

“HER ROOM WAS HER WORLD”: NELLIE SLOGGETT AND NORTH CORNISH FOLKLORE

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ABSTRACT

Nellie Sloggett (1850–1923) was a Cornish novelist and, under the name Enys Tregarthen, a folklore writer. This article* has four aims. First, to bring together all the biographical information about Sloggett. Second, to make the point that Sloggett’s writing is useful for folklorists: she has, since her death, been neglected even by south-western scholars. Third, to situate her work in the broader British and Irish folklore movement: her corpus offers some unique challenges. And, fourth, to provide a hand-list of her books and her other writings to facilitate further research. It is hoped, too, that some of the reflections on the geography of folklore collection will have a wider application.

KEYWORDS: Cornish folklore • Cornwall • Enys Tregarthen • fairies • theosophy

INTRODUCTION AND SOURCES

Nellie Sloggett (1850–1923) was a prolific author who spent her entire life at Padstow in north Cornwall. Miss Sloggett (henceforth Nellie)¹ only began writing for a wider public at 35. Yet before she died, 38 years later, she had published eighteen books, several with prestigious publishing houses, under two different pseudonyms: Nellie Cornwall

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and Enys Tregarthen.² This would have been impressive enough for any provincial writer in late Victorian and Edwardian England. But Nellie laboured under a significant disadvantage that makes her achievement all the more remarkable. “The little cripple”, as she was known in her home town (Yates 1940: 9), had suffered, in her teens, from an illness that had left her paralysed. From the onset of this illness, to her death at 73, she never took a step. Indeed, she spent most of her life prone, looking out over “Padstow’s storied land and water” (Wright 1978: 94): “the Camel River to the St. Minver sand hills” on one side of her bed, and “the rocky tors of Bodmin Moor” on the other (Yates 1940: 10–11).³

The two different pen names employed by Nellie were matched to two different styles of writing. Fifteen books, published under the name Nellie Cornwall, were Christian novels for adolescents and young adults, most of which were set in the Archduchy. Six books of Cornish folk stories, written as Enys Tregarthen, were, meanwhile, written for “many besides children”. Nellie is remembered, today, because of her works as Enys Tregarthen. Indeed, Enys Tregarthen is, with Robert Hunt and William Bottrell, one of the three most important writers on Cornish lore; while Hunt and Bottrell dealt predominantly with the west of the county (Bottrell 1870–1880; Hunt 1881), Nellie concentrated on the little investigated northern coast and partially plugged a gap in our knowledge.

This article has four aims. First, to bring together all the biographical information about Nellie. Such information as we have is disappointingly slight, often inaccurate⁴ and, as she is just within living memory, perhaps some details can still be added. Second, to make the case that Nellie’s writings are useful for folklorists, particularly south-western folklorists. Third, to situate Nellie’s folklore writing in the broader British and Irish folklore movement – her *corpus*, the reader should be warned, offers some challenges. And fourth, to provide a hand-list of her books and of her folklore stories to facilitate further research (‘hand-list’ because it is possible that this list is incomplete).

Before setting out, however, it would be wise to explain the sources available for the study of Nellie’s life. There are four types of sources. Most obviously there are Nellie’s books, listed in Appendix 1. It is true that these works are not autobiographical in any conventional sense, but the subject matter, the dedications, the prefaces and the evidence of wider reading give precious glimpses into Nellie’s life. Second, there is a single letter from Nellie: it is possible that other letters survive, certainly letters survived as late as the 1930s, but I have been unable to find any trace of these (WMN 1923 claims that she was in “constant correspondence with prominent people”; see also Yates 1940: 11). Third, there are the memories of various witnesses who came into contact with Nellie herself or with her family. Four of these memories originated in the south west, but, there were also American ‘fans’, one of whom travelled to see Nellie in the last months of her life (Wright 1978), and one of whom (Yates 1959 [1940]) visited, after her death, Nellie’s cousin, Alice Maude Rawle.⁵ Fourth, there are official and ecclesiastical documents (census returns, death certificates, gravestones, etc.) that provide an objectivity that the memoirs, for very understandable reasons, lack. The censuses, that give us a snapshot of families every ten years from 1841–1911, are especially useful.⁶

NELLIE'S EARLY LIFE

The mother of Nellie Sloggett, Sarah Carter, 24, married Moses Sloggett, 35, in Padstow, December 5, 1848.⁷ Sarah had been born in Newquay, and her family had moved to Padstow between 1828 and 1831.⁸ Her father, William Carter, was, according to the marriage certificate, a master mariner.⁹ Moses, on the other hand, was from St Minver across the Camel Estuary: he had been born in 1813.¹⁰ His family included labourers and miners from Polzeath: and his mother and father – Ann (Nancy) and Moses Sloggett – would both find themselves on parish charity by the end of their lives. Moses was illiterate (like his father and at least one of his brothers)¹¹ and signed his wedding certificate with a mark, in contrast to Sarah's signature. In the 1841 census Moses Sloggett was working at Trevorder in the parish of St Breock about ten miles from Padstow.¹² A fifteen-year-old Sarah Carter, whose age corresponds exactly to Nellie's mother, was, meanwhile, in service, just five miles from Trevorder at Trelawder.¹³ Both were away from home and this may have been the period in which they met, perhaps at a local dance or prayer meeting: though a seven-year courtship is rather long for a working-class couple in 19th-century Cornwall.

Whatever the circumstances of her parents' meeting might have been, Nellie was born on December 29, 1850.¹⁴ On the June 6, 1851 census she lived on Duke Street with her mother and her father was presumably at sea; Sarah is described as a "sailor's wife".¹⁵ The only event we know of from Nellie's first ten years is the death of Moses, June 26, 1857. He passed away, aged 44, after "a second seizure": which suggests epilepsy or a stroke.¹⁶ We have been unable to locate his grave at Padstow, though he died and was buried there.¹⁷ Sarah Sloggett, in any case, found herself, at 31, with a single child and no husband and she had to work to make ends meet. By the 1861 census, when Nellie was eleven, Sarah is recorded as a char-woman.¹⁸ But Sarah's household had, strangely, got larger. As well as Nellie, there were two other children living in the house, Vinnie¹⁹ and Kate Rawle. These were Sarah's nieces, the daughters of her younger sister, Lavinia and, as the Rawle family play an important part in Nellie's story, it will be necessary to trace this family's history, too.

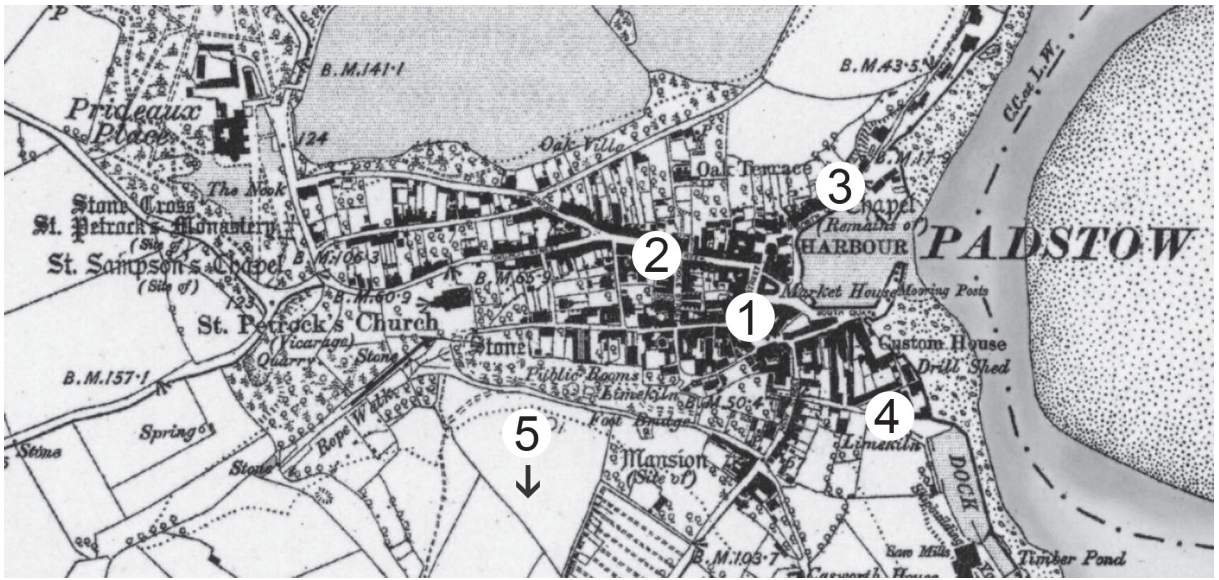
Lavinia had been luckier in love than Sarah. She had married (when pregnant) a sailor, one Charles Rawle from Trevalga and while Rawle was not from a wealthy background, he proved himself able.²⁰ In 1851 he was a ship's mate working out of Padstow: Lavinia lived just four doors away from her sister Sarah on Duke Street, an important clue that the sisters, who had only two years between them, were close.²¹ By 1861 Lavinia and Charles (still a mate) were living in Liverpool.²² In 1871 Charles's family was back in Padstow and he was a Master Mariner: we have several records of him sailing to Quebec.²³ Then, in 1874, 'Captain' Charles Rawle opened a shipyard in the town (WBCA 1874) and by 1881 he was employing 27 men and 14 boys and was living with his family in Marine Villa near the shipyard.²⁴ In the 1890s he would become, with his "world-wide experience" (RCG 1895d), a central figure in Padstow public life. He was a champion of the Padstow free marketers (RCG 1894); active in the Primrose League (RCG 1895b); a freemason (RCG 1895c); an auditor of the Padstow Institute (RCG 1890); a member of the church council (RCG 1895a) and the lifeboat committee (RCG 1899a); would be head of the urban council for four years;²⁵ and, in 1901, he climbed still higher on the south-western *cursus honorum* and was made into a magistrate (*Cornishman* 1901):

not bad for a lad who had set out to sea from the 'badlands' of northern Cornwall some fifty years before.

Why were Lavinia's two eldest daughters with Sarah in 1861? We do not know how long Lavinia and Charles spent in Liverpool, but the only child with them, in the 1861 census, was the four-month-old Marina. Possibly they felt that their elder children would do better in familiar Padstow with a trusted aunt: money probably also changed hands, money that Sarah may have badly needed.

At the time of the 1861 census Nellie was a healthy ten-year old and we get glimpses of this ten-year-old playing in Padstow and environs in later sources. An American, who spoke to Nellie in old age, described three gargoyles on Padstow Church: "Those figures had been [Nellie's] special delight since early childhood when she could walk along the church lane, then through the penthouse gate into the hallowed precincts of the churchyard" (Wright 1978: 95; see Figure 1). Elizabeth Yates who edited Nellie's posthumous works recorded (Nellie's cousin, Alice, was presumably the source for this memory) that Nellie "had loved the golden beaches and open moorland where she had run and played" (Yates 1942: 9). Any reader going through Nellie's writing will be struck by the energy of some of her child protagonists and the frequency with which they sprint from place to place something that, remembering her paralysis, needs no comment (for example Tregarthen 1942: 23, 35, 40–42, 54, 63–65, 76). Nellie seems to have been permanently paralysed, from her waist down, when she was just 16: we do not know what caused the condition (see Appendix 2).

By the census of 1871 the family situation had been inverted. Instead of two of Lavinia's daughters living with Sarah on Duke Street, Sarah and Nellie had gone to live with Lavinia on the North Quay.²⁶ Charles is not recorded, presumably being absent at sea: but there were nine women living in the same house. There were the five Rawle daughters: Vinnie, Kate, Minnie, Annie and Alice. Lavinia and Sarah's mother Maria Carter, now 75, had also come to take up residence: she had long lived on Duke Street with her daughters. And, of course, there was Sarah and Nellie, who was twenty. There can be no question that, by this date, Sarah is the vulnerable Carter, being protected by her younger sister, and Nellie would benefit from this protection while Lavinia was alive, and after her death Uncle Charles (who had himself lost his father while young), then, Vinnie and, finally, Alice would step in. By the 1881 census, when Nellie was thirty, the Rawle family had moved to Marine Villa, a prestigious complex, next to the Rawle's shipyard.²⁷ The sisters, Lavinia and Sarah, were both there and in their fifties. There were also three daughters and two grandchildren. The absence of live-in servants is curious, particularly given Nellie's paralysis, yet it is a constant up until 1881. We have just one chance reference to an unnamed "nurse" for Nellie in the 1870s, who probably lived off property (Gregory 1888: 216).



1. Broad Street (home of Carters, 1841 census)
2. Duke Street (home of Rawles and Sloggetts, 1851 and 1861 census)
3. North Quay (ome of Rawles and Sloggetts, 1871 census).
4. Marine Villa on St Edmund's Lane (later Horsmill 1881, 1891, 1901 census)
5. Tregonna, Little Petherick (two miles to south), 1911 census

Figure 1. Nellie Sloggett's Padstow. Source: NLS. Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

NELLIE'S LEARNING

Had Nellie been paralysed in a family without resources then any schooling would have come to an abrupt end. She would have been trained up to needlework or some other form of manual labour: alone with her mother the workhouse door might have yawned open (Cornwall 1897: 142 for hostile remarks on workhouses; were these teenage fears or typical evangelical criticisms of that institution Cutt 1979: 99–102?) However, Nellie found herself from her late teens or early twenties in the orbit of the Rawles, an increasingly wealthy Padstow family. Instead of working, she was able to concentrate on pursuits of the mind to an extent that her illiterate father would have found incredible. That she was well-read is confirmed by a letter of Nellie's that survives in a book, *Consecrated Culture* (Gregory 1888). This book was a memorial for a gifted young Methodist preacher, Benjamin Gregory who had died in Padstow on December 14, 1876. Soon after arrival in that town in 1875 he had visited the Rawles and had been taken to see Nellie in her room. He taught her Greek and judged her to have "exceptional mental gifts" and thanks to Gregory's attentions, wrote his biographer, Nellie "developed unsuspected literary power" (*ibid.*: 204). Nellie herself seemed to have shared this gratitude: "it was the opening of a new life for me"; "he helped me as no one else ever did"; "he helped

me to gather up the fragments of my own broken life". She remembers with much gratitude not just Greek but "delightful talks about books and their writers". (Ibid.: 217)

There is a danger that we overstate Gregory's influence on Nellie's life. Nellie, after all, was writing for a still grieving family and was bound to talk up her one time teacher. What is striking in this letter, composed in 1884, is that Nellie seems to have been a keen reader *before* Gregory arrived. When Gregory first walked into her room, Nellie remember him taking down her Hebrew grammar: she was teaching herself the language (Gregory 1888: 215). He read, before leaving, a hymn by Kemble, that she appreciated as never before; she clearly already knew it (ibid.). They spoke, in future meetings, meanwhile, of Charles Lamb and George Herbert: if she was not conversant with these authors she quickly became so; she quotes Herbert in her writing (ibid.: 215–216, see also Cornwall 1886: 74). She confessed to being "very nervous at meeting [Gregory]" the first time because of his intellectual reputation. She, then, repeats that she enjoyed the lessons "in spite of nervousness" (Gregory 1888: 215). This may have been anxiety over being in a man's presence (perhaps a rare experience for Nellie in an almost entirely female family); or the novel experience of coming face-to-face with someone whose identity, like hers, was based on intellect. Benjamin Gregory seems to have been a major influence on Nellie and he comes across as an inspirational figure: she was also an influence on him, "My Greek pupil repays me" he wrote in one of his letters home (ibid.: 203). But it is clear that Nellie was already a reader before this mentor ever came to Padstow. She would remain so all her life. When Harriet S. Wright visited Nellie in her last summer in 1923, "[Nellie] longed to know about new writing" (Wright 1978: 95).

Nellie's library does not survive. But reading her books and other sources we can, at least to some small extent, reconstruct that library.

She was a lover of poetry, particularly modern poetry. Most of the great Romantic and Victorian poets were known to her: Elizabeth Barrett Browning (apparently a favourite) (Cornwall 1886:167; 1887: 127; 1891: 7, 18; 1896: 74, 91, 92; 1902: 96), Robert Browning (Cornwall 1886: 92; 1901: 83; 1902: 15, 120, 205, 221), Robert Burns (Cornwall 1886: 154), Arthur Hugh Clough (Cornwall 1902: 224), Samuel Coleridge (Cornwall 1887: 295; 1896: 77), Thomas Hood (Cornwall 1891: 59), Fanny Kemble (Tregarthen 1911: 68), Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (Cornwall 1887: 21, 37, 198, 243, 295), Samuel Lover (Cornwall 1887: 79), Nicholas Michell (the Cornish poet, see Cornwall 1886: 28), Samuel Peck (Tregarthen 1911: 52), Christina Rossetti (Cornwall 1896: 127), Arthur Salmon (Cornwall 1891: 31), Horace Smith (Cornwall 1891: 29), Tennyson (another favourite; see Cornwall 1886: 35, 109; 1887: 221; 1891: 154; 1901: 25; 1902: 33, 107, 125, 214), Mrs C. B. Wilson (Cornwall 1902: 125), William Wordsworth (Cornwall 1886: 7, 128; 1887: 168; 1902: 27) and William Butler Yeats (Tregarthen 1906: 2).

Unsurprisingly religious poets and hymn writers featured. Many are in sympathy with the non-conformist tradition or had been recycled by that tradition in the 1800s. These include Cecil Frances Alexander (Cornwall 1891: 74), Horatius Bonar (Cornwall 1887: 151), Richard Crashaw (Cornwall 1902: 84), Philip Doddridge (Cornwall 1887: 110), Mary Howitt (Cornwall 1887: 94; Tregarthen 1911: 109), John Keble (Cornwall 1887: 21, 151), Thomas Ken (Cornwall 1885: 59), Frances Ridley Havergal (Cornwall 1885: 63; 1887: 1, 187), Marietta Holley (Cornwall 1885: 62), Barbara MacAndrew (Cornwall 1887: 271), Isabella Fyvie Mayo (Cornwall 1886: 138), Adelaide Anne Procter (Cornwall 1901:

94), Rev. Henry Augustus Rawes (Cornwall 1891: 138), Eben Rexford (Cornwall 1891: 198), John B. Tabb (Wright 1978: 95), Jeremy Taylor (Cornwall 1886: 186–187), Martin Farquhar Tupper (Cornwall 1886: 53), Henry Vaughan (Cornwall 1902: 174–175), Isaac Watts (Cornwall 1885: 39), Charles Wesley (Cornwall 1886: 114), Henry Kirke White (Cornwall 1901: 27), and John Greenleaf Whittier (Cornwall 1891: 190).

There is evidence of her reading contemporary or near contemporary prose. The prose of others, of course, tends to be less visible than verse in the 19th-century novel: there appear, though, citations and mentions of Thomas Carlyle (Cornwall 1902: 98), Lewis Carroll (Cornwall 1902: 40), Oliver Goldsmith (Cornwall 1887: 50), Nathaniel Hawthorne (Wright 1978: 95), Charles Lamb (Gregory 1888: 215), James Russell Lowell (Cornwall 1896: 79), Arthur Norway (Tregarthen 1911: 2), Walter Pater (Cornwall 1902: 39), John Ruskin (Cornwall 1902: 74–75, 83, 113, 187) and Walter Scott (Cornwall 1887: 79).

Nellie had evidently read many European classics: Francis Bacon (Cornwall 1902: 80), John Bunyan (Cornwall 1902: 63–4, 91), Geoffrey Chaucer (Tregarthen 1911: 202), Dante Alighieri (Cornwall 1897: 121; 1901: 102; 1902: 81, 113), John Dryden (Cornwall 1887: 50), George Herbert (Cornwall 1886: 74; Gregory 1888: 215–6), Martin Luther (Cornwall 1887: 75, 239, 265), John Lyly (Tregarthen 1911: 170), John Milton (Cornwall 1887: 146; 1891: 136), Plato (Cornwall 1902: 7), William Shakespeare (Cornwall 1886: 44; 1897: 12; 1902: 102) and Johannes Tauler (1901: 12).

There is, also, proof of readings in folklore and mythology: Arthurian legends (Cornwall 1886: 31–34), Hans Christian Anderson (Cornwall 1889: 28–29, 38), the Edda (Cornwall 1887: 94; 1889: 13, 38), Geoffrey of Monmouth (Tregarthen 1911: 33), Heimskringla (Cornwall 1887: 95), John Rhÿs (Tregarthen 1911: 20) and an anonymous masque of Robin Goodfellow (Tregarthen 1905: inside page; 1911: 192). This is, of course, only a fragment of her library, collected haphazardly. But it shows someone with a voracious literary appetite. It might also be noted that there is evidence for familiarity with Ancient Greek, French and Norwegian (for Greek Cornwall 1902: 98; and for Norwegian, see endnote 34). She was clearly conversant with art history (Cornwall 1902: 74–75). She, on one occasion, includes musical notations in her works (Tregarthen 1911: 71): the Rawles were a musical family.²⁸ She also speaks with a special passion about flowers and her use of the Latin names for plants suggests a knowledge of botany (Cornwall 1885: 20).

It would be a critical mistake, as this list of her reading suggests, to imagine Nellie isolated alone in her room on the secluded Cornish coast: a writer with no antecedents. But Nellie's books tell us not only about her reading but also about her contacts: some with prestigious men and women. We learn from the letter of 1884 of her association with Benjamin Gregory and his family, a quite natural relationship based on shared interests and pastoral concerns. It will come as no surprise that she had contacts with the Prideaux-Brunes, Padstow's first family and one with which Charles Rawle was on very friendly terms (RCG 1883; and more strikingly RCG 1899b: 5).²⁹ But there are other names that crop up in association with Nellie that show that she was connected into wider currents of Victorian and Edwardian life: as one witness noted at her death, Nellie "enjoyed the friendship of many prominent people and high ecclesiastics" (WMN 1923). An admittedly late reference from the 1970s refers to Nellie having "many literary friends".³⁰ We can demonstrate that she knew Caroline G. Cavendish, a philanthropist who dedicated her life to the education of working class children.³¹ Nellie's interest in children's education is also suggested by links with Dr Barnado's.³² Her correspondents

included, though, the letters seem not to have survived: the Cornish naturalist Howard Fox (of Falmouth) (Tregarthen 1906: xi–xiv); Thurstan Peter, the Cornish historian (Tregarthen 1911: vii–viii); and George Stubbs, Bishop of Truro, an Anglican liberal (*ibid.*: v). We know that these contacts existed because of her books: the first two named here wrote prefaces. We cannot, frustratingly, judge the depth of the relationships, though.

NELLIE'S EARLY WRITING

Nellie's first published work (of which we know something) was *Daddy Longlegs* (Cornwall 1885); this was followed, in 1886, by *Grannie Tresawna's Story* and *Hallvard Horlesen*, in 1887.³³ However, her writing career may predate *Daddy*. The letter that she sent in 1884 to the Gregorys shows an accomplished prose style and we learn, in Benjamin Gregory's (1888: 204) memoir, in 1888, that she had "done some thoroughly good, fresh work for religious periodical literature". This does not seem to be a description of her books. Nellie had perhaps written some more conventionally religious reflections in article form. If so they will be hard to track down. There are two problems with creating a full list for Nellie's writing. First, Nellie had a tendency to use pseudonyms; and second she wrote so many books, most in the ephemeral field of late 19th-century children's literature, where often no year of publication is given (on the problem of dating and multiple editions in Christian children's literature from this period, see Davin 2001: 72).

Nellie's first fictional writing (of which we know) was published under the name Nellie Cornwall. There are, as we have already noted, fifteen Nellie Cornwall books. Of these, two are set in London, nine in Cornwall, one in an unnamed part of provincial England, and rather disconcertingly, three in Norway.³⁴ The Cornwall books, despite their changed settings, are similar in their essentials. They were written primarily for adolescents: in the second-hand copies I have collected there are often dedications showing that they were given as gifts for Sunday School work.³⁵ They belong very much to the 'evangelical tradition': perhaps the most difficult and certainly the least studied part of Victorian children's fiction today (Bratton 2016: 63–100). "With the widespread 20th-century repudiation of religion and systematic religious training, the whole basis for understanding this sort of literature has gone" (Cutt 1979: 66). Many are what could be described as 'waif' novels, where children are neglected or inadequately protected and must fend for themselves, until God steps in. Nellie, it should be remembered, had the ultimate waif back-story. She had lost, as a child, her father and an important part of her central nervous system: but she and her mother struggled through, in Christian faith, and God – at least this is how Nellie will have seen it – provided for them in the person of Charles Rawle.³⁶

A key theme in Nellie's writing is religious simplicity trumping what might be called 'schooled' Christianity and Nellie's favourite character is the young child who converts adults, by example, exhortation and innocence. The most striking thing to a 21-century reader is the didactic Christian character of the texts: Biblical quotations, hymns and pious sentiments crowd out these works. So chapters in *Tamsin Rosewarne* (1892) include: "Tamsin Bring the Orphans to Her Home", "True Riches", "Miss Admonition Kernick", "Aalsey is Resolved to Seek the True Gold", "A Trial of Faith", "Loving Ministry", "Unselfishness", and "The Donkey-Cart Proves a Blessing". Of course, many

very good 19th-century British writers, Charles Dickens or Anthony Trollope, among them, made frequent, enthusiastic and effective appeals to Christianity. But, in the case of Nellie Cornwall, the Christian charge is so strong that it overwhelms even her most delicately drawn protagonists. As one contemporary reviewer noted, “religion is made much more prominent in the conversation than is likely or desirable to be the case in ordinary life” (RCG 1892). Perhaps the easiest Nellie Cornwall book to read today is the *Little Don*, because, written in the first person as a diary, this kind of sermonizing is muted.

Nellie’s Christianity is an interesting point of her biography. Nellie had herself been baptized among Bible Christians, a Methodist breakaway group with a strong base in North Cornwall and North Devon (Shaw 1965). One of her parents (Sarah?) had maybe encountered the Bible Christians, as neither the Sloggetts or the Carters had any obvious non-conformist loyalties: their children were all baptized in Anglican churches. The Rawles were, likewise, solidly Anglican and as Tories, perhaps high Anglicans. The Nellie Cornwall books suggest that Nellie’s Christianity was a happy compromise between Non-Conformism and low Anglicanism: though note that she had described herself as a church-woman (an Anglican) in 1884 (Gregory 1888: 215). Methodism is praised – one heroine comes face-to-face, as a child, with John Wesley (Cornwall 1886: 55, 148–149) – but there are also sympathetic Anglican figures (for example Rev. Tredarup in Cornwall 1897, especially p. 9). The book that captures this compromise best is *Twice Rescued* where Granfer Lamelegs runs what is effectively a non-conformist prayer group out of his house: but he and his ‘congregation’ go to the established church on Sunday “wet or shine”; while the Anglican vicar Wordsworth comes to learn life lessons from Granfer (Cornwall 1888: 107–114). At the end of *Twice Rescued* a small local chapel is built that brings the two traditions together in one place: Granfer’s pulpit and Wordsworth’s preaching (ibid.: 212–217). Perhaps the character, meanwhile, that best does it justice is Frailty Allen and her Quaker Christianity: “she is one of those broadminded women [... who] can take off her sectarian shoes wherever that Faith is preached and God worshipped in Spirit and truth” (Cornwall 1902: 84). Frailty ultimately, however, becomes an Anglican: “I believe in the Sacraments. I have been brought to see that one cannot, with any safety to one’s soul, neglect those outward means – Baptism and the Supper of the Lord – our Dear Lord’s commands.” (Ibid.: 209)

Nellie was animated, it seems, by her faith in a way that was perhaps not true of the rest of her family. Her Christian passion is clearest in the 1884 letter to the Gregorys. There she describes, for example, grave concerns about the salvation of someone close to her before Gregory’s death. Benjamin Gregory had also been concerned and had written a letter reminding this unnamed person (a family member?) of her responsibilities: a letter that was by Nellie’s account, and to her obvious satisfaction, successful (Gregory 1888: 217–218). This passion is also there in her Christian prose, which has, at times an almost mystical bent. For instance, when consoling Gregory’s kin she writes this marvelous sentence: “It would be awful would it not? [sic] if we did not know it was the *light* which hides our holy dead from our sight” (ibid.: 218). Nellie might have become more Anglican with the years: she was ultimately buried on the Anglican side of Padstow cemetery³⁷ and her final book is dedicated to the Bishop of Truro; one of her last Nellie Cornwall books also suggests an interest in Communion that seems more

Anglican than Methodist (Cornwall 1897: 159). (Methodists do, of course, believe that Christ is within the bread and wine, without believing, however, in transubstantiation).

NELLIE'S FOLKLORE WRITING

The Rawle and Sloggett *ménage*, towards the end of the 19th-century, started its inevitable decline. In the census of 1891 there were seven family members and, for the first time, a servant.³⁸ Nellie's mother Sarah died in 1894: the death certificate gives cerebral apoplexy as cause of death. The Rawle children, for the most part, moved out. By 1901 only one daughter, the unmarried Alice was left with her father, now 76, and there was Nellie, aged 51. Nellie was still writing her children's fiction but publications were no longer annual. An interested neighbour in Padstow might have assumed that she, like her family, was winding down. But, in fact, Nellie was about to write her most important works, those concerning the folklore of North Cornwall. In 1905, aged 55, Nellie brought out what was to be her favourite book (Wright 1978: 95), *The Piskey Purse: Legends and Tales of Northern Cornwall*. These were traditional stories or at least stories with traditional motifs, primarily for children. It is as if the earnest heroes of her earlier works had strayed into a late 19th-century legendary by Hunt or Bottrell. *Piskey Purse* was her most reviewed book to date and was followed in 1907 by *North Cornwall Fairies and Legends*. As if to underline this departure in subject matter she published both books under a new pen-name, Enys Tregarthen.

Nellie Cornwall had been a more attractive version of Nellie Sloggett, which also pushed her Cornish identity: Cornwall is the setting, after all, of most of the Nellie Cornwall novels. However, if Sloggett and Cornwall are unmistakably Anglo-Saxon, then Enys Tregarthen is Celtic.³⁹ There are, of course, a number of cases of Victorian and Edwardian writers who either adopted Celtic names or Celtified English-sounding ones, including Sir Arnold Bax, who became Dermot O'Byrne (Room 2010: 355); while in the 19th-century William Bottrell wrote his journalism as "The Old Celt" (Young 2013a: 75); and Cornwall's own Margaret Pollard masqueraded as Arlodhes Ywerdhon in the 1940s (Room 2010: 33). Perhaps Fiona MacLeod (née William Sharp) is the most interesting parallel: William Sharp had created not just a pen-name but a Highlander *alter ego*, one capable of taking part in the Irish Celtic Twilight movement from the grimy streets of Glasgow (Sharp 1910: 221–241, especially 223). Nellie Sloggett seems to have been laying claim to what might be called the *pan* Celtic Twilight movement from an upstairs room in Padstow. Nellie Sloggett was certainly aware of Cornwall's Celtic past: she showed an occasional interest in Cornish in her writing (Cornwall 1886: 94; Tregarthen 1906: 103), she also had opinions about "the Celts" and "the Celtic character".⁴⁰ She begins her second Tregarthen book, meanwhile, with a quotation from Yeats, the *magus* of the Celtic twilight, someone who it is difficult to imagine appearing in a Nellie Cornwall volume.

The change from Cornwall to Tregarthen marks not only a change in name, but also in style and subject matter. The characters are still sensitively drawn, they are still often the 'common' folk, and these folk still experience reverses and disappointments. But now their lives are intersected not by God's grace (and kindly aristocrats) but by the supernatural. The Cornwall books were as much sermons as they were novels. The Tre-

garthen stories have, for anyone accustomed to Nellie Cornwall's prose, a jarring lack of references to Christianity. (For a moving exception, see Tregarthen 1906: 98, where the pixies try to order Phillida's dreams on Christmas Eve: "Somebody far greater than we little Piskeys is ordering Phillida's dreams [...] which are much more beautiful than we



Figure 2. *The pixies try to order Phillida's dreams* (Tregarthen 1906: 91).

can order.") Perhaps the most interesting question is whether this change represented merely a switch in interest or, rather, a change of attitude on the part of Nellie. Had her 'low' Protestantism relaxed into something different by the time she became Enys Tregarthen?

EARLY FOLKLORE REFERENCES

There had, in fact, always been references to Cornish folklore in the Nellie Cornwall novels. When, for example, at the beginning of her first book, Daddy hears an abandoned baby crying, he tells his donkey: "It must 'a been a screeching owl, a piskey or something" (Cornwall 1885: 9). In *Grannie Tresawna's Story* an old woman, Mrs Nancarrow tells four children about when Tintagel folk had frightened off a French raid by masquerading as Red Coats on the cliff tops (Cornwall 1886: 117–127).⁴¹ Nellie presumably borrowed this tradition from the Obby Oss festivities at Padstow (Courtney 1890:

30; E. T. 1923; and a wider discussion in Rawe 1971, 13–14). In *The Maid of the Storm*, meanwhile, there is a reference to piskies stealing (Cornwall 1897: 60 and, more importantly 61). These references are almost always ‘local colour’. They do not affect plot, they do not, or only rarely, lead to changes in character: this is in contrast, as we shall see, to the Enys Tregarthen stories. However, neither should these early references be discarded by folklorists. Sometimes the references are localized and would be of interest to Cornish scholars: these are glimpses of now vanished traditions. Here, for example, are three passages about Cornish mermaid caves. First, comes a description of the Cavern of Screeches near Padstow, a location that is not described, in any other work, but which I suspect exists. We learn that the mermen’s cat-o’-nine tails, are to be seen on the rocks, “if only you use your eyes”.⁴²

“I hope the triplets won’t wake up whilst Jack is away”, remarked Warwick, when the fisher-lad had gone [...] “If they do and treat us to some of their music, we must put them into the Cavern of Screeches to keep the mer-babies company. What do you say, Sallie?” “They ent going to wake up,” said Sallie confidently. “I trust not. But if they do, you know what to expect. The cavern is close under here and is just the place for young howlers, as my old nurse, Mary Kempthorn, was kind to tell me when I did not behave. The Cavern of Screeches is the abiding place of the mer-people, who are fond of whacking their unruly infants with their cat-o’-nine tails, as you will hear by-and-by when the tide comes up.” (Cornwall 1897: 63)

The next reference is, then, a description of the natural phenomenon that led to the name.

The children saw there many-hued balls, which every bellowing wave seemed to toss higher, and Sallie Trebiskin, remarked with a shadow of fear on her face, that the mer-mammies were blowing bubbles to keep their babes quiet, “because”, she added, “they did not want them whipped with the cat-o’-nine tails!” Warwick overheard Sallie’s remark, and having finished his tea, walked over to where she sat with her charges. “I am afraid the bubble-blowing will not keep the mer-infants quiet much longer,” he said looking down on the young girl’s patient face. “Listen they have begun to howl already.” As he was speaking, there came up from the Cavern of Screeches a weird cry, as if a hundred infants were wailing and sobbing in one voice, and their wail was heard above the roaring of the breakers. (Ibid.: 69)

This reference, instead, relates to another mermaid cave at Porthglaze near St Ives:

They stopped before an entrance to a large cavern, which was generally known by the name of the Devil’s Mouth Cavern, but Granfer and his sister more often spoke of it as the Goog. The door of the cavern was like a Gothic window of a church with wide bars fretted out by the waves. The interior of the cave had an arched roof from which hung in great profusion the graceful fronds of the *asplenium marinum*, and which was supported by pillars of black rock beautifully veined with green and red. At the western side of the cavern, fronting the sea, was a large perfectly round hole, called the Devil’s Eye, though which could be seen the sea and far-stretching headland. The Devil’s Mouth Cavern was of great size and beautiful indeed with its oriel window and vaulted chamber. The cave widened inwardly, and here, about mid-way up its rock wall issued a large stream of water, which, singing as it

fell, curved round one of the pillars, and running along the golden floor of the cave rushed out to the bar beyond. A few feet from where the fountain sprang was a slit in the wall, which opened into a narrow passage just wide enough to admit a man or a keg. This passage led you into a large dark chamber, which was said by the superstitious to be the home of mermaids. (Cornwall 1888: 60–61)

Nellie Cornwall's Norwegian novels have folklore references, too (for example Cornwall 1887: 153; 1889, especially 23, 26). And Nellie had clearly, on the evidence of these books, read the Norse classics (Cornwall 1887: 94–95; 1889: 13, 38). Nellie, then, may have spent the 1880s and 1890s writing Christian novels for young men and women. But even in her early writings she betrayed, in her prose, a fascination for traditional themes.⁴³

NELLIE AND FAIRIES

There is one clue that if Nellie's interests had not changed her attitudes had by the early 1900s. In the 1950s, a Nottingham legal secretary, Marjorie Johnson, who ran the Fairy Investigation Society (Young 2013b: 145–150), received a letter from one Agnes Taylor. Taylor remembered, in this letter, her friend Nellie Sloggett of Padstow claiming that Nellie had been able to see fairies. "Often" wrote Agnes "when I visited [Nellie], she saw fairies on my shoulders" (Johnson 2014: 73–74). Marjorie Johnson was an energetic if haphazard collector of fairy memorates, and her honesty is absolutely beyond question. About Agnes Taylor we know little,⁴⁴ but the reference to fairies in close proximity to the body like this is reminiscent of accounts of fairies from theosophist and spiritualist circles in the early and mid-20th century. Theosophy began as a late 19th-century spiritual movement (of dubious provenance) which had revived fairy belief (for a useful summary see Gardner 1945; and for theosophic fairies in action, Hodson 1925). Its most famous fairy stunt was the Cottingley photographs (Cooper 1997: 33–49, the theosophists were, it must be said, innocent of the fakery). Agnes Taylor had taken Nellie's claims for fairy vision in theosophic terms; or Nellie Sloggett herself had adopted or was adapting such beliefs. In either case, this is not something that we would associate with Nellie Cornwall. In *Mad Margerite* an excessive interest in Norwegian folklore is slated as being a distraction from the Christian life (Cornwall 1889: 13). When the child hero of *Grannie Tresawna* asks, meanwhile, whether Grannie had been pixy-led, Grannie responds "No, dear heart, of course, not. There are no such creatures as pixies" (Cornwall 1886: 143). However, by *North Cornwall Fairies and Legends* Nellie speaks in a different tone. She had written in a letter quoted in the book:

[S]trange as it may seem in these matter-of-fact days, there are people still living who not only hold that there are Piskeys, but say they have actually seen them! One old woman in particular told me not many months ago that she had seen 'little bits of men in red jackets' on the moors where she once lived. (Tregarthen 1906: xiv)

The question of whether Nellie believed in fairies or not is more than just an idle inquiry. If Nellie had come to believe in piskeys it would place her in the same current as other late Victorian and Edwardian 'Celtic' writers, not least Yeats (Monteith 2012: 174–180).

Nellie's folk stories have different styles and some transcend the boundaries of Cor-

nish tradition in a spiritual, even ecstatic key reminiscent of theosophy. A nice example of this is *The White Ring* (published posthumously), which describes a girl (Nan), found on the sea-shore by old Uter (Tregarthen 1949: 7). The book begins as a skillywidden tale: the girl is clearly a fairy (the *locus classicus* for skillywidden is Hunt 1881: 450–451; Tregarthen gives her own version, “Skerry Werry” and the “Pail”; Tregarthen 1940: 37–57, 59–110). But from there the story develops in a non-traditional direction. Nan must shrink, by washing herself in dew, to such a size that Uter can place a finger ring on her head as a crown: as she slowly undertakes this transformation she speaks to fairies who dwell in the clouds; and helps Uter take care of sick and maimed animals in his hospital (a back room in his cottage). When the ring finally fits Nan’s head old Uter reveals himself the Emperor of the fairies trapped on earth and the two ascend together, as paramours, the steps of heaven into the sky: “The King offered the Queen his hand and together they mounted skywards” (Tregarthen 1949: 65). The idea of the fairies as nature guardians might be there in the background of British tradition: but theosophy had placed it at the forefront of its fairy-lore.⁴⁵ The association of fairies with the air recalls neo-Platonic ideas adapted by theosophy: there is no basis for this in Cornish tradition, where fairies are connected with the earth or rocks. The constant reference to transformation and ascension, meanwhile, also has a theosophic quality to it (Steiner 1994: 93–174 for the ascent of knowledge). None of this is to say that Nellie had become a theosophist by 1905. But it is a reminder that she was potentially open to other influences and a warning that Agnes Taylor’s testimony, strange as it is, should not be dismissed out of hand.

NELLIE AND THE FOLKLORISTS

As we have seen Nellie was much published in her lifetime and her writing was frequently admired by contemporaries: Queen Mary, for example, read the Tregarthen books to her children (Yates 1984: 74). Nellie wrote enough for six folklore books of traditional material, made up of 42 separate tales: her entire folklore corpus runs to about a quarter of a million words. She was a learned individual: her library was impressive and her writing shows good logical thinking. She came, it is true, from a county with a strong tradition of folklore writing. However, she wrote predominantly about a part of that county, the northern coast, where no one had done any serious collecting: her most prestigious predecessors Hunt and Bottrell had, a generation before, concentrated on the western part of Cornwall. This is an impressive *résumé* by any standards, but it misses the most important fact about Nellie’s folklore work and that is that, for all she has been read by the general public, she has been almost entirely ignored by folklorists. Richard Dorson (1968) does not, for example, deign to mention her in *The British Folklorists* (note that Dorson is not at his best with Cornwall, Bottrell does not appear either). Much more strikingly, Tony Deane and Tony Shaw do not cite Tregarthen once in their *Folklore of Cornwall* (1975). Nor does she feature in Brendan McMahon’s *A Wreck Upon the Ocean* (2015), our most recent folklore monograph about Cornwall. And she barely appears in Ronald James’s recent works: the most important folklore writing on the south-west in this generation. (No mention in James 1992 or 2015 where Nellie’s work is arguably relevant, but there is a sympathetic paragraph in James 2011: 125–126 and Tregarthen also appear in James forthcoming.)

For folklorists there is one overwhelming problem with Nellie's work. Enys Tregarthen may have been writing tales with folk themes, but she was neither writing as a folklorist, nor did she give much evidence of caring to. Her aim was simple. She wished to entertain using traditional material, which was manipulated, re-arranged and improved as her story-telling demanded. It would be absurd to object to her methods, not least because Nellie was transparent about them.

Passing back into the 19th century, particularly the early parts of the 19th century, there are many writers who employed traditional material in their own fictional or part fictional projects; or fictional material in their apparently faithful renditions of traditional tales. The most extraordinary example is, at the very fount of the European tradition of folklore collecting, the Brothers Grimm. In the words of Ruth Bottigheimer (2009: 7; see Zipes 2015: 1–32 for a less radical view):

[T]heir fifty years of editing can be fairly characterized as having turned widely available tales from literary sources into carefully crafted reflections of contemporary folk grammatical usage and contemporary bourgeois beliefs about folk social values.

Thomas Crofton Croker, an ardent admirer of the Grimms from Ireland and a sometime correspondent of the brothers, produced, in 1825, with some friends, the first volume of his *Fairy Legends*, some of the stories for which were entirely concocted (see Keightley 1850: 536 for the "Soul Cages"; Markey 2006: 27–29). Others were "authentic recreations, dictated by personal taste and by the expectations of Croker's target audience" (Carrassi 2012: 48). In Britain John Roby (1829) attempted to emulate Croker with his works on Lancashire folklore. His tales were almost uniformly tawdry historical fictions with little relation to local traditions. A generation later, in the 1860s and 1870s, the earliest folklore writers for Cornwall were Hunt and Bottrell. The contrast between the two is interesting. Bottrell certainly had a much more 'plastic' relationship with tradition than the more empirical Hunt, a scientifically-minded folklore collector (Young 2013a: 73–77).

There are two unusual points about Enys Tregarthen's fictionalizing of her folklore stories compared to those given above. First, is the date at which she was writing. By the early 20th century most writers interested in folklore material had settled on the need for discipline in collecting, composition and publication: put simply, they saw themselves as folklorists. Tregarthen's work is difficult to contextualize in Edwardian Britain: the closest contemporary parallel to her work, though hardly a convincing one, is James Barrie's *Peter Pan*, who appeared before the public, for the first time, in the decade 1902–1911 (Harris 2008: 77–88). Is it best to think of Tregarthen as an isolated, antiquated voice, using the techniques of a half century before, trapped in a northern Cornish town with an out of date library? Or was she, rather, a harbinger of the folk fiction of the later part of the 20th century: an anticipation of children's writers like Susan Cooper, Diana Wynne Jones and Alan Garner (Butler 2006)? Perhaps the only intelligent and coherent use of folklore in contemporary fiction was made by certain British horror authors including Arthur Machen and Algernon Blackwood and, even (if he can be so classified) John Cowper Powys. These writers and Tregarthen are, it goes without saying, worlds apart in terms of tone and philosophy. Machen's, Blackwood's and Powys' encounters with the supernatural rarely end well: Tregarthen's heroes have,

generally speaking, comic scrapes or chance meetings with 'the other side'. These offer chances for growth or leave the hero or heroine much as before.

Second, and, for present purposes, much more serious, is our inability to contextualise Tregarthen's work. We can check the original texts of the Brothers Grimm through the archives and their annotated books. We have enough material from Croker, not least from his one time friend, Thomas Keightley, to see what he was doing. Roby was superseded by several Lancashire folklorists in the later 19th-century, folklorists who corrected his excesses (for example Hardwick 1880: 282). Hunt and Bottrell make, meanwhile, a wonderful pairing, as these very different writers act as controls on each other, in the same region, sometimes with the same tales. However, the great difficulty with the Cornish coast from Newquay to Tintagel is that Enys Tregarthen stands alone. No one else from this region attempted, in the late 19th or early 20th century, to record folklore systematically: we have, at best, fragments, stray sentences and the odd footnote. Consider Castle-an-Dinas in St Columb Major, one of the most charismatic sites in Britain, a place that must have attracted a significant amount of folklore. If we ignore Tregarthen our traditional sources for this extraordinary site are paltry: a line in Jenner (1917–1921: 101) about an Arthurian ghost army; and a newspaper report about a Viking ghost (*Cornishman* 1932, see now also Young 2017c).

For someone interested in the folklore of this part of the county there is a stark choice. Either we try and isolate authentic traditions within Nellie's work, or we accept that North Cornish folklore is a monstrous blank. I know of only one scholar who has actually wrestled with this problem in print, a celebrated British folklorist Charlotte S. Burne (see Ashman and Bennett 2000; Bennett 2001). In 1908 Burne reviewed the first two Tregarthen volumes. Nellie, wrote Burne (1908: 508), was "accustomed to intercourse with the peasantry, and [was] altogether in a position to collect whatever local folk-lore has escaped the notice of many previous writers on Cornwall". Burne notes, too, that Nellie's meager scholarly apparatus in *Legends and Tales* suggested someone who had the makings of a good folklorist. "Unfortunately [...] however, [Tregarthen] has chosen to put her material into the shape of fiction, dressing it out with characters, dialogues, descriptions and bits of word-painting, so that it is absolutely valueless." To call Nellie's work "absolutely valueless" is, as we shall argue, far too harsh: and it is doubtful that Burne would have used the phrase had she known, in 1908, that Tregarthen would have had no North Cornwall successors. To be fair to Burne, it must also be remembered that she had only read the first two Tregarthen volumes, which are more fictionalized than the fourth collection: the third is a peculiar mix of styles. The lack of references to Tregarthen elsewhere suggests, a tacit agreement with Burne's position (see though James 2011: 125–126).

"FOLKLORE PURE AND SIMPLE"?

As a necessary preliminary to isolating authentic Cornish folklore in Nellie's work we need to examine, the manner in which she came by her knowledge. The first point to make is that Nellie's earliest memories will have dated back to the 1850s: she will have come into contact with individuals, especially in her childhood, who had grown up in the 1700s. That these individuals shared stories with Nellie is a matter of record:

Many of the legends were told me by very old people long since dead. The legend of the Doombar was told me when I was quite a small child by a very old person born late in the 18th century. (Tregarthen 1906: xiii, compare with the time horizon in Cornwall 1886.)

Some of her stories were based upon or were adaptations of the memories of her childhood, then: “among her many books are the stories that had been told her when she was a little girl” (Yates 1942: 9).

And again:

[s]he loved Cornwall and she loved the Cornish legends and she did not want to see them to be lost, so she began writing them down – those she had been told as a child, and those she had heard from the old people whose memories seemed to go back to the beginning of time (Yates 1940: 9).

However, there is evidence, too, that Nellie greedily gathered in stories as an adult. She makes one passing reference to talking to people who had had piskey experiences (Tregarthen 1906: xiii–xiv). Yates (1940: 9) is more explicit: “Her friends continued to bring stories to her when they came to see her in the old house at Padstow”. Elsewhere Yates writes: “[w]henver she learnt of someone who had seen the Piskeys, she would ask that person to come and tell her about them” (ibid.). Yates had two possible sources for these assertions: Nellie’s cousin, Alice Rawle, who had talked to Yates; or Nellie’s archives which came into Yates’ possession. In Yates’ introduction to *Piskey Folk* she describes the origins of several stories in some detail, suggesting a written source.

A few of the tales have been folklore for ages, told in many versions all over Cornwall; others are peculiar to some spot, like The Piskey Warriors which was related by one of the natives of the Goss Moor who said she had both seen and heard the Piskeys. An old woman of ninety-four, named Rebekah French, who had often heard the story when a little girl, told of Asley Trenowth and her broken promise [...] An ancient dame of Davidstow was the very woman who was too curious, for it was in her cottage that she had looked through the keyhole and seen the Piskeys [...] On the moors of the St Columb district the legend of The Boy Who Played with the Piskeys was current. It was told to Enys Tregarthen by an old woman who said she put it as it was told her many years ago by a very old woman (Tregarthen 1940: 9–10).

This sounds a factual list from a collector’s notebook or from the head or margin of a written up tale: and just in case there are any doubts a Rebecca French (the only woman of this name in 19th-century Cornwall), a retired servant, lived in Padstow and is recorded in the 1901 census as being 89: if we can trust the census (and Yates) the story was recorded in 1907.⁴⁶ All this shows that Nellie had two general sources for her folklore knowledge: stories told her when she was young (c. 1855–1875?); and stories told her by her informants in her own late middle age (c. 1885–1910?). This is similar to the way that many other 19th-century folklorists came by their knowledge, including Hunt (Young 2013c: 71–73). Nor is there anything to complain about here. Tregarthen seems to have operated as a scientific folklorist in the phase of collection: Charlotte Burne would have approved, for example, of the record taking with Rebecca French; name and age, the story’s background and the search for a location. But this record tak-

ing did not, for the most part, make its way onto the printed page. In fact, it is striking how little folklore apparatus Tregarthen cares to give: there is in *Piskey Purse* a very short introduction; and only in *North Cornwall Fairies* are there some sparse endnotes.⁴⁷ *The House of the Sleeping Winds* has neither.

This absence of published background information leaves us with a serious problem. Crudely speaking Nellie's 42 tales break down into two categories: they are, in the words of one of her preface writers, either "folk-lore pure and simple" or "[stories] founded on folk-lore" (Tregarthen 1911: ix compare with vii). In other terms there are folklore tales that were written down with little in the way of narrative elaboration; and there are tales, for example *The White Ring* described above, created by Tregarthen with folklore motifs and characters; "some based on Cornish folklore" as Nellie subtitled *The House*. (It goes without saying that were we to be able to contextualize every story with Nellie's archives, then we would find that, instead of breaking down the list into two categories, we actually have points across a spectrum.) Of course, both these story types should be valuable for folklorists. The "folk-lore pure and simple" are first-class sources for Cornish folklore: an Edwardian collector taking down tales from her neighbours. However, the stories "founded on folk-lore" should also be useful because, while the plots might be concocted Nellie's knowledge was such that many of the details she gives will have reflected popular traditions: much as Roman archaeologists are grateful for the pieces of imperial masonry that they have found built into medieval walls. If both are useful, all will agree that the two categories need to be treated very differently. And here we come to the great difficulty with Nellie's traditional work: *she does not generally tell us which story belongs to which category*.

There are some rare exceptions, such as those described in the quoted paragraph above, where we can (thanks to Yates), count a story as being traditional. In most cases, though, it is a matter of reading the story and deciding whether the tale in question 'feels' traditional. There is much room for argument – that very word 'feel' is an offence to science – and it is not possible to take on here the complex task (one that would be best left to a folklorist with a strong background in British and Irish fairylore) of trying to sort the tales into the two categories. However, even if we exclude all of Tregarthen's work save confirmed folk tales ("folk-lore pure and simple") there are eight stories that were, on the evidence of Tregarthen or Yates, (i) collected and that (ii) read like traditional tales or memorates. These are: "The Piskey Warriors" (Tregarthen 1940: 105–116); "The Nurse Who Broke Her Promise" (ibid.: 77–88); "The Boy Who Played with the Piskeys" (ibid.: 105–116); "The Curious Woman of Davidstow" (ibid.: 89–95); "The Legend of the Padstow Doombar" (Tregarthen 1906: 51–69); "How Jan Brewer Was Piskey Laden" (ibid.: 149–157); "The Old Sky Woman" (ibid.: 125–129); "Reefy, Reefy, Rum" (ibid.: 131–138); and "Piskeys on the Mare's Neck" (Tregarthen 1940: 59–65). Something of the North Cornwall folklore in Enys Tregarthen can *unquestionably* be salvaged, then, and this is a major and unexploited source of Cornish folklore.

To these it would be extremely tempting to add other stories that, to use that word again, 'feel' traditional. For example, there are four pixy-led tales in Nellie's work: "Jan Brewer" (included among the 'certains' above) which Nellie tells us came from Constantine Bay (Padstow), but also "Why Jan Pendogget Changed His Mind" (Tregarthen 1940: 97–103), "A Piskey Who Rode in a Pocket" (Tregarthen 1911: 191–199) and "An Enchanted Field" (ibid.: 107–112). Nellie gives no information about her sources for the last three,

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Returning now to the outlines of a biography Nellie was forced to move house, after, or shortly before her uncle Charles's death (October 9, 1909). She went to live with her cousin Vinnie at Little Pethwick, just to the south of Padstow: the same Vinnie who Nellie's mother had sheltered when her parents were in Liverpool in the early 1860s. Here Nellie shared a house with Vinnie and her husband David Williams: their three children were no longer at home.⁵¹ At some subsequent date she moved back to Padstow to stay with Alice and the Guy family at Yatala Dinas on Dennis Road (see further note 3), where she was to die. In these new homes she continued to write, though there is no question that the pace of publications had slowed down considerably. Her last work as Nellie Cornwall, *Little Gladwise the story of a Waif*, came out in 1909. Her last work, meanwhile, as Enys Tregarthen (as least while alive) came out in 1911 and was entitled *The House of the Sleeping Winds*: a book that makes an unlikely cameo as a get-well gift in John Betjeman's *Summoned by Bells*.⁵² In 1911 she was described by the census taker as an authoress for the first time: yet she would not publish anything else before her death. Some library catalogues, including that of the British Library, claim that she had a third pen-name Sarah L. Enys and published in the 1920s, but this is incorrect.⁵³

In the case of most writers we would assume that, as energy and creativity fell off, there was less to bring out. But this is not true of Nellie as we know that she left tens of thousands of unpublished words, so much so that three volumes were formed out of her notes in the 1940s. Perhaps she did not publish because she could not find a publisher. In the last year of her life she was visited by two American sisters who describe her "frail body", "made as comfortable as possible in a reclining position on her bed" (Wright 1978: 94). Nellie talked of writing and "said [that] her experience had been that some publishers can only use a few fairy tales" (ibid.: 95). This is perhaps the explanation for her calling a halt to her writing career in 1911. We have only one clue that she had intended to publish again: an obituary claiming that she had been planning a book of poems (WMN 1923). This agrees with her conversation with the American sisters who remembered that she was particularly keen to talk about poetry and that she had written some of her own verse (Wright 1978: 95) none of which, save fragments in her books, has come down to us (for example Tregarthen 1905: 106). Nellie Sloggett died about three months after this visit, October 18, 1923, from, according to her death certificate, a cerebral hemorrhage (Young 2017a: 27). She was 72 and was buried in Padstow churchyard with her mother.

It is fair to say that most of Nellie's books died with her. That her reputation has kept up is, in part, because of the intrinsic value of her folklore writings (albeit enjoyed by a popular rather than an academic audience) and, in part, thanks to an American writer Yates, who had become interested in Nellie's books (for Yates' life more generally Trudell 2003). It is a great pity that Yates and Nellie never met as they were clearly kindred spirits: both kind, luminous and intelligent. Yates, then resident in England, travelled, in the summer of 1939, with her husband, to meet Nellie's cousin, Alice Rawle. Alice revealed a "little trunk" to Yates. "In it were scrapbooks, letters and – more stories! They were bound in brown paper and neatly tied together, and all were written in Enys Tregarthen's careful hand" (Tregarthen 1940: 15; 1942: 10). In a generous and wise act, Alice turned over some or all of this material to Yates and Yates proved worthy of the

trust placed in her. She published *Piskey Folk* in 1940 (effectively Tregarthen's fourth folklore book): she then proceeded to publish *The Doll Who Came Alive* (1942) and *The White Ring* (1949). To go back to the distinction we introduced in our last section the *Piskey Folk* stories 'feel', for the most part, like traditional stories. *The Doll* and *The White Ring* are clearly concocted stories with traditional elements: both include Cornish fairies. Often the posthumous work of authors is a disappointment. Books that are not published in a writer's lifetimes are frequently not published for a reason: they are the dregs or mistakes. But these three books stand with Nellie's best. *The Doll* and *The White Ring* are perhaps her most successful stories for children. *Piskey Folk* is, meanwhile, the most important collection from the point of view of the folklorist: though few have read it.

There are many mysteries about Nellie's life and it is to be hoped that the publication of this article will inspire others to add some more flesh to what is, at best, a skeleton history. However, let us end by reflecting for a moment on what has been lost or, more optimistically, what remains undiscovered. We have seen that Nellie may have undertaken, in the 1870s and 1880s, to write articles for religious magazines. Any searches here will be made more difficult by the fact that Nellie very possibly used an unfamiliar pen-name. We have, as noted above, a reference to Nellie having written poems, poems that seem to have been lost. Yates described scrapbooks and letters, she refers elsewhere to notebooks (Tregarthen 1940: 7, 11): these would be of great value for understanding Nellie's personal life and her working methods. If Yates had them they are presumably still in her family's possession or in a US university library: I note for example that the Five College Archives has a cache of Yates' own papers.⁵⁴ Or did the documents that did not immediately interest Yates, stay in Padstow with Nellie's family?⁵⁵ If so where are they now? Thanks to Yates the most precious parts of Nellie's unpublished works have been saved from the maws of time: those interested in Cornish and, indeed, British folklore owe a very great debt to the American writer. It would be only right, though, that all of Nellie's writing be brought together so that this remarkable woman can be properly understood and commemorated: to use a gospel verse beloved of Nellie, and one with a special meaning for Cornish antiquarians, "Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost" (John 6, 12; Gregory 1888: 217; it is of course the motto of the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies).

APPENDIX 1. NELLIE SLOGGETT'S BOOKS

Nellie Cornwall, *Daddy Longlegs and His White Heath Flower*. London, Charles H. Kelly, undated but registered in the British Library as 1885 (note though that the BL catalogue has T. Woolmer as the publisher). 63 pages, 2 full page drawings and five smaller images for chapter ends (printing poor). Setting: The Lizard (Cornwall) in the earlier (?) 19th century. Plot Summary: Daddy Longlegs is an old man living at Kynance Cove. One day while out walking he finds a three-year-old girl named Goldie (his "white heath flower") and brings her home and takes care of her. The girl brings Christianity into his life. After several days Daddy learns that the girl's parents, the Forbes, an aristocratic family, believe she is drowned and that they are desperately looking for her body. Daddy brings the girl post haste to her parents in Helston and is offered money for the return of their little girl but he refuses. The family visit him and the father gives him, instead, a painting of the place where Daddy found Goldie. On Daddy's death the painting is given to Goldie.

Nellie Cornwall, *Grannie Tresawna's Story*. London, Robert Culley, undated but registered in the

British Library as 1886 (note though that the BL catalogue has Woolmer as the publisher). 190 pages, 1 colour plate (illustrator unnamed but clearly the same as in *The Hill of Fire*). Setting: Tintagel (Cornwall) in the late 18th and 19th centuries. Plot Summary: An old woman, Mrs Nancarrow tells four children in London, about a trip she made to Cornwall when she was a child in the mid-19th century. In Cornwall, at Tintagel no less, she had stayed with Grannie Tresawna, who had told her, in turn, about her experiences in the later 18th century. Most of the episodes in the book relates to Grannie Tresawna's pleasing adventures. The emotional heart of the story is, instead, Mrs Nancarrow's time with Grannie when the adolescent girl both becomes a Christian and meets her future husband. Somewhat against the odds this complicated structure bears the weight placed upon it.

Nellie Cornwall, *Hallvard Halvorsen; or the Avalanche. A Story of the Fjeld, Fjord and Fos*. London, S. W. Partridge & Co., undated but registered in BL Dec 1887. 316 pages, 37 illustrations including chapter headings and full plates (illustrator unnamed). Setting: Norway (in the mid-19th century?). Plot summary: Hallvard is a wayward but promising young man from a poor rural Norwegian family: his father Nicolai is paralysed. The book describes some of the scrapes he gets into in the fjord and mountains where he lives and, finally, his redemption after an avalanche, when he rescues a neighbouring family after having accepted Jesus into his life. Hallvard eventually leaves Norway and goes to sea where he prospers and brings Christianity to his fellow sailors. The book is dense with Norwegian cultural references and Norwegian words.

Nellie Cornwall, *Faithful Rigmor and Her Grandmother*. London, T. Woolmer, 1888. 63 pages, 7 illustrations and no dedication. Setting: Norway. Plot summary: Rigmor lives in a cottage in a forest in the west of Norway with her bad-tempered grandmother who would prefer to have a grandson. Her parents had left to go to America some time previously. She visits the cottage of Oline Corlid, an old woman who is kinder than her grandmother and encourages her to follow Jesus. Afterwards she visits the house of the owner of the forest, Karlberg, as she is friendly with his daughter Arnborg. The family ask Rigmor to live with them but she declines as her father had told her to stay with her grandmother. She returns home to the news that her parents have drowned off the coast of America. She is comforted by the Pastor who tells her that the Karlbergs want to employ her as a nanny for their younger children but she is still reluctant to leave her grandmother. Back at her cottage she and her grandmother are attacked by wolves. Rigmor retaliates with a red-hot poker and saves her grandmother but is injured by the wolves. Karlberg arrives and shoots the wolves. Rigmor is ill for several months. Meanwhile Oline Corlid persuades the grandmother to follow Jesus and Arnborg Karlberg is also converted. [Note that I have not read this book. The summary was written by Stephen Lees who kindly read the copy at Cambridge's University Library.]

Nellie Cornwall, *Twice Rescued or the Story of Little Tino*. London, John F. Shaw and Co., undated but the BL catalogue has 1888. 224 pages and 3 full page drawings. Setting: Porthglaze (near Tintagel), Cornwall in the earlier 19th century. Plot Summary: Tino is born to a gypsy mother and a gadjo father, but the mother flees the father (a drunkard) and brings Tino to live with her people. She dies leaving him the hands of some particularly cruel gypsies. In Cornwall, one of these, Brit, tries to drown Tino, but Tino is saved by Granfer Lamelegs. Granfer, with the help of his sister, bring Tino up as a Christian and have Rev. Wordsworth baptize him. However, Tino is kidnapped by Brit and taken away in his gypsy caravan. It is only thanks to a chance meeting with Rev. Wordsworth that Tino is restored first to his father (who has become a tee-total Christian), then to Granfer Lamelegs and his sister.

Nellie Cornwall, *Mad Margrete and Little Gunnvald: A Norwegian Tale*. London, T. Woolmer, 1889. 256 pages and 3 full page drawings (illustrator unnamed) and 28 flower small illustrations. Setting: Norway, 19th century. Gunnvald is a "little cripple" in a Norwegian family, eight years old:

his sister Borghild takes special care of him. One day, while his sister has gone berry picking and he is left alone in the wood, 'mad' Margrete arrives. She believes that he is her long-lost son Egil and kidnaps him. Eventually, Gunnvald is returned to his family, who had believed that he had drowned: Margrete dies. His time away and his wonderful return work changes, particularly religious changes in Gunnvald's life and that of his family. The book is dense with Norwegian cultural references and Norwegian words.

Nellie Cornwall, *Sprattie and the Dwarf or The Shining Stairway*. London, C. H. Kelly, undated but registered in the British Library 1891. 200 pages with ten full page drawings (illustrator unnamed) and 29 smaller illustrations, flowers, butterflies, etc. Setting: "the most degraded streets of Whitechapel" (London). Sprattie is a paralysed girl with an alcoholic and abusive mother (there is the implication that she is a prostitute). Sprattie befriends her neighbour, the General (Bartle), an ex-circus dwarf. The General is friends with Madame Stéphanie, an ex-circus performer "a celebrity more for her fat than for her height", and pays her rent: while visiting Madame he comes into contact with Christianity and Mrs Hastings, who steps in to take care of Sprattie. Sprattie's mother steals the General's money, flees to America and Sprattie is taken into care at a special home for children run by Sister Caroline just outside London.

Nellie Cornwall, *Tamsin Rosewarne and Her Burdens*. London, S. W. Partridge, undated but registered in the British library 1892. 160 pages and five full page drawings and 25 small illustrations, mainly of landscapes. Setting: Zennor (Cornwall). Tamsin Rosewarne has adopted her two orphan grandchildren, one of whom Blaze has "hip disease". She struggles to make ends meet but has a powerful faith that wins her the admiration of some aristocratic neighbours, the Staversworths, and allows her to survive two serious reverses: a broken leg and her savings being stolen. At the end of the book Blaze is taken to London and left in hospital where he learns to walk properly.

Nellie Cornwall, *Little Bunch's Charge or True to Trust*. London, S. W. Partridge & Co, undated but registered in the British Library 1894. 96 pages and five full page drawings (illustrator unnamed) and 23 small illustrations, mainly of flowers. Setting: London, 19th century. 'Mother' Bunch is a young orphan who takes into her care two children when their mother dies, promising to look after them until they can be passed into the hands of their Uncle Tib. Bunch and her charges struggle to find shelter and to eat enough. Eventually Bunch is tricked into giving the children over to a circus and the shock of learning of their fate puts her into an East End hospital. Eventually the children are rescued from the circus and reunited with their uncle Tib (Sir Tibster Bleckley) who insists that Bunch come to live with them in the countryside.

Nellie Cornwall, *Joyce's Little Maid*. London, The Religious Tract Society, undated but registered in the British Library 1896. Setting: St Levan (Cornwall) in the mid-19th century. Joyce Penwarden elopes to marry a man of which her father disapproves leading to a breach between them. Many years later Joyce dies and sends her daughter, Jennifer, to live with her father. The old man and the house-maid Philadelphia Tresidder are brought back to Christian worship by the little girl. Jennifer has though a crisis when she gets lost outside looking for her beloved doll. On her death-bed the doll is found and brought to her and she begins to recover.

Nellie Cornwall, *Little Annie*. London, Charles H. Kelly, 1897. 30 pages, three black and white illustrations. Setting: somewhere in contemporary England. Little Annie hears a Salvation Army Band, follows it and gets separated from her family. A policeman takes Annie to the guildhall where her father later retrieves her. By far Cornwall's shortest book.

Nellie Cornwall, *The Maid of the Storm*. London, S. W. Partridge, undated but registered in the British Library 1897. Setting: Port Quin (and area) in the mid-late 19th century. A baby girl, Moyra, survives a terrible wreck at Varley Point, thanks to the courage of local fishermen. She grows up in a small Cornish community that is wracked, a decade later, by the apparent death of

two young locals: Jack the son of a fisherman and Warwick the son of the squire. In fact, the two lads have been blown out to sea on a raft, where they are picked up on a boat going to New York. There, by a happy chance, they meet the Irish father of Moyra and bring him back to Cornwall with them.

Nellie Cornwall, *The Hill of Fire*. London, The Religious Tract Society, undated but registered in the British Library 1901. 191 pages, 1 colour plate (illustrator unnamed but clearly the same as in *Grannie Trasawna's Story*). Setting: 'St Crida', "not more than thirty miles from Boscastle" (i.e. north Cornwall) in 1887. Plot summary: A tramp and his daughter find their way, after the tramp falls ill, to Churchtown St Crida at the time of the preparation for Victoria's golden jubilee. There Chummie discovers the Christian faith and her father, who comes from a gentlemanly background, makes amends for past mistakes, reunites with his family and returns a valuable violin, a Stradivarius to its owner. The climactic scene of the novel takes place on Crug Tor when a fire lit for the jubilee burns out of control and risks killing Chummie and an elderly friend.

Nellie Cornwall, *The Little Don of Oxford*. London, John F. Shaw and Co, 1902. Setting: 'St Chad's' Cornwall and Oxford. John Erisey discovers that his dear old friend Paget has died at Oxford and has left his son (the little Don) in John's care. John goes to get the little Don and brings him to Cornwall, subsequently and unwillingly, John falls in love with Miss Wilmer, a Quaker and the Don has a series of adventures with the servants and locals. The story ends with John reuniting Miss Wilmer with her long-lost love and so losing any hope of marrying her: Miss Wilmer abandons Quakerism. The book is the only one by Nellie Cornwall written in the first person (John's diary).

Nellie Cornwall, *Little Gladwise the Story of a Waif*. London, S. W. Partridge, undated but registered in the British Library 1909. 167 pages, and five full page drawings. Setting: 'St Cedde', on the Tamar near Liskeard and Saltash. Plot summary: Petronella elopes with an unsuitable man, leaving her mother and father, Mr and Mrs Tillie, in despair. Several years pass and Petronella brings her baby and leaves it on her parent's property and the child is adopted by a family in the parish at the urging of Mrs Tille. Three years later Petronella returns with a wig on and with dark glasses to retake the child. However, her disguise is discovered and she is reconciled with her parents and the village.

Enys Tregarthen, *The Piskey Purse: Legends and Tales of North Cornwall*. London, Wells Gardner, 1905. 207 pages. 18 small illustrations and 8 full page illustrations: illustrator J. Ley Pethybridge. "Introduction" by E. T (ix-xi). "The Piskey Purse" (1-58): a child, Gerna, finds a fairy princess locked into a piskey purse (a seaweed) and has to protect the princess from the spriggans and bring it to the Tolmen at dawn to break the spell. "The Magic Pail" (59-110): a piskey child is adopted into a family with a magic pail, a magic pail capable of sucking into it whatever the child asks. "The Witch in the Well" (111-167): a witch steals children at Padstow and the heroine must retrieve them from her lair. "Borrowed Eyes and Ears" (168-190): Bessie borrows the eyes and ears of a sea fairy for a day. "The Little White Hare" (191-207): William John befriends a white rabbit and goes seeking its hidden treasure.

Enys Tregarthen, *North Cornwall Fairies and Legends*. London, Wells Gardner, 1906. 188 pages, 10 photographs and 15 pictures: illustrator J. Ley Pethybridge, photographer unnamed. "Introduction" by Howard Fox (xi-xiv). "The Adventure of the Piskey in Search of His Laugh" (1-49): a piskey loses his laugh and goes to ask various legendary figures where he can find it. "The Legend of the Padstow Doombar" (53-69): a mermaid curses Padstow after being ill-treated. "The Little Cake Bird" (73-98): pixies try and give a little girl cake in her dreams the night before Christmas. "The Impounded Crows" (101-111): the story of how St Neot 'impounded' the crows. "The Piskey's Revenge" (115-123): after losing a piskey-bed the pixies steal an old man's biscuits. "The Old Sky Woman" (127-129): snow are the feathers from the plucking of a goose in the sky.

“Reefy, Reefy Rum” (133–138): a young girl is chased by three gargoyles. “The Little Horses and Horsemen of Padstow” (141–148): a young boy watches some roof statues ride around the town. “How Jan Brewer was Piskey-Laden” (151–157): Jan Brew is piskey-led. “The Small People’s Fair” (161–164): a human blunders into a fairy fair. “The Piskeys who Did Aunt Betsy’s Work” (167–176): the piskeys help Aunt Betsy but then leave when spied upon. “The Piskeys who Carried Their Beds” (179–182): Jinnie watches pixies carry their beds up a hill. “The Fairy Whirlwind” (185–188): a child is stolen by the fairies. “Notes” (189–192).

Enys Tregarthen, *The House of the Sleeping Winds and Other Stories Some Based on Cornish Folklore*. London, Rebman, 1911. 223 pages and 26 illustration: illustrator Nannie Preston. “Preface” by Thurstan Peter. “The House of the Sleeping Winds” (1–49): at Dozmare Pool the old grey men control the winds. “Hunting the Fairies” (51–66): a fairy helps a young man dig a way to his fortune and a maid. “The Wishing Song” (67–105): a young boy gets his love and a new life through a magical song. “An Enchanted Field” (107–112): a man is pixy-led in a magical field. “The Piskey Spoon” (113–146): set in Dark Age Cornwall, a chieftain wins a spoon that will bring him good luck, but he uses it unwisely. “The Little Weather Man” (147–167): a weather man and woman live in a small weather house, but their mistress does not appreciate the bad news they bring. “The Piskey Shoemaker” (169–192): a girl finds a pixy cobbler and finds that there is a pixy cobbler competition to be decided by the pixy king and queen. “A Piskey Who Rode in a Pocket” (193–199): a pixy jumps in a woman’s pocket and pixy-leads her. “The Golden Egg” (201–223): pixies persuade a young man to bring daffodils into the house and so break a spell.

Enys Tregarthen (Posthumous). *Piskey Folk: A Book of Cornish Legends*, collected by Elizabeth Yates with foreword by the same (5–11), Yates also probably provided the “Glossary of Cornish Words” (201–203). New York: John Day Company, 1940. 203 pages and 16 photographs by William McGreal. “The Piskey Revellers” (19–36): a young Cornish couple’s courting is disturbed by the piskeys’ parties. “Skerry-Werry” (37–579): a piskey child is briefly adopted by a an old woman. “Piskey’s on the Mare’s Neck” (59–75): a man rides home to find piskeys on his horse. “The Piskey Warriors” (67–75): a woman inadvertently stumbles on a piskey battle. “The Nurse Who Broke Her Promise” (77–88): a human midwife goes to minister to a fairy baby and gains, briefly, piskey-eyes. “The Curious Woman of Davidstow” (89–95): piskeys help a housewife but abandon her when she spies on them. “Why Jan Pendogget Changed His Mind” (97–103): Jan doesn’t believe in piskeys so they piskey-lead him. “The Boy Who Played with the Piskeys” (105–116): a lonely boy plays with the moor piskeys until his mother intervenes. “The Spinning Plate” (117–127): invisible piskeys play tricks on a man and his wife. “Bucca Boo’s Little Merry Men” (129–151): marine piskeys serve the Cornish Neptune, Bucca Boo and bring blessings in from the sea to Mevagissey. “The Gnome Maiden” (153–170): the story of the origins of the Tamar. “The Thunder Axe” (171–185): knockers play a game in a Cornish mine. “A Brotherhood of Shadows” (187–200): a series of shadows live in a cliff.

Enys Tregarthen (Posthumous). *The Doll Who Came Alive*, edited by Elizabeth Yates with two-page introduction ‘to the reader’, with illustrations by Nora S. Unwin. New York: John Day Company, 1942. 76 pages, 58 illustrations, 11 in colour and 37 black and white line drawings. Released by Faber and Faber 1944. Abelard-Schuman: London 1972, re-released the same book but with a ragged brunette rather than a neat blonde Jyd: Nora S. Unwin was the illustrator. Setting: Cornwall. Plot summary: Jyd Trewerry is a little girl who lives alone with a cruel stepmother. She is given a doll by a sailor and promises to the love the doll to life. Once the doll comes to life the two play many games together and Jyd buys a dress for a girl. Jyd refuses her stepmother’s request to burn the doll and runs out into the countryside. There the fairies take off her doll, but she returns to be with Jyd and the book ends with the two racing towards a ship on which the sailor is returning to port: they will keep his house for him.

Enys Tregarthen (Posthumous). *The White Ring*, edited by Elizabeth Yates, with illustrations by Nora S. Unwin. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949. 65 pages, 33 black and white line drawings. Setting: Cornwall. Plot summary: An old man, Uter Penscawen discovers a small girl, Nan, abandoned on the beach and takes her to his isolated cottage, where he takes care of animals in his animal hospital. Time passes and Nan gets smaller and smaller by washing in dew, confirming that she is a fairy child. She makes contact with her fairy brethren but decides that she cannot leave her "Granfer". Uter, though, is revealed to be the Emperor of Fairyland, released from earth because someone Nan has loved him more than herself. Nan and Uter, as the King and Queen of Fairyland, ascend a silver staircase into the clouds.

APPENDIX 2. NELLIE'S PARALYSIS – CHRONOLOGY, PATHOLOGY AND EXPERIENCE

In modern reference guides, including the *Encyclopædia Britannica* we are told that Nellie Sloggett was paralyzed at sixteen: Yates (1959 [1940]: 335) claims that she was "scarcely sixteen", but in another article Yeats (1942: 9) claims "at seventeen". "Scarcely sixteen" is more precise and was written at an earlier date: we use it here. Yates had spoken to Nellie's cousin, Alice Rawle, in 1939 and 16 might be reliable. There are four other sources that give an estimate of how long she had been bedridden: but all are rounded numbers. On her death certificate from 1923 we learn that Nellie had been paralysed for sixty years, i.e. since 1863 (Young 2017a: 27): a local obituary concurs with this – this is a short obituary apparently from a parish magazine, though no title or date is given (I owe John Buckingham for this reference and have reproduced it in Young 2017a: 6). The census-taker of 1901, meanwhile, wrote that she had been bed-ridden for forty years, i.e. since 1861 (ten).⁵⁶ In another obituary (which is unreliable on several points, WMN 1923) we learn that she had been paralysed for fifty years, i.e. 1873 (22): this conflicts with the census of 1871 that already had Nellie down as suffering from a spinal condition: "Cripple, Spinal disease".⁵⁷ The range in dates is worrying, but hardly surprising. Perhaps we should conclude simply that the illness came sometime in the decade before the 1871 census. Another possibility is that the illness only slowly took hold. If that were the case then perhaps the first symptoms began to manifest themselves in Nellie's early teens and by sixteen, a year remembered in the family, she could no longer walk. We gather that she was paralyzed at least from the waist down: she was able, as subsequent records show, to read and write. She wrote "from her bed, leaning on one elbow and holding a pencil in her other hand" (Yates 1959 [1940]: 25).

As to what happened to Nellie there follow five possibilities, none of which are entirely satisfactory. The first would be a traumatic event, say a horse riding accident with a break in the spine: this seems to be ruled out by references to an "illness" and "disease". (I am particularly struck by the fact that Nellie's cousin told Yates, in 1939, that it was an "illness" that "crippled her"; see Yates 1959 [1940]: 336.) The second, poliomyelitis, is a condition that, as the name suggests, attacks the spine's lining: it was relatively common in Victorian England (but in the 1880s and 1890s not in the 1860s) and generally affected infants rather than adolescents (Smallman-Raynor et al.: 108–118); other possibilities in this area might include viral infectious myelitis or polio. The third possibility is spinal tuberculosis that often causes permanent damage: it would be unusual, however, for someone with this illness (and without modern medication) to survive as Nellie did, into her seventies. The fourth possibility would be, instead, a progressive neurological disease, perhaps multiple sclerosis. Here again there are problems. Multiple sclerosis does not normally strike in the teens and when it does it tends to be extremely aggressive: in other words, Nellie would not have lived as long as she did. Nor do we have any hint in our, admittedly sparse, sources that there was any kind of progression through Nellie's life. Nellie's cousin who nursed Nellie described her simply as "a great sufferer but a wonderful person" (Yates 1959 [1940]: 335).

Other possibilities include a spontaneous vascular catastrophe (i.e. a stroke or haemorrhage) or non-malignant spinal tumours.

Nellie's experience of paralysis is perhaps not entirely lost to us. On several occasions in her novels there are characters with debilitating conditions: so much so that had we known nothing about Nellie's home life we might have guessed that someone in her family was confined to bed. In *Hallvard Halvorsen* the father, Nicolai had been paralyzed after rescuing a fellow sailor (Cornwall 1887: 22). In *The Hill of Fire* Miss Orange is left permanently paralyzed when Crug Tor catches fire (Cornwall 1901: 151–152). In *Mad Magrete*, eight-year-old Gunnvald is unable to walk and has to be carried from place to place (Cornwall 1889, especially 19). In *Grannie Tresawna* two marginal characters, Sammie Endean and Mother Moyse, are bed-ridden (Cornwall 1886: 88, 168). In *Tamsin Rosewarne* Blaze, a boy in Tamsin's care, has been crippled by hip disease (Cornwall 1892, especially 11). In *Sprattie* both Madame Rouse and Sprattie are confined to bed (Cornwall 1891: 48). In "The Magic Pail" Joan suffers from extreme arthritis and "was powerless to move from her chair without help" (Tregarthen 1905: 61). It is extremely dangerous, of course, to reconstruct an author's experiences through their fictional writing, but some of the comments by and about these long-suffering characters are difficult to ignore. For example, arthritic Joan, who is left alone, immobile, for long stretches had one consolation.

[H]er doors and windows opened on to the moor, and she could therefore command from where she sat a long stretch of moorland, which, though wild, was none the less beautiful at every season of the year, but especially in the springtime, when the yellow broom and golden gorse were in flower (Tregarthen 1905: 61).

This recalls the wonderful views from Nellie's own room, including Bodmin moor (Yates 1940: 10–11). Of Nicolai coming to accept paralysis: "God only knows the mental anguish as well as the physical suffering of the first year of his invalid life" (Cornwall 1887: 22). Do we also catch a glimpse of Nellie's secret pride in herself when she writes of Nicolai: "How often we find the weakest in body are strongest in faith when *real* trouble or sorrow comes?" (ibid.: 251). Then, there are also reflections, of a constant tenor, on the meaning, in Christian terms, of paralysis. When Miss Orange is laid up she is consoled by a friend telling her that "she was God's special care, now that she could do nothing for herself, and that she must just lie still under the shadow of His great wings, and trust Him to provide her with all that she needed" (Cornwall 1901: 155). And: "[s]omebody has well said that we come not into our place by accident. How true it is! Nicolai knew that, too, and that the God of Wisdom... had laid him on his suffering bed to glorify Him..." (Cornwall 1887: 22, compare with Cornwall 1889: 64). And most concisely of Nicolai: "God's afflictions are God's love" (ibid.: 133).

APPENDIX 3. TRADITIONAL MOTIFS IN THE WORKS OF NELLIE CORNWALL

When possible I have included the Stith-Thompson motif number in brackets: some I have failed to find a motif for; others deserve their own motif number. Note that I have described all types of fairies as 'fairies' (as opposed to piskeys, small people, etc) save in cases where there is an established phrase with piskey, for example piskey-led. I have ignored here the three Norwegian novels where Nellie's knowledge was clearly second-hand.

- Devil lights (night lights sparks from the Devil's tail) (E530.1). Cornwall 1902: 10–11.
- Devil put in a pie in Cornwall (?): Cornwall 1886: 10.
- Fairies bake (F271.10): Cornwall 1892: 46.
- Fairies beautiful (F230): Cornwall 1892: 21.
- Fairies break Sabbath (?): Cornwall 1888: 132.

Fairies bring gifts (F340): Cornwall 1897, 60–61; 1892: 135.
 Fairies child size (F239.4): Cornwall 1896: 105–106
 Fairies happy or laughing (?): Cornwall 1888: 17; 1901: 41 “danced to the music like a Bobby Griglan”.
 Fairies on horseback (F241.1): Cornwall 1892: 16, 47.
 Fairies seen long ago (?): Cornwall 1892: 46–47.
 Fairies skip with sunbeams (?): Cornwall 1892: 15.
 Fairies steal (F365): Cornwall 1897: 60–61.
 Fairies tiny like insects (F239.4): Cornwall 1892: 47.
 Fairy crocks of gold (F244): Cornwall 1892: 16, 28, 46, 59.
 Fairy markets (F258.1): Cornwall 1892: 47.
 Fairy night noise (a nocturnal cry) (K1887.2?): Cornwall 1885: 9.
 Ghost is an omen (‘token’) (E574): Cornwall 1897: 101.
 Ghost with burning eyes (?): Cornwall 1897: 101.
 Giant accidentally crushes human skull with thumb (?): Cornwall 1892: 45.
 Giant rocking on a rocking stone (?): Cornwall 1892: 44.
 Giants (F531): Cornwall 1892: 43.
 Hounds (“Cheney’s ghost hounds”) Chase Men (E752.5?): Cornwall 1901: 105.
 King Arthur becomes a Crow (?): Cornwall 1886: 91.
 King Arthur washed up by sea as a baby (?): Cornwall 1886: 91.
 Mermaid’s Cave: Cornwall 1888: 60–61 (?); 1897: 63.
 Noisy sea is the mermaids whipping their babies (?): Cornwall 1897: 63.
 Piskey beds (F422): Cornwall 1888: 122 (“When you put your leg into a piskey-bed ’tis a difficult matter to get ‘un out again”), 132.
 Piskey-led (F369.7): Cornwall 1886: 143.
 Piskey lights (F217.1): Cornwall 1886: 143; 1888: 132; 1902: 10–11.
 Pisky Purses (?): Cornwall 1897: 113.
 Seeing fairies with four-leaved clover (F235.4.6): Cornwall 1892: 15, 28, 46–48, 51.
 Vagrants used by parents to scare children (?): Cornwall 1886: 10; see also 1896, especially 38 (“the Man of the Downs”).
 Witch in well scares children (G303.10.19?): Cornwall 1886: 10.
 Witch chair in rockface (?): Cornwall 1896: 88.
 Women in red coats believed to be soldiers by invaders (?): Cornwall 1886: 119–126.

NOTES

1 Note that her family may have called her Nell. Nell, in any case, is the name that appears on her gravestone (Young 2017a: 32).

2 Three more books were published posthumously. See Appendix 1 for the list of books.

3 The description of Nellie’s room here relates to Yatala Dinas on Dennis Road: thanks to Mike O’Connor’s comments (personal communication, May 23, 2016, reproduced in Young 2017a: 36).

4 The *Encyclopædia Britannica*, for example, dedicates about 130 words to ‘Enys Tregarthen’ and includes four errors. Even a local obituary manages to misspell her surname and give two non-existent books (WMN 1923)! The best work is Buckingham 2001.

5 In her early publications, Yates (1940; 1942; 1959 [1940]) just mentions a cousin, Miss R who had looked after Nellie for many years at the end of her life. Yates (1984: 75), though, later confirmed that this was Alice, ‘Maude Rawle’.

6 Note that I have collected these sources together in a single file so readers can examine the original texts (Young 2017a).

7 GRO: Dec 1848 IX, 9, Marriage Cert, St Columb. (see Young 2017a: 21).

8 Sarah Carter was, OPC, baptized on November 22, 1824 in the parish of St Columb and her parents were recorded as being resident in Newquay. Her younger sister Lavinia Carter was baptized in the same parish on October 19, 1828. Their younger sister Philippa Carter was baptized at Padstow on February 18, 1831.

9 GRO: Dec 1848 IX, 9 Marriage Cert, St Columb. Note Samuel had been a cooper prior to his career at sea: baptism of Maria Ann in 1821. I have been unable to discover Samuel Carter's hometown.

10 The OPC database has a Moses Slogett with the correct parents baptized (Anglican) at St Minver on January 19, 1813. A major difficulty with tracing Sloggett family history is the various spellings of their surname: Slogett, Sloggat, etc. Moses *was* from St Minver as we know from his wife's obituary (*Cornishman* 1894). We are lucky to have the baptismal certificate as his other dates are confusing: the 1841 census claims that he was 25 (i.e. 1816 date of birth); his death certificate claims that he was 40 in 1857 (i.e. 1817 d.o.b.); his marriage certificate claims that he was 38 when he got married in 1848 (1810 d.o.b.)! Census takers in 1841 rounded the age of the young down to the nearest five, something that has often caused confusion (see, for example, Pattinson 2002: 25). The other date discrepancies suggest a certain carelessness on Moses' or his family's part.

11 His brother John married Jane Burrows in 1852, GRO: Bodmin, 5, 165) at St Minver and also signed with a mark (see also OPC). Interestingly John and Moses' mother, Ann (née) Mably, had signed her marriage certificate January 29, 1809, St Minver, but she failed to teach her sons to write.

12 COCP Class: HO107; Piece: 149; Book: 5; Civil Parish: St Breock; Enumeration District: 7; Folio: 7; Page: 7; GSU roll: 241271.

13 COCP Class: HO107; Piece: 152; Book: 12; Civil Parish: St Minver (Highlands and Lowlands); Enumeration District: 3; Folio: 19; Page: 6; GSU roll: 241273.

14 Note that most reference works have Nellie being born on that date in 1851, possibly because of confusion with her baptism early in that year.

15 COCP Class: HO107; Piece: 1905; Folio: 147; Civil Parish: Padstow; Enumeration District 4c; Page: 4; GSU roll: 221057.

16 Registered on June 27, 1857 with Samuel Withell in attendance.

17 "[A]t Padstow" (RCG 1857). Note that Moses and Sarah are not buried together. Nellie shares her mother's grave (Young 2017a: 32).

18 COCP, RG 9; Piece: 1540; Civil Parish: Padstow; County: Cornwall; Enumeration District: 1; Folio: 8; Page: 9; GSU roll: 542828.

19 Vinnie is, of course, a diminutive of Lavinia. The name was used in the census of 1871, and I use it throughout this essay to avoid confusion with Vinnie's mother Lavinia.

20 March 1848 (GRO: St Columb, 9, 75).

21 COCP, Census, Class: HO107; Piece: 1905; Folio: 147; Civil Parish: Padstow; County: Cornwall; Enumeration District 4c; Page: 3; GSU roll: 221057.

22 COCP, Census, RG 9; Piece: 2676; Municipal Borough: Liverpool; County: Lancashire; Enumeration District::10f, Folio: 8; Page: 10; GSU roll: 543011.

23 COCP, Census, Class: RG10; Piece: 2253; Civil Parish: Padstow; County: Cornwall; Enumeration District::Folio: 19; Page: 30; GSU roll: 834879. For Rawle's shipping history I have benefitted from a short but expert note from Mick Rawle, reproduced in Young 2017a: 37-58.

24 COCP, Census, Class: RG11; Piece: 2294; Civil Parish: Padstow; County: Cornwall; Enumeration District: 2; Folio: 25; Page: 4; GSU roll: 1341551.

25 In Padstow Council Chamber there is a list of past chairmen with the words, "C. Rawle 1901-1904": thanks to John Buckingham for this information.

26 COCP, Class: RG10; Piece: 2253; Civil Parish: Padstow; County: Cornwall; Enumeration District: Folio: 19; Page: 30; GSU roll: 834879.

27 COCP, Class: RG11; Piece: 2294; Civil Parish: Padstow; County: Cornwall; Enumeration District: 2; Folio: 25; Page: 4; GSU roll: 1341551.

28 1891 census for music teaching: COCP, RG12; Piece: 1818; Civil Parish: Padstow; County, Cornwall; Enumeration District 2; Folio: 21; Page: 6; GSU roll: 6096928.

29 Nellie dedicates 1887 *Hallvard* to "Miss Prideaux-Brune" and "Miss C. G. Cavendish". Nellie only dedicates three other books: *The Maid of the Storm* "to Nan" (her cousin, Annie), *Little Gladwise* "to dearest Minnie" (her cousin Marina) and *The House*, to the Bishop of Truro.

30 The reference is from an undated letter in the *Padstow Echo*: recorded sometime 1971–1975, given in Young 2017a: 9 (thanks to John Buckingham for the reference).

31 Caroline G. Cavendish was a joint founder and helped run the Princess Mary's Village Homes (Addlestone, Surrey) for the children of women prisoners (Thorne 1896 I: 7). She was also the author of three Christian books for children. She has a walk on role in one of Nellie's books, *Sprattie* (Cornwall 1891: 194–196). There has to be the suspicion that *Sprattie* is based on one of Caroline G. Cavendish's children.

32 A Dr Barnardo's catalogue has a Nellie Cornwall story in *Our Darlings: The Children's Treasury of Pictures and Stories* vol. 28 (1900). We have been unable to examine this magazine, which seems not to be available in any European library.

33 Note that often dates are not included in Cornwall novels, so I take the date of registration from the British Library – see further Appendix 1.

34 The question of why Nellie chose Norway is straightforward: rural Norway for her represented Cornwall with pines and bears. It was a pristine Protestant land where good sturdy folk made, through tribulations, peace with their God. As in Cornwall the environment was rugged and occasionally hostile; there was little wealth; and there were superstitious rural families (the trolls stood in for the piskeys in Norway, for example Cornwall 1889: 30). The only fundamental difference between the people of Cornwall and Norway, in Nellie's writing, was that Cornubians seemed to have a better sense of humour. A much more difficult question is *how* Nellie knew so much about Norway. She clearly had a first-rate Norwegian contact: as Nellie's cousin put it she wrote convincingly about foreign places "to which only her reading had taken her" (Yates 1959 [1940]: 336). One reviewer commented that *Hallvard* was "written by one who seems to know the scenes described" (MP 1887); another claimed that the book "might be taken for a translation" from Norwegian (LM 1887). A casual reader would assume, indeed, that Nellie knew that language. She lards the book with Norwegian words and phrases so much so that one frustrated reviewer asked "why does Miss Cornwall make her personages talk a compound of Norwegian and English?" (LDN 1887, giving the example "wherever can fader be beste moder?") Padstow had, in the 19th century, trade contacts with Norway, but the interest and knowledge shown in these books will have required prolonged contact with an educated Norwegian, not an occasional talk with merchant seamen (Lysons and Lysons 1806–1822: III, 252 and for Nellie's lifetime RCG 1885). In this period there was one Norwegian living in the town, Bernhard Nilsen and his English wife Ada. They are excellent candidates as they had contacts with Charles Rawle. The OPC records the marriage of Bernard Andreas Schjeldrup Nilsen (son of a judge), 33, with Ada Rawlings (daughter of a lawyer), 30, on October 16, 1889 in Padstow. The family dwelt in Dennis House just to the west of the town and were there in the census in 1891 (COCP, class: RG12; Piece: 1818; Civil Parish: Padstow; Enumeration District 3; Folio: 44; Page: 9; GSU roll: 6096928) and left Padstow in 1899 (RCG 1899b). This 1899 article reveals that they were, like Nelly, connected to the Prideaux-Brunes. Nilsen was also in the Free Trade League with Charles Rawle (RCG 1891a). Note that Ada ran a health resort for "delicate girls" (RCG 1891b; MP 1893). In many ways the Nilsens are excellent candidates: but were they in Padstow early enough to help Nellie with *Hallvard* (at the latest) 1887? Note, too, that in the 1891 census there were, including Nilsen, only eleven households with Norwegians in Cornwall. I ignored sailors in hotels or on ships.

35 For example, in Cornwall 1886: "Wesleyan Methodist Sunday Schools" (1909); Cornwall

1897: "Great Northern Street: Band of Hope [...] for good conduct and punctual attendance" (1913). Cf. Davin 2001: 71.

36 Nellie arguably pays tribute to Charles Rawle in *Grannie Tresawna's Story*. The young Mrs Nancarrow is taken 'up' to Grannie, who lives near Tintagel, by her Uncle Charles: it should be remembered that Charles Rawle, Nellie's uncle, came from precisely this part of Cornwall and that Tintagel is 'up' from Padstow (Cornwall 1886: 10–19). Nellie did occasionally include footnotes in her books stating that something had really happened: she had no difficulty in drawing from life (*ibid.*: 188; 1887: 80; 1891: 136; 1901: 95).

37 John Buckingham informs me in a personal communication: "I understand that in the early days at the Cemetery Non-Conformists were buried on the left-hand side and Anglicans on the right. That idea soon seems to have been dropped. Nell and mother are on the right."

38 COCP, RG12; Piece: 1818; Civil Parish: Padstow; County, Cornwall; Enumeration District 2; Folio: 21; Page: 6; GSU roll: 6096928: Ellen Martyn from Wadebridge.

39 As to the question of why this name of all Celtic names John Buckingham points out to me, in a personal communication, that Kathleen the daughter of the Guys, and the granddaughter of Charles Rawle married one John Dysart Tregarthen in 1906 (GRO 5c, 151, marriage certificate). Was this Nellie's immediate inspiration? Note that Tregarthen is not a particularly common name.

40 "Mother Jewell, who, being a true Celt, was a passionate lover of nature, especially in its majestic forms" (Cornwall 1901: 24); "Their Celtic nature was stirred to its depths, and the excitement that the skipper's news [the unexpected survival of the book's hero] thus created was intense" (Cornwall 1897: 134–135. Note that the *Storm* has, for the 19th century, an unusually positive view of Ireland (*ibid.*: 34 and the last three chapters). Compare with Bottrell's 'Celtic' sensibilities, Young 2013a: 75–76.

41 This "red coat" tradition is known throughout the insular West and deserves a lengthier study: Illfracombe (NDJ 1861); Fishguard (Rose 2003); Bantry Bay in Ireland (R. C. 1870: 269); and Shetland (Tudor 1883: 453). For an earlier reference to women masquerading as soldiers at Lyme Regis (Townshend 1892: 10).

42 Is this a folk reference to seaweed?

43 Folklorists will hopefully, with time, come to read the works of Enys Tregarthen, few if any will ever read Nellie Cornwall: I have, therefore, in Appendix 3, included a list of all folklore motifs that appear in the Nellie Cornwall books.

44 The name is obviously a common one, but there was one Agnes Taylor living at Padstow in the 1911 census, aged 35: Class: RG14; Piece: 13711; Schedule Number: 47; Parish Padstow; County Cornwall; Enumeration District 2. She was the wife of a retired Church of England vicar Arnold Dawes Taylor. John Buckingham writes in a personal communication: "Agnes Taylor was an interesting lady who taught folk dancing in the 1930s. She was a Cornish Bard."

45 I know of only two British examples from 1500 to the theosophists, where fairies are clearly and unambiguously associated with fertility: *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, 1 "Therefore, the winds..." and an obscure 19th-century Yorkshire source (see Young 2012: 227): "the turnips had grown ever so much greener and higher..."

46 I have not been able to find French in the 1841 census. However, in 1851 she is recorded as 35 (date of birth 1816); 1861, 43 (d.o.b. 1818); 1871, 50 (d.o.b. 1821); 1881, 66 (d.o.b. 1815); 1891, 77 (d.o.b. 1814); 1901, 89 (d.o.b. 1821). It is a nice example of the limits of the census as a source for age!

47 189–192.

48 I have gathered together all these tales in a pdf file on my academia.edu site (Young 2017b).

49 1871 Census, COCP RG10; Piece: 2252; Civil Parish: St Minver (Highlands and Lowlands); County: Cornwall; Enumeration District 8; Folio: 31; Page: 15; GSU roll: 834878.

50 For example, Robert Cobbledick who lived in Padstow in the 1861 (Mill Street) and the 1871 (North Quay) censuses.

51 COCP, RG14; Piece: 13716; Civil Parish: Little Petherick; County: Cornwall; Enumeration District: 07; Schedule Number: 14.

52 The relevant lines in Betjeman are in "Highgate". "After that tea, I called and called again,/ But Peggy was not in, she was away,/ She wasn't well. *House Of The Sleeping Winds*,/ My favourite book, with whirling art-nouveau/ And Walter Crane-ish colour plates I brought/ To cheer her sick-bed. It was taken in./Weeks passed and passed and then it was returned./ O gone for ever Peggy Purey-Cust." Thanks to John Buckingham for this reference.

53 Sarah L. Enys published three books (Enys 1923; 1925; 1931). Enys is equated with Nellie in the British Library catalogue (at least as late as June 2015 when this correction was sent in) and in many other catalogues as a result: "Sarah L. ENYS, pseud. [i.e. Nellie Sloggett]". An inquiry at the British library brought this response from Jim Cunningham: "[O]ur Retrospective Conversion Team [...] have found 3 title cards for Nellie Sloggett and her pseudonyms with a number of revisions made over time, but no indication of when those revisions were made. One of these title cards bears the note 'information from Mr. George Sloggett'." George Sloggett was an engineer who lived much of his life in Cardiff before retiring to Padstow where he was active in local history: information from John Buckingham in a personal communication. George may have been related to Nellie. Sarah L. Enys (obit 1952, Falmouth) was, meanwhile, part of the Enys family of St Gluvias. In the Cornwall Council archives there is a letter (June 27, 1932), from a publisher to Sarah L. Enys, CCA EN/2523, mentioning, *inter alia* (Enys 1931).

54 FCAMC collection number: MS 179. In 2000–2001 John Buckingham corresponded with Elizabeth Yates. Yates wrote on May 31, 2000, that "Those books [i.e. the three edited by Yates] and the stories accounted for the work of Enys Tregarthen – Nellie Sloggett – that came into our hands." I have included these letters in Young 2017a: 59–61.

55 John Buckingham informs me, in a personal communication, that he knows of none of Nellie's family left in the town.

56 COCP RG13; Piece: 2204; Civil Parish: Padstow, County: Cornwall; Enumeration District: 2; Folio: 26; Page: 3.

57 COCP RG10; Piece: 2253; Civil Parish: Padstow; County: Cornwall; Enumeration District: Folio: 19; Page: 30; GSU roll: 834879.

SOURCES

BL = British Library Catalogue.

CCA = Cornwall Council Archives for the Enys Family of St Gluvias.

COCP = British census sources are available online for Cornwall at the Cornwall Online Census Project (<http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~kayhin/cocp.html>, accessed May 23, 2017). Full scans are available from various paid services via the National Archives, detailed here: <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/census-records/> (accessed Nov 2017).

FCAMC = Elizabeth Yates Papers, Five College Archives and Manuscript Collections, US. https://asteria.fivecolleges.edu/findaids/sophiasmith/mnsss317_main.html (*non vidi*; accessed May 23, 2017).

GRO = General Register Office <https://www.gro.gov.uk/gro/content/certificates/> (accessed May 23, 2017).

NLS = National Library of Scotland. Map images. <http://maps.nls.uk/view/101438138>.

OPC = Cornwall Online Parish Clerks Database. <http://www.opc-cornwall.org/> (accessed May 5, 2017).

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