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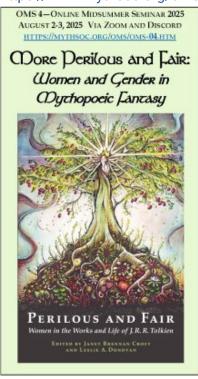
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Abstract

Scholar Guest of Honor, Mythcon 2013. Explores the effects of the Cottingly fairy fraud on British literary fantasy. Authors discussed include Gerald Bullett, Walter de la Mare, Lord Dunsany, Bea Howe, Kenneth Ingram, Margaret Irwin, Daphne Miller, Hope Mirrlees, and Bernard Sleigh. Anderson also offers some speculations on the effects of the controversy on Tolkien's early development as a writer.

Additional Keywords

Bullett, Gerald. Mr. Godly Beside Himself; Cottingly fairy photographs; de la Mare, Walter. Broomsticks; de la Mare, Walter. "The Unbeliever"; Dunsany, Lord. The King of Elfland's Daughter; Fairies in literature; Howe, Bea. A Fairy Leapt Upon My Knee; Ingram, Kenneth. Midsummer Sanity; Irwin, Margaret. These Mortals; Miller, Daphne. Travels in Fairyland; Mirrlees, Hope. Lud-in-the-Mist; Sleigh, Bernard. The Faery Calendar; Sleigh, Bernard. The Gates of Horn; Sleigh, Bernard. A Guide to the Map of Fairyland

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AIRY ELECTENTS IN BRITISH LITERARY WRITINGS IN THE DECADE FOLLOWING THE COTTINGLEY FAIRY PHOTOGRAPHS EPISODE

Douglas A. Anderson

by thanking the Mythopoeic Society and the Council of Stewards for inviting me, and Marion Van Loo and the Mythcon Committee for arranging the details, and Leslie Donovan for working out the programming. I'd also like to welcome Franny Billingsley, our writer Guest of Honor. Our theme for this year's conference is "Green and Growing: The Land and Its Inhabitants." A look at the programming for this conference shows many different ways of approaching this theme, and in particular in approaching the complex relationship between a land (that is, any land), the beings that live in that land, and the beings that potentially live in the minds of the inhabitants of that land. That may sound confusing, but let me explain further. In general, I wish today to speak of that intersection of these varied branches. This area of intersection can be called Faerie or fairyland, as it exists in a kind of boundary world between the land and its inhabitants, and the fairies themselves may be seen as the beings that potentially live in the land, or in the mind of the land's inhabitants.

One could explore this area of intersection along lines of its physical landscapes (or how the lie of the land might influence stories of Faerie), or in terms of nationalities and human identities, and how those aspects might be reflected in particular fairylands. To give just two quick examples of the latter, before moving on, I would mention L. Frank Baum's Oz, certainly the best-known American fairyland; and the more modern Mythago Wood novels by Robert Holdstock, in which a certain woods in Britain is found to interact with the people who live near it by generating actual beings, called mythagos, from these people's minds—from their collective unconscious—and these mythagos in turn create new stories. Holdstock's conception is an ingenious storytelling device, calling close attention to the stories themselves and the differences between various versions of the same story, coming from the stock of people who have lived, over many ages, in the land that is now called Britain. Stepping back, one could ask what is it that makes Mythago Wood so British, on the one hand, and what is it that makes Oz so American, on the other? I hope to hear, over the

next few days, other presenters, perhaps, elaborate on these topics, and other similar ones. For myself, I'd like to narrow the scope of my own contribution by focusing on one neglected and (to me) interesting corner of this very large field—that is, on a particular time period of the British literary use of fairyland or fairies.

The obsession with fairies, and fairyland, in Victorian and Edwardian England is well-known. Examples of this obsession can be seen in the paintings of Richard Dadd and Richard Doyle, in the writings of John Ruskin, Lewis Carroll, George MacDonald, and J.M. Barrie—particularly Barrie's *Peter Pan*—in the twelve colored fairy books of Andrew Lang, and in the flower fairies of Cicely Barker. The above list is just the tip of the iceberg. (For other examples, see the books by Nicola Bown, Diane Purkiss, and Carole G. Silver listed in my bibliography.) But the period that interests me is not the Victorian or Edwardian heyday of fairies, but the Georgian dying out of literary interest in fairies. The First World War was one nail in the coffin of fairy literature, as was the post-war rise of modernism, which downgraded the literature of romance to the nursery, and nearly exterminated it for decades. Fairies as a literary subject survived into the war, as Robert Graves's 1917 book of poems *Fairies and Fusiliers* attests, though the fairy poems were not reprinted when Graves collected his verse some years later.

A third blow to fairy literature was the episode of the Cottingley fairy photographs, the chronology of which is pertinent here so I shall recap some of the major events. Briefly, in 1917 two young girls in Cottingley, near Bradford in West Yorkshire, took some photographs of themselves in the woods with fairies. Three years later these photographs were discovered and popularized by Arthur Conan Doyle in two illustrated articles in *The Strand Magazine*, the most popular magazine of the time. The first article, "Fairies Photographed: An Epoch-Making Event," appeared in the issue for December 1920. The second, "The Evidence for Fairies," followed in March 1921. To modern eyes the photographs seem obvious fakes, but many of those who wished to believe in fairies also believed in the photographs. In September 1922, Arthur Conan Doyle published a book, The Coming of the Fairies, defending the photographs. Skeptics noted the irony that Doyle, the creator of the renowned ratiocinative detective Sherlock Holmes, could fall for such fairy bunkum. For a few years, the popular press reported many times on the photographs, and then public interest gradually subsided. It wasn't until the early 1980s that the two girls, then old women, finally admitted the photos were faked, a conclusion that most of the world had reached long before. But the public scrutiny of these photographs seems to have dealt fairies a death blow as a subject for serious literature. Fairies were to be considered imaginary creatures, and only children might believe in them, so fairy tales and their like-including heroic and mythological stories, whether they contained

any fairies or not—were suitable only for children, and marketed as such. Yet adult literature about fairies didn't simply die out, nor die over night. There was in the decade immediately following the episode of the Cottingley fairy photographs a small wave of serious fairy literature written for adults. (J.R.R. Tolkien's fairy writings of this period were never finished, but published posthumously decades later.) Today I'd like to discuss a half dozen or so of the most interesting examples that were published during that time. Most are by authors who are pretty much forgotten today, and most of the books quickly passed without much notice, though a few were rediscovered after several decades and are acclaimed as minor classics today.

The first of these, published in 1924, is Lord Dunsany's novel, *The King of Elfland's Daughter*. It tells the tale of the land of Erl, situated near the borders of Elfland. Elfland is feared, yet the wise men of Erl demand of their king a magic lord, so Alveric goes to Elfland and returns with the King of Elfland's daughter to be his bride. They have a son, Orion, before the King's special rune whisks his daughter back to Elfland. Alveric searches for years for his wife, while Orion grows up and takes to hunting unicorns as they stray away from Elfland. When the King sees that his own daughter longs to return to Erl, he uses his most potent rune to enlarge Elfland and extend its boundaries to include Erl. Thus Dunsany's Faerie expands to include the everyday, or at least a portion of it.

Lord Dunsany (1878-1957) is renowned for his early collections of fantasy tales, the best of which are *The Gods of Pegana* (1905), *Time and the Gods* (1906), *The Sword of Welleran* (1908), *A Dreamer's Tales* (1910), *The Book of Wonder* (1912), *Fifty-One Tales* (1915), *Tales of Wonder* (1916), and *Tales of Three Hemispheres* (1919). His first novel was *The Chronicles of Don Rodriguez* (1921). *The King of Elfland's Daughter* was his second novel, the high point in his career as a fantasist. And though he wrote a few more novels with some fantasy content, most of his later work is more of the tall-tale variety and less effective than his earlier fantasy writings. *The King of Elfland's Daughter* was reissued for the first time in 1969 in the Ballantine Adult Fantasy series. More recent editions have an Introduction by Neil Gaiman, whose novel *Stardust* shows a clear influence from Dunsany's work.

Also published in 1924 was Gerald Bullett's *Mr. Godly Beside Himself*. This is a remarkably bizarre book. Mr. John Godly is a bored, married, middle-aged marine insurance official, who hopes to have an affair with his secretary, Maia, who is gradually revealed to be a fairy. Pursuing Maia leads Godly to meet a number of grotesque characters, some of whom seem to be competing for Maia's attention, and with them he enters Fairyland. Meanwhile, his double from Fairyland, called Godelik, enters the human world and replaces Godly in his own life and work, with disastrous results. The build-up of the novel is slow, the style alternates between whimsy and burlesque (in a manner reminiscent of

James Stephens's *The Crock of Gold*), and the writing style is at times especially verbose, so it's not really a book one can recommend without reservations. However, there are some very interesting parts in it, one of which being the section set in Fairyland, where Godly meets Old Fairy Fumpum, the King of the Ancients, and learns of political factions in Fairyland. Fumpum describes The Noo Party, of comparatively recent growth, as the most formidable power for evil in the world.

These god-abandoned and unprofitable persons had succeeded in setting themselves up in authority in a land where authority had never been known. They established an absolute autocracy, and ruled the country, through their Dictator, with an iron hand. [...] They were known, these creatures, as Yewman Beans [...] and they were the evident source of all the political evils of the day. [...] They invented marriage ceremonies [the fairies had no such vows] and made mock-laws of astonishing ferocity. They pretended to eat strange prehistoric beasts, such as the pig, the cow, the mutton-chop. [...] There was, for example, the extraordinary vogue of a pantomime piece, invented by a certain Berry, about a fairy who grew up and died—manifest absurdity [for fairies do not die]. [...] Immature fairies were very entertained by tales of death, though what interest they could find in such silliness Old Fairy Fumpum could not imagine. (163-5)

This kind of pointed satire is rare in the book, but amid the running stream of whimsicality it comes off quite refreshing. And the fairy perspective on *Peter Pan* is quite amusing.

Gerald Bullett (1893-1958) was a prolific British novelist, short story writer, editor and poet, highly regarded in the 1930s but forgotten today. *Mr. Godly Beside Himself* was the second of many novels. He also published several collections of short stories and works of criticism, including books on G.K. Chesterton and Walt Whitman.

Perhaps the best-known book on my short list is *Lud-in-the-Mist* by Hope Mirrlees, published in 1926, and first reprinted in 1970 in the Ballantine Adult Fantasy series. It is a deceptively simple book, telling of the town of Dorimare, some of whose people have been afflicted by the eating of fairy fruit, an act now regarded as a crime. Dorimare is located by the confluence of two rivers, one of which has its origins beyond the Debatable Hills in Fairyland. A few centuries earlier, fairy things had been looked upon with reverence, but at the time of this tale anything related to Fairyland is considered an obscenity. The Mayor, Nathaniel Chanticleer, has long repressed his yearnings to go to Fairyland but now must go in order to save his own son. Mirrlees skillfully weaves a spell in this novel to show that the inner life of the imagination, represented by faery, has as much value as the outer life of the everyday.

Hope Mirrlees (1887-1978) was the daughter of a wealthy sugar merchant, and grew up under privileged circumstances. Mirrlees's close circle of friends included the classicist Jane Harrison, as well as modernists like T.S. Eliot and Virginia Woolf. *Lud-in-the-Mist* was her third and final novel. It is also her best book and her only fantasy. In 1963 she settled in Headington, a suburb of Oxford, not far from J.R.R. Tolkien, though there is no evidence that they knew one another, or that they knew one another's writings. Recent reprints of *Lud-in-the-Mist* also contain an Introduction by Neil Gaiman, and as with Dunsany's *King of Elfland's Daughter*, one can easily see the influence of *Lud-in-the-Mist* on Gaiman's novel *Stardust*.

Our next title is Bea Howe's A Fairy Leapt Upon My Knee, published in 1927. The springboard for this book is seen in the title, taken from the first line in a poem by William Blake, which is duly reprinted at the front. It is another very strange book, and is basically a stream of consciousness love story of young Evelina and William, the latter a collector of moths, set mostly in Wootton in Oxfordshire. They meet and begin the ups and downs of a love affair, and plan to marry. One night, William finds a female fairy in his moth traps, and takes it home. The fairy has virtually no personality, but it irritates William, who writes to Evelina in London and asks her to come help him with it. The fairy is only a little more responsive to Evelina, but it creates a rift between the two, and Evelina departs, their engagement broken off. The fairy itself leaves soon afterwards, but it appears to Evelina in London, and when William turns up, they are reconciled. That is the whole plot, and the fairy element is underutilized while the romantic element is drawn out far too long, with the wishy-washy stream of consciousness of each lover's thoughts for the other dragging down the whole.

Bea Howe (1898-1992) was a friend of Sylvia Townsend Warner and Violet Ackland. *A Fairy Leaped Upon My Knee* was her only novel, though she published a number of nonfiction titles, including a book on governesses, and a memoir of her childhood in Chile.

Our next novel, *Midsummer Sanity* by Kenneth Ingram, appeared in 1933. In it, Mr. Paul Lambourne, a retired businessman, goes to Dorset where he encounters one of the few remaining portals to fairy, which opens only once a year, at Midsummer. The Little People who come from there give a Gift, which brings adults in closer sympathy to children, but it comes at the cost of giving up romantic love. Mixed in with this most wistful storyline is a less interesting tale of a scheming social-climbing landlady, Mrs. Granby, and her associates, including a vicar and the atheist Dr. Hallace. Hallace treats a supposedly "mad" patient, Colin, whom Mr. Lambourne meets and decides to cure of his malady. This involves reuniting the young man with his love, Enid, the former tenant of

Lambourne's cottage and the current emissary of the fairy world. All threads of the story come to a head on Midsummer night.

Kenneth Ingram (1882-1965) was a barrister as well as an Anglo-Catholic lay theologian and prolific writer. He published some detective novels, some fantasies, and a number of religious books, as well as a few treatises on sexual morality. He released several books with Philip Allan, the publisher of *Midsummer Sanity*, whose firm ceased in 1937, at which time Ingram became a director of Quality Press, run by some men formerly associated with the firm of Philip Allan. Under the Quality Press imprint Ingram published some of his more unconventional works.

A few other writings of this period deserve at least a brief mention. Margaret Irwin's *These Mortals* (1925) makes little use of the usual fairy mythology, but it tells the tale of Melusina, who is brought up in seclusion by her enchanter father Aldebaran. When she visits the world of mortals, we see a reflection of ordinary people from essentially a fairy viewpoint. Thus the tragedy of the human condition is exhibited in an original way.

Walter de la Mare's story collection *Broomsticks* (1925) includes some fairy stories that are clearly aimed at an adult readership, and much of de la Mare's fiction of this time period reflects his conviction that man's narrow idea of reality is not sustainable. De la Mare also wrote a fairy play—itself a different subgenre of fairy literature—entitled *Crossings* (1923), as did novelist David Lindsay, though Lindsay's "A Christmas Play," written for his daughters sometime in the 1930s, remained unpublished until I included it in my anthology *Tales Before Tolkien* (2003). One stray and curious short story, titled "The Unbeliever" and published anonymously in 1929, concerns a man named John who does not believe in fairies, while his wife is a believer, and she has taken various actions in the past to secure the favor of the fairies. Upon meeting a fairy, John is given one wish, in order that the fairy may display his powers, and John wishes that his wife's belief in the small folk be taken away. When this happens, the pair's fortunes fall, leaving John now the believer.

Finally I'd like to turn to the author I find most interesting from this period. He grew up in the Birmingham area of England, and was indelibly inspired after seeing *Peter Pan* performed on stage. He was devoted to William Morris and George MacDonald. He went on to write about fairies, in poems and in stories, illustrating his own writings with his own artwork. He was particularly renowned for his maps, and was supported in his old age by his creative endeavors. Though the above could all be said of J.R.R. Tolkien, I'm actually talking about someone else named Bernard Sleigh.

Sleigh was born in 1872, and was thus twenty years Tolkien's senior. Sleigh was primarily an artist and craftsman. He had left school at age fourteen, and took an apprenticeship as a wood engraver, which required regular

attendance at some of the Birmingham art schools. Sleigh worked with many Birmingham artists, including Arthur Gaskin, and Sleigh also began to teach. One of his first major publishing projects was to engrave one hundred of Gaskin's illustrations for a two-volume edition of Stories & Fairy Tales by Hans Christian Andersen, published by George Allen in 1893. Unfortunately for Sleigh, his work is nowhere credited in the books. But his work did appear elsewhere, with his name attached to it, in The Yellow Book, The Dome and The Studio. Through Arthur Gaskin some of Sleigh's work was submitted to William Morris before the latter's death in 1896. Sleigh's artistic work over the next few decades included friezes and murals, furniture, bookplates, and stained glass windows, as well as wall paintings in churches and other types of illustrations. In 1930 Sleigh published a textbook entitled A Handbook of Elementary Design, and this was followed two years later by an illustrated history, Wood Engraving Since 1890. Sleigh's own artistic work is covered nicely in a 1997 article by Roger Cooper in the Journal published by the Decorative Arts Society, so here I would like to concentrate on Sleigh's literary work, and especially that which pertains to his devotion to fairies.

Sleigh married one of his students, Stella Phillp [sic, "Phillp" not "Phillip"], on 22 December 1900. Sleigh was nine years older than his wife. The marriage produced two children. The older child, Linwood Sleigh (1902-1965), went to Oxford (A.B., St. John's College, Classical Moderations 1922; English 1924) and later taught English language and literature at various schools. He published some books, including *The Book of Girls' Names* (1962) and *The Book of Boys' Names* (1962), both in collaboration with Charles Johnson. He also published two children's fantasies, *The Boy in the Ivy* (1955) and *The Tailor's Friends* (1956). The younger child was Barbara Sleigh (1906-1982), who would become well-known as an author and editor of children's fantasy fiction, as well as an author of radio plays for the B.B.C. Her most famous works were a trilogy about Carbonel, the King of Cats, the first volume of which appeared in 1955.

Barbara Sleigh also published a memoir of her childhood called *The Smell of Privet* (1971), but her father gets very little mention in it. This is primarily due to her parent's divorce, around 1914 when she was very young. The situation was never explained to her, and she was left to wonder why her father had gone away. Even her brother wouldn't discuss it with her, and she and her brother thereafter told their friends that their father was dead. There are, however, a few paragraphs in her memoir that give a pleasant picture of her father:

Every day after lunch, before he set off on his bicycle for the afternoon session at the Art School, he would read to the two of us. At first the stories were chosen for my brother, but I would sit on my father's knee and listen to the flow of words with sleepy pleasure, whether I understood them or not. It is doubtful, for instance, if I made much of Meredith's *Shaving of Shagpat*, or George Macdonald's fantasies, which were Linwood's favorite books at the time [...]. One wet holiday my father drew a Map of Faeryland for us. On it were marked the sites of all our best-loved fairy-stories. There is Peter Pan's House, and the palace of La Belle Dormante and the Bridge of Roc's Eggs, and such succinct entries as 'Here be bogles' and 'Warlocks live here'. It has fascinated several generations of children. (51-2)

This casual mention of her father's map refers to Sleigh's famous *Ancient Mappe of Fairyland*, which was first published in December 1917 as a full color map in scroll-form with wood ends, measuring 70 inches wide by 21 inches high. (It's worth making an internet search to see this map; the website for the Maps Collection at the Library of Congress has a version which can be viewed in great detail.) It was accompanied by a small sixteen page pamphlet by Sleigh, *A Guide to the Map of Fairyland*, dedicated to his two children. When Sleigh retired from teaching in 1937, it was the turning of his popular map into a Rosebank Fabric that led to many other commissions for textile designs, which saved him from having to live on a meager pension.

Sleigh followed up his map with *The Faery Calendar*, a slim book with verse or prose placed opposite an illustration for each month of the year. A preface by Sleigh begins: "I believe in Faeries. It is very natural and not a bit foolish; for in these days we are quickly learning how little we know of any other world than our own. It is no more difficult for me to believe that a wild rose, or a daisy, has personality, consciousness of life—a spirit, in short, than that a human being has" ([4]). *The Faery Calendar* was published by the London firm Heath Cranton in October 1920, only a month or so before the first of Arthur Conan Doyle's articles on the Cottingley fairy photographs would appear in *The Strand Magazine*.

Sleigh's next book, called *A Faerie Pageant*, appeared four years later, after the Cottingley fairy photographs episode had died down, published not from London in a trade edition, but in an edition limited to 475 copies from the Kynoch Press of Birmingham. It is a slim series of poems with pictures opposite them, similar to *The Faery Calendar*.

Sleigh's book on fairies that is the most relevant to our discussion today is *The Gates of Horn: Being Sundry Records from the Proceedings of the Society for the Investigation of Faery Fact & Fallacy,* published in September 1926 by the first publisher to whom it was offered, the Aldine House imprint of J.M. Dent. Basically it is the casebook of some ten or so incidents of human encounters with fairy beings—a female sea-creature, a changeling, a dryad—or people with fairy blood. In one case, the ingestion of mescal buttons (which Sleigh learned about

from his friend Havelock Ellis) allows someone to see the fairy world. Sleigh once noted that the stories in *The Gates of Horn* came to him as "seemingly dictated," with no hesitation in the writing. The individual stories themselves are engaging and well-told, though the framing matter to do with the imaginary Society—based in fact on the Society for Psychical Research—is rather dull. Sleigh provided a frontispiece, and was disappointed that the publisher rejected several other of his proposed illustrations. Sleigh's dust-wrapper design for the book must have been forced out of him by the publisher, who marketed the book for children, clearly a mistaken approach, for the stories are self-evidently intended for adults. Unsurprisingly, the book apparently sold poorly, and it is a fairly rare today. (In 1929, Sleigh submitted to Dent a further manuscript titled *Ardudwy*; it was declined, as the publisher wrote to Sleigh that they did not think they could make a success of it.) The critic E.F. Bleiler, in a rare critical lapse, thought that in *The Gates of Horn* Sleigh was spoofing on Arthur Conan Doyle's belief in fairies, but on that matter, Sleigh sided entirely with Doyle.

Also in 1926, Sidgwick and Jackson, the publisher of the *Ancient Mappe of Fairyland*, issued a book designed as a companion volume to the map, which had continued to be a good seller. Edited by Daphne Miller and called *Travels in Fairyland*, this anthology includes nursery rhymes, stories, and poems that are mentioned or depicted on the map itself.

Sleigh published a number of other small and fine press booklets, including *Verses Grave and Gay* (1933) and *The Dryad's Child* (1936), the latter of which is a continuation of one of the stories from *The Gates of Horn*, and one of Sleigh's best tales. Some of these booklets include Sleigh's artwork. He also contributed some fiction and artwork to the publications of the Oriole Press of Berkeley Heights, New Jersey, a fine press run by Joseph Ishill, reflecting his interests in radical politics, literature and fine arts. These include a story titled *Witchcraft*, published as a booklet in 1934, as well as contributions to Ishill's two volumes of *Free Vistas: An Anthology of Life & Letters* (v. 1 1933; v. 2 1937).

In 1937, Sleigh retired to Chipping Camden, a small market town in the Cotswolds in Gloucestershire. Here, in the early 1940s, he wrote an autobiography entitled *Memoirs of a Human Peter Pan*, which remains unpublished. Sleigh died in Chipping Camden on 7 December 1954, some four months after the publication of the first volume of *The Lord of the Rings*, the work which began the revival of fantasy literature and fairy literature after decades of dormancy. Unfortunately, we do not know if Sleigh ever read Tolkien, or if Tolkien ever read Sleigh.

Before closing I'd like to add a few footnotes on Tolkien with regard to subjects already discussed today. Tolkien had recently begun teaching at Leeds University when the Cottingley fairies story broke. Cottingley is located just to the north of Bradford, in West Yorkshire, and only around fifteen miles from Leeds. The local press coverage was reportedly heavy. One wonders if such publicity discrediting fairies had any effect on Tolkien's writing of his unfinished "Book of Lost Tales," which languished at this time. Of course Tolkien's new teaching duties at Leeds could equally have been a contributing cause, and perhaps are the more likely one.

At least one reviewer of *The Hobbit* made a connection between Tolkien and Sleigh. Anne T. Eaton, writing in *The New York Times Book Review* for 13 March 1938, noted perceptively that: "The account of the journey is so explicit that we can readily follow the progress of the expedition. In this we are aided by the admirable maps provided by the author, which in their detail and imaginative consistency, suggest Bernard Sleigh's 'Mappe of Fairyland.'"

It is difficult to draw any wide-ranging conclusions from the examination of this brief trend in fairy literature for adults that persisted for a decade or so after the Cottingley fairy photographs episode, beyond saying that old traditions die hard and often transform and re-surface after decades of apparent dormancy. Of course each story, and each storyteller, has a context, and often such contexts provide illumination for any particular work or author under study. The larger question of the relationship between the land and its inhabitants, and the beings formed in the minds of the inhabitants, is left unresolved. Yet the fairylands or fairies in these works examined today, whether put to uses of satire, or wonder, or illumination of the world and its inhabitants, remain essentially British, and are based on British folklore, transformed by an individual artistic perspective. The land is notably altered by its inhabitants. And vice-versa.

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