

FAIRYLANDS: BERMUDA'S 'IDYLIC' (AND EXCLUSIVE) ENCLAVE

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ABSTRACT: 19th century Victorian-era romanticism fuelled popular fascination with fairytales and a trend of fairy-themed place naming in Britain and its colonies and territories. The idealising of small islands that served colonial interests as plantations, prisons, military outposts, and maritime trade posts as idyllic, picturesque, fairytale places evoked attributes of empire while maintaining the *status quo* of dominant colonial culture. The development of tourism, offshore financing and real estate industries perpetuated the idealism of fairy-themed imaginative place naming of islands and island locations into the next century. This article examines the case of Bermuda as a promoted 'fairy land' and its exclusive enclave, Fairylands, through a synthesis of archival analysis and auto-ethnography and contributes to the development of toponymic studies in island research and culture.

KEYWORDS: Fairyland, colonial place naming, tropicalisation, enclave, tourism

Introduction

In a recent *Island Studies Journal* issue (17.2) featuring a special section on utopian and dystopian imagination in island literature, Hayward (2022) explores the intersection of toponymy, the linguistic, etymological, and geographical study of place naming, and Island Studies. In his analysis of the widespread usage of the mythical island of Avalon as a source of place naming, he notes that, "there have been few 'synthesized' or 'personalized' toponymic articles published in *Island Studies* journals in the last five years" (p. 127). This article, though not assuming a nativist approach to toponymy, serves as a response to Hayward's implied call for such a synthesised and personalised study of Fairylands, Bermuda. This article begins with discussion of the popularity of fairy-themed place naming as a fashionable trend in the Victorian era and its spread to Britain's colonies and territories. The article then details some of the archival information on Bermuda itself as an idealised 'fairy land' destination and the promotion of the actual neighbourhood of Fairylands as material representation of the ideal. It then concludes with my personalised account, as a Bermudian, of Fairylands and comparison with its adjoining neighbourhoods and observations on the role of place naming in colonised islands.

Fairylands (Figure 1) is a designated coastal neighbourhood in Bermuda's Pembroke parish. It is centrally located in the island archipelago, just minutes away from the capital city of Hamilton and encompasses the peninsula of Point Shares, Fairyland Creek (actually an inlet), and a number of small, mostly uninhabited, privately owned harbour islands. Fairylands is a geospatial enclave, bounded by Pitts Bay Road to the west, and the

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neighbourhood and inlet of Mill Creek to the north. It is also a social and cultural and economic enclave of exclusivity for its wealthy residents. The *Bermuda Online* website notes that Fairylands and its Point Shares peninsula is one of the “most exclusive and private coastal and overall most affluent areas in Bermuda... mostly multi-millionaires own the properties there, with outstanding views of the sea and islands” (Forbes, 2020, Point Shares section). What such promotional pieces don't mention is that Fairylands adjoins one of the most blighted industrial and (now) residential zones in the archipelago. In the final sections I detail how these glowing aspects of Fairylands were, and still are, used to brand and market Bermuda in brochures, travelogues, and other media, as a tourist destination. Finally, as a born Bermudian who formerly lived within spitting distance of Fairylands, I will conclude with a synthesis of the archival and personal to present an auto-ethnographic account of how the preservation of this fairytale island enclave paradise has come at some cost to its next door, very un-fairytale-like neighbours.



Figure 1 – Fairylands (centre of image) with Mill Creek and Point Shares with proximity to Bermuda's capital, Hamilton. (Source: <https://www.moon.com/maps/caribbean/bermuda/>)

Victorian Romanticism and Fairy Place Naming

How Fairylands (previously Fairyland and before that Fairy Land) in Bermuda originally got its name and who it was named by is (perhaps appropriately given the nature of the name) shrouded in mystery – sort of. Downing (2023), local archivist and Registrar for the

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Bermuda National Museum notes that first mentions of Fairyland(s) appear in newspaper archives in the 1870s. A stereoscope by Benjamin Kilburn, an American photographer, shows a sepia image of "Honeymoon Cottage, Fairyland. – Bermuda" dated "about 1870" (Figure 2). However, other than general usage, the origin of Fairyland as a named place in Bermuda prior to the 1870s remains elusive for now (J. Downing, personal communication, January 17, 2023). Still, the fairy-themed name in a British island colony (now a British Overseas Territory) is consistent with the Victorian Romantic era and 19th C. cultural fascination with fairytales and fairy-themed place naming. In his research note on Fairy Bower Beach in Manly, Australia (discussed further below), Hayward (2023) indicates that the specifics for the choice of name are – like Fairylands, Bermuda – unknown but also follow a trend of fanciful place naming in Britain and its colonies. He refers to Young (2021), who has identified that in England in the 1840s fairy-themed place names began to be "coined, particularly in tourist areas," for example, "bits of countryside, particularly stretches visited by holidayers, were rebranded as 'Fairy Glen' or 'Fairy Valley'".

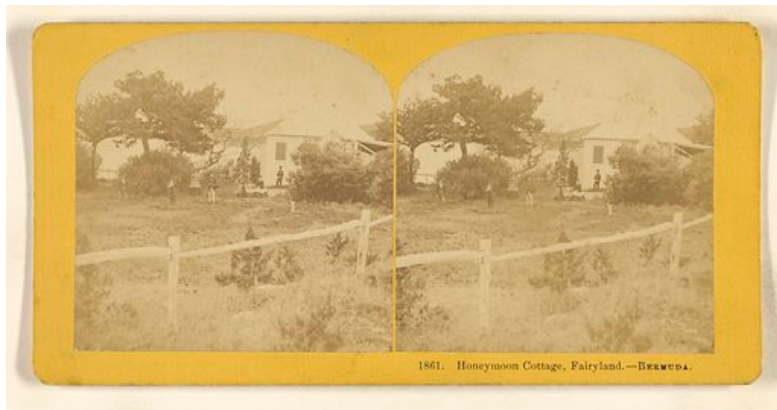


Figure 2 – Stereoscope of Honeymoon Cottage Fairyland, "about 1870." (Source: <https://www.lookandlearn.com/history-images/YG0076041/Honeymoon-Cottage-Fairyland-Bermuda>)

Stories of fairies, elves, merfolk and numerous other sprites have long featured in British lore and culture. Kruse (2022), popular author of multiple books and articles on fairies, in a recent self-published title, *The Spirits of the Land: Faeries and the Soul of Britain*, details how *faeries* are deeply embedded in the topography, edifices, culture and history of Britain. Tales of fairies and other magical folk, witches, demons and ghosts are staples in ancient oral stories passed down through generations: in Arthurian legend; in Shakespeare's fanciful plays *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1596), *The Tempest* (1611), *Macbeth* (1605) and *Hamlet* (1600); in Spenser's *The Faerie Queen* (1590). Newton (2015), in the introduction to the anthology *Victorian Fairy Tales*, observes that despite the popular appeal of British folklore in the oral tradition, by the 18th century publications of fairy tales were not mainstream, and stories written for children were vigorously critiqued by evangelicals for "injuring children's minds" with their appeal to the irrational (p.x). Such attitudes could not suppress the growing popularity of stories about fairies and magical fairy worlds and most of these originated in Germany, Italy and France and are the ones we are most familiar with even today such as the Brothers Grimm stories. The success of these imports sponsored nostalgic desire in British society for the old days

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and as a counter to the functional, rational, and realistic influences of industrialisation and the age of enlightenment. Romanticist scholar, Silver (1999) writes:

That Victorians were utterly fascinated by the fairies is demonstrated by the art, drama, and literature they created and admired. Their abiding interest shows in the numerous, uniquely British fairy paintings that flourished between the 1830s and 1870s – pictures in part inspired by nationalism and Shakespeare, in part as protest against the strictly useful and material, but in either case, as attempts to reconnect the actual and the occult. (p 4)

Some of those who created new worlds of British fairy folklore included such notables as Charles Kingsley (*The Water Babies*, 1863), Oscar Wilde (*The Happy Prince and Other Tales*, 1888), J. M. Barrie (*Peter Pan*, 1904) and Rudyard Kipling (*Puck of Pook's Hill*, 1906) and The nationalism that Silver refers to is apparent in the stories' portrayals of idealised, utopian shadow worlds evoking the best qualities of the Empire. These were not stories like those of the Grimms with their violence, ogres and trolls and children-eaters. Victorian fairytales celebrated virtuous monarchs, virile heroes and chaste heroines, lush ethereal landscapes, optimism and uplifting moral messages. Illustrators and painters of fairy art, such as Arthur Rackham, Eleanor Vere Boyle, and Richard Dadd perpetuated these ideals through their images of ethereal creatures, expressive landscapes, and fairy bowers. Silver (1999) notes that fairies even found a kind of crypto scientific legitimacy through Darwinism and euhemerism theory that fairy folk and other 'little people' had developed as an actual "not yet understood" evolutionary branch of humanity (p. 7).

What truly altered the face of fairy lore was the emergence of the 'new' Victorian social sciences – anthropology, ethnology, and archeology – and the impact they had on the increasingly scientifically oriented study of folklore. Ironically the study of fairies was rendered possible and made respectable by the rise of Darwinism in the 1860s. As Darwinian thought lengthened the past of humankind and hypothesized stages along the way, as theories of social, cultural, and spiritual evolution proliferated, as debates on origin intensified, they added new dimensions to the exploration of the fairy world. (p. 32)

The fascination with these imaginary and scientifically' legitimised worlds appealed to British nationalism and also colonialism in place naming, both in Britain and across its empire. Hayward (2021), for example has explored the place naming of "Fairy Bower" in Victorian-era Australia. He notes:

The term 'Fairy Bower,' appears to have enjoyed something of a minor vogue in NSW, being adopted for two other locations in New South Wales around the mid-late 1800s, a waterfall in Morton National Park, south of Sydney and a creek and glen in the Blue Mountains. Somewhat later the name was also given to an area (then) outside (and now a suburb of) Rockhampton in Queensland, later described as a "place of leafy glades and enticing pools" (Unattributed, 1938: 6). (Hayward, 2021, p. 2)

Hayward continues in his notes that the naming of Fairy Bower in the 1850s:

occurred at a historical moment when the Fairy Story genre was becoming popular. These stories diffused to European colonies where they prompted the production of localised inflections of such tales that were set in colonial

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locales and/or adapted Indigenous stories into an established European literary format (Rozario, 2011). (Hayward, 2021, p. 3).

However, Smith (2022) notes a darker interpretation in fairytale popularity and fairy place-naming trend in the colonies. She argues that adapted 19th century Australian fairy tales:

mythologized aspects of the country's history and environment to sanitise the process of white settlement. In doing so, they helped to invent traditions and cultural explanations through which children were encouraged to understand their place in the nation... an Australia that accorded with adult perceptions of white settlement, creating fantasies of a land uninhabited by Aboriginal people, but already influenced by European folk tradition. (n.p.)

And this is where the significance of fairy place naming and islands comes in. This trend was not limited to mainland Australia, it also spread to other colonised British territories and islands to create, idealise, and capitalise on the new fairyland utopias. Sheller (2003) and Thompson (2006), in their studies on Jamaica and the Bahamas respectively, equate a similar phenomenon to oceanic islands (the Caribbean in particular) that is in large part informed by colonial images and discourse that have defined island natural landscapes, the people, and their cultures as picturesque, and thus relegated as consumable places within the global system. An 1871 issue of Stark's (1871) Jamaica guidebook, for instance, references Fairy Hill Bay (p. 101), so named after the Fairy Hill sugar plantation which was place named as such as early as 1791 according to the Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery (2023). Likewise, in Barbados, the Centre lists the Fairy Valley sugar plantation as place named with the fairy moniker around 1813 (Fairy Valley, 2023). Sheller (2003) observes that such naming constitutes a "rhetoric of presence" that fixes "the mastery of the seer over the seen" (p. 50). The picturesque perception of island people and ecologies constitutes a form of "world making" that reinforces a sense of timeless dissonance for the mainland or mainstream worldview. Thompson further argues that cultures and ecologies are drastically altered as islanders themselves buy into the very same marketing influences of mainland interests, what she terms, "tropicalization". Islands (and their people) thus become fairyland places, Kokomos, Avalons, Atlantises; the stuff of nostalgia based on mythology of empire.

As a case in point, in his article on place naming and the confluences of imaginary and geospatial "Avalons", Hayward (2022) states:

In a process of historical reimagining and related place naming that renews its identity in the modern era... islandness floats as a highly mutable entity, detached from topographical definition, and more closely resembles the qualities of shima — bounded cultural landscapes whose deeply intermeshed associations can be deployed in a variety of contexts. (p. 139)

Avalon, with its imaginary roots as a mythical island in Arthurian legend has served as source for many other place names though as Hayward points out, while the island's romanticised idea is implicit, few of these places are actually island locales. "The original concept and referent of Avalon," he writes, "has thereby been diffused and rendered via more general — rather than specifically islandish — associations" (p.128). A broad search of Avalon places reveals how the Avalon idea has been commercialised as a brand name for apartment blocks, restaurants and bars, schools, many beauty salons and spas, and

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even funeral homes. All are capitalising on the imaginations of a place that is a magical western European Utopia filled with castles, beautiful silken women, shiny warriors and mythical creatures. Avalon imagery in paintings and illustrations have the sort of misty ethereal Tolkienesque quality in the style of Victorian fairy art as portrayed by illustrator Alan Lee and the TV miniseries, *The Mists of Avalon* (based on historical fantasy author Marion Zimmer Bradley's, 1982, bestselling novel).

Avalon shares its legendary and fairytale imaginings with other mythical and fictional islands like Atlantis, Buyan, Thule, Tír na nÓg and Neverland, to name just a few. As utopias and paradises — idyllic, picturesque, sublime — these constructs of magical islands contribute to more general mainland perceptions of real islands having those same qualities, if not in fact, then certainly in terms of imagination, longing, marketing and tourism.

In the following discussion, I flip Hayward's observations of multiple real places named after a mythical island and instead focus on Bermuda, a real island (actually an archipelago consisting of a few connected main islands and more than a hundred smaller islands, islets and rocks) that names a place, Fairylands, in terms of a mythical concept. As noted above, the specific origins of naming Fairylands are unknown, but first evidence of the name use in the 1870s is consistent with the timeline of Victorian place-naming.

Finding Fairyland(s): Bermuda

Bermuda has always been a place of some intrigue and mystery, isolated as it is some 700 miles off the coast of the north Americas, uninhabited by humans – except for the occasional unlucky shipwrecked sailor – until the 17th century and surrounded by reefs hazardous to shipping. The latter, along with sounds of birds and high winds, earned the islands the nickname 'Isle of Devils' with some speculation that it was inhabited by witches and demons. Bermuda has also been attributed as being the mythical Isle of Saint Brendan, so named after the Irish monk who sailed the Atlantic in search of the Islands of Paradise in the 6th century (Discovery of Bermuda, n.d.). Even today, association with the infamous Bermuda Triangle gives the island territory a continuing sense of mystery in popular culture. The naming and subsequent promoting of Bermuda as an 'island paradise' and of Fairyland(s) as an idyllic enclave was a product of Bermuda's new economic opportunity as a tourist destination, an emerging industry in the late 1800s, for well-heeled Americans and Britons. Prior to this, since its founding as a British Crown colony in the early 1700s, Bermuda's economy was generally quite poor. Tobacco and sugarcane growing did not fare well due to poor soil and large-scale competition from the Virginia colonies. Slaves who had been brought to the islands for this purpose were utilised more for shipbuilding, whaling, and maritime trade which, along with, privateering and smuggling proved more lucrative for a time (for some). Salt farming in the Turks and Caicos (Bermuda's climate was too damp for this purpose) was a mainstay of the economy for much of the 19th century but was eventually ceded to the Bahamas. Bermuda had some success growing and exporting potatoes, onions, arrowroot, and (seasonally) Easter lilies and their bulbs to northeastern American cities, but these industries also waned and mostly failed towards the end of the 1800s (Zuill, 1983). But then in 1867, Mark Twain (1869) visited Bermuda and, in his travelogue, *Innocents Abroad*, spoke glowingly of the islands and its people:

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Days passed—and nights; and then the beautiful Bermudas rose out of the sea, we entered the tortuous channel, steamed hither and thither among the bright summer islands, and rested at last under the flag of England and were welcome. We were not a nightmare here, where were civilization and intelligence in place of Spanish and Italian superstition, dirt and dread of cholera. A few days among the breezy groves, the flower gardens, the coral caves, and the lovely vistas of blue water that went curving in and out, disappearing and anon again appearing through jungle walls of brilliant foliage, restored the energies dulled by long drowsing on the ocean, and fitted us for our final cruise (Twain, 1869, Chapter LX).

In addition to Twain's endorsement, Queen Victoria's daughter, Princess Louise, visited Bermuda in the winter of 1883 with much media attention that firmly established Bermuda, especially given its convenient proximity by ship from major US northeast coastal cities, as a premium destination of leisure and health for wealthy, elite and, presumably, urban Americans. W.W. Denslow, the famed illustrator for Frank Baum's *Wizard of Oz* books was so enamoured of Bermuda during his honeymoon to the islands in 1903 that he later returned and with his wealth from his royalties, "built a stone home intended to be reminiscent of a castle and installed himself as king. His official self-designated title was King Denslow I, Monarch of Denslow Islands and Protector of Coral Reefs" (Helton, 2017). A detailed account, entitled 'Denslow's Bermuda Fairytale', of his characteristically eccentric time Bermuda that inspired stories and illustrations of fairies, mermaids, and anthropomorphised pumpkins, was published in the online magazine *Bermuda.com*. (Farrell, 2022).

Accounts of travels to Bermuda written by tourists waxing over the islands' fairyland-like qualities and descriptions of the Fairyland(s) area itself began appearing in magazines, brochures, and memoirs, often sponsored and published by steamship cruise companies. In some respects, they were following in the footsteps of the Irish poet Thomas Moore who served as Registrar of the Court of Vice Admiralty in Bermuda in 1804:

In a poem he composed shortly after his arrival here and also sent to George Morgan, Moore attempted to capture the fairyland-qualities he discerned in Bermuda in a series of vivid word pictures.

*But bless the little fairy isle!
How sweetly, after all our ills.
We saw the dewy morning smile
Serenely o'er its fragrant hills!
And felt the pure, elastic flow
Of airs, that round this Eden blow.
With honey freshness, caught by stealth.
Warm from the very lips of health! (Bernews, 2013)*

In an 1890 issue of *Lippencott's Monthly Magazine*, a Philadelphia publication devoted to popular literature, an American journalist, Henry C. Walsh described his first views of Bermuda thusly: "It seems like entering into fairyland as the steamer threads its way among numbers of little islands which make new pictures at every turn, while the transparency of the water is a revelation in itself" (p. 855).

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A specific reference to the actual place named Fairyland(s) (in addition to the stereoscope described above) appears as early as 1876 in a promotional brochure entitled, *The Bermuda Islands: A convenient, picturesque, and salubrious winter resort*, published by the Quebec and Gulf Ports Steamship Company for its Winter 1876-77 travel season.¹ Like Moore, the brochure extols the health benefits of a Bermuda vacation:

During the past season several Physicians visited Bermuda to ascertain its position as a health resort, and the universal opinion may be summed up in the words of a report to the American Journal Medical Science. "For rheumatism, nervous affections, malarious diseases and exhaustion from over work, its climate from November to June would prove beneficial. As it now has regular communication with New York, Bermuda can hardly fail, as its advantages become better known, to prove a favorite sanitarium (p. 4).

In the same brochure in an article on traveling around Bermuda the author details the magical wonders of Fairyland(s):

If the moon, tide, and party are just right, Fairy Land presents as great a contrast to Ireland Island² as can well be imagined... You row into little coves, then what seem to be lakes, so perfectly inclosed is the water; hard by the shore, looking up through the dells in which you can almost see the fairies dancing under the trees; around islands, into inlets, where the mangroves, every leaf glistening in the moonlight, throw out their branches in the most welcoming way. All this and much more, is in store for him who goes to Fairy Land, the enchanted spot of Bermuda. (p. 13)

In 1878 in a letter to the Editor of *The Royal Gazette*, Bermuda's daily newspaper, 'Madame Tally-Ho' writes a fanciful account of a Valentine's Day 'hunt', a horse race, that included a jaunt through Fairyland(s): "The course was a good one through Fairyland, and one Fairy on a hogmaned horse distinguished herself right well, they tell me, by her skillful horsemanship. Who can say Bermuda is a dull place?" (p. 5).

Henry James Stark, a British-American printer and publisher known for his guidebooks on British West Indies territories also published *Stark's Illustrated Bermuda Guide*, 1st edition in 1884 and a number of subsequent editions, which have a number of references to Fairyland(s) including one about an American resident, General Russell Hastings who established Bermuda's Easter Lily industry growing the flowers and exporting the bulbs to New York (From Battlefields, 2022). In his guidebook Stark (1888) writes: "[a]t Fairy Land' resides General Hastings, formerly of the U.S. Army, and who lost a leg in the late civil war. Mrs. Hastings is a niece of ex-President Hayes; they are also very hospitable and kind in entertaining visitors" (p. 67). This sort of promotion of Bermuda as a place not only of beauty but also a place to rub shoulders with the likes of a president's niece, Mark Twain, and a royal princess did no harm in boosting the island's allure as a trendy new tourist destination. It also helped establish Fairyland(s) as a classy place to visit and live in.³ Stark further narrates that Hastings had erected a large mansion on his Fairy Land

¹ The United States Library of Congress notes that the brochure article was a reprint of an article by C. Rounds published in *Harper's Magazine* in 1874. v <https://www.loc.gov/item/02011243/>

² Site of the Royal Navy dockyard and Casemates prison

³ John Lennon would later rent a house in Fairylands for two months in 1980 while working on his final album *Double Fantasy* (Mello, 2023).

property "and is one of the first places that visitors seek out on landing at Bermuda on account of its beautiful scenery and magnificent lily fields, where more than one hundred thousand blossoms can often be seen at one time. Opposite to Fairy Land the Imperial Government have their magazine on Agar's Island" (p. 101-102). Another guidebook written by American naturalist, Frederick A. Ober in 1908 also provides details about "beautiful Fairy Land, amid fragrant lily fields" (p. 26). An illustrated souvenir map for tourists, published in 1930, shows Hasting's 'Soncy' property in Fairyland surrounded by Easter lilies (Figure 3). By 1915 the Bermuda government itself had got into the promotion business and its Bermuda Trade Development Board published its own Official Tourists Guide Book, *Bermuda "Nature's Fairyland"* (Figure 4).



Figure 3 – Enlarged section from *A Map of the Bermuda Islands: Isla des Demonios Isles of the Devils* with illustrations of Fairyland, Soncy, Easter lilies and five of the small Fairlands islands, Cat, Bird, Goose, Partridge, and Agar's.⁴

⁴ The illustrations of the goldfish bowl and P. T. Barnum netting fish just off Fairylands are explained on the reverse of the map as follows: "Agar's Island: Where the great showman is earnestly collecting fishes hoping this time to get them safely to the New York Aquarium, the Bermuda Aquarium was located for many years" (Shurtleff, 1930). According to another account, Barnum "dispatched an assistant to Bermuda during the Civil War to collect "exotic" fish and to bring them to New York. Despite the fact that his assistant was mistaken for a Southern spy and temporarily arrested, Barnum got his fish and proved that tropical fish could be transported and sustained in the artificially-maintained waters of an aquarium" (McDowell, 2023).



Figure 4 – Bermuda: *Nature's Fairyland*, 1st edition, 1915-1916. Official guidebook published by the Bermuda Trade Commission. (Source: <https://www.abebooks.com/first-edition/Natures-Fairyland-Official-Tourists-Guide-Book/30949605812/bd>)

A Tale of Two Neighbourhoods

My firsthand recollections of Fairylands begin in the 1960s. My parents were originally from Ireland and England and met in Bermuda in the 1950s after they moved there as hotel workers. A couple of years after I was born, they bought a small cottage in Mill Creek, the neighbourhood adjoining Fairylands. Our property and those of our neighbours bordered right on Fairylands but access to frontage for Mill Creek homes and those in Fairylands were by separate roads. As I am sure anyone from a small oceanic island can relate to, notions of scale and proximity are very different from those perceptions in large islands and mainlands. It was clear to me from very early on that even though Fairylands was right there – I could literally step into it – we were worlds apart. Mill Creek was rustic, even though the main town, Hamilton, was just a 15-minute walk away. Our street was a dirt road. The homes were small, there were banana trees and groves of cane grass, and cows, goats, and chickens roamed freely. Close by was the small tidal creek that gave our neighbourhood its name, and there the land was a wetland, forested with mangroves and Spanish bayonet. When we had a combination of

heavy rains and high tides the low areas of Mill Creek would flood, including the dirt road, making it impassable for vehicles and forcing residents to slosh through on foot to get to the main road. On the other side of the creek at the base of the Cox's Hill neighbourhood (a mostly Black Bermudian area) was a small community of 'squatters' who lived among the mangroves in brightly coloured ramshackle houseboats and huts. Near us were a couple of small industries, a boat yard, and a garage/construction company. Our immediate neighbours were a diverse mix of working-class white Anglo Bermudians, Black Bermudians and a fairly large Portuguese Bermudian community⁵. A couple of apartment buildings housed mostly Italian waiters, who worked in the Hamilton restaurants, and British and Canadian contract workers in trade service industries such as plumbing, refrigeration and air conditioning and cosmetology.

Fairylands, next door, by contrast was almost exclusively white and the residents were older Bermudian families of local business owners, politicians, and banking executives. Many other residents (judging by their accents) were wealthy executive-class British and North American expats. The houses were big and situated on immaculately gardened lots with manicured lawns, lush exotic trees and flower gardens. Many of the homes were situated on large shoreline lots in coves and bays that were well sheltered and thus calm and serene. The travel writers who described the fairytale qualities of this place were not exaggerating. The Bermuda.org website, which is owned by *The Royal Gazette*, describes Fairylands thusly:

The area takes Its name from Celtic mythology and dates back to when better-off merchants, establishing their business in the City of Hamilton, wanted to have their homes nearby, in a lovely but quiet area and relatively unpopulated near the ocean. On some maps it is referred to as Fairylands, others as Fairyland. It has many winding and narrow byways, some with lovely views of the ocean and islands in the parish. (n.p.)

My neighbourhood had no fences, walls, or other barriers (except for the fence around the garage business). Fairylands had lots of them clearly indicating the importance of privacy – a valuable commodity on a small highly populated island – for those residents. While the barriers on the Fairylands side were attractive old stone walls and flowering hedges, the boundary between Fairylands and Mill Creek, essentially our backyards, were wire fences and thorn bushes that had been set up by the folks on the other side as a clear demarcation of their exclusive enclave. Accessing Fairylands mostly required a circuitous route by road but there were still gaps here and there that allowed for access by foot between the neighbourhoods. It was not that non-residents of Fairylands were unwelcome there, but there was a clear sense that we didn't belong. As a child I never played with children from the Fairylands side. I didn't know any of them. I would walk or cycle there quite often – the roads were very quiet and safe – to watch the fish in the Point Shares lagoon and paddle in the shallow water. I was rarely questioned or asked to leave. I suspect being a white boy likely gave me privilege in that regards At Halloween my friends and I from the Mill Creek side would always go Trick-or-Treating in Fairylands as they had the best candy, and lots of it, especially the Americans who gave out premium chocolate bars.

⁵ Portuguese laborers, mostly from the Azores, were recruited to emigrate to Bermuda beginning in the mid 1800s to support the farming of onions, potatoes, and arrowroot. With the exponential growth of tourism in the early 1900s, the demand for trade and service workers increased and the need for more Portuguese emigrants (Zuill, 1983).

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By the late 1960s the sociocultural gulf between Fairylands and its adjoining neighbours widened drastically. The Mill Creek area was designated an industrial zone by the government. The wetlands were 'reclaimed' and filled in with dredged sediment and massive construction works began to transform the banana groves and open cane grass spaces into huge warehouses (Sterrer, 1981). Our house and those of all my neighbours were now also designated industrial (Figure 5) As properties were sold off and demolished, these industries came closer and closer to us and to Fairylands itself. A building right next door to us became a fibre-glassing shop and a motorcycle repair shop. As the Fairylands residents watched the encroachment of industry on our side their barriers got bigger and denser. Two of our European neighbours whose properties' road access was down the hill from us on the Mill Creek side, actually barricaded themselves off from Mill Creek and built driveway accesses to annex the Fairylands side (Figure 6). The gaps all disappeared and the Fairylands enclave got even more *enclavish* as "private property" signs and notices of CCTV surveillance were increasingly posted (Figure 7). I have seen something similar in places such as Martha's Vineyard, another "picturesque island paradise" (Welcome to Martha's Vineyard, n.d.) where privacy and exclusiveness are fiercely guarded. However, the plus side for the folks of Mill Creek (and Cox's Hill across the way) was that property values increased dramatically as the land, not the homes, became highly desirable for warehouse construction. The plan for my mother, for instance, was to sell her property, move, and live well in her retirement.



Figure 5 – View of Mill Creek industrial park neighbourhood from front yard of author's former home (photo by author, 2015).



Figure 6 – View of steel plates and wood utility pole barrier of neighbour's annexed Fairylands property from author's former home (photo by author, 2015)



Figure 7 – Private property and CCTV warning signs in Fairylands (Source: Google Maps).

Then in 2008 something interesting happened. Our last stretch of neighbourhood, the stretch immediately adjoining Fairylands, was redesignated "Residential 2" by the Bermuda Government Department of Planning. Residential 2, a designation typically reserved for large lots – an acre or more – a criterion that few if any properties in Mill

Creek met, prohibits any form of industrial development or use. Essentially this created a buffer zone, a pseudo green space, between Fairylands and the Mill Creek Industrial "Park" (as it was now known). The values of the remaining Mill Creek residential properties immediately plummeted. But Fairylands would be saved and would retain its magical utopian qualities. So at least there's that. If my tone here sounds a bit snarky it is because I find a certain ambiguity about naming a place Fairylands and describing an island like Bermuda in fairy-themed discourse to promote tourism and then create a place that is an enclave of exclusivity. In some respects, a Darwinian move that Victorian fairy place-namers may well have approved of. In his essay, 'Politics in an Artificial Society: The Case of Bermuda', Ryan (1975) writes "Bermuda's size, the smallness of its native population, and the pervasiveness of an alien hedonistic presence all help to give life an artificial fairyland quality" (p. 7). It could be argued that beautiful, idyllic island places like Fairylands itself *should* be protected even if they are somewhat artificial, elite enclaves. But it could also be argued that real wetlands and mangrove marshes should also be protected and that less prestigious and less fairy-like neighbourhoods should not suffer the cost of sustaining those elite enclaves. Fairy-themed place naming, as with 'tropicalizing' islands, it seems, should be looked at with some scepticism and some awareness of the social, cultural, and political baggage that such naming carries.

Conclusion

For small islands competing in a contemporary globalised world, the intent of naming places in Utopian terms and metaphors is predominantly to promote commercial investment by mainland stakeholders though tourism and/or commerce. The audience must be able to see themselves in the construction and, in the case of commerce, such as offshore banking and refinance industries, must also be able to see themselves in the local landscape. This requires that islands must hold a presence in the mainland perspective that they are made like ideal pictures, at once places of escape, imagination, adventure, possibility and potential, while also communicating a sense of stability and security. For colonial Victorians, as noted above, fairy-themed place naming evoked all of these attributes of empire while maintaining the *status quo* of a dominant culture. Thompson (2006) explains in her analysis of the picturesque in images of tropicalised islands, "the making of the landscape into 'image' was intrinsic to social and spatial control on the island... society as a whole, for the ruling elite, was thus made safe, not just for tourists, but for the status quo, by becoming like a picturesque photographic image" (p/ 17). McDowell (2012) notes:

When the Trade Development Board-Front Street's command post for tourism-published its first promotional brochure in 1914, the title, Nature's Fairyland, and text were steeped in a Twain-inspired aesthetic. Bermuda, they boasted, was 'a wholesome, noiseless country' free of detritus of the Gilded Age... The wealthy, American patricians in the Northeast states who read Harpers and Godey's - were exactly the same constituency that Bermuda saw as its tourist mainstay. Let them come to Bermuda, the unspoken logic of the Trade Development Board suggested, and think that they were in a racial Disneyland.⁶ (n.p.)

⁶ The notion of a heterotopic "racial Disneyland" for wealthy white elites from America that McDowell invokes was sponsored by segregation practices until these were officially ended in 1968 (Murphy & Gomez, 1981, p. 54). While Bermuda's tourism industry recognised the market value of

All place naming, and in this case, fairy-themed place naming is rhetorical as it requires a re-making, re-seeing, re-framing of the idealised identity of the small island – one that is steeped in both the complementary and contradictory baggage of colonial and post-colonial imagination. Bermuda, among other small islands serve as examples of the enactment of worldmaking as in the never-ending construction of a desire (by some) to return to a place they call fairyland.

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also attracting Black and Jewish visitors, these visitors were generally encouraged to stay in segregated hotels and guesthouses. My mother, Daphne Goggin, who was a switchboard operator for the exclusive Bermudiana Hotel in Hamilton in the late 1950s to early 1960s recalled having to inform US travel agencies to book accommodations for Jewish clients at the Castle Harbour Hotel located at the more isolated end of the islands near St George.

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