, *The English Seaside in Victorian and Edwardian Times* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011); Peter Kruzinga, "Health Tourism and Health Promotion at the Coast", in *The Routledge Handbook of Health Tourism*, ed. by Melanie Kay Smith and László Puczkó (Routledge: London, 2016), p. 390.
[26] Shand Alexander Innes, "A Sketch from Cornwall," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (Jun 1883), pp. 781-782.
[27] Anon., "The Mariner: But a Land of Beguiling, of Soft Airs and Flowers, Far from the Beaten Track", *New York Tribune* (1 Dec 1912), p. B8.

with superstitious fear".[28] They were even referred to as "The Most Dangerous Reef on English Coast".[29] Cornwall's dangers have been explained in geographical terms, as "having two, perhaps we should say three, cliff-bound and most perilous coasts, and being a long and narrow peninsula, so that the greater part of West Cornwall is within easy reach of the sea".[30] Yet, more suspicious, more sceptical critics have suggested, throughout Cornish history, that there is a more malicious explanation for Cornwall's wrecks—that the Cornish themselves lure the ships to shore. This is borne from a long history of "wrecking" or claiming the cargo from wrecked ships. That the Cornish were seen to profit from shipwrecks led to the conclusion that the already seemingly desperate, criminal, barbarous population would resort to more fatal measures for their own gain. Consequently, myths of the Cornish being "intentional wreckers" run rife throughout the nineteenth century. These legends were well known, and it was said in 1852 that "the phrase 'Cornish wrecker' has sent a thrill of horror, dying away in deep disgust, into every bosom".[31] It was thought that these intentional wreckers could trick ship captains into colliding with the coast, as

> [The Cornish] hobbled horses or oxen, for example, and led them along the cliffs, that the swaying of the lantern attached to their foreheads might seem like the movements of a light on the deck of a tossing vessel; so that the skippers fancied they have ample sea-room, and tacked so as to shiver their vessels like bottles against the rocks.[32]

Cathryn J. Pearce notes the difference between claiming wrecked cargo and intentionally causing a wreck for the purpose of claiming wreckage. While the former has been considered a way of life by the Cornish since at least the seventeenth century, and an amoral rather than immoral act, the latter is considered barbarous, especially by the Cornish who see rumours of intentional wrecking as a threat to perfectly legitimate wrecking practices.[33] Wrecking, or claiming and profiting from shipwrecked cargo or remains, was a necessary means of surviving in a barren land for the poverty-struck Cornish, and wrecks were as much a part of the bounty of the

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[28] Anon., "Shipwrecks at the Manacle Rocks", *Weekly Irish Times* (27 May 1899), p. 4.
[29] Anon., "The Most Dangerous Reef on English Coast", *The London Standard* (Dec 14 1895), p. 14.
[30] Anon., "Review of *A Londoner's Walk to the Land's End; and a Trip to the Scilly Isles* by Walter White", *London Quarterly Review* (Oct 1862), p.3
[31] Anon., "A Glimpse of Cornwall", *The Leisure Hour: A Family Journal of Instruction and Recreation* (Jul 1 1852), p. 428.
[32] "A Sketch", p. 784.
[33] Pearce on the "animal clause", p. 46.

landscape as pilchards and ore. There is some debate as to whether "intentional wrecking" ever occurred at all or is a product of the recurrent representation of the Cornish as monstrous and immoral. These debates (outlined in more detail below) are emblematic of the ways in which local lore fed into Gothic fiction in the nineteenth century, and the discrepancies in representations of Cornwall and the Cornish in this period. Furthermore, these narratives demonstrate the role fictionalisation and imagination play in the construction and reception of a regional, marginalised people, otherwise culturally and geographically dislocated from the majority of the reading public.

The author of an *English Illustrated* article on wrecking states in 1909 that "there is not an iota of genuine proof for [intentional wrecking]".[34] They admit that their research has "failed to unearth the slightest allusion to this odious charge made against the Cornish", and accuse popular fiction writers of the time, including Ethel Smyth, of perpetrating "libel". Smyth, a celebrated composer, wrote *The Wreckers* (first performed in 1906), an opera in three acts, after a walking tour in Cornwall, where she became enraptured by romantic, tragic tales of shipwreck:

> Ever since those days I had been haunted by impressions of that strange world of more than a hundred years ago; the plundering of ships lured on to the rocks by the falsification or extinction of the coast lights; the relentless murder of their crews; and with it all the ingrained religiosity of the Celtic population of that barren promontory.[35]

The opera is considered some critics to be the "most important English opera composed during the period between Purcell and Britten".[36] *The Wreckers* is demonstrative of the significance of Cornwall as a wrecking site in the long nineteenth-century imagination and its capacity for inspiring romantic, Gothic adaptations. Writing to *The Athenaeum* in June 1865, folklorist and antiquary Robert Hunt thanks the magazine for their favourable notice of his *Popular Romances in the West of England* (1865), yet seeks to make a correction to the

> popular error into which you, with others, have fallen. You say, "Wrecking is a dear delight which they (the Cornish) still enjoy". There

[34] Anon., "Cornish Wrecking", *The English Illustrated Magazine* (August 1909), p. 490.
[35] Qtd. by Sophie Fuller, "Dame Ethel Smyth, The Wreckers", *American Symphony Orchestra*, accessed 30.04.19, < http://americansymphony.org/the-wreckers-1904/ > , n.p.
[36] Eugene Gates, "Dame Ethel Smyth: Pioneer of English Opera", *Kapralova Society Journal*, 11.1 (2013), pp. 1–9.

was a time when the prayer of the sailor passing around the dangerous coast of Cornwall was, -

And save us from Breage and Germoe men's hands!

But that time was so long ago that the wrecker has become a legendary character; his great-grandchildren regarding him as a myth, about whom they tell tales, but in which they scarce believe.[37]

Hunt does not dispute the idea that the wrecker ever existed, but instead suggests that the Cornish have left such barbarous pursuits in the past. Even in his corrections Hunt perpetuates the barbarity of old Cornwall, and conflates myth with history, while the former *Illustrated* author seeks to separate the two.

Wrecks are recurrently used to exemplify the lawlessness of the Cornish and their resistance to governance or law enforcement, as their geographical isolation and insulation renders them morally and legally independent, and ultimately selfgoverning—or ungovernable. As an extension of this, wrecking is regularly used to delineate between "insiders" and "outsiders", as it is assumed that the Cornish understand the importance of wrecking to Cornish culture and economic survival, while outsiders tend to have a more absolute approach to the morality of wrecking. Cornish morality is drawn as separate from "mainlander" morality, dependent as it is upon the unique geography of Cornwall and the symbiotic relationship between the Cornish and the seascape. These shipwrecks are recurrently articulated in Gothic terms and used to exaggerate Cornwall's primitivity, as Cornwall is "a remote and lonely place, long ago, it is said, covered with forest and peopled with wild beasts and other uncanny creatures, and still a district of old-world wonders—a cape of storms and shipwrecks".[38] Wrecking narratives are further used to depict Cornwall as a place of contradictions and conflict, pitting the hospitable Cornish archetype against one of barbarous villainy. An article from 1852 states that "the natives, from time immemorial, enjoyed the unenviable notoriety of being merciless *wreckers*, devoid of the milk of human kindness. How unmerited this last stigma is, as applied to modern Cornishmen, the anecdotes we have to relate will sufficiently indicate", before going on to describe, at length, multiple tales of Cornish coastal heroism.[39]

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[37] Robert Hunt, "Cornwall Wreckers", *The Athenaeum* (Jun 3 1865), p. 752.

[38] Anon., "On the Edge of the Island", *All the Year Round* (Dec 26 1885), p. 394.

[39] Anon., "A Cornish Church-yard by the Severn Sea", *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* (Nov 13 1852), p. 317.

Stories abound in equal number of the Cornish saving and damning the drowning victims of shipwrecks, emblematic of the distance and strangeness of these seemingly contradictory and fragmented people. These contradictions threaten the stability of moral absolutes and present the potential that primitive evil could linger within even the most seemingly wholesome and romantic of communities. The sense of monstrosity hiding beneath the surface can be mapped onto the spatiality of the shipwreck descending beneath the waves. The fear that a more primitive evil resides within the modern human is an atavistic one. In the nineteenth century "such concepts as atavism, reversion, and survival, evolutionary, ethnological, and criminological discourses helped to demarcate a new territory for Gothic representation, with the body providing a site for ancestral return".[40] It is clear that this description of the wreckers conforms to an anthropological concern with lingering primitivity in the nineteenth century, and that the potential for degeneration (of self, county, ship) manifests in these texts in Gothic terms.

Shipwrecks as Gothic Master Trope

Shipwreck imagery is pervasive across history and cultures, from Greek wine jars in the eighth century BCE to nineteenth-century shipwreck anthologies.[41] Steve Mentz refers to the shipwreck as the "master trope", and Carl Thompson refers to it as a "major theme and topos in Western art and literature".[42] Shipwrecks are expressed in Gothic terms throughout literary history.[43] Dracula wrecking the *Demeter* into the coast of Whitby demonstrates that

> the gothic ship does not spring into existence in the pages of *Dracula* but arises out of a long cultural development. The gothic qualities that shape the *Demeter*'s particular representation and narrative functions derive form a vast and polycultural marine imaginary in which ships and the sea serve a number of varied and powerful symbolic and metaphorical purposes.[44]

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[40] Robert Mighall, *A Geography of Victorian Gothic Fiction: Mapping History's Nightmares* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 153.

[41] Carl Thompson, *Shipwreck in Art and Literature* (London: Routledge, 2014).

[42] Thompson, *Shipwreck*, p. 1; Steve Mentz, *Shipwreck Modernity: Ecologies of Globalization, 15501719* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2015), p. 6.

[43] With canonical nineteenth-century examples being Tennyson's 'The Wreck' (1885), *The Wreck of the Deutschland* by Gerard Manley Hopkins (composed in 1875-1876; published 1918), *The Wrecker* by Robert Louis Stevenson (1892), and Edgar Allan Poe's 'MS Found in a Bottle' (1833).

[44] Emily Alder, "Dracula's Gothic Ship", *The Irish Journal of Gothic and Horror Studies*, 15 (2016), pp. 5-6.

Consequently, while the wreck has a special significance to the Cornish, it also occupies a pivotal space in a larger Gothic tradition, from and into which Cornish wrecks feed. This is in part due to the shipwreck's ability to signify the chaos of trauma, its breakdown representing the return of the repressed. The shipwreck at the culmination of Charlotte Bronte's *Villette* (1853) shows how the wreck can function as "a telling coda to this condensed account of trauma".[45] Sigmund Freud's account of the "return of the repressed", finding a home in Gothic criticism, relies upon an image of the stratification of the mind which can be mapped onto the vertical descent then beaching of the wreck. The disintegration of the ship into carnage and violence can also be seen in Gothic texts as a return of the repressed.[46]

The popular association between the maritime and the Gothic is apparent in proliferations of sightings and retellings of the legendary Flying Dutchman—a ship doomed to sail the seas for eternity. The enduring popularity of the narrative, and its many iterations throughout the nineteenth century, suggest that it appealed to a populace anxious about maritime activity and mortality at sea.[47] The legend of the ghost ship exists beyond the Flying Dutchman, and manifests in Cornwall in multiple forms, as detailed later in the discussion of William Bottrell and Robert Hunt's reproductions of the Cruel Coppinger legend. The Flying Dutchman legend is a possible influence on Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancyent Marinere* (1797-98), which has had a significant and lasting impact on the development of the wider Gothic as a genre and the maritime Gothic in particular.[48] Carol Margaret Davison claims that *Rime* "exerted an even more long-lasting influence on the Gothic by way of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818), which also features a tormented

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[45] David Jones, *Sexuality and the Gothic Magic Lantern: Desire, Eroticism and Literary Visibilities from Byron to Bram Stoker* (London: Springer, 2014), p. 18.

[46] Steven Bruhm, *Gothic Bodies: The Politics of Pain in Romantic Fiction* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), p. xiv.

[47] Print references date back to the end of the eighteenth century, and Walter Scott was the first to refer to the ship as specifically a pirate ship in 1812. The legend was adapted into an English melodrama entitled *The Flying Dutchman; or the Phantom Ship: a Nautical Drama*, in three acts by Edward Fitzball in 1826, and later the novel *The Phantom Ship* (1839) by Frederick Marryat. Richard Wagner adapted the tale into the opera *The Flying Dutchman* in 1843, Washington Irving took inspiration from the legend for *The Flying Dutchman on Tappan Sea* in 1855 and John Boyle O'Reilly borrowed from the legend for *The Flying Dutchman* in 1867.

[48] David Punter, "Shape and Shadow: On Poetry and the Uncanny", in *A New Companion to The Gothic*, ed. by David Punter (London: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), p. 255; Robert F. Geary, *The Supernatural in Gothic Fiction: Horror, Belief, and Literary Change* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992).

transgressor in a sublime polar environment".[49] These culturally pervasive fictional

representations of spectral, Gothic ships amplified already existing public anxieties

about the dangers of the seascape, as well as the public thirst for tales of odd

phenomena at sea. This goes some way to explaining the widespread popularity of

tales about the *Mary Celeste*, an American merchant brigantine, discovered deserted

in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean in 1872. The mystery of the *Mary Celeste* has

never been solved, though many theories have been posited, and its enduring

appeal is documented by wide ranging research analysing its cultural significance

and surveying historical attempts at explanation.[50] A transatlantic abundance of

myths and legends surrounding the *Mary Celeste* emerged almost instantaneously,

responding to and created by a contemporary public acutely aware of the perils of

sea travel.

The shipwreck was a popular subject in the visual arts as well as in literature

throughout the nineteenth century, and often used to horrific or Gothic effect. One of

the most significant shipwreck paintings in the history of shipwreck iconography is

French Romantic painter Théodore Géricault's *The Raft of the "Medusa"* (1818-

1819). The painting depicts the aftermath of the wreck of the French frigate *Méduse*

off the coast of Mauritania in 1816. All but 15 of the 147 people on board died, and

the survivors practised cannibalism. The horrific, grisly event captured the public

imagination throughout the nineteenth century, and continued to do so well into the

twentieth century.[51] The *Medusa* is "one of the most important and influential images

created by the Romantic imagination".[52] These images portray and perpetuate the

motif of the shipwreck as a site of horror, darkness, and death, and contributed to

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[49] Carol Margaret Davison, *Gothic Literature 1764-1824* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009), p. 168.

[50] Charles Edey Fay, *The Story of the Mary Celeste* (New York: Dover Publications, 1988); Brian Hicks, *Ghost Ship: The Mysterious True Story of the Mary Celeste and her Missing Crew* (New York: Random House, 2004); Paul Begg, *Mary Celeste: The Greatest Mystery of the Sea* (London: Routledge, 2014).

[51] A book penned by survivor Alexandre Corréard about his experience, entitled *Naufrage de la frégate la Méduse*, was published in 1817, went through five editions by 1821, and was translated into multiple languages. Friedrich von Flotow wrote the opera *Le naufrage de la Méduse* in 1839 based upon the story of the wreck. Multiple books, songs, and films have been produced inspired by the tragedy. The painting itself most recently featured in the music video for Beyonce and Jay-Z's hit "Apeshit" (2018) and is to be the topic of a biopic of Géricault entitled *The Medusa*, set for release in 2019.

[52] George P. Landow, *Images of Crisis: Literary Iconology, 1750 to the Present* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 26.

mass cultural anxiety about the shipwreck and the tempestuous sea. The painting had lasting influence on the works of artists including Gustave Courbet and J. M. W. Turner. John Ruskin describes his interpretation of the wreck in Turner's *The Slave Ship* (1840) in Gothic terms:

> Purple and blue, the lurid shadows of the hollow breakers are cast upon the mist of night, which gathers cold and low, advancing like the shallow of death upon the guilty ship as it labours amidst the lightning of the sea, its thin masts written upon the sky in lines of blood, girded with condemnation in that fearful hue which signs the sky with horror, and mixes its flaming flood with the sunlight, and, cast far along the desolate heave of the sepulchral waves, incarnadines the multitudinous sea.[53]

Turner's image, and Ruskin's interpretation, explicitly connote "Gothic horror".[54] The shipwreck is a Gothic master trope and essential to the construction of Cornwall as a Gothic space.

Wrecks are recurrently used as a horrific device,[55] and "the foundering ship has been an enduring source of fear, fascination, and anguished contemplation for many communities".[56] Throughout history "[t]he art and literature of shipwreck has often provided in this way a medium for popular and communal reflection on a variety of social, political, and ethical concerns".[57] The shipwreck is associated with the Gothic, as the "sea has often been seen, in western culture at least, as the most profoundly alien and hostile element, with the result that the shipwreck is the worst imaginable scenario, evocative of the most extreme fear, horror, and abjection".[58] The wreck has a "liminal status",[59] is claustrophobic,[60] and the sea is "an environment intrinsically hostile to human life".[61] The shipwreck is both Gothic and an ideal microcosm for the representation of Cornwall as an isolated, claustrophobic, inhospitable, and liminal place in the nineteenth century. The shipwreck conforms to

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[53] John Ruskin and John D. Rosenberg, *The Genius of John Ruskin: Selections from His Writings* (Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 1998), p. 41.
[54] George P. Landow, *Images of Crisis: Literary Iconology, 1750 to the Present* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 196-197.
[55] Pearce, p. 117.
[56] Thompson, p. 1.
[57] Thompson, p. 14.
[58] Thompson, p. 6.
[59] Thompson, p. 6.
[60] Thompson, pp. 6-7.
[61] Thompson, p. 7.

Chris Baldick's definition of the Gothic as "a fearful sense of inheritance in time with a claustrophobic sense of enclosure in space, these two dimensions reinforcing one another to produce a sickening descent into disintegration":[62]

> the disintegration of a ship in the course of a shipwreck may signal symbolically not only the breakdown of the individual psyche but also the collapse of the prevailing social order or, indeed, of any sort of community at all, as survivors are thrown back on their own resources and regress into a Hobbesian state of nature.[63]

It is clear here how the Cornish shipwreck can be mapped onto a starving, desperate population of Cornish wreckers. The collapse of the mining industry in the mid nineteenth century saw Cornwall face "a depression as grave as the Cotton Famine of the 1860s in Lancashire, and much more lasting".[64] Cornwall has wrecks but also is in the process of being wrecked itself in the midst of famine, mass migration, and economic collapse, forced into a primitive state by scarcity. Further, "in gothic narratives, ships, like castles, abbeys, cities, or prisons, can become self-contained, oppressive systems governed by their own internal rules, while their material existence as floating objects renders them isolated and unstable in unique ways". The same can be said for the processes of particularism and isolationism working to define and contain Cornishness throughout the nineteenth century.

The materiality of "*The Demeter* is a capstone to a long tradition of nautical and maritime gothicity in literature and legend", though this Gothic shipwreck tradition began significantly earlier with the origins of the Gothic novel at the end of the eighteenth century.[65] The shipwreck can be traced back to the early development of the Gothic in Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), a keystone of the Gothic genre. Fantasies of shipwreck appear in the poems penned by the protagonists, a result of "the importance of sea to commercial enterprise", and the significance of naval power to "England's security as a nation", providing the foundations for later anxieties surrounding nationhood and the maritime.[66] The image

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[62] Chris Baldick, *The Oxford Book of Gothic Tales* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) p. xiii.
[63] Thompson, p. 7.
[64] Jack Simmons, "Railways, Hotels, and Tourism in Great Britain 1839-1914", *Journal of Contemporary History*, 19.2 (1984), p. 213.
[65] Alder, p. 4.
[66] Toni Wein, *Cryptic Encounters: The Invention of the Gothic Novel, 1764-1805* (California: University of California, 1994), p. 119.

can be traced back further, as "the shipwreck motif, combined with the recovery of a parent believed dead, Radcliffe can again be seen to be reworking Shakespearean themes from *The Tempest*".[67] Radcliffe's use of churning seascapes and broken wrecks cemented the shipwreck motif into the Gothic lexicon by using the wreck to articulate feared disruptions to Britishness. *Udolpho*'s shipwreck sonnets can be considered in aesthetic as well as political terms, framing the representations of wreckage as "suggesting a continuity between art and life", as well as a failure of the membrane between reality and fantasy.[68] The membrane between reality and fantasy is configured then as the surface of the sea, broken by the ship, or the littoral space between land and sea, transcended by the wreck. The spatiality of the shipwreck metaphor articulates Gothic displacement:

> New technologies of displacement—railways, steam navigation, the postal service, telegraphy—were celebrated as signs of progress. Yet these innovations also evoked desires to slow down, stabilize, or even reverse the process of change. The great ship of history appeared to be accelerating and the Victorians believed they were at its helm, but there was much anxiety about where it was headed. Utopia? Shipwreck? A landfall on the coast of mediocrity?[69]

The shipwreck represents the failure or halting of a quintessentially Victorian trajectory towards progress, as the linear journey—geographically, historically—is disrupted with episodes of chaos and disaster.[70] Shipwrecks present a picture of a disordered or "uneven" history, and it is fitting, then, that this chapter employs the shipwreck narrative to disrupt the recurrent exclusion of Cornwall from larger cultural and literary histories, and to salvage these histories from the depths. Cornwall is a chaotic, messy interruption of the Victorian narrative of golden age progress and advancement due to the collapse of the mining industry, and is recurrently represented as a place where time slows or reverses.[71] This metaphor can be read spatially, as shipwrecks disrupt the horizontal journey towards progress with a

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[67] Alison Milbank, "Ways of seeing in Ann Radcliffe's early fiction", in *Ann Radcliffe, Romanticism and the Gothic*, ed. by Dale Townshend and Angela Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 98.
[68] Maggie Kilgour, *The Rise of the Gothic Novel* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 132.
[69] Patrick Brantlinger, "Empire, Place, and the Victorians", in *The Oxford Handbook of Victorian Literary Culture,* ed. by Juliet John (Oxford: Oxford University Oress, 2016), p. 235.
[70] Mentz, pp. 7-9.
[71] See Robert Mighall on the Gothic and temporal dislocation. The impact of this in Cornwall is described in more detail in the chapters on Cornish Gothic tourism and the railway in Cornwall.

sudden descent into verticality. The descent of the ship below the waves can be mapped onto a Gothic preoccupation with verticality, where the subaquatic is analogous with the subterranean, and the drowning victim becomes parallel to the master trope of being "buried alive". The underwater space performs the same function as the crypts, graves, labyrinths, concealment, and repressed recesses of the Gothic.[72] The shipwreck then provides the narrative tools for a disruptive Gothic historiography of Cornwall.

The shipwreck is a Gothic master trope, recurrent in Gothic fiction since its inception at the end of the eighteenth century, and perpetually articulated or represented in Gothic terms, especially in the nineteenth-century literary and visual imagination. The commonality of wrecks around the Cornish coast submerge the county into this Gothic shipwreck tradition. This tradition is literary, folkloric, and seeps into nonfiction, encompassing tales of the ghost ship, abandoned ships, and cannibalism at sea, as in Gericault's *Raft*, and in the later analysis of monstrous eating in Wilkie Collins's Cornish travel narrative. The Gothic shipwreck is liminal (both above and below water) and signifies entrapment and claustrophobia. As the sea is ultimately uninhabitable, the ship, taking human bodies from shore to shore, is an alien, transgressive thing. While a successful journey could embody man's dominion over the natural world, a shipwreck embodies the opposite—its failure, and the ultimate threat of tempestuous and antagonistic natural forces. The shipwreck and tales of disaster at sea also come to represent rapid changes in maritime transport, the expansion of the Navy, globalisation, and the spread of empire in a seemingly contracting world. Britain's waters, surrounding an island nation, are deeply tied to a sense of Britishness, and Britain's maritime superiority upholds and justifies the imperial mission. Shipwrecks threatened this superiority and thus the stability of the empire—more explicitly in some cases where the ship comes to represent the state.

The following sections will demonstrate how Cornwall's history and folklore of shipwrecks became fuel for Gothic fictions of the period, and how Cornwall's

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[72] For more on this see Jerrold E. Hogle, "The Restless Labyrinth: Cryptonomy in the Gothic Novel", in *Gothic Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*, ed. by Fred Botting and Dale Townshend (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 145-166.

repressed and re-emergent histories are articulated in Gothic terms through the figure of the shipwreck in numerous retellings by canonical authors. The first example—that of Sabine Baring-Gould and Robert Stephen Hawker's Captain Cruel Coppinger—centres on the interplay between folklore and Gothic literature in Cornwall in the nineteenth century. The second example—Wilkie Collins's *Rambles beyond Railways*, and two shipwreck narratives contained therein—builds upon this relationship, to demonstrate how the relationship between folklore, Gothicism, and the shipwreck is used to represent anxieties surrounding borders, boundaries, and the invasion narratives. Following these two primary examples will be a brief survey of shorter fiction which employs the Cornish Gothic shipwreck narrative, as demonstrative of the pervasiveness of the trope.

Cruel Coppinger, Cornwall and the Gothic

Robert Stephen Hawker (1803-1875) contributed significantly to the reworking of Cornwall in the Victorian imagination as a poet, writer, folklorist, clergyman, antiquarian, and eccentric. Throughout his career, Hawker confronted the dreadful reality of wrecking on the Cornish and north Devonshire coast, and his own churchyard became a burial ground for anonymous wreck victims.[73] Hawker's writings on Cornwall, the Cornish people, and Cornish tragedy have ingratiated themselves into the popular imagination, and Hawker was an influence on Walter White, Cyrus Redding, Wilkie Collins, Sabine Baring-Gould, and even Alfred Tennyson.[74] Hawker wrote a number of distinctly Gothic texts set in Cornwall, including his rewriting of Cornish Arthurian legends *The Quest of the Sangraal* (1864), and "The Botathen Ghost" (1867).[75]

One of Hawker's greatest contributions to Cornish culture is the folk anti-hero Captain Cruel Coppinger, a legendary smuggler, wrecker, and pirate, described in an article published in *All the Year Round* in 1866. In Hawker's tale Coppinger arrives

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[73] Anon., "A Cornish Church-yard by the Severn Sea", *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* (Nov 13 1852), pp. 317-319
[74] Trezise, p. 56-58.
[75] This latter text is investigated in more detail in the chapter on Arthurian tourism.

on the north coast of Cornwall in a "terrific hurricane", while watchers for the wreck peered from the shore—"daring gleaners of the harvest of the sea".[76] Then, "[a]s suddenly as if a phantom ship had loomed in the distance, a strange vessel of foreign rig was discovered in fierce struggle with the waves", associating the foreign with the monstrous, the fearful, and the spectral.[77] The ship wrecks beneath the waves, the shipmen terrified, but there is one "of herculean height and mould," who sheds his garments and throws himself overboard.[78] He swims, seemingly impossibly, through the tumultuous waves before "he stood at last upright upon the sand, a fine stately semblance of one of the old Vikings of the northern seas".[79] Coppinger's strength and build renders him not only unnatural, but a figure of the ancient past re-emerging into the present day. Coppinger connotes the ancientness and mythology of Hercules and the Vikings, and in doing so serves as a figure of invasion.[80] The sea serves as a passage not just through space, but through time.

Coppinger's arrival takes the form of a Gothic spectacle as he steals a cloak, a horse, and a girl called Dinah before the very eyes of the wreck watchers, thieving from the famous thieves. He speaks some "foreign language", and announces himself specifically as "Coppinger, a Dane".[81] Coppinger the Dane runs rampant through Cornwall, forcing Dinah to marry him, claiming her father's farm, terrifying the local people, and quickly establishing a crew of smugglers and pirates. He claims the landscape as his territory, as the smuggling paths become "Coppinger's tracks" and he stores his wears in "Coppinger's Caves".[82] Coppinger essentially colonises North Cornwall, and is continually associated with both the sea and the foreign, as he appears before his lawyer with "dollars, ducats, dubloons and pistoles, guineas— the coinage of every foreign country with a seaboard".[83] This is symptomatic of wider Victorian anxieties concerning the problematising of capitalist values and the global dimensions of the marketplace.[84] Throughout, Hawker's focus is on the violence of

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[76] Robert Stephen Hawker, "Cruel Coppinger", *All the Year Round* (December 15, 1886), p. 537.
[77] Hawker, p. 537.
[78] Hawker, p. 537.
[79] Hawker, p. 537.
[80] Hawker, p. 537.
[81] Hawker, p. 537.
[82] Hawker, p. 538.
[83] Hawker, p. 538.
[84] See Geoffrey Russell Searle, *Morality and the Market in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

Coppinger as a result of his otherness, with contact with that otherness resulting from global trade and maritime movement.

A later interpretation of the folkloric Captain Cruel Coppinger by Sabine Baring-Gould instead focuses on a more romantic vision of the smuggler. BaringGould was a Devonshire antiquarian, collector of Cornish ballads and curiosities, as well as an Anglican priest and influential novelist, though he is most famous for writing the hymn "Onward, Christian Soldiers". He found similarity between himself and Hawker, both being eclectic scholars, priests, lovers of Cornwall, and writers of Gothic fiction. Baring-Gould contributed significantly to the canon of Gothic texts set in Cornwall in the long nineteenth century, with examples including short stories "The Polly Postes" (1898) and "Aunt Joanna" (1904), and novel *The Gaverocks* (1887). Baring-Gould found expression for his kinship with Hawker through penning the biography *The Vicar of Morwenstow, being a life of Robert Stephen Hawker* (1876). However, the work came under criticism by later biographers. C. E. Byles in a preface to a new edition of Hawker's life and letters in 1906 says that Baring-Gould's "literary debts are accorded very scanty acknowledgment", that the writer disregarded the wishes of the state and Mrs. Hawker, and borrowed largely from Hawker's published works without referencing his source.[85] Byles takes particular umbrage at Baring-Gould's retelling of Hawker's tale of Coppinger in the biography, stating that it is

> with some abbreviation, an almost word-for-word transcript from Hawker's "Footprints," with-out any inverted commas, or change of type, a footnote at the end of several pages being the only indication of borrowing. Readers unacquainted with "Footprints" might reasonably suppose that Baring-Gould has told the story in his own words.[86]

Yet the retelling of Coppinger in *The Vicar of Morwenstow* is not Baring-Gould's only reimagining of the smuggler, as he becomes the antihero of his later Gothic novel, *In the Roar of the Sea* (1891). In Baring-Gould's novel Coppinger comes ashore, and his reign of terror is only interrupted when he falls in love with the beautiful orphan Judith Trevisa. Judith fights to preserve her virtue, avoid Coppinger, and protect her

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[85] C. E. Byles and Robert Stephen Hawker, *The Life and Letters of R. S. Hawker*, ed. by C. E. Byles (London: The Bodley Head, 1906), p. x.
[86] Byles, p. x.

twin brother, Jamie, and Coppinger is tortured by his love for her. The novel describes the unique relationship the Cornish had with "The Roar of the Sea" and with wrecking in particular, as well as other aspects of Cornish particularism and criminality. The novel is littered with sensational scenes, from Coppinger dashing a puppy against a cliff to his eventual end, burning to death in his own cottage.

An early review of *In the Roar of the Sea* identifies Baring-Gould's imaginative invocation of Coppinger as one which situates Hawker's folk hero firmly in the Gothic tradition. George Saintsbury states that

> [a]n "ugly" critic (if critics could ever be ugly) might, indeed, suggest that the hero of *In the Roar of the Sea*, "Cruel," or "Captain Coppinger," is only Mr. Rochester transformed from an inland squire to a Cornish smuggler, and made a little more robustious still. But Judith Trevisa is not much like Jane Eyre, and Oliver Menaida, the fortunate rival of Mr. Rochester—we mean Captain Coppinger—is a tall man of his hands and deserves his victory.[87]

A review in *The Speaker* from the 1892 states that "*In the Roar of the Sea* is without doubt one of the best novels that Mr. Baring-Gould has yet given us", and that this is in part a result of his "wild and romantic scenes" and "his strange, poetical melancholy," lending to the sense that "[i]t hardly seems to him that he has met [his characters] in a book, but rather that he has lived among them on the coast of Cornwall in the beginning of the present century".[88] The suggestion that BaringGould's Gothic novel, "strange" and "wild", is an authentic or representative view of Cornwall is suggestive of pervasive perceptions of Cornwall as a Gothic space in this period. Baring-Gould's synthesis of distinctly Gothic imagery with a folkloric antihero simultaneously embeds the Gothic into a longer tradition while breathing life into folklore for a contemporary, popular audience. Folklore studies emerged in the nineteenth century and had a tremendous influence on literature in the period. This influence was contested by "religious, philosophical, and political voices", but "anthropologists, antiquarians, painters, psychologists, and writers transformed folk beliefs and motifs for aesthetic, historical, and scientific end".[89]

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[87] George Saintsbury, "New Novels", *The Academy* (June 25, 1892), p. 610.
[88] Anon., "Fiction", *Speaker: The Liberal Review* (May 21 1892) p. 629.
[89] Jason Marc Harris, *Folklore and the Fantastic in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. viii.

Folklore is associated with the rural peasantry, rife with ideological contestations, and supernatural folklore thrives on "the theme of invasion".[90] It is deeply entwined with a sense of British identity, "deep social divisions", and fears surrounding the loss or preservation of ancient traditions.[91] This is particularly present in Cornwall in this period, and the Gothic genre was particularly sensitive to and inspired by these developments and conflicts. The heritage of Cruel Coppinger is distinctly more ambiguous in Baring-Gould's novel than in Hawker's initial invocation:

> As I have said, I know nothing. I do not know whence he comes. Some say he is a Dane, some that he is an Irishman. I cannot tell, I know nothing, but I think his intonation is Irish, and I have heard that there is a family of that name in Ireland. But this is all guesswork. One thing I do know, he speaks French like a native. Then, as to his character, I believe him to be a man of ungovernable temper, who, when his blood is roused will stick at nothing. I think him a man of very few scruples. But he has done liberal things—he is open-handed, that all say. A hard liver, and with a rough tongue, and yet with some of the polish of a gentleman; a man with the passions of a devil, but not without in him some sparks of divine light. That is what I think him to be. And if you ask me further, whether I think him a man calculated to make you happy—I say decidedly that he is not. Rarely before in his life had Mr. Menaida [Uncle Zachie] spoken with such decision.[92]

The irony here lays in Zachie not speaking with much decision at all, excepting his final conclusion. Baring-Gould here is addressing the dynamic, fluid nature of the folk hero and his numerous incarnations within his own rewriting. The reference to the Irish expresses an anxiety surrounding Celts in the Victorian period, as the Irish are so frequently represented as a migrating population who are "subaltern subjects, problematized, criminalized, suffering from various forms of discrimination".[93] The issues surrounding the Irish are issues surrounding "integration and assimilation", concerns familiar to the Cornish, who in this period are emigrating outwards, and are becoming an invaded people, rejecting assimilation with the English. The reference to the "gentleman" suggests the breakdown of class boundaries as a result of increased topographical and social mobility in the nineteenth century, a mobility

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[90] Harris, p. viii.
[91] Harris, p. ix.
[92] Sabine Baring Gould, *In the Roar of the Sea* (London: Methuen & Co, 1892), p. 157.
[93] Alexander Peach, "Book Review: The Irish in Victorian Britain: the Local Dimension by Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley", *History in Focus: The Victorian Era* (May 2000) <https://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Victorians/peach.html > Accessed on 08/27/2017.

emblematised by the newly accessible county. Coppinger is no longer purely Danish, a reference to the long and contested history between the Cornish and Danes (and thus suggesting ancientness, isolation, and conflict), but has become a generalised or homogenised "foreigner". This suggests a dissolution of identity in a globalised landscape, and a blanket fear of the generically "other" regardless of origin, evacuated of any particular identity beyond not-British. This functions in Gothic terms, as "in no genre is the other quite so unavoidable as in the Gothic", where "the Gothic raises the other to the status of narrative principle".[94] Baring-Gould is capitalising on the fluidity of the folkloric to adapt Hawker's early nineteenth-century Coppinger for a late nineteenth-century audience, as the ambiguous barbarousness of the smuggler becomes a vessel for contemporary Gothic anxieties surrounding otherness.

Despite this nebulous national identity, unlike Hawker's Coppinger, Baring-Gould's is given a Christian name—Curll. While the name could be a play on "Cruel," the name given by Hawker, it could also be a literary reference to eighteenth-century English bookseller and publisher Edmund Curll (1675-1747). In the mid-eighteenth century, Curll's name became synonymous with literary piracy, forgery, and unscrupulous publication and publicity. Curll, through repeated public attacks by and on Alexander Pope, became associated with mercenary behavior, pornography, and obscenity.[95] Sabine Baring-Gould as a bibliophile, historian, and antiquarian was doubtless familiar with Pope's relationship with Curll, and in using the name could be associating literary piracy with piracy on the high seas. Edmund Curll was born in the West Country, and there is a possibility that Baring-Gould is embedding his narrative in a longer West Country literary tradition to emphasise the scandalous, barbarous nature of Coppinger, while also alluding to the famed literary forgeries of Hawker. Hawker was featured in J. A. Farrer's 1907 *Literary Forgeries* for penning the famed Cornish ballad "Trelawney" which was "accepted as genuine by Scott, Macaulay and Dickens".[96] Hawker was also amused "to see his ballad, 'Sir Beville,' inserted in a

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[94] Robert Miles, "Europhobia: the Catholic other in Horace Walpole and Charles Maturin", in *European Gothic: A Spirited Exchange 1760-1960*, ed. by Avril Horner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 84.

[95] For more on Curll see Paul Baines and Pat Rogers, *Edmund Curll, Bookseller* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[96] J. A. Farrer, *Literary Forgeries* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907), p. 260.

collection of old ballads".[97] The use of "Curll" could also be a reference to the frequent accusations of literary theft cast upon Sabine Baring-Goud by biographers of Hawker. By aligning literary with maritime piracy, Baring-Gould is associating the fluidity of literature with the fluidity of the sea, while relating the moral ambiguity and uncertainties surrounding both practices—specifically emphasised within his novel as an ethical debate on the wrecking practices of a deprived population. This is significant especially within the Gothic mode, with its origins entrenched in the forged manuscript or Gothic counterfeit tradition.[98]

A further distinction between Hawker's Coppinger and Baring-Gould's is the nature of their endings. Hawker's Coppinger disappears off on his phantom ship of "foreign rig", never to be seen again. Margaret Ann Courtney's 1886 folkloric collection argues that Coppinger died naturally, old, destitute, weak, and alone.[99] The end of Baring-Gould's Coppinger is a highly-dramatised culmination befitting a novel of "sensations without end".[100] While the supernatural edge of Hawker's Coppinger is heightened by his mysterious exit, denying the eternal folkloric hero human mortality, and suggesting his endurance through storytelling, Baring-Gould's Coppinger dies in the midst of a spectacle entrenched in literary history by burning to death in his own home, the significantly named Othello Cottage:

> On the down, nestled against a wall that had once enclosed a garden, but was now ruinous, stood a cottage. It was built of wreck-timber, thatched with heather and bracken, and with stones laid on the thatching, which was bound with ropes, as protection against the wind. A quaint, small house, with little windows under the low eaves; one story high, the window-frames painted white; the glass frosted with salt blown from the sea, so that it was impossible to look through the small panes, and discover what was within. The door had a gable over it, and the centre of the gable was occupied by a figure-head of Othello. The Moor of Venice was black and well battered by storm, so that the paint was washed and bitten off him.[101]

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[97] Farrer, p. 260.
[98] See Jerrold E. Hogle, "The Ghost of the Counterfeit—and the Closet—in The Monk", *Romanticism on the Net*, 8 (1997), np. for more on the significance of fakery and counterfeit to the development of the Gothic tradition.
[99] Margaret Ann Courtney, *Cornish Feasts and Folk-Lore* (Penzance: Beare and Son, 1890), p. 100.
[100] George Saintsbury, "New Novels", *The Academy* (June 25, 1892), p. 610.
[101] *In the Roar of the Sea*, p. 21.

The allusion to Othello forewarns the reader of tragedy to come, with Coppinger cast as the foreign, swarthy, war mongering, seafaring Moor, and Judith as the doomed, waifish Desdemona. By referencing Othello, Baring-Gould is alluding to tragedy and revenge embroiled with obsessive desire; to the physicality of lust, gore, conflict; to the threat of the foreigner as a threat of the coherency of identity, mapped onto the dissolution of the institution of marriage, and more broadly to the horrors of life at sea. Upon being reunited with Desdemona, Othello states that "[i]f after every tempest come such calms, / May the winds blow till they have wakened death, / And let the laboring bark climb hills of seas / Olympus-high, and duck again as low / As hell's from heaven!".[102] This links the novel back to a longer Gothic heritage, yet, in *In the Roar of the Sea*, the Moor of Venice is not calmed by the tempest, but "black and well battered by storm," suggesting the tragic irony of Othello's fate and foreshadowing Coppinger's fire-blackened body.[103] The cottage itself serves the function of a Gothic container, the same as a ship, mansion, or castle; a claustrophobic, enclosed, imprisoning, dangerous space, drawn alike to a ship with the wrecked timber. It is a transformative product of disaster, aligned closer with the sea than land, much like Coppinger himself, "in a dress half belonging to the sand and half to the sea".[104] This is an example of Sabine Baring-Gould lending Coppinger a concrete corporeality beyond the supernatural spectrality suggested by Hawker. Hawker labours to exaggerate the phantom nature of the ship to emphasise its transgressive, liminal qualities, yet Baring-Gould renders Coppinger a flesh and blood man with a ship and house of timbers, making Coppinger's barbaric, savage behaviour not the actions of a supernatural monster, but the actions of a flesh and blood man. This acts as a criticism of romanticisation as a means of dislocating the barbarian from his culture of production, and thus obscuring the horrific reality of marginalised populaces.

While critics like Cryle complain that Baring-Gould stole the figure of

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[102] William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of Othello: The Moor of Venice* (New York: Doubleday, 1985), II.1. 170-175.
[103] M. Sai Krithika describes the Gothic elements of Revenge Tragedies, including *Othello*, in *Gothic in Revenge Tragedies: A Study of Select British Plays* (Chennai: Notion Press, 2017).
[104] *Roar*, p. 16.

Coppinger from Hawker, it becomes apparent that Hawker's Coppinger was clearly inspired by a significantly longer, older literary and folkloric tradition in Cornwall enriched by older legends of seafaring, wrecking, and piracy. The most pertinent example of an older tradition, with the most parallels to Coppinger, is the Cornish legend of "the death ship", documented by Robert Hunt in "The Pirate Wrecker and the Death Ship" in *Popular Romances of the West of England* in 1865, and William Bottrell in "The Wrecker and the Death Ship" in *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall, vol. 2* in 1873. Versions also appear in the folkloric collections of figures such as Margaret Ann Courtney and later Mabel Quiller Couch.[105] These variations of Coppinger will be outlined in the following section to demonstrate the pervasiveness of Cornish folklore on the Gothic mode and the complex networks of influence at play in the creation of a body of Cornish Gothic literature.

Hunt's version describes a man "so monstrously wicked that even the pirates would no longer endure him," so that, instead of arriving in Cornwall on his own ship, he is thrown off a different pirate ship in irons and left to scramble to the shore.[106] Like Coppinger, however, he "lived by a system of wrecking, pursued with unheardof cruelties and cunning".[107] Hunt's version of the end of Coppinger combines elements of Courtney's retelling (that of Coppinger dying old and destitute), and elements of Hawker's later rewriting (that of Coppinger disappearing aboard his phantom ship). Looking out to sea the local inhabitants see

> a black, heavy, square-rigged ship, with all her sails set, coming in against wind and tide, and not a hand to be seen on board. The sky became black as night around the ship, and as she came under the cliff—and she came so close that the top of the masts could scarcely be perceived—the darkness resolved itself into a lurid storm-cloud.[108]

The ship appears to be coming for the pirate, dying in agony in his cottage. The parson tries to expel the devil from the room, but

> all this time the room appeared as if filled with the sea, with the waves surging violently to and fro, and one could hear the breakers roaring,

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[105] Mabel Quiller-Couch, *Cornwall's Wonderland* (London: J. M. Dent, 1914) and Margaret Ann Courtney, *Folklore and Legends of Cornwall* (Truro: Cornwall Books, 1989). Mabel Quiller Couch was the younger sister of fellow Cornish Gothic author Arthur Quiller Couch.
[106] Robert Hunt, *Popular romances of the west of England, or, The drolls, traditions, and superstitions of old Cornwall* (London: John Camden Hotten, 1865), p. 137.
[107] Hunt, p. 138.
[108] Hunt, p. 139.

as if standing on the edge of the cliff in a storm. At last there was a fearful crash of thunder, and a blaze of the intensest lightning. The house appeared on fire, and the ground shook, as if with an earthquake. All rushed in terror from the house, leaving the dying man to his fate.[109]

The house appearing on fire lends itself to Baring-Gould's ultimate conclusion for Curll Coppinger. The liminal space between fact and fiction is represented by Hunt's black phantom ship, sailing *over land* to claim the soul of the pirate in the midst of a fearful storm. This is an exaggeration of the wreck breaching the space between land and sea, and thus threatening the borders and boundaries of a people struggling to maintain their delineated sense of self amidst a dilution of identity generated by globalisation and deindustrialisation. Mabel Quiller-Couch's later interpretation of the tale of Coppinger again labours the spectrality of the ship, as "[w]hat happened afterwards no one knows, for at the same moment she disappeared like some ghostly, phantom ship, nobody knows where or how".[110]

William Bottrell's later version of the Cornish death ship legend includes "a dark strange man ... put ashore by a pirate ship" who goes on to practice active wrecking.[111] As the wicked man lays on his death bed, "the chamber seemed—by the sound—to be filled with the sea splashing around the bed; waves were heard as if surging and breaking against the house, though it was a good bit inland".[112] The local people hear a hollow voice call "'[t]he hour is come but the man is not come',", "as if coming from the sea".[113] The inevitability of the return to the spectral wreck occurs in Arthur Quiller-Couch's short Cornish Gothic story "The Roll-Call of the Reef" (1896) where a survivor from a shipwreck is lured back to his inescapable watery grave by the ghost of one of its victims.[114] Similarly, in H. D. Lowry's short Cornish Gothic story "Legends" (1893) a man who pilfers the ring from a shipwrecked corpse is led back to the spectral wreck upon his death.[115] These

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[109] Hunt, p. 139.
[110] Mabel Quiller-Couch, *Cornwall's Wonderland* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1914), p. 166.
[111] William Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall* (Penzance: Beare and Son, 1873), p. 247.
[112] Bottrell, p. 248.
[113] Bottrell, p. 248.
[114] Arthur Quiller-Couch, *Wandering Heath, Stories, Studies & Sketches* (London: Cassell, 1896)
[115] H. D. Lowry, *Wreckers and Methodists and Other Stories* (London: William Heinemann, 1893)

narratives demonstrate the persistence of the wreck as a Gothic image and the multivalence of the death ship legend.

The numerous incarnations of the wrecker and the death ship legend are laden with Gothic imagery—the phantom ship, wicked foreign pirates, wrecking, storms and tempests, lightning strikes, the devil taking the form of the fly, death, funerals, and exorcisms, though the horror of each is dependent on the transgression of the sea into the death chamber, and the ship across land. The physical laws of nature are violated, land becomes sea, and the phantom ship mounts the coastline as a horrific inflection of the wrecks the pirate caused. This reflects a state of liminality rooted in nineteenth-century anxieties surrounding the delineation and protection of national and regional borders and boundaries. It also comes to represent the liminal status of the Cornish as simultaneously English and not-English, of the land and of the sea, as ancient and superstitious as the image of the phantom ship. Vitally, in both narratives, the sea communicates with the local people, transmitting or broadcasting a warning and given sentient voice. The language of the sea comes to replace the language lost by the Cornish and contributes to their particularity as a self-perceived nation.

It is clear here that Hawker drew upon numerous legends in the creation of his version of Cruel Coppinger, but there is also evidence that Coppinger is entrenched in reality. A letter from Hawker to his brother-in-law in 1866 asks "[d]o you remember bold Coppinger the Marsland Pirate? He died 87 years ago. I am collecting material for his life for *All the Year Round*. If you know any anecdotes of him or Dinah his wife will you let me know".[116] Hawker writes to his brother-in-law again, asking "hadn't you an Aunt called Coppinger?"[117] The fiction and folklore of Coppinger is blurred into the reality of the man even further by 1909 in an article entitled "Cornish Wrecking" in *The English Illustrated Magazine*, which tries to illuminate the reality of wrecking practices and free the Cornish from libel while referring to Coppinger as a real historical figure:

> The sailor, then, whose vessel was driven on this cruel coast was, indeed, in a parlous state, for not alone did wind and wave conspire to

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[116] Simon Trezise, *The West Country as a Literary Invention: Putting Fiction in its Place* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), pp. 57-58.
[117] Trezise, pp. 57-58.

effect his destruction, but a heartless mob of his fellow creatures lurked on shore ready to pounce his doomed ship and begin the work of ruthless pillage. Cornwall was well named Western Barbary in those lawless and heartless days.[118]

The horror of the Cornish comes in their being both foreign and "fellow creatures". Their lurking and pouncing infuses them with a base animalism, divorcing them from humanity, which is intensified by the insinuation that they are working *with* the forces of nature. Despite the author having an acute awareness of, and their entire argument depending upon, the myths and legends surrounding wrecking, and how these fictional accounts feed into further fictionalisations and become absorbed into the popular understanding of the county, it is without a hint of irony they refer to the figure of Captain Coppinger as a real-life man. The author quotes the saying "save a stranger from the sea / And he'll turn your enemy," a phrase they say

> owes its origin to the Cruel Coppinger referred to by Mr. Loch-Szyima, a man who was rescued from a wreck, and who, in the years that followed, led a life of crime and bloodshed, and treated those to whom he owned his life and all who had befriended him with the most pitiless cruelty. Therefore, the base ingratitude of Coppinger passed into a byword.[119]

It is likely that the Mr. Loch-Szyima [*sic*] in question is the W. S. Lach-Szyrma, historian of Cornwall. Despite continuously criticising the warping of Cornish history into barbarous shapes, the author perpetuates the myth of Coppinger, even using Coppinger as justification for the county's unwelcoming, uncivilised ways. Through the vehicle of an article claiming legitimacy and fighting for authenticity, the folkloric Coppinger is further cemented into Cornish culture, continually blurring the line between the reality of Cornwall and its myths and legends. This comes to reinforce the idea of Cornwall being a place where myths live on, and where tourists can come into contact with the ancient, and the unreal. Cornwall is framed as a place where the existence of someone as monstrous and impossible as the Captain is plausible.

The survival, adaptation, and circulation of the figure of Cruel Coppinger, and the image of the shipwreck, through folklore and Gothic fiction throughout the nineteenth century, and into the twentieth, is emblematic of the popularity of Cornish myth and legend. Further, it is indicative of the barbarous positioning of Cornwall in

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[118] "Cornish Wrecking", p. 490.
[119] "Cornish Wrecking", p. 491.

the popular imagination in the period, and how Gothic fiction absorbs older tales to reflect contemporary concerns.

In the Roar of the Sea by Sabine Baring-Gould

Beyond the reimagining of Captain Cruel Coppinger, *In the Roar of the Sea*'s Gothicism is entirely dependent upon a wider sense of Cornwall's wrecking history. Judith's father, before he dies, suggests that the "bays and creeks seem to invite— well—I leave it an open question", as the horrors of wrecking are too heinous to mention.[120] He refers to the "harvest the sea casts up", and that "[t]here always must be, there will be wrecks on this terrible coast", but worries about "deliberate provocation of wrecks", which is "the sin of Cain".[121] The reference to Cain recalls the legend of the "mark of Cain" or the "wandering Jew" and the way in which "the death ship" legends serve to punish pirates, smugglers, and wreckers throughout folkloric history.[122] It also provides context for Bram Stoker's later reference to Abel in Cornish shipwreck narrative "The Coming of Abel Behenna" (1893). Judith promises that she and her brother will never be wreckers, foreshadowing Jamie being lured into wrecking for Coppinger, and suggesting an inevitability to the Cornish receiving and being associated with wrecks—there "always must be" wrecks. They are intrinsic and innate to the conception of Cornishness and to Cornish identity. Judith's father makes himself unpopular by riling against wrecking practices.

The wreck comes to represent the breakdown of the body and society, as Judith and Coppinger use the metaphor of the wreck to refer to the ways in which they torture each other:

> "Is it due to the ideas in which you have been brought up that you are
> not afraid—when you have reduced me to a wreck?"
> "And you?—are you afraid of the wreck that you have made?"[123]

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[120] Baring-Gould, *Roar*, p. 10.
[121] Baring-Gould, *Roar*, p. 10.
[122] Stephen McClatchie, "The Flying Dutchman, the Wandering Jew, and Wagner's Anti-Semitism", *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 81.4 (2012), p. 877-892.
[123] Baring-Gould, *Roar*, p. 53.

The association with intentional wrecking conjures the immorality and violence of their relationship. Later, Coppinger finds Judith unconscious, and is struck senseless by the sight of "that motionless and wrecked body"; that "human wreck".[124] This rhetoric attributes the blame of Judith's moral and physical ruin to Coppinger, the wrecker. The narrative continuously aligns wrecking with Cornishness. Uncle Zachie claims that

> [w]e are *all* wreckers, after a storm, when a merchantman has gone to pieces on the rocks, and the shore is strewn with prizes. I have taken what I could, and I see no harm in it. When the sea throws treasures here and there, it is a sin not to take them up and use them and be thankful.[125]

He weighs in on the question of intentional wrecking, noting that "[s]tories circulate whenever there is a wreck not in foul weather or with a wind on shore. But who can say whether they be true or false?"[126] The space between the natural wreck and the intentional wreck is a matter of rumour, folklore, and storytelling, founded in the particularism and primitivism of the Cornish. Its moral ambiguity and ephemerality lends itself to the Gothic. Uncle Zachie repeats the image of Judith being referred to as a wreck:

> On the chance, Judith, on the very doubtful chance of making a man of Jamie, you rush on the certainty of making a ruin of yourself. That man—that Coppinger to be trusted with you! A fair little vessel, richly laden, with silken sail, and cedar sides, comes skimmering over the sea, and—Heaven forgive me if I judge wrongly—but I think he is a wrecker, enticing, constraining you on to the reefs where you will break up, and all your treasures will—not fall to him—but sink; and all that will remain of you will be a battered and broken hull, and a draggled discolored sail. I cannot—I cannot endure the thought.[127]

Zachie aligns the monstrosity of intentional wrecking with Coppinger's intended sexual violence towards Judith. The breakdown of the wreck is analogous to the breakdown of the woman's body and her loss of value (precious cargo) in the marriage market. Later, Judith says of her relationship with Coppinger:

> No—that was not what sprung the idea in your brain, it was something I said to you, that you and I stood to each other in the relation of bird of prey to fish, belonging to distinct modes of life and manner of thinking,

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124 Baring-Gould, *Roar*, p. 120.
125 Baring-Gould, *Roar*, p. 226. Emphasis my own.
126 Baring-Gould, *Roar*, p. 226.
127 Baring-Gould, *Roar*, pp. 226-227.

and that we could never be to one another in any other relation than that, the falcon and his prey, the flame and its fuel, the wreckers and the wrecked.[128]

It is clear here that the shipwreck operates in a liminal space between oppositional tensions:

I have resigned myself to you, as I cannot help myself any more than the fish can that is pounced on by the sea-bird, or the fuel that is enveloped by the flame, or the ship that is boarded by the wrecker.[129]

If the shipwreck caused by tempestuous nature is representative of humankind's inability to tame nature, then the wreck caused by the wrecker is emblematic of civilisation's failure to tame the primitive, base, and animal instincts of humankind. The wrecker is an indomitable natural force, born of atavistic urges, appealing to "the centrality of theories of atavism in the long nineteenth century".[130]

At Coppinger and Judith's marriage, Baring-Gould paints a distinctly Gothic image, as "[o]ver the graves of drowned sailors were planted the figure-heads of wrecked vessels, and these in the mist might have been taken as the dead risen and mingling with the living to view this dreary marriage".[131] This reveals Baring-Gould's awareness of Hawker's burial of wreck victims, and how he marked their graves with the bow of the wreck of the *Caledonian*.[132] Bits of wreckage surround the church, and have been used to board up its broken walls. The church is integrated into the sea, the space between the land and sea blurred. Further, the church is almost transformed into a hybrid of the wreck, much like Othello Cottage. Wrecks are used to literally *build* Cornwall and become central to the heart of the community. Later, during a storm, Scantlebury, the Rector, and Uncle Zachie argue about the costs of burying the dead—again, a reference to Hawker's famed reputation for taking up the cost himself. Later, Scantlebury illustrates the ways in which wrecking has materially embedded itself into the fabric of Cornish life and the Cornish economy, comparing wrecking to fox hunting or shooting:

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[128] Baring-Gould, *Roar*, p. 232.
[129] Baring-Gould, *Roar*, p. 232.
[130] Mighall, p. 156.
[131] Baring-Gould, *Roar*, pp. 246-247.
[132] Anon., "A Cornish Church-Yard by the Severn Sea", *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* (Nov 13 1852), pp. 317-319.

you must seek your sport not on the land but at sea. You'll find the sport worth something when you get a haul of a barrel of first-rate sherry, or a load of silver ingots. Why, that's how Penwarden bought his farm. He got the money after a storm—found it on the shore out of the pocket of a dead man. Do you know why the bells of St. Enodoc are so sweet? Because, so folks say, melted into them are ingots of Peruvian silver from a ship wrecked on Doom Bar.[133]

Baring-Gould makes it clear that his fictionalisation wears its sources heavily. The bells melted from wreckage hark to the old Cornish legend of the Forrabury bells, or the Bottreaux bells. When Scantlebury claims that "at Ponghill, near Stratton, is a four-post bed of pure gold came off a wreck in Bude Bay", Baring-Gould's footnote states that this is "[a]n exaggeration. The bed of seventeenth century Italian work, is gilt. It is now in a small farmhouse".[134] The use of footnotes is a symptom of Baring-Gould's praxis as an antiquarian, and also entrenches the legendary wreckers within a sense of material proof.

After Scantlebury and Zachie's long meditation on wrecking, where they reference many examples of victims suffering from wrecking in different ways—including a woman who had her ears ripped off in the process of a wrecker stealing her earrings—they are informed that a wreck has crashed against the coast, as if their words alone had tempted it into shore.[135] Scantlebury cries "[l]et us catch the sea-wolves falling on their prey", exaggerating the atavistic, criminal animalism of the Cornish wreckers, and their monstrous hybridity, being of both land and sea.[136] The two tales of bodies being robbed exaggerate the monstrosity of wrecking, and Cornwall as a death site, or graveyard, its coast littered with corpses. The novel culminates in a wreck, and Baring-Gould uses lurid Gothic tropes to articulate the horrors of Cornwall's wrecking culture, and the significance of wrecking to a sense of Cornish self, lore, and economy.

Wilkie Collins in Cornwall

Wilkie Collins visited Cornwall in 1850 and as a result published his travel narrative,

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[133] Baring-Gould, *Roar*, p. 256.
[134] Baring-Gould, *Roar*, p. 257.
[135] Baring-Gould, *Roar*, p. 268.
[136] Baring-Gould, *Roar*, p. 268.

Rambles beyond Railways, or; Notes on Cornwall Taken Afoot (1852), which entwines Cornish folklore with Collins's own experiences of the county in Gothic terms. Collins was so inspired by the haunted, monstrous land he encountered that he later set two Gothic novels in Cornwall –*Basil* (1852) and *The Dead Secret* (1856). This section analyses the ways in which Collins uses the image of the Cornish shipwreck in his Gothic texts to investigate perceptions of Cornish regionality and monstrosity. These texts, produced by a canonical Victorian Gothic author, demonstrate the recurrence (and oversight) of the Cornish Gothic. Further, the use of Gothic rhetoric in Collins's travel writing is demonstrative of the adaptability and pervasiveness of Gothic imagery as associated with the county in this period.

Rambles Beyond Railways and the Gothic Travel Narrative

Rambles has previously been noted as a Cornish Gothic text by Paul Young, and describes numerous wrecking narratives in graphic detail.[137] The most grisly of these is Collins's documentation of the legend of a catastrophic wreck against the coast of Looe island.[138] From Collins's wreck come not just the corpses of the humans on board, but foreign rats that "increased and multiplied exceedingly; and, being confined all round within certain limits by the sea, soon became a palpable and dangerous nuisance".[139] The escape of the rats confuses the salvage rights of the native people, as legislation up until the end of the nineteenth century stated that the escape of animals from a wreck would complicate the ownership of the cargo.[140] The rats threaten not only the landmass itself, but the potential for economic gain from the wreck, in the tradition of the Cornish wreckers, as well as directly threatening the lives of the natives. The island is so overpopulated by rats that the local people are convinced venturing to the island will lead to their being eaten by the invasive species. Yet ordinary means of destruction fail to solve the problem of these extraordinary rats:

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[137] Paul Young, "Rambles beyond Railways: Globalised Space and Gothicised Place in Victorian Cornwall", *Gothic Studies*, 13.1 (2011), pp. 55-74.
[138] Wilkie Collins*, Rambles Beyond Railways: Or, Notes on Cornwall Taken Afoot* (London: R. Bentley, 1865), p. 15.
[139] Collins, pp. 15-16.
[140] Pearce, pp. 48-49.

> It was said that rats left for dead on the ground had mysteriously revived faster than they could be picked up and skinned, or flung into the sea. Rats desperately wounded had got away into their holes, and become convalescent, and increased and multiplied again more productively than ever. The great problem was, not how to kill the rats, but how to annihilate them so effectually as to place the re-appearance even of one of them altogether out of the question.[141]

The solution the Cornish people come to is ingenious, and involves a great hunt, whereby once the rats were caught and killed they were "smothered in onions", and eaten up:

> Every man, woman, and child, who could eat, could swear to the extirpation of all the rats they had eaten. The local returns of dead rats were not made by the bills of mortality, but by the bills of fare: it was getting rid of a nuisance by the unheard-of process of stomaching a nuisance![142]

Collins's use of the trope of the "invasive species" is emblematic of the dangers of sea travel, and how Cornwall, surrounded on three sides by water, is particularly and uniquely susceptible to foreign threats. While much of Collins's work is concerned with the potential of the Gothic mode to express anxieties about an expanding world, this example in particular demarcates the anxiety that, while quickly advancing transportation meant an increase in access to goods and trade, it could potentially bring with it a dark inversion—the dead, and the undead, as revenant monsters from abroad pour across Cornish shores. Cornwall in particular is susceptible to this foreign threat due to its extreme location on the far coast, and in itself being identified by or associated with the non-English. Linda Colley illustrates the quantity of narratives of forced captivity and marauding throughout the history of the Cornish coast, and the culture of fear they nurtured.[143]

In considering Cornwall's association with both being foreign, and fearing the foreign, it is significant than Collins chooses an island off the coast of Cornwall to flood with rats. In doing so, he presents Looe Island in relation to the rest of the Atlantic archipelago, while simultaneously denying the possibility of seeing Cornwall a whole or cohesive unit. This challenges the stability of borders, while continually

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[141] Collins, *Rambles*, p. 16.
[142] Collins, *Rambles*, p. 17.
[143] Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1600-1850* (London: Random House, 2010), p. 85.

rejecting the idea of any one coherent sense of "Cornishness"—Cornwall is dispersed across the Atlantic, composed of Looe Island as well as the Isles of Scilly. The structure of Collins's travel narrative, comparing and contrasting regional spaces within a region possessing a distinct identity, allows for multifarious identities and manifestations of Cornishness to arise, while repeating images of alienation.

This sense of Cornwall's imaginative separation from the mainland is reemphasised across the century. In 1891 A. G. Folliott-Stokes referred to Cornwall as "this land of primeval solitudes" emphasising its geographical and cultural difference and isolation.[144] Paul Thornton describes how in the nineteenth century Cornwall was experiencing a "spiritual as well as virtual physical detachment from the mainland".[145] Thornton reiterates that Cornwall is "portrayed repeatedly as an almost accidental addition to the British mainland".[146] There is a definitive sense of the Cornish considering themselves to be an island people, as opposed to a part of the mainland. In 1838, Jonathan Couch states that the duchy exists "at the extremity of the kingdom, and surrounded so much by the sea as almost to partake of the character of an island", but the sense of separateness is beyond topographical.[147] There were numerous cultural reasons for this sense of island isolation, due to a different perception, and self-presentation, of regional self. Looe Island is presented as an island off an island off an island, distilling and condensing a sense of topographical and cultural fragmentation and isolation.

Claude Rawson illustrates the complex relationship between seafaring, disasters at sea, adventuring, and cannibalism, as "there was an established rhetoric which assimilated 'savage' eating habits to the diets of impoverished populations, and to the outlandish foods consumed, often as a prelude to cannibalism, in states of siege or of starvation at sea".[148] Rawson then specifically uses the example of American savages eating "rats of all sorts and sizes".[149] Sandra M. Gilbert's history

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[144] A. G. Folliott-Stokes, *The Cornish Coast and Moors* (London: Greening & Co., 1891), p. 22.
[145] Paul Thornton, "Tourism in Cornwall: Recent Research and Current Trends", *Cornish Studies*, 2 (1994), p. 131.
[146] Thornton, p. 131.
[147] Jonathan Couch, *A Cornish Fauna* (Truro: Royal Institution of Cornwall, 1838), p. 81. Couch was the grandfather of Arthur Quiller Couch and Mabel Quiller Couch.
[148] Claude Julien Rawson, *God, Gulliver, and Genocide: Barbarism and the European Imagination, 1492-1945* (Oxford: OUP, 2002), p. 31.
[149] Rawson, p. 31.

of the culinary imagination devotes an entire section to the relationship between maritime disaster and cannibalism, from the sixteenth- to twenty-first centuries.[150] Collins's use of a disaster at sea as a framework for transgressive eating practices is a result of a long-standing association in the wider cultural imagination between seafaring, starvation, and inhuman extremes in consumption. The fear of these images can be traced back to the tale and depictions of *The Raft of the Medusa.* Eating rats has a similar (if less extreme) taboo label than cannibalism but can be seen as precluding cannibalism. Eating rats makes the body vulnerable to perpetuating further social transgressions. The very act of eating the rats is as animalistic and monstrous as the rats themselves, the process described in visceral terms, as prey becomes predator:

> What could all their cunning and resolution avail them now? They had resisted before, and could have resisted still, the ordinary force of dogs, ferrets, traps, sticks, stones, and guns, arrayed against them; but when to these engines of assault were added, as auxiliaries, smothering onions, scalding stew-pans, hungry mouths, sharp teeth, good digestions, and the gastric juice, what could they do but give in?[151]

The Cornish express concern that the rats are going to eat them if they set foot on Looe Island, and decide to eat their enemies first. The specific act of eating rats has a literary tradition of being associated with low behaviour. A notable instance is Shakespeare's *King Lear* (1606), where Edgar, disguised as Poor Tom, tells the mad King that he has eaten only rats, mice, and small deer for the past seven years.[152] This renders the Cornish the "unaccommodated" men of the world of *King Lear*; the "poor, bare, fork'd animal".[153] *King Lear* is referenced specifically in a novel that uses the same device of rat eating to generate unease in 1897, in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, through the zoological maniac Renfield, and later in the novel the hunting party find themselves inundated with rats "multiplying in thousands".[154] Jane Aaron's book on

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[150] Sandra M. Gilbert, *The Culinary Imagination: From Myth to Modernity* (New York: WW Norton & Company, 2014), p. 25.

[151] Collins, *Rambles*, p. 17.

[152] Collins references Lear in "A Shockingly Rude Article (Communicated by a Charming Woman) in 1858 and *The Law and the Lady* in 1875.

[153] William Shakespeare, *King Lear*, ed. R. A. Foakes (London: Arden Shakespeare, 1997), ll.3.4.1068.

[154] Bram Stoker, *Dracula* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1897), p. 246.

Welsh Gothic references rat eating as manifest of extreme deprivation, to fend off starvation, indicative of extremity of poverty present throughout Cornish history.[155] In 1853, in *Household Words*, Edmund Dixon writes that

> the rat tells of the invasions of barbarians, as the war-horse declares the grandeur and the decline of the aristocracy of blood. Like horde, like rat; every fresh occupation of the surface is followed by a corresponding occupation of the subsoil.[156]

Dixon goes on to state that "one might count the strata of barbarians which have been deposited one above the other upon the soil of France by the varieties of rats which that soil has in turn supported".[157] The rat has significant connotations in the mid-nineteenth century of decline, degeneration, barbarism, invasion, and the tension between surface and interior.

Antiquary Richard Carew suggested that Cornwall was unusually overrun with rats as early as 1602, as "of all manner of vermin, Cornish houses are most pestered with rats, a brood very hurtful for devouring of meat, clothes, and writings by day; and alike cumbersome through their crying and rattling, while they dance their gallop gallyards in the roof at night".[158] Sabine Baring-Gould's *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages* (1872) describes how in Teutonic and Scandinavian beliefs rats and mice were seen as souls of the dead, "which is why rats deserting a falling house can be seen as a reference to the soul leaving a crumbling body".[159] As part of a longer Gothic tradition, Baring-Gould's text is thought to be an influence on H. P. Lovecraft's "The Rats in the Walls", which also makes brief reference to Cornwall.[160] In this way rats can be seen as spectral, or haunting, further destabilising the corporeality of the body.

The rats provide a justification for the desperation underlying wrecking practices. The Cornish people's ability to defeat the rats shows that they themselves

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[155] Aaron, p. 95.
[156] Edmund Saul Dixon, "The Mind of Brutes [i]", *Household Words*, Vol VII, Magazine No. 177 (13 August 1853), p. 564.
[157] Dixon, p. 564.
[158] Richard Carew, *Carew's Survey of Cornwall: To Which are Added, Notes Illustrative of its History and Antiquities* (London: T. Bensley for J. Faulder, 1811), p. 73.
[159] Jonathan Burt, *Rat* (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), p. 71.
[160] Steven J. Mariconda, "Baring-Gould and the Ghouls", in *The Horror of It All: Encrusted Gems from the "Crypt of Cthulhu,"* ed. Robert M. Price (Mercer Island, WA: Starmont House, 1990), pp. 42-48.

are not a greedy populace, but a starving one, problematising a moral judgment of wrecking. A small community suffering from a plague of rats, and establishing innovative ways to deal with the infestation, appears not much earlier in Robert Browning's 1848 rewriting of *The Pied Piper of Hamelin*, just two years before Collins's journey. The Pied Piper is another invasive species narrative, and since its first documentation in the Middle Ages, has been used to express anxieties surrounding immigration, emigration, and the general movement of bodies as fatal threat. In 1867, James Greenwood's retelling of his experiences at Barnet Fair further reinforces the relationship between the foreign savage, rat eating, and spectacle:

> Decidedly, this was the show of the fair. An iron-wire cage, containing thirty or forty rats, hung at the door, and beside it stood the High Barbarian, grinning, and pointing at the rats, and smacking his blubberous lips significantly. The sight was more than the people could stand; they rushed and scrambled up the steps, paying their pennies with the utmost cheerfulness; and, when the place was full, the performance was gone through to their entire satisfaction. The High Barbarian really did eat the rats. He set the cage before him, and, thrusting in his hand, stirred the animals about till he found one to his liking, then he ate it as one would eat an apple.[161]

The barbarian is associated with low eating, and eating rats, in the same way the Cornish are rendered barbarous by their eating. The relish with which this story is told, and the sheer joy exhibited by the audience, is in the same vein as Collins's ecstatic retelling of the Looe Island rats. Eating rats is horrifying and transgressive, yet also a carnivalesque spectacle or an entertainment, as the savage is displayed in the same manner as the Cornish perform for tourists. Key, however, is that the barbarian's rats are raw, but the Cornish rats are cooked, stewed, and covered in onions. While the eating of the Looe rats is distinctly monstrous, the process of preparation renders it more civilised than Greenwood's blubberous barbarian biting into rats "like apples". This relates to Claude Lévi-Strauss's structuralist analysis of food preparation as necessary to or manifest of civilisation, and the transformative processes that the preparation of food entails. His conclusions are that while animals eat anything that is edible, human beings lack these instincts, or resist them, and so food is not just a category of what is digestible, but what is appropriate and civilised

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[161] James Greenwood, *Low-Life Deeps* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1875), p. 304.

to consume.[162] Collins's narrative describes the tension between humanity simultaneously being a part of nature, and a part of culture, which opposes nature. Yet Collins proposes delineations within culture, and denies the opposition, as rat eating is monstrous, yet the rats are prepared and transformed into food through civilised processes. This complicates and reconfigures Lévi-Strauss's framework until food is a means of both othering and assimilating.

Food, as representative of the crossing of the body's external-internal barrier, and taboo, as representative of transcending social barriers, come together in a travel narrative that is orientated around the destabilisation of geographical barriers. Consuming is central to this, as "food and metaphors of eating" are used to "express or substitute for the desire to take inside what is outside".[163] Sarah Sceats states that there are "deep associations between food and the psyche", as manifest of this permeable border, describing the potential for food to be representative of multifarious anxieties, including fear of the other, of the breaching of borders, the invasion of others, and the difficulty in defining the self against the other.[164]

Julia Kristeva's *Powers of Horror* (1982) states that food "designates the other" and "penetrates the self's clean and proper body";[165] it is thus aligned with taboo because it crosses the border between the inside and the outside, and "conflates these classifications".[166] A taboo is defined by Mary Douglas in *Purity and Danger* (1966) as that which we call "dirty and dangerous", which we must "guard against in order to classify the universe".[167] The transgressive eating of rats is a social taboo that denies the Victorian preoccupation with taxonomy and classification,[168] as what is vermin or pest becomes dinner. Significantly, the specific use of an invasive species conjures the late nineteenth-century popularity of the

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[162] Claude Levi-Strauss, "The Culinary Triangle", *Food and Culture: A Reader*, ed. Carol Counihan and Penny Can Esterik (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 36-41.
[163] Elizabeth Andrews, "Devouring the Gothic: Food and the Gothic" (University of Stirling, 2008), p. v.
[164] Sarah Sceats, *Food, Consumption and the Body in Contemporary Women's Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 8.
[165] Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Objection*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (Paris: Le Seuil, 1980), p. 75.
[166] Andrews, p. 1.
[167] Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, 1966), p. xi.
[168] Robert Mighall, *A Geography of Victorian Gothic Fiction: Mapping History's Nightmares* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 142.

natural sciences and speciation,[169] conflating what is rat and what is human as one becomes part of the other. The Looe Island rats challenge the very idea of the possibility of stable delineation between groups, inhibiting the ability to establish or reconfigure knowledge. The rat passing into the same body and breaching the membrane of the self thus serves the same function and figures into the metonymics as the shipwreck breaching the national or regional boundaries of the county as body.

Later on, Collins uses another Cornish shipwreck narrative to express the Gothicity of Cornwall, and anxieties surrounding otherness, eating, taboo, transgression, the permeability of bodily and regional borders, the horrors of maritime life, and the intimacy of the Cornish with those horrors. Consistently, Collins uses the shipwreck as an image through which to articulate Cornish particularism, and to locate that particularism in barbarism.

Collins retells the tale of Pistol Meadow (known to be Pistil Meadow), near Lizard Head. There are numerous parallels between the Pistol Meadow mythos and the story of the Looe Island rats—from the beginning, both start with a shipwreck. Both consider the overwhelming claustrophobia of untold numbers of bodies, both consider the monstrosity and inhumanity of ravenous hunger, and both revolve around the monstrosity of eating that which should not be eaten, and the horror derived from the dehumanisation and desubjectivity of flesh:

> Some hundred years since, a transport-ship, filled with troops, was wrecked on the reef off the Lizard Head. Two men only were washed ashore alive. Out of the fearful number that perished, two hundred corpses were driven up on the beach below Pistol Meadow; and there they were buried by tens and twenties together in great pits, the position of which is still revealed by the low irregular mounds that chequer the surface of the field.[170]

The dehumanisation is initially demarcated by the unmarked mass burial grounds. The bodies, as alien, foreign, are denied name or individual, proper memorial. The image of the beach awash with corpses numbering in their hundreds shows the

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[169] Mighall, p. 143.
[170] *Rambles*, pp. 103-104.

relationship between the fragility of coast as liminal space, and the fragility of the mortality of the body:

> To this day, the peasantry continue to regard Pistol Meadow with feelings of awe and horror, and fear to walk near the graves of the drowned men at night. Nor have many of the inhabitants yet forgotten a revolting circumstance connected by traditional report with the burial of the corpses after the shipwreck. It is said, that when dead bodies were first washed ashore, troops of ferocious, half-starved dogs suddenly appeared from the surrounding country, and could with difficulty be driven from preying on the mangled remains that were cast up on the beach. Ever since that period, the peasantry have been reported as holding the dog in abhorrence. Whether this be true or not, it is certainly a rare adventure to meet with a dog in the Lizard district.[171]

The deindividuation is re-emphasised as the bodies become meat. The language is rich with "awe and horror", saturated in the "revolting", in "mangled remains", and "abhorrence". Whereas the tale of the Looe Island rats is one of victory, as the natives dine gluttonously upon the invasive species, the notion of dogs dining upon corpses is far removed. There is a simultaneous rejection and respect for the bodies, as they are thrown in mass pits, yet protected from the jowls of the dogs. The fear associated with the self becoming meat is referred to by Kelly Hurley as the creation of an abhuman body, "metamorphic and undifferentiated".[172] Referring specifically to late Victorian Gothic fiction, Hurley describes the danger of transforming body into food, as flesh is privileged over self, and the body is described as matter, being fragmented into its components. The fragmentation of the self creates an "uncanny detachment from the body", as well as the "vertiginous pleasures of indifferentiation".[173] Bodily disintegration generates a complication in the process of classification— while the Cornish define themselves in contrast with the invading other, they also define humanity as something beyond flesh, and in protecting the bodies from the dogs, they are protecting their own sense of distinct self and identity in corporeal terms. Hurley describes this process as the horror created by confrontation with "the prospect of an existence circumscribed with the realities of gross corporeality".[174] The reality of gross corporeality is entrenched within

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[171] *Rambles*, p. 104.
[172] Kelly Hurley, *The Gothic Body: Sexuality, Materialism, and Degeneration at the Fin de Siècle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 3.
[173] Hurley, p. 4
[174] Hurley, p. 3.

Cornish identity, as Collins retells numerous stories of shipwrecks, eating of flesh, and the objectification of the body. Hurley describes cannibalism specifically in relation to sexual and social degeneration in a Darwinian landscape, and by closely associating horror with eating, digestion, and animalism (on behalf of humans or animals themselves); Collins, too, is exploring a landscape of degeneration. Parallels are drawn between the feasting dogs and the feasting Cornish, between the invading rats and the invading corpses, and in doing so, the clear classification of humanity becomes fragmented and confused, as the body itself becomes dissected, digested, and blurred with the animal.

The wreck of Collins's legend is that of the real-life *Royal Anne Galley* in 1721, which supposedly wrecked off the Lizard Point and led to the loss of some 300 crew, with three survivors. Other sources claim 200 victims, but most concede that the bodies were interred at Pistil Meadow. The National Trust and the Maritime Archaeology Sea Trust (MAST) teamed up in 2012 to check the veracity of these claims with an archaeological survey of Pistil Meadow.[175] While initial magnetic and electromagnetic surveys revealed anomalies which could be suggestive of mass graves of the sort described by the secondary sources, a dig in 2016 did not discover any material evidence of mass burial. The report from MAST suggests that the legend is a romanticisation of the reality developed over a significant period of time, though admits that some bodies from the *Anne* may be interred nearby. This is demonstrative of the impact of Cornish legend and Gothic retellings of Cornish legend, especially regarding wrecks, on the perception of Cornwall, its history, its heritage, and its historical association with death sites. While Collins retold the legend in the 1850s, C. A. Johns specifically noted that 200 bodies were buried in pits of ten to thirty bodies in 1848.[176] Dinah Craik picked up on Collins's invention of the pistols buried in the meadow in 1881, and claimed that there were 200 bodies of "foreign sailors", victims of a ship of 700, found with weapons in their hands.[177] In 1948 J. C. Trewin embellished the story by claiming that the meadow was queer and

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[175] "Pistil Meadow and the *Royal Anne*", *Maritime Archaeology Sea Trust* (Sep 2016), <http://www.thisismast.org/research/pistil-meadow-and-the-royal-anne.html >
[176] C. A. Johns, *A Week at the Lizard* (Felinfach: Llanerch Publishers, 1992 [1848])
[177] Dinah Craik*, An Unsentimental Journey through Cornwall* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1884), p. 19.

made pungent with the smell of seaweed.[178] Daphne du Maurier, consistently drawing upon an older Victorian Gothic tradition, suggests that the burial sites are marked by "grotesquely shaped" willow trees.[179] The MAST report acknowledges that "the area is said by locals to be haunted to this day" which "suggests that this process of embellishment is still underway".[180]

In *Rambles beyond Railways* Collins retells two Cornish shipwreck legends to exaggerate the subjectivity of the Cornish, their otherness, and their threatened status as a whole body. The shipwreck comes to embody anxieties surrounding Cornwall's coasts, the stability of its identity, its economic deprivation, and the extremity of starvation in the county. The wrecks force the coastal Cornish to constantly and unrelentingly confront the reality of their own mortality and the fragility of the body. Like Coppinger, these narratives are representative of a tendency to accept Cornish fiction as Cornish fact, as Cornwall becomes a place where lore is made flesh.

The Dead Secret and Wreck Media

Collins derived inspiration from his previous experience of Cornwall, and his knowledge of Cornish shipwreck history and folklore, in his later Gothic novel, *The Dead Secret* (1856). In this novel Collins uses the shipwreck—and the communication of the shipwreck through various means—to sensational effect. The death of the Cornish Mr. Treverton aboard a shipwreck is communicated to his brother through a letter and extracts from newspapers, as

> I inclose a detailed account of the shipwreck, extracted from *The Times,* by which you will see that your brother died nobly in the performance of his duty toward the officers and men whom he commanded. I also send a slip from the local Cornish paper, containing a memoir of the deceased gentleman.[181]

The novel explicitly draws upon the popular passion for shipwreck narratives and the willingness of newspapers to satisfy public cravings. These shipwreck narratives cause Cornwall's repressed history to puncture through into the present, as

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[178] J. C. Trewin, *Up from the Lizard* (London: Carrol and Nicholson Ltd, 1948).
[179] Daphne du Maurier, *Vanishing Cornwall: the Spirit and History of Cornwall* (London: Gollancz, 1967).
[180] "Pistil Meadow and the *Royal Anne*", *Maritime Archaeology Sea Trust* (Sep 2016), < http://www.thisismast.org/research/pistil-meadow-and-the-royal-anne.html >
[181] Wilkie Collins, *The Dead Secret* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 89-90.

"[s]omething in the wording of that paragraph seemed to take Mr. Treverton's memory back to his youth-time when the old family house had been his home".[182] As the shipwreck sinks below the surface, secrets of the Treverton family rise from the depths (a feature most famously adopted in Daphne du Maurier's 1938 Cornish Gothic novel *Rebecca*). Mrs. Norbury refers again to the "dreadful shipwreck we all read about in the papers".[183] Shipwreck narratives fuel the public imagination in the nineteenth century through newspaper accounts and authors of Gothic fiction saw an opportunity to supplement the public's need for increasingly sensational shipwrecks.

Shipwrecks are read, translated and transposed into a variety of metaphors throughout Collins's novel. When a young man first sees Sarah Leeson (later Mrs. Jezaph), her demeanor is described through the language of a shipwreck:

> Much in her manner, and more in her face, said plainly and sadly: I am the wreck of something that you might once have liked to see; a wreck that can never be repaired—that must drift on through life unnoticed, unguided, unpitied—drift till the fatal shore is touched, and the waves of Time have swallowed up these broken relics of me forever. This was the story that was told in Sarah Leeson's face—this, and no more.[184]

The shipwreck is bound up in storytelling, and specifically in the story of a Cornish woman. The reference to "relics" notes the antiquary value of wreckage. The wreck is specifically aligned with the passing of time. Later, Mr. Phippen claims "look at what a wreck I am", alluding to the rich metaphorical potential of the image of the wreck used later by Judith in Baring-Gould's *In the Roar of the Sea*.[185] This image takes the ship as body, and the ship as body politic.

Miss Treverton, now Mrs. Frankland, spends most of the novel attempting to return to Cornwall, her ancestral home. Her journey is fractured and delayed, as though the county is resisting her entrance, or fate is trying to save her from the secrets bursting at the county's seams. Her journey is first interrupted by the death of Mrs. Frankland's father on a shipwreck, and her arrival is marred by the wreck of a fishing ship off the coast of her childhood village. Shipwrecks here manifest as disruptions to the linearity of both the journey and the narrative, forewarning the

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[182] *The Dead Secret*, p. 92.
[183] *The Dead Secret*, p. 103.
[184] *The Dead Secret,* pp. 9-10.
[185] *The Dead Secret,* p. 45.

disruption of Mrs. Frankland's own life story and family line as her real mother and father are later unveiled:

> Mr. Munder now thought it his duty to explain that the absence of the villagers, on the occasion of the arrival of his master and mistress, was entirely attributable to the effect produced among the little community by the wreck of the fishing-boat. Under any less lamentable circumstances the west terrace would have been crowded, and the appearance of the carriage would have been welcomed with cheers.[186]

Mrs. Frankland feels that her return home is "dreary and disheartening", and that "story of the poor fishermen is a sad story, love, to welcome me back to the place of my birth".[187] Cornwall is explicitly associated with chaos and disruption, and the shipwreck acts as a narrative tool to enable the Gothic functions of the plot as one concerned with aristocracy, inheritance, and disrupted lineage. The breakdown of the ship serves to represent the breakdown of the family unit. Collins later uses the shipwreck to great Gothic effect in his novel *Armadale* (1866) and writes again about maritime disaster in sensational terms in the play cowritten with Charles Dickens, *The Frozen Deep* (1856), based upon the doomed Franklin expedition—another famous tale of maritime disaster and cannibalism. The use of shipwreck in Collins's wider body of work demonstrates its cultural significance in the period, and the shipwreck's strong association with Gothic Cornwall.

The Short Stories

There is a sense of Cornwall being haunted by its shipwrecks as a manifestation of the Gothic re-emergence of the past into the present. This section will outline three short stories centring on wrecks continuing to haunt the Cornish coast, and demonstrate how the continual reimagining of shipwreck legends serves as a form of intertextual haunting in itself.

Bottreaux Bells, or the Bells of Forrabury Church

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[186] *The Dead Secret*, p. 240.
[187] *The Dead Secret,* p. 240.

One example of wrecks haunting the coast is the folkloric story of the Bottreaux Bells, otherwise referred to as the Bells of Forrabury Church. This analysis of the many reiterations of the Forrabury Bells will provide further contextualisation for the public thirst for Cornish shipwreck narratives and the continued association between shipwrecks and Cornwall in the Gothic imagination. This example in particular provides foundations for the following chapter on King Arthur and tourism in Cornwall, which will expand upon this imagining of Tintagel in particular as a place where Cornwall's history persistently re-emerges.

The previously mentioned Robert Stephen Hawker penned a verse concerning the bells, published in *The Athenaeum* in 1842. The story was given prose form by travel writer Cyrus Redding in *An Illustrated Itinerary of the County of Cornwall* in the same year. The legend was continually reprinted, referenced and reimagined in different forms in the following decades.[188] In Forrabury, of Bottreaux town, the parishioners were treated to the peals of the bells of the neighbouring village Tintagel, carried along on the wind. These bells "which some said had tolled for King Arthur as he was borne a corpse from the field of blood near Camelford to Tintagel, and again as he was borne away from his native castle to be interred at Glastonbury, were not the bells of Bottreaux, but altogether aliens to that place; so they determined to have as choice a peal as money would procure".[189] The reference to the "alien" Tintagel bells suggests a sense of a "loss" of Tintagel as a result of mass tourism to the area and seeming cultural appropriation of Cornwall by tourists and antiquarians.[190]

The legend presents a movement towards self-fashioning for the Cornish, as their history is diluted, and they are forced to create independent, untainted, and distinct traditions and relics to invest with new shades of identity. The threat of the outsider is reiterated as the new bells are commissioned from a founder in London,

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[188] It was reimagined and republished in *The Illustrated London News* (1843), William Sidney Gibson's *The History of the Monastery Founded at Tynemouth* (1846), J. Burns's *The Church of England Magazine* (1862), Robert Chambers's *The Book of Days, a Miscellany of Popular Antiquities* (1862), William and Rogers's *Belgravia* (1867), Edwin Paxton Hood's *The World of Moral and Religious Anecdote* (1870), and *Litell's Living Age* (1884).

[189] Cyrus Redding, *Illustrated Itinerary of the County of Cornwall* (London: How and Parsons, 1842), p. 32.

[190] This is expanded upon in the chapter on King Arthur and Arthurian tourism in Tintagel.

and immediately it appears their journey is doomed, as "thus shipped, they had a prosperous voyage until the vessel came into the bay opposite Bottreaux".[191] The pilot maintains that the sea "was a place of danger" long before the incident occurs, suggesting the validity of a seaman's superstitions, and accentuating the dread of what is to come. The captain "at last waxed choleric, and swore most sinful oaths and blasphemies", though the point is laboured that he "was not to go unpunished". His blasphemies incur the wrath of the sea, and

> the wind rose rapidly, and blew furiously from the west; nearer and nearer drove the vessel into the bay, and, when not a mile from the church tower, which was full in view, a monstrous sea struck her, she gave a lurch to port, and went down, bells and all.[192]

The narrative serves as one of many warning stories against disrespecting the might and majesty of the sea, and in this narrative, as in many, only those who accept their inferiority survive. The proximity of the ship to safe harbour re-emphasises the deadliness of the Cornish coastline, and as

> the storm raged with tremendous fury, and the clang of the bells was distinctly heard, dull, as if muffled by the waves, through which the sound rose out of the ocean depths in solemn tollings, at intervals, clearly distinguishable from the roar of the winds and the waves. The sound continues still to be heard during the frequent tempests that assail that part of the coast, as it was heard at the hour when the Bottreaux bells were engulphed beneath the ocean. The tower to this day has no bells, and more useful to the living is its silence, with the recollection of the cause, than the most harmonious chimes.[193]

The sea continues to repeat, echo, mimic, or regurgitate previous horrors, a simultaneous record and broadcast of the suffering of the coastal populace. The legend emphasises the dominance of the sea, and its capacity to absorb both the material—the ship, the captain, the bells—and the immaterial—the very sound of the bells. The ringing of the bells from the depths are a haunting of the waves, a resurgence of history, and a warning against the outsider, as the bells from London are never allowed to touch Cornish sand. Another narrative to exploit the Gothic potential of the superstition of Cornish seamen is Francis Marion Crawford's "The Screaming Skull" (1908). This narrative features a seaman telling the story of how he came to own the eponymous screaming skull, describing how he does not fear it due

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[191] Redding, p. 32.
[192] Redding, p. 32.
[193] Redding, p. 33.

to a lifetime at sea, and encounters with haunted ships.[194] In Cornwall, and for the Cornish, the supernatural pervades and is normalised.

"The Coming of Abel Behenna" by Bram Stoker

"The Coming of Abel Behenna" is a short story published by Bram Stoker in 1893 across two issues *of Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper.* Like the legends of the Forrabury Bells it centres on the sea throwing up its secrets on the waves and broadcasting its past traumas. As a Cornish Gothic text by a canonical Gothic author it provides further insight into the way Cornwall fuelled the Gothic imaginary in the nineteenth century. Ten years later Stoker published his Cornish Gothic novel, *The Jewel of Seven Stars* (1903). Stoker was aware of Cornwall due to his former client Henry Irving being raised in the county – Irving's mother's maiden name was Mary Behenna.[195] It is also evident that Stoker was familiar with the work of Sabine Baring-Gould and took inspiration from Baring-Gould's *The Book of Werewolves* (1865) in his research for *Dracula* (1897).[196] This section investigates Stoker's enduring interest in the Gothic potential of Cornwall, and provides an early example of Stoker's interest in the power and horror of the returned corpse and the image of the shipwreck, explored later in Dracula's wrecking of the *Demeter* against the Whitby coast.

"The Coming of Abel Behenna" pitches Cornishmen Eric and Abel against each other for the affections of a Cornish woman, Sarah Trefusis. They toss a coin to win her hand in marriage. Abel wins, but takes off to trade at sea to make enough money to support his betrothed. Abel is away for so long that he is presumed dead, and Sarah reluctantly agrees to marry Eric. A few days before their wedding Abel's ship is spotted wrecking off the Cornish coast. Abel manages to climb up to the safety of the cliffs only to be pushed back into the water by Eric. On the morning of the murderer's wedding, Abel's corpse washes up upon the shore, pointing an

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[194] F. Marion Crawford, *The Screaming Skull* (Moscow: Dodo Press, 2009).

[195] Robertson Davies, "Irving, Sir Henry [real name John Henry Brodribb] (1838–1905), actor", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3 Jan 2008) [Accessed 18 Sep] <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb9780198614128-e-34116>

[196] David J. Skal, "Something in the Blood, Part 1", *The Paris Review* (27 Oct 2016) <https://www.theparisreview.org/blog/2016/10/27/something-blood-part-1/>

accusatory finger towards the couple. The washing up of corpses on the Cornish coast in many of these narratives functions as a divine warning or punishment for Cornish barbarity. The body functions as an omen for a superstitious people, entwined with the superstitions of the sea, most prominently seen in the significance of omens in Coleridge's *Rime*. Stoker's narrative is entirely dependent upon the horror, disorientation, and loss of life caused by the shipwreck, as well as on developments in maritime technology and global trade. Ultimately the narrative functions upon a tension fundamental to the Cornish Gothic—that of the distance between the idea of the Cornish as an insular people, and a people with an ancient international maritime trade network.

The coast is instantaneously established as the primary protagonist of the narrative, with a protracted description taking the reader from the cliffs, inwards through the inlet, to the mouth of a harbour. The coast is anthropomorphised, and specifically given orality, "where the seal caves opened their grim jaws",[197] "the northern jaw", "the mouth of the port",[198] and the sight of the "porpoise in the harbour mouth",[199] alongside repeated references to the roaring of the sea. The cliffs and rocks are given the ability to communicate, consume, and regurgitate, "behind a lonely rock, pierced with many caves and blow-holes through which the sea in storm time sent its thunderous voice".[200] The cliff is penetrable, vulnerable, and the sea is all-powerful and destructive. The use of the sonic Gothic functions in the same way as the Forrabury Bells and *In the Roar of the Sea*, allowing the sea to become a penetrating force, entering into the ear, transgressing the boundaries of the body and the land. "The Coming of Abel Behenna" focuses upon the simultaneously interdependent and antagonistic relationship between two Cornish men:

> two men lived in cottages exactly opposite each other across the stream. Two men, both young, both good-looking, both prosperous, and who had been companions and rivals from their boyhood. Abel Behenna was dark with the gyspy darkness which the Phoenician mining wanderers left in their track; Eric Sanson-which the local

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[197] Bram Stoker, "Abel Behenna", *Dracula's Guest and Other Weird Stories* (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1914), p. 95.
[198] Stoker, "Abel", p. 117.
[199] Stoker, "Abel", p. 117.
[200] Stoker, "Abel", p. 95.

> antiquarian said was a corruption of Sagamansion-was fair, with the
> ruddy hue which marked the path of the wild Norseman.[201]

Both are representative of the long history of Cornish invasion and trade. The name "Abel" is almost clumsily indicative of the story's culmination, gesturing towards Biblical fratricide. Eric's name is archetypally Norse, and the two men are an uncanny doubling of each other, one a dark reflection of the other. Eric/Cain is the foreign interloper, or invader, aligned with invaders from Northern Europe, such as the Captain Cruel Coppinger of lore. Yet their relationship is both co-dependent and antagonistic, and is more largely representative of the interaction between Celtic Cornwall and mainland England (as representative of a general, foreign other)—one interdependent and occasionally collusive, but fraught with tension. Because of the potency of the signification of Abel and Eric, Sarah is rendered a tokenistic, superficial prop to be passed between the two of them, aligned with the coins they toss to win her hand and the cheap toys shipped from Bristol to China to win Abel's fortune.[202] On the other hand, Abel's absence haunts the text and drives the narrative. He is the titular character, despite Eric being the most active and present throughout. Abel is constantly remembered, referenced, and thought of as "dead", before even being so, as a result of his sheer distance. Distance from the insular communal homestead leads to a dissolution of self as subject.

Abel washing up outside of Eric's home on Eric and Sarah's wedding day, with his hand—the same hand used to toss the coin to bind her to him, the same hand that was hers to wed—outstretched before her, as though in accusation, gives his corpse an agency, a determinacy, and a sense of uncanny animation. The washing up on the shore is a return from the dead, as Abel arrives to communicate a message of damnation and judgment from beyond the grave. That Abel's body is regurgitated by the sea reinforces the mystery, seeming sentience, and temperamental agency of the sea, and how the sea both takes life, and gives life— and can even return a body previously taken. The sea is bestowed with the capacity

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[201] Stoker, "Abel", p. 97. For more on the significance of the Phoenicians to a sense of Cornishness see the chapter on mining.
[202] See Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

to dispense judgment—perhaps as an attempt to attribute meaning to the frequency of seemingly senseless maritime catastrophe on the Cornish coast.

The shipwreck is necessary to represent the fallibility of maritime advancement and the mortal cost of commercial and imperial seafaring missions. Both Cornish men are rendered "other" in distinct ways, manifest of the tensions within the county and different narrativisations of its history, as well as historical tensions between the county and other nations. The return of Abel's body is inevitable, as, having left his community for individualistic, capitalistic gain, he is consumed by the jealous coast, eager to have back its own. Abel is punished for daring to leave the close-knit Cornish community. This narrative, at a time of massmigration and movement for the Cornish people, is a warning against foreign travel, especially foreign travel for industry and economy. Eric, on the other hand, is the interloper punished for remaining and attempting to appropriate that which is not his. Both face the consequences of violating the borders and boundaries set out for them by ancient blood. Abel, in pursuing a line of economic progress that strays from patrilineal feudal inheritance, is embodying of a new type of feared economic and industrial progress. Abel is punished for pursuing independent wealth and individual progress, as history, ancestry, and local community are privileged over expansion and globalisation.

Andrew Maunder suggests that read in "the wider context of 1890s imperialism with which Stoker's readers would have been familiar, there are grounds for suggesting that this is also a cautionary story about imperial as well as domestic exploitation".[203] Abel leaves Cornwall to become a mechanism of empire, participating on a global scale. Upon his return he is "an unexpected and unwelcome visitor glimpsed by terrified witnesses", emphasising his otherness, his foreignness, and his inhumanity as a result of his leaving the county, and moving to foreign lands.[204] Abel is tainted by his experience, and the terms of his return are monstrous: "a strange seaman whom no one knew," "a porpoise", and most graphic and (literally) visceral, "like a pig with the entrails hanging out".[205] His humanity is

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[203] Andrew Maunder, *The Facts on File Companion to the British Short Story* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2007), p. 82.
[204] Maunder, p. 82.
[205] Stoker, "Abel", p. 117.

diminished as he becomes a cog and product of the system and processes of empire, and the hanging entrails are a further manifestation of the breaching of the boundary between exterior and interior.

Like Collins, Stoker uses the image of the shipwreck to articulate anxieties surrounding the stability of empire, global expansion, British identity, and how Cornish particularism is awkwardly situated within those dynamics. The shipwreck embodies otherness and the breaching of topographical boundaries, violating the space between land and sea. Both Collins and Stoker do this through images of consuming, as Stoker's coast becomes a consuming mouth sucking in the broken wreck, whereas Collins uses the sucking mouths of the Cornish to destroy the invaders. This foreshadows Stoker's use of the consuming, erotic, deadly mouth of the vampire. Both authors use images of the horrors of sea to attempt to articulate fear of the other, and Cornwall's geographical vulnerability. Stoker develops this later with the wreck of the *Demeter* in *Dracula* where the collision of the wreck with the British coast brings with it the threat of a foreign monster.

"The Last Mitchell" by Margery Williams

The Cornish Gothic shipwreck narratives continued into the early twentieth century and wrecks continued to collide with the coast. "The Last Mitchell" is a later example of a Cornish Gothic shipwreck narrative, written by Margery Williams in 1905. "The Last Mitchell" demonstrates the continued tendency of shipwreck narratives to weave Cornish legend into Gothic fiction, as well as the repeated motif of using the shipwreck to represent confused, repressed, and re-emergent histories. The narrative centres on a young family visiting the fictional town of Rennuthnoe, Cornwall, doubtless based upon Perranuthnoe in the South West of the county, four miles east of Penzance. Margery Winifred Williams (1881-1944) became most celebrated in 1922 for the publication of children's classic *The Velveteen Rabbit*, overshadowing her earlier career as a horror writer. One of her early novels, *The Things in the Woods* (1914) is said to be the inspiration for H. P. Lovecraft's "The Dunwich Horror" (1929).[206]

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[206] Stefan Dziemianowicz, "Curiosities: The Thing in the Woods", *Fantasy and Science Fiction* (Aug 2000) [Accessed 18 Sep 2019] <https://www.sfsite.com/fsf/2000/cur0008.htm>

"The Last Mitchell" centres on Mrs. and Mr. Allan and their young son Rodey taking a three-month summer break to Kinlow House to take in the seaside's health benefits. Ironically, they soon come to worry about disease in the area and typhoid in the water, upon discovering that the village's sewage pipe dumps from the cliff directly below their property. Rodey and Mr. Allan are briefly taken ill, with Mr. Allan narrowly avoiding typhoid, and Mrs Allan's anxieties over the atmosphere of the house begin to dominate her thoughts. Mrs. Allan discovers that the house was historically and continuously owned by the Mitchell family, until Old Jethro expelled his nephew, young Jethro, from the house for scandalous behaviour. Mrs. Allan feels like the house is pining for its lost heir and longs for them to leave so he may return. This feeling strengthens over time as Mrs. Allan sees an apparition of young Jethro wander through the halls of Kinlow House and identifies him by an old black and white photograph found behind a cabinet. Curiously, she feels no fear at Jethro's spectral presence. Their housemaid one day declares that "corpse-lights" have appeared along the beach, forewarning the death of three Rennothnoe men. Jethro appears once more to Mrs. Allan, though this time she is absolutely repulsed and horrified by his presence and concludes that Jethro must be dead. Later that night a ship wrecks against the shore, and Mr Allan runs to the beach to help the locals save what and who they can. The men return to Kinlow carrying the body of a drowned man, and Mrs. Allan need not see his face to know that Jethro, the last Mitchell, has finally returned home. The story closes with Mrs. Allan convinced that the house no longer pines, satisfied with its reunion with its heir, though the Allans return to London all the same, cementing the theme of the importance of belonging that drives the narrative.

"The Last Mitchell" is unique in as much as the majority of hauntings are performed by a living man. The shipwreck breaks the temporal spell by colliding with the coast, and violently ensuring Jethro's return home, much like "The Coming of Abel Behenna". Jethro returns on the waves to claim what is his, in the same vein as Abel Behenna returning to the shore to claim his bride. The Allans are invaders, and the house, and young Jethro, inevitably work to expel them from the county. The sea is represented as a force constantly working on a trajectory to contain, return, and preserve Cornishness.

The living hauntings represent Jethro as existing in a liminal space between life and death embodied by the liminal coast, the liminality of the shipwreck sinking beneath the surface, and the suspension of Jethro's identity as a Cornishman caused by his expulsion by his family. Kinlow House—like the rest of Cornwall—exists somehow outside of linear time and space, as "[t]here was the odd impression of tenancy peculiar to old houses, making it seem, at the end of many years' emptiness, as though the last dwellers had moved out only the day before".[207] The text is dominated by images of decay—of things in the transition between life and death—as Mrs. and Mr. Allan are struck by the haunting smell of "rocks and shingle, which smelt vilely, at certain tides, of decaying fish".[208] The Allans are attracted to the county's famed reputation as a health tourist site; Mrs Allan is concerned about her pale and fretful young son, and "hoped everything for him from an open-air summer by the sea", suggesting the traveller's body is permeable to Cornwall's natural forces.[209] While this is initially promoted as a benefit, it becomes quickly apparent that the reverse can be true—if the body is open to Cornwall's atmosphere for the sake of healing, it can also be open to sickness and contagion. The water there is fatal in a variety of different ways. Mr Allan jokes about the house being possibly haunted:

> The kind of ghosts that crawl up pipes and through crevices, and stalk along the passages, particularly in damp weather. Greenish, scummy ghosts, with phosphorescent eyes, that come through locked doors and grip you by the throat when you're asleep—Ghosts ---

These are distinctly watery ghosts, dependent upon the idea of water being both essential to life and fatal and threatening. The phosphorescent eyes allude to the "corpse-lights" that forewarn of death on the coast. Mrs. Jago, the housemaid, explains:

> the corpse-lights seen on the burrow sands before the wreck the previous winter, and how the body of the man drowned at Trescoe had been washed up, three weeks later, at Rennuthnoe waterstairs, where

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[207] Margery Williams, "The Last Mitchell Part 1", *Temple Bar: A Monthly Magazine for Town and Country Readers* (1905), p. 91.
[208] "Mitchell: Part 1", p. 91.
[209] "Mitchell: Part 1", p. 92.

the fishermen tied their boats, half eaten by crabs and with green seaweed in his beard.[210]

This story is founded in the horror of the water, as is Mrs. Jago's earlier grisly tale of "a fire in Rennuthno, in which two women had been burned to death because the water had been turned off".[211] Both water and its absence are deadly, indicative of the terse relationship of the Cornish with their necessary but unforgiving sea. Later, young Jethro drowns, and Mr. Allan very nearly catches typhoid through swimming in the sewage-laden sea. This narrative pitches the romanticised image of Cornwall's seas, laden with health benefits, against the Gothic vision of Cornwall's treacherous waters.

Mrs. Jago's reference to the corpse-lights—and their seeming accuracy in foretelling the drowning of the sailors and the return of the eponymous last Mitchell—derives from a longer history of lights forewarning death. The article "The Corpse Candle" (1906), published just one year after "The Last Mitchell", describes multiple instances of corpse-lights, or corpse candles, across the century. It opens by referring to the sextons' song about the corpse-candle in William Harrison Ainsworth's *Rookwood* (1834), before referencing "painstaking antiquary" John Higson, who states that

> on autumnal evenings, the flickering flame (carburetted hydrogen, spontaneously ignited) of the Corpse Candle, Will o' th' Wisp, or Jack, or Pega-Lantern (for the sex was not clearly ascertained), performed his or her fantastic and impossible jumps in the splashy meadows near edge Lane, the terror of many a simple-minded rustic.[212]

The corpse-lights are associated with simple-mindedness, rurality, primitivity, and the backward superstitions of country folk. There are specific rules attached to the corpse-lights, such as how "[i]f the light is small and bluish it denotes a child, if several lights are seen it indicates that more than one corpse will be buried at once", and that "[t]he light varies in colour—that for a man is read. There is a large candle for an adult".[213] The corpse light is emblematic of the flimsy membrane between life and death, and functions as a form of fatalistic predetermination. The corpse lights,

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[210] "Mitchell: Part 1", p.94-5.
[211] "Mitchell: Part 1", p. 95.
[212] Anon., "The Corpse Candle", *The Gentleman's Magazine* (Sep 1906), p.314.
[213] "The Corpse Candle", p. 315.

rather than being ghosts of people who have died, are the imprints of people who *will* die. In this way, they confuse the trajectory of linear time, and provide a means for communities to articulate anxieties surrounding particularly dangerous places. "The Last Mitchell" is ultimately a Cornish Gothic narrative about the possibility of being haunted by future events, as the Cornish feared the consequences of modernity and progress on their homeland and identity. Anxiety over both the past and the future coexist in the liminal possibilities of the Gothic shipwreck narrative.

Conclusion

Depictions of Cornish shipwreck narratives in Gothic fiction contribute to the construction of Cornwall as a Gothic place. They are fundamentally informed and inspired by the existing construction of Cornwall as a barbarous, wild, and criminal space, and this in turn sensationalises and exaggerates the perception of Cornwall as a notorious wrecking site. These shipwreck narratives recurrently use the shipwreck as microcosm of the collapsed state and are drawn parallel to Cornwall's own cultural and economic "wrecking" across the nineteenth century. They represent anxieties surrounding the fallibilities and vulnerabilities of Cornwall in this period, not just due to the collapse of the mining industry (through the shared imagery of the subterranean and the subaquatic), but due to Cornwall's permeability as a space surrounded on three sides by water. Cornish shipwreck narratives then function as manifest of anxieties surrounding invasion narratives, through the hungry, inhuman rats, and bountiful bodies washing up on Cornwall's coasts. These fatal narratives also play upon contemporary anxieties surrounding the dangers of maritime travel and the catastrophic loss of life (and financial capital) around the county's coast, and the wider country. The shipwreck, thus, is demonstrative of the complex intersections between real catastrophes and fiction across the nineteenth century, and the extent to which the Gothic is used to articulate multivalent inarticulable horrors. Cornish shipwreck narratives, and their abundant retellings and reworkings throughout the nineteenth century, are emblematic of the tendency of folklore to both inform and take inspiration from Gothic fiction throughout the period. The ease with which the shipwreck narrative lends itself to the Gothic genre is most evident in the way the wreck challenges the boundaries between surface and depth, life and death, sea

and land. The wreck of the ship is the failure of humankind's dominion over nature and an illumination of the vulnerability of humankind against the tempestuous force of the seascape. It undermines technological advancement over the waves, global economies, networks, and trade, and the very notion of modernity. By breaking the linear horizontal trajectory, the shipwreck, in plunging vertically, threatens the conception of linear historiography and the trajectory towards societal, cultural, and technological progress. In this way it embodies regression towards primitivity, and the literal and metaphorical accumulation of relics of history beneath the depths. The shipwreck legend then becomes a means through which these histories emerge, often violently, and often supernaturally, something explicit in the image of the ghost ship. Cornwall's shipwreck legends provided ample fuel for the Gothic imagination of numerous canonical authors, including, but not limited to, Sabine Baring-Gould, Wilkie Collins, Bram Stoker, and Margery Williams. These narratives thus show the significance of Cornwall to the Gothic imagination, and the significance of Cornwall to the larger history of shipwrecks.

Chapter Two
"Given up to dead folk": King Arthur and Gothic Tourism

'These Tourists, heaven preserve us!'
- 'The Brothers', William Wordsworth, 1799[1]

The development of the tourist industry and the expansion of the railways in the nineteenth century provided new access to Cornwall and its myths. Isambard Kingdom Brunel's Royal Albert Bridge crossed the Tamar in 1859, making Cornwall the last county to be connected to the national rail network, and railways within and without the county were undergoing rapid improvements. Travel was cheaper than ever before, and tourism as a leisure activity became accessible to many.[2] J. Cuming Walters, writing in 1907, describes Cornwall as a seemingly newly discovered land:

> a tour through the land which romance has marked out for her own, and where the fords, bridges, hills, and rocks are called after Arthur or associated by tradition with his exploits, becomes easier every year by the development of railways, almost unknown in that region until a decade or so ago.[3]

One of the motivations for tourists travelling into Cornwall in the nineteenth century was the possibility of glimpsing traces of the legendary King Arthur—an ambition frequently frustrated, as the journey "now results in a certain bout of disillusion. It contains no relic, nothing that can verily be imagined a relic, of the old, old times when the flower of chivalry ruled".[4] Ironically, the very means of accessing Cornwall's Arthurian past became its undoing, as increasing accessibility led to the dissolution of Cornwall's medieval past, and "Tintagel, as it is, is unique, but it is not Arthurian unless we go direct to those parts where

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[1] William Wordsworth, "The Brothers" (1800), *The Poetic Works of William Wordsworth, Vol 2: Poems Founded on the Affections; Poems on the Naming of Places; Poems of the Fancy; Poems of the Imagination* (Second Edition), ed. Ernest De Selincourt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952), l.i.
[2] Peter Mason, *Tourism Impacts, Planning and Management* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 16.
[3] J. Cuming Walters, "The Lost Land of King Arthur", *The English Illustrated Magazine* (Jul 1907), pp. 359-360.
[4] Walters, p. 360.

Nature is not and never has been molested".[5] Tourism was both exposing and eroding an ancient sense of Cornishness, and this paradox is recurrently articulated in Gothic terms throughout the Victorian and Edwardian periods. If nineteenth-century travel brought with it "a confluence of shifting, fluid, and dynamic forces" then it "also created an opposite force—a determination to impose fixity and clear boundaries, to separate 'here' and 'there', 'us' and 'them'"; "[a]n emphasis on creating fixed and mapped terrains, not only geographical, but cultural and emotional".[6] This manifests in Cornwall as a preoccupation with Cornish particularism in the face of the homogenising force of a new tourist culture threatening to inflict change upon an otherwise preserved landscape.

This chapter investigates the motivations and experiences of travellers into Cornwall at the end of the long nineteenth century, how they are bound up in notions of Cornwall as an ancient, particular, and supernatural space, and how these experiences are inflected by and articulated through Gothic language. This chapter will analyse a range of written materials, including poems, novels, short stories, periodicals, newspaper articles, travel guides and travel narratives to show how tourism into Cornwall—and tourism more generally across the long-nineteenth century—was inextricably bound up in and motivated by literariness, and that in Cornwall this literariness is distinctly Gothic. This is generated by the recurrent representation of Cornwall as a site of a re-emergent primitive, medieval past. This manifests in Gothic fiction through images of ghosts as symbols of the past haunting the present, the porousness of the membrane between life and death, and the mutability of meaning in the face of mortality. This chapter will consider images of revenants—whether ghosts haunting tourists or tourists seeking out the ghost of King Arthur—as representative of the contemporary cultural preoccupation with Cornwall as a balm to anxieties surrounding progress and identity in the long nineteenth century.

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[5] Walters, p. 360.

[6] Kate Hill, "Introduction", *Britain and the Narration of Travel in the Nineteenth Century: Texts, Images, Objects*, ed. Kate Hill (London: Taylor & Francis, 2017), p. 1.

The first part of this chapter provides an overview of the historical and critical context of Gothic and literary tourism in Cornwall in the long nineteenth century. It then demonstrates how Arthur Conan Doyle's "The Adventure of the Devil's Foot" (1910) is emblematic of the ways in which Cornish Gothic fiction drew upon ideas of a Celtic Cornish past in this period. The second part of the chapter investigates examples of Arthurian Gothic literary tourism in Cornwall in the long nineteenth century, arguing for Tintagel as a Gothic ruin and describing the ways in which Arthur's representation as a Gothic figure complicates his standing as a national figure. This chapter shows how these popular literary accounts motivated Victorian tourists to visit Tintagel, and documents their haunted, disappointing, and uncanny experiences of Tintagel as ruin, focusing on examples by Vernon Lee and Dinah Craik.

The final part of this chapter contextualises the revenant image of a Cornish Arthur to explore the notion of a haunted Cornwall more generally. It will provide an overview of a popular subgenre of the ghost story set in Cornwall in the period, whereby the stranger, traveller, or outsider to Cornwall is punished or tortured for their trespass into the county by ghosts. History in Cornwall is consistently re-emerging, whether in the form of a resurgence of interest in Arthurian Cornwall or in the persistent presence of the county's spectres.

Tourism

This section demonstrates the significance of Cornwall as a dark tourism site in this period and its elision from existing criticism on Victorian tourist culture. It will illustrate the intersections between dark tourism, Gothic tourism, and literary tourism, the birth of tourism in the nineteenth century, and the rise of tourism in Cornwall.

Dark Tourism

Since Malcolm Foley and J. John Lennon gave a name to "dark tourism" in 1996, its boundaries have been contested.[7] Dark tourism more generally refers

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[7] Malcolm Foley and J. John Lennon, "Editorial: Heart of Darkness", *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 2.4 (1996), 195-197.

to tourist sites associated with the morbid, though an offshoot, "thanatourism", deals specifically with death sites. Dark tourism, however, goes back further than its definition, as "people have long been drawn, purposefully or otherwise, towards sites, attractions, or events linked in one way or another with death, suffering, violence or disaster".[8] Cornwall has historically played a significant role in feeding the urge of the dark tourist, as the first guided tour in England "[w]as arranged in 1838 to take the people of Wadebridge by special train to the nearby town of Bodmin. They witnessed the hanging of two murderers".[9] This fed into the development of the tourist industry as we know it today, as it was Thomas Cook—still a provider of package holidays— that "took people to see hangings in Cornwall".[10] Cornwall is central to the history of dark tourism, where transport technology, criminality, and the dark voyeur are embroidered into a narrative of attraction towards sites of mortality and memory. These hangings were the "difference" John Urry insists is necessary for tourism to function. Urry proposed that that a successful tourist industry necessitates something "distinctive or unusual to gaze upon," "separated from the mundane of everyday life".[11] Cornwall's promotion of its Gothic horrors, defanged and blunted by the continual air of mysticism and fantasy surrounding these retellings, offers the tourist a ghoulish imaginative escape from the everyday. This is an example of Gothic tourism, which

> is both more and less than dark tourism. Less, in that, though some of [Philip] Stone's examples are Gothic, others are not (his list, for example, includes tourism to disaster sites, and concentration camps). More, in that there is more to Gothic tourism than "Dark Fun Factories" of the Dungeons range type, and its concerns and content cannot be contained within a spectrum concerned with death and disaster.[12]

Gothic tourism offers a more nuanced model than "dark tourism", as "'dark' does not adequately summarize the multivalences of the term 'Gothic,' and

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8 Philip Stone and Richard Sharpley, "Consuming dark tourism: A Thanatological Perspective", *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35.2 (2008), pp. 574-595.
9 D. Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1987), pp. 86-87.
10 Debra Kamin, "The Rise of Dark Tourism: When war zones become travel destinations", *The Atlantic* theatlantic.com [Accessed 6.15.19]
<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/07/the-rise-of-dark-tourism/374432/ > [Accessed 15.10.18]
11 Paul Thornton, "Cornwall and Changes in the 'Tourist Gaze', Paul Thornton", *Cornish Studies* 1 (1993), p. 82.
12 Emma McEvoy, *Gothic Tourism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p. 201.

because it does not engage with the literary models which script tourist encounters with this space".[13] Gothic tourism cannot be separated from its origins as a literary model, and this chapter will demonstrate the specific literariness of Gothic tourism to Cornwall, through examples of tourists seeking Cornwall as a literary setting, and authors writing literary reports of their own Gothic experiences of the county.

The Gothic concern with the distance and blurring between the real and the unreal lends itself to a discussion of virtual Gothic tourism. Tourists do not just want to physically visit dark tourist sites, but to encounter representations of dark tourist sites, as "the desire to journey to dark places of the past also extends to the realm of the imagination" and leads to the creation of "virtual dark tourism experiences for armchair travelers".[14] Virtual Gothic tourism allows the Victorian reader to access the tourist experience of a distant site through literary reports, whether short story, novel, travel narrative, or other.[15] There are

> continuities between the realistic worlds that the Victorians sought in their literature and visual culture, and the "virtual" worlds we create today through a variety of digital media. These representations aim not just to create alternative worlds but to give us the illusion of entering them, a journey that is itself part of the process of creation.[16]

This was enabled by technological developments, as

> even as actual travel became easier, staying at home and fantasizing about travel became a favorite pastime. A booming market developed for realistic representations of popular locations, and new ways of representing place—360-degree panoramas, foldout river maps, exhaustive railway guides—seemed to offer themselves as substitutes for actual travel.[17]

Gothic virtual literary tourism, on the other hand, provides an antidote to the realistic virtual representation of space, and instead illustrates a fantastical escape, whereby the reader can experience the danger and difference of the

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[13] Catherine Spooner, *Post-Millennial Gothic: Comedy, Romance and the Rise of Happy Gothic* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), p. 166.

[14] Kathryn N. McDaniel, "Introduction", *Virtual Dark Tourism: Ghost Roads* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), p. 1.

[15] For more on Gothic tourism see Emma McEvoy, "Gothic Tourism", *The Gothic World*, eds. Glennis Byron and Dale Townshend (Routledge, 2013), pp. and Dale Townshend, "Ruins, Romance and the Rise of Gothic Tourism: The Case of Netley Abbey, 1750-1830", *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37.3 (2014) pp. 377-394.

[16] Alison Byerly, *Are We There Yet? Virtual Travel and Victorian Realism* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2012), p. 166.

[17] Byerly, p. 2.

exotic from the safety of their own home—a key characteristic of the Gothic as a literary mode:

> In the Gothic narrative convolutions and editorial interventions, paratextual apparatuses intervene between the reader and the pure articulation of horror so that a kind of sublime distance can be achieved, the kind described by Burke when he spoke of sublime horror as being based in part in a realisation by the observer that she is actually safe from any real physical threat. The "dreadful pleasure" evoked by both the sublime and the Gothic is dependent on the fact that danger and threat are not too close to the observer/reader.[18]

There was something transgressive in this creation of distance, as "[d]enizens of the Age of Reason were equally eager to experience medieval barbarity at the safe distance. Gothic novels, read in the safe spaces of their middle-class homes in a more enlightened era, turned forbidden thrills into acceptable titillation".[19] This recurs in Gothic travel narratives, as "[t]ourists from civilized countries become victims of excesses, revenge and human sacrifices far away from the safety of home", and "traveling is never safe, more so because of the encounter of the other in the distant land".[20] Gothic fiction provides "'transportation' through travel to the darkest 'retreats' of history".[21] In the nineteenth century travel is recurrently represented as not just the movement into a different place, but into another time. The rise of the Gothic genre coincided with the rise of travel writing. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when "English tourists travelled to the continent, they moved through time as well as space. This emphasis informs the early Gothic novel and contributes to its fictional representations".[22] This provides an example of the anachronism "which is central to the Gothic tradition".[23] In Cornish virtual dark tourism, the novel, short story, or travel narrative transports readers into a Cornish past and allows them to experience a primitive,

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[18] Jarlath Killeen, *Gothic Literature 1825-1914* (University of Wales Press, 2009), p. 161.
[19] Lori A. Paige, *The Gothic Romance Wave: A Critical History of the Mass Market Novels, 1960-1993* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2018), p. 40.
[20] Enrique Ajuria Ibarra, "Gothic Re-Constructions: Mayan Ruins and Tourist Horror in The Ruins", *Tropical Gothic in Literature and Culture: The Americas*, eds. Justin D. Edwards and Sandra G. T. Vasconcelos (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 120.
[21] Robert Mighall in *A Geography of Victorian Gothic Fiction: Mapping History's Nightmares* (2003), p. 16.
[22] Mighall, p. 16.
[23] Mighall, p. 16.

barbarous history as a thrilling counter—or "difference"—to their everyday, modern world.

Nineteenth-Century Literary Tourism

The nineteenth-century tourist boom was generated by increasingly cheap and accessible travel options, new travel technologies, and new communication technologies, of which colonialism "was both a product and a driver".[24] Travel and tourism provided opportunities for people to encounter the "Other"—new people, new places, new languages, and new cultures.[25] In the Cornish encounter with the tourist both the tourist and the Cornish body can function as "Other" depending upon the agenda of the author or protagonist. In the late eighteenth century the term "tourist" became distinct from (and lesser than) the traveller.[26] While "traveller" conjures images of the independent adventurer conquering new lands, the tourist walks well-trodden paths and threatens to "remak[e] whole regions in their homogenous image".[27] Such a threat is central to the particular, insular Cornish peoples' simultaneous rejection of and collusion with the tourist boom in the nineteenth century. In Gothic terms, tourism is the mechanism by which the county decays. Specifically, tourism in the nineteenth century was seen as a process which "simulates travel, sometimes quite closely. …But it is different in crucial ways. It is not self-directed but externally directed. You go not where you want to go but where the industry has decreed you shall go".[28] Often the external force which "decreed" where the tourist should go was literature. This so called "literary tourism" developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and describes how "reading, at least for a noticeable and mainstream category of literature's consumers, becomes progressively and differentially locked to place".[29] Tourists sought to visit the sites of their literary favourites as almost an act of "literary

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[24] Kate Hill, *Britain and the Narration of Travel in the Nineteenth Century: Texts, Images, Objects* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2017), p. 2.

[25] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), p. 3.

[26] James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to 'Culture', 1800–1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 1.

[27] Buzard, p. 2.

[28] Paul Fussell, *The Norton Book of Travel* (New York: Norton, 1987), p. 651.

[29] Nicola J. Watson, "Introduction", *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture,* ed. Nicola J. Watson (London: Palgrave, 2009), p. 1.

pilgrimage".[30] Literary tourism was enabled by nineteenth-century realism where locations became verifiable.[31] This chapter centres on Gothic literary tourism as a response or counter to realist literary tourism, where the literary sites pursued cannot be verified due to their mythical, fantastical, or supernatural nature, and serve to frustrate, disappoint, or frighten the tourist in their unfixity, liminality, and alterity. This manifests in its most blatant terms in the image of a spectral Tintagel encountered by literary tourists pursuing Tennyson's Arthur across the nineteenth century, though is continually present in other narratives of a haunted Cornwall, where the literary tourist site defies realist verification and challenges the rational mind.

Tourism in Cornwall

Cornwall's connection to the rail network and consequent increased presence in literature, periodicals, and travel writing made it a popular tourist destination in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[32] Today, tourism into Cornwall contributes £1.8 billion to Cornwall's £9 billion economy, and in the summer months the population doubles in size.[33] Anxiety persists as to the potential damaging effects of tourists on the county, its resources, and its sense of identity, and finds its roots in the nineteenth century origins of Cornish tourism.[34] The birth of Cornish tourism engaged with, responded to, and was complicated by other changes to the county across the century:

> Despite undergoing an early "proto" industrialisation, the economic situation in Cornwall deteriorated in the nineteenth century. By the end of the century both agriculture and industry were in decline and as a result there was a mass migration of many of the county's workforce. Meanwhile improvements in the transport network, particularly the railways, coupled with an interest in Romanticism in general, and the

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[30] Watson, p. 2.
[31] Watson, p. 3.
[32] For a more specific analysis of Cornwall's railways see the chapter on Thomas Hardy's *A Pair of Blue Eyes*.
[33] Oliver Vergnault, " The real effect millions of tourists have on Cornwall's roads, crime, public services and your water bill ", *Cornwall Live* (21 May 2018), <https://www.cornwalllive.com/news/cornwall-news/real-effect-millions-tourists-cornwalls1565889 > [Accessed 21.05.19]
[34] Charlotte Becquart, "Tourism boss still fighting against overcrowding a year on from Cornwall's 'sustainability' crisis", *CornwallLive*, cornwalllive.com (7 Aug 2019) <https://www.cornwalllive.com/news/tourism-boss-still-fighting-against-3176119> [Accessed 14 Aug 2019]

Celts in particular, produced a great deal of interest in the region with a huge proliferation in the number of incomers.[35]

These incomers were encountering a broken and deprived county suffering a descent from industrial glory. Key Cornish intellectuals saw the economic importance of developing a Cornish tourist industry and consequently the *Cornish Magazine*, edited by Arthur Quiller-Couch, ran a series of articles on the topic in 1898. Yet, later in his career, Quiller-Couch comes to regret the editorial decision to promote Cornwall as a tourist space:

> In the early numbers of our *Cornish Magazine* a host of contributors (some of them highly distinguished) discussed the question, "How to develop Cornwall as a holiday resort." "How to bedevil it" was, I fear, our name in the editorial office for this correspondence. More and more as the debate went on I found myself out of sympathy with it.[36]

Quiller-Couch was a leading light in encouraging the modernisation of Cornwall and denounced those who favoured the preservation of history over the nurturing of progress. Quiller-Couch's Cornish Celtic fantasy was a modern one:

> It is all very pretty for a visitor to tell us that the charm of Cornwall is its primaeval charm, that it seems to sleep an enchanted sleep, and so on, but we who inhabit her wish (and not altogether from mercenary motives) to see her something better than a museum of a dead past.[37]

To Quiller-Couch's frustration it seemed that visitors to the county *wanted* to visit "a museum of a dead past", and that the tourist industry was centred on the revival of Cornwall's history rather than motivating progress towards "something better". In the nineteenth century, "substantial numbers of city dwellers began to turn to nearby towns for an escape, however brief, from the cities".[38] Tourists escaping industrial atmospheres gravitated towards a locale where industry had very recently expired—towards a graveyard of industry, still littered with its remains. This sense of escape from the industrialised, modern metropole was exaggerated by the perception of the Cornish as an ancient, Celtic people, further exaggerating their "difference". The popular perception of the Cornish as racially distinct Celts was an attractive feature for Victorian tourists, as "[t]he

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[35] Samantha Rayne, "Henry Jenner and the Celtic Revival in Cornwall" (PhD Thesis: University of Exeter, 2011), p. 195.
[36] Arthur Quiller-Couch, *From a Cornish Window* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 192-193.
[37] Quiller-Couch, pp. 192-193.
[38] Qtd. by Thornton, *Cornish Studies* 1, p. 83.

Cornish must maintain the image of the dreamy Celtic Bard that the educated tourist requires".[39] The loss of industry necessitated that the Cornish reach *back* to an imagined Celtic past for a sense of stable identity, where Celtic Revival "figures like [Henry] Jenner were able to draw on the observations made in earlier centuries to construct a convincing historical Celtic identity for Cornwall and the Cornish people".[40] This re-emergence of an older sense of Cornishness attracted tourists eager to confront history in the flesh. In 1900 the Mayor of Truro called a conference on Cornwall's tourist identity. A working party was formed, with Arthur Quiller-Couch as chairman. The party was largely unsuccessful, as they "could not agree on what Cornwall's collective tourist identity was, or, indeed, whether it had one at all".[41] Fellow author Sabine Baring-Gould was keen to promote Cornwall as a Celtic heritage tourist destination, as

> [t]o him, tourism was an entirely welcome and preferred alternative to mining. Instead of labouring underground to prise copper out of the rocks, he argued, Cornishmen could now, with little effort, receive it, ready minted, from the hands of "trainloads of tourists" [...] and if Celtic myths and legends could help to bring visitors, then so much the better.[42]

Sabine Baring-Gould and Arthur Quiller-Couch's active participation in discussions surrounding nineteenth-century Cornish tourism is demonstrative of the intersections and collaborations between authors of Gothic fiction and the developing tourist industry.

Arthur Conan Doyle's "The Adventure of the Devil's Foot"

Visitors from urban centres flocking to visit a newly accessible Cornwall were in part motivated by the pursuit of Celticism, and in part by the county's supposed health benefits. In the mid-nineteenth-century Penzance "offered itself as a health resort", and Cornwall's early tourism has been described as "health

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[39] Simon Trezise, *The West Country as a Literary Invention: Putting Fiction in its Place* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), p. 183.
[40] Trezise, p. 183.
[41] Ronald Perry, "The Changing Face of Celtic Tourism in Cornwall, 1875-1975", *Cornish Studies*, 7 (1999), p. 97.
[42] Perry, p. 98.

tourism".[43] The 1890 *Guide to Penzance* describes the town as "climatically extremely mild and suitable for invalids".[44] Two of Cornwall's most famous health tourists were Sherlock Holmes and Dr John Watson. In Arthur Conan Doyle's short story "The Adventure of the Devil's Foot" (1901), Holmes and Watson take a holiday in Cornwall for the sake of Holmes' health, attracted by both the county's supposed therapeutic properties and its ancient artefacts. Inevitably, their peace is punctured by a terrible crime—two people are found murdered, their faces frozen in rictus grins, and a further two have been driven insane. Holmes and Watson conclude that their table lamp has been laced with poison, left there by a gallivanting imperial explorer, jealous of the family's mining fortune. Holmes and Watson discover the solution to the criminal puzzle by inhaling the burning "Devil's root" poison, and Holmes is only saved by Watson carrying him outside into the fresh Cornish air. Holmes is literally revived by Cornwall's natural therapeutic properties, and nearly killed by a manifestation of the perceived turn in the county's "mining fortune" in the period. There is a further implication here that the county itself is somewhat fatally, macabrely preserved in its own rictus state. While Watson is motivated to visit the county by its advertised health benefits, Holmes is more attracted to the county's reputation for being a doorway into the past, and a means of encountering lost civilisations:

> in every direction upon these moors there were traces of some vanished race which had passed utterly away, and left as its sole record strange monuments of stone, irregular mounds which contained the buried ashes of the dead, and curious earthworks which hinted at prehistoric strife.[45]

Cornwall functions as a ruin—a monument, a memorial, a reminder of morality and the inevitability of decline. The tale is emblematic of the factors that made Cornwall an attractive Gothic tourist site in the long nineteenth century—its tangible ancientness, its potential as an antiquarian site, and this sense of historical decay in tension with its promotion as a health destination. Sherlock, then, is the archetypal nineteenth-century English tourist in Cornwall—a

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[43] Qtd. by Philip Payton and Paul Thornton, "The Great Western Railway and the Cornish-Celtic Revival", *Cornish Studies* 3 (1995), p. 88.

[44] Payton and Thornton, "The Great Western Railway and the Cornish-Celtic Revival", *Cornish Studies* 3 (1995), p. 89.

[45] Arthur Conan Doyle, "The Adventure of the Devil's Foot", *His Last Bow: A Reminiscence of Sherlock Holmes* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1917), p. 242.

middleclass health tourist looking for relaxation, fine air, and access to magic, mystery, and history. As Sherlock hunts diligently for Celtic artefacts, "we found ourselves, even in that land of dreams, plunged into a problem at our very doors which was more intense, more engrossing, and infinitely more mysterious than any of those which had driven us from London".[46] A terrible crime falls at their feet, and Cornwall is revealed to be even more barbarous than the city, its romantic beauties nothing more than a façade.

Watson bemoans the fact that "our simple life and peaceful, healthy routine were violently interrupted, and we were precipitated into the midst of a series of events which caused the utmost excitement not only in Cornwall but throughout the whole west of England".[47] Watson rhetorically severs Cornwall from the rest of the West Country and from the rest of England, as "many readers may retain some recollection of what was called at the time 'The Cornish Horror,' though a most imperfect account of the matter reached the London press".[48] This serves as an example of how the Victorian reading public experienced Cornwall virtually—and inaccurately. This unfamiliarity with Cornwall contributes to its uncanniness.

Reading about Cornwall's horrors, fictions, and ancient civilisations shaped the perception of Cornwall. Much of the popularity of Cornwall as a leisure site was inspired by the antiquarian publications of such figures as Robert Stephen Hawker, and when these publications "passed into print" they "often found a national market".[49] The circulation of antiquarian lore and songs of Cornwall established legend as a "key feature" of both the Celtic Revival and Cornish tourism, "although it is a truism that writing down the oral story preserves in aspic and kills continued local refinement ... it is a necessary process if the tale is to attract the wider market that its literary production requires".[50] This is addressed by the tension between Watson's "authoritative" account versus the blurry accounts transmitted to the London press. That this is a Cornish tale, written by visitors from London for a London audience,

[46] Doyle, p. 242.
[47] Doyle, p. 242.
[48] Doyle, p. 242.
[49] John Lowerson, "Celtic Tourism—Some Reent Magnets", *Cornish Studies* 2 (1994), p. 130.
[50] Lowerson, p. 130.

demonstrates that a mystical Celtic identity is frequently imposed upon the fringes by the English elite crafting a virtual Celtic Cornwall. That "the exploitation of Wales, Scotland, Ireland and Cornwall grew out of an English, middle-class hunger for healthy holidays away from vulgar mass-resorts, which was coupled with a very diffused post-Romantic landscape aesthetic, both made realisable by burgeoning transport networks".[51] This middle-class English hunger for difference manifests not just in desire for healthier environments, but in a recurrent othering of the native inhabitants.

While "The Devil's Foot" is infused with a sense of the preserved or fixed, it is enabled by the new mobility of the railway. The narrative has been described as a direct response to Great Western Railway promotional materials in the nineteenth century".[52] While Conan Doyle's stories are sometimes difficult to place, of "all the journeys undertaken during adventures in the Canon, those in 'The Devil's Foot' are most easily traced" as Watson is particularly generous in recording actual place names.[53] This tracing of the location is enabled by Cornwall's fixity, as "the area has also changed less than many other canonical sites over the last 110 years".[54] Shirley Purves locates the narrative in the Land's End due to the arrival of the new railway in May of 1887, and the circulation of a Great Western Railway poster promoting the health benefits of Cornwall:

> THE LIZARD PENINSULA England's Holiday Haunt
> You love the natural life
> You love to savour beauty, yarn a bit - R-E-L-A-
> X . . .
> Forget the "five to eight" and income tax?
> You whisper . . . yes!
> Then saunter down
> Our way
> Pardon our pride but we have so much to offer in the form of a healthful holiday![55]

In "The Adventure of the Devi's Foot" Holmes and Watson are attracted to the Cornwall as advertised as a health destination, and instead find "The Cornish

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[51] Lowerson, p. 129.
[52] Shirly Purves, "On Wheels to the Lizard: An Account of Holmes's and Watson's Journey to the Land of 'The Devil's Foot'", *Baker Street Journal* 57.3 (2007) pp. 32-37.
[53] Purves, p. 32.
[54] Purves, p. 32.
[55] Purves, p. 32.

Horror"; they are attracted to Cornwall's pure airs, and instead find air laden with burning poison, brought by foreign travellers. This narrative articulates anxieties about the potential dangers of Cornwall while also illustrating a Cornwall somehow tainted by travellers. The short story focuses on Cornwall as a Celtic, ancient space, providing both intrigue for Holmes, and necessary literal and conceptual distance from civilised, modern London. For Holmes and Watson Cornwall's continually re-emerging histories manifest in a preoccupation with the dead—whether dead civilisations or avenging the dead through solving their murders. While Holmes and Watson visited the county to confront Cornwall's ancient Phoenician and Celtic pasts, others longed to encounter a different, and highly contested, aspect of Cornwall's legendary history at Tintagel, home of the Round Table.

King Arthur

This section investigates how Victorian and Edwardian travellers sought King Arthur in Cornwall, and how their expression of their experiences in Gothic terms contributes to the construction of a Gothic Cornwall. Gothic images of castles, ruins, the supernatural, ancestry, inheritance, and bloodshed were bound to Cornwall through Arthurian narratives, and the idea that Cornwall was Arthur's homestead contributed significantly to the notion of Cornish superiority as a pillar of Cornish particularism. While the legend of Arthur is categorised as a Romance, the way in which Victorian travellers approached the site of Tintagel demarcates their experiences of the site as Gothic. Gothic travel is defined as a journey into a past, encounters with otherness and foreignness, expressions and experiences of terror and horror, the blurring of the boundary between the real and the unreal, experiences of the uncanny, and a continued emphasis on the savagery, barbarity, and particularity of Cornwall and its people. This section will provide an outline of Victorian medievalism and its influence on the Gothic, detail Arthur's significance in Cornwall, and then investigate two key case studies of canonical authors travelling to Cornwall in pursuit of a distinctly Cornish Gothic Arthur—Alfred, Lord Tennyson and Robert Stephen Hawker. These authors then created a literary output documenting

their uncovered Arthur, which in turn inspired tourists to pursue the "real" sites of the legendary figure.

Nineteenth-Century Medievalism

King Arthur is a legendary leader from medieval romances said to have defended Britain from the Saxons around the 5th-6th centuries. Historians have speculated as to Arthur's potential "real" historical origins, and he appears in numerous sources from across the British Isles and France.[56] His popularity is largely attributed to Geoffrey of Monmouth's highly popular (and highly fanciful) *Historian Regum Britanniae* (1138).[57] A Cornish Arthur later appears in *The Cornish Glosses of the Prophecy of Merlin* by John of Cornwall (c.1150), *Arthur, a short sketch of his life and history in English verse* by the Marquis of Bath (c.1428), *Itinerary* by John Leland (c.1540), *A Herring's Tale* (1598) and a *Survey of Cornwall* (1602) by Richard Carew, and *The Lives of the Saints* by Nicholas Roscarrock (c.1620). There is no one "canonical" version of Arthur, as such, but certain themes recur throughout retellings, including Arthur's Knights, wife Guinevere, father Uther, sword Excalibur, the magician Merlin, and the King's conception at Tintagel.[58] Arthur's origins are contested, and many nations and regions have claimed to be the ancestral home of the legendary King.[59] In 1905 Arthur Salmon stated that the "attempt to unravel the tangled web of Arthurian tradition is hopeless and endless".[60] It is beyond the remits of this thesis to conclude as to the ancestral homeland of King Arthur. Rather, this thesis chapter is concerned with representations of Arthur as a Cornish hero and their reception in the nineteenth century.

Interest in Arthur reached a new peak in the late 1400s with Thomas Malory's *Morte D'Arthur* (1469-70) before plummeting in the 1700s.[61] The revival of the aesthetics and legends of the Middle Ages led the resurgence of interest in Arthurian legend with the reprinting of cheap editions of *Morte*

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[56] Edward Donald Kennedy, "Introduction", in *King Arthur: A Case Book*, ed. by Edward Donald Kennedy (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. xiv-xv.

[57] Kennedy, pp. xv-xvii.

[58] Kennedy, p. xv.

[59] Graham Phillips, *The Lost Tomb of King Arthur: The Search for Camelot and the Isle of Avalon* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2016).

[60] Salmon, p. 28.

[61] Kennedy, p. xxxiii.

D'Arthur at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[62] Previous to this,

"Arthurian romance was barely known after the Renaissance" and the legends

had not only faded somewhat into obscurity, but what was left of their memory

was "regarded as lightweight and belittled".[63] Renewed interest was motivated

in part by an increased imperial fascination with borders, globalisation, national

identity, and a sense of contested Britishness which lent itself to the pursuit of a

national hero. Arthur's subsequent return to the popular British imagination was

both glorious and pervasive, and there has been a significant body of work

demonstrating Arthur's significance in the Victorian period and the enduring

historical and cultural interest in Arthur as a Victorian figure.[64] Arthur, "[a]s a

British, Christian hero ... represented moral order" in a period of national and

moral turmoil. Significantly, "interest shifted to focus on his death" later in the

century, indicative of anxieties over the decline of a particular brand of Christian

Britishness as the empire retracted and the nation became more secular.[65]

Arthur's appeal to the Victorians was further spurred by the rise of medievalism.

The definition of "medievalism" has been contested, but broadly refers to "the

movement, evident in France, Germany, and Britain in the second half of the

eighteenth century, that is variously known as romantic, the gothic, or the

medieval revival", and considers the late reception of the Middle Ages, itself a

contested or "arbitrary" term.[66] Medievalism resulted from antiquarian activities

in the eighteenth century and emerged as "high medievalism" in the nineteenth

century as a reaction against "Enlightenment classicism and reason".[67] The

term "medievalism" came into use in the 1840s in reference to art, "architecture,

literature, opera, religion, and political theory".[68] Key figures in the medieval

revival include William Morris, Algernon Swinburne, Thomas Carlyle, John

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[62] David Matthews, "Scholarship and Popular Culture in the Nineteenth Century", *A Companion to Arthurian Literature*, ed. Helen Fulton, p. 355; Kennedy, p. xxxiii.

[63] Matthews, *Companion*, p. 355.

[64] Debra N. Mancoff's *The Return of King Arthur: The Legend Through Victorian Eyes* (1995), Stephanie Barczeqski's *Myth and National Identity in Nineteenth-Century Britain: The Legends of King Arthur and Robin Hood* (2000) and Inga Bryden's *Reinventing King Arthur: The Arthurian Legends in Victorian Culture* (2005).

[65] Inga Bryden, *Reinventing King Arthur: The Arthurian Legends in Victorian Culture* Farnham: Ashgate, 2005), p. 3-4.

[66] David Matthews, *Medievalism: A Critical History* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2015), p. x.

[67] Matthews, *Critical History*, p. x.

[68] Matthews, *Critical History*, p. x.

Ruskin, and the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood.[69] Numerous chronicles followed, and the rise of Arthur was swift, "from the meanest circus to the writing of the greatest poet of the age, Alfred Tennyson".[70] Arthur's rapid ascent in the popular imagination is indicative of the myth's broad cultural appeal. Indeed,

> from an initial sampling of nineteenth-century Arthurians it is clear that a diverse group of people, from different social and cultural backgrounds, were engaged in the manufacturing of the Victorian Arthur. The texts they produced testify to the enormous variety of responses to an imagined Arthurian past. Arthurian themes were in evidence in the forms of painting, interior decoration, stained glass, statuary, tapestries, war memorials and political cartoons. In fact, the Arthurian Revival in nineteenth-century Britain was a literary and cultural phenomenon.[71]

There was a tendency across the earlier part of the century for Arthur to be reproduced and rewritten primarily by Scottish and Welsh editors and authors:

> It is hardly surprising that Arthur should not have a particularly English appeal at this point. There was, of course, nothing English about him. The historical Arthur, if he existed, actually fought *against* the ancestors of the English. This was something that was quite well understood at the time.[72]

Arthur raised—and responded to—inconvenient questions about national identity, England's relationship with its surrounding Celtic nations, and the relationship between "authentic" histories and fables. By the latter half of the century Arthur became "Englished"[73]—a nostalgic manifestation of a seemingly simpler time as antidote to the disorientation of modernity, entrenched in a medieval past thought to be the source of English civilisation.[74]

While Arthur was being claimed as a distinctively English figure, authors such as Robert Stephen Hawker were working on reclaiming him for the Cornish, as "Arthur, no less than the Cornish chough, was symbol supreme of Celtic resistance, of nationhood, of language".[75] This tactic backfired as Tintagel "became a kind of pilgrimage site" where "a wealth of Arthurian trappings was devised to play on Arthurian themes" and "all kinds of new

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[69] Matthews, *Critical History*, p. x.
[70] Matthews, *Companion*, p. 356
[71] Bryden, pp. 1-2.
[72] Matthews, *Companion*, p. 360.
[73] Matthews, *Companion*, p. 361.
[74] Matthews, *Companion*, p. 362.
[75] Alan M. Kent, "Introduction", *Inside Merlin's Cave: A Cornish Arthurian Reader 1000-2000*, ed. Alan M. Kent (London: Francis Boutle, 2000), p. 17.

expressions of Arthuriana began to emerge".[76] Cornish Revivalists worked to reclaim Arthur as a figure of Cornish authenticity and Celtic resistance only for the King, his knights, and his table to be absorbed into a capitalistic and consumer-orientated tourist narrative which emphasised Cornwall as a Romantic site. Gothic interpretations of Arthur, and Tintagel, seek to redress this balance by stripping away the romantic gloss and instead representing Tintagel as a rugged, violent space worthy of the harsh "realities" of Arthur's career as a Celtic chieftain. Gothic Arthurian Cornish tourism, then, is an act of cultural "re-fanging".

The Arthurian legend is closely bound up in the Tristan and Iseult romance, whereby the Cornish knight Tristan (sometimes Tristram) falls in love with the Irish princess Iseult (sometimes Isolde or Yseult). The Arthurian romance of Lancelot and Guinevere likely derives from Tristan and Iseult. It is probable that this Arthur-Lancelot-Guinevere/King Mark-Tristan-Iseult love triangle as a medieval courtly love motif influenced the numerous love triangles in Victorian fiction and in Victorian Cornish Gothic fiction in particular, for example, in Hardy's *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, Stoker's "The Coming of Abel Behenna", and Wilkie Collins's *Basil* (1852). The Tristan and Iseult romance was popularised across the nineteenth century with Tennyson's "The Last Tournament" section of *Idylls of the King*, Matthew Arnold's *Tristram and Iseult* (1852), and Algernon Charles Swinburne's *Tristram of Lyonesse* (1882). These works served to cement the relationship between Cornwall and Arthurian romance in the nineteenth century. Notably, nineteenth-century Cornish author Arthur Quiller-Couch began a modernisation of the myth in *Castle Dor*, though he died before its completion. It was eventually finished by Cornish Gothic author Daphne du Maurier in 1962. This is demonstrative of the endurance of the influence of Arthurian romance on the Cornish Gothic into the twentieth century. The rise in medievalism and Arthurianism is explicitly entwined with "the popularization of the Graveyard poets" and "the birth of the Gothic novel".[77] The term "Gothic"

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[76] Kent, p. 18.
[77] Lorretta M. Holloway and Jennifer Palmgren, "Introduction", *Beyond Arthurian Romance*, ed. Jennifer A. Palmgren and Lorretta M. Holloway (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 1.

could be used in a relatively simple sense to refer generally to the Middle Ages: in the second edition of his *Castle of Otranto* (1795), Walpole added the subtitle "A Gothic Story" and by it he meant simply that it was set in the Middle Ages. It was only later that the "gothic novel" was taken as requiring the trappings of *Castle of Otranto*: the repressed past, ghosts in the present, chivalry and villains, oppressed maidens, crumbling castles and cryptic subterranean spaces.[78]

As the Gothic novel arose from the chivalric romance and a preoccupation with the Middle Ages as an antidote to Enlightenment thought, so the resurgence of the Arthurian romance in the nineteenth century influenced and was influenced by the Victorian Gothic novel. The changing form of Romance, and its relationship with the Gothic, is motivated by this continuing preoccupation with distance or dislocation, as "[o]riginality, not a medieval setting, is the vital component of the evolving literature of terror", where romantic and the Gothic recurrently share "a revolt against the representation of common experience and familiar situations ".[79] The use of Arthurian imagery in the Gothic is a further toying with tradition and its linearity, and is employed by authors to generate a specifically Gothic sense of "difference".

The medieval and romantic tropes of early Gothic fiction take form in the Victorian Gothic novel as a kneejerk resistance to modernity and an anxiety over potential personal, racial, spiritual, and social regression into a more barbarous past:

> Victorian Gothic fiction is obsessed with identifying and depicting the threatening reminders or scandalous vestiges of an age from which the present is relieved to have distanced itself. Where the "vestigial" is found (in monasteries, prisons, lunatic asylums, the urban slums, or even the bodies, minds, or psyches of criminals, deviants or relatively "normal" subjects) depends upon historical circumstances.[80]

This is a failure to "eradicate the medieval remnants that can still be found" in Victorian society and culture.[81] The revived significance of Arthur serves as a medieval remnant of a time both nostalgically revered and feared. An Arthurian Cornwall serves as a threatening "vestige", both attractive and repulsive, and both antidote and threat to modern civilisation. W. E. H. Lecky's *History of the*

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[78] Matthews, *Critical History*, p. 51.
[79] E. J. Clery, "The Genesis of 'Gothic' Fiction", in *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction*, ed. by Jerrold E. Hogle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 35.
[80] Mighall, p. 26.
[81] Jarleth Killeen, *Gothic Literature 1825-1914*, p. 13.

Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe (1864) expresses anxiety that "medieval habits of thought" persisted in parts which are "most torpid and isolated".[82] Robert Mighall points out that this text is one of many which pits the past against the present to reveal "troubling reminders of the 'dark ages'", and states that Gothic novels "dramatize a conflict between representatives of 'modernity' and those who stand for the past".[83] A Gothic Arthurian Cornwall is emblematic of this conflict and the threat of "medieval habits of thought" surviving in the "most torpid and isolated" of places. Tourists visited Cornwall in the nineteenth century in pursuit of these medieval habits.

Arthur in Cornwall

Arthur is deeply entwined with the Cornish landscape and culture. Geoffrey of Monmouth specifically located the King's seat in Tintagel, on the North Coast of Cornwall. Geoffrey's account was, and continues to be, popular and influential, and inspired Richard 1st, Earl of Cornwall to build a castle there, the ruins of which are still visible today. For Laurie A. Finke and Susan Aronstein this was an attempt to sustain a metonymy "between the Plantagenet monarchy and the imagined imperial glory of the Arthurian past by building a castle on a nearly inaccessible stretch of the Cornish coast—a place that had no military or economic use".[84] Tintagel has existed and continues to exist as an imaginative framework to uphold a national mythology; a Cornish epic fantasy; "an extravagant piece of political mythmaking", though by 1337 the project was abandoned, and already "decayed and ruinous" before being repurposed as a prison.[85] There is, however, significant archaeological evidence supporting Tintagel's status as an ancient and economically and culturally significant international port, as well as a historic royal seat of political importance.[86] Finke

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[82] Qtd. by Mighall, p. 6.

[83] Mighall, p. 6-7.

[84] Laurie Finke and Susan Aronstein, "Conjuring the Ghosts of Camelot: Tintagel and the Medievalism of Heritage Tourism", *Medieval Afterlives in Contemporary Culture*, ed. Gail Ashton (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), p. 203.

[85] Finke and Aronstein, p. 203.

[86] See Steve Morris, "Inscribed seventh-century window ledge unearthed at Tintagel", *The Guardian* 15 Jun 2018 < https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/jun/15/inscribed-7thcentury-window-ledge-tintagel-cornwall > [Accessed 21 Jan 2020]; Steven Morris, "Tintagel excavations reveal refined tastes of medieval settlers", *The Guardian* 13 Jul 2017 < https://www.theguardian.com/science/2017/jul/13/tintagel-excavations-reveal-refined-tastes-ofmedieval-settlers > [Accessed 21 Jan 2020]; Deborah J. Shepherd, *Daily Life in Arthurian Britain* (London: ABC-CLIO, 2013), p. 173.

and Aronstein's assumption is itself demonstrative of competing impressions of Cornwall—as a dislocated headland and as a globally central trading port.

Robert Stephen Hawker's work marks the point at which the Cornish, and folklorists and antiquarians of Cornwall, begin to attempt to reclaim Arthur as a specifically Cornish, regional figure of resistance and rebellion, as opposed to a sanitised, unifying national hero. Hawker repeats his claim upon Arthur in *The Sisters of Glen Nectan* in 1831, and it is Hawker who Tennyson enquires after while travelling through Cornwall in the 1850s, keen to glean more from his significant body of antiquarian research into Arthur.

In Hawker's later "The Quest of the Sangraal" (1863) Arthur is haunted by the idea of the passing of time erasing his own significance—a particularly pertinent concern for Arthur to have during the Victorian revival of Arthurian narrative after two centuries of relative silence. Arthur is insistent that his memory remain local:

> My Blood will perish when these Veins are dry : / Yet am I fain some Deeds of mine should live, -- / I would not be forgotten in this land : / I yearn, that Men I know not, Men unborn, / Should find, amid these Fields, King Arthur's Fame! / Here let them say, by proud Dundagel's Walls, -- / They brought The Sangraal back by his command, -- / They touch'd these rugged Rocks with Hues of God : / So shall my Name have Worship, and my Land![87]

Hawker definitively anchors the narrative in Cornwall, using real landmarks and place names. Arthur ejaculates "Ah! native Cornwall!" and "Dundagel" (Tintagel) is oft repeated. Hawker references Saint Nectan's Lieve and Ruddy Tor (RouTor), as well as St Michael's Mount and Carradon (Caradon). The epic is saturated in sea imagery, screaming waves, and churning oceans, and the reader is reminded of an ancient Cornwall with "moorland pathways worn by Angel-feet"—a place of pilgrimage, long before any known civilisations established communities on the peninsula.

Hawker's narrative itself is a travel narrative, as the numerous appendices document Hawker's investigations into Arthurian legend in Cornwall. He describes his own pilgrimages across the county to see with his

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[87] Hawker, p. 20.

own eyes the sites of these mythic happenings, as "When I visited His Kieve in 1830 the outline of an Oratory, or the Reliques of a Hermitage, stood by the Brook, on a Knoll, just where the Waters took their leap".[88] Hawker, like Tennyson, found his version of Arthur through experiencing the landscape and landmarks of Cornwall, embedding the tradition in Cornish particularity. Authors attracted to Cornwall's myths immerse themselves in the landscape, are inspired to pen their own Cornish narratives, which in turn inspire others—in this case, Tennyson, who himself inspired and continues to inspire countless visitors to the county. This cyclical process of influence and intertext lends itself to Gothic images of inheritance and reanimation, present in "The Quest for the Sangraal" through the language of blood, ancestry, spectres, ghouls, and ghastly monsters, locating the Arthurian epic firmly in both Cornwall and the Victorian Gothic tradition.

While Medieval descriptions of Arthur may have revelled in glory and chivalry, the Victorians were more conscious of Arthur's temporal distance, and his absence from the national narrative for more than two centuries. Representations of Arthur in this period—and in this particular place—are more self-aware of Arthur's slipperiness in his history and his wealth of internal contradictions.[89] The many manifestations and recreations of Arthur called national history itself into doubt, and Arthuriana and Tintagel were seen to be an increasingly unstable foundation upon which to build a sense of national self. These complications and challenges to the romance of the Arthurian myth manifest recurrently in Gothic terms in Cornwall—in ghosts, spectres, and wasteland.

In this period the ruins of Tintagel themselves were thought to "conjur[e] up the ghosts of Camelot".[90] Tintagel functions as a Gothic ruin in as much as it is "a place of memory and a substantial, material, albeit deteriorated, message from the past"[91] and "a central link to the decline of the past".[92] If Cornwall functions as a microcosm for a re-emergent ancient past, then Tintagel is a

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[88] Hawker, p. 27.
[89] Kent, p. 17.
[90] Finke and Aronstein, p. 203.
[91] Margarita Georgieva, *The Gothic Child* (New York: Springer, 2013), p. 109.
[92] Martina Moeller, *Rubble, Ruins and Romanticism: Visual Style, Narration and Identity in German Post-War Cinema* (Münster: Verlag, 2014), p. 80.

microcosm within a microcosm, its degeneration and fragmentation emblematic of Cornwall's own fall from Arthurian glory in an age of drastic economic and cultural decline. The image of that decline—a reminder of grandeur lost—then becomes an ironic magnet for tourists plugging the economic holes left by said decline. The Gothic ruin appears, primarily, in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Gothic novels, embodying "melancholy, nostalgia, and mourning over lost beliefs and traditions".[93] The Gothic ruin came to represent the tension between the desire to preserve history and an emerging capitalistic, bourgeois commodification of historical artefacts as status symbols.[94] This is exemplified in Tintagel as a draw for antiquarians and tourists alike, and Tintagel as Gothic ruin provides a potent image for the understanding of Victorian heritage tourism.

J. Cuming Walters' (1863-1933) *The Lost Land of King Arthur*, serialised in *The English Illustrated Magazine* in 1907, entrenches Arthur firmly in the materiality of Tintagel's ruins. Notably, Walters was a biographer of Tennyson, having penned *In Tennyson Land* (1890) and *Tennyson: Poet, Philosopher, Idealist* (1893). It is clear that Walters' interpretation of an Arthurian Cornwall is inflected by Tennyson's Gothic Arthur, and the ways in which conceptions of Arthur shaped the popular perception of Cornwall in the period in Gothic terms. Much of Walters' analysis is dependent upon the way the imagination can compensate for the absence of any physical trace of Arthur in Cornwall, and how this imaginative work lends itself to Arthur's adaptability as a national and regional figure throughout the ages. Walters makes the simultaneous presence and absence of Arthur explicit:

> It is said in some of the romances that twice a year the Castle of Tintagel becomes invisible to the eyes of the common people. To-day it is only in imagination that we can perceive the real castle of Arthur, for whatever British fortress may ever have risen on these heights has long since vanished—crumbled away into dust which is as nothingness.[95]

The castle of Tintagel itself is spectral. The idea that Arthur is of Cornwall lends itself to a sense of Cornish superiority and particularism embedded in

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[93] Diane Long Hoeveler, "Ruins", *The Encyclopaedia of the Gothic*, ed. William Hughes, David Punter, and Andrew Smith (London: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), p. 579.
[94] Long Hoeveler, p. 579.
[95] Walters, p. 362.

ancientness, myth, magic, and the supernatural. That the source of this superiority takes the form of "dust which is as nothingness" is indicative of the fragility of Cornish particularism and the instability of its foundations. Later, Walters refers to the site as "a manifestation of remorselessness, a suggestion of irreparable ruin, desolation and loss", and marvels at "its wild sublimity in ruins".[96] Walters' goes on to describe the impression of Tintagel on curious tourists:

> The gigantic impression of a foot is pointed out to the credulous pilgrims. It is the print left by King Arthur's foot when he strode across the chasm—backwards! This is as much to be relied upon as the fact that the basins worn by the winds and waves in the rocks were King Arthur's cups and saucers, and that a dizzy dip of the heights over the sea constituted his chair. It is surprising that the immense and awe-inspiring caverns have escaped the fate of being called King Arthur's drinking bowls. Yet all these conceits have their value as proof of the deep-rooted belief in the king's might as a monarch and his stupendous stature as a man. The hero is rapidly passing into the myth when such attributes are ascribed to him.[97]

The preoccupation with Arthur is a cultural "backwards stride" towards a time of ancient glory in the face of present cultural and economic decline. The association of Arthur with the landscape exaggerates the idea that Arthur could not have been born anywhere else, and while historical evidence as to Cornwall-as-Camelot is scanty, the evidence is embedded in the fabric of the landscape itself. That Arthur's imagined gigantism is to scale with his greatness and significance in the popular imagination lends itself to an analysis of the recurrence of giants in Cornish mythology. Dinak Craik's Tintagel travel narrative, described in more detail later in this chapter, compares Arthur to the giants, and to the Cornish legend of Jack the Giant Killer. The giants that tromp across the moorlands and rockscapes of the county are representative of the recurrent emphasis on Cornish superiority; their symbolic grandeur taking physical form.

Walters describes Tintagel as resisting representation, as "Tintagel is to be seen, scarcely to be described".[98] The way in which Tintagel resists the limitations of language and transcends meaning is emblematic of the Gothic

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[96] Walters, p. 364; p. 365.
[97] Walters, p. 364.
[98] Walters, p. 364.

sublime, as it is "these sites of incoherence which the Gothic is focused upon" which pose "inherent instability", as "[i]n the sublime the subject is threatened with annihilation in ways which directly correspond to how the Gothic subject is precariously posed on thresholds between the human and inhuman, sanity and insanity, and conscious and unconscious".[99] Tintagel is a sublime threshold (exaggerated by its geographical location as a littoral space) which destabilises understanding and threatens Gothic incoherence.

Walters continually emphasises the way in which "from many a rocky verge can be seen the dark remnants of Arthur's fortress, inaccessible on all sides but one", in the same way Cornwall is surrounded on water by three sides, only accessible by land through the single side connected to the rest of England above the Tamar. The ruination of Tintagel is continually emphasised, the "fallen walls which imperfectly outline the shape of what were once spacious royal chambers", where "the fortifications are in ruin, and the battlemented walls which encompassed the massive steeps are now nothing but disconnected strips over which the curious travellers looks into the angry waters grinding and regurgitating far below", and "the noble bridge . . . must alone be imagined". Walters asks the reader, or traveller, to fill the semantic gaps left behind by the passage of time. The sea conspires with the imagination of the traveller to create mystic, ancient Cornwall, and "displays most vividly the marvel and magic of the rugged coast", as:

> The towering rocks have been wrought by time and carved by wind and wave into grotesque images, broken at the base into sunless caves, worn at the heights into sharp and gleaming pinnacles, fretted and cut, rounded and cracked, sundered and cast down, the massive blocks made veritably the sport of the elements, so that the beholder may easily believe himself in the realm of enchantment.[100]

The landscape is in a constant state of flux, in the process of being continually destroyed and recreated, as the destruction of Tintagel provides material for its imaginative recreation. From the destructive force of the seas and the equally destructive force of time new shapes are reworked and reimagined, though these new-born images are necessarily "grotesque" and mediated through the

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[99] Andrew Smith, *Gothic Radicalism: Literature, Philosophy, and Psychoanalysis in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), pp. 11-12.
[100] Walters, pp. 365-366.

rhetoric of the Gothic. The grotesque, central to the Gothic, is "a category which falls between the beautiful and the hideous", and "appears in Gothic novels in their elements of distortion and excess", often presenting a conflict between internal value and external appearances.[101] This process of constant unravelling of surface and depth, or undoing and remaking, contributes to the sense of Arthur's adaptability in the popular imagination, as he is broken down and reconstituted to correspond to modern anxieties.

Tintagel is both ruin and graveyard, as "what is more fitting than that the grave of Tristram and Iseult should have been at Tintagel, where the sea they loved came with its strong and awful tides, and now 'Sweeps above their coffined bones / In the wrecked chance! by the shivered shrine?'" The sense of Cornwall as a graveyard—enshrined in history, littered in ruin, where the dead roam as ghosts along the shores—is continually reiterated. Graveyards and ruins are both key Gothic motifs, as they are "excluded by rational culture".[102] Both act as signifiers of mortality and the inevitability of the passage of time, as to "contemplate death and its accompanying signs is to recognise the transience of physical things".[103] Walters references Matthew Arnold's *Tristram and Iseult* (1852), Algernon Charles Swinburne's *Tristram of Lyonesse* (1882), and Tennyson's Arthurian cycle as those that "have best told the whole story in our language in modern times", illustrating the rich, vibrant literary significance of Cornwall for Victorian writers and audiences.

For Walters, Tintagel is representative of a series of stories, and the actuality or authenticity of its history is insignificant in comparison to the weight of the stories it has generated. Cornwall and Cornishness are narratives to be unwound, rewound, and reinterpreted, and Walters sees travellers into the county as both storytellers and listeners/readers; participants in the process of narrative. So important is storytelling to an understanding of Cornishness, and the perception of Cornwall to the weary outsider, that the very land itself appears as the mechanisms of story:

> At such time Tintagel is telling its own story, weaving its own romance; and words seem vain when those shattered columns, those fallen walls,

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[101] Serena Trowbridge, *Christina Rossetti's Gothic* (London: A&C Black, 2013), p. 89.
[102] Fred Botting, *Gothic: The New Critical Idiom* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 32.
[103] Botting, p. 33.

that unbridged chasm, are there to make the tale. Of the after-history of the place what matters of it? We would fain have the story end, as it began, with Arthur and Guinevere, King Mark, Mage Merlin, and Tristram and Iseult. Every roll of the breakers is a voice from the past, and every crumbling chamber a chapter in that history which only the true poet transcribes.[104]

As Walters tells a story of stories, his own narrative fittingly ends as night descends over Tintagel, and "on the horizon the night clouds come up and shape themselves into fantastic forms of towers, and the real which are near, and the imagined which are far, scarce can be distinguished".[105] Tintagel is a portal into another time and another place, and it is of very little significance to Walters as to whether that time or place ever existed at all.

Case Studies

Alfred Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*

One of the most significant figures in the Victorian Arthurian revival was Alfred, Lord Tennyson. Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* (1859-1885) firmly located Arthur in Cornwall and became one of the century's most influential and celebrated Arthurian texts. Tennyson considered Arthurian legend "the greatest of all poetic subjects" and sought to reclaim Arthurian themes from the realm of fairy-tale and employ them as tools to criticise contemporary culture and values.[106] Tennyson uses Arthur to investigate numerous contemporary concerns and figures throughout his works, including Victorian masculinities, Christianity, nationhood, celebrity, history, mythology, Prince Albert, and his beloved friend, Arthur Hallam, in a formation sometimes referred to as the "Christ/King Arthur/Arthur Hallam" figure.[107]

Tennyson began his "Arthurian cycle" with *The Lady of Shalott* (1832), *Morte d'Arthur* (first draft written in 1834 and later incorporated into the *Idylls* as "The Passing of Arthur") and *Sire Launcelot and Queen Guinevere: A Fragment*

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[104] Walters, p. 368.
[105] Walters, p. 369.
[106] Christopher Hibbert, *The Way of King Arthur: The True Story of King Arthur and His Knights of the Round Table* (New York City: iBooks, 2004), p. 130.
[107] Laura C. Lambdin and Robert T. Lambdin, *Camelot in the Nineteenth Century: Arthurian Characters in the Poems of Tennyson, Arnold, Morris, and Swinburne* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2000), p. 16.

(1842). In 1847 Tennyson was motivated to plan an Arthurian epic. His son, Hallam, described this period of his life as of monomaniac obsession, as Alfred Tennyson "began to study the epical King Arthur in earnest... He thought, read, talked about King Arthur".[108] Tennyson made the decision to pursue inspiration in a visit Arthurian haunts in Cornwall in 1848 and was accompanied by F. T. Palgrave, Woolner, Holman Hunt and Val Prinsep. Tennyson was seeking the real, material landscapes of the Arthurian mythos, both for the embedded experience of the literary tourist, and to inspire literary output. Later, Tennyson's tour of the Scilly Isles inspired his *Enoch Arden* (1864).[109] This is demonstrative of Cornwall's dual role in both inspiring and becoming a locus of Cornish Gothic literature—people visited the county to be haunted by a re-emergent past, and these re-emergent pasts fed into literature in a self-perpetuating imaginative cycle. Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* placed Arthur firmly in Cornwall, and the ensuing popularity of the text ensured Tennyson—and Arthur's—place in literary history. The impact of *Idylls* on Victorian culture is inestimable, though much we know about the literature and art of the period would doubtless be unrecognisable without Tennyson's significant influence. That Cornwall, and Tennyson's own experiences of Cornwall, play such a large role in the construction of this text is demonstrative of the pervasiveness and importance of the county in the popular imagination throughout the nineteenth century and beyond.

The exact location of Arthur's seat was a topic of debate in the nineteenth century—and one Tennyson would have been keenly aware of, as a scholar of Arthur and a visitor to Cornwall. Tennyson visited the county first in 1848 and then again to gather further inspiration in 1860. Caroline Fox of the Fox family of Falmouth noted in 1860, upon meeting Tennyson, that "[t]he Welsh claim King Arthur but the poet gives all his votes to us".[110] Yet Tennyson's conscious decision to clearly reiterate Tintagel as Arthur's home

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[108] Hallam Tennyson, *Alfred, Lord Tennyson: A Memoir* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, [1872]), p. 125.
[109] Seamus Perry, *Alfred Tennyson* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. xii.
[110] Geoffrey Tillotson and Kathleen Tillotson, *Mid-Victorian Studies* (London: A&C Black, 2014), p. 96. For more, see Robert Todd, *Caroline Fox, Quaker blue-stocking 1819–1871, friend of John Stuart Mill, Thomas and Jane Carlyle, Frederick Denison Maurice and helper of sailors in distress* (York: Sessions, 1980).

has been largely critically neglected. That the setting of one of the most celebrated works by one of the century's most famous figures has been so recurrently overlooked is demonstrative of the tendency to ignore the significance of Cornwall to the nineteenth-century imaginary in literary and historical criticism. Cornwall was of obvious importance to Tennyson, to Arthuriana, and to the Gothic revival, yet the county is scarce referenced in the numerous discussions of these topics over the last century. In the process of researching Arthur in Cornwall, Tennyson sought out a fellow expert:

> Tennyson had done careful research, and he exploited traditions which Malory had passed over. Some of them came from the eccentric Robert Hawker, vicar of Morwenstowe in Cornwall and a poet in his own right, best known as the author of what would today be called a protest song, And shall Trelawny die? As Tennyson developed his use of Celtic lore, he drew a little nearer to the authentic Britain of the dark ages; and the imagery of his fable became more social, more clearly centred on Arthur's realm and the king as its embodiment.[111]

Hawker records that they had "much converse on Arthur and his Queen" and that he lent the poet "books and manuscripts about King Arthur which he carried off, and which, perhaps, I shall never see again".[112] While it is unclear whether Tennyson ever returned Hawker's documents, it is known that Tennyson sent the Reverend a copy of *Idylls* in 1859 and the *Holy Grail* in 1869.[113]

Tennyson's Arthur is vividly situated in a well-researched and Gothic Cornwall—Hawker's Cornwall; an ancient and antiquarian Cornwall haunted by legend. This Arthur is one clearly both embedded in a Gothic tradition, and one which goes on to form part of the fabric of the Gothic revival in the mid nineteenth century. Numerous critics have briefly recognised the Gothic motifs in *Idylls* without much more thorough analysis. Tennyson has been recognised as employing "the gothic sublime, which dives into the depths of human fear and shows us how profoundly terrifying one's innermost anxieties can be. This theme informs many of Tennyson's most important poems".[114] Stephen Evangelist

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[111] Geoffrey Ashe, *The Quest for Arthur's Britain* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 1987), pp. 23-24.
[112] Tillotson and Tillotson, p. 89.
[113] R. S. Hawker, *The Life and Letters of R. S. Hawker*, ed. C. E. Byles (London: The Bodley Head, 1906), pp. 190-4.
[114] Corinna Wagner, *Gothic Evolutions: Poetry, Tales, Context, Theory* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2014), p. 222.

Henderson notes Tennyson's capacity to imbue common objects with a Gothic horror.[115] Further, like "other Victorian medievalists, [Tennyson] takes from the past in order to address contemporary issues".[116] It has been noted that earlier nineteenth-century incarnations of Arthur cast the legend in the Gothic light.[117] *Idylls of the King* in particular uses "Gothic material" for explicitly nationalistic ends,[118] and *Idylls* is an epic predominantly concerned with fragmentation—of self, of society, of nation.[119] This particular nation is expressed in horrific terms, as *Idylls* serves as a "romanticized neo-Gothic version of the epic of England that linked it to his own century of morally fraught action in an atmosphere of doubt, darkening to despair".[120] Maureen Moran demonstrates how Tennyson uses the figure of Arthur to draw parallels between "the hopes and disasters of Camelot and Victorian ethical ideals and dilemmas", and how this reaching back towards the Middle Ages for analogies for Victorian experience is characteristic of the Gothic Revival. The Gothic Revival sought to "recover lost values through the imitation to past artistic forms"—or the revival or reanimation of the past.[121] Gothic reanimation can be seen as a curiosity "about how individuals from the remote past would behave if transported into the present day".[122] Taken in these terms, the reanimated ghost holds up a mirror to the modern Victorian tourist being transported into the distant past of preserved Cornwall and provides a vocabulary for reflecting upon "the boundaries between life and death".[123]

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[115] Stephen Evangelist Henderson, *A Study of Visualized Detail in the Poetry of Tennyson, Rossetti and Morris* (PhD Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1959), p. 278.
[116] Wagner, p. 223.
[117] Katie Garner, *Romantic Women Writers and Arthurian Legend: The Quest for Knowledge* (New York City: Springer, 2017), pp. 81-82.
[118] Bart Veldhoen, "Tennyson's Gothic: Idyllic, Unromantic Arthur", *Victorian Keats and Romantic Carlyle: The Fusions and Confusions of Literary Periods*, ed. C. C. Barfoot (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), p. 300.
[119] William E. Buckler, *The Victorian Imagination: Essays in Aesthetic Exploration* (New York City: Houghton Mifflin, 1980), pp. 36-91.
[120] Victor Shea and William Whitlaw, *Victorian Literature: An Anthology* (London: John Wiley & Sons, 2014), p. 13.
[121] Maureen Moran, *Victorian Literature and Culture* (London: A&C Black, 2006), p. 21.
[122] Marie Mulvey-Roberts, *Gothic Immortals (Routledge Revivals): The Fiction of the Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 92.
[123] Marie Mulvey-Roberts, *Gothic Immortals: The Fiction of the Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 92.

Tennyson's connection to Cornwall, and his role in Cornish literary tourism, is referenced in another Cornish Gothic text. In "The Baronet's Craze" (1891) by Mary Elizabeth Braddon the protagonist seeks to woo a fair maiden in Cornwall: "I had a small volume of Tennyson with me, and, at her request, read aloud, choosing, I must confess, the most sentimental portions".[124] It is also known that Thomas Hardy and Emma were reading Tennyson in August 1870 while Hardy was conceiving of his own Cornish Gothic novel (his first novel), *A Pair of Blue Eyes,*[125] and that Tennyson claimed *A Pair of Blue Eyes* to be his favourite of the Wessex novels.[126] Throughout *A Pair of Blue Eyes* one of the protagonists, Elfride, pens her own Romance—*The Court of Kellyon Castle*; a romance of the fifteenth century. This is demonstrative of the circulation of ideas of Gothic Cornwall in the imaginations of celebrated authors of the period.

Tennyson consciously and recurrently incorporates Gothic imagery into his *Idylls.* Specifically, Tennyson uses pervasive images of ghosts, phantoms, and hauntings to exaggerate the ephemerality of the Arthurian myth, the liminality of Cornwall, and Cornwall as a site of re-emergent histories. Ghosts serve to forewarn Arthur's fate and become a means of recognising Cornwall's history as still manifest in the county. Furthermore, ghosts are used to signify fragmentation and disintegration, or the wider mortality of civilisation and society. As Enid leads the march on they pass "bandit-haunted holds, / Gray swamps and pools, waste places of the hern, / And wilderness, perilous paths".[127] More explicitly still, the Queen is haunted:

> In the dead night, grim faces came and went
>   Before her, or a vague spiritual fear—
>
>   Like to some doubtful noise of creaking doors,
>   Heard by the watcher in a haunted house,
>   That keeps the rust of murder on the walls—
> Held her awake: or if she slept, she dreamed
>   An awful dream; for then she seemed to stand

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[124] Mary Elizabeth Braddon, "The Baronet's Craze", p. 833. A further analysis of this tale can be found in the chapter on railways.

[125] John P. Farrell, "Romance Narrative in Hardy's *A Pair of Blue Eyes*", *Victorian Literature and Culture* 42 (2014), p. 719.

[126] Kerry McSweeney, *What's the Import?: Nineteenth-Century Poems and Contemporary Critical Practice* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), p. 132.

[127] Alfred Tennyson, *Idylls of the King* (London: Penguin), 1996)*,* "Geraint and Enid", ll. 3031.

> On some vast plain before a setting sun,
> And from the sun there swiftly made at her
> A ghastly something, and its shadow flew
> Before it, till it touched her, and she turned—
> When lo! her own, that broadening from her feet,
> And blackening, swallowed all the land, and in it
> Far cities burnt, and with a cry she woke.[128]

The reference to the haunted house situates the Queen's torment within a Victorian Gothic tradition, and specifically a domestic Gothic tradition, uncanny within the context of a national, medieval epic. The blood-splatters, nightmares, "creaking doors", "grim faces" and "ghastly something" all suggest that Tennyson is tapping consciously into a bank of recognisable Gothic imagery to conjure the horror and madness of the Queen. Hauntings are omnipresent throughout the text. The knights, swearing their oath to Arthur, upon rising from bended knee "Were as pale as at the passing of a ghost".[129] Gareth states that "Our one white lie sits like a little ghost / Here on the threshold of our enterprise".[130] Elaine, upon rising to tend to the sick Lancelot, "glided through the fields, And past the weirdly-sculptured gates", in "twilight ghost-like to and fro / Gliding".[131] Elaine is said to be of "ghostly grace".[132] Later, "like a ghost she lifted up her face, / But like a ghost without the power to speak".[133] The lily maid of Astolat later bids her father "call the ghostly man / Hither, and let me shrive me clean, and die", and "when the ghostly man had come and gone" is inspired to write to Lancelot.[134] The Queen is represented as a phantom later in the narrative:

> There with her milk-white arms and shadowy hair
> She made her face a darkness from the King:
> And in the darkness heard his armed feet
> Pause by her; then came silence, then a voice,
>
> Monotonous and hollow like a Ghost's.[135]

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[128] *Idylls*, "Guinevere", ll. 69-82.
[129] *Idylls*, "The Coming of Arthur", ll. 263.
[130] *Idylls*, "Gareth and Lynette", ll. 291-292.
[131] *Idylls*, "Lancelot and Elaine", ll. 838-839; ll. 844-845.
[132] *Idylls*, "Lancelot and Elaine", ll. 880.
[133] *Idylls*, "Lancelot and Elaine", ll. 913-914.
[134] *Idylls*, "Lancelot and Elaine", ll. 1092-1094.
[135] *Idylls*, "Guinevere", ll. 413-417.

The repetition of "darkness" is enclosing and claustrophobic; a solid mass around the ethereal, spectral Queen—but Arthur too is a ghost. Her King's ensuing monologue reiterates the Queen's spectral status:

> Thy shadow still would glide from room to room,
> And I should evermore be vext with thee
> In hanging robe or vacant ornament,
> Or ghostly footfall echoing on the stair.[136]

The Queen is made insubstantial by her lack of integrity as her failure to uphold her wifely duties renders her flimsy and noncorporeal. The spectral imagery continues and the solidity and materiality of the King is challenged by images of nebulousness and ambiguity, with references to "mists" embodying horror, as "A horror lived about the tarn, and clave / Like its own mists to all the mountain side"[137], and when

> The moony vapor rolling round the King,
> Who seemed the phantom of a Giant in it,
> Enwound him fold by fold, and made him gray
> And grayer, till himself became as mist
> Before her, moving ghostlike to his doom.[138]

Arthur is regarded as a national giant made noncorporeal—looming, majestic, but ultimately unreal. The image of Arthur "moving ghostlike to his doom" draws explicitly from the Gothic tradition to articulate Arthur's fate as well as to gesture towards Arthur's status as intangible myth. Arthur experiences his own haunting, as "the ghost of Gawain blown / Along a wandering wind, and past his ear / Went shrilling, 'Hollow, hollow all delight! / Hail, King! tomorrow thou shalt pass away".[139] The passage repeats "And I am blown along a wandering wind, / And hollow, hollow, hollow all delight'".[140] The repetition of "hollow" alludes to the evacuation of meaning generated by the regurgitation and reappropriation of the recycled mythos, and the "wandering wind" refers to the

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[136] *Idylls*, "Guinevere", ll. 501-504.
[137] *Idylls*, "Lancelot and Elaine", ll. 37-38.
[138] *Idylls*, "Guinevere", ll. 597-601.
[139] *Idylls*, "The Passing of Arthur", ll. 31-34.
[140] *Idylls*, "The Passing of Arthur", ll. 36-37.

unfixedness of Arthur's appropriated narrative across geographies. Arthur awakens and wonders "are these dim cries / Thine? or doth all that haunts the waste and wild / Mourn, knowing it will go along with me?"[141] Arthur is metafictionally aware of the dilution of his own narrative in the face of time and memory.

During the final battle images of sand are paired with images of the sea, as in the "coast / Of ever-shifting sand, and far away / the phantom circle of the moaning sea".[142] Later, "On the waste sand by the waste sea they closed",[143] and then "A deathwhite mist slept over sand and sea", exaggerating the liminal status of the Cornish coasts as littoral thresholds.[144] These descriptions suggest that the landscape has become ghost in itself—the "phantom circle", and the sands "ever-shifting", and a "deathwhite mist":

> Whereof the chill, to him who breathed it, drew
>   Down with his blood, till all his heart was cold
> With formless fear; and even on Arthur fell
> Confusion, since he saw not whom he fought.
>   For friend and foe were shadows in the mist,
>   And friend slew friend not knowing whom he slew;
>   And some had visions out of golden youth,
>   And some beheld the faces of old ghosts
>   Look in upon the battle; and in the mist.[145]

"Dindagil" is a spectral, ambiguous, unstable, unknowable world where identities are dissolved, and the legend of Arthur is animated by the Cornish landscape itself. The passage is explicitly Gothic, drawing on images of the "deathbed", "death", "deathlike", "dead", "dead faces", all specifically located at the "shore", the "shores", by the "seas", clearly Cornish and clearly Gothic, a place of threshold and transition. The King is constantly drawn parallel to the mists, described as "the pale King". Further on, Arthur is "faint and pale".[146] Arthur becomes a spectral, mystical figure of the underworld, claiming "I seem but King among the dead".[145] Tennyson uses ghosts as commentary of Cornwall's re-emergent Gothic histories and Arthur himself is recurrently

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141 *Idylls*, "The Passing of Arthur", ll.47-49.
142 *Idylls*, "The Passing of Arthur", ll.85-87.
143 *Idylls*, "The Passing of Arthur", ll. 92.
144 *Idylls*, "The Passing of Arthur", ll. 94.
145 *Idylls*, "The Passing of Arthur", ll. 96-103.
146 *Idylls*, "The Passing of Arthur", ll. 126; ll. 137; ll. 240.
145 *Idylls*, "The Passing of Arthur", ll. 146.

represented as a spectre—a lingering trace of an older tradition, an older world, and an older story, too pervasively allegorically significant to be fully forgotten, but still fading somewhat into mist.

Tennyson explicitly locates his criticism of Victorian societal conflicts in Cornwall. Specifically, Tennyson uses Gothic language in Cornwall to articulate the horrors of societal degeneration, demonstrating the centrality, significance, and flexibility of Gothic Cornwall as a landscape upon which to project societal anxieties. Cornwall is a vehicle, a language, and a framework for the expression of fear surrounding Victorian progress, and ideals and their breakdown. The subsequent publication and success of Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* had a dramatic effect on Cornish tourism. Guidebooks used Tennyson to advertise Cornwall, understanding and exploiting the associations between Arthur and Cornwall in the popular imaginary. *Weighell's North Cornwall Guide with Map and Illustration* from 1889 promotes Cornwall as the land of "Idylls of Kings", and later:

> If our tourist be a lover of history and romance, he may linger at will amid the ruins of the Old Castle at Tintagel, and hark back with Tennyson to the days of the gallant Knights at the Round Table, when their illustrious chief, King Arthur, slew his traitorous nephew, Mordred, and when "All day long the noise of battle rolled / Along the mountains by the winter sea".[147]

This Tennysonian influence extended beyond guidebooks and changed the material landscape of Tintagel as well as ways of accessing the county. The Great Western Railway launched locomotives called *Tre-Pol-and-Pen*, *Chough* (after the bird thought to represent the spirit of King Arthur), and *Tregeagle* (the mythological Cornish monster), and the Southern Railway launched the King Arthur Class engines—*Merlin*, *Lyonesse*, and *Pendragon*.[148] Significantly, "[t]hese powerful locomotives embodied the ambivalence of the Cornish Riviera message: lost in the mists of time, yet equipped with the latest technology".[149] In 1899 Cornish architect Silvanus Trevail (1851-1903) decided to capitalise on Arthurian tourism by building the King Arthur's Castle Hotel. It still stands and

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[147] Walter Weighell, *Weighell's North Cornwall Guide with Map and Illustrations* (Launceston: W. Weighell, Printer, Booksellers, &c., 1889), pp. 22-23.
[148] Perry, p. 101.
[149] Perry, p. 101.

functions as a hotel under the name Camelot Castle Hotel (with its bar called the Exacalibar). Trevail was keen to exploit the birth of Cornish tourism, thinking it "the coming thing" due to the expansion of the railway.[150] He hatched a (doomed) scheme to build luxury hotels along the Cornish coast which failed to retain investors. Trevail's marketing drew heavily on the mythical significance of Tintagel, with posters stating: "Some of it true, all of it potent ... in England, Cornwall alone is Celtic. It is Arthur's kingdom".[151] An advertisement for the hotel from 1909 states that it "[s]tands on the spot where Tennyson received his inspiration for the 'Idylls of the King'"; that it is "the most romantic spot in England", "[i]mmediately adjoining and overlooking the ruins of King Arthur's Castle".[152] An earlier 1900 advertisement embellishes even further, describing "Merlin's Cave, and the trysting place of Launcelot and Guinevere".[153] A 1901 advertisement describes the hotel as "overlooking the far-famed ruins of King Arthur's Stronghold".[154]

The castle hotel attracted disgust from Cornish locals. Miss J. Findlater, writing for Arthur Quiller-Couch's *Cornish Magazine* expresses her horror upon visiting Tintagel and finding a hotel "built in imitation of Arthur's castle ... I do not think I am wrong in stating that the drainage is brought down into that cove where long ago (the story runs) the naked baby Arthur came ashore on the great wave!"[155] There was a fear that what began as an attempt to salvage, rescue, preserve, and reanimate Cornwall's histories was only damaging, polluting, or warping those histories, and that the persistent romanticisation of Cornwall's past would prevent the county's progression. There was anxiety before the construction of the hotel that the landscape would be spoiled by hoteliers looking to invest in the county's burgeoning tourist trade. Ambrose M.

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[150] Finke and Aronstein, p. 205.

[151] Qtd. by Finke and Aronstein, p. 205

[152] "King Arthur's Castle Hotel at Tintagel:
A large lithograph image dated around 1909 of King Arthur's Castle Hotel at Tintagel, UK", *British Towns and Villages*, british-towns.net < http://www.british-towns.net/england/farsouthwestern/cornwall/north-cornwall/tintagel/album/king-arthurs-castle-hotel > [Accessed 29.01.20]

[153] "King Arthur's Castle Hotel, Tintagel, Cornwall", Advertisements, *The Sketch*, 29.376 (Apr 11 1900), p. 494.

[154] "Tintagel (Cornwall) – King Arthur's Castle Hotel", *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News,* 55.1446 (Jul 1 1901), p. 530.

[155] Qtd. by Arthur Quiller-Couch, *From a Cornish Window* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 192-193.

Poynter, Secretary of the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest of Natural Beauty, now the National Trust, wrote to *The Observer* in 1897, stating that

> I see that in your issue of the 8th inst. the suggestion is made that some monument should be erected at Tintagel to the memory of Tennyson.
>
> May I point out to you that the purchase and dedication to the public by [the National Trust] of Barras Head, Tintagel, is in a large measure a very genuine tribute to his memory.[156]

Poynter describes how the Trust had purchased the land after hearing it "was in danger of falling into the hands of an hotel company".[157] Further, that "it may fairly be said that it is to the 'Idylls of the King' we owe that widespread interest in the spot which made the purchase possible", and that "[i]t is one of the chief objects of the Trust to hold for the nation lands which might otherwise be degraded or spoilt, and to preserve them always in their original unspoilt condition".[158] This short letter summarises many of the anxieties surrounding Tintagel in the nineteenth century—the changes brought by the tourist industry, the sense that the land (and the culture) was being spoilt by these profiteering invaders, a sense of the place being somewhat bound up in national identity, and the significance of *Idylls* as a primary draw for visitors. Tintagel as a Gothic ruin thus serves as a memorial not only of Cornwall's lost glory, or the longgone King Arthur, but of Alfred Tennyson himself, becoming a palimpsest of Cornish Gothic revival narratives.

Travel Writing

Visitors anticipating a romantic or pastoral Cornwall often articulated their response to the coarse realities of the county using Gothic language. These narratives, alongside literature and poetry, created the image of a Gothic Cornwall and certain expectations for visitors, and the usurpation of these expectations was often experienced in uncanny terms. Travel writing about

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[156] Ambrose Poynter, "Tennyson's Monument at Freshwater and Tintagel Castle", *The Observer* (15 Aug 1897), p. 4. The author's name is incorrectly transcribed by *ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer* as "Ambrorm Poynths". Sebastian Fry's *A History of the National Heritage Collection: Volume Three: Stonehenge*, part of the National Trust research report series, 47 (2014), p. 26, describes an Ambrose Poynter as being the secretary of the National Trust in this period.
[157] Poynter, p. 4.
[158] Poynter, p. 4.

nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century literary tourism thus becomes a literary product in itself and responds to and perpetuates the image of a Gothic Cornwall. These narratives often explicitly centre on travellers seeking out an Arthurian Cornwall and expressing disappointment at the extremity of the elaboration or fabrication surrounding Arthur's "presence" in the county. These narratives directly confront the myth-making behind the necessitated "difference" of the tourist experience, illustrating a Gothic tension between reality and fantasy. This section provides an overview of the experiences of two travellers into Cornwall—novelist and short story writer Vernon Lee, who visited the county c. 1913, and novelist Dinah Craik, who visited the county c. 1867 and then again in 1883. These authors describe their experience of Cornwall in Gothic terms, as literary tourists in the pursuit of King Arthur.

Vernon Lee's Cornish Afterworld

The promotion of Cornwall as a literary and Gothic tourist destination attracted many celebrated authors seeking inspiration. Vernon Lee documented their tour across the county in "The Celtic West: Cornwall, Wales, Ireland" (1913) in "English Writer's Notes on England" (1901-1913). Vernon Lee was the pseudonym of Violet Paget, author of late-Victorian and early-twentieth-century supernatural fiction. Lee is a significant example of a Gothic author seeking the majesty King Arthur, and instead encountering a desolate, haunted wasteland. Lee's Gothic is a "decadent queer Gothic" and "her stories could be read as morally decayed—examples par excellence of the 'degenerative' nature of decadent writing and of decadent Gothic in particular".[159] Lee's Gothic travel writing complicates generic definitions, as "[g]hosts in Lee are everywhere, even in her non-fiction" and "all genres are haunted by other genres, and no genre is pure", creating layers of hauntings as "she is ghosting genre".[160] This is appropriate for travel writing as "a literary form that draws on the conventions of

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[159] Ardel Haefele-Thomas, *Queer Others in Victorian Gothic: Transgressing Monstrosity* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012), p. 123. For more on Vernon Lee's Gothic see Christa Zorn's *Vernon Lee: Aesthetics, History, and the Victorian Female Intellectual* (2003), Patricia Pulham's *Art and the Transitional Object in Vernon Lee's Supernatural Tales* (2008), Diana Wallace's *Female Gothic Histories: Gender, History and the Gothic* (2013), and Hilary Grimes' *The Late Victorian Gothic: Mental Science, the Uncanny, and Scenes of Writing* (2016).
[160] Hilary Grimes, *The Late Victorian Gothic: Mental Science, the Uncanny, and Scenes of Writing* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2016).

other literary genres",[161] where "similar literary techniques are employed across genres".[162] As an example, "Lee's 'Ravenna' is an example of travel writing, history, ghost story, folklore, and memoir".[163] This section demonstrates that Lee's travel writing about Cornwall presents the same heady cocktail of haunted mediums both to articulate the uncanniness of a decaying county and to express the intertextual relationship between tourism and the literary. Further, that Lee's engagement with Cornwall as a Gothic space provides important context for understanding her wider oeuvre of Gothic writing.

Lee's narrative is one of dislocation, as the author is not just an outsider to Cornwall, but an outsider to England, which manifests as a "lack of total engagement with her subject".[164] In her travel writing Lee describes "her warmly personal reactions to Germany, Switzerland, and France" contrasted with her responses to England as "little more than the eye's observation".[165] The first of the *Scribner's* articles, entitled "Things of the Past" (August 1913), describes the country thus: "The beauty and suggestiveness of England is a little like the voices of the college choirs: it is over-white, lacking light and shade, a trifle sugary at times, and inhumanly warbling in timbre".[166] Cornwall, on the other hand, is anything but. The Gothic nature of Lee's travel writing on Cornwall has been previously noted by biographer Vineta Colby, who states that "[t]he rough, wind-swept coast, haunted by ghosts of the Arthurian past, is one she should have appreciated, but the past, which she embraced so enthusiastically in Italy, Germany, and France, is here dark and threatening".[167] While Lee feels dislocated from the quaint prettiness of Oxford and infuriated by the poor working conditions of the inner cities, she is disquieted by Cornwall.

Much of Cornwall is altogether unseen throughout the narrative, or otherwise insubstantial, even spectral. Lee comments on the "unseen clouds"

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[161] Tim Youngs, "Introduction", *Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century: Filling the Blank Spaces*, ed. Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Anthem Press, 2006), pp. 2 -3.
[162] Tim Youngs, p. 4. For more on the relationship between literature and the developing tourist industry—and more on Youngs—see the chapter on Thomas Hardy and the railway in Cornwall.
[163] Grimes, p. 118.
[164] Vineta Colby, *Vernon Lee: A Literary Biography* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003), p. 262.
[165] Colby, p. 262.
[166] Qtd. by Colby, p. 263.
[167] Colby, p. 264.

and the "hidden sunset", the hillsides "flat almost as the sea, which is hidden behind them".[168] Lee states that "[t]his scantily inhabited end of Europe seems given up to dead folk: Arthurian heroes at every step, and odd local saints . . . whom one suspects of having been originally giants and perhaps ogres".[169] Lee describes the Cornish landscape through its absences, as though anything significant is long gone, or obscured by time, until the landscape becomes a blank canvas upon which to project the tourist's expectations or one's own horrors. Cornwall is "a bleak, monotonous country, dreary beyond words, and intolerable save for its keen air; houses next to none; this village consists of five or six granite, slate-covered cottages, flowerless".[170] In being flowerless it without decoration, without sweetness, without growth, and without life—"the roads for miles without a creature on them. The pastures empty. I was quite superstitiously frightened in this solitude by the sudden grunting in two huge hogs behind a hedge".[171] Lee acknowledges that it is the imaginative gap created by the absence of people that allows for superstitions to brew and grow, until the "great black brutes looked bogeyish as elephants as they tugged their tusks at the fence".[172] Lee's only other company is "a scarecrow man, in a sodden potato field hard by", who "gave me a start in that solitude".[173] The Cornish inhabitants thus far are, fittingly, animals or scarecrows, illustrative of the way in which the Cornish were dehumanised in descriptions throughout the period, while also referencing the coarseness of Cornish land, seemingly incapable of sustaining human life. Cornwall, historically, has been sparsely populated, with a slow population growth, impacted dramatically by mass migration in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Lee is struck by "strange noises on the moor, which, treeless and echoless should have been so silent".[174] Cornwall is disconcerting because of its absences, but these empty spaces are haunted, or *not* silent. The terror of Cornwall is in the fact its history and legends should be dead, and instead the

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[168] Vernon Lee, "An English Writer's Notes on England: The Celtic West (Cornwall, Wales, Ireland)", *Scribner's Magazine* (1913), p. 712.
[169] Qtd by Colby, p. 264.
[170] Lee, p. 714.
[171] Lee, p. 712.
[172] Lee, p. 712.
[173] Lee, p. 712.
[174] Lee, p. 715.

tales persistently rear their ugly heads. For Lee "the legends here seem melancholy and regretful of the past".[175] Yet at least some of these regretful legends are famed and glorious:

> 'Tintagil'! This tiny, remote village ... how its fame has gone abroad in all the poetry of every country! Its name become familiar as that of Sparta or Troy, its little chieftains gathered with the demigods of Homer in the triumphant processions of Petrarch, and the viewless winds of Dante![176]

Cornwall is associated with ancient, lost civilisations—a reminder of the loss of its own glory, communicated through literary allusion. Lee here references Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* (1604)*,* wherein Claudio agonises over the pains of the Afterworld, describing being "Imprisoned in viewless winds". [177] This is a reference to Dante's *Inferno*, where sinners are constantly blown by winds representative of their own lusty and chaotic temperaments in life.[178] Lee aligns Tintagel with entrapment and the hellscape, while entrenching the ruins in a long literary history. A further inspiration could be William Wordsworth's *The Prelude*, which by 1850 drew again on " the motions of the viewless winds, / Embodied in the mystery of words: / There, darkness makes abode, and all the host / Of shadowy things work endless changes ".[179] John Keats marked out this passage in his own copy of *Measure for Measure*, and recurrently connotes the terror of Dante's winds in *Endymion.*[179] Lee is associating Tintagel not just with an ancient, global, legendary list of historical places, but with a long, Gothic literary tradition of hellscapes and hauntings. Tintagel is the "Afterworld", dislocated from reality and infested with monsters.

Lee often used Gothic descriptions of ancient spaces, objects, or civilisations to provide license for socially transgressive behaviours.[180] Later in the narrative Lee eventually accepts that Cornwall is a place of the past, of death, and of the dead:

> I am not at all surprised that the previous occupant of this little, gray, stone house, in its hole upon the green, dreary slope, saw ghosts, and

[175] Lee, p. 715.
[176] Lee, p. 715.
[177] William Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure* (London: Bloomsbury, 1967), III.i.122-128.
[178] Dante Alighieri, *Inferno*, Digital Dante (New York City: Columbia University Libraries <https://digitaldante.columbia.edu/dante/divine-comedy/inferno/inferno-5/ > ll. 5.28-45.
[179] William Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book V (London: Edward Moxon, 1850), p. 131. [179] Alethea Hayter, *Opium and the Romantic Imagination* (Oakland: University of California Press, 1968), p. 319.
[180] Haefele-Thomas, p. 127.

that the previous rector, after being persecuted by a ghostly woman in his own church, is said himself to walk in the churchyard.[181]

Lee's journey is punctuated by beasts, ghosts, ogres, and giants, by darkness, hidden things, legends and myths, by moors and tors and chains. For Lee, Cornwall is not just the "end of Europe", but the "afterlife", or what is found at the end of life itself. It is the end of the world—a dark shadow of progress and modernity that forewarns the dangers of turning back.

Dinah Craik's Arthurian Hero

A further example of the ways in which Tintagel was elevated as a tourist site, only to subsequently disappoint its visitors, is described in "In King Arthur's Land" by Dinah Mullock Craik, published in *Good Words* in 1867. Craik was best known as a novelist and poet, most celebrated for the three-volume novel *The Ogilvies* (1849), and *John Halifax, Gentleman* (1857), but Craik also penned numerous examples of supernatural fiction, including "The Last House in C---- Street" (1856) and "A Dreadful Ghost" (1862).[182] Craik was a popular and prolific author, and, while writing significantly earlier than Lee, demonstrates the enduring fascination with travellers to Cornwall and the consistency of reports of the particularly literary quest for King Arthur in Cornwall. Dinah Craik travelled to Cornwall in 1867 and was so inspired by her journey that she returned in 1883, with both trips resulting in published and popular travel journals. The first article follows Craik's pursuit of the seat of King Arthur, illustrating her expectations, disappointments, and numerous difficulties in travelling through the county of Cornwall—"since going to Cornwall is nearly as difficult as, topographically speaking, going to Rome; and it takes more time and patience and money to wander about the lovely brooks of Britain than to investigate half the continent".[183] Cornwall is rendered "foreign" by its distance:

> [o]ur first intention was to go straight to the Land's End, which sounded very much like going to Jericho; or so everybody—the benevolent everybody who guides the destinies of all intending travellers—seemed to consider. Innumerable were the warnings we received as to the length

[181] Lee, p. 717.
[182] Craik is listed as a notable participant in the Victorian supernatural revival by Vanessa D. Dickerson in *Victorian Ghosts in the Noontide: Women Writers and the Supernatural*, p. 9.
[183] Craik, "In King Arthur's Land", p. 61.

and fatigue of the journey, and the little to be seen when you got there.[184]

Yet the travelling company are undeterred, motivated by their attraction to the legend of Arthur and the savagery of Cornwall. Craik goes on to describe their experience of the county:

> There is no county in England with a stronger individuality than Cornwall. Removed out of the ordinary line of cosmopolitan traffic, and not picturesque enough, inland, to attract tourists, it has never lost its salient points nor had its angles rubbed off by salutary but obnoxious civilisation.[185]

Craik makes it clear that tourism erodes the quality of a destination, and that Cornwall is antidote to civilisation. Craik's emphasis is continually on Cornwall's particularism, as "there must have been something remarkable both in the land and the people", and marvels at

> the posterity of King Arthur's subjects as a race strong and bold—resolute and acute—not to be trifled with either physically or morally;—people who, whether you like them or not, infallibly make you respect them. Even as you appreciate, without loving it,—for it is not lovely,—this bare, breezy county, not at last thoroughly Cornwall.[186]

Travellers into the county were consistently at pains to labour the unloveliness of Cornwall; its unprettiness; its plainness and roughness, as though visiting an ugly place with tremendous history is somehow more noble, more intelligent, and altogether more cultured and tasteful than travelling to aesthetically beautiful spaces. They feel like Cornwall is "the ugliest place in the world; and we wished we had never come near it". In 1854 the Reverend R. Warner refers to Tintagel as ruins which "claim dominion over unqualified desolation, over one wide and wild scene of troubled ocean, barren country and horrid rocks . . . to look at it was enough to give one the tooth-ache".[187] In "Tintagel and its Arthurian Traditions" (1905) Arthur L. Salmon describes how this disappointment is generated when the visitor is forced to make "acquaintance with the reality", a reality in contrast to the name that "has loomed so large in legend and chronicle", describing Arthur as "a racial chieftain and a demigod" whose narrative "hover[s] on the borderland between history

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[184] Craik, "In King Arthur's Land", p. 61.
[185] Craik, "In King Arthur's Land", p. 64.
[186] Craik, "In King Arthur's Land", p. 64.
[187] Craik, "In King Arthur's Land", p. 64.

and romance". [188] King Arthur's narrative is defined by a sense of liminality through "borderlands". These borderlands exist between Cornwall and England, fact and fiction, and history and mythology. Salmon argues that even Tennyson, great populariser of Tintagel, was disenchanted by his visit to the ruins, quoting his rough notes from his 1848 tour of the county where he simply states: "Clomb over Isle, disappointed".[189] Despite its disappointing ugliness, Craik is astounded by the sublimity of the landscape, made small by its hugeness, and again struck by its uniqueness and peculiarities:

> For grandeur, for solitariness, for the sense of immensity, which says, "Be still," to all worldly cares, there is no coast like the Cornish coast, no sea like the Cornish sea, on the shore of which, romance says, was oncefound a little naked babe, who grew to be the legendary Arthur of Britain.[190]

Craik here is exploiting the Gothic, sublime tension between the wonderful and the horrible, describing Cornwall's landscape in awful, awesome terms. Craik favours the more Celtic, supernatural version of Arthur's birth, whereby Arthur was born from the Cornish seas, a creature of the surf. Cornwall's resistance to "wordly cares" suggests that the county, like Arthur, it is not quite of this world. Craik comments that in Cornwall, with each

> jutting headland seeming wilder and grander than the last, we could believe in any amount of romantic fable. Arthur and Merlin, Launcelot, Galahad, and Gawaine, were but the natural products of the region; such a sea, bounded by such a shore! We must go to the heart of it. We must visit Tintagel to-morrow.[191]

Craik illustrates Cornwall as wasteland. Craik was nonetheless enchanted by this barren land and repeated the trek in 1883, this time accompanied by two young women, her "chickens".[192] In *An Unsentimental Journey through Cornwall* she uses the introduction to reflect upon her 1867 journey. Craik reflects on "that grandest, wildest, most dangerous coast, the coast of Cornwall",[193] and discloses her motivation for visiting the county in the first

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[188] Arthur L. Salmon, "Tintagel and its Arthurian Traditions", *Temple Bar: A Monthly Magazine for Town and Country Readers* (Jan 1905), p. 25.
[189] Salmon, p. 25.
[190] Craik, "In King Arthur's Land", p. 64.
[191] Craik, "In King Arthur's Land", p. 64.
[192] Dinah Craik, *An Unsentimental Journey through Cornwall* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1884), p. 2.
[193] Craik, *An Unsentimental Journey*, p. 2.

instance: "I had always wished to investigate Cornwall. This desire had existed ever since, at five years old, I made acquaintance with Jack the Giantkiller, and afterwards, at fifteen or so, fell in love with my life's one hero, King Arthur".[194] Craik's adventures into Cornwall were in pursuit of a county still haunted by the figure of Arthur, as "I wanted to see if the same spirit lingered yet, as I had heard it did among Cornish folk, which, it was said, were a race by themselves".[195] It seems to Craik that Cornwall is a place where ghosts can survive and myths can take flesh:

> One of the charms of Cornwall is that it gives one the sense of being such an old country, as if things had gone exactly as they do now, not merely since the days of King Arthur, but for ever so long before then. The Romans, the Phœnicians, nay, the heroes of pre-historic ages, such as Jack the Giantkiller and the giant Cormoran, seemed to be not impossible myths, as we gradually quitted civilisation…[196]

Arthur lingers not just in the landscape, but in the very blood of people. Craik and her companions fall into the contemporary trend of ethnographically surveying the locals: "given to ethnological tastes, we had already noticed the characteristic Cornish face", distinct from "that of the inland counties of England".[197] They meet a Cornishman whose eyes "were blue as a child's or as Tennyson describes King Arthur's".[198] Craik here draws specifically upon Tennyson for historical evidence as to the possibility of an ancient Arthur, and as to his remnants, locating him again, firmly, in Cornwall: "'I can imagine,' whispered one of us who had imaginative tendencies, 'that King Arthur might have looked thus, had he lived to grow old'".[199] The companions argue about the possibility of an Arthur at all:

> But looking at him, one could not help speculating as to how far the legend of King Arthur had been really true, and whether the type of man which Tennyson has preserved—or created—in this his "own ideal knight," did once exist, and still exists, in a modified modern form, throughout Cornwall. A fancy upon which we then only argued; now I, at least, am inclined to believe it.[200]

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[194] Craik, *An Unsentimental Journey*, p. 2.
[195] Craik, *An Unsentimental Journey*, p. 3.
[196] Craik, *An Unsentimental Journey*, p. 13.
[197] Craik, *An Unsentimental Journey*, p. 17.
[198] Craik, *An Unsentimental Journey*, p. 17.
[199] Craik, *An Unsentimental Journey*, p. 17.
[200] Craik, *An Unsentimental Journey*, p. 18.

Craik enters into the Victorian debate over the origins of Arthur and comes to a conclusion fuelled by both a literary source and the embodied experience of confronting the county as a traveller. Craik acknowledges the antiquarian and literary tension between preservation and creation, as well as the contemporary preoccupation with Cornwall as a preserved and insular race where the blood of King Arthur could still freely run through the veins of the primitive, other-worldly inhabitants. The necessary literary accessories again appear: "we had a onevolume Tennyson, all complete, and a "Morte d'Arthur"—Sir Thomas Malory's. On this literary provender we felt that as yet we should not starve".[201] As the companions travel through Cornwall they begin to suspect that this rough land could not have born Tennyson's modern gentleman, and that if he had existed, he "was nothing but a rough barbarian", and that it "'Tis better to have loved and lost / Than never to have loved at all".[202] Like Tennyson, Craik conflates King Arthur of *Idylls* with Arthur Hallam of *In Memoriam*.[203] For Tennyson, Arthur had the capacity to be Hallam, Christ, and Prince Albert simultaneously, a vessel large and ancient enough to shoulder a whole host of identities, metaphors, and national concerns.[204] Later, Craik references Tennyson's "Maud", then provides a full plot summary of Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*, acknowledging that Tennyson's version is better known and thus does not need a synopsis.

The travel narrative functions as an homage to the popularity of the *Idylls* and as a meditation on the legitimacy of a Cornish Arthur, or an Arthur at all, and if he were to be real, what would he be like—right down to his eye colour. On the sixteenth day Craik comes to some sort of conclusion—that it does not matter. Tintagel is "a great mystery, out of which the imaginative mind may evolve almost anything it likes"; "a landmark of the cloudy time between legend and actual history".[205] It is the thresholds, contradictions, and paradoxes of Arthur that lend to the figure's longevity, and these contradictions are perfectly

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[201] Craik, *An Unsentimental Journey*, p. 54.
[202] Craik, *An Unsentimental Journey*, p. 54.
[203] Alan Lupack, "Introduction", *Modern Arthurian Literature: An Anthology of English and American Arthuriana* (Hove: Psychology Press, 1992), p. 1.
[204] Malcolm Bradbury and David Palmer, *Victorian Poetry* (London: Edward Arnold, 1972), p.
[205] , p. 141.

complemented by Cornwall, a place of ugliness and beauty, of England and not of England:

> Just the region, in short, which was likely to create a race like that which Arthurian legend describes, full of passionate love and deadly hate, capable of barbaric virtues, and equally barbaric crimes.[206]

Many other travellers beside Lee and Craik visited Cornwall in pursuit of King Arthur throughout the nineteenth century, motivated by Tennyson's *Idylls* and other contemporary retellings. They found a place befitting the singular, ancient King, though seemingly fallen from glory. Through narratives and travellers Arthur both reanimated the Cornish landscape and was reanimated within it. The Arthur encountered by these eager travellers confirms suspicions about the county being a land of the impossible, fantastical, and the dead, and this is recurrently articulated in Gothic terms. The pursuit for the Gothic King Arthur in Cornwall is a fundamentally literary one, which led to literary productions of its own through these influential travel narratives. These narratives serve to emphasise Cornwall's particularism and insularity as entrenched in the ancientness of King Arthur.

Cornish Ghost Stories

Arthur and Merlin are not the only ghosts to haunt Cornwall's shores, and the promotion of their spectral presence permitted tourists and authors to entertain the possibility of other hauntings. Ghost stories are recurrently used as a means through which to articulate the tourist experience of coming into contact with a seemingly reanimated, re-emergent, or living history. This section of the chapter describes Cornwall as a palimpsest, a place of layered history curated for visitors, where those histories are shifting, alternately interred and excavated. These ghosts come to demarcate the relationship between Cornwall's spatiality and temporality in anxious terms to articulate fears over lost histories, invented histories, and the potential erosion of history caused by progress and societal and economic collapse, embodied by tourism. This chapter outlines narratives in which tourists are attracted to Cornwall's reputation for ghosts, and their

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[206] Craik, *An Unsentimental Journey*, p. 144.

varying degrees of success in confronting Cornwall's re-emergent histories through spectral encounters.

There has been no critical analysis of the vast abundance of Cornish hauntings in fiction and what this can lend to existing cultural histories of the nineteenth-century ghost story tradition. In the nineteenth century it was feared that modernity was changing the very nature of ghosts, and that ghost stories were shedding haunted houses, castles, suits of armour, chivalric imagery and darkened forests in favour of railways and sites of industry. An 1862 article expresses anxiety over the changing ghost:

> spirits have made immense progress. Ruined castles have given way to railway stations; trackless forests to the streets of cities; and ghosts in armour are as much out of fashion as mail-coaches. A modern spectre would no more think of dressing in blue armour and carrying a truncheon than a man of fashion would think of strolling down Pall Mall in sandals and a toga.[207]

Cornwall—as a deindustrialised, mythic, ancient space—is frequently used as the setting for ghost stories that borrow from older traditions and resist these modern adaptations of the model. Analysing the significance of Cornwall in these overlooked and critically neglected ghost stories provides a means of understanding the place of Cornwall in the popular imagination as a site where histories emerge, and this provides a means of illuminating a more general understanding of a cultural preoccupation with the treatment of histories in an age of progress, and how these histories were used to market spaces to a tourists.

This section will investigate Edgar Allan Poe's "Ligeia" (1838), Clara Venn's "Christmas Eve at a Cornish Manor-house" (1878), Arthur Quiller-Couch's "A Pair of Hands" (1900), Elliott O'Donnell's "The Haunted Spinney" (1905), and E. M. Bray's "A Ghostly Visitation" (1907), all narratives which feature tourists confronting ghosts in Cornwall, and how there is something of Cornwall in particular that lends itself to hosting ghosts and revenants.

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[207] Anon., "The Latest Thing in Ghosts", *Once a Week*, 6.134 (Jan 18 1962), p. 100.

Edgar Allan Poe's "Ligeia" (1838) features the narrator losing his eponymous beloved only to move to

> an abbey, which I shall not name, in one of the wildest and least frequented portions of fair England. The gloomy and dreary grandeur of the building, the almost savage aspect of the domain, the many melancholy and time-honored memories connected in both, had much in unison with the feelings of utter abandonment which had driven me into that remote and unsocial region of the country.[208]

While not stated explicitly, it is clear that the narrator has moved to Cornwall—made even clearer when he takes as his bride the Lady Rowena Trevanion, of Tremaine. The surname Trevanion follows Richard Carew's rhyming couplet—"By Tre, Pol and Pen / Shall we know all Cornishmen", referring to the common prefixes of Cornish surnames and place names in 1602—a phrase still in popular circulation today.[209] It could also derive from "Trevena", a name for Tintagel, on the North Coast of Cornwall. Tremaine is a noted Cornish surname as well as a village in Launceston in East Cornwall. Cornwall, so far from Poe's New England home, has an already established reputation for the gloomy, mythical, magic and melancholy—an ideal site for the reanimation of the narrator's dead lover, Ligeia.

The setting of the second half of the narrative has been recognised by numerous critics as Cornwall, though a misunderstanding of the history, culture, and significance of Cornwall has led to this facet being misinterpreted in analyses of the story. Daniel Hoffman claims that Rowena is "a girl apparently from Cornwall" indicating that the "narrator succumbs to the false lure of British Romanticism".[210] Yet, nothing of the description of the place is Romantic. It is a vividly, viciously, savagely Gothic landscape, and the homogenisation of the "British" is contrary to Cornwall's resistant and distinct history. Similarly, J. G. Kennedy notes that "her family name and the village (Tremaine) associated with her origins both signify Cornwall", but proposes that "this English location remains altogether indefinite" and that instead "Poe draws on cultural

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[208] Edgar Allan Poe, "Ligeia", *The Works of Edgar Allan Poe* (New York City: Thomas Y. Cromwell & Co., 1902), pp. 49-50.
[209] Bernard Deacon, *The Cornish Family: The Roots of Our Future* (Cornwall: Cornwall Editions Ltd., 2004), p. 56.
[210] Daniel Hoffman, "Poe's 'Ligeia': I Have Been Faithful to You in My Fashion", in *Romanticism: Critical Essays in American Literature*, ed. by James Barbour and Thomas Quirk (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), p. 166.

associations to signify 'England'".[211] This, again, oversimplifies, conflates and homogenises regions of England, and neglects Cornwall's peculiarities and particularities. Jeffrey Meyers notes that Rowena's name is "derived from the heroine of Scott's *Ivanhoe* and a village in north Cornwall"—yet, bizarrely, does not locate the narrative itself in Cornwall.[212] To link Cornwall and Scott would have been logical to Poe, who likely would have been aware of Walter Scott's *Sir Tristrem; A Merical Romance of the Thirteenth Century* (1804), a rewriting of the Cornish Tristan and Iseult mythos. Scott's narrative likely inspired Poe's "Mad Trist" of Launcelot Canning—the invented Romance contained within Poe's "The Fall of the House of Usher" (1839), where "Launcelot" could be an archaic spelling or a more conscious hybrid of "Lancelot" and "Launceston". Through this lens it is clear then that the narrator of "Ligeia" is torn between a loathed lover of Cornwall and a lost beloved of the Rhine, as Iseult was torn between King Mark of Cornwall and Tristan, imagined in some legends as French. It is also clear that in "Ligeia" Poe is drawing upon the mystical and supernatural significance of Tintagel. Poe is using "Cornwall" as a signifier of magic, tortured romance, and literary and mythic history. This example provides some insight into how a deeper understanding of Cornwall in the nineteenth century can illuminate critically saturated texts in new ways and enrich our understanding of how Gothic fiction uses place, space, regionality, and nationality to generate anxiety, revivify history, and conjure the supernatural.

Later in the century "Christmas Eve at a Cornish Manor-house" (1878) by Clara Venn centres on twin sisters deciding to travel to Cornwall to confront its ghosts and to live the "uncivilised" life of a different time.[213] The owners of the 400-year-old manor house they are to visit reject "'every modern convenience' in our surroundings", and the outsiders, "having never done without modern conveniences in our lives, of course, we made up our minds that it would be charming to do so now".[214] They seek to travel into a romanticised past, and "to

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[211] J. G. Kennedy, "The Realm of Dream and Memory: Poe's England", in *Poe and Place*, ed. by Philip Edward Phillips (New York: Springer, 2018), p. 95.
[212] Jeffrey Meyers, *Edgar Allan Poe: His Life and Legacy* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), p. 104.
[213] Clara Venn, "Christmas Eve at a Cornish Manor House", *St. James's Magazine* (Dec 1878), p. 1053.
[214] Venn, p. 1053.

spend Christmas after the fashion of four hundred years ago".[215] The tantalising image of a romantic, mythic Cornwall is dissolved as the girls confront the coarse realities of the barbaric land. The county seems to actively reject the girls, and their journey is made nearly impossible. It adds insult to injury that after their arduous journey no ghosts are to be found, and their tourist expectations are frustrated. They do, however, encounter ancient carvings and traditions, and "certainly our first experience of the ancient customs was rather a rude shock to us both".[216] As the twins arrive at the manor their narrative becomes a framing narrative, as their cousin tells them a ghost story in lieu of a real haunting. Notably, the manor "*had* a ghost"—the ghost, representative of the past, is itself of the past, somehow lost amidst the onslaught of strangers and modernity, articulating an anxiety over lost traditions. Regardless of the absence of a spectral experience, "Christmas Eve at a Cornish Manor-house" is an example of the popularity of the notion of Cornwall as a place in which to find ghosts—or, at least, ghost stories.

Some tourists are more successful at finding ghosts than others. Many Cornish tourist ghost stories centre on the traveller visiting the county to encounter difference, and the difference found being more radical and supernatural than anticipated. This trope functions as a representation of the Cornish quest for difference, or particularism throughout the nineteenth-century, and how this particularism is recurrently rooted in the supernatural. A further example of this is "A Pair of Hands", published by Arthur Quiller-Couch in the collection *Old Fires and Profitable Ghosts: A Book of Stories* in 1900. Arthur Quiller-Couch (1863-1944) was a celebrated and prolific Cornish author, literary critic, and poet who published under the pseudonym "Q". [217]

"A Pair of Hands" opens with the framing narrative of a middle-aged protagonist telling her nieces that once she lived with a ghost, and that as a young woman by the name of Miss Le Petyt she moved into a cottage in

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[215] Venn, p. 1053.

[216] Venn, p. 1053.

[217] In 1928 he became a Bard of Gorsedh Kernow for his work advancing Cornish culture, history, and folklore. This dedication fed into his fiction-writing, and he was the author of several Cornish Gothic tales, including his first novel, *Dead Man's Rock* (1887), and the short story "The Rollcall of the Reef" (1895), both featuring hauntings and Gothic shipwrecks on the liminal Cornish coast. These are discussed in more detail in the chapter on shipwrecks.

Cornwall for a taste of adventure and solitude. In her rented home she sees a pair of tiny, ghostly, disembodied hands, and discovers they are the hands of a little girl ghost, Margaret, who has been tortured by the endless stream of horrific tenants occupying the property previously.[218] Margaret comes to care for Miss Le Petyt out of a deep love and gratitude for her difference from these terrible tourists.

Miss Le Petyt thinks the Cornish brusque and thorny upon first meeting, though later comes to understand that this coldness is symptomatic of their own horrendous experiences with barbarous outsiders:

> He met my advances politely enough, but with an air of suspicion which offended me. I began by disliking him for it: afterwards I set it down as an unpleasant feature in the local character. I was doubly mistaken. Farmer Hosking was slow-witted, but as honest a man as ever stood up against hard times; and a more open and hospitable race than the people on that coast I never wish to meet. It was the caution of a child who had burnt his fingers, not once but many times.[219]

The true horror lies not in Margaret and her tiny disembodied hands, but in the things she has seen while her spirit is trapped in the cottage for twenty years. Margaret is a ghost haunted by visitors to Cornwall. Mrs Carkeek, the caretaker, exclaims that "[t]hey was awful. Didn't Farmer Hosking tell you? They carried on fearful—one after another, and each one worse than the last", going on to elaborate that it was

> [d]rink, miss, with some of 'em. There was the Major—he used to go mad with it, and run about the coombe in his nightshirt. Oh, scandalous! And his wife drank too—that is, if she ever was his wife. Just think of that tender child washing Up after their nasty doings![220]

Mrs Carkeek goes on to say that that "wasn't the worse—not by a long way", and tells her mistress how a family beat their six children, "starved, and tortured 'em", "[y]ou could hear their screams, I've been told, away back in the highroad, and that's the best part of half a mile. Sometimes they was locked up without food for days together. But it's my belief that little Miss Margaret managed to feed them somehow".[221] Miss Le Petyt begs her to stop, "if I'm to have any

[218] A. T. Quiller-Couch, *Old Fires and Profitable Ghosts: A Book of Stories* (New York City: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900).
[219] Quiller-Couch, p. 76.
[220] Quiller-Couch, p. 90.
[221] Quiller-Couch, p. 91.

peace of mind in this house", more horrified by the acts of living tenants than a child ghost.[222] This inverts the notion of the barbarous Cornish, and instead shows travellers, visitors, and foreign tenants as the monsters invading the domesticity of Cornwall, rather than the feared reverse—the Cornish tainting and invading the sanctity of the English mainland. This conforms to James Buzard's description of Gothic tourists "who, in their very numbers ..., kill the things they loved".[223] The perpetual, recurrent bad behaviour of the tenants illustrates a common theme in Cornish Gothic fiction— that of Cornwall, and other coastal leisure locales, serving as sites permitting transgressive behaviour, safely dislocated from the homestead. Cornwall's isolation allows it to function as a playground for the enacting of the perverse; a virtual reality separated from civilised society.

Another example of the haunted traveller appears in Elliott O'Donnell's "The Haunted Spinney" (1905).[224] The narrative follows a tradition of ghost stories featuring sceptics or rationalists confronting haunted spaces. It centres on a visitor to Cornwall witnessing a heinous crime in a spinney and escaping back to London to recuperate. There, a psychical investigator encourages him to return to the county, where he is driven mad by the realisation that he himself committed the crime. Further, that he framed a Cornishman for the murder, capitalising on the perceived barbarism of the Cornish and his owned perceived superiority as a Londoner. The narrator is possessed by a mad passion to return to the Gothic Cornwall of his memory, this land of spectres and monstrous spectacle, and his articulation of this intense drive is paired with an exaggeration of Cornwall's difference in contrast to London:

> An irresistible impulse seized me, a morbid craving to look once more at the blood-stained hollow, to hear again the wind . . . I looked out of the window, the sky was cold and grey. There were rows and rows of chimneys everywhere, a sea of chimneys, an ocean of dull, uninviting smoke. I began to hate London and to long for the countless miles of blue sea, and the fresh air of the woods.[225]

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[222] Quiller-Couch, p. 91.
[223] Buzard, p. 48.
[224] Elliott O'Donnell, "The Haunted Spinney", *The Idler: An Illustrated Monthly Magazine* (Mar 1905), pp. 135-141. O'Donnell was an author and psychical investigator. He published numerous investigations and histories of haunted houses and places throughout England, as well as guides to spiritualism, ghost stories, and weird tales.
[225] O'Donnell, p. 140.

It is implied that it is Cornwall's wildness that awakens bloodlust within the narrator and reduces even the most civilised of men to barbarous, animal instincts, permitting transgressive, savage behaviour. The narrator becomes the same monstrous tourist as those that haunt the child ghost in Quiller-Couch's narrative. On his return to Cornwall, he is possessed by anxiety:

> A thousand times I prepared to go back on my word, a thousand tumultuous emotions of some impending disaster rushed through me. I felt on the border of an abyss, dark and hopeless; I was pushed on by invisible and unfriendly hands; I knew I must fall, knew the black depths in front would engulf me eternally. I took the plunge.[226]

Cornwall is the border, the "black depths", and the "abyss, dark and hopeless". The county functions as a threshold between the real and the unreal, life and death, sanity and insanity. His fears are justified, and as soon as the narrator is once again bathed in the Cornish moonlight he becomes territorial, possessive, and violent, even against his friend: "Why did he stand in the moonlight? What business had he there? I laughed, but I fear there was little mirth in the sound".[227] For the narrator moving from the city to the country is a psychic regression or an animal degeneration. The narrator is driven mad by the realisation that the monster in the trees who led the woman to her death was himself, as "oh! damning horror, I saw its face—it was my own".[228] The spinney becomes both a site of haunting and a site of repressed traumatic memory:

> The madmen he had led at midnight, gibbering into St. Ives, did not convince the sceptical readers of the London dailies with his corroboration. But the St. Ives people knew and understood. It is on account of that the spinney so soon lost its ghosts, though the wind whistles as dismally there as ever.[229]

London rationality and civility are contrasted with Cornish superstition, exaggerating Cornwall as a place of difference, as the tourist is punished for his return to the county by a form of eternal interment as an asylum inmate. O'Donnell's narrative is a satirical take on the Gothic thirst driving tourists to Cornwall, suggesting that their attraction to the county's monstrosity may make them a monster in turn.

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[226] O'Donnell, p. 140.
[227] O'Donnell. p. 140.
[228] O'Donnell, p. 141.
[229] O'Donnell, p. 141.

E. M. Bray's "A Ghostly Visitation" (1907) is a terrifying account of the experiences of a young woman visiting a Cornish hotel. Her stay is marred by the constant appearance of a black figure in her room, and the more she denies its existence the more violent it becomes, until it eventually strikes her face. She tries to pray for the creature, and eventually it comes to her, expressing its desperation and isolation. It takes the form of a woman clad in widows' weeds, and something of the girl's empathy seems to set it free, leading to the eerie culmination:

> The afternoon just as it was beginning to get dusk I was sitting before my window looking out over the sea. Suddenly there sailed across the sky a huge figure bearing something dark in its arms. It came nearer and then paused between sea and sky, and once again I saw my ghost lady, now lying in the arms of this monster figure. She looked at me and smiling said:— "It is well: all is well, and there are many of us." Then she was borne away, and I saw as through a veil that there were many shadowy figures in her wake. These too passed away, and I was left alone bewildered and wondering.[230]

The conclusion is dependent upon Cornwall being saturated in hauntings; the idea that the county's very history and sense of self is orientated around its many ghosts. The traveller is both privy to these ghosts, and partly responsible for their materialisation, as interspersed tales form a coherent narrative of a haunted Cornwall in the tourist imagination. The traveller's position as outsider and voyeur—sitting behind a window, looking out over the sea, as though through a veil—reasserts the distance between the outsider and mythic Cornwall. "A Ghostly Visitation" is derived from a literary history of a particular framework for ghost stories which Nick Freeman argues originates in Walter Scott's "The Tapestried Chamber" (1828):

> a situation widely deployed in later fiction—a character spends a night in a haunted room and has an encounter with something frightening, in ["A Tapestried Chamber"'s] case a malign female spectre. With bedtime reading a growing pastime in an increasingly literate nineteenth-century Britain, the content of stories often echoed the circumstances of their consumption, and transformed the bedroom from the traditional place of safety and repose into a site of unrest and horror.[231]

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[230] E. M. Bray, "A Ghostly Visitation", *The Sphere* (Nov 23 1907), p. 8.
[231] Nick Freeman, "The Victorian Ghost Story", *The Victorian Gothic: An Edinburgh Companion*, eds. Andrew Smith and Williams Hughes (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), pp. 94-95.

This is another mode of the uncanny, whereby the bedroom becomes unhomely, as a means of articulating the strangeness of the hotel bedroom—a false, temporary home away from home. In "A Ghostly Visitation" the uncanniness of the bedroom is a mirror of Cornwall—the supposedly familiar and known becoming a place of horrors. The expected and the comfortable is continually usurped to bring disquiet, as the assumedly "English" seaside is riddled with demons, spectres, and monsters.

Visitors to Cornwall continually approach the county in pursuit of ghosts—whether the ghosts of Arthur and Merlin, an ancient past, or a more primitive people. They long to find these ghosts to either challenge or verify their literary experience; to immerse themselves within fantasy and locate "difference" from the everyday; to disprove ghosts or to prove them. Hunting ghosts becomes a literary leisure activity, and in Cornish Gothic narratives these ghosts take different forms.[232] They can fail to exist at all, except in story form, frustrating the weary, hopeful traveller. They can be less frightening than the tourist themselves, they can force the re-emergence of repressed trauma, and they can be so numerous as to reinforce the strangeness of Cornwall as an unreality. In all their guises, they serve to support the notion of Cornwall as a land shaped by and made singular by its legends of hauntings, and its particular, ancient, and mythological history.

Conclusion

Much of the material investigated in this chapter has been recurrently neglected by critics. Vernon Lee's travel writing, in particular, has been persistently overlooked, as has the significance of Dinak Craik's writing on the Cornwall as an example of the reception of Tennyson in the period. Further, while there has been a significant body of work on the Victorian ghost story, very little has been said about the recurrence of Cornwall as a haunted site. In general, Arthurian studies has marginalised the significance of Cornwall's role of the Arthurian revival in the nineteenth century. Thus, this chapter is an important interjection

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[232] J. Fraser, "Ghost Hunting", *Psy Encyclopedia* (London: The Society for Psychical Research, 2015) <https://psi-encyclopedia.spr.ac.uk/articles/ghost-hunting> [Accessed 14.08.19].

into Arthurian studies, regional studies, ghost fiction studies, and the field of travel writing.

While there was a booming seaside tourist industry around the British coastline offering sun, sea, and sand, Cornwall was where you came to be haunted by ghouls. This is due to the ways in which the boundaries between the past and the present appear to be particularly flimsy and permeable in the county, allowing the traveller to experience not just the landscape as a superficial surface, but the many layers of history beneath it.

This chapter demonstrates the ways in which the recurrent Gothicisation of Cornwall was motivated by the boom in tourism in the middle of the nineteenth century. The proliferation of Gothic literature centred on Cornwall was triggered by this turn (in turn a result of the new railway line) leading to the wider British populace being suddenly aware of this distant county on the periphery. The proliferation of Gothic fiction led to the literary tourist's thirst to visit these sites—especially to seek out the Arthurian Cornwall described by Tennyson. The insurgence of these tourists seeking a haunted Cornwall of ghosts and re-emergent national figures led to a rise in Gothic fiction featuring the figure of the traveller. New transportation technologies and investment in travel infrastructure made Cornwall—and the world at large—more accessible than ever before, but this generated anxieties surrounding travelling and the tourist. Cornwall, suffering in the wake of the collapse of the mining industry, needed the economic benefits of the tourist trade but was, simultaneously, fearful of the impact of such an insurgence on Cornish culture, selfhood, and landscape. This led to the recurrent figure of the unwelcome or haunted tourist being driven from the land by the very ghosts they sought to encounter. This irony fuels the Gothicisation of Cornwall and the continued representation of Cornwall as an uncanny place, loaded with tensions—a place both attractive and repulsive, with ghosts both intriguing and inhospitable.

Ultimately, these tourist narratives demonstrate the centrality of Cornwall as a Gothic tourist site in the long nineteenth-century imagination. Visitors to Cornwall did not undertake the arduous journey into the county just because Tennyson set his *Idylls* there, but because they thought there was something of the *Idylls* intrinsic in the landscape that could be encountered. They did not

travel to see where Arthur once sat, but to encounter the possibility of an ever present, spectral, living Arthur. Cornwall was not a desirable tourist site because things happened there, but because of the promise that history was still happening, in the flesh—a place of druids, paganism, ghosts, superstitions, and primitivity living on persistently in the face of progress. In a time and culture preoccupied with modernity tourists sought the "difference" of a place whose culture, beliefs, and people were somewhat preserved from a previous time. In this way, they engage in a mode of tourism not just across land but across time, where the geographical distances serve to exaggerate the imagined temporal distance. This virtual temporal tourism is irrevocably bound up in storytelling, folklore, myth, and fantasy. The histories and intrigues of Cornwall are retold through Gothic literature, and literature then becomes the mechanism through which tourists are motivated to visit the county. These tourists and tales of travellers then become bound up in the fiction and retold as ghost stories in their own right, solidifying the relationship between literariness and tourism, and cementing Cornwall as a site which inspires fictions.

Chapter Three
"The dead lay buried and yet unburied": Cornish Mining Narratives and the Subterranean Gothic

Hurea for tin and copper, boys, and fisheries likewise!
Hurea for Cornish maadens-Oh, bless their pretty eyes!
Hurea for our ould gentrie, and may they never faale!
Hurea, hurea for Cornwall! Hurea, boys, "one and ale!"
- "A Cornish Song", c. 1807[1]

The co-called revolutions of 1848 were but poor incidents,
small fractures and fissures in the dry crust of European society.
But they denounced the abyss.
Beneath the apparently solid surface,
they betrayed oceans of liquid matter only needing
expansion to rend into fragments continents of hard rock.
- Karl Marx, 1856[2]

When Lord Byron visited Falmouth in 1809 he remarked that "the oysters have a taste of copper, owing to the soil of a mining country".[3] For Byron the potency of the land seeped into the sea, the food, and the experience of the traveller, emblematic of the omnipresence of Cornwall's mining culture throughout the county and in the wider popular imagination in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Cornish economy was largely dependent upon ore mining (primarily tin, then copper), and mining rituals and customs played a central role in Cornish culture and the formation of a particular Cornish identity. The county's symbiotic interdependence with its mining spaces and technologies led to the county being portrayed as both an idyllic, romantic retreat, and a space of advanced engineering prowess. This technology

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[1] James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps, *A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, Obsolete Phrases, Proverbs, and Ancient Customs: From the Fourteenth Century* (London: J. R. Smith, 1847), p. xiii
[2] Karl Marx, "Speech at the Anniversary of the People's Paper", *Marx/Engels Selected Works, Volume One* (Moscow, USSR: Progress Publishers, 1969), p. 500.
[3] George Gordon Byron and Thomas Moore, *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron, with notices of his life, by Thomas Moore*, volume 1 (New York City: J. and J. Harper, 1830), p. 154.

was a marker of Cornish superiority, and was being exported outward, creating a global Cornish diaspora of revered mining communities. Simultaneously and conflictingly, the Cornish were seen as primitive barbarians. There persisted a savage or romantic view of the Cornish which was "essentially rural, Celtic, even Catholic, in which the modernity of industrialisation was often left unaddressed".[4] This tension bears similarity to other Celtic regions, since "much as Scotland contained the 'backward' 'Celtic fringe' of the Highlands but also the 'enlightened' Lowland boroughs, Cornwall has a long history of being conceived as both archaic and modern, in this case its modernity taking shape through its mining industry".[5] This internal contradiction emphasised the Cornish as "other".[6] Yet, by the middle of the nineteenth century, the mining industry was experiencing a slow, painful death— the social and economic repercussions of which are still felt in Cornwall today. Miners began emigrating towards richer veins of ore abroad in huge numbers and the loss of the industry was a cultural and economic shock, leaving much of the remaining population in devastating poverty.

As the county mourned its industry as emblem of its sense of superior and particular self the tourist economy was rising, and visitors encountered a land left in tatters by its lost livelihoods and heritage. The collapse of mining opened a "semantic space" which was "promptly colonised by the romantic representations of outsiders who viewed Cornwall as a primitive and liminal place, and opposite or an antidote to urban civilisation".[7] This chapter investigates how Cornish miners, mining, and its collapse were represented in Gothic terms in a variety of media throughout the long nineteenth century to demonstrate the interplay between Cornish cultural upheaval and a proliferation of Gothic fiction in the period. The most familiar Gothic tropes—castles, ruins, dungeons, crypts, caves, and forests—are thresholds between the natural and the supernatural worlds, which function to illuminate "some unmediated absolute that stands outside the boundaries of the

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[4] Philip Payton, "Cornwall in Context: The New Cornish Historiography", *Cornish Studies*, 5 (1997), p. 13.

[5] Shelley Trower, *Rocks of Nation: The Imagination of Celtic Cornwall* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), p. 60.

[6] Cynthia Lane, "'Too Rarely Visited and Too Little Known': Travellers' Imaginings of Industrial Cornwall", *Cornish Studies*, 13 (2005), pp. 170-171.

[7] Jane Korey, "As we belong to be: the ethnic movement in Cornwall, 380 England", *PhD thesis, Brandeis University* (1992), p. 7.

natural and social orders".[8] The subterranean functions in this way and is ingrained in the popular imagination as an underworld, another world, where the surface acts as threshold, and its permeability is a cause for concern. Cornish Gothic fiction recurrently exploits the permeability of the mining surface as threshold as a means of articulating further anxieties about the nature of borders and boundaries— between realities, nations, and classes.

The first half of this chapter will outline the history and context of mining and subterranean spaces in Victorian Cornwall, Victorian Gothic fiction, and Victorian culture, with a specific focus on the development of the historical sciences of geology, anthropology, and archaeology. This half of the chapter will provide an extensive overview of the significance of subterranean imagery to Gothic literary theory, and to social and cultural theory more widely. The second half of the chapter will provide analyses of texts within the framework of the subterranean Gothic established in part one. It will provide an analysis of H. D. Lowry's novel *Wheal Darkness* (Lowry died in 1906 and the novel was completed by his cousin, Catherine Amy Dawson Scott, in 1920), and a number of short stories, including Emily Arnold's "The Ghost of the Treasure Chamber" (1886), Mary E. Penn's "In the Mist" (1888), Joseph Pearce's "The Man Who Coined his Blood into Gold" (1896), Elliott O'Donnell's "The Ghost of Carnaquilla" (1910) and F. Tennyson Jesse's "The Mask" (1912). Textual analysis of these sources will evidence the conclusions drawn in part one. Ultimately, this chapter will demonstrate that the representation of the Cornish mine as a Gothic structure in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can only be understood through a contextual map of mythic, scientific, religious, and cultural associations with the subterranean space. Further, the Cornish Gothic mine can specifically subvert assumptions about the nature of excavation as key to the knowledge-gaining mission. Cornwall provides a space for fully playing out the implications of excavation as mythic quest and the supernatural connotations underpinning the popular reception of the historical sciences. Therefore, the Cornish

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[8] Jeffrey Cox, *Seven Gothic Dramas, 1789-1825* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1993), p. 7.

Gothic mine provides vital insight into the nuanced interplay between the sciences, culture, and myth at the *fin-de-siècle*.

While this chapter features the least canonical authors of the thesis, they are situated within the most known and recognisable feature of Cornwall—its mining heritage. Throughout this chapter commonalities will be illuminated between these narratives and the more canonical works discussed in other chapters to establish a wider Cornish Gothic tradition composed of multivalent voices. One of the aims of this thesis is to recover the works of less critically saturated authors to demonstrate the pervasiveness of the Cornish Gothic. At the same time, this chapter will recover—or uncover—the centrality of the significance of Cornwall to processes and imaginings of industrialisation in the long nineteenth century.

Historical Context

Cornwall was, and continues to be, famed for its mining—not just its rich lodes of tin and copper ore, but the almost supernatural expertise of its miners. Mining formed the core and backbone of the Cornish economy and culture for hundreds of years and is irrevocably embedded in the county's ancient legends. The Cornish exported their mined products and miners across the world and gained an international reputation for mining excellence and high-quality ore, reinforcing the symbiotic relationship between the people and the landscape. Mining superiority upheld a sense of Cornish superiority and particularism, and massively influenced culture, folklore, and traditions, as well as changing the physical landscape. In 2006 the Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape was designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in recognition of the area's mining history. Between 1700 and 1800 Cornwall became Britain's "most important non-ferrous metal-mining region" and "one of the country's principal industrial areas", producing more tin than any comparable region in the world.[9] Further, "by the first three decades of the nineteenth century, its output of copper amounted to two-thirds of world production", meaning that "for much of the eighteenth century, the growth-rate in the Cornish

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[9] Barry Gamble, *Cornish Mines: St Just to Redruth* (Cornwall: Alison Hodge Publishers, 2011), p. 4.

copper industry exceeded that of all other major national industrial sectors".[10] Cornwall was integral to Britain's industrial development, economic growth, and significance on the world engineering and trading stage. Cornwall's tin supplies enabled the development of the copper-smelting industry in Swansea, the brass industry in Bristol and Birmingham, and the tin-plate industries in Wales and Liverpool.[11] Over a 200-year period 1,000 mines operated in Cornwall and 3,000 engine houses were built, of which over 200 remain today as part of the protected heritage landscape.[12] Cornish legend states that Cornwall and its surrounding islands of Scilly and Looe are the ancient Cassiteride Isles sought by the ancient Phoenicians for tin, as documented by Herodotus.[13] This legend was investigated well into the nineteenth century, with a 1862 article declaring that "[t]he appearance, however, of Cornwall from the sea is such that it might easily have been taken for a group of islands".[14] Another mining legend states that Jesus visited Cornwall as a boy with Joseph of Arimathea, again in pursuit of Cornwall's world-famous tin. This myth so permeated Cornish mining culture that it was said those unfamiliar with the state of mining before radical interventions from "the London adventurer" were those "that knew not Joseph".[15] Some Cornish critics have even gone so far as to claim that William Blake's "Jerusalem" explicitly references Christ's visit to Cornwall, with the "satanic mills" referring to Cornish mining chimneys.[16] The authenticity of these legends is insignificant—it is their development, perpetuation, and endurance that is indicative of the significance of mining to Cornish culture, superiority, and global reputation. Cornish miners as subterranean engineering experts were often brought onto projects outside the county. For example, the Thames Tunnel project—thought impossible—was initially proposed by famed Cornish engineers Richard Trevithick and Robert Vazie with a team of Cornish miners who were unusually suited to

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[10] Gamble, p. 4.
[11] Gamble, p. 4.
[12] Gamble, p. 4.
[13] Bryan Earl, *Cornish Mining: The Techniques of Metal Mining in the West of England, Past and Present* (St. Austell: Cornish Hillside Publications, 1994), p. 9.
[14] Anon., "Notes on the Remains of Early British Tin-Works", *The Gentleman's Magazine: And Historical Review* (Dec 1862), p. 696.
[15] Jenkin, p. 232.
[16] Sam Miller, *A Strange Kind of Paradise: India Through Foreign Eyes* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2014), p. 40.

mining underground under water, due to the number of coastal mines running into the seabed.[17] While their work was unsuccessful, it had a major influence on the subsequent work of Marc and Isambard Brunel, who eventually completed the project between 1825 and 1843—with a team of Cornish miners.[18] The Tunnel was proclaimed "the Eighth Wonder of the World", changed the face of engineering forever, launched the career of one of the greatest engineers in British history, and would have been impossible without the unique expertise of Cornish miners and engineers, cementing their own place in engineering history.[19] Yet, towards the end of the century, it became increasingly necessary for Cornish workers to adopt projects further afield.

The 1840s (the start date for this thesis) "was the decade when Cornwall decisively moved from a proto-industrial to an industrial society".[20] The span of the nineteenth century saw swiftly changing fortunes for the mining industry and miners in Cornwall, as "this mid-century modernisation was all too soon arrested by the crises of the 1860s and the 1870s and the inability of the Cornish economy to diversify in the face of the crash of Cornish copper in 1866 and the subsequent faltering of Cornish tin".[21] The over-specialised Cornish economy was rapidly deindustrialised, leading to "The Exodus of the Seventies", or the mass migration of Cornish miners and their families (though not always—the women left behind were referred to as the "married widows of Cornwall") abroad, creating a global diaspora of Cornish mining communities.[22] The Cornish miners fervently maintained a sense of particularism while living abroad:

> The identification of industry with place had the effect of reinforcing and reinventing national and regional identities. This was especially so for Cornwall, where a residual sense of ethnic "difference" was reinvigorated now

[17] Richard Beamish, *Memoir of the Life of Sir Marc Isambard Brunel: Civil Engineer, Vice-President of the Royal Society* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1862), p. 208.

[18] Mike Dash, "The Epic Struggle to Tunnel Under the Thames", *Smithsonian Magazine*, smithsonianmag.com (Jan 3 2012) https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/the-epic-struggle-to-tunnel-under-the-thames-14638810/ [Accessed 19.07.19]

[19] Robert Sears, *The Wonders of the World, in Nature, Art, and Mind* (New York City: Robert Sears, 1843), p. 394

[20] Bernard Deacon, "Proto-industrialization and Potatoes: A Revised Narrative for Nineteenth-Century Cornwall", *Cornish Studies*, 5 (1997), p. 80.

[21] Philip Payton, *The Cornish Overseas: A History of Cornwall's "Great Emigration"* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2005), p. 22.

[22] Lesley Trotter, *The Married Widows of Cornwall: The Story of the Wives "Left Behind" by Emigration* (Stroud: Humble History Press, 2018), pp. 1-10.

by Cornish pride in the highly specialised and extremely advanced industrial activity that underpinned Cornish mining and engineering . . . it was the miners and their families that remained noticeably "Cornish" overseas.[23]

The creation of a global Cornish diaspora and the familiarity of the Cornish with international travel and trading networks is in conflict with the idea of the Cornish as isolated on the fringes of the nation. Rather than being a primitive backwater, Cornwall was the hub of a vast international network. Cornish author A. L. Rowse states that "[a]t home people knew what was going on in South Africa often rather better than what was happening 'up the country': the journey across the seas to another continent was more familiar than going very far 'up the country', say as far as London".[24] This is at odds with the popular image of the Cornish as sequestered and uncivilised. Rather, they are a populace exploiting the opportunities offered by transport and communication advances in an increasingly globalised marketplace. Parallel to the creation of this modern international community, the collapse of the mining industry at home led to mass poverty, desolation, and starvation. Topographically, mining activities across the county left the landscape marred by waste, abandoned machinery, and collapsing mine shafts, rendering the landscape hollowed, ruined, and dangerous. This frequently manifests in Gothic texts in monstrous descriptions of machinery and images of the horrors of industry. Wilkie Collins, in his rambles across the county, describes the experience of stumbling upon "an entirely new prospect... surrounded by an utterly bewildering noise" where "all about us monstrous wheelers were turning slowly; machinery was clanking and groaning in the hoarsest discord; invisible waters were pouring onwards with a rushing sound".[25] He expresses awe that what was the norm to the Cornish people was a terrifying prospect for the uninitiated urban visitor. Walter White, another Victorian traveller, is astounded by "the noise of ore-crushing machinery—thump, thump, thump—heard for miles; and you see iron rods stretching away furlongs in length... what could they be? Suddenly some unseen power gives one of them a pull

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[23] Payton, *The Cornish Overseas*, p. 13.
[24] Qtd. by Payton, *The Cornish Overseas*, p. 20.
[25] Wilkie Collins, *Rambles Beyond Railways; or, Notes in Cornwall Taken Afoot* (London: Richard Bentley, 1852), p. 19.

a yard or two to the right or the left, with a jerking crank".[26] The mining landscape is a overwhelming, multi-sensory, and haunted by its dead industry. H. D. Lowry, in the novel *Wheal Darkness*, states that

> he who journeys from Tallywarn to Tremarth, never ceases to hear the noise of the heavy stamps that crush the ore and render it tractable. Nor is there any spot in the region so sheltered that this sound is not sometimes audible, if only as a murmur, vague as that of the sea. When the wind is in the proper quarter you may stand within half a dozen yards of the northern cliff-face and hear, not the noise of the waves, but this murmur which waxes and wanes with the movement of the air-currents.[27]

This literalises the pervasiveness of mining in Cornwall, domineering every sense. The sound of the stamps functions as sonic pollution, matching the material, tangible pollution of other by-products of the mining process. The introduction of *Wheal Darkness* describes "a ruddy stream of ore-stained water that goes seaward from the mines" metaphorically and topographically linking the seas to the mines with a river of waste,[28] reminiscent of the dyed waters of Charles Dickens' Coke Town (*Hard Times*, 1854)—another text preoccupied with the toxic impact of industry on the environment. This iron run-off has been referred to as "the blood of the mines", reinforcing the idea of the landscape as a punctured, wounded body.[29] The Prince of Wales visited the Cornish mines in 1909, the year before he acceded to the throne as George V. The Prince claimed that "the operations of centuries have no more exhausted the mineral resources of Cornwall than has Tregeagle with his limpet shell drained the waters of Dozmary".[30] The analogy is one entrenched in Cornish mythology—though, Tregeagle was doomed to forever drain the waters of Dozmary for his crimes, seemingly further associating the Cornish miner with the criminal and the damned. The headline following the Prince's statement claimed that the mines were seemingly "resuscitated after many years", furthering the language of death

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[26] Walter White, *A Londoner's Walk to the Land's End: And a Trip to the Scilly Isles* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1855), p. 184.

[27] H. D. Lowry, *Wreckers and Methodists and Other Stories* (London: William Heinemann, 1893), pp. 9-10.

[28] Lowry, p. 9.

[29] Anon., "Rambles on the Cornish Coast", *The London Review of Politics, Society, Literature, Art, and Science* (July 29 1865), p. 123.

[30] Quoted in "Resuscitated After Many Years: Cornish Mines and their History", *The Sphere* (Jun 19 1909), p. 254.

and grief surrounding the collapse of the mining industry and the image of the mine as organic, anthropomorphised, and revenant body.

A. K. Hamilton Jenkin's *The Cornish Miner: An Account of his Life Above and Underground from Early Times* (1962) describes in great detail the trials and horrors facing Cornish miners in the nineteenth century. Jenkin states that a miner

> might find himself for eight hours at a time in a place so far removed from the rest that nothing but a distant booming occasionally reminded him that other human beings like himself were passing the night in lonely labour fifteen hundred feet or more below the sleeping world. Strange adventures have been known to happen to men in such places.[31]

This passage emphasises the mine as dislocated from humanity and reality. Jenkin goes on to describe popular mining legends which circulated in this period, including the story of miners who crawled for days in the dark upon losing their candles, exaggerating the vastness of the mine, and stories of miners who heard bodies climbing between levels but never saw a living soul.[32] The conditions in the mines were brutal. Jenkin describes how often there was so little fresh air circulating in the lower depths of mines that candles would not burn at all.[33] The mines were not just airless, but swelteringly hot, and on a particular level of Wheal Devonshire "the miners were said to be unable to keep their candles from melting away unless surrounded with water".[34] Indeed, a "manager's definition of an ill-ventilated mine was one where the air had become so vitiated as to extinguish all lights".[35] That Cornish miners not only continued to work in these conditions, but wanted to, and were proud of their mines, contributes to the othering of the Cornish miner as an alien, foreign creature occupying uninhabitable spaces. This emphasises the speciation and racialisation of the Cornish and the miner.

The globally revered success of the Cornish mines and Cornish miners received supernatural and superstitious attributions. In H. D. Lowry's mining novel

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[31] A. K. Hamilton Jenkin, *The Cornish Miner: An Account of his Life Above and Underground from Early Times* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1962), p. 210.
[32] Jenkin, pp. 210-212.
[33] Jenkin, p. 214.
[34] Jenkin, p. 214.
[35] Jenkin, p. 216.

Wheal Darkness, Old Malachi suggests that the Cornish are in possession of unique powers, describing "the sight" as covering "'that knowledge we have for which we cannot account'", as "[w]ith us Cornish, 'tis a common thing".[36] Another miner expresses a similar sentiment, as "[o]ld signs that a man is accustomed to are changed, like the face of a clock seen in a looking-glass. You don't believe in warnings and such-like, being the minister, but they do come to us simple folk".[37] The symbiotic relationship between the Cornish and the mine is exaggerated again, as "[a] man who had been many years working on these conditions acquired, in his old age, an almost miraculous power of telling the value of any piece of ground that lay before him".[38] Jenkin states that the Cornish "had a natural shrewdness and an almost instinctive knowledge in mining affairs, which was inherited from generations of those who had preceded them in the same calling".[39] This led to the proliferations of myths of Cornish mining superiority all over the world:

> It was on the new mining frontiers of America, Australia and South Africa that pride in Cornish industrial prowess gave birth to the "myth" of Cousin Jack, the belief—encouraged by the Cornish themselves—that the Cornish were innately and uniquely equipped as skilled hard-rock miners, especially when compared with competing ethnic groups.[40]

Havelock Ellis, psychoanalyst and sexologist, perpetuated ideas of Cornish speciation in "The Men of Cornwall" (1897). Ellis's essay describes common representations of the Cornish miner that persisted throughout the century and is demonstrative of the significance of the racialisation of the Cornish in the anthropological, psychological and evolutionary imagination. Ellis describes the "Cornish race", and "the volatility of the Cornish", as separate from the "true-born English".[41] Ellis goes on to note that "[t]he stranger in Cornwall is quickly impressed by something wild and primitive in the land and the people", and that this primitivity is, as before, related to the "general contours of the country" which are "savage and uncivilised".[42] Indeed, "[t]he people themselves also often retain a certain element of

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[36] Lowry, p. 107.
[37] Lowry, p. 127-128.
[38] Lowry, pp. 140-141.
[39] Jenkin, p. 230.
[40] Payton, *The Cornish Overseas*, p. 13.
[41] Havelock Ellis, "The Men of Cornwall", *The New Century Review* (London, May 1897), p. 411.
[42] Ellis, p. 414.

savagery, as apt when irritated to break out in bursts of violent anger as their shallow soil to reveal the hard rock underneath, or their sudden gales to lash the sea into white fury".[43] Ellis specifically relates the pre-civilised primitivity of the Cornish to the materiality of their subterranean landscapes. An 1852 article states that "Cornish women in the mining district have been described as having lead-coloured complexions and hard angular forms, as if hewn out of their own granite rocks",[44] demonstrating the pervasiveness of the association between the Cornish personality and the Cornish geological landscape throughout the century.

As the mines collapsed, the tourist industry boomed, and the remaining mines became popular tourist destinations due to their legendary reputation, as part of a longer heritage of subterranean tourism which includes caves as well as mines.[45] An article entitled "Down in a Tin Mine" (1878) describes a tourist's experience travelling into a mine for the purposes of promoting the activity to the travelling public. Halfway down the mine the narrator wonders "whether we were getting near New Zealand".[46] Their narrative uses Gothic imagery:

> Immediately a weird phantom figure stood before us in the thick gloom of the huge excavation. Raising my arm, I pointed this out to my companion. He was astonished; I will not say frightened. The figure stood motionless with outstretched arm. Captain R. advanced towards me; the figure grew, and seemed to approach us, till it filled the whole excavation. My friend, with no very steady hand, lit my candle; at once the phantom vanished, as if by the wave of a magician's wand.
>
> The explanation of the appearance of this ghost, as of most ghosts, was of course simple. The phantom was nothing more than my shadow projected on the thick smoky air by my friend's candle. I explained this to the good Captain, but he shook his head doubtfully, and evidently thought that, whatever the reason or the cause might be, "the old men's workings were uncanny places".[47]

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[43] Ellis, p. 415.
[44] "A Glimpse of Cornwall", p. 428.
[45] For more see Lisa Fletcher and Ralph Crane, "Inspiration and Spectacle: The Case of Fingal's Cave in Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature", *Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment*, 22.4 (2015), pp. 778-800.; Douglas Reichert Powell, *Endless Caverns: An Underground Journey into the Show Caves of Appalachia* (North Carolina: UNC, 2018), pp. 5-6; Ralph Crane and Lisa Fletcher*, Cave: Nature and Culture* (London: Reaktion Books, 2015), p. 166.
[46] Anon., "Down in a Tin Mine", *The Argosy: A Magazine of Tales, Travels, Essays and Poems* (Jun 1878), p. 430.
[47] "Down a Tin Mine", p. 434.

Cornwall was being "discovered", or excavated, by the wider nation at its most vulnerable, deprived, and desolate moment, which doubtless contributed to the reception of Cornwall as a place of hauntings, horror and trauma. The perceived "semantic space" left in the absence of mining impacted not just the economy but culture more generally, and "dissolved old networks of custom, tradition, and reciprocity".[48] This caused an influx of antiquarians seeking to preserve a sense of Cornishness they saw as being lost under the dual attacks of the collapse of mining and the infiltration of tourist bodies. The loss of mining led to a sense of nostalgia, which called "upon a romantic Cornish history, rather than engaging with the difficulties present in its economic decline, which is better described as extreme, fatal poverty".[49] This can be seen, for example, in the re-emergence of Arthurian literature and legend set in Cornwall in the Victorian period. As the Cornish mines collapsed inwards, the county's history was pulled to the surface.

In Cornwall

The reception of the collapse of Cornwall's world-famous mining industry can only be understood within a wider context of scientific and cultural images of the subterranean. As just one example, the development of the London underground altered the perception of the city, centred London on the national and global map, and changed the perception of time and space itself.[50] Early locomotives were called Cerberus, Pluto, and Dido, and the foundry where they were made called the Vulcan foundry, colliding the ancient past with modernity, and locating the ancient in subterranean space.[51] The mythological and impenetrable subterranean world had been tamed and conquered by modern technology, becoming a manmade container for the technology most emblematic of human civilisation and engineering

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[48] Gill Burke, "The Impact of Industrial Change on Working Class Family Life in the Mining Districts of Nineteenth-Century Cornwall", *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History*, 48 (1984), p. 14.
[49] Bernard Deacon, "County, Nation, Ethnic Group? The Shaping of the Cornish Identity", *The International Journal of Regional and Local Studies*, 3.1 (2013), p. 7.
[50] See Christian Wolmar, *The Subterranean Railway: How the London Underground was Built and How it Changed the City Forever* (London: Atlantic Books, 2009).
[51] Wendy Lesser, *The Life Below the Ground: A Study of the Subterranean in Literature and History* (London: Faber & Faber, 1987), p. 81.

achievement—the railway.[52] At the same time excavation was captivating the public, from archaeological digs in the Alps and Troy, to the launch of the Metropolitan Board of Works and their underground pipe system in the 1850s, and Edwin Chadwick's investigation into London's sanitary conditions.[53] Subterranean projects were intimately entwined with increasing globalisation and transport developments—plans for the Paris Metro began in 1845, the first plan for the New York subway was approved in 1894, and embryonic plans for a Channel tunnel circulated throughout the nineteenth century.[54] Increasing literacy, access to print, and pressure for social reform meant that more people than ever before were aware of the conditions of subterranean workers, especially miners.[55] Authors "could not avoid seeing some excavation projects and hearing about many others", and the "quest to recover the truth about the past by digging ever more deeply was a central project of nineteenthcentury science".[55] Engineering developments underground led to the subterranean metaphor becoming concrete and tangible, as "[o]ld ideas which had been attached to fantastic tales now gained association with actual places one could touch and see—with mines, and subways, and tunnels, and excavations".[56] Yet, rather than the mythos and mystery of the underground being diluted or deferred by its sudden accessibility, it was, instead, amplified and illuminated. This agitation is similar to the ways in which the sudden access to, or excavation of, Cornwall in this period exaggerated and expanded the county's horrors and mysteries rather than disproving them.

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[52] For more on the importance of the railway in the nineteenth century and the role the railway plays in the construction of the Cornish Gothic see chapter four.

[53] For more on Troy see Rachel Bryant Davies, *Troy Carthage and the Victorians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 271. For more on tunnelling through the Alps see Robert Routledge and John Henry Pepper, *Discoveries and Inventions of the Nineteenth Century* (London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1876), pp. 247-250. See David Edward Owen, *The Government of Victorian London, 1855-1889: The Metropolitan Board of Works, the Vestries, and the City Corporation* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1982). For more on Chadwick's reports on the sanitary conditions of London see Robert B. Ekelund and Edward O. Price, *The Economics of Edwin Chadwick: Incentives Matter* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2012), p. 195.

[54] Keith Wilson, *Channel Tunnel Visions, 1850-1945* (London: A&C Black, 1994), pp. 3-4.

[55] See Catherine Mills, *Regulating Health and Safety in British Mining Industries, 1800-1914* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).

[55] Rosalind Williams, *Notes on the Underground* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992), p. 17.

[56] Lesser, p. 5.

Excavation narratives coincided with the emergence of the specialisation of the sciences which sought to "dig down"—archaeology, anthropology and geology saw excavation of the subterranean as key to uncovering the secrets of civilisation, history, and the world's very origins.[57] Archaeology as a science, as opposed to the antiquarian pursuit of relics, or the search for buried treasure, took its current form in the nineteenth century. The underground space became the lair of buried history, and the quest for knowledge became intimately associated with excavation. An increasingly secular society was losing its grip on "the Bible's compelling narrative of time's very clear beginning and no less certain end", which was being replaced by "a new sense of boundless time"; "the infinity evinced by the natural world, a world newly understood as indifferent to human experience".[58] This was emblematised by a popular preoccupation with the geological sciences and, specifically, the idea of "deep time". While "deep time" as a geological term was coined by John McPhee in *Basin and Range* in 1981, Thomas Carlyle used the notion of the depth of time as a metaphor in *Sartor Resartus* in 1833,[59] and numerous critics have noted the proliferation of images of deep time in the nineteenth-century imaginary.[60] The term effectively articulates the spatiality of time in the nineteenth century, and, specifically, its verticality, located within the stratification of the subterranean world.[61] The publication of Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology* (1830-33) revealed that the Earth was millions rather than thousands of years old, and that the planet had developed more slowly and more gradually than Biblical explanations for the origins of the planet allowed. Much like the railway, this had an inestimable impact on the perception of time and space. The understanding of humanity's place and time in antiquity was radically altered by archaeologist Jacques Boucher who, in 1859,

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[57] Shawn Malley, *From Archaeology to Spectacle in Victorian Britain: The Case of Assyria, 1845-1854* (London: Routledge, 2016); Virginia Hoselitz, *Imagining Roman Britain: Victorian Responses to a Roman Past* (London: Boydell & Brewer, 2015); Brenda Maddox, *Reading the Rocks: How Victorian Geologists Discovered the Secret of Life* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2017); Sebastian Lecourt, *Cultivating Belief: Victorian Anthropology, Liberal Aesthetics, and the Secular Imagination* (Oxford: OUP, 2018); George Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991).
[58] Virginia Zimmerman, *Excavating Victorians* (New York: SUNY Press, 2009), p. 1.
[59] Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, ed. Kerry McSweeney and Peter Sabor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 198.
[60] See Ralph O'Connor, *The Earth on Show: Fossils and the Poetics of Popular Science, 1802-1856* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007) and Efram Sera-Shriar, ed. *Historicizing Humans: Deep Time, Evolution, and Race in Nineteenth-Century British Sciences* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2018).
[61] Zimmer, p. 36.

changed the time frame for humanity's existence on Earth from around fourthousand years to potentially hundreds of thousands.[62] In the same year, Darwin's *Origin of Species* depended upon a new time frame for human and natural history. The co-emergence of evolution, notions of humanity antiquity, and deep time "destroyed the Biblical link between allegorical earth history and a genealogical Adamic history", and "brought into question the relation between the presumed recency of humanity's remains and the profound age of the geological deposits and paleontological context in which they surfaced".[63] The earth sciences, then, rattled assumptions about human selfhood and humanity's place in time and space.

The immensity of time evidenced by geological strata took sublime, Gothic form. Scientific processes uncovered incomprehensibly vast stretches of time and space while simultaneously attempting to organise an indifferent and potentially antagonist universe, "red in tooth and claw".[64]

Science influenced the popular perception of the underground while, simultaneously, popular perceptions of the mythic underground inflected science writing. In the nineteenth century myth "was partly perceived as primitive man's functional equivalent of science", and "theories of myth tended to be concerned primarily with origins".[65] Excavation projects were expressed in "mythological terms, as a heroic journey into forbidden realms".[66] Science was mythologised at the same time mythology was gaining cultural currency with the publication of the popular and enduring *Bulfinch's Mythology* (1867) and a whole host of mythological anthologies and compendiums available cheaply to an increasingly literate public.[67]

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[62] André Spears, "Evolution in Context: "Deep Time," Archaeology and the Post-Romantic Paradigm", *Comparative Literature*, 48.4 (1996), p. 343.

[63] Spears, p. 345.

[64] The term is from Tennyson's *In Memoriam* (1850) but is used here as reference to the seeming "refanging" of the natural world in the nineteenth century, where the romantic poetic ideal of a symbiosis between man and nature was fractured by the violent antagonism introduced by Darwin's evolutionary theories. See Lucyle T. Werkmeister and Michael Ruse, *The Darwinian Revolution: Science Red in Tooth and Claw* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979).

[65] Jan De Vries, "Theories Concerning 'Nature Myths'", in *Sacred Narratives: Readings in the Theory of Myth*, ed. by Alan Dundes (Oakland: University of California Press, 1984), p. 30.

[66] Williams, p. 17.

[67] Carl J. Richard, *The Golden Age of the Classics in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), p. 33.

The relationship between excavation and knowledge acquisition is challenged by Gothic literary theory. Catherine Spooner describes how the recurrent preoccupation of the Gothic with surface in the form of veils, masks, and disguises does not suggest a truth located below the surface, but instead problematises the idea of a concealed authenticity more generally. The Gothic challenges the knowledge-seeking model of excavation and denies that there is truth to be located beneath the surface. The veiling image intimates "that truth cannot be explicitly associated with a deep dimension, hidden beyond or beneath an illusory surface, and indeed that the surface cannot be unambiguously equated with deceptive appearances", and that the surface may "turn out to conceal not a presence but an absence, not a depth but a vacuum".[68] While Spooner uses this theoretical framework to discuss Gothic clothing, it can be transferred to the surface-depth materiality of the mine. This is expressed in Cornish Gothic fiction as a continuous complication of the relationship between the surface and the subterranean, whereby the two dimensions act in collusion rather than as binary poles, and the surface is expressed as being as coarse and uninhabitable as the depths. The Cornish Gothic, due to the Cornish people's long associations with the subterranean, disrupts the surface-depth relationship by rendering the mine's contents unreal, supernatural, or spectral. The ghouls and monsters that prowl the subterranean space negate the authenticity of any sense of history or origins to be found beneath the surface, challenging nineteenth-century faith in the historical sciences. Instead, the Cornish Gothic mine elevates the narrativization of history as myth. This supports Wendy Lesser and Rosalind Williams' observations that the relationship between mythmaking, the quest narrative, and the excavation practices of the Victorian sciences remained confused despite an increasingly seemingly secular, rational societal approach to the sciences.

The mythology of the subterranean space is multivalent, as the underground is both final resting place and place of primordial origin. The underground has associations of "mystery and terror", "evil", "poverty", "criminal activity", and "the socially unacceptable", as "vital and responsive metaphor".[69] Each religion and

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[68] Qtd. by Catherine Spooner in *Fashioning Gothic Bodies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 6.
[69] Lesser, pp. 2-3.

culture seems to have its own version of a subterranean mythos as far back as records go, and these ideas fed into a Victorian preoccupation with the subterranean space. Recurrently in religion and myth the subterranean space is the locus of hell, and this association is continuously used in subterranean fiction, and in references to subterranean activity into the present day. George Orwell, writing about mines in 1937, states:

> The time to go there is when the machines are roaring and the air is black with coal dust, and when you can actually see what the miners have to do. At those times the place is like hell, or at any rate like my own mental picture of hell. Most of the things one imagines in hell are there—heat, noise, confusion, darkness, foul air, and, above all, unbearably cramped space.[70]

While subterranean space has connotations of horror associated with the hellscape, this is amplified in Cornwall due to the county's superstitions, strangeness, and reputation for barbarism. While all mines may be dark, dank, hot, cramped, and foul, Cornwall's mines are further shaped by what lies above—a barren landscape, a wasteland, a people seen as alien, and a culture perceived as primitive and monstrous. The surface is not separate from the subterranean—instead they are engaged in a discourse with each other, and Cornwall's mines make its surface more disturbing, as the surface makes the mines more haunted in turn. Alphonse Esquiros wrote of the relationship between Cornish mines and the hellscape in 1865, describing the legend of the origins of Helston, said to be called such in honour of the "infernal regions". In this story "the devil wished to make one of his favourite excursions over hill and dale through Cornwall. Finding the mouth of the pit entirely closed by a huge stone, he carried it off in his hand", then encounters and is fought by the archangel Michael, patron of Helston.[71] The devil drops the stone and it forms the foundations of Helston. Esquiros claims that

> I saw an identical stone at the Angel Hotel in Helston, and affirm that it is quite black enough to come from the infernal regions. The devil, by the way, is the hero of more than one adventure in the popular mythology of Cornwall;

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[70] George Orwell, "Extract from *The Road to Wigan Pier*", in *The Broadview Anthology of British Literature Volume 6: The Twentieth Century and Beyond*, ed. by Joseph Black et al. (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2006), p. 415.

[71] Esquiros qtd. by anon. in "Rambles on the Cornish Coast", *The London Review of Politics, Society, Literature, Art, and Science* (July 29 1865), p. 123.

traces of him are found in most of the names given to the abysses and caverns of the county. If his visits to the interior of the county are at the present day much less frequent than formerly, he is restrained, so it is said, by the very legitimate fear of being eaten. The Cornish people are so greedy for pastry that they would catch him and put him in a pie.[72]

The Cornish are so fearsome, so barbarous, so finely attuned to and associated with the deepest abysses of the infernal hellscape, that even the devil fears them.[73] It is "the combination of enclosure and verticality" that gives the subterranean its potency, and that the act of going underground is an act of retracing "a journey that is one of the most enduring and powerful cultural traditions of humankind, a metaphorical journey of discovery through descent below the surface", encompassing the Gothic's preoccupation with both claustrophobia and descent into a repressed and reemergent past.[74]

Verticality has a significant place in the semantic spatiality of literature, as the contrast between height and depth—say, between the clifftop and the water beneath—allows space for consideration of other "contrasts in this clause", such as "those between north and south, or nature and civilisation".[75] The conflict between verticality and horizontality, surface and depths, highs and lows, maps onto a discourse of hierarchical structures. In this case, Cornwall's tremendous highs (clifftops) are contrasted with its tremendous lows (the subterranean world, or the geological strata of the subterranean) as a means of spatially articulating the internal conflicts of the representation of the Cornish as both a fantastical, elevated, advanced people, and a barbarous, savage, and primitive people. The contrast also serves to exaggerate images of downfall and descent which both serve as "metaphor of the hero's struggle" and fall into a pattern of a more general metaphoric representation of the inevitability of economic, social, and cultural decline.[76] The image of decline is inevitably bound up in images of degeneration and, consequently, in "the genre of the Gothic, with its physically and morally deformed

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[72] Esquiros qtd. by anon., p. 124.

[73] The hunger of the devouring, primitive Cornish is also referenced in Wilkie Collins's legend of the rats of Looe Island, analysed in more detail in chapter one.

[74] Williams, p. 8.

[75] Katharina Hansen Love, *The Evolution of Space in Russian Literature: A Spatial Reading of 19th and 20th Century Narrative Literature* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), p. 60.

[76] Hansen Love, p. 60.

monsters"; "a particularly fertile site for fictional negotiations of degeneration theory".[77] George Lakoff and Mark Johnson describe this as an "embodied logic", whereby "humans, as basically vertical beings, turn the physical experience of their own verticality into an image-schema that is subsequently mapped onto other domains", and recurrently, "good is up".[78] Heaven is up, Hell is down. The mines, and the Cornish, are down. This spatial rhetoric permeates the discourse of morality, achievement, and progress—an upwards trajectory, or a downward descent. This spatial orientation maps onto the structure of narrative. Northrop Frye proposes that the novel narrative form favours horizontality—a linear movement from beginning to end—whereas the romance plot favours verticality—sensationalism and discontinuity.[79] Jean-Michel Ganteau specifically aligns this narrative mode with the Gothic.[80] In this way, the descent of the mine semantically serves the same disruptive function as the shipwreck plummeting below the surface and fracturing the linear journey of the ship.[81] The Cornish reject the trajectory of the narrative of progress by continually descending below ground (or under water).

Other reimaginings of the subterranean space appear in folkloric collections throughout the nineteenth century. Robert Hunt's antiquarian collection *Popular Romances of West of England* (1865) features the legends of tinners, and states that the most extensive of mining operations were undertaken "to as great a depth as possible when the days of science were unknown".[82] Hunt points out that mining legends are often bound into other myths of Cornwall, such as the legend of the giants who carved the valleys and left the tors. One of these giants was Jack the

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[77] S. Karschay, *Degeneration, Normativity and the Gothic at the Fin de Siècle* (London: Springer, 2015), p. 2.
[78] George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 23.
[79] Northrop Frye, *The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 18.
[80] Jean-Michel Ganteau, "'The Past Won't Fit into Memory without Something Left Over': Pat Barker's *Another World*, in between Narrative Entropy and Vulnerability", in *Trauma and Romance in Contemporary British Literature*, eds. by Jean-Michel Ganteau and Susana Onega (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 19.
[81] For more on this see chapter one.
[82] Robert Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England, or, The Drolls, Traditions, and Superstitions of Old Cornwall*, Second Series (London: John Camden, 1865), p. 111.

Tinker, who was thought to introduce knowledge of tin to the Cornish.[83] Hunt's legends often centre on the visceral, material reality of mining and its dangers. In the tale of "The Black Dogs", Hunt relishes in the abject bodies of the maimed miners which become a homogenised, deindividuated mass of gore:

> the remains of the poor fellows were found to be shattered and scorched beyond recognition. When these were brought to the surface, the clothes and a mass of mangled flesh dropped from the bodies. A bystander, to spare the feelings of the relatives, hastily caught up the revolting mass in a shovel, and threw the whole into the blazing furnace of Woolf's engine, close at hand. From that time the engineman declared that troops of little black dogs continually haunted the place, even when the doors were shut.[84]

The bodily horrors of the mine transform the miner from subject to object which serves as a Gothic "spectacle of the human subject undergoing dissolution".[85] This is seen again in Hunt's retelling of "Dorcas, The Spirit of Polbreen Mine", whereby a woman commits suicide by throwing herself into a mine shaft, and her "dead and broken body" is referred to as a "remnant of humanity" "brought to the surface".[86] This mirrors the quest for the vestiges of humanity brought to the surface in the historical sciences. The wholeness of the miner's body is threatened again by the tale of "The Dead Hand", featuring a disembodied hand carrying a candle up and down the mining shafts.[88] Many of these narratives draw from and feed into sensationalised, catastrophic reports of Cornish mining accidents.[87]

The image of the "remnant of humanity" "brought to the surface" can also be understood in psychoanalytic terms as the return to the surface of the mind of the repressed bestial self. Images of surface and depth, the buried, and the subterranean in the long nineteenth century were inevitably influenced by, and

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[83] Hunt, p. 113.
[84] Hunt, p. 126.
[85] Kelly Hurley, *The Gothic Body: Sexuality, Materialism, and Degeneration at the Fin de Siècle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 44-45.
[86] Hunt, p. 129.
[88] Hunt, p. 128.
[87] Anon., "Cornish Mining Mortality," *Saturday review of politics, literature, science and art* (Jun 18, 1904), pp. 774-775; Anon., "The Cornish Mining Fatality", *The Manchester Guardian* (23 Aug 1883), p. 8.

influenced, the popular reception of Sigmund Freud's theories of the mind—as was Gothic fiction.[88] Both the "underlying structures of psychoanalysis" and the "underside of the Gothic" centre on "irrational libidinal passions" located in the dark, buried, below.[89] Freud presented an image of the psyche that was stratified, and where repressed feelings were buried in some sort of subterranean landscape of the mind. These repressed feelings could be "mined" by the psychoanalyst.[90] This is a further demonstration of the endurance of the image of truth being somehow accessible through excavation, whether that excavation is literal and material, or psychological and metaphorical. Later, images of the repressed became entwined in psychoanalytic approaches to literature where the subtext can be read as the repressed—or mined by the literary critic.[91]

Rosalind Williams states that "[s]tories of descent into the underworld are so ancient and universal that their fundamental structure, the opposition of surface and depth, may well be rooted into the structure of the human brain", and that "[i]n any case, the metaphor of depth is a primary category of human thought".[92] The very process of excavation from the dark recesses of the subterranean is uncanny, as the uncanny is that what "ought to have remained secret and hidden but has come to light".[93] As Paul de Man states, "[t]o make invisible visible is uncanny", as that which has lingered beneath our feet is suddenly illuminated. This is wrapped up intrinsically with ideas of blindness and darkness when considering the uncanniness of the mine as repressed, stratified psychic landscape. In *Wheal Darkness*, miners blinded by their work come to embody Freud's concerns surrounding the uncanny and castration, discussed in more detail later in this chapter. Freud's work, in its focus on the repressed compartments of the subterranean psyche, the uncanny, darkness,

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[88] See Andrew Smith and William Hughes, *Bram Stoker: History, Psychoanalysis and the Gothic* (London: Springer, 1998) and Andrew Smith, *Gothic Radicalism: Literature, Philosophy and Psychoanalysis in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000).
[89] Ed Cameron, *The Psychopathology of the Gothic Romance: Perversion, Neuroses and Psychosis in Early Works of the Genre* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2014), pp. 1-2.
[90] Ruth Parkin-Gounelas, "Introduction", *Literature in Psychoanalysis: A Reader*, ed. Ruth Parkin-Gounelas (London: Palgrave, 2017), pp. 1-3.
[91] Parkin-Gounelas, pp. 1-3.
[92] Williams, p. 8.
[93] Freud quoted by Nicholas Royle, *The Uncanny* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 108.

blindness, and psychoanalysis as excavation, provides both a critical literary framework for understanding the Cornish mine as Gothic, and a contextual example of the pervasiveness of the subterranean in multiple modes of intellectual thought in the long nineteenth century.

The applicability of subterranean imagery to different fields of cultural analysis is made apparent by its significance to emerging modes of economic thought in the long nineteenth century. To this day images of the underground, surface/depth, and verticality are deeply bound up with images of class distinctions and mobility:

> In both Marxism and psychoanalysis, the moment of truth comes when the buried is uncovered: when the analyst taps into the subconscious, when the proletariat seizes the forces of production. Both Freud and Marx depend so much upon subterranean imagery that it is now virtually impossible to read a text about the underworld without filtering it through a Marxist or Freudian interpretation—without reading the buried world as the subconscious, or the working class, or both. The premise of structuralism, too, is that beneath cultural forms lie invariant structures, largely preliterate, from which derive the surface phenomena of cultural life.[94]

The subterranean is inescapably bound up in images of poverty and criminality, as the "1840s marked Friedrich Engels's analysis of the conditions of miners in England, along with other citizens classed in the 'lower depths' of British society".[95] These subterranean dwellers are described as an "an alien population", meaning foreign, strange, peripheral, and alienated.[96] The poor were speciated as well as economically and socially disadvantaged, as "the lower class was seen as farther down the evolutionary scale, in some sense subhuman",[97] and as the "threat of the barely human rising from the subterranean is refigured countless times in imaginative writing".[98] Furthermore, "this bestial population is associated with the underworld even when it actually lives aboveground. But the 'alien species' attitude becomes still more pronounced when the people it refers to are literal denizens of the underground".[99] The Cornish miners are not just savage because they are

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[94] Williams, p. 48.
[95] Lesser, p. 6.
[96] Lesser, p. 77.
[97] Lesser, p. 77.
[98] Kate Flint, *The Victorians and the Visual Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 155.
[99] Lesser, p. 78.

Cornish, Celtic, peripheral, but because they are miners. Cornwall is made savage by its association with mining at the same time as mining is made savage by its association with Cornwall. The fear of the underground is not only conflated with, but attributable to, the fear of the poor.[100] The subterranean miner becomes emblematic of the unseen working-class being obscured, literally or metaphorically, below the ground.

In Literature

H. G. Wells' *The Time Machine* (1895), in its descriptions of an underground world, and the cultural tensions between the subterranean and the surface, expresses common anxieties about the inevitable movement of civilisation seemingly below ground, aligned with the seeming inevitable decline of culture, technology, and economy:

> There is a tendency to use underground space for the less ornamental purposes of civilization; there is the Metropolitan Railway in London, for instance, there are new electric railways, there are subways, there are underground workrooms and restaurants, and they increase and multiply. Evidently, I thought, this tendency had increased till Industry had gradually lost its birth right in the sky. I mean that it had gone deeper and deeper into larger and ever larger underground factories, spending a still-increasing amount of time therein, till, in the end—![101]

Wells is responding to the Victorian preoccupation with the subterranean in a Gothic way, situating the subterranean in the popular imagination as emblematic of inevitable decline.[102] The fear that the body will end up underground articulates anxiety over both regression into primordial beginnings and burial—a reminder of the newness of humanity in the larger geological picture and of each individual's own mortality. This seemingly unavoidable downwards movement is expressed in literary texts in multivalent ways. The following section provides a brief overview of the subterranean in literature in the nineteenth century.

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[100] Lesser, p. 79.

[101] H. G. Wells, *The Time Machine: An Invention* (London: Random House, 2011), p. 46.

[102] Linda Dryden, *The Modern Gothic and Literary Doubles: Stevenson, Wilde and Wells* (London: Palgrave, 2003), pp. 147-185.

In the early nineteenth century Captain Adam Seaborn's *Symzonia* (1820) popularised the idea that the Earth could be a hollow space, and that the hollows could sustain life—potentially, an earlier form of life separated from the rest of humanity at a particular evolutionary milestone. [103] This generated a whole host of texts characterised as "hollow earth fiction", feeding from this fascination with the potential of the emptiness of the Earth.[104] Hollow earth fiction provides space for further questions about the nature of progress and origins, as "the adventure underground" is recurrently described "as a journey backwards through geological and evolutionary history".[105] The Cornish, as subterranean beings, are thus more primitive—prehistoric relics, artefacts buried and waiting to be uncovered, living fossils burrowing away beneath the surface and covered by time, like Henry Knight's trilobite in Hardy's *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, as "[f]ossilized creatures that lived and died eons past were messengers from the depths of geological time, revealing at once the immensity of the past and the certain fate of humans in the future".[106] The nineteenth century saw a massive proliferation of hollow earth fiction and subterranean fiction in response to contemporary engineering exploits, the specialisation of the earth sciences, and the mythologization of the underground space.[107] These texts were popular and influential in the period (and into the present day), and include Jules Verne's *The Journey to the Centre of the Earth* (1864), Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865), Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *The Coming Race* (1871), H. R. Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* (1885), Wells' *The Time Machine* (1895) and Jack London's *The People of the Abyss* (1903).

The Subterranean Gothic

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[103] Elizabeth Hope Chang, "Hollow Earth Fiction and Environmental Form in the Late Nineteenth Century", *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, 38.5 (2016) p. 387.
[104] Elizabeth Hope Chang cites Mary Bradley Lane's *Mizora* (serialized 1880-81, volume publication 1890), [James Demille's], *A Strange Manuscript Found in a Copper Cylinder* (1888), William Bradshaw's *The Goddess of Atvatabar* (1892), John Uri Lloyd's *Etidorhpa* (1895), Willis Emerson's *The Smoky God* (1908), L. Frank Baum's *Dorothy and the Wizard in Oz* (1908) and Edgar Rice Burroughs' *At the Earth's Core* (1914), pp. 387-388.
[105] Chang, p. 392.
[106] Zimmerman, pp. 1-2.
[107] This field has been well documented by Wendy Lesser, Peter Fitting, David Welsh, David L. Pike, David Standish, and Elizabeth Hope Chang, to name but a few.

The Gothic has historically found its home underground in images of tombs, catacombs, caves, labyrinths, graveyards, the hidden, the secret, and the dark, as "[i]f anything distinguishes the English Gothic novel in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries it is surely the ubiquity, indeed the power, of the ominous crypt at the heart of the setting".[108] The subterranean Gothic calls to mind Dracula's dirt coffin, Haggard's caves, and is reimagined in later Gothic fiction as Stephen King's sewer, or the haunted cellar or basement. It has most recently been imagined as "the upside-down" of *Stranger Things*, an inheritor of an older tradition which uses the subterranean as an uncanny double or Gothic mirror to what lies above. There is a primal fear surrounding what lies beneath our feet—the same fear which motivated Victorian imperial Gothic as "the nightmare of being swallowed by the world's dark places".[109] The Gothic is "conceived both as the historical genre where the 'nightside of life' is given a space, and as a type of writing in which language explores its own limits, its 'night-side'".[110] The subterranean is a perpetual night-side, and its literal darkness lends itself to Gothic unreason. Darkness enables the pervasive "tropes of displacement and disorientation that are linked to the ongoing interplay of terror and horror".[111] Darkness in the Gothic has a "metamorphic resilience", as:

> There is the gloom of stereotypical Gothic settings and props: ruined castles and abbeys, murky crypts and fungoid dungeons, clammy cellars, dank passages and stairwells echoing with howls, groans and tapping fingers, dripping charnel houses and ivy-glad monasteries, secret cabinets, storms, bleak forests and treacherous marshes.[112]

The crypt specifically recurs in Gothic fiction as representation of the "loss of past significance" whereby the tomb beneath the Castle of Otranto is a "founding crypt" within the genre.[113] Fred Botting and Dale Townshend claim that

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[108] Jerrold E. Hogle, "The Restless Labyrinth: Cryptonomy in the Gothic Novel", in *Gothic Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*, ed. by Fred Botting and Dale Townshend (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 145.

[109] Patrick Brantlinger quoted by Flint, pp. 155-156.

[110] Christine Berthin, *Gothic Hauntings: Melancholy Crypts and Textual Ghosts* (London: Springer, 2010), p. 2.

[111] Dani Cavallaro, *Gothic Vision: Three Centuries of Horror, Terror and Fear* (London: A&C Black, 2002), p. 27.

[112] Cavallaro, p. 21.

[113] Fred Botting and Dale Townshend, *Gothic: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies* (Oxford: Taylor & Francis, 2004), p. 153.

> [c]rypts are never substantive or literal but always figurative at every level. That is why they can resurface as faces or castles or narratives as well as tombs. They are preserves fractured inside themselves and deviating into other symbols at all times, depending on the emblems pulled from elsewhere to surround and divide a dissolution that is never contained as a Presence.[114]

The problematic claim that the symbol is never substantive divorces the crypt from the more contemporary turn in new materialist analysis. Crypts are recurrently substantive, concrete, literal, and located in geographies, localities, families, and regionalities. To consider the crypt to be always figurative is to risk evacuating the crypt of meaning. While much of the rhetoric surrounding Cornwall's subterranean spaces conceives them as unstable and resistant to signification, these spaces must always be remembered to be literally existing in Cornish space. They have material significance on the locals and tourists moving in and interacting with that space, while literally influencing imaginative reproductions. These spaces, whether above or below ground, or somewhere in between, must not be dislocated from their cultural, social, and economic histories, in order that they may never be fully dissolved. The imaginative and metaphoric Cornwall is always rooted in, reworking, and resisting the tangible and material Cornwall.

Botting and Townshend go on to state that: "[t]he groundings of the Gothic novel are not just hollows but motions, transfers and transformations out of restless forms that have always been drifting and digressing away from nothing but themselves".[115] This is a further problematic over-simplification of the vacuities of subterranean space in Gothic fiction, one which resorts to meaninglessness as a solution to the richness of meanings available in the subterranean image; an image recycled, repeated, and imbued with new meanings over time in different cultures of production and reception. This chapter locates the semantics of the subterranean vacuity within the locality and culture above it. For, "[b]ehind the states of fear and horror, and driving through the tissue of reasonable and rational explanations, loom the outlines of real horrors".[116] To evacuate Gothic motifs of meaning entirely is to erase real, traumatic histories. Anxieties surrounding Cornish mining were not just

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[114] Botting and Townshend, pp. 153-154.
[115] Botting and Townshend, p. 154.
[116] Allan Lloyd-Smith, *American Gothic Fiction: An Introduction* (London: A&C Black, 2004), p. 9.

located in the recognisability of the mine as subterranean Gothic space, akin to grave, crypt, or dungeon, but the very real history of the Cornish mines as places of suffering, death and injury. Miners had high mortality rates and lived amongst filth and dust that putrefied their lungs and bodies. The Gothic is not just stage machinery or an expression of the fantastical, but a means of seeking vocabulary to articulate and contextualise the monstrosity of reality. Gothic elements generate Gothic feeling by colliding viciously with the realities of suffering:

> violent bloodshed combined with secrecy and/or mystery, whether explicit or implicit, can support other Gothic elements, such as nightmare, madness, entrapment, powerlessness, disease, death, revenants of different types and, above all, the dread of any or all of these, intensifying their impact by framing them within a terrifyingly incomprehensible world of threatened or actual pain or suffering. [117]

This is specifically located within the subterranean, as:

> The settings that are often regarded as hallmarks of the mode—isolated castles, monasteries, and mansions, often in ruins; graveyards and crypts, secret laboratories and torture chambers, foggy London streets, slums, and opium dens—can easily be matched with gory description as well as the abstract notions enumerated above. For example, graveyards and crypts evoke not only violent death but also the fear of revenants, and via the theme of premature burial, so often utilized by Poe, claustrophobic entrapment too.[118]

The abstract only functions because it threatens, reveals, or gestures towards the concrete. The mine is graphically associated with violent death, and even the fear of revenants, as the miners "return from the grave" on a daily basis. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick referred to the live burial as the "master-trope" of Gothic writing, and the threat of the mine is one of premature burial—to die within one's own grave, dug by one's self.[119]

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[117] Abigail Lee Six, *Gothic Terrors: Incarceration, Duplication, and Bloodlust in Spanish Narrative* (Pennsylvania: Bucknell University Press, 2010), p. 107.
[118] Six, p. 107.
[119] Qtd. by Dale Townshend in "Gothic and the ghost of Hamlet", in *Gothic Shakespeares*, eds. By John Drakakis and Dale Townshend (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 92.

Allan Lloyd-Smith refers to the material, architectural, and spatial features of the Gothic genre as "the *mise en scene* of Gothicism, replete with trappings of hidden doorways and secret chambers, incomprehensible labyrinths, speaking portraits, and trapdoors", perhaps motivated later into the nineteenth century by a "distaste for the changes brought by increasing commerce and industrialism that inspired nostalgia for the supposedly simpler and more pleasing structures of the past. But it was also an expression of fear of those structures and the oppressive society they suggested".[120] If the basement and cellar is a contemporary reimagining of the crypt or dungeon, then the mine takes the nostalgia for a simpler time another step back, beyond a Medieval past, and into a prehistoric one. The mine is both natural and industrial, nostalgic and modern, older than the Medieval crypt and somewhat newer, too. It is, fittingly, temporally and spatially confused as a metaphor in the Gothic literary imagination.

Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick notes the centrality of subterranean images to Gothic criticism , as "[d]uring the last twenty years the revival of critical interest in the Gothic novel has made room for a lot of intelligent writing about depth and the depths".[121] Sedgwick goes on to describe the ways in which the Gothic is concerned with the "war within", and how "spatial metaphors of interiority" come to occur in Gothic criticism.[122] They state that:

> First, they simply echo the novels' own structural and thematic preoccupation with depth and interiority. Second, they trace a particular psychological model of the self, one with an inside and an outside and with certain material ("the irrational") on the inside that could or should pass to the outside. And third, both justify and conceal a premature methodological leap from images of containers and containment in the novels to something rather different in the criticism: an eagerness to write about content. Those critics who have been the most intent to grasp the essence of the Gothic novel whole have also been the most impatient with its surfaces—"claptrap," "decor," "stage-set"—and the quickest to find "true depths".[123]

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[120] Lloyd-Smith, p. 7.
[121] Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, "The Character in the Veil: Imagery of Surface in the Gothic Novel", *PMLA*, 96.2 (1981), p. 255.
[122] Sedgwick, p. 255.
[123] Sedgwick, p. 255.

Rosalind Williams seems to be borrowing consciously from Sedgwick when they describe the ways in which spatial metaphor is used in structuralist readings, and that subterranean narratives "demand a structuralist reading that focuses on recurrent spatial patterns", and "[l]ike the myths to which they are so closely related [..] can be analyzed into repetitive units—for example, the opposites of surface and depth—which combine and recombine like elements of grammar".[124] The spatial metaphor is present not just in the literal *content* of the Gothic but in its fundamental structure. The mine provides not just a site for uncanny darkness or the repressed psyche but expresses a way of reading and interpreting the Gothic text. David Punter has previously noted "the curious way in which current critical discourse seems to be forming itself round a certain terminology that owes much to the Gothic tradition", such as "the contemporary preoccupation, in literary as well as in psychoanalytic theory, with crypts, phantoms, and processes of spectralization".[125] The language of the subterranean is inescapable in the field of cultural analysis.

In summary, the subterranean Gothic is defined by a preoccupation with darkness and claustrophobia; the blurring of the temporal and the spatial; the capacity of the subterranean to represent the psychic landscape of repressed trauma; the horrific realities of subterranean existence; the body of the subterranean worker as alien or Other; the subterranean as inversion of the vaulted ceilings of Gothic architecture; and the surface/depth relationship as signifying concealment as well as representing a way of structuring and reading texts, Gothic or otherwise. The enclosure of the mine is the inheritor of the interiors of Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) and Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794). For Horace Walpole, there seems "a curiously literal manifestation of the Gothic castle of individual self", with the Gothic dungeon signifying the depths of the subconscious.[126] The movement of darkness into spaces other than the Gothic castle—familiar spaces, domestic spaces—is a recognition "of the pervasiveness of

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[124] Williams, p. 19.
[125] David Punter, "Scottish and Irish Gothic", in *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction*, ed. by Jerrold E. Hogle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 105.
[126] Christy Desmet and Anne Williams, *Shakespearean Gothic* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009), p. 6.

the darkness, secretiveness, madness and corruption once presented as defining traits of the traditional gentry. The dark Other can no longer be contained within the boundaries of the castle, for otherness courses through society", or, indeed, beneath it.[127] This lends itself to the maze-like, eldritch tunnels rooting their way through and between the mines of Cornwall, as "[o]ver the centuries, spatial darkness has consistently been related to the labyrinthine character of troubling locations".[128] The subterranean is key to the origins of the Gothic, as "[i]t is the labyrinthine passages of the burial ground and subterranean cavern under the monastery and convent in Matthew Lewis's *The Monk* [1796] that Ambrosio encounters the treacherous demon. Ambrosio hides Antonio in the catacombs in order to seduce her", and "[a] tomb is used as a hiding place in Ann Radcliffe's *The Romance of the Forest* [1791], and a vault in *A Sicilian Romance* [1790]".[129] The labyrinthine and cryptological features of the Gothic (meaning both material crypt and cryptography as act of concealing and interpreting, as described later in this chapter), then, have been some of its defining motifs since its incarnation, and have arguably followed the genre throughout its numerous revivals—or reanimations. That the Gothic is so fundamentally interwoven with the subterranean, and that so much of a sense of Cornish history, culture, and identity is bound up in its subterranean spaces, provides a means of understanding the particular significance of a Cornish subterranean Gothic as part of a longer Gothic tradition.

Case Studies

The subterranean Gothic recurs in Cornish Gothic fiction throughout the long nineteenth century. One such story is "In the Mist" (1881) by Mary E. Penn—a particularly pertinent example considering it is not so much concerned with mining, but with the instability of Cornwall as a disorientating, hollowed landmass.[130] The short story opens with lovers arguing on a Cornish clifftop. They quarrel, and the

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[127] Cavallaro, pp. 29-30.

[128] Cavallaro, p. 30.

[129] David Annwen Jones, *Gothic Effigy: A Guide to Dark Visibilities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 33.

[130] Mary E. Penn is a mysterious figure in literary history. She published several stories in *The Argosy* in the late nineteenth century, but otherwise little is known of her. Her short stories were collected by Richard Dalby and published through Sarob Press in 1999 in a limited-edition run of 250 copies. She also published two stories anonymously in *Temple Bar*, but the majority of her output was with *The Argosy.*

young woman, Winifred, rejects her beau, Noel's, engagement ring. In a rage he swears to kill her. Later they are heard arguing through the mist, only for there to be a tremendous scream. It seems Winnifred has fallen over the edge of the cliff—but was it an accident, or was she pushed? Noel, horror-stricken, roams the coast in search for her body. The local vicar finds him wandering around an abandoned smuggling store, convinced he can hear Winnifred's voice. The vicar thinks him driven mad by his crimes—then realises he can hear her too, from beneath their feet. The novel concludes with Winnifred being found, and retelling her adventure of falling onto a protruding rock and wriggling her way through a series of tunnels and caves in the cliff, only to be trapped by a landfall, and forced to follow the tunnels to a sealed vault beneath the smuggler's tower. The short story is reliant upon Cornwall's dangerous history, famed for its smuggling and underground spaces. It is also dependent upon Cornwall's coasts, cliffs, and sheer verticality. Space is confused, as Winnifred falling off the cliff is represented as her falling below ground. Cornwall's indeterminable space, confusing land with water, high with low, surface with depth, is necessary for the uncanny narrative to function.

The importance of Cornwall as a specific locale is emphasised on the first page, as Winnie's eyes are described as "of a wonderful blue that seemed peculiar to Cornwall—the deep, limpid, changeful hue of the western sea".[131] The subterranean conclusion is foreshadowed as the vicar ponders on his "crowded graveyard",[132] and notes the sexton digging a fresh grave,[133] and again, as the vicar looks out over Martello Tower,

> locally known as the "Smugglers' Keep". The vaults beneath had once been used as a storing-place for contraband goods, and it was said that a subterranean passage connected them with the beach, but the entire entrance in the face of the cliff had probably long ago been blocked up by falls of rock. These slips were a constant occurrence, sometimes only consisting of loose stones and sand, but often great masses of rock, detached from the overhanging edge, went crashing and thundering to the beach.[134]

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[131] Mary E. Penn, "In the Mist", *The Argosy* (1881), p. 306.
[132] Penn, p. 309.
[133] Penn, p. 310.
[134] Penn, p. 309.

The cliffs—the borders and boundaries of the county of Cornwall, defining its interior, and protecting the landmass from the harsh seas—are unstable and unfixed. The breakdown of these borders leads to and feeds from anxieties surrounding the permeability of space and the destabilisation of national and regional containers. This transgression of space is reflected in the moral and social transgressions of the smugglers and emphasises Cornwall as a criminal and savage place. The landslide as motif in Cornish Gothic fiction is used by Bram Stoker in *The Jewel of Seven Stars* (1903) to demarcate the moment of slippage or metamorphosis when Margaret is possessed, her bodily and psychological borders breached, by the spirit of the Egyptian queen. The fall from the clifftop also brings to mind Thomas Hardy's *A Pair of Blue Eyes* (1873), where Henry Knight hangs perilously from the Cliff With No Name. Both situations use the natural features of Cornwall's landscape to generate horror and to express the social precarity of the county. There is a sense of the Gothic uncanny in "being buried alive or pushed over the edge", where "cliffs, and abysses" are "dramatic metaphors" perpetuated in Gothic fiction, serving as "the formal images that contained and conveyed the apprehensions of an increasingly labile society reconfiguring its boundaries".[135] Fog or mist is especially destabilising, as "by leaving us effectively blind [it] creates a sense of defamiliarization, vulnerability, disorientation, and powerlessness to defend ourselves against violent crime. In earlier times it would also have had associations with disease and hence death".[136] This relates to contemporary concerns surrounding Cornwall as a destination for health tourists, and fear of potential pollution expressed in "The Adventure of the Devil's Foot" (1910) and "The Last Mitchell" (1905).

The narrative employs the Gothic trope of entrapment, whereby the tunnels and vault become prison, dungeon, and grave, and Winnie feels like a "prisoner", aware that she would die "in the dreadful darkness of that living tomb".[137] When she is finally spied by her grandfather, he notes that she "is looking like a little ghost", referring explicitly to her return from the dead (as far as society knows) and her

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[135] Claire Kahane, "Uncanny Sights", *Trauma at Home: After 9/11*, ed. Judith Greenberg (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), p. 112.
[136] Six, p. 107.
[137] Penn, p. 318.

literal return from the grave.[138] Winnifred is unburied, made revenant, and this is enabled by Cornwall's subterranean landscape and the porous membrane between surface and depth, land and sea, life and death.

This unease with the variety of subterranean spaces potentially lurking beneath the surface of Cornwall manifests elsewhere. It motivates Emily Arnold's "The Ghost of the Treasure Chamber" (1886), which specifically articulates the economic horrors of the subterranean Gothic. The short story draws heavily from a vein of Radcliffean female Gothic in employing tropes of castles, ghosts, stolen treasure, ancestral portraits, and corrupt knights. The tale follows a young English woman sent to live with her ancient Cornish family, where she is forced to live in the Gothic castle of her visions and nightmares. The family are in crippling economic difficulty, threatening her potential relationship with her handsome Cornish cousin. The only way to save the family, and their relationship, is to find the hidden treasure of Tregarthlyn, which is, of course, inevitably attached to a legend—that a woman, through love, will find the Spanish plunder hidden by their ancestor, the swaggering knight Sir Guy, who stole from the Spanish and was never seen again. Driven by some unseen force, Ruby visits the portrait of Sir Guy, and his ghost comes to her, beckoning her with a skeletal hand into a secret labyrinthine chamber far below the castle. There she finds not just the jewels and gold, but Guy's own skeleton, which she agrees to inter in a Christian burial in exchange for his assistance. She marries her cousin, the family and the estate are saved, and Guy is at rest. This story manipulates anxieties surrounding the cultural and economic decline of Cornwall and its ancient families in horrific ways. The narrative's conclusion suggests that the Cornish may be able to regain lost glory through appeals to or communion with the past. This past is specifically located underground, and the hauntings of the castle are generated by Guy's inappropriate subterranean grave. This is another narrative whereby the buried must be disinterred and reburied appropriately (seen again in *Wheal Darkness*), suggesting a constant process of breaching the membrane between the surface and the depths, and in doing so distinguishes between the labyrinth and the grave, resisting the reductionist binary of above and below.

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[138] Penn, p. 320.

"The Ghost of the Treasure Chamber" can be interpreted through "cryptology", a Gothic critical framework whereby the crypt becomes a site of history, and an inherited familial or community secret is concealed in a process referred to as "encryptment".[139] In this way, the crypt becomes a "psychic crypt", a site of "phantom and transgenerational haunting", using spatial metaphor to express the temporal confusion of psychoanalytical processes of ancestral memory.[140] The subterranean space is used as a means of comprehending the repressed inner landscapes of the psyche—or the depths—where "[t]hese subterranean expressive traces work against signification" and "are symptoms of improper burials"— represented here through Guy's improper burial.[141] The crypt becomes a symbol for the psychic crypt, and excavating the psychic crypt takes the form of the unearthing (or return) of the repressed. These hauntings of the psychic crypt have been referred to as "improper burials"[142] and as being "buried alive".[143] The images of cryptology have been central to understanding Gothic studies due to the way they

> evoke motifs of ancestral inheritance, buried secrets, cryptic messages, and literal encryptment, where the site of itself becomes a cryptonym that shields a family secret or curse. The theory has been applied both to actual crypts or graves in Gothic novels, as well as to encrypted messages.[144]

The crypt is haunted by the many layers and reinterpretations of Gothic tropes. Cryptology goes some way to explaining the significance of the Cornish mine as Gothic image. Digging below the county's surface could uncover truths about Cornish national identity, history, and origins through mining culture, in the same way Victorian historical sciences promised to uncover society's origins through anthropology, archaeology, and geology. The Cornish mine becomes the burial ground for the mining industry, and consequently for many of the Cornish through extreme starvation and deprivation, for a sense of Cornish community through mass migration, and for Cornish culture as a result of a loss of the cornerstone of Celtic self-sufficiency. The mines also contain the answers to a long-held sense of Cornish distinction and superiority through their ancient international trade networks. In this way the mine becomes the Cornish crypt, holding the ancestral memory of all the Cornish miners that came before.

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[139] Qtd. by Berthin, p. 5.
[140] Berthin, p. 5.
[141] Berthin, p. 6.
[142] Berthin, p. 6.
[143] William Hughes, *The Encyclopaedia of the Gothic* (London: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), p. 162.
[144] Hughes, p. 162.

The idea of the "improper burial" in the mine, or the body buried in mining rubble needing to be disinterred and reburied, occurs throughout subterranean Gothic fiction. The improper burial of the Cornish body in the mine is the focus of Joseph H. Pearce's "The Man Who Coined His Blood into Gold", published in the short story collection *Drolls from Shadowland* in 1893.The story features a Cornish miner brooding on his poverty, only to meet a little hump-backed man in the mines who promises to grant his every wish. The little man slits the miner's wrist with his long claws, and tells him that, each time he says the magic word "wan", a drop of his blood will become a golden coin. The man spills so much blood in the making of a hoard of gold that he eventually collapses into a pile of his own bounty. The little hump-back man returns, cups a hand over the man's mouth, and seems to steal the flame of his soul, which he considers a "bargain".[145] This is manifest of the "Gothic's concern with social criticism" which "allowed gambling to be understood as a means of escape from the boredom and anxieties of daily life".[146] Gambling "covers up an 'intolerable fear' of ordinary life... related to the daily concern of trying to support oneself".[147] Gambling his blood away offers him both metaphorical escape from the "intolerable fear" of supporting himself with heinous labour and literal escape through his death. He has essentially "paid" for gold with his own blood, as the Cornish miners paid in their blood and bodies for ore and for their own pay. The surface conceals the visceral bodily sacrifice of the invisible working poor as the tale taps into a longer tradition of hollow earth narratives centring on powerful, alien creatures living beneath our feet.

A later hollow earth story building from the same tradition is "The Ghost of Carnaquilla: The Blood-curdling Story of the Child Ghost of Cornwall" (1910) by Elliott O'Donnell (1876-1965), which describes the experience of a man on Christmas Eve becoming lost in the moors on his way to visit his aunt in Penzance. The man stumbles into a subterranean set of serpentine labyrinths and encounters

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[145] Joseph Henry Pearce, *Drolls from Shadowland* (London: Lawrence, 1893), p. 15.
[146] Tyler R. Tichelaar, *The Gothic Wanderer: From Transgression to Redemption: Gothic Literature from 1794—Present* (Ann Arbor: Modern History Press, 2012), p. 84.
[147] Tichelaar, p. 84.

an ancient species of Celtic humans.[148] He is nearly sacrificed in a druid ceremony, before his life is saved by the offering of the hand of marriage from a beautiful young woman. A competitor for her hand tries to kill him, before he eventually escapes back to the mouth of the cavern.

The "Ghost of Carnaquilla" centres on the particularism of Cornwall, where the protagonist refers to the Cornish as "the uncouth peasantry" and thinks their accents "peculiar".[149] He walks through "one of the wildest spots in Cornwall" on Christmas Eve to make his way to his Aunt's by Christmas day, and is warned to "keep to the main road and don't try any short cuts; the place is full of mine shafts", foreshadowing the "hollow earth" narrative to come and embedding Cornwall's dangers in its subterranean depths.[150] The notion of Cornwall's landscape being dangerous traverse due to its hollowed earth is a recurrent one. An article from 1871 states:

> There are few parts of England more wild and desolate than the mining districts of Cornwall. Nature, as a counterpoise to the treasures which she has lavished on this region, has given to its external features a most forbidding aspect. The eye takes in a prospect of bleak and barren plains, with neither tree nor shrub to protect the traveler from the wind that sweeps across them, and presenting danger at every step from the numerous shafts by which they are intersected. It is truly an inhospitable country, and the nature of its inhabitants quite accords with its unfriendly characteristics. They are to a great extent repulsive in appearance, forbidding in manners, and cruel and cunning by natural disposition, and seem hardly to have risen very much above the barbarous state of their ancestors.[151]

The passage is demonstrative of the imaginative associations between mining, barbarism, the speciation of the Cornish miner, and horror and forbidding desolation. The landscape is rendered unstable by its vacuities, as well as by the difficulty in navigating the space, as the protagonist finds himself surrounded by an impenetrable mist. Then there is a "peculiarly attractive" and "irresistible" wail, which sometimes "sounded in front, sometimes behind me, so that from constantly

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148 Elliott O'Donnell, "The Ghost of Carnaquilla: The Blood-curdling Story of the Child Ghost of Cornwall", *The Tatler and Bystander*, 38.92 (Nov 30 1910), p. 264.
149 O'Donnell, p. 264.
150 O'Donnell, p. 264.
151 Anon., "The Wrecker's Wager", *New York Times* (19 March 1871), p. 2.

directing my course in opposite ways I speedily lost all cognisance of my whereabouts".[152] The narrator momentarily conquers his disorientation to realise "with astonishment that I was in the centre of what undoubtedly was at one time a circle of Celtic huts. The secret was out. I was standing on Castle-on-Dinas".[153] Castle-an-Dinas of St Columb Major is, famously, the legendary place where Ygraine, King Arthur's mother, was killed.[154] Modern mining technologies and ancient Celtic legend collide through the materiality of the Cornish landscape. Further, it demonstrates the influence of the Celtic past on the tourist's imaginative impression of the county, and the ways in which the past is continually represented as a present-day threat. In the same way the space resists spatial navigation, it resists temporal navigation.

The narrator was attracted to the county for its ghosts, having arrived in Cornwall to find "Cornish spooks", as he had "heard that it bore the reputation of being haunted among the simple-minded countryfolk, none of whom would ever venture on it alone after nightfall".[157] He is convinced that, rather than being spectral and intangible, the ghosts will resemble their landscape, perhaps taking "the form of an element", "a creature with an ill-shaped head and awkward limbs as grotesque in outline as the granite boulders standing on all sides of me, or would it be a pixy or a buccaboo?"[158] The narrator feels "it would not be the ordinary dull, uninteresting spectre wearing everyday clothes and behaving quite rationally. But Jove! it was worth losing a Christmas dinner to see a spook in such romantic surroundings".[155] Much like the Arthurian tourists described in chapter two, the protagonist has visited Cornwall in pursuit of its legends. His mission is successful, as he encounters a ghost with an enormous head. While pursuing the ghost, the narrator encounters "the mouth of a circular pit yawning in front of me".[156] The narrator looks for "some sign of my mysterious guide", as the ghost becomes a comical version of the malevolent tour guide to the unwary tourist.[157] The narrator, thinking himself

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[152] O'Donnell, p. 264.
[153] O'Donnell, p. 264.
[154] Frederick Ignatius Cowles, *The Magic of Cornwall* (London: Heath Cranton Limited, 1934), p. 73.
[155] O'Donnell, p. 264.
[156] O'Donnell, p. 264.
[157] O'Donnell, p. 264.

participating in a form of psychical tourism, finds himself accidentally participating in historical tourism, as he descends down into the stratification of Cornwall's ancient past, led by an eternal, deformed child—the ultimate monstrous manifestation of the uncanny processes of Cornwall's preservation.

The story then follows the subterranean tradition of Cornish Gothic fiction, as the narrator descends into the pit and is "astonished beyond all measure to see a flight of stone steps. . . I descended the staircase, which apparently led down, down, down into the bowels of the earth".[158] The narrator sees "something white struggling violently deep down in the pool" before being "pitched head first into the sinister cauldron".[159] The labyrinthine passages he finds are "illuminated with a lurid glow", a "marvellous place", and the narrator feels his "limbs to make sure they were not an illusion", demonstrating the distance between the real and the unreal created when borders and boundaries are breached and humans come to occupy uninhabitable, alien, hostile spaces.[163] Cornwall's ambiguity and liminality raises questions of selfhood and otherness which led the narrator to doubt his own subjectivity. The pair stumble across a cavern, where "the place was crowded with men and women whose rough hair and skin garments undoubtedly belonged to the people of the Stone Age", as travelling into Cornwall is imagined as literally travelling into the past—Cornwall's history is accessed through its underground.[164] This confrontation with the past is articulated in terrifying terms, and the narrator finds himself "surrounded by a score of hideous faces . . . I saw an enormous rectangular block of granite, by the side of which stood a trio of priests whom I at once recognised as Druids".[160] O'Donnell contrasts the Christian celebration of Christmas Eve with the pagan rites of ancient Cornwall to emphasise Cornwall's historical and cultural particularity and peculiarity. This came at the time when Henry Jenner was working to dispute Borlase's "claims for a Druidic past in Cornwall, rightly pointing out the lack of historical evidence for it", though "the connection had already been established thanks, in no small part, to Borlase. Much tourist literature ignored

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158 O'Donnell, p. 264.
159 O'Donnell, p. 264.
160 O'Donnell, p. 265.

Jenner's research and instead chose the power of a good story over scholarship".[161] O'Donnell is drawing upon this conflict between authentic, "proven", documented history and narrativised, romanticised history, or storytelling versus scholarship, in rendering the Druidic people immaterial and spectral, and portraying the narrator's experience as delusions. The notion of Celticity as constructed is exaggerated as the narrator later refers to the druids as "Celtic architects".[162]

O'Donnell disrupts the romantic images of Cornwall's druidic past by rendering the figures monstrous, with "talonlike nails on bony fingers", which "accentuated the horror of their hands", "their eyes filled with devilish glee".[163] This is an emphasis of "the 'unsavoury nature' of the past with tales of savage Druids and their 'pagan blood rites'", a process with its roots in the works of Cornish historians Polwhele and Borlase.[164] These druids are atavistic and hybrid, somewhere between animal and human, threatening the emergence of characteristics of our primal origins in the present day. That the ancient Cornish attempt to sacrifice the narrator in a bloody ritual suggests their barbarism while cementing the outsider status of the narrator. He is only saved once the ancient people recognise the mistletoe in his collar, and once one of their own inducts him into the community through marriage. The only way an outsider can survive the barbarous Cornish is by assimilating through identifying with their traditions. Significantly, this must necessarily occur in the subterranean space, as he is submerged into Cornwall both materially and metaphorically. This is also seen in H. D. Lowry's *Wheal Darkness*, where the outsider protagonist, John Pilgrim, can only be ingratiated into the community once he has completed his mythical pilgrimage through the womb of the mine.

"The Ghost of Carnaquilla" demonstrates the complex interplay between mining culture and tourist culture in Cornwall in the long nineteenth century. By drawing heavily from a subterranean literary tradition, where monsters linger in the unknown vacuities beneath our feet, O'Donnell gestures towards the significance of

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[161] Samantha Rayne, "Henry Jenner and the Celtic Revival in Cornwall" (PhD Thesis: University of Exeter, 2011), p. 187.
[162] O'Donnell, p. 265.
[163] O'Donnell, p. 265.
[164] Rayne, p. 188.

the subterranean to Cornish culture and an understanding of Cornish history, as well as to a construction of Cornwall as a haunted space. By having the narrator discover a mythic, Pagan, monstrous populace below-ground, O'Donnell disrupts the idea of any authentic "truth" lying beneath the surface.

The Cornish Gothic subterranean tradition continues into the twentieth century, one prominent example being "The Mask" (1912) by F. Tennyson Jesse. Where "Carnaquilla" derives fear from Cornwall's past inhabitants, Jesse instead exploits the supposed barbarism of Cornwall's contemporary populace. Fryniwyd Tennyson Jesse (1888-1958) was the great-niece of Alfred Tennyson, and an author, criminologist, and journalist. Jesse painted at the Newlyn School of Painting, and her short stories frequently draw upon her experiences in Cornwall. "The Mask" centres on a young Cornish woman, Vashti Bath, torn between two lovers—James Glasson and Willie Strick. Cornwall's insularity and sense of kinship and community is necessary for the plot to function, as Glasson and Strick look and sound nearly identical, as they are "like most people in the intermarrying district, cousins".[165] This point is central to the unravelling of the plot. Vashti marries Glasson only for him to be deformed in a mining engineering accident. She makes him a black mask to conceal his monstrous face and has an affair with Strick, only to be caught by Glasson, who is seemingly killed by Strick in the subsequent fight. Vashti plots that, given their similarity, if they were to dispose of Glasson's body in the mineshaft, Strick could take over Glasson's life by wearing a mask. She makes Strick a mask the same as her husband's, and they dispose the body in Wheal Zennor's abandoned mineshaft, only for her masked lover to reveal that he is Glasson, who killed Willie while her back was turned. He chases her, and she runs to the mine for safety. They are seen by a group of Cornish miners who tackle and disarm Glasson, and the story concludes with Glasson driven to madness. Cornwall's savagery provides a space for barbarous behaviour and transgressive sexuality, enabling the Gothic narrative.

The mask is central to the Gothic machinations of the text, as "[m]asks, veils, and disguises are ubiquitous features of Gothic texts, both arising as common props

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[165] F. Tennyson Jesse, "The Mask", *The English Review* (January 1912), p. 225.

at the level of plot and driving a generic concern with surfaces", where Jesse's eponymous mask, in interaction with the mining landscape, fulfils both functions.[166] Masks "simultaneously reveal and conceal; they foreground the interface between inside and outside, the seen and unseen, the self and the world", and their recurrence in Gothic texts "indicates a repeated concern with bodily boundaries, transitional states, and epistemological uncertainty".[167] This is represented further through the blurring between or doubling of the two men, the two mines, and the destruction of the face, all undermining individual subjectivity and identity. The veil "becomes an agent of contagion within the text... transmitting death-like properties", and thus deindividuates Vashti's husband into a murderer while also gesturing outwards to the death of mining culture and the subsequent deformation of Cornish identity.[168]

The short story's protagonist, Vashti, "was a splendid slattern—showing the ancient Phoenician strain in her coarse, abundant black hair, level brows, and narrow, green-blue eyes, with a trace of Jew in the hawk-like line of nose and the prominent chin curved a little upwards from her throat".[169] Vashti is a living embodiment of Cornwall's ancient, legendary past, and both aspects of her make-up are bound up into mining legend, from the Phoenicians seeking the Cassiteride isles for tin, to the ancient Jews who were thought to run the *bals* (the Hebrew word for master and the Cornish word for mines) in Cornwall's early history. Through this, Vashti is defiantly Cornish—not English—as: "[f]or all the slovenliness of her clothes she had a trick of putting them on which an Englishwoman never has a birthright, and rarely achieves".[170] Two mines are central to the mechanics of the narrative— Vashti decides to marry James Glasson at the mine, she decides to have an affair with Willie Strick at the mine, she disposes of a body at the mine, and eventually runs to the mine for sanctuary when pursued by her murderous husband. This is demonstrative of the central function of the mine to Cornish communities and its

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[166] Catherine Spooner, "Masks, Veils, and Disguises", in *The Encyclopaedia of the Gothic*, eds. by William Hughes, David Punter, and Andrew Smith (London: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), p. 421.
[167] Spooner, "Masks", p. 421.
[168] Spooner, "Masks", p. 421.
[169] F. Tennyson Jesse, "The Mask", p. 225.
[170] Jesse, pp. 225-226.

significance to Cornish culture and daily life. Later, Willie Strick's mysterious absence is justified through changes to mining culture in the period, as Strick, like many Cornish miners in this period, "talked much of emigrating, vowing he would disappear in the night and not come home until he had made a fortune"[171]—a result of Philip Payton's "culture of mobility". Aspects of Cornish peculiarities of character are necessary, too, such as Vashti's fiery, temperamental, Celtic character—"[l]ike all her race, she had a strain of fatalism in her"[172]—and Cornish engineering excellence—Glasson is an inventor, and it is his experimentation with mining technology that leads to his accident and deformity. The explosion places Glasson in the role of mad Gothic scientist, and as he emerges from the explosion, his deformation is described in explicitly Gothic terms:

> a Thing stood swaying a moment on the step. It seemed to the lovers' first horrified glimpse that all of Glasson's face had been blown away. The whole of one side of it was covered by an enormous blister, a nightmare thing, which, as the woman gazed at it, burst and fell into blackness.[173]

His accident is a horror story or a warning story about flights of progress and innovation. One half of the uncanny double, as both men are initially identical, is rendered distinct, but that particularity, that distinction, is monstrous and othering, much like many defining characteristics of Cornish particularism. The monstrosity of the situation is specifically aligned with Vashti's speciation, as "Vashti had the imaginative streak of her race, and life in the lonely cottage with this masked personality took on the quality of a nightmare".[174] The Cornish are primed for (mining) horrors, and there is something specific about Cornwall that befits nightmares. It is made clear that Vashti is made from and embedded in the landscape, as "[a]t bottom Vashti was hard as granite",[175] and, later:

> If anyone had told her that her soul had been formed by the country of her birth and upbringing, she would have thought it sheer lunacy, but her parents were not more responsible for Vashti than the land itself. The hardness and bleakness of it, the inexpressible charm of it, the soft, indolent airs, scented with flowers, or pungent with salt, above all, that reticence that makes for

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[171] Jesse, p. 227.
[172] Jesse, p. 226.
[173] Jesse, p. 231.
[174] Jesse, p. 233.
[175] Jesse, p. 226.

lonely thoughts, these things had, generation by generation, moulded her forbears, and their influence was in her blood. Even the indifference with which she saw, arose from her oneness with her own country, and in this she was like all true Cornish folk before and since—they belong to Cornwall body and soul.[176]

Cornwall is a particular place, and Vashti is a particular woman because of it. Jesse emphasises that Cornish blood is an inheritance, and somewhat contains ancestry, much like the land and the rock itself.

The short story uses the Gothic motif of the uncanny double to provide a commentary on community, individuality and deindividuation, fear of homogenisation, particularism, and difference. The uncanny double is a threat to subjectivity, and Glasson's subjectivity is further eroded by the loss of his face. Rendered mask, object, he becomes monstrous—Vashti recurrently refers to him as "Thing". The black vacuity of his face is described using the same rhetoric as the black vacuity of the mine, aligning the depths of his monstrosity with the abyss of Cornwall's hollowed-out land. At the moment of the explosion Glasson's face "fell into blackness";[177] later Vashti wonders what lies beyond the mask, and "whether it could be as bad as that black expanse";[178] later still, Glasson looks into the wind, the mask is blown inward, and Vashti "never forgot the horror of that concave line against the sky".[179] As with the mines, "[s]he came to regard the mask with superstitious awe".[180] The mask functions as the surface, and the broken face the depths. Glasson's face itself takes on the sublimity and the vacuity of the mine with which he is obsessed. Glasson sacrificed his marriage, his life, his vision, and his face to his ambitions to work in the mine, and the mine absorbed him in kind. Glasson is no longer Willie's uncanny double, but the double of the mine, taking on its characteristics, and in turn its dangers. The body, when thrown into the mine, even lands twice—two men, two mines, two drops—as "after what seemed an interminable silence there came a thud from several hundred feet below them, then

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[176] Jesse, p. 228.
[177] Jesse, p. 231.
[178] Jesse, p. 233.
[179] Jesse, p. 233.
[180] Jesse, p. 233.

another, as though the body had rebounded, then all was stillness".[181] The short Gothic story "The Wrecker's Wager" (1871) also centres on the disposal of a murdered body down a mine shaft and its seeming return, as "[s]ome men going very early to work swore they saw a horseman flying over the moors, crossing shafts and pits without once staying to pick his way. It could have been no human horseman nor steer that could have sped on such a wild career".[182] The uncanniness of the spectral victim is exaggerated by the difficulty of traversing the punctured, unstable mining district, as the earth inevitably regurgitates its secrets and its dead.

Vashti attempts to "bury" her husband within the opened stratification of Cornwall's history, and his re-emergence is manifest of the return of the repressed that underlines the atmosphere and function of the Gothic as a mode. The story's conclusion exaggerates Cornwall as a Gothic space where the past is never successfully buried, because the barrier between past and present (represented through surface and depth) is continually mined and punctured.

Other Cornish Gothic narratives exploit fears surrounding Cornwall's subterranean spaces beyond the hollows of the mine. Wilkie Collins's Cornish Gothic novel *Basil* (1852) culminates with the eponymous protagonist escaping to Cornwall to avoid the vengeance of the man he has maimed and deformed, only to be pursued by his nemesis across the clifftops. Basil navigates the craggy, perilous landscape through the mist by the sound of the sea, only for his enemy to be sucked into a yawning chasm in the clifftop through to the sea below, both under the ground and under water.[183] Anthony Trollope's "Malachi's Cove" (1864) also finds inspiration in these coastal cauldrons. The narrative features a young woman seemingly preternaturally adept at drawing seaweed from the whirlpools in coastal crags.[184] A young man, an interloper and stranger, attempts to mimic her, and is sucked into the chasm. Both *Basil* and "Malachi's Cove" feature Cornwall's subterranean, subaquatic spaces disposing (or trying to dispose) of strangers. Employing these semi-watery, semi-earthy spaces in the same way, the short story "The Phantom Hare" (1879)

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[181] Jesse, p. 237.
[182] Anon., "The Wrecker's Wager", *New York Times* (19 Mar 1871), p. 2
[183] Wilkie Collins, *Basil* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)
[184] Anthony Trollope, "Malachi's Cove", *Good Words* (Jan 1864), pp. 929-936.

features a woman betrayed by her lover only to disappear then seemingly return as a spectral hare.[185] The protagonist resolves to solve the mystery of her disappearance only for "scientific men from London" to find her body perfectly preserved in a bog.[186] This draws from a longer Irish "bog Gothic" tradition and appeals to the Cornish Gothic motif of uncanny preservation, while also gesturing towards scientific interest in Cornwall's subterranean spaces across the long nineteenth century.[187] These subterranean Gothic narratives, while not necessarily mining narratives, all draw from anxieties surrounding what could possibly breach the membrane between above and below.

Wheal Darkness

Wheal Darkness is a Cornish Gothic novel specifically concerned with mining communities towards the end of the collapse of the mining industry, representing this decline through the literal collapse of a mine. The novel was written by Henry Dawson Lowry (1869-1906), a Cornish writer and editor. Despite leaving Cornwall at a young age he continually wrote about the county, including the short story collection *Wreckers and Methodists* (1893), which features a reworking of the ghost ship myth. His work was received well and was popular at the time, but despite this, has largely fallen from the popular canon. Lowry died in 1906, leaving his final novel, *Wheal Darkness*, incomplete. It was eventually completed by his cousin, Catherine Amy Dawson Scott, novelist and founder of P.E.N., around 1920. The novel is a vivid picture of life in a mining community in nineteenth-century Cornwall, focusing on the arrival of a new Methodist minister, John Pilgrim. Pilgrim struggles to integrate with the coarse locals, despite the warm welcome of Martha Trevelga, daughter of the steward of the estate of Lord Dunstonville. The narrative follows Pilgrim as he learns more about the community of miners and their families, while adventuring across the rugged landscape, becoming accidentally embroiled in a love-triangle, and witnessing the riots that result from the ignorant decisions made

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[185] M. H., "The Phantom Hare", *The Argosy* (May 1879), pp. 383-399.
[186] M. H., p. 398.
[187] Derek Gladwin, "The Bog Gothic: Bram Stoker's 'Carpet of Death' and Ireland's Horrible Beauty", *Gothic Studies*, 16.1 (2018), pp. 39-54.

by officials in London regarding Wheal Darkness, the largest surviving mine in the area. The novel culminates with a shaft of Wheal Darkness collapsing, and Pilgrim is only accepted into the community once he crawls into the belly of the mine to rescue one of the locals. Lowry's novel monopolises on the culture of fear and intrigue surrounding ungovernable Cornish miners and is motivated by a fascination with the deep emotional significance of mining to Cornish communities. Each character within the narrative is affected by mining in a different way—Martha is emotionally invested in the poverty generated by the collapse of the industry, her betrothed Nat Roscorla is financially invested in mining shares, and Pilgrim believes showing an interest in the mines will win the loyalty of his congregation.

The novel begins with a warning of the inevitable failure of the mines, and a sense of an economy and culture on the brink of collapse, as "tall, dismantled engine-houses speak everywhere of ruined enterprises".[188] For John Pilgrim, Cornwall is a store of memories. As Pilgrim recollects his own childhood memories, he creates a Cornwall constantly in retrospective:

> He strove to recall the old men, and presently it came to him that of these here were hardly any. "A miner of five-and-forty is an old man," was the saying; and looking back he found few old faces, but many that were white and shrunken, and dark beneath the eyes.[189]

The image suggests the skulls of the miners, as though in being disinterred from the mine and forced permanently above ground they have become, ironically, already dead. As "his memories were chiefly of the days before dynamite came into use, they showed the place as abounding with blind men".[190] Jenkin's history of Cornish mining describes how those caught up in black powder blasts "were more often mangled than killed outright", and that "[t]he numbers of men in the mining districts with faces blackened and blinded in one or both eyes, or else lacking two fingers of the right hand, used formerly to be very great".[191] The darkness of life below ground fundamentally alters the body of the miner. The darkness of the mine is thus represented as all consuming, leeching (or abjectly leaking) above the ground and

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[188] Lowry, p. 10.
[189] Lowry, p. 11-12.
[190] Lowry, p. 12.
[191] Jenkin, p. 218.

stealing the senses. The darkness continues to leak from the mine as it collapses, as Dick Gundry claims that "'tis another sort of night that's gathering over Tallywarn", referring to the odd sight of miners above ground during the day.[192]

Blindness is deeply entwined with the uncanny, from Freud's first essay "The Uncanny" (1919) and its analysis of the loss of sight in E. T. A. Hoffmann's *The Sandman* (1816), and the relationship between self-blinding and the uncanny in the Oedipal myth.[193] For Freud, blindness is akin to castration, and the blind miners are rendered impotent (economically, socially) by their inability to work below ground—to penetrate the earth. Nicholas Royle describes the uncanny as "an investigation into the dark, into darkness", and references Freud's statement that "the uncanny would always, as it were, be something one does not know one's way about it".[194] Pilgrim walks through Tallywarn, "a walk during which it appeared to him that through the district all men who were more than a little beyond their boyhood were blind".[195] Royle describes how Freud refers to "the unheimlich, fearful hours of night", and an aspect of the uncanniness of the mine is its eternal night.[196] Time does not function underground. For Botting and Townshend "[t]he uncanny is central to discussions of Victorian Gothic" as "it pertains not only to ghosts that cross the impenetrable line between life and death, but to crossings between times and places, inside and outside, minds and world".[197] The abject breaching of the surface of the mine is uncanny as it can represent these multivalent crossings.

Pilgrim's understanding of the mines is infected by his preoccupation with damnation. Convinced that accidentally killing his unrepentant brother had doomed them both to an eternity in hell, Pilgrim projects his anxieties onto the subterranean mining landscape and the Cornish people. These anxieties take the form of an obsession with rescuing their souls from the depths, and manifest later as he literally

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[192] Lowry, p. 127.
[193] Fred Botting and Dale Townshend, "Introduction", *Gothic: Nineteenth Century Gothic: At Home with the Vampire* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2004), pp. 1-11.
[194] Freud quoted by Royle, p. 108.
[195] Lowry, p. 12.
[196] Royle, p. 108.
[197] Botting and Townshend, p. 1.

drags Dick Gundry's body from a collapsed mine. As Pilgrim considers the Cornish landscape, he thinks of "hell as a vast gulf of flame, which opened at the bottom of a hill on which mankind was carelessly strolling. Myriads of little figures, dark against the red glow of the gulf, were on the slope, were taking the downhill path".[198] This is parallel to the miners journeying to Wheal Darkness. Pilgrim believes it is his mission to "lead this people from the mouth of that ever-yawning gulf into the walled-about meadow of salvation", where the meadow is explicitly of the surface.[199] His pleas for their souls are ineffective, for, though "his words fell on the ears of a congregation in which Celt far out-numbered the less emotional Saxon", they still seem infuriatingly insensitive to the fate of their eternal souls.[200] Pilgrim explains how he accidentally killed his brother, and how this made him "Cain, nay in worst case, for Cain only slew the godly", and that "My brother is this day [...] in hell! In hell! I sit hour after hour and I hear his voice, thin, far away, coming to me out of hell".[201] He claims that he spends his "life drawing others from the pit, but him I cannot save".[202] Martha seems to suggest that this leaves Pilgrim in a state of his own personal psychic hell, as "[i]t must be like living in eternal night".[203] The mine, or pit, comes to represent not just the Christian notion of hell, but a landscape of psychological trauma; the subterranean space of the repressed mind.

As Pilgrim marvels at the Cornish people's refusal to fear the subterranean underworld, he realises that "[i]t was the surface only that had responded, that their hearts were like pools of still water", suggesting that he needs to puncture the surface and plummet into the depths to truly understand them.[204] Pilgrim describes this spiritual quest again in spatial terms, as he asks "[h]ow could he make his way to them, he who, in their talk, was 'a foreigner'? Although his boyhood had passed in Tallywarn, he was not of their blood".[205] This rumination combines the particularism and speciation of the Cornish as a distinct race with the imagery of surface/depth recurrently used to describe spiritual depth, psychological depth, and spatial depth.

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[198] Lowry, p. 20.
[199] Lowry, p. 28.
[200] Lowry, p. 29.
[201] Lowry, p. 96.
[202] Lowry, p. 96.
[203] Lowry, p. 103.
[204] Lowry, p. 104.
[205] Lowry, pp. 104-105.

Delving into the depths of Wheal Darkness is as delving into the depths of the Cornish soul and the Cornish mind, their very selfhood mapped onto the landscape. Pilgrim slowly begins to realise that it is "his ignorance of their underground life, their days spent in the obscurity of the mine, their feverish preoccupation with tin" that "set him apart", and thus, set them apart as a distinct culture.[206]

Pilgrim realises that he must go underground to truly comprehend the depths of the Cornish people. Dick Gundry guides him down, and Pilgrim "would have been surprised had he been able to realise how many acquaintances he failed to recognise that morning in the disguise of their underground costume", as the miners become a deindividuated whole, emphasising the dominance of "miner" as identity.[207] The mining captain is pleased by Pilgrim's decision, and thinks "'[t]hey will take it kindly of you'", elevating the mine's importance further.[208] As Pilgrim descends into the mine he "seemed to lose all sense of the direction in which he was travelling", and as he descends, he takes a "breath-stopping plunge", affirming the subterranean as a space for the dead.[209] As they descend, "[t]hey moved so quickly that the light showed a swift stream rushing along overhead in sheer defiance of the laws of gravity", reiterating Pilgrim's disorientation and disrupting the laws that govern spatiality, suggesting the mines to be a fantastical, unnatural space outside of the realms of the rational.[210] This is similar to the way in which Thomas Hardy represents spatial disorientation and the defeat of the rational mind in *A Pair of Blue Eyes* when Henry Knight feels the rain blasting upwards. Pilgrim and the miners enter a "black mouth", a "huge black cavern".[211] Gundry states that, "'Tis a great place, edn' it? But 'tis nothing to some I could show 'ee. For a hundred years there've been men working down here, and you might go walking for a year and never understand the bigness of Wheal Darkness".[212] The subterranean takes on a sublime vastness, a timelessness, impossible to comprehend:

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[206] Lowry, p. 105.
[207] Lowry, p. 114.
[208] Lowry, p. 114.
[209] Lowry, p. 118.
[210] Lowry, p. 118.
[211] Lowry, p. 119.
[212] Lowry, p. 120.

> He led the way to a huge cavern where the candles seemed more insignificant than one star in a vast sky. Listening, they heard only the drip of water, and it was hard, in the silence and emptiness, to believe that so great a multitude of men was busy close at hand. Dick paused for a moment to let the vastness sink into the minister's mind, then holding up his candle searched the face of the rock.[213]

The mine is a subterranean sublime space. As "Death is the abyss of the sublime", and the sublime "is always an overglutted sign, an excess/abscess, that produces an atmosphere of toxic breathlessness" and the "terror-that final substratum of the Gothic sublime-remains the same".[214] The void of the mine is an infinite, sublime cavern, resisting signification. In confronting sublimity the failures of Pilgrim's fire and brimstone preaching come into sharp illumination as he reaches the surface from the "ominous darkness of the mine".[215] As "[e]verytime a man went down the shaft he took his life into his hand, and long use had rendered him callous", and "[d]eath and destruction threatened these men and from Sunday to Sunday he held forth on the fate of the lost".[216] As:

> [h]e denounced sin, he fulminated against the transgressor, but his burning words fell upon ears deafened by the roar of a daily danger, his fierce eloquence was met by bland indifference. They knew what he would tell them, they had heard it every Lord's day from their youth up, and long use had rendered them callous. He might insist on the deadly consequences of sin, but so far nothing had happened, and it was more convenient to ignore the danger.[217]

Death was inevitable and a constant threat for those who lived their lives underground—there was no need to dwell on it. Hell was no threat to those who worked in a subterranean hellscape—those who had spent their lives in the burning dark. Pilgrim feels that "[t]o himself he seemed to bear an ill-omened resemblance to the great mine. It was bound up with the lives of his people as was he, and it made on their minds the impression he made on their souls".[218] Pilgrim-as-mine is referenced again, as Roscorla describes him as one of the "'people in this world who

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[213] Lowry, p. 121.
[214] Vijay Mishra, *The Gothic Sublime* (New York: SUNY Press, 1994), p. 19.
[215] Lowry, p. 123.
[216] Lowry, p. 123.
[217] Lowry, p. 123.
[218] Lowry, p. 123.

give one an impression of wind-swept space and darkness and horror'".[219] As Pilgrim becomes one with the mine, he finds a way to become one with the people, and his constantly reiterated physical size, darkness, and brooding depth take on new meaning. Suddenly, the Cornish become "his people" as opposed to "the people".

The novel culminates with a mining disaster, as Wheal Darkness collapses in synchronicity with the social collapse of the miners' riot, and economic collapse, as Roscorla sells out the mine. The cultural breakdown is represented through the breakdown of the landscape, and the dissolution of the fragile border between above and below ground, as Tallywarn and its congregation descend into the pits of hell:

> A frightful run of ground at Wheal Darkness: ten men—twenty men—scores of men—buried alive. The pumping machinery blocked . . . the mine flooded . . . the ground fallen in almost from the surface . . . fallen to the lowest working, four hundred fathoms. . . [220]

It is the collapse of the mine which also leads to the collapse of Pilgrim's steely facade, and the increased permeability of his own membrane allows him to take on the feelings of the Cornish, as "[t]hat remoteness which, to the warm-hearted Cornish, made him appear scarcely human, had momentarily relaxed",[221] and:

> Now as he stood in the darkness of the great mine, gazing on the pile of inanimate matter which had crushed out so many lives, a torch of human pity was lighted in his soul. He thought of this man, lying in the black hollow under the baulk, and it became intolerable that he should stand by.[222]

Pilgrim takes on a pilgrimage into the depths of the mine, citing his failure at marriage, at preaching, and at reconciling with his mother as the motivation for descending to this new low. Pilgrim crawls not just into the bowels of Cornish history and culture, but into the repressed depths of his own psyche, to the most base and primitive layers of himself, accessing his atavistic self. He is forced "to crawl on all fours, but always he had to feel his way, and about him in the darkness were terrible

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[219] Lowry, pp. 135-136.
[220] Lowry, p. 220.
[221] Lowry, p. 226.
[222] Lowry, pp. 227-228.

things" and "[o]nce his exploring hand fell on a hairy face uplifted, like some unclean vegetable growth, from the midst of closely packed rocks. He shuddered, knowing that Pascoe was indeed dead".[223] The uncanniness of the "vegetable growth" in the inorganic world of the mine is demonstrative of the unnaturalness of man descending so far below ground. Pilgrim is lured forward by a trapped man's voice, and "[t]he heat was stifling; he was cut and bruised all over and could scarcely breathe. He seemed to have squeezed himself through impassable narrows and to have been hours on the way".[224] Pilgrim eventually reaches through to grab Dick Gundry's hand, and "[t]he warm contact in the pitiless dark, where on every side the dead lay buried and yet unburied, gave the one man courage and the other strength" and "[a]t length, ragged, dirty, with face and clothes streaked with blood, Mr. Pilgrim crawled into the open".[225] Pilgrim crawls through hell and emerges in the meadow, having confronted his own demons, his own imaginary hellscape, and having become submerged in Cornishness, baptised into the culture by the heat and dirt of the mine, initiated into their way of life through blood and filth. Pilgrim is reborn as a Cornishman, and able to shed the traumas of his past self, left buried below the ground, where the past is recurrently situated. The minister's metamorphosis is exaggerated, as he appears "unrecognisably grimed and gory" and the villagers "wondered as at a resurrection from the dead".[226] The mine comes to represent a liminal place of transition; a metamorphosis between life and death; a place which both gives and takes, as temperamental as the sea. That Pilgrim has used the psychic landscape of the mine to absolve his own traumas becomes clear as the narrator states, "[i]t was as if he had rescued the brother of each man pressing forward to shake his hand, the son of each woman" atoning for his sin of taking the life of his own brother and his mother's son.[227] The sense of Cornish community, and Cornish connection with the mine, is necessary for this physical and mental catharsis, as "[h]e had risked his life for one and it had endeared him to all".[228] The mine then becomes not a space of damnation, but a space for transformation

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[223] Lowry, p. 230.
[224] Lowry, p. 231.
[225] Lowry, p. 232.
[226] Lowry, pp. 233-234.
[227] Lowry, p. 235.
[228] Lowry, p. 235.

through redemption and initiation. Pilgrim is distanced from his status as foreigner as Mrs. Roscorla puts the word in quotation marks: "'[r]isked his life he did, and him a 'foreigner'".[229] Wheal Darkness later becomes a mass grave:

> The dismal dawn seemed only to emphasise the dishevelled ugliness of the mine. As there was no hope of others being rescued alive, the people presently began to slip away. It was clear that the bodies could only be recovered slowly and meanwhile there were pitiful preparations to be made.[230]

Margaret addresses the rhetoric of surface/depth used throughout the descriptions of burials and the mine, as while she was glad to hear of the salvation of Gundry and Pilgrim, "to her these were matters of the surface. Underneath, her heart was beating sadly".[231] The ways in which the body can be changed by the mine reaches its gory conclusion, as Pascoe's body, "being greatly disfigured, was at once screwed down in its coffin".[232] The function of Gothic rhetoric in expressing the travesties and tragedies of mining life in Cornwall is made explicit at the novel's end:

> Terrible stories came from where the rescuers were at work, and halfforgotten superstitions, those superstitions which linger in the minds of the unlettered, reasserted their grisly empire. Tales were told of noises for which none could account, and it was said that at the darkest hour of the night a cart, laden with the bodies of dead men, was driven through the streets. But these things, when compared with the horrors of reality, were trifles. The bruised and broken bodies lay where the temperature was a little short of ninety degrees, and whither no fresh air could penetrate. The task of the rescuers was terrific, and among them were fanatics who, had they been at the point of death and been ordered alcohol, would have refused it; but they were drinking spirits now, and the pipe was always between their lips, for without these aids they could not have accomplished their work.[233]

The Gothic rhetoric of tales, superstitions, and grisly ghouls emphasises the horrific realities of the disaster, and the narrativisation of the horrors is rendered a coping mechanism; a vocabulary through which to articulate otherwise inexpressible trauma. It is implied that in such temperatures and with little circulation the bodies

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[229] Lowry, p. 237.
[230] Lowry, p. 236.
[231] Lowry, p. 237.
[232] Lowry, p. 241.
[233] Lowry, p. 241.

are swiftly decaying and becoming absorbed back into the earth, as the mine claims its own. The Cornish work feverishly to unbury the victims only to bury them again, a disorientating and uncanny process.

It is not just Pilgrim risking of his life that charms the local populace, but his willingness to clamber through the filth of the mine. In rising from the dirt, covered in filth and blood, Pilgrim undergoes a metaphorical rebirth from the dark, hot, enclosed womb of the mine, and is reborn as Cornish kin. Early perceptions of mining describe how "[m]inerals, in particular, were regarded as living organisms that grew inside the earth as an embryo develops in the uterus, gestating in the warm, dark, womblike matrices of subterranean space".[234] The mine is so fundamental to the Cornish way of life that it becomes the origins of Cornishness, the germ of them all, and Pilgrim must ritualistically pass through it—on a pilgrimage—to truly understand the Cornish ways. Only then may he understand that hell means something very different to a people who live their lives below ground. *Wheal Darkness* is a novel preoccupied with what it means to be Cornish, what it means to be an outsider, and whether it is possible to be accepted by such a strange and stubbornly differentiated people. Lowry proposes that the only means of integration into such a resistant, insular populace is through traversing the national and regional borders of the surface and reaching the Cornish underbelly underground. The Cornish can only be understood and appreciated through an understanding and appreciation of the Cornish mine, and the ways in which mining culture shape Cornish attitudes towards community, landscape, economy, culture, and even the fate of their eternal souls. Lowry employs mythological, economic, and psychoanalytical understandings of the mining landscape in Gothic terms to describe the significance of the subterranean and to embed the Cornish relationship with the mine into a longer, larger cultural tradition. Lowry uses Gothic rhetoric to untangle the traumas embedded within the mine and demonstrates how Gothic language can be used to articulate inexpressible horrors.

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[234] Williams, p. 24.

Conclusion

The miner—monstrous, ungovernable, barbarous, strange, alien, and living an inhuman life in the uninhabitable bowels of the earth's subterranean hellscape—is fundamental to and emblematic of the Cornish Gothic. That the subterranean, a lynchpin of Cornish culture and life, is so readily and explicitly Gothic provides some explanation for the mass proliferation of Cornish Gothic texts in the Victorian period. Mines and images of the subterranean are inescapably Gothic, and the intimate and ancient association of Cornwall with its mines, miners, mining history, and mining lore renders Cornwall Gothic in turn. The Gothicisation of Cornwall's mines renders their bowels loaded with ghosts, ghouls, and goblins, and the mythologisation of the subterranean space challenges the Enlightenment knowledge-seeking mission underground spurred by the specialisation of the earth sciences in this period. In disrupting this attempt to categorise and order the world, and to pursue answers as to humanity's origins, the Cornish mine appeals to a specifically Gothic chaos and disorder. This mythologization of Cornwall's mines in Gothic terms provides a vocabulary of horror and terror through which to articulate the very real traumas of mining life and its subsequent loss. The Cornish mine becomes a burial ground—for miners, as well as for mining heritage itself.

Chapter Four
"A delightful place to be buried in": *A Pair of Blue Eyes* and the Function of Travel in Gothic Cornwall

Thomas Hardy opens his preface to the 1895 edition of *A Pair of Blue Eyes* (1873) with a description of Cornwall as one of

> the remotest nooks of western England, where the wild and tragic features of the coast had long combined in perfect harmony with the crude Gothic Art of the ecclesiastical buildings scattered along it, throwing into extraordinary discord all architectural attempts at newness there. To restore the grey carcases of a medievalism whose spirit had fled, seemed a not less incongruous act than to set about renovating the adjoining crags themselves.[1]

Hardy establishes Cornwall as a wild, tragic place where the new struggles to assimilate with the old, describing the county as one of historical preservation. The Gothic language of "carcases of a medievalism", vacated of spirit, aligns the ruins of churches with the ruins of bodies, and Cornwall is introduced to the reader as a place for the dead, or a place that *is* somehow dead. Hardy, as an architect, is consciously drawing parallels between Gothic architecture and the images associated with Gothic literature, while at the same time noting the Gothic Medievalist aesthetics of the nineteenth century, and Cornwall's own well established connections to Medievalism through King Arthur and Tintagel.[2] The novel goes on to revel in images of graveyards, spectres, ruins, corpses, and other key motifs of Gothic fiction, and Cornwall not only provides the backdrop for the text, but fuels its Gothic energies. Despite this, few critics have acknowledged *A Pair of Blue Eyes* to be a Gothic novel, and few have noted the centrality of Cornwall to the novel. This critical neglect could be justified as an oversight if not for Hardy's own intimate relationship with the county, the pseudo-biographical nature of the novel itself, and the recurrence of Cornwall in the writer's wider oeuvre. Instead, the absence of Cornwall from criticism of the novel illuminates the persistent marginalisation of Cornwall from literary and cultural histories. Resituating *A Pair of*

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[1] Thomas Hardy, *A Pair of Blue Eyes* (London: Osgood, McIlvaine, 1895), p. 12.
[2] Analysed at length in chapter two.

Blue Eyes as a specifically Cornish Gothic novel within the context of the proliferation of Cornish Gothic texts documented throughout this thesis will advance the critical understanding of regionalism, identity, and otherness in the text and in the wider period. This chapter will investigate Hardy's first novel within the context of the popular contemporaneous perception of a Gothic Cornwall of which Hardy would have doubtless been familiar. Specifically, it will focus on transport advancements within and without the county.

A Pair of Blue Eyes is motivated by relentless movement—between London, Cornwall, Bombay, and the wider Continent. It is full of railways, steamers, platforms, and the noise and chaos associated with travelling. Its primary plot points revolve around distance, elopement, and the imaginative spaces long journeys can provide. Its culmination is centred entirely on travel—Knight and Smith returning from long, life altering journeys across the world only to realise that they are sharing the train with their beloved's coffin. Hardy's use of transport is explicitly Gothic, and Hardy's Gothic Cornwall embodies a fear of advanced travel and what it could mean for the ancient county and the modern world. Cornwall is perfectly suited for this morbid imaginative exercise, not just due to its personal significance for Hardy, but due to its continued representation as a distant, foreign space in stasis—a place where the ancient, primitive, and barbarous survive, and even thrive. Hardy clashes the modernity of transport with an ancient land to dramatize the meeting of the the horrors of the past with the terrors of the future.

This chapter will demonstrate how perceptions of travel in the nineteenth century contributed to the construction of Cornwall as a Gothic space. It will begin by outlining the regional elements of *A Pair of Blue Eyes* which clearly identify its setting as Cornwall within the context of Hardy's wider oeuvre. It will then investigate the ways in which travel is represented in Gothic terms in the Victorian period, before defining *A Pair of Blue Eyes* as a Gothic novel. The chapter will conclude with an analysis of similar aspects of Gothic travel in Cornwall in Bram Stoker's *The Jewel of Seven Stars* (1903) and Mary Elizabeth Braddon's "Colonel Benyon's Entanglement" (1872). This chapter will investigate the relationship between Cornwall and transport technologies in the period to provide a new way to approach the recurrent motifs of transport, time, and space in Hardy's work. To coin a fittingly architectural term, this

chapter will serve as a capstone for the thesis, demonstrating in practical terms how the Cornish Gothic framework established in the previous chapters can be used to provide new insights into a canonical text.

A Pair of Blue Eyes in Cornwall

The sparse criticism which does note the significance of Cornwall in the novel tends to reduce the setting to a manifestation of Hardy's nostalgia for his time in the county with his wife, Emma, who was born in Plymouth and moved to Cornwall age 20. This is due to the relative critical neglect for a novel not particularly favoured by Hardy's reviewers—one considered a "rag-bag of information, ideas, descriptive vignettes".[3] More recent criticism has been more favourable, and considers the novel's significance as both Hardy's first work, and the novel that inspired him to become a full-time novelist.[4] John P. Farrell uses the Cornish setting to further his argument that *A Pair of Blue Eyes* is a romance, and draws direct inspiration from Tristan and Iseult, necessitating the use of "Lyonnesse" for its staging.[5] Yet, a novel based upon a romance is not necessarily a romance, and, as chapter two has established, motifs from the romance plot contributed significantly to the Victorian Gothic tradition and the establishment of Cornwall as a Gothic space.

Pamela Gossin notes that "Hardy sets the Darwinian sexual selection of the novel's action squarely within geological and meteorological reality. When the characters undertake geological excursions to the cliffs in the area, they are exposed to layers of the past".[6] Further, that the strata in the rock serves to establish "that part of the story's place is also its time", neglecting what place and what time—namely, Cornwall in the nineteenth century.[7] This is despite the significance of Cornwall's geological and archaeological marvels in the contemporary imagination and its

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[3] Michael Millgate, *Thomas Hardy: His Career as Novelist* (London: St Martin's Press, 1971), p. 63.
[4] Angelique Richardson, "'Some Science underlies all Art': The Dramatization of Sexual Selection and Racial Biology in Thomas Hardy's *A Pair of Blue Eyes* and *The Well-Beloved*", *Journal of Victorian Culture* 3.2 (1998) pp. 302-338.
[5] John P. Farrell, "Romance Narrative in Hardy's *A Pair of Blue Eyes*", *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 42 (2014), p. 709.
[6] Pamela Gossin, *Thomas Hardy's Novel Universe: Astronomy, Cosmology, and Gender in the Post Darwinian World* (London: Routledge, 2017), p. 126.
[7] Gossin, p. 126.

status as a site of living history—as described in detail in chapters two and three. Travelling into Cornwall is an act of travelling into the past and an analysis of "deep time" in the novel is incomplete without an understanding of Cornwall's temporal and spatial confusion in the nineteenth century.

Ralph Pite's *Hardy's Geography* (2003) maps Hardy's treatment of landscape and regionalism through his novels, though mentions Cornwall sparingly, and includes only a fleeting reference to *A Pair of Blue Eyes*. Pite's argument absorbs Cornwall into the West Country or conflates the county with "the West" or "the Westerly"—a conflation at odds with ideas of Cornwall as a distinct and particular region. Pite does discuss Cornwall's distinct features briefly in a comparison to Devon:

> Devon is the perfection of England—a little England beyond Dorset, as Pembrokeshire is a little England beyond Wales; Cornwall, on the other hand, evokes wildness, barrenness and isolation. It presents an image of the savage and uncivilized while Devon makes civilization incarnate.[8]

And observes that:

> One can travel westwards, therefore, to discover either the epitome of "England" or its opposite. The west can be situated at both centre and periphery; a journey westwards leads to the rediscovery of either the ancient foreign (Cornwall) or the original native (Devon). Such a journey either aligns the traveller with the recognized centre and its values or it does the opposite, making the traveller a figure of alienation from the capital who journeys in the hope of finding a new centre, one which may, of course, be old.[9]

Pite adopts the dated core-periphery model and neglects the wide body of work documenting the particularism of the Cornish contemporaneous to Hardy, and thus misses numerous opportunities to provide more nuanced insight into Hardy's geography. It is notable that Pite uses the rhetoric of the journey to express the distinction between Devon and Cornwall, as one of the most significant changes in Cornwall in this period is its connection to the wider national rail network through the opening of Isambard Kingdom Brunel's Royal Albert Bridge across the Tamar. Construction commenced in 1854 and the bridge was opened by its namesake, Prince Albert, in 1859. Travelling to Cornwall was easier, cheaper, and quicker than

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[8] Ralph Pite, *Hardy's Geography: Wessex and the Regional Novel* (London: Palgrave, 2002), p. 86.
[9] Pite, p. 87.

ever before, with the introduction of the steamer service to Plymouth and the expansion and improvement of existing rail networks within the county. The Great Western Railway Company were investing in hotels, lodgings, and guidebooks alongside the railways, fuelling an embryonic tourist industry at a time when mining, Cornwall's primary economy, was in collapse. Travel, accessibility, and how best to map and sell the county were at the forefront of the drive to save Cornwall from economic and cultural ruin. For this reason, travel in and out of the county often manifested in Gothic terms, due to the way it represented change, the breaching of borders, and exposed the extremity of desperation of the Cornish people in a barren wilderness. Cornwall was recurrently marketed as an exotic land to attract a Victorian audience preoccupied with the fetishization of otherness, and much of the rhetoric surrounding travel in a Gothic Cornwall centres on Cornish particularisms, oddities, and seeming barbarism. This can be seen in the 1908 Great Western Railway poster which mirrored a map of Italy with a rotated map of Cornwall to exhibit their "great similarity ... in shape, climate & natural beauties".[10] Cornwall was promoted as a foreign locale.

Hardy and Cornwall

A Pair of Blue Eyes "remained Hardy's own favourite of his fourteen novels" and was a favourite of Tennyson.[11] The novel is specifically located in Cornwall, identifiable through barely abstracted metamorphoses of the place names in the area, as "Launceston became St Launces's, Camelford became Camelton, Trebarwith Strand was shortened to Barwith Strand and Boscastle resumed an old name—Castle Boterel. St Juliot was the biggest change, becoming Endelstow, perhaps derived from St Endellion, with its shrine of St Endelienta".[12] Hardy met his wife, Emma Gifford, in Cornwall in March 1870, in remarkably familiar circumstances—as a young architect sent to inspect her family's church. Cornwall was and remained vital to Hardy, his relationship, and his career:

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[10] Science Museum Group. Poster, "Great Western Railway, See Your Own Country First", *Science Museum Group Collection Online*
<https://collection.sciencemuseumgroup.org.uk/objects/co528761> [Accessed 14 Aug 2019]
[11] Ida Procter, *Visitors to Cornwall* (Truro: Dyllansow Truran-Cornish Publications, 1982), p. 88.
[12] Procter, p. 87.

> Cornwall was an essential experience in Hardy's life, a heart-tonic and general booster to his ambitions and personality when he needed them most. The feeling of space, the grandeur of the Cornish cliffs on that northern coast, the contrasting peace of the rocky valleys, stimulated his architecturallytrained eye; its mysteries and mythology stirred his sense of drama, and fate threw in the waiting figure of Emma to open the door of the West for him. And Emma herself, who encouraged his novel-writing with a youthful zest, has been given a memorial to her Cornish life she could never have guessed would be hers. It may well be claimed for Cornwall, that without this episode Hardy might never have dared to forsake his T-square and drawing-board for the uncertain life of literature.[13]

Hardy revisited Cornwall 43 years later in March 1913. The product of this journey were the elegiac poems of 1912-13, illustrating an imaginative journey from Dorset, where Emma died, to Cornwall, where they met. The poems are Gothic in tone, seeking to reanimate and illustrate the spectre of Emma. From this collection, "After a Journey" describes Cornwall in explicitly haunting terms, describing Hardy's return to "olden haunts", to spots "when we haunted here together", where Emma is a "thin ghost".[14] This is an echo of Henry Knight and Stephen Smith unknowingly returning to Cornwall in pursuit of their own deceased love, with the intent to "glide like a ghost about their old haunts".[15] The poem "At Castle Boterel", too, envisages Emma as spectre, and Cornwall as a space befitting hauntings, due to its "Primaeval rocks" of the "Earth's long order".[16] Here Hardy expresses anxieties over the passage of time similar to those articulated in his first novel:

> And to me, though Time's unflinching rigour,
> In mindless rote, has ruled from sight
> The substance now, one phantom figure
> Remains on the slope, as when that night
> Saw us alight.[17]

Cornwall is a timeless space of constantly present, re-emergent, or animated history, and as such, can store and broadcast the memory of Hardy's Cornish bride. Cornwall itself consistently haunted Hardy's work throughout his long career, and he later penned *The Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall at Tintagel in*

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[13] Procter, p. 95.
[14] Thomas Hardy, *Thomas Hardy: Selected Poems*, ed. Tim Armstrong (London: Pearson Longman, 2009), p. 160.
[15] Hardy, *APBE*, p. 433.
[16] Hardy, *Selected Poems*, p. 164.
[17] Hardy, *Selected Poems*, p. 164.

Lyonesse: A New Version of an Old Story Arranged as a Play for Mummers, in One Act, Requiring No Theatre or Scenery in 1923. The play was performed by the Hardy Players in Dorchester and is set in Tintagel.[18] The play was later adapted into an opera by Rutland Boughton, with Hardy's cooperation, assistance, and approval. It opened at the Glastonbury Festival in 1924 and demonstrates the endurance of Hardy's involvement with the representation and promotion of Cornwall as an imaginative, mythic space well into the twentieth century.[19]

Victorian Gothic Travel

This section illustrates how the rhetoric of travel was often bound up in the rhetoric of the Gothic in regards to images of fear, anxiety, change, disorientation, the clash between the old and the new, as well as concerns with the empire, the foreign, the other, and the delineation of borders and boundaries. Indeed, "the writing and experience of travel has been an important critical context for Gothic fiction in the Romantic and pre-Romantic periods", and arguably later.[20] The Gothic travel in *A Pair of Blue Eyes* is the inheritor of a longer tradition, as "Gothic has always maintained a strong travel component", including the "restless roaming" in *Frankenstein* (1818), *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820), *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886), and *Dracula* (1897). Regarding the latter, where "[e]arlier Gothic writers are interested primarily in the psychological dimensions of travel; the landscape traversed by the Gothic protagonist is largely symbolic. Stoker [in *Dracula*] is chiefly interested in the ideological dimensions of travel".[21] Travel in the nineteenth century was undergoing rapid changes, and often anxieties surrounding social and economic mobility became entwined with spatial mobility. Travel was changing where and how people worked and lived, and how people perceived

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[18] Edmee Reel and Jerome V. Reel Jr., "Thomas Hardy, Rutland Boughton, and 'The Queen of Cornwall'", *Arthuriana*, 16.1 (2006) p. 54. For an extended analysis of the significance of the Tristan and Iseult myth to the construction of a Gothic Cornwall in the Medievalist imagination see the chapter two.

[19] Reel, p. 58.

[20] Mark Bennett, "Gothic Travels", *Romantic Gothic: An Edinburgh Companion*, eds. Angela Wright and Dale Townshend (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), p. 225.

[21] Stephen B. Arata, "The Occidental Tourist: 'Dracula' and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonization", *Victorian Studies*, 33.4 (1990), p. 121.

space, time, nationality, and the global world. There was a sense that travel was changing the very fabric of civilisation, of what it meant to be human, as the occupation and navigation of space was irrevocably changed. As "[i]n periods of cultural insecurity, when there are fears of regression and degeneration, the longing for strict border controls around the definition of gender, as well as race, class, and nationality, becomes particularly intense".[22] The building of the Royal Albert Bridge across the Tamar created the sense that Cornwall's borders were dissolving, causing the past to leak into the present and the foreign to leak into England. This is entrenched in the ways in which travel exaggerates the "poles between civilisation and savagery… which in an age of Darwinism and the Freudian" had "acquired a personal, psychological basis in addition to the familiar aspect of social investigation".[23] This binary was used to reinforce a sense of "a divided society", which in turn split the individual. Travel provides a means of bridging the divide, which can be uncanny, or threatening, due to the way in which a "conservative longing for inviolable demarcation zones" is itself dependent upon a longing for transgression. The metaphor of travel can "provide a way through".[24] Travel into and out of Cornwall explicitly explores the poles of savagery and civilisation, and many narratives frame travel as a representative of a desire to transgress. This is exemplified in *A Pair of Blue Eyes* as Elfride's want for the various men in her life culminates in clandestine journeys, devastating the reputation of an unmarried woman.

The Victorian railway has been extensively described as emblematic of Victorian culture, attitudes, and progress. The roots of this proliferation of criticism reside in an "intellectual tradition that sees modernity itself in terms of movement", and suggests that "trains are an expression of the cultural object of modernity".[25] Alfred Tennyson famously (and inaccurately) used the railway as metaphor for modernity when he said "[l]et the great world spin forever down the ringing grooves

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[22] Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy, Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (New York City: Viking, 1990), p. 4.
[23] Tim Youngs, *Beastly Journeys: Travel and Transformation at the Fin De Siècle* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017), p. 7.
[24] Youngs, p. 9.
[25] Benjamin Fraser and Steven D. Spalding, *Trains, Culture, and Mobility: Riding and Rails* (Baltimore: Lexington Books, 2011), p. ix-x.

of change" in "Locksley Hall" (1842).[26] While Tennyson is under the misapprehension that trains run along grooves rather than tracks, the quotation is emblematic of the relationship between modernity and the rail in the Victorian imagination.

Access to travel arguably changed the imagination of the traveller, and the act of reading was integral to railway culture. Railway passengers were reading while moving, and publishers exploited this, reprinting cheap versions of successful novels—"railway editions"—for travellers.[27] By the end of the century W. H. Smith had established over 1000 station bookstalls. Serialisation developed alongside the rise of the railway, as both reading and traveling became cheaper, easier, and more accessible.[28] The cheap day-return fare ticket was conceptualised to encourage Dickensian literary tourism, so as readers could visit the settings of their favourite novels in a day.[29] Travel was conceived as for "visiting places rather than people"— and specifically places associated with and promoted by, and even created through, literature.[30] The Victorian railway, Victorian fiction, and Victorian tourism evolved side by side and simultaneously. Hardy uses Cornwall as emblematic of the inextricability of the three concepts as paramount to an understanding of modernity.

The first railway line in Britain was opened in 1830, with over 6000 miles of track laid by 1850, and 18,000 miles by 1880.[31] The British public could not avoid the railways, and authors could not avoid writing about them. This was a significant seismic shift across a short period of time and had multivalent ramifications on the development of industry, economics, and class structures. *A Pair of Blue Eyes* is a novel explicitly shaped by the Victorian railway boom, as it is "set mostly in Cornwall, yet the plot relies on it being easily reached from London. The railway brings two men in turn for Elfride Swancourt to fall in love with" and "makes possible two of the most striking and painful episodes in the novel", the first being Elfride's elopement,

[26] Alfred Tennyson, "Locksley Hall", *Poems* (Boston: W. D. Ticknor, 1842), l.181.
[27] John Mullian, "Railways in Victorian fiction", *The British Library* (15 May 2014) <https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/railways-in-victorian-fiction#> [Accessed 19.09.17]
[28] Linda Hughes and Michael K. Lund, *The Victorian Serial* (Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1991), p. 6.
[29] Charles Lock, "Hardy and the Railway", *Essays in Criticism*, 50.1 (2000), p. 52.
[30] Lock, p. 52.
[31] Mullian, n.p.

where the railway makes "retreat as easy as adventure", and the second the arrival of Elfride's corpse.[32] It is the connectivity of Cornwall to the rest of the country—its sudden accessibility—which contributes so significantly to an outpouring of fiction featuring the county.

The nineteenth-century train is "a symbol that embodies antagonistic forces; it is seen as representing both negative and positive in equal measure".[33] This is particularly notable in the representation of the train in Victorian Gothic fiction as representing both degeneration and modernity, anxiety and freedom, disastrous change and wondrous change. Trains "affected one's interpretation of the space-time continuum, along with one's position within it. Travel by rail, among other technologies of the nineteenth century, also imitated many discussions on the nature of time and its division into past, present, and future, and the perception of 'simultaneity'".[34] This is particularly apparent in Cornish Gothic fiction, where travel into the county is seen as travelling into the past. This embodies the myriad of other ways Cornwall comes to represent simultaneity in the nineteenth century, such as being English-not-English, advanced-primitive, familiar-strange, land-sea, and hospitable-unwelcoming. It is Cornwall's capacity for these internal contradictions and tensions—and the uneasiness and uncanniness they generate—which lends the county to its continued representation as a Gothic site. And it was the railway's arrival in the county—and the train's capacity for simultaneity and contradiction—that led to the increased accessibility of Cornwall, its increased presence in the cultural imagination, and its recurrence in fiction, periodicals, and travel writing. As the serial and the railway grew together, as did Gothic Cornwall and the railway.

Victorian Travel in Cornwall

Cornwall was "the last English county to be connected to the main railway system, in 1859".[35] The opening of the railway was both a huge event and somewhat anticlimactic, and this section will outline its impact on Cornwall in the nineteenth

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[32] Mullian, n.p.

[33] Sarah M. Misemer, *Moving Forward, Looking Back: Trains, Literature and the Arts in the River Plate* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2010), p. 15.

[34] Misemer, p. 15.

[35] Jack Simmons, "Railways, Hotels, and Tourism in Great Britain 1839-1914", *Journal of Contemporary History*, 19.2 (1984), p. 213.

century. A newspaper report describes how the Prince Consort "simply opened the bridge by crossing and recrossing, time not permitting him to proceed any distance into Cornwall, and the same cause also prevented the reception of any addresses", emphasising the extreme distance of Cornwall *despite* the construction of the bridge—after all, it had already taken the Prince six hours to get to Saltash from Windsor.[36] The construction was referred to as "the most difficult engineering work ever attempted in any country", and the viaduct as "unsurpassed by any in the world", with seven of its arches "wider than the widest arches at Westminster Bridge" and where two cross "a greater distance than the breadth of the Thames at Westminster".[37] Contemporary reports elevated the engineering achievements of the bridge beyond those in London—at the nation's hub of civilisation and achievement. Further, these descriptions labour the breadth of the Tamar and the distance between Cornwall and England. Descriptions of the bridge continue to be awe-struck later in the century, as "Brunel's famous railway bridge hangs like a miraculous arch" in "absolute sublimity" which "cannot be described".[38]

The construction of the Royal Albert Bridge created a sense that Cornwall was on the brink of or being drawn closer to civilisation. Yet, despite its suggested primitivism, the county had one of the earliest railways, as "one of the earliest lines to be constructed was the little, narrow-gauge line, about seven miles in length, between the towns of Bodmin and Wadebridge in Cornwall".[39] It was sixty years before the Great Western extended the line across the Tamar. This contrasts a savage and primitive Cornwall with an industrial and technologically advanced Cornwall. After all, the early railway would not have developed without the advancements introduced by famed Cornish engineer Richard Trevithick, who invented the first high-pressure steam engine. Cornwall was central to the formation of the railway as we know it today, but its small, early line, was "swallowed up by the latter system, and its pristine nature has been utterly destroyed", deploying the early railway as a romantic image in conflict with new railway advances as representative

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[36] Anon., "Opening of the Cornwall Railway", *Leader and Saturday Analyst* (May 7 1859), p. 599.
[37] Anon., "Opening of Albert Bridge on th [sic] Cornwall Railway by the Prince Consort", *The Observer* (9 May 1859), p. 8.
[38] Anon., "Tamar Land", *Dublin University Magazine* (Dec 1863), p. 704.
[39] Anon., "An Old-Fashioned Railway Line", *Chambers's Journal* (May 28 1898), p. 411.

of modernity.[40] The new railway extension was alternately presented as a threat to Cornwall's "quaintness and originality" and as incapable of civilising such a wild, untamed land:

> The old world lingers long in the West Country. Not until the late sixties did the railway penetrate into the western extremity of Cornwall, and then only by a single line; and even when the whistle of the locomotive was heard among these folded hills it took on, with the echoes which it awoke and set reverberating down these green and pleasant coombes, a new and charming intonation.[41]

So potent is the continued presence of history in Cornwall that it cannot be disrupted and modernised by the railway, the most emblematic symbol of modernity. Instead, the railway is altered by its presence in Cornwall, rather than the reverse. Cornwall's ancientness is so present as to disrupt progress, as "[t]he wild moors and gaunt granite crags, which have so long withstood the roar of the sea, or have defied with equal success the flood of that modernity".[42] The Royal Albert Bridge, an emblem of modern engineering genius, serves as a threshold into a mystical, ancient land:

> Plymouth is the last great camp of civilisation down West, and when you have left it behind and are come across Brunel's giant railway bridge that spans the Tamar so majestically, you are arrived in the Land of Yesterday; the country of fairies, sprites, piskies, ghosts, hobgoblins, and all manner of uncanny folk; of prodigious saints and devils; the realm of Once Upon a Time—delightful period of twilight vagueness. Jack the Giant Killer was a Cornishman—and so was the Giant.[43]

"Tamar Land" (1836) provides a detailed recollection of travelling through Cornwall on mail coaches. It concludes with a second-hand anecdote, as a "fellow traveller, an elderly gentleman" recalls travelling through unenclosed moorlands, where coal was carried by mules, "the travelling being as difficult as in the hill districts of Spain; and this only forty years back. Less than half a century has completely changed the surface of the country", materially, geographically, and temporally.[44] There is the implicit sense here that the railway will make Cornwall less foreign. The railway also seems to make Cornwall more "real", as "[t]here was a time when Bath, Bristol, and Exeter were worlds of their own, and when South Wales and Cornwall were out of

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[40] "An Old-Fashioned Railway Line", p. 411.
[41] Charles G. Harper, "Cornwall Pre-Historic and Present", *Architecture* (Jan 1897), p. 176.
[42] Harper, p. 176.
[43] Harper, p. 177.
[44] Anon., "Tamar Land", *Dublin University Magazine* (Dec 1863), pp. 707-8.

any world at all".[45] The author doubts "whether the existence of Cornwall ... was known in those times, we may fairly doubt"—"those times" meaning the age of Maria Edgeworth's (1768-1849) stories.[46] Cornwall seemingly did not even come into "real" existence until the Royal Albert Bridge was built.

The connection of Cornwall to the national rail occurred at a pivotal moment in the Cornish economy, as the ore mining industry was in decline, "and in 1860s the decline became a collapse".[47] The county "faced a depression as grave as the Cotton Famine of the 1860s in Lancashire, and much more lasting".[48] The railway seemed to arrive to the county at the most opportune moment to save the population from debilitating poverty, enabling the establishment of a tourist economy to plug the vacuous gap left by mining. The railway was not only beneficial to tourism, but to the county's developing china clay industry and the transportation of fish from the coast. M. C. Acworth draws parallels between Cornwall's mining culture and the development of the railways in 1888, as "Cornwall is famous as a field for the geologist, and its railway traffic might also be not unaptly described as partaking of the characteristics of geological formation. As we proceed further and further west, we seem to pass every few miles into a new *stratum* of traffic", meaning Cornwall exported such a range of products that the loaded carriages provided a stratum of the contemporary market.[49] The growth of the railway led to a sense of "discovering" Cornwall:

> Before the opening of the railway, Cornwall was almost unknown. It was remarked in 1855 that more Englishmen had visited Paris than Truro. The only regular passage of travellers through the county had been made by those who took the mail coaches to Falmouth, for the packet boats to the West Indies and the Mediterranean; and the packets had been removed in 1842 to Southampton, chiefly because it had the railway communication that Falmouth lacked. The journey to Cornwall, by coach or by coastal steamer, was long and tedious, and few people made it.[50]

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[45] Anon., "Cornwall and Pembrokeshire", *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art* (Nov 1862), p. 563.
[46] "Cornwall and Pembrokeshire", p. 563.
[47] Simmons, p. 213.
[48] Simmons, p. 213.
[49] M. C. Acworth, "The Great Western Railway", *Murray's Magazine: A Home and Colonial Periodical for the General Reader* (May 1888), p. 601.
[50] Simmons, pp. 213-214.

Few people made the rail journey upon its first introduction. The carriages were slow and uncomfortable, and the growth of passenger traffic was relatively slow compared to the rest of England and Wales.[51] Yet, unlike the rest of England, "the rate of increase remained constant", where elsewhere it fell. Sleeping cars were added in 1877, and "[b]etween 1888 and 1906 the quickest time for the journey between London and Penzance came down from 8hr. 55min. to 6hr. 35min".[52] This is a significant drop, when one considers that pre-railway "a traveller could expect to take about forty hours to reach Penzance".[53] Visitors who braved the journey to Cornwall "found not the backwater they had come to expect", "but rather a resourceful, fully operational, independent economy involved in mining, engineering, fishing, and agriculture".[54] The image of the railway simultaneously reinforces the primitivity of Cornwall and serves to complicate the stereotype. The relationship between Cornish identity and Brunel's last engineering masterpiece is articulated in mythological terms in 1888, as:

> It would be more than a mere fanciful conceit, if we were to compare the great "battle of the gauges," which raged with such fury more than forty years ago, to the yet more ancient strife between the Britons and the English. Like the Britons, the champions of the broad-gauge under the leadership of their King Arthur, Isambard Kingdom Brunel, performed prodigies of skill and valour; like them, they have been worsted in the struggle; like them, they have retired, defeated but not disgraced, to Cornwall, where they have hitherto been left in almost undisputed possession.[55]

Both Brunel and King Arthur seemingly ended their careers in Cornwall at the close of the nineteenth century. Both are semi-mythological figures and national heroes, with both building bridges between Cornwall and the mainland. The building of bridges between England and its most isolated county, much like the contested ownership of King Arthur, raises questions about national identity in an age of progress and globalisation.

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[51] Simmons, p. 214.
[52] Simmons, p. 215.
[53] Shelley Trower, "On the Cliff Edge of England: Tourism and Imperial Gothic in Cornwall", *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 40.1 (2012), p. 202.
[54] Cynthia Lane, "'Too Rarely Visited and Too Little Known': Travellers' Imaginings of Industrial Cornwall", *Cornish Studies*, 13 (2005), p. 171.
[55] Acworth, p. 601.

While the railway comes to embody progress, civilisation, and modernity in the nineteenth century, in Cornwall this metaphor is destabilised and inverted. An article entitled "Corners in Cornwall" (1867) describes the primitivity of the railway in Cornwall—"a very remarkable line, in a very remarkable country", of "the submerged kingdom of Lyonesse" and the "almost Italian southern shore".[56] England is "the mainland" and "Cornwall has always been an exception, as it were, to the rest of England". Cornwall is mythical, almost foreign, particular, and a place of endings, or never-beginnings. It is "where the railway system of England comes to a final stop"— the end of the railway, the world, progress, and the emblem of the shuttling train of modern life.[57] Cornwall is host to "the most primitive railway conceivable" where "[m]odern improvements are absolutely unknown, and you may witness here the earliest notions of a railway".[58] Cornwall's railway, like the rest of the county and its people, is preserved in aspic, resisting the images of forward movement usually associated with the rail. Instead, "[t]he distance is about seven miles, and the time consumed is about an hour and a half. We hear of miracles of speed, but there are also such things as miracles of slowness".[59] In an era preoccupied with speed, Cornwall is singularly slow. Erik Marshall notes of *Dracula* the importance of

> Jonathan's observation that the farther East he goes, the less reliable the trains are. Time is different in the uncivilized, non-Western world, where many unknown, forgotten evils dwell. The East represents the past, the premodern, which the West attempts to leave behind through science, as the trains become more and more punctual [and] Dracula's emergence in the West threatens this technological hegemony and threatens an effacement of the line between modern and pre-modern.[60]

The slowing of the train renders Cornwall the "the past, the premodern", and Other.

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[56] Anon., "Corners in Cornwall", *London Society* (Dec 1867), p. 503.

[57] "Corners in Cornwall", p. 503. For more on the impact of the development on the railway on the perception of time and space see Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2014).

[58] "Corners in Cornwall", p. 504.

[59] "Corners in Cornwall", p. 504.

[60] Erik Marshall, "Defanging Dracula: The Disappearing Other in Coppola's Bram Stoker's Dracula", in *The Gothic Other: Racial and Social Constructions in the Literary Imagination*, ed. by Ruth Bienstock Anolik and Douglas L. Howard (Jefferson: McFarland, 2004), p. 292.

Cornish Particularism in the Novel

A Pair of Blue Eyes exaggerates Cornish particularism, with the Cornish being represented as distinct from the English, and even from other Celtic populations. As the majority of the journeys shuttle back and forth between London and Cornwall, so the emphasis on Cornish particularism arises from distinctions made between Londoners and the Cornish. Elfride argues that it is better Stephen be a Cornishman than a Londoner, as Londoners do not care for their roots, ancestry, and community. London—as representative of modernity—discards, or is negligent of, its history, as "professional men in London . . . don't know anything about their clerks' fathers and mothers . . . and hardly even know where they live".[61] This tension between Cornwall and London was acknowledged in 1855, as "[a]lthough Cornwall is so removed of the centre, around which it is supposed the stars of science and art revolve, it can boast a society which has no equal in point of utility in the United Kingdom".[62] Elfride feels that it is not just people but time that is different in London: "[t]o you, among bustle and excitement, it will be comparatively a short time, perhaps; oh, to me, it will be its real length trebled! Every summer will be a year— autumn a year—winter a year!"[63] Time functions differently in the county, which provides some explanation as to the failure of railway timetables and the fragmentation of journeys as trains approach the Land's End. Richard Dowling's "The Toll of Charon" (1878) is another narrative which exploits the tension and differences between London and Cornwall.[64] It features a young Cornish woman moving to London only to fall into abject poverty, and, horribly alone, she jumps from Waterloo Bridge. Like *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, "The Toll of Charon" describes London as fundamentally uninhabitable for the Cornish, and features a young woman punished with death for daring the leave the county and travel alone. "My Father's Secret" (1861) is another Cornish Gothic narrative focused on the gendered aspects of traveling in the period. This narrative centres on a pregnant woman who, against doctor's orders, travels back to Cornwall to care for her ailing husband. The journey is so long and arduous that she is forced to stop at an inn for a night, only to be

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[61] *APBE*, p. 98.
[62] Anon., "The Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society", *Art Journal* (Nov 1855), p. 300.
[63] *APBE,* p. 110.
[64] Richard Dowling, "The Toll of Charon", *Belgravia: A London Magazine* (Oct 1878), p. 52.

driven to insanity upon witnessing a violent suicide.[65] Like *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, this narrative is dependent upon Cornwall's distance and dislocation from the mainland and the monstrous potential of long journeys, especially for women. The woman's infant is forcibly removed from Cornwall and spends his life travelling, as his father thinks the dislocation from the county necessary to prevent him from losing his mind as his mother did before him.

London is distinct from Cornwall in more than just the passage of time, as "there are beautiful women where you live—of course I know there are".[66] These women are civilised as well as beautiful, and "they know all about city life, and assemblies, and coteries, and the manners of the titled, and poor little Elfie . . . doesn't know about anything but a little house and a few cliffs and a space of sea, far away".[67] Elfride fears her Cornish particularism renders her uncivilised and unattractive, as she "could not but admire the beauty of her fellow countrywomen, especially since herself and her own few acquaintances had always been slightly sunburnt or marked on the back of the hands by a bramble-scratch at this time of the year".[68] Knight later notes his perceived difference between the London girl and the Cornish girl:

> Town-bred girl will utter some moral paradox on fast men, or love. Country miss adopts the more material media of taking a ghastly fence, whistling, or making your blood run cold by appearing to risk her neck.[69]

A Pair of Blue Eyes as a Cornish Gothic novel uses the distance between Cornwall and London to articulate anxieties surrounding civilisation, time, and Cornish particularity throughout the nineteenth century.

A Pair of Blue Eyes as Gothic Novel

A Pair of Blue Eyes is an explicitly Gothic novel, the machinations of which are inextricable from its images of spectres, graveyards, ruins and deadly clifftops.

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[65] Anon., "My Father's Secret", *All the Year Round* (9 Mar 1861), pp. 514-519.
[66] *APBE*, p. 110.
[67] *APBE*, p. 110.
[68] *APBE*, p. 162.
[69] *APBE*, p. 207.

These images signify liminality and the space between life and death, and the present, the past, and the future. These symbols all function as thresholds, and Hardy uses them recurrently and concurrently to express anxiety about both spatial and temporal boundaries. This section will demonstrate how approaching *A Pair of Blue Eyes* as a Gothic text provides new ways of interpreting the metaphors of ghosts, ruins, ancestry, shadows, and doubles, located specifically within the regionality of Cornwall. It will do this through focusing on three key motifs— graveyards, ruins, and clifftops. A Gothic reading unveils layers of meaning and anxiety corresponding to concerns surrounding modernity in the nineteenth century, in more nuanced and more geographically embedded ways than previous, limited analyses of the geological and anthropological symbols in the text. Pamela Jekel notes the novel's "gothic construction" yet takes the analysis no further.[70] Pamela Gossin is similarly reluctant to describe *A Pair of Blue Eyes* as a Gothic novel:

> For critical and ironic purposes, Hardy creates Gothic undertones to this story that are so strong that some readers (those inclined to superstition or particularly susceptible to the conventions of Gothic novels), might view Elfride's fate as the product of a curse. Yet Hardy undercuts this line of interpretation by carefully revealing, through rational explanation, the reality behind the Gothic appearances.[71]

Gossin fails to acknowledge that "revealing, through rational explanation" does not make the novel any less Gothic. Some of the earliest Gothic novels, such as those by Ann Radcliffe, provided rational explanation for the "supernatural" elements of the narrative. Hardy underlines rather than undercuts a Gothic interpretation with his conclusion (Elfride's body being transported back into the county on the same train as her former lovers), and this interpretation is strengthened by the context of a Gothic Cornwall. James F. Scott notes Hardy's sublimity as similar to Ann Radcliffe's, and is one of the earliest critics to divert from militant realist interpretations of Hardy's work.[72] Realism has been the dominant discourse in Hardy studies since the beginning of the twentieth century, with decades of critics turning a blind eye to Hardy's explicit early use of Gothic conventions. Illuminating the many

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[70] Pamela L. Jekel, *Thomas Hardy's Heroines: A Chorus of Priorities* (Troy, NY: Whitston, 1986), p. 55.
[71] Gossin, p. 127.
[72] James F. Scott, "Thomas Hardy's Use of the Gothic: An Examination of Five Representative Works", *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, 17.4 (1963), p. 354.

ways in which Hardy is exploiting the popular conception of Cornwall as a Gothic space supports the understanding of the novel as a Gothic one. This section will illustrate a few select, recurrent motifs that best demonstrate the novel's conscious use of the Gothic.

Graveyards and Tombs

Graveyards serve a pivotal function within the text, staging many vital conversations and serving to foreshadow significant developments. Hardy uses a graveyard to describe Cornwall as "a delightful place to be buried in".[73] Elfride later references Samuel Taylor Coleridge's poem *The Three Graves* (1797), which centres on the bad luck that can come from treading on graves. This gestures to Elfride and Smith and Elfride and Knight sitting upon Young Jethway's grave, Mrs. Jethway dying atop her son's grave, and Elfride being forced to witness Knight and Smith meeting at the site of her own eventual grave.[74] Hardy's use of the graveyard situates *A Pair of Blue Eyes* within the longer tradition of "The Graveyard Poets" or the "Churchyard Poets"—poets of the eighteenth century whose meditations on mortality were spurred and encapsulated by the graveyard setting.

Graveyards are continuously represented as spaces where the vitality of the present collides with the past. Many of the novel's most significant moments occur in the Luxellian tomb to juxtapose "the immediate, limited, transitory concerns of the living with reminders of the finality of death and the inevitable transience of things".[75] This is also seen in the persistent foreshadowing of Elfride's death—she considers the return of her memories as ghosts, as her promise to meet Stephen "returned like a spectre again and again",[76] and her "elopement was now a spectre worse than the first, and, like the Spirit in Glenfinlas, it waxed taller with every attempt to lay it".[77] The tomb serves the same function as Knight's cliff, revealing the stratification of Cornish history through its ancestry, entrenched in stone like a fossil record, as "[t]he

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[73] *APBE*, p. 27.
[74] APBE, p. 214.
[75] Robert Schweik, "'Life and Death are Neighbours Nigh': Hardy's *A Pair of Blue Eyes* and the Uses of Incongruity", *Philological Quarterly*, 76.1 (1997), p. 92.
[76] *APBE*, p. 302.
[77] *APBE*, p. 304.

blackened coffins were now revealed more clearly than at first, the whitened walls and arches throwing them forward in strong relief. It was a scene which was remembered by all three as an indelible mark in their history".[78] Through these images of mortality and chronology Hardy situates decay at the centre of his work.

Ruins

It is significant to the construction of the novel as a Gothic one that Stephen Smith is sent to Cornwall specifically for the purposes of repairing a ruin. Hardy, "[l]ike the Gothic writers before him", was "much impressed by the remains of antiquity, and these dreary relics often find their way into his works", and recurrently associates mood of character with "some massive, ominous ruin" to create a sense of dread.[79] Cornwall is established as a place in decay; one of crumbling histories, marked by the passage of time, and Stephen's mission is both an antiquarian one—preserving Cornwall's past—and a progressive or modern one—modernising its ruins. The church as an institution integral to Cornish communities provides the ideal emblem for this expression of conflict concerning the preservation of Cornish histories and identities.

Elfride, in a fit of seeming madness, wanders along the very edge of the ruinous tower. Her death is again forewarned, as "[t]he close proximity of the Shadow of Death had made her sick and pale as a corpse before he spoke".[80] The landscape becomes permeable and leaky alongside Elfride's body, confirming her belonging within the landscape, her inseparability from it, and her inevitable return to it, as "she was bleeding from a severe cut in her wrist" and "the thundercloud he had been watching began to shed some heavy drops of rain".[81] The image of a waif swooning and bleeding atop a ruined tower only to be rescued by her brooding lover is distinctly Gothic in tone. It repeats the recurrent images of falling, indicative of an anxiety over moral descent, that lace the text, from Elfride's fear that Stephen has fallen off the cliff, to Knight actually falling off the "Cliff With No Name".[82] It has been

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[78] *APBE*, p. 310.
[79] Scott, p. 366.
[80] *APBE*, p. 193.
[81] *APBE*, p. 193.
[82] The uncanniness of falling is discussed at further length in chapter three in regards to "In the Mist" and "The Mask".

noted that the fear of falling demarcates fear over "loss of control, of loss of agency, of loss of boundaries. Compounded by a host of cultural associations, the fear of falling in all likelihood must be part of our neurobiological makeup", which serves to create uncanny and sublime effects.[83]

Images of ruins culminate in the metaphor for Knight's depreciated trust in Elfride. Knight calls Elfride his hope, "and a strong tower for me against the enemy", only for the church tower to be demolished before their very eyes.[84] This ruin is destroyed by human hand rather than time, contrived and artificial, manifest of the destruction of or loss of history throughout the county, and the loss of history as a larger national concern. The church, in particular, as a vehicle or archive of history, is also representative of the institution of marriage, an institution destabilised by Elfride's two engagements and subsequent sham marriage. It has been noted that "Gothic narratives regularly include attitudes and situations that challenge the institution of marriage".[85] The Gothic marriage plot recurs, either threatening the heroine with a lifetime of horrors or promising deliverance from terrors—the most famous example being the perverse marriage unions in Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847). Rendering the marriage monstrous both challenges the marriage and familial unit as foundational to the functioning of civilised society and makes the familiar unfamiliar.[86] The tower goes on to represent history explicitly, as "I am sorry for it [...] it was an interesting piece of antiquity—a local record of local art".[87] Mr. Swancourt insists that there will be a new one, "designed by a first-rate London man—in the newest style of Gothic art, and full of Christian feeling".[88] The "newest style of Gothic art" is paradoxical, and the process of demolishing the tower seems to act as a microcosm of the slow process of the disintegration of history in the face of progress.

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[83] Claire Kahane, "Uncanny Sights", *Trauma at Home: After 9/11*, ed. Judith Greenberg (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), p. 111.
[84] *APBE*, p. 372.
[85] John Paul Riquelme, *Gothic and Modernism: Essaying Dark Literary Modernity* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2008), p. 35.
[86] Peter Dickinson, *Screening Gender, Framing Genre: Canadian Literature into Film* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), p. 49.
[87] *APBE*, p. 372
[88] *APBE*, p. 373.

Mr. Swancourt exaggerates this undermining of history by insisting that the new building would "[n]ot be in the barbarous clumsy architecture of this neighbourhood; you see nothing so rough and pagan anywhere else in England".[89] The use of "barbarous" refers specifically to the long-held tradition of the Cornish as "West barbary barbarians", and the reference to pagan—contrasted with the new building "full of Christian feeling"—emphasises Swancourt's keenness to eradicate Cornwall's older traditions.

The Luxellian manor is another Gothic building, "surmounted by grotesque figures", "twisted chimneys", "entirely occupied by buttresses and windows" and a "fantastic series of mouldings".[90] The interior features "a long sombre apartment, enriched with fittings a century or so later in style than the walls of the mansion", exaggerating the already established sense of historical incongruity, alongside the ruinous church and Elfride's romance.[91] The gallery is full of "Luxellian shades of cadaverous complexion" which depress Stephen, foreshadowing Elfride becoming a Luxellian cadaver herself.[92]

The portraits "fixed by Holbein, Kneller, and Lely" seem "to gaze" at Elfride, echoing the trope of the moving portrait so familiar to Gothic fiction. This trope was established in the moving portraits of *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) and perpetuated throughout the nineteenth century, referenced from Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *Lady Audley's Secret* (1862) to George Eliot's *Middlemarch* (1871).[93] This immediately precedes the introduction to the Luxellian children who call Elfride "little mamma", again foreshadowing Elfride inheriting their mother's place and title. This conforms to the Gothic archetype of the monstrous mother. While "all Gothic women are threatened, no woman is in greater peril in the world of the Gothic than is the mother. The typical Gothic mother is absent: dead, imprisoned or somehow abjected".[94] Both the first lady Luxellian and Elfride are typical Gothic mothers, one absent from the

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[89] *APBE*, p. 373.
[90] *APBE*, p. 40.
[91] *APBE*, p. 41.
[92] *APBE*, p. 41.
[93] Royce Mahawatte, *George Eliot and the Gothic Novel: Genres, Gender and Feeling* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013), p. 125.
[94] Ruth Bienstock Anolik, *Property and Power in English Gothic Literature* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2015), p. 104.

beginning of the text and one whose doom is cemented by taking on the mantle of Gothic mother. The Gothic capacity of the mansion and the children to anticipate the future in this way confuses the temporality of the narrative, as the Luxellian women are blurred into one through time and space. Space works as oddly as time, as Elfride witnesses Stephen's shadow profile through a blind, seemingly kissing the shadow of a woman. The emphasis on illusion, wherein the shadows "swelled to colossal dimensions—grew distorted—vanished" is distinctly uncanny, and suggests the shadows of Stephen's past, and the doubled nature of his own identity (as Stephen Smith Londoner and Stephen Smith Cornishman).[95] When Elfride refers to Stephen's "shadowy secret" she means it both literally and figuratively.[96]

Clifftop

The section of the novel to have received the most critical attention is the scene in which Knight dangles perilously off the Cornish coast only to be rescued by Elfride and her undergarments.[97] The scene is explicitly, horrifically sublime.[98] Jean Brooks describes the seen as "macabre", and argues that the crumbling cliff serves the same function as crumbling ruins.[99] While Hardy, in early editions, refused to name the "Cliff without a Name", John Halperin identifies the cliff as "carefully drawn from Beeny Cliff and its coastline companions such as Pentargan Cliff, a little further south in Cornwall", acknowledging Hardy's familiarity with and knowledge of the Cornish coast.[100] This moment embodies an inversion and confusion of time and space, as

> [t]he fascination with speed and the new apprehension of space and time created by the railway simultaneously provoked an unprecedented sense of conservativism, a desire to protect the landscape from its ravages. In *A Pair of Blue Eyes* the sense of geological time is conveyed not only by the famous scene when Knight hangs from the cliff-edge staring at a trilobite, but by the

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[95] *APBE*, p. 44.
[96] *APBE*, p. 76.
[97] See J. O. Bailey, Michael Millgate, Jean Brooks, and Carl J. Weber as examples of analysis of the scene.
[98] See S. F. Johnson, "Hardy and Burke's 'Sublime'", *Style in Prose Fiction*, ed. Harold C. Martin (New York: 1959) for an extended consideration of the influence of Burke's sublimity on Hardy.
[99] Jean Brooks, *Thomas Hardy: The Poetic Structure* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1971), p. 150.
[100] John Halperin, "Leslie Stephen, Thomas Hardy, and 'A Pair of Blue Eyes'", *The Modern Language Review*, 75.4 (1980), p. 739.

train travelling "through vertical cuttings in metamorphic rock". Railway cuttings made geology visible, and archaeological traces vulnerable.[101]

Knight's understanding of the laws of physics begin to fail, as "[t]he world was to some extent turned upside down for him. Rain descended from below. Beneath his feet was aerial space and the unknown; above him was the firm, familiar ground, and upon it all that he loved best", and Knight's experience becomes almost subterranean.[102] As Knight travels into the past, so rain travels upwards, and process and progress is reversed—sent back to where it came, back to its origins. This confusion is only possible due to the cliff being situated amongst the peculiarity and liminality of Cornwall, as exemplified by Knight's rambling meditation on the particularism of the Cornish and their relationship to an unforgiving, uncanny natural world:

> To those musing weather-beaten West-country folk who pass the greater part of their days and nights out of doors, Nature seems to have moods in other than a poetical sense: predilections for certain deeds at certain times, without any apparent law to govern or season to account for them. She is read as a person with a curious temper; as one who does not scatter kindnesses and cruelties alternately, impartially, and in order, but heartless severities or overwhelming generosities in lawless caprice. Man's case is always that of the prodigal's favourite or the miser's pensioner. In her unfriendly moments there seems a feline fun in her tricks, begotten by a foretaste of her pleasure in swallowing the victim.[103]

As time is confused, so is space, as Knight is worried Elfride had been gone for ten minutes, but "[t]his mistake arose from the unusual compression of his experiences just now: she had really been gone but three".[104] Cornwall's harsh natural landscape renders Knight, the emblem of rationality, irrational, as Knight wonders at such heavy and cold rain falling (or rising) on a summer's day, only for the narrator to offer their objective truth, that "[h]e was again mistaken. The rain was quite ordinary in quantity; the air in temperature. It was, as is usual, the menacing attitude in which they approached him that magnified their powers".[105] Knight is physically invaded and tormented by a purely subjective experience, robbed of the objectivity for which he celebrates himself, and made small and afraid by Cornwall's strangeness. In this

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[101] Lock, p. 47.
[102] *APBE*, p. 256.
[103] *APBE*, p. 254.
[104] *APBE*, p. 255.
[105] *APBE*, p. 255.

moment Knight's vision of a distinctly Gothic Cornwall is overlaid across its landscape and seascape in an almost hallucinogenic way:

> This is what he saw down there: the surface of the sea—visually just past his toes, and under his feet; actually one-eighth of a mile, or more than two hundred yards, below them. We colour according to our moods the objects we survey. The sea would have been a deep neutral blue, had happier auspices attended the gazer it was now no otherwise than distinctly black to his vision. That narrow white border was foam, he knew well; but its boisterous tosses were so distant as to appear a pulsation only, and its plashing was barely audible. A white border to a black sea—his funeral pall and its edging.[106]

The Gothic is a "fantastical literary form" which challenges "notions of rationality"[107]; it is a "literature of unreason and terror", articulating the unreason which had been "silenced throughout the Enlightenment period", chaotically rupturing through any attempt to understand or organise the universe.[108] Here, the fantastical Gothic space of Cornwall explicitly challenges Knight's post-enlightenment sensibilities. The use of mists, churning seas, threatening clifftops, ruins, spectres, memory, emergent histories, confused spatiality, Gothic mansions, graveyards and the figure of the monstrous mother—even the portraits with roving eyes—all serve to situate *A Pair of Blue Eyes* as an indubitably and unapologetically Gothic novel, whereby its Gothic tone is consistently rooted in and enabled by the Cornish setting.

Gothic Travel in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*

This section will investigate the representation of travel as Gothic in *A Pair of Blue Eyes* to demonstrate the ways in which the novel is specifically drawing from changes to the rail in Cornwall and the wider nation in this period. It will do this through analysis of five key journeys—Stephen's arrival, Elfride's elopement, Knight on the steamship, Smith and Knight's reunion, and Elfride's funeral. These journeys exemplify the centrality of Gothic travel to the narrative's function. Travel writing pervades the Gothic, and in itself "has been recognised as a certain kind of Gothic

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[106] *APBE*, p. 255.
[107] Andrew Smith and William Hughes, "Introduction: The Enlightenment Gothic and Postcolonialism", *Empire and the Gothic: The Politics of Genre*, ed. Andrew Smith and William Hughes (London: Palgrave, 2002), p. 1.
[108] Rosemary Jackson, *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion* (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 57.
[109] Bennett, p. 224.

narrative, in which novelists re-present (accurately or otherwise) the experience of contemporary travel".[109] Indeed "Gothic novels and travelogues co-existed within a wider print culture", and

> [p]ublishers of Gothic fiction were often also publishers of printed tours, while, by the same token, readers of Gothic fiction were frequently readers of travel narratives. By producing porous texts that incorporated and re-imagined material from contemporary travelogues, Gothic novelists asserted the adjacency of their work within this marketplace.[109]

Hardy's use of Cornwall, travel in Cornwall, and travel in and out of Cornwall, taps into the rich supply of travelogues and travel narratives surrounding Cornwall in this period, and the novel itself serves as a Cornish Gothic travelogue. Throughout the century "travel-writing that conceived of an experience of travel in which Gothic materials and atmosphere constituted a robust and significant component".[110] So much of *A Pair of Blue Eyes'* primary narrative machinations centre on travelling, journeys, and different modes of transport. In particular, the novel is motivated by long, arduous, frustrated, and reflective train journeys. Hardy "ingeniously maps a course of increasingly fruitless voyages to mirror that unrewarding journey to womanhood which offers no prizes to the female challenger".[111] It is significant that this unrewarding journey culminates in Cornwall, playing into a tradition in the nineteenth century of an aesthetics of disappointment associated with travelling in Cornwall, and emphasising Cornwall as the "land's end"; an ultimately unrewarding destination.

Stephen's Arrival

The first and most notable example of the significance of travel to the narrative is in Stephen's "arrival" in Cornwall, whereby the narrator leads us to believe Stephen is a stranger, and much of the narrative is dependent upon Cornwall's attitude to the "outsider" and the Swancourts introducing Stephen to this "strange" county. Cornwall's oddness, particularism, and insularity is used to emphasise the shock of Stephen being not a stranger, but a Cornishman made strange by time away from the county. This section establishes motifs that recur throughout the novel—that

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[109] Bennett, p. 224.
[110] Bennett, p. 224.
[111] Rosemarie Morgan, *Women and Sexuality in the Novels of Thomas Hardy* (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 28.

travel can alter the traveller irrevocably, that Elfride is a fixed point and Smith and Knight are mobile, and that the very oddness of Cornwall fuels both the mechanics of the narrative and the Gothic atmosphere that renders the narrative effective.

Cornwall's rural isolation and dislocation from civilisation is necessary to the narrative in order to supply Elfride's seemingly endless stream of naivete, as from he very opening of the narrative "at the age of nineteen or twenty she was no further on in social consciousness than an urban young lady of fifteen".[112] This isolation is noted by Stephen as he travels into the county for the first time, astounded that "[s]carcely a solitary house or man had been visible along the whole dreary distance of open country they were traversing", and a "wild lone hill", surrounded by "wintry skeletons".[113] That the narrative starts with a journey—and ends with Elfride's—is significant as a means of framing a novel so very concerned with movement. The servant who greets Stephen bemoans that he must "come to the world's end at this time o' night", where Cornwall is not just the land's end, or the country's end, but the end of the very world itself.[114]

Of course, part of Elfride's appreciation for Stephen's disposition, and his difference from the sallow Londoner anticipated, foreshadows the revelation of Stephen's Cornishness. Hardy emphasises this distinction, as "[j]udging from his look, London was the last place in the world that one would have imagined to be the scene of his activities: such a face surely could not be nourished amid smoke and mud and fog and dust; such an open countenance could never even have seen anything of 'the weariness, the fever, and the fret' of Babylon the Second".[115] This establishes London as antithetical to Cornwall, Stephen as not of-London, and suggests that place has a very real and very tangible, even visible, impact on the body, countenance, and disposition. His similarity to Elfride—and thus his Cornishness, and the kinship between the Cornish—is reiterated recurrently, as his mouth is "as cherry-red in colour as hers", and "His face is—well—PRETTY; just like

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[112] *APBE*, p. 1.
[113] *APBE*, p. 5.
[114] *APBE*, p. 8.
[115] *APBE*, p. 11.

mine".[116] Later Swancourt states of Stephen that "there is something in your face which makes me feel quite at home", and is amazed to be "so much taken" with Stephen, suggesting an unconscious kinship, a subconscious recognition of the Cornish race.[117] Swancourt assumes Cornwall's strangeness lured Stephen, as it lures many a tourist, as "such a wild place is a novelty", but Stephen subtlety argues that it is "[n]ot altogether a novelty" after all.[118] While it initially appears the narrative is working to usurp the idea that Cornwall is altogether distinct, different, or a novelty, the later reveal of Stephen's kinship only serves to reinforce it. Stephen is (needlessly) introduced to Cornwall's isolation, necessary not just for Elfride's naivety and wildness, but for their isolation together, and their ensuing closeness, as

> The spot is a very remote one: we have no railway within fourteen miles; and the nearest place for putting up at—called a town, though merely a large village—is Castle Boterel, two miles further on; so that it would be most convenient for you to stay at the vicarage—which I am glad to place at your disposal—instead of pushing on to the hotel at Castle Boterel, and coming back again in the morning.[119]

Mr. Swancourt describes Cornwall as not just dislocated (and uses the railway to do so), but uncivilized, or unwelcoming or uninhabitable to the civilized, as "We can't afford to stand upon ceremony in these parts as you see, and for this reason, that a civilized human being seldom stays long with us; and so we cannot waste time in approaching him, or he will be gone before we have had the pleasure of close acquaintance'".[120] Hardy demonstrates that Elfride's planned elopement is only possible because of her isolation, and the unique relationship an isolated populace has with travelling and adventure:

> The monotony of life we associate with people of small incomes in districts out of the sound of the railway whistle, has one exception, which puts into shade the experience of dwellers about the great centres of population—that is, in travelling. Every journey there is more or less an adventure; adventurous hours are necessarily chosen for the most commonplace outing.[121]

Hardy attributes blame for Elfride's downfall to Cornwall's location and geography.

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[116] *APBE*, p. 11.
[117] *APBE,* p. 38.
[118] *APBE*, p. 24.
[119] *APBE*, p. 24.
[120] *APBE*, p. 16.
[121] *APBE*, p. 126.

Elfride's Elopement

The second most notable journey, and the one that has the most lasting impact throughout the novel, is Elfride's clandestine elopement with Stephen to London. This event is a source of anxiety throughout the novel, and the crux upon which the narrative turns. The journey is a narratively drawn-out affair, exaggerating Cornwall's distance from London:

> Say an hour and three-quarters to ride to St. Launce's.
> Say half an hour at the Falcon to change my dress.
> Say two hours waiting for some train and getting to Plymouth.
> Say an hour to spare before twelve o'clock.
>
> Total time from leaving Endelstow till twelve o'clock, five hours. Therefore I shall have to start at seven.[122]

The emphasis on distance exaggerates the extremity of Elfride's act. If it were a short journey, or an easy one, then it would not have the same consequences or cause Elfride the same suffering. Knight is horrified that Elfride travelled overnight, though this too was necessitated by Cornwall's distance from the county. Elfride is motivated by the infrequency of trains in and out of the county—"Elfride looked at her watch and discovered that if she were going to reach St. Launce's early enough to change her dress at the Falcon, and get a chance of some early train to Plymouth— there were only two available—it was necessary to proceed at once".[123] Cornwall's dislocation creates a sense of urgency which prevents Elfride from dwelling on her decision. Instead the length of the journey provides an imaginative space in which Elfride can carefully consider the ramifications of her actions:

> The journey from Plymouth to Paddington, by even the most headlong express, allows quite enough leisure for passion of any sort to cool. Elfride's excitement had passed off, and she sat in a kind of stupor during the latter half of the journey. She was aroused by the clanging of the maze of rails over which they traced their way at the entrance to the station.[124]

Yet travelling so far has taken Elfride into a foreign land, and it is "[t]his act of alighting upon strange ground seemed all that was wanted to complete a resolution

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[122] *APBE*, p. 126.
[123] *APBE*, p. 128.
[124] *APBE*, p. 131.

within her".[125] The journey has not just taken them into an unfamiliar space, but has rendered them both unfamiliar, as Elfride exclaims "I don't like it here—nor myself—nor you!".[126] This moment occurs along the platform which functions as a liminal space, a place of transience, transformation, and unfixedness—a threshold, as much as the cliffs and coasts of Cornwall are thresholds. The threshold becomes a space for uncanny repetition:

> "Is there a train for Plymouth to-night?" he inquired of a guard. The guard passed on and did not speak.

> "Is there a train for Plymouth to-night?" said Elfride to another.[127]

And of fragmentation:

> They ran down the staircase—Elfride first—to the booking-office, and into a carriage with an official standing beside the door. "Show your tickets, please." They are locked in—men about the platform accelerate their velocities till they fly up and down like shuttles in a loom—a whistle—the waving of a flag—a human cry—a steam groan—and away they go to Plymouth again, just catching these words as they glide off:

> "Those two youngsters had a near run for it, and no mistake!"[128]

Elfride's anxiety manifests in the fractured experience of rushing to the next train, in the busyness of a place of transition, and the gestures towards horror present in "a human cry" and "a steam groan" as the railway takes on her suffering. The railway is more generally significant to Hardy's wider oeuvre, as "[n]o subsequent invention in transport or communications has so quickly and comprehensively become the object of literary and pictorial representations; nor so effortlessly colonised the imagination".[129] *A Pair of Blue Eyes* in particular "introduces a number of distinctive narrative features conditioned by the railway. One is the new sense of chronometric precision", as when Elfride is recurrently preoccupied with and anxious over train timetabling.[130]

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[125] *APBE*, p. 132.
[126] *APBE*, p. 132.
[127] *APBE*, p. 133.
[128] *APBE*, p. 133.
[129] Lock, p. 44.
[130] Lock, p. 46.

The Steamer Ship

The next most significant journey, after Elfride's elopement, is the mirror to that journey—Elfride's steamer journey with her family and Henry Knight. While Smith and Elfride travelled by the modern rail—illicitly, contravening tradition and the institution of marriage and family—Knight and Elfride's journey takes the more traditional route by sea, with her family's approval and a legitimate engagement. The journeys mirror each other in multiple, uncanny ways, with both featuring the haunting presence of the ghastly Mrs. Jethway and both featuring ruminations on the nature of travelling, time, and the mapping of space and morality. Hardy explicitly invites comparison between Elfride's steamboat journey from London with Knight, and her railway journey from London with Smith, as Plymouth "smiled as sunny a smile upon Elfride as it had done between one and two years earlier, when she had entered it at precisely the same hour as the bride-elect of Stephen Smith".[131] Later, on Cornish soil, Elfride acknowledges the uncanniness of this act of doubling journeys, as Henry walks at her side, which is "[a] duplicate of her original arrangement with Stephen. Some fatality must be hanging over her head".[132] This is foreshadowed earlier in the novel, as Elfide and Knight stand atop the tower, highlighting Cornwall as a space of temporal displacement:

> "You are familiar of course, as everybody is, with those strange sensations we sometimes have, that our life for the moment exists in duplicate."
>
> "That we have lived through that moment before?"
>
> "Or shall again. Well, I felt on the tower that something similar to that scene is again to be common to us both".[133]

Before they arrive in Cornwall Mr. Swancourt is aghast at the horrors of steamer travel:

> "Never saw such a dreadful scene in my life—never!' said Mr. Swancourt, floundering into the boat. "Worse than Famine and Sword upon one. I thought such customs were confined to continental ports. Aren't you astonished, Elfride?"[134]

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[131] *APBE*, p. 351.
[132] *APBE*, p. 366.
[133] *APBE*, p. 195.
[134] *APBE*, p. 335.

While travelling by sea may be more familiar than by land, the steamer was similarly associated with progress in the cultural imagination. For Henry Adams, a contemporary of Hardy's, "[i]mpossibilities no longer stood in the way. One's life had fattened on possibilities. Before the boy was six years old, he had seen four impossibilities made actual,—the ocean-steamer, the railway, the electric telegraph, and the Daguerreotype".[135] Swancourt is used to parody the contemporary anxieties surrounding mass transportation and its accessibility.

Elfride makes another journey to London to find Knight soon after returning by steamer. The scene acts as a mirror of her elopement into the city with Stephen, as she runs to be with the second man she is betrothed to. By this point the path between Endelstow and London is one well-trod. The significance lies not just in journeys, but in mirrored and repeated journeys; delayed and fruitless and frustrated journeys; illness on journeys; journeys without stays or purpose, and primarily, journeying to London only to return to Cornwall almost immediately, as though to not would be fatal, as though life cannot be sustained outside of the county, as though return to the county (to primitivity, to history, to origins) is inevitable (away from the city, from progress, from modernity).

Smith and Knight Reunite

Knight takes on travelling as tonic, leaving London for the Continent, and losing contact even with the omniscient narrator, as "[h]ere we will leave him to wander without purpose".[136] Later, Knight's journey is described in excruciating detail, from step to step, as he explores antiquities, from quaint carvings to hallowed monuments, where he becomes "[s]atiated with medievalism, he tried the Roman Forum", exaggerating the role of the travelling antiquarian, and the relationship between travel and history (specifically, travelling to visit the past) for the Victorians.[137] Travelling has impact on time, whether travelling is represented as a movement forward into modernity, or backwards into history-as-leisure-destination to escape the ravages of modernity. Knight "strove to imagine the Persian defeat" in

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[135] Qtd. by Lock, p. 45.
[136] *APBE*, p. 408.
[137] *APBE*, p. 415.

Marathon, "to Mars Hill, to picture St. Paul addressing the ancient Athenians", and so on and so forth, at considerable length.[138]

Knight and Stephen are altered both by their travelling, and seemingly by their association with Cornwall, as "[t]wo men obviously not Londoners, and with a touch of foreignnness in their look, met by accident".[139] Both Knight and Stephen as Cornishmen of Cornish ancestry are "foreign"—just displaced to London in different ways. Knight has lost track of his travels, and "can hardly tell you" where he's been, to the extent that global space seems to have contracted for him, as Stephen notes that he has been "travelling far and near", and Knight insists "[n]ot far".[140] Knight believes himself altered, and not for the best, by travelling:

> "You know, I daresay, that sheep occasionally become giddy—hydatids in the head, 'tis called, in which their brains become eaten up, and the animal exhibits the strange peculiarity of walking round and round in a circle continually. I have travelled just in the same way—round and round like a giddy ram".[141]

Travelling has eaten up his brains. Knight states that "travel has a tendency to obliterate early fancies".[142] He is "at present a sojourner in London", and as an unfixed entity (geographically) unfixes himself temporally by visiting the British Museum. This visit is a microcosm of his journey into the past, referenced explicitly, as within the museum's walls Knight wonders that the "meeting with Smith had reunited the present with the past, closing up the chasm of his absence from England as if it had never existed, until the final circumstances of his previous time of residence in London formed but a yesterday to the circumstances now", as time and space become further entangled.[143]

Hardy is consistently preoccupied throughout his work with time as entrapment.[144] Hardy's poetry is more concerned with mutability than stasis, and

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[138] *APBE*, p. 415.
[139] APBE, p. 416.
[140] *APBE*, p. 416.
[141] *APBE*, p. 418.
[142] *APBE*, p. 430.
[143] *APBE*, p. 422.
[144] Patricia Ingham, "Hardy and The Wonders of Geology", *The Review of English Studies New Series*, 31.121 (1980), pp. 59-64.

"Hardy's poetry manifests an almost obsessive preoccupation with time and change. Perhaps because the theme is so utterly bound up in his other great concerns—love, memory, death, Nature, antiquarianism, history".[145] Hardy possessed a long-held world view on time, born in his poetry, "that all things whose loss we lament are not lost at all, because past, present and future are actually one and the same, being no more than arbitrary verbal distinctions imposed upon the continuum of spacetime".[146] Hardy's ruminations on time precede his poetry, and precede the vast majority of his literary career, taking embryonic form in the representation of time and space, and time and mobility, in his first novel. While Hardy's considerations of the temporal tap into a long literary tradition, critics have only briefly noted that Hardy's preoccupation with time and its inevitable effects is distinctly Gothic, as "the brooding insistence of Gothic fiction upon the mischances and caprices of destiny consorts well with Hardy's painful sensitivity to the fits and turns of nature's purblind doomsters".[147] Images of time provide space for meditation on the nature of change, including "change from youth to age, innocence to experience, illusion to disillusion, bliss to blank desolation".[148] The railway demarcates Elfride's movement from innocence to experience, Knight and Smith's from illusion to dissolution, and the whole party's move from bliss to blank desolation and from youth to age. It seems early in his career that Hardy settled on the mutability of time and found the railway and the steamer to be the ultimate vehicles for expressing its unfixedness. Both Knight and Smith travel and it changes them in some ways and leaves them unaltered in others, but Elfride is their fixed point on the map, and they the satellites around her. They are peripheral and moving and Elfride is geographically and temporally trapped; she is in aspic, and when she does travel it is catastrophic, as she runs to marry Stephen, then runs to marry Knight, both of which are morally compromising positions for a young women in the nineteenth century. This not only makes claims about the relative freedoms of men and women to travel in this period, and how travel was seen as altering or improving the self or developing the intellect, but how Cornwall is regarded to be a fixed point, around which the world is moving and

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[145] Tom McAlindon, "Time and Mutability in the Poetry of Thomas Hardy", *English Studies* 91.1 (2016) p. 22.
[146] McAlindon, p. 25.
[147] Scott, p. 365.
[148] McAlindon, p. 28.

changing. Stephen retells the oft retold tale of his and Elfride's journey into London, a tale that haunts the novel with its repetition, exaggerated by the listed, methodical sentence structure, and almost taking the form of a travel itinerary:

> Then Stephen gave in full the particulars of the meeting with Elfride at the railway station; the necessity they were under of going to London, unless the ceremony were to be postponed. The long journey of the afternoon and evening; her timidity and revulsion of feeling; its culmination on reaching London; the crossing over to the down-platform and their immediate departure again, solely in obedience to her wish; the journey all night; their anxious watching for the dawn; their arrival at St. Launce's at last—were detailed.[149]

Retelling the journey is a means of repeating, echoing, or even elongating the journey, and its presence throughout the novel gives it the impression of it continuing, relentlessly, monotonously, infinitely, only culminated by the return of Knight, Smith, and Elfride's corpse to Cornwall at the novel's conclusion, whereby Endelstow is the last stop on the line, the seeming literal and figurative "land's end". Knight and Smith inevitably meet on the train back to win Elfride's heart, despite their best efforts, enacting the "irresistibility, irrepressibility, inevitability" of the train.[150] The train stops and starts continuously in the process of attaching, detaching, and reattaching a new carriage. The journey is yet another drawn out, delayed, fragmented journey, to cap all the others that came before it.

Elfride's Funeral

Elfride's ventures into London, far from Cornwall, inevitably fulfil their promise of being fatal, and she must inevitably return to the county by the same method of conveyance that initially threatened her morality. Trains and methods of transport, being so central to her life, her narrative, and her moral crises, later convey her in death to her place of eternal immobility. It is a natural conclusion to Elfride's recurrent objectification that her corpse is represented as railway carriage, and later coffin. That Elfride is imagined in two different vessels, or vehicles, draws parallels between the train and the coffin as means of journeying, as representative of the passage of time, as containers of the body. While Smith and Knight are changed by

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[149] *APBE*, p. 428.
[150] Mullian, n. p.

their journeys, Elfride cannot be changed by hers. She is unchanging, resistant to change, passive, and still within the moving train. The carriage being detached and reattached is manifest of her own fragmented, stilted journeys throughout the narrative, on the well-trodden path between London and Cornwall. This is the only journey she can fulfil alone as a woman without compromising her reputation. Knight and Smith then complete a journey of their own in response to Elfride's journey being ultimately and utterly terminated. They wander to castle Boterel and enter Endelstow a second time. Significantly, the inn to which they first arrive "appeared to have been recently repaired and entirely modernized", demonstrative of the victory of modernisation as Elfride, manifest of stasis, is dead.[151] Stephen and Henry go to the Luxellian vault, and both note that this is an echo of the previous meeting of the three in the tomb—a final mirror meeting of so many that lace the narrative, before Elfride herself had "gone down into silence like her ancestors", a final journey into an ancient past from which she will not return.[153]

The Jewel of Seven Stars and Gothic Travel into Cornwall

Bram Stoker's *The Jewel of Seven Stars* (1903, revised 1912) also transports a woman's corpse into Cornwall via rail, thirty years after Elfride's coffin lands in Camelton. Like *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, the novel depends entirely upon the construction of Cornwall as a Gothic, foreign space, made recently accessible by the creation of the railway. The novel's conclusion centres on the mummified body of an ancient Egyptian Queen being transported to Cornwall for the purposes of reanimation, and much of the last section of the novel describes why Cornwall is the "best" fit, along with the laborious process of transporting her, their party, and their equipment to the peninsula. This serves to exaggerate Cornwall's distance and otherness, and thus suitability to the reanimation of the ultimate other.

Much of *Jewel's* narrative is dependent upon change, movement, and the violation of fixity, as the Egyptian Queen's body is disturbed, and "she was then near her tomb from which for thousands of years her body had not been moved. She must

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[151] *APBE*, p. 449.

know that things are different now".[152] The final section of the narrative details the hasty retreat to Cornwall, packages going ahead, the movement of carriages, and cabs to Paddington, as the entire party boards a sleeper train to Cornwall. As in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, "[t]he train was a slow one, stopping many times and for considerable intervals", thus providing plenty of opportunity to ruminate on the terrible task at hand.[153]

Margaret's vulnerability to the Queen, and her responsiveness to the Queen's possession, is represented by her sensitivity to the fragmented journey. Margaret's moods seem aligned with their passage, and the very movement from London to Cornwall seems to embody her metamorphosis:

> She was generally more or less distraite, as though sunk in a brown study; from this she would recover herself with a start. This was usually when there occurred some marked episode in the journey, such as stopping at a station, or when the thunderous rumble of crossing a viaduct woke the echoes of the hills or cliffs around us. On each such occasion she would plunge into the conversation, taking such a part in it as to show that, whatever had been her abstracted thought, her senses had taken in fully all that had gone on around her.[154]

As the journey is fragmented, so is the land around them, and Margaret's behaviour, as she becomes more porous to the astral influence of the Queen. The movement into Cornwall is necessary not just for Hera's reanimation, but Margaret's transformation, with the train journey representing a threshold from one state to a more supernatural, more ancient state. The train is later stilled by a landslide, as though the landscape itself is contracting along with time, and attempting to prevent the reanimation, as the county resists entry.

As the party arrive they marvel at a "great grey stone mansion", "on the very verge of a high cliff", teetering on the littoral threshold, and understand "then in an instant how well we were shut out from the world on that rocky shelf above the sea".[155] Cornwall enables the isolation necessary for the experiment. Their journey took them "more than four-and-twenty hours", across cabs, carriages, and the rail,

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[152] Bram Stoker, *The Jewel of Seven Stars* (New York: W. R. Caldwell & Co., 1904), p. 244.
[153] *Jewel*, p. 244.
[154] *Jewel*, p. 258.
[155] *Jewel*, p. 259.

further exaggerating the distance between Cornwall and London. The cliff they are built into served to "shut out the rest of the world".[156] This distance is recurrently drawn parallel with Margaret's spiritual distance, as she is somewhat separated from her body, with "a far away look in her eyes".[157] She is recurrently referred to as a statue, or statuesque—an ancient relic, an object, devoid of her subjectivity, a mere antiquarian collectable, like the jewel itself. The narrative entrenches itself firmly in the depths of Cornwall, Cornish history, and Cornish traditions, framed as a terrible Gothic secret:

> There is a secret place in this house, a cave, natural originally but finished by labour, underneath this house. I will not undertake to say that it has always been used according to the law. During the Bloody Assize more than a few Cornishmen found refuge in it; and later, and earlier, it formed, I have no doubt whatever, a useful place for storing contraband goods. 'Tre Pol and Pen', I suppose you know, have always been smugglers; and their relations and friends and neighbours have not held back from the enterprise. For all such reasons a safe hiding-place was always considered a valuable possession; and as the heads of our House have always insisted on preserving the secret, I am in honour bound to it.[158]

The underground cave, like the tombs of *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, provides a subterranean space drawn parallel to Cornwall's mines, dark and full of promise, perfect for hiding. It is infused with Cornwall's tumultuous history and criminal tendencies, and the reference to Tre, Pol and Pen reinforces Trelawny's own Cornishness. That this explicitly Cornish space is to host the experiment demonstrates the county's alignment with the supernatural and the Gothic, as:

> This is the spot which I have chosen, as the best I know, for the scene of our Great Experiment. In a hundred different ways it fulfils the conditions which I am led to believe are primary with regard to success. Here, we are, and shall be, as isolated as Queen Tera herself would have been in her rocky tomb in the Valley of the Sorcerer, and still in a rocky cavern.[159]

Shelley Trower, writing on the imperial Gothic in *Jewel*, refers to the novel as one responding to anxieties surrounding transportation in Cornwall upon the opening of the Royal Albert Bridge. Cornwall becomes a site for virtual tourism for the purposes

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[156] *Jewel*, p. 260.
[157] *Jewel*, p. 260.
[158] *Jewel*, p. 263.
[159] *Jewel*, p. 264.

of reanimation, as "[h]ere, then, Cornwall is not only depicted as distinctly nonEnglish, as being rather more like a foreign country than a county of England; Mr Trelawny puts himself in the position of the Queen, imaginatively going to Egypt".[160] Thus, it is not necessarily Cornwall that tourists and travellers are seeking, but the larger mythos of ancient society that Cornwall represents. The sense of the ancient puncturing through to the present after an artefact is imported into Cornwall is also the driving force behind the Cornish Gothic novel *The Column* (1901) by Charles Marriott. Marriott's novel features a man erecting a doric column on the Cornish coast. His daughter becomes enraptured by the symbolic significance and ancientness of the column, and the novel culminates with her drowning herself, overwhelmed by the metaphoric capacity of the artefact.[161] This specifically Cornish site is ideally situated because of its liminal status as a place where history ruptures into the present, as through the experiment in *Jewel*: "we shall be able to let in on the world of modern science such a flood of light from the Old World as will change every condition of thought and experiment and practice".[162] This collision is manifest literally as Trelawny lights the cavernous subterranean darkness with electric light, and again, explicitly:

> It was a strange and weird proceeding, the placing of those wonderful monuments of a bygone age in that green cavern, which represented in its cutting and purpose and up-to-date mechanism and electric lights both the old world and the new. But as time went on I grew more and more to recognise the wisdom and correctness of Mr. Trelawny's choice.[163]

This collision between old and new takes its embodiment in the embedding of the Egyptian Queen in the vital body of the New Woman, and in the modern railway carving its way laboriously into ancient Cornwall. As in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, *Jewel* uses the railway to embody larger concerns surrounding the erosion of history, enabled and symbolised by the railway.

"Colonel Benyon's Entanglement"

Cornwall as a place of preservation, resisting modernity, is a recurrent Cornish

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[160] Trower, p. 204.
[161] Charles Marriott, *The Column* (London: Collins's Clear-type Press, 1901)
[162] *Jewel,* p. 264.
[163] *Jewel*, p. 266.

Gothic motif, and is the motivating force behind the short story "Colonel Benyon's Entanglement" (1872) by "The Author of Lady Audley's Secret", Mary Elizabeth Braddon. Braddon was a celebrated Gothic author in the Victorian period, and her ancestral home, Skisdon, was located in St. Kew, Cornwall. Braddon was born in London—though would have been born in Cornwall if she had arrived two days earlier, having been delivered after a hellish two-day stagecoach journey out of the county. She was the only Braddon in her immediate family not to be born in Cornwall. She spent time at the family home as a child, though eventually sold the property later in life. Cornwall forms the setting for many of Braddon's short stories and novels, including *Mount Royal* (1882), which, like *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, is heavily dependent upon the naivete of its Cornish heroine and repeated, lengthy journeys between London and Cornwall.

"Colonel Benyon's Entanglement" follows a stranger moving to Cornwall and becoming bewitched by its peculiar pleasures. The Colonel initially moves to Cornwall upon a friend's invitation, and finds it to be infused with legend and history:

> Cornwall was a new country to him—a remote semi-barbarous land, he fancied, still pervaded by the Phoenicians and King Arthur; a land that had been more civilised two thousand years ago than to-day; a land with which Solomon had had trading relations in the way of metal; a land where, at some unknown period, the children of Israel had worked as slaves in the mines; a land of which one might believe anything and everything, in fact.[164]

The Colonel decides "[t]here was some smack of adventure in the idea of going to take possession of his absent friend's house, and some faint flavour of romance in the whole business".[165] The narrative centres on a number of strangers and travellers moving in and out of the county, and the ways in which they do it, and the extent to which they are welcome (or not). The narrator describes the Colonel's journey at length. He

> turned his back upon the great city, and sped away westwards across the fields, where the newly-cut stubble was still bright and yellow, onward through a region where the land was red, then away skirting the edge of the bright blue water, across Isambard Brunel's wonderful bridge at Saltash, and then

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[164] Mary Elizabeth Braddon, "Colonel Benyon's Engagement", *Belgravia: A London Magazine* (1872), pp. 75-76.
[165] Braddon, p. 76.

along a narrow line that flies over deep gorges in the woodland, through a fair and lonely landscape to the little station of Penjudah.[166]

The traveller hears:

> the barbarous name of the place called out with the unfamiliar Cornish accent by a stalwart Cornish porter. The train, which had been about a quarter of a mile long when it left Paddington, had dwindled to a few carriages, and those were for the most part empty. Penjudah seemed the very end of the world. The perfect quiet of the place startled the Colonel as he stood upon the platform, looking round about him in the gaunt gray evening light. He found himself deep in the heart of a wooded valley, with no sign of human life within sight except the two officials who made up the staff of Penjudah station.[167]

Platforms are again represented as thresholds between one world and another, between the familiar and strange, past and present, urban and wild. The railway is used to express this seemingly impossible journey between realms, and the end of the line is again the end of the world. Cornwall's isolation is expressed through the infrequency of its transport, as "[a] rabbit ran down a wooded bank and scudded across the line while he was looking about him. The guard told him afterwards that scores of these vermin might be seen playing about the line at odd times. The trains were not frequent enough to scare them".[168] The Colonel, with his knowledge of Cornwall's isolation, history, legends, and hauntings, reads the beautiful landscape with trepidation, as "the place is a perfect Eden . . . but I wish I had not been told the history of Eve and the Serpent", as puncturing the boundary into this realm is read as transgression, aligned with Youngs's claims about transport as "passport" into transgression.[169]

The widely travelled Colonel continues to compare the Cornish landscape to foreign lands further afield, as "[a]mong the Indian hills he could scarcely remember a scene more lonely", and he had "rarely encountered a stiffer road even in the East".[170] The story goes on to detail how the friend who had loaned him the use of his property could not return to Cornwall because it was the place where a woman

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[166] Braddon, p. 76.
[167] Braddon, p. 76.
[168] Braddon, p. 76.
[169] Tim, Youngs, "Introduction", in *Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century: Filling the Blank Spaces*, ed. by Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Anthem Press, 2006), pp. 2-3
[170] Braddon, pp. 76-77.

had broken his heart. The Colonel's health deteriorates, the result of a malarial infection he had picked up in India. The Colonel's medical care is problematised by the infrequency of trains in the area, and the doctor is forced to employ a strange, enigmatic woman to look over the Colonel, as he can only come by train each Monday. The stranger is cared for by a stranger, both dislocated from Cornwall and the community. Cornwall is exaggerated as a space for physical and mental recuperation, for its sea and its air, and, as in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, he and the woman court each other atop tomb stones, "his favourite tomb, the memorial of some race whose grandeur was a memory of the past".[171] In both narratives the tombstones serve as physical manifestations of the constant, written presence of the past in the present—as the woman's secret came forth in a graveyard, as did Elfride's. The woman admits she was the one who broke his friend's heart, and he drives her away, only to search for her later, regretting his haste, and find her dead, "buried in the tiny convent cemetery just a week before he came there".[172] Both "Colonel Benyon's Entanglement" and *A Pair of Blue Eyes* culminate with a lover searching out the morally compromised woman they had pushed away, only for her to die upon leaving the county. Both use graveyards as liminal spaces of conflict, and both necessitate Cornwall for the purposes of isolation and images of ostracization, and issues with accessibility. In both the railway enables recurrent movement in and out of the county and embodies the fatal collision of past into the present.

"The Baronet's Craze" by Mrs. H. L. Cox, published in *H. L. Tinsleys' Magazine* in 1889, uses Cornwall's distance from the rest of England—and the notion of Cornwall as a place of timelessness and preservation—to motivate the narrative's machinations.[173] In "The Baronet's Craze" a young man falls in love with a Cornish woman only for her father to intervene and prevent their union by locking her up in his Castle in Cornwall. Her lover witnesses a burial outside the castle, thinks her dead, and punishes himself by living on the rough Cornish coast. He later discovers she is alive—it was her sister buried in a clandestine service, having been

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[171] Braddon, p. 87.
[172] Braddon, p. 88.
[173] Thomas Hardy's *A Pair of Blue Eyes* was serialised in *Tinsleys' Magazine* between September 1872 and July 1873.

preserved in the castle for years. The narrative expresses anxiety over Cornwall as a place of preservation, as it seems the Baronet transported Alice's body to the county for the specific purpose of storing her above the ground. Stoker, Hardy, and Mrs. Cox all transport women's corpses into Cornwall for different purposes—burial, notburial, and reanimation—but all are fundamentally concerned with Cornwall's status as a place of re-emerging or constantly present, living history.

The image of the child's body being carried to Cornwall by train becomes a recurrent trope in Cornish Gothic fiction. G. M. McCrie's "Dr. Wygram's Son" (1887) centres on railway journeys.[174] The narrator meets Dr. Wygram and his son on a strange train journey and becomes obsessed, pursuing the son to Cornwall fifteen years later, only to see "the self-same face upon which the flickering light of a railway carriage lamp had fallen so many years before".[175] Wygram reveals his son suffered from pulmonary consumption, and he had experimented on a cure, eventually accidentally dooming his son to a permanent, vampiric, age-defying sleep.

Wygram, Trelawny in *Jewel*, and the Baronet in "The Crazed Baronet" all retire to Cornwall with some doomed, unconscious, dead, impossible, or preserved version of their children upon which to experiment at their return. In all three narratives Cornwall becomes a space distant, strange, and mysterious enough—aligned with the supernatural enough—to permit experimentation seemingly beyond the humane, its savagery granting license to flights of fancy beyond those allowed by social norms. Cornwall exists outside of social limitations and becomes a space for transgression, and those transgressions recurrently manifest in horrific ways. All three narratives, as well as *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, feature the transportation of the "corpse" of a child in some way, shape, or form, whether the comatose body of master Wygram or the mummified queen soon to conquer Margaret. In this way, the railway journey to "the end of the line", "the world's end" or "the land's end" also means the end of the family line. Furthermore, the tales detail the adventures of a Colonel, Baronet, and Doctor—men of power, standing, authority and rationale

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[174] G. M. McCrie, "Dr. Wygram's Son", *Belgravia: A London Magazine* (1887), pp. 205-218.
[175] McCrie, p. 210.

thwarted by the absurdity and irrationality of Gothic Cornwall, as Knight, man of reason, was thwarted atop the cliff.

All these tales use the railway as representative of concerns over a state of preservation, and to explore what extent old Cornwall (used as a microcosm for the past more generally) can or should be preserved. *APBE* contrasts the modern men brought in by the rail with the older traditions and family names of Cornwall. *Jewel* demonstrates the dangers that can lie within the past as re-emergent or revived. The Baronet is driven mad by his preoccupation with the past, and the past must be buried before he can move on. And Dr. Wygram's son is left in such a state of preservation as to completely halt progress or the effects of time but in an unhealthy, frightening way, as

> [i]t grew not, progressed not, aged not (do not start!); and this, its thriceaccursed property, was so malignantly, so devilishly potent, beyond hope of elimination or reduction, that it subdued unto itself whatsoever it touched or joined. Life preserved under its influence would be preserved, not in activity but as if in arrestment.[176]

McCrie describes Cornwall as the ideal locus for this monstrous state of fixity, as "[i]t is a haunted land at its best, with its rolling moorlands, and its mystic Dosmery Pool, fabled as ebbing and flowing in its silent depths in sympathy with the tides of the distant sea".[177] Cornwall is as vampiric as Wygram's son, "changeless, dateless, ageless" and immortal.[178]

Conclusion

Cornwall is recurrently a site of mental fragmentation, for Elfride, the Colonel, the Baronet, Wygram, and Trelawny. This fragmentation is often represented by stilted, delayed, fragmented, or disrupted train journeys, as with Elfride's funeral carriage, the Colonel returning to find his beloved, and the landslip of *Jewel.* The railway embodies the shifting anxieties of the mind, and Cornwall becomes a space for transgression, with the railway as a means of accessing the license to transgress. The liminality of the railway is drawn parallel to the liminality of Cornwall—

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[176] McCrie, p. 213.
[177] McCrie, p. 214.
[178] McCrie, p. 213.

geographically, culturally, historically—and the railway recurrently becomes the space between life and death, madness and sanity, England and Cornwall, foreign and familiar, barbarous and civilised. The rail does not just represent the anxieties of savage Cornwall, but savage Cornwall moving into and leaking into the veins and arteries of the rail network. The railway becomes a means of accessing not just barbarous Cornwall, but barbarous Cornwall's primitive, distilled, preserved history of barbarism. Travelling into Cornwall is not just a spatial movement but a temporal one, and Cornwall's slow, primitive, and disrupted trains are antagonistic to the recurrent image of the railway as associated with modernity in the Victorian imagination. There is a continuous fear that if one travels into Cornwall one will not necessarily be able to get back, and that the travelling body may be permanently altered—or even destroyed. These Cornish Gothic railway narratives respond to previously documented anxieties surrounding the rail and modernity in the nineteenth century, but the regional focus, the use of Cornwall as a mythic land, and Cornwall's own innovations in transport technology provide new ways of interpreting the familiar and seemingly exhausted semantics of the Victorian railway. Using Cornwall, we can read the railway as fundamentally concerned with the past as well as the future, and the temporal as well as the spatial.

Conclusion

"Imagined ghosts on unfrequented roads."
John Betjeman's description of the county from "Cornwall in Childhood" (1960)[1]

Betjeman's description is demonstrative of the continued representation of Cornwall as a haunted, Gothic, yet forgotten and abandoned space well into the twentieth century. The Cornish Gothic has been recurrently overlooked as a distinct form of the Gothic despite the proliferation of Gothic texts set in Cornwall throughout the long nineteenth century by canonical and less canonical authors alike, and the Gothic tone permeating other forms of writing on Cornwall, including periodicals, travel narratives, and folklore collections. While there are recognised Irish, Welsh, and Scottish Gothic traditions, the possibility of a relative Cornish Gothic mode has been critically neglected. This survey of Cornish Gothic texts has rectified this gap in scholarship to demonstrate the significance of a Gothic Cornwall to the nineteenth-century popular imagination. The Cornish Gothic is distinct from the Irish, Welsh, and Scottish Gothic traditions, as well as from other regional Gothic modes, such as London Gothic and Northern Gothic. This is due to Cornwall's unique history, culture, and dead language, as well as a series of seismic cultural events that occurred in Cornwall throughout the nineteenth century, which both rendered Cornwall particular and attracted the attention of the public. These include the collapse of the mining industry, the birth of the tourist industry, the specific relocation of the King Arthur myth in Cornwall, an abundance of shipwrecks, mass emigration out of the county, the building of the Royal Albert Bridge and connection to the national rail network, and the creation of a distinct global diaspora. In the nineteenth century Cornwall was seemingly discovered or uncovered, while conceptually drawn closer to the mainland through the development of transportation technologies. This sense of closeness and discovery both threatened and strengthened a sense of Cornish particularism which feeds into Gothic fiction set in the county in the period. Gothic authors were attracted to Cornwall's difference as a seemingly foreign land of

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[1] John Betjeman, *Summoned by Bells* (London: Murray, 1960), pp. 34-41.

barbarians, where a primitive history lay preserved, and criminality and savagery ran rife.

The Cornish Gothic is an aspect of rather than separate from the mainstream Gothic mode and is integral to and influential on the understanding of other Gothic texts. A failure to recognise the Cornish Gothic is a failure to fully comprehend the nineteenth-century Gothic and its significance and relevance in the popular imaginary and as part of a larger cultural history. Recognition of the Cornish Gothic orientates Gothic criticism towards particularity and nuance and away from more generalised discussions of spatiality. Further, the Cornish Gothic rejects modes of Gothic criticism which threaten to evacuate the Gothic of meaning through an emphasis on ambiguity and nebulousness, instead locating the Gothic firmly within real events, traumas, and histories. The Gothic provides a vocabulary for articulating historical trauma, with the Cornish Gothic providing a language for change in Cornwall and filling a vacuity left by the long-dead Cornish tongue.

This Cornish Gothic uncovers similarities and shared motifs between texts which have not been previously compared. It provides a new analytical framework for understanding the symbols and intertexts of Cornwall as a setting in fiction and nonfiction. Further, it illuminates the historical and literary significance of a county otherwise overlooked even in histories in which it plays an important role—for example, the centrality of Cornwall to the industrial revolution, the revival of Arthur, and the development of the shipwreck motif. This thesis exposes the absence of Cornwall from Gothic literary studies and wider literary, historical, and cultural analyses.

The Cornish Gothic is concerned with thresholds and liminal spaces—whether subterranean, subaquatic, or littoral, whereby "the blurring or transgression of boundaries opens space to monsters".[2] It focuses on images of tension and hybridity, forever questioning the fragility or inevitability of the county's connection to the English mainland. This fear of meaningless or "evacuated identity" maps onto anxieties about the definition of the Gothic itself, and draws from the genre's preoccupation with problematising and interrogating

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[2] Getsche, p. 42.

identity, national or otherwise, employing "the uncanny and the abject [...] to interrogate the social and political realities of the time".[3] The Cornish Gothic feeds on temporal as well as spatial uncertainty, employing the uncanny potential of "time travelling, time loops and infinitude", where Gothic temporal discombobulations act as an "undermining interrogation of the ontological relationship between Being and time" central to the Gothic and to Gothic spectres.[4]

The Cornish Gothic is driven by the conflict between binary ideas coexisting simultaneously, centring on the primary conflict between the status of the Cornish as the foreign-and-the-not-foreign, drawing upon a rich heritage of imperial Gothic and postcolonial Gothic narratives. In this way the Cornish Gothic is also a saltwater Gothic, concerned with the maritime, its history, its expansion, and its imperial and national connotations. It feeds upon anxieties surrounding regional and national identities, borders, boundaries, containers—and fundamentally, their failures and leakages. This feeds on an already established "intimate relationship between domestic anxieties, the imperial realm, and the gothic sensibility in fictional representation".[5] The Cornish Gothic is embedded in the county's almost inexplicable ancientness and its emphasis on its own significant and superior history as central to Cornish identity. This "looking back" to source an authentic Cornishness in the past is communicated through and influenced by mythology, folklore, legend, and concerns surrounding their survival and revival in the nineteenth century.

The Cornish Gothic is a materialist Gothic, entrenched in poverty, famine, desperation, and coarse landscapes. It is inevitably a Gothic of the unproductive, feeding from a strained relationship with an unforgiving and tempestuous natural world. The Cornish Gothic feeds upon distance—cultural, geographical, and temporal, and processes of severance from administrative centres, and the county from its own sense of stable selfhood. Within the Cornish Gothic Cornwall manifests as a series of forgotten spaces where history is still very

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[3] Horner and Zlosnik, p. 121.

[4] Isabella van Elferen, *Gothic Music: The Sounds of the Uncanny* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012), p. 184.

[5] Howard L. Malchow, *Gothic Images of Race in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 231.

much alive and well (and fanged), and the realisation of these spaces in the popular imaginary functions as a conceptual uncovering of Cornwall as a cultural archaeological artefact or object. This "uncovering" of Cornwall necessitates a Gothic rhetoric for the articulation of cultural traumas, whereby the Gothic provides a language or rhetoric for a people who have lost and failed to reanimate their own. It is about death in a multitude of forms—the death of language, culture, and people, made revenant through retelling and reimagining in Gothic fiction. The infertility of the Cornish landscape provides space for an imaginative fertility where legends, monsters, and ghosts survive both because and despite of a Victorian idealisation of modernity. The Cornish Gothic is geographically distinct, culturally distinct, and as oddly Celtic as Cornwall itself, both marginalised and neglected despite cultural, historical, and literary significance.

This thesis provides space for further research into the continuation of the Cornish Gothic in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries in literature and film. Further, it provides ample opportunities for reflecting on the regional Gothic more specifically. Future research could focus on the significance of important but latterly overlooked Victorian authors such as Sabine Baring-Gould and Robert Stephen Hawker. Another potential angle are representations of Cornwall in contrast, or adjacent, to Gothic images.

This project is of particular relevance in 2019 when national borders and boundaries are being challenged, Britain's place on the global stage is under scrutiny, and fears of globalisation and homogenisation are reinvigorated by Brexit negotiations.[6] Cornwall has received consistent and significant financial boosts from the European Union, including the funding of The Eden Project, Cornwall Airport Newquay, Combined Universities in Cornwall, the Superfast Cornwall broadband programme, and A30 improvements.[7] Despite this, 56.5% of Cornish voters voted in favour of "Leave", seemingly a vestige of a longer

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[6] Larry Elliott, "Brexit is a rejection of globalisation", *The Guardian* (26 Jun 2016) <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/jun/26/brexit-is-the-rejection-of-globalisation> [Accessed 5.08.19].

[7] "European Regional Development Fund", *cornwallislesofscillygrowthprogramme.org.uk* <http://www.cornwallislesofscillygrowthprogramme.org.uk/fund/erdf/> [Accessed 5.08.19]; Richard Whitehouse, "Exactly what the EU has funded in Cornwall", *Cornwall Live*, cornwalllive.com (29 Mar 2019) <https://www.cornwalllive.com/news/cornwall-news/exactlywhat-eu-funded-cornwall-2697596> [Accessed 5.08.19].

culture of resistance, particularism, and isolationism.[8] At the same time, Cornwall council tendered for a contract to continue operations of an office in Brussels "to support our efforts to define our place within the new UK/EU relationship".[9] As of 2018 Cornwall was the second poorest county in Northern Europe,[10] in the top 50 poorest regions across the entirety of Europe, with three quarters of the county's neighbourhoods more deprived than the national average.[11] Cornwall's economy never fully recovered from mining's collapse in the 1860s and remains largely a tourist economy—a ghost land in the Winter months, a thriving chaos in the Summer, a land existing in two uncanny halves.[12] Cornwall's property market is dominated by second-home owners, a point of contention with the local people.[13] The "us vs. them" regional mentality thrives, especially in opposition to the Penryn Campus, host of the University of Exeter and Falmouth University.[14] Many of the features of Cornwall's political landscape in the present can be traced back to the nineteenth-century cultural shifts which inspired a wealth of Gothic fiction and effectively foreshadowed the county's enduring difficulties. In 2014 the Cornish were granted minority status, whereby the government formally recognised the distinct identity of the Cornish people, reinforcing Cornwall's differences from other English counties.[15] The

[8] "Brexit", *Cornwall Council*, cornwall.gov.uk (17 Jun 2019) <https://www.cornwall.gov.uk/council-and-democracy/brexit/> [Accessed 5.08.19].

[9] Ben Quinn, "'Cornish embassy' would continue to represent county in EU", *The Guardian* (13 Jan 2019) <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/jan/13/cornwall-council-eu-cornishembassy-brussels-brexit> [Accessed 5.08.19].

[10] Mike Smallcombe, "Cornwall is the SECOND poorest region in all of northern Europe", *Cornwall Live*, cornwalllive.com (7 Sep 2018) <https://www.cornwalllive.com/news/cornwallnews/cornwall-second-poorest-region-northern-1977843> [Accessed 5.08.19].

[11] Mike Smallcombe, "Cornwall deprivation problem laid bare as thousands left in poverty", *Cornwall Live*, cornwalllive.com (19 May 2019) <https://www.cornwalllive.com/news/cornwallnews/cornwall-deprivation-problem-laid-bare-2885506> [Accessed 5.08.19]

[12] Olivier Vergnault, "The real effect millions of tourists have on Cornwall's roads, crime, public services and your water bill", *Cornwall Live,* cornwalllive.com (20 May 2018) <https://www.cornwalllive.com/news/cornwall-news/real-effect-millions-tourists-cornwalls1565889> [Accessed 5.08.19]

[13] Annie Gouk, "The staggering number of empty second homes in Cornwall revealed", *Cornwall Live*, cornwalllive.com (17 Aug 2018) <https://www.cornwalllive.com/news/cornwallnews/staggering-number-empty-second-homes-1911950> [Accessed 5.08.19]

[14] Ginette Davies and John Bett, "Police called in after hate group vows to make Cornish town a 'no-go zone' for students", *The Independent* (26 Mar 2018) < https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/university-hate-group-police-falmouth-hatesstudents-cornwall-a8274501.html> [Accessed 5.08.19]

[15] Martyn Oates, "Cornish people granted minority status within UK", *BBC News* (24 Apr 2014) <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-cornwall-27132035> [Accessed 5.08.19].

recognition of a distinct Cornish identity is integral to the "more relevant and more effective delivery of human services such as education, housing, local government, counselling, and medical services, together with an enhanced sense of personal and group pride for both the indigenous and in-migrant Cornish".[16] Recognition of a distinct Cornish Gothic resists the relegation of studies of the county to the fields of "Cornish studies" or "local studies" and instead resituates analyses of the county's cultural history within the broader fields of literary studies, Gothic studies, and Victorian studies.

The Cornish Gothic has seen a resurgence in the twenty-first century with Cornwall as a microcosm for anxieties surrounding identity, deprivation, and environmental devastation. Wyl Menmuir's *The Many* (2016) is a disturbing Gothic narrative following the established format of a "foreigner" attempting to relocate to Cornwall and being rejected and haunted by the county and its people. It was longlisted for the 2016 Man Booker Prize, demonstrative of a contemporary interest in Cornwall as a frightful space. Lucy Wood's short story collection *Diving Belles* (2012) features Cornwall as a magical, surreal, mystical location, "steeped in enchantments and shimmering with an infusion of the area's folklore and landscape. This is a world in which fairies and spirits and bards circulate freely".[17] In "Countless Stones" a woman slowly turns to stone, reminiscent of the nineteenth-century preoccupation with the Cornish body mirroring its coarse, rocky landscape. "Lights in Other People's Houses" draws upon wrecker traditions, and "Diving Belles" features a protagonist called Demelza, explicitly referring back to the Gothic tradition explored by Winston Graham's *Poldark* series. Wood's second Cornish Gothic collection, *The Sing of the Shore* (2018), presents Cornwall as a wasteland—this time abandoned by tourists rather than the mining machinery of earlier narratives:

> There is a version of Cornwall we all know. It features pastel-coloured cottages, quaint fishing boats, hidden coves of golden sand and endless summer sunshine. The place that Lucy Wood describes in her second short story collection is different. When the tourists leave, the landscape remains but there are mysterious dishes that rotate on the clifftops, a

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[16] Allen E. Ivey and Philip Payton, "Towards a Cornish Identity Theory", *Cornish Studies*, 2 (1994), p. 153.
[17] Daneet Steffens, "Diving Belles, by Lucy Wood", *The Independent* (22 Jan 2012) <https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/books/reviews/diving-belles-by-lucy-wood6292735.html> [Accessed 5.08.19].

tapestry of plastic floating on the waves, and empty holiday homes everywhere for bored teenagers to break into. It looks the same, but it feels alien.[18]

This alien, foreign, abandoned, sea-soaked Cornwall is the Cornwall established by a nineteenth-century literary tradition hitherto unrecognised. Noel O'Reilly's *Wrecker* (2018) is set in a distinctly Gothic nineteenth-century version of the county and is billed as "a gloriously gothic update on *Jamaica Inn*", again drawing upon a longer Cornish Gothic tradition.[19] Patrick McGrath's *Martha Peake* (2000) travels back further into the county's history, setting the novel in the smugglers' coves of 1730s "with every Gothic standby in place":

> the dark tale in a crumbling stately pile, winds howling outside; the antihero, heroic in his flaws; the coldly dangerous nobleman and his hunched, leering servant; the hand falling on the shoulder as the candle winks out and the swoon signalling horrors beyond words.[20]

Both historical novels recognise the persistence of Cornwall's Gothic atmosphere. Helen Oyeyemi's *Mr. Fox* (2011) further taps into the established Cornish Gothic tradition by setting one of its vignettes in a Gothic Cornwall clearly shaped by Daphne du Maurier—the protagonist, visiting a strange man's house on the coast, is haunted by the ghost of his dead wife, and horrified by the uncanny masses of dead birds littering his garden. Oyeyemi is drawing upon a long history of Cornish Gothic to illustrate Cornwall as an "austere puzzle".[21] In a similar vein, Laura Purcell's upcoming Cornish Gothic novel *Bone China* (2019) draws from a number of recognisable tropes, featuring a doctor moving patients to caves on the Cornish coast in the hope the sea air will cure them of consumption, feeding from health tourist histories and subterranean Gothic narratives. This brief overview of contemporary Cornish Gothic texts demonstrates the endurance and adaptability of the Cornish Gothic tradition

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[18] Caroline Crampton, "*The Sing of the Shore* by Lucy Wood review – a different view of Cornwall", *The Guardian* (25 Apr 2018) <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2018/apr/25/thesing-of-the-shore-by-lucy-wood-review-a-different-view-of-cornwall> [Accessed 5.08.19].

[19] Pam Norfolk, "Book review: *Wrecker* by Noel O'Reilly", *Lancashire Post* (11 Jul 2018) <https://www.lep.co.uk/lifestyle/books/book-review-wrecker-by-noel-o-reilly-1-9246418> [Accessed 5.08.19].

[20] Justine Jordan, "The Grand Style", *The Guardian* (9 Sep 2000) <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2000/sep/09/fiction.reviews2> [Accessed 5.08.19].

[21] Kerry Fried, "'Mr. Fox,' by Helen Oyeyemi: A writer spars with his muse", *The Washington Post* (25 Oct 2011) <https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/books/mr-fox-by-helenoyeyemi-a-writer-spars-with-hismuse/2011/09/30/gIQAtI9aGM_story.html?utm_term=.cf72fda478be> [Accessed 5 Aug 2019].

from the nineteenth century to the present day. This thesis rectifies the recurrent oversight of Cornwall in literary scholarship, identifies and defines a Cornish Gothic tradition, and provides a toolkit for interpreting the significance of Cornwall to texts set in county, illuminating the persistence of Cornwall's imagined ghosts on unfrequented roads.

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