

# Fairies to Be Photographed!

## Press Reactions in “Scrapbooks” to the Cottingley Fairies

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### Introduction

In 1917, two girls (Elsie Wright and Frances Griffiths) used a “Midge” camera to produce two fairy photographs in the Cottingley glen, West Yorkshire. Though the fairies were made of paper, the girls stubbornly insisted that they were real fairies in order to play a joke on their parents and friends.<sup>1</sup> A few years later, the photographs were forwarded to Edward L. Gardner, the president of Blavatsky lodge of the Theosophical Society in London. In addition, the news about the photographs reached Arthur Conan Doyle, best known for his fictional detective series of *Sherlock Holmes*, who was then writing an article on the belief in fairies in folklore. Doyle contacted Gardner and they commenced the investigation of the fairy photographs together. They consulted various experts in photography and made the girls take three more fairy photographs. As a result, Doyle published two articles in the *Strand Magazine* in 1920 and 1921 followed by a book titled *The Coming of the Fairies* (1922) in which he concluded that they could not find any evidence of tricks.

Some previous research on this case has considered that the contemporary press primarily debated the existence of the fairies, whether the photographs were forged or genuine; critical views were dominant. Alex Owen, who argued the case in relation to power and privilege, stated: “All this occurred, however, at considerable cost to Conan Doyle’s reputation. His espousal of the fairies dismayed many of even his most ardent admirers. Nevertheless, there were those who

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felt that lingering questions over the possible authenticity of the photographs remained, and public interest and debate have continued down the years” (50). Francesca Bihet, who discussed how the debate of this case became polarized into broad concepts of scientific versus supernatural in the public arena, asserted that “Many people desired to find the truth,” and “The press unsurprisingly harnessed the fairy pictures to Doyle’s new spiritualist crusade.” Joe Cooper, who obtained the “truth” at last from Elsie and Frances in 1982, also insisted that the opinion on Doyle’s articles was mixed but tended to be critical (81). These researches, however, might have focused on limited sources. The reactions of critics used in these researches are largely from *The Coming of the Fairies*. Doyle inserted these articles in the third chapter of his book and tried to refute them. In the beginning of the chapter, he wrote that “The old cry of ‘Fake!’ was less conspicuous than I had expected, but for some years the press has been slowly widening its views upon psychic matters, and is not so inclined as of old to attribute every new manifestation to fraud” (34). However, for today’s readers, the chapter elaborating on the dispute would create the impression that the critical views were dominant at the time.

This paper will explore the broader spectrum of the press’s reaction to the Cottingley fairies photographs. The “broader spectrum” does not mean the whole set of articles that reported the case. Because the case was covered not only in Britain but also in the United States and the British colonies, the total numbers of the articles would be huge. Therefore, there is little chance that all the articles were known to Doyle and Gardner. To understand the meaning of Doyle’s account, “for some years the press has been slowly widening its views upon psychic matters,” this paper will limit itself to the extent of the articles kept in the Special Collections at the University of Leeds. The Special Collections owns the materials relating to the Cottingley Fairies such as books, journals, newspaper cuttings, letters and photographs. In

1976, Leslie Gardner, a son of E. L. Gardner, donated the five glass plates of the fairies and his father's correspondence to Special Collections. The source of the newspaper cuttings that this paper will examine is not confirmed, but they were probably donated by Leslie Gardner as well. In this collection, most of the articles published in the 1920s are pasted in two scrapbooks, and numbers are recorded in most of the articles. On the article numbered 119, one can find a note saying "Return to Edward Gardner" with his address. However, in the scrapbook, some articles from the 1970s are pasted among the ones from 1920s. Considering that Gardner died in 1969, it is probable that the scrapbooks were created by Leslie Gardner using cuttings collected by himself and his father.<sup>2</sup> Because Gardner was an ardent "assistant" of Doyle in the case, inquiring into the "scrapbooks" will reveal press reactions that not only Gardner but also Doyle received.

To explore this theme and relativize the simple controversy of "for or against," this paper attaches the list of 119 newspaper cuttings pasted in the two scrapbooks. In this list, "No." refers to the numbers that are recorded in each article beforehand. Bibliographic information for the articles is classified into "Title," "Date" and "Headline." The information is sometimes inadequate because most of the details were handwritten and at times unclear. The underlined headline, such as numbers 3, 7 and 13, means that the original article was confirmed by the data of the British Newspaper Archives. "Country" means the place where the newspaper published if the "Title" of the article was correct. "Type" refers to the category of the contents of each article as follows:

- 1-a. Announcements of forthcoming lectures or TV programs  
(12 articles in total)
- 1-b. Descriptions of fairy photographs or articles, books, and  
lectures (53)
- 2-a. Supporter's views (9)

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- 2-b. Other fairy sightings (6)
- 3. Critical views (22)
- 4-a. Investigations (3)
- 4-b. Statements of the people concerned (12)
- 5. Any other articles (4)

The numerical portions of each type category (from 1 to 4) accord with the section numbers below this paper. These sections will reveal the core concerns of each press type.

### **Announcements and Reports without Judgement**

More than half of the newspaper cuttings simply reported the fact that Doyle and Gardner declared that the fairies were photographed (Type 1-a and 1-b are relevant). All of the announcements of forthcoming lectures (Type 1-a) were Gardner's Lectures (11 articles in total). They were largely run in 1921 and 1927, in England and the US respectively. These articles advertised the lectures excitedly. The *City News*, for example, introduced Gardner as a scientific man and expected him to clear up uncertainties, saying: "And now, in this hard, material age, comes a scientific man—aided by none other than another renowned scientist and investigator, Sir A. Conan Doyle—to tell us that fairies exist" and "Perhaps when Mr. Gardner comes to Manchester he will settle our doubts" (#1).

37 articles out of the Type 1-b are the descriptions of Gardner's lectures. There are four topics to which these descriptions paid attention: fairy photographs, fairies, the personality of Gardner, and audience's testimonies of fairy sightings. In the first topic, the *St. Andrew Citizen* reported: "The most interesting part of the lecture, however, was the story of how photographs of real fairies were secured." After explaining the process of securing the photographs, it describes, "Many in the audience no doubt wondered what shape the fairies would

assume, and all eyes were eagerly turned towards the screen to get a first glimpse of real fairies. Curiously enough, the real fairies were exactly like the pretty little creatures we have been accustomed to see in fairy-tale books” (#3, 64). Number 82 described the pictures on the screen more in detail. “A lantern slide of the pictures was thrown on to the screen, and the audience saw four fairies posing on toadstools and foliage around the little girl. Their form was like the human form, and was seemingly swathed in a gossamer material, and they had wings. One had no wings, but was playing pipes. They were exceedingly dainty and delicate little things, and came out quite sharply on the picture.”

The second topic is the mode of a fairy’s life. Gardner employed the Theosophical theory of fairies proposed by Alfred Percy Sinnett who was then the vice president of Theosophical Society in England. He also presided over Gardner’s lecture in London and explained that fairies “can be photographed only if they become, with clairvoyant aid, partially materialized. Their duties are concerned with the colour, growth, and shape of flowers. They have a definite task in the scheme of nature, and are subject to evolution. They live on a very humble level, and are about as intelligent as a Newfoundland dog. The matter composing a fairy’s body is plastic to thought. Currents of human thought give fairies the form in which they are seen by the clairvoyant” (#10). In addition to this, Gardner explained that they are not very intellectual and do not die (#5), and they have no sex and reproduce by fission (#118).

The third topic is Gardner’s personality or his appearance. Number 109 judged Gardner as sincere. He was also described as “a tall, intelligent-looking Englishman with rosy cheeks and a close-cropped grizzled beard” (#118). Most of the articles introduced him as a theosophist, but the American newspaper presented him as a “British Scientist” (#111). In addition, according to another American

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newspaper, “One gains the impression that he is thoroughly convinced of the existence of fairies himself, but is not particularly anxious to convince others—merely willing to state the facts in the case as he sees them” (#116). From these comments, the articles that described Gardner’s lecture tended to judge his personality amicably; they viewed him as an honest, healthy, unassuming, and intelligent man.

The final topic is the audience’s testimonies of fairy sightings. For some audiences, “the lecture and the photographs wiped away the last doubt in their minds that they had not, after all, been victims of hallucinations” (#4). A gentleman said that he came to the lecture to see if the fairies in the photographs were like those he had seen often himself, and a Dundee woman declared to Gardner that she had seen fairies since she was a child (#4). During the time of questions and answers in another lecture, Miss Rogers said that fairies were seen by some people in Kew Gardens every summer (#91).

There are 5 articles on the description of lectures of people other than Gardner. These lectures were delivered by two Theosophists, “Mr. T” whose title is not mentioned, and Doyle. Clifford S. Best, president of the Leeds Lodge of the Theosophical Society, took Doyle and Gardner’s side and insisted that these fairy photographs were quite genuine (#11, 27). Mr. T argued that fairies were real and described his own idea of fairies (#103). Number 83 also described what Doyle talked about in his lecture, but reported in the broadly agreeable tone shared by the articles on Gardner’s lectures mentioned earlier. It says: “He [Doyle] talks of spirits with convincing earnestness and a simplicity that is arresting. He does not want to have his theories laughed at. He tells you so with candor, deploying the ridicule that is frequently directed at spiritualism. He does not ask you to believe. He believes intensely himself—believes like a crusader who must pass along his message. Yet there is no fire behind his utterances. He is the logical, clear-headed Scotchman advancing his theories in level tones

for what they are worth.”

The same attitude of report without judgement is maintained in 14 articles on the descriptions of the fairy photographs or the written documents by Doyle or Gardner. Doyle’s article in the Christmas number of the *Strand Magazine* got nationwide news coverage on the very day it was published. The *Daily Express* wrote: “Fairies are real. They do exist actually, and, what is more, have been photographed. So asserts Sir Arthur Conan Doyle in a remarkable article in the number of the ‘Strand Magazine’ published to-day” (#108). It continued reporting the story of the Cottingley Fairies, how the matter arose, the process of Doyle and Gardner’s investigation and what experts commented on the photographs. Other newspapers simply reported what Doyle or Gardner claimed regarding fairies and fairy photographs in published articles or books.

### **Supporter’s Views and Other Fairy Sightings**

There are several articles that support fairy photographs or Gardner’s statements (Type 2-a). C. S. Best, who delivered a lecture on the fairy photographs, contributed an article opposing the statement of the secretary of the Yorkshire Amateur Photographic Society who said that he could produce anything with a camera. Best insisted that the second series of the fairy photographs were even more difficult to take (#62). Describing Gardner’s lecture in the US, the *Kansas City Post* insists that people cannot disbelieve in fairies only because they had never seen them. If they do so, by the same logic, those people had to deny the existence of atoms (#75). Some people tended to be interested in fairies themselves. A. M. A., from Imperial College of Science and Technology, Royal College of Science, contributed an article to the *Daily Express*. In the article, he or she looked forward with pleasant anticipation to seeing more of Gardner’s remarks on fairies and asked questions about fairies such as what plants they feed and where they

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sleep in winter (#21). In addition, the *Cape Argus* excitedly declared that they had the “evidence” of which Doyle was most convinced. Cape Town was the place where Frances Griffiths, one of the girls who took fairy photographs, used to live before she moved to England in 1917. After she took the first fairy photograph, she sent a letter enclosing the photograph to her friend, Johanna Parvin, in Cape Town. Parvin, shortly after she saw the photographs on the newspaper, informed the *Cape Argus* that she had the photograph (#118).

Newspapers reported several fairy sightings or fairy photographs as well (Type 2-b). The *San Jose Mercury Herald* reported that 10 year old Franklin Lacey who lived with a theosophist leader saw fairies everywhere (#23). The *Northern Echo* carried the article written by “M. L. B” saying: Just before my little boy was three years old he made his first acquaintance with the Poke People [the name the boy called fairies].” “That was three months or so ago, . . . quite late after I myself have settled down to sleep, the little voice [of the Poke People] announces their arrival” (#40). The *Evening News Leeds* also carried an article written by a man who attended the lecture delivered by C. S. Best in Leeds. He was arguing with the man who sat by him whether they should believe in fairies or not. The reporter confessed that he failed to convince the man even though he told him that he had actually seen fairies on the hillsides of Donegal in Ireland and in the Scottish Highlands (#73). Three other articles introduced fairy photographs claimed to be taken by people who had no relation to the Cottingley Fairies (#56, 78, 97). The last testimony, though it is from the Type 1-b again, is from an Indian laboratory. While Gardner delivered lectures in the US, he gave an account of the result of the experiment that J. C. Bose conducted in his Indian laboratories. According to Gardner, Bose had made visible the growth of plants and the “nervous life of the vegetable kingdom,” which might be taken as a proof of the Theosophical view that considered fairies as the “plant builder” (#20,



45, 101).

### **Critical Views**

There are 22 articles which shared critical views of the Cottingley's fairy photographs (Type 3 is relevant). They can be divided into four topics: producing other fake fairy photographs, radical criticism, bewilderment and criticism from fairy believers. The first set of articles inserted other "faked" fairy photographs. The *Daily News* explained: "These pictures form an interesting comparison with similar ones which created quite a stir recently. In this case, however, cardboard figures have been photographed amid natural surroundings, and they look surprisingly natural" (#2, 31). Number 35 also reported that a woman, after she saw the Cottingley fairy photographs, decided that she could take similar quality ones using cardboard. These articles did not criticize the Cottingley fairy photographs directly but implied the possibility that they could be made from cardboard as realistically as the mock fairy photographs.

The second group of articles employed harsh and direct criticism. The *Westminster Gazette* wrote that "Though experts have declared that the plates show no signs of having been tampered with, the unprejudiced observer cannot help being struck by the artificial and unconvincing character of the 'fairies' shown in them" (#17, 79). The *Birmingham Mail* invited a comment concerning Gardner's lecture from Major J. Hall-Edwards, "the famous authority upon radium" (Doyle *Coming* 42). He attacked Gardner and claimed that his lecture was what he could only describe as a "lot of sentimental rubbish." He pointed out that the gnome in the photographs showed no sign of movement though it was dancing (#36, 72). On the other hand, some articles criticized Gardner's shallow knowledge of photography. Number 47 displayed its disappointment: "The demonstration would have been quite convincing had Mr. Gardner been the photographer,

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but that is where the evidence breaks down” and declared that “The fairies are so conventional that the sceptical mind jumps at once to the conclusion that they are not the elemental spirits that preside over the nuptials of flowers, but the production of human hands.” Regarding Gardner’s explanation that fairy photographs were taken by “Midge” camera at four o’clock of a September afternoon, A. H. W., a photographer, indicated that it is impossible to obtain a well-exposed photograph of such a subject using the lens that is ordinarily fitted to the camera (#104). To this opinion, Gardner replied in the newspaper after three days and explained how the fairies were photographed more in detail (#28). Some other articles directed their attacks at the girls. Number 46 was suspicious about the girl’s line of sight in the photograph: “if those fairies were real, the children would have been so delighted and so wrapped up in watching them that they would never have thought of looking at camera.” It also added “I would suggest to Miss Elsie that she has carried her little joke quite far enough, and that she should tell the public what the ‘fairies’ really are.” Number 47 is also dissatisfied that the girls never seem to have been asked direct questions. Some articles were aghast at the adults’ ignorance of children or their infancy. Number 49 wrote: “For the true explanation of these fairy photographs, what is wanted is not a knowledge of occult phenomena but a knowledge of children.” Number 93 feared that some eminent people, such as Doyle, seemed to go back again to infancy and convince themselves of the reality of childish beliefs. It said: “What is funny world it would be if everyone indulged in these childish fairy fancies!”

The third type of article shows a reluctance to approve “real fairies.” They are opposed to the fairy photographs because these photographs would destroy their belief in fairies. The *South Wales Argus* wrote: “Let us have the facts!—the colder and harder the better—that is the modern cry. . . . The latest development in this campaign

of fact against the so-called fictions of life is that Sir Arthur Conan Doyle is now attempting to destroy the fairies. He has alleged that they can be photographed!" (#39). Number 59 criticized fairy photographs in general, proposing that "The pleasure in believing in fairies is that all the time our belief may be false. Not groundless, for the belief in fairies has a very real foundation. It exists, however, in the mind and imagination. . . . Some things exist only in their own realms."

The last category of critical views is from fairy believers. Evelyn Sharp, probably the author of children's literature and engaged in the woman's suffrage movement in Britain,<sup>3</sup> wrote in the *Herald* that she could not believe in the genuineness of the photographs of fairies because their wings would not work. In addition, the shape of the fairies in photographs was not like those she had met in Kensington High-street before (#12). E. H. Visiak contributed her opinion to a newspaper in opposition to Doyle, for he regarded the existence of fairies as objectively real. She wrote: "In my own experience, the preternaturally concrete elves—ruddy, squat, and grotesque—which, in my earliest childhood disported themselves in their own stage glow of light upon the coverlet of my bed could not have been either objective or subjective, but were real" (#16). For these opponents, fairy photographs could not be genuine, for these photographs did not fit to their "image of fairies" based on their own experience.

## Interviews and Investigations

There are three articles which reported other society's investigations or conducted their own into fairy photographs (Type 4-a is relevant). The *Yorkshire Evening Post* reported that the second series of the fairy photographs were thoroughly investigated by two Bradford members of "the Psychical Research Society," but that no satisfactory conclusion had been reached (#84). The *Illustrated London News* wrote: "A case like this can only be judged on the facts submitted, and they have been

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submitted mainly by advocates with an obvious bias.” A newspaperman, “the only independent investigator,” saw Elsie but he could not extract any valuable information from her (#7). The *Westminster Gazette* also made an exploration of the case. The articles began with this statement: “My mission to Yorkshire was to secure evidence, if possible, which would prove or disprove the claim that fairies existed. I frankly confess that I failed.” After he interviewed Elsie and her parents, the reporter concluded that he had the information from them at different times and without variation. He was also given the impression from Polly Wright, Elsie’s mother, that she had no desire to keep anything back, and answered his questions quite frankly. In addition, he examined Elsie’s work of water-colour drawing and judged that it did not reveal her ability in a marked degree (#106).

12 articles show comments from people who gotten involved in the Cottingley Fairies story (Type 4-b is relevant). Mrs. Wright was interviewed on the fairy photographs and answered that her daughter as a child was highly imaginative and often painted a scene with fairies, but both she and her husband could extract no information from the girls on how they faked the photographs (#9, 22, 30). Doyle contributed his article to the *Yorkshire Weekly Post* to refute Mr. Patrick, who had criticized fairy photographs earlier. He enclosed the fairy photograph and suggested that he examine the negative by himself (#18). Doyle also contributed an article which announced that he reprinted an enlarged edition of his book on fairies. In this book, Doyle added new several fairy photographs taken by other people. He concluded that “If that claim is clearly established, then it seems to me that the discovery of America by Columbus was not a more important event in human history” (#92). Instead of Doyle, who was then in Australia delivering lectures on spiritualism, Gardner responded to the opponent already mentioned above in the section on “Critical Views.” To A. H. W., who challenged Doyle in the article numbered 104, Gardner explained that

the points A. H. W. raised were mostly the ones which Gardner and Doyle already dealt with in the expert analysis of the case. He declared that he was willing and ready to show the negatives and direct prints and the Midge camera to any photographic experts. Gardner was also interviewed by the news reporter of the *Westminster Gazette* which had confessed, 9 days earlier in article number 106, that it had failed either to prove or disprove that fairies existed. The interviewer asked Gardner whether he could acquire the power of visualizing fairies. Gardner answered that “the persons with the proper faculty possess it from birth, I was informed, and it is very often the case that they are mentally unbalanced in a small degree. Needless to say, I chose to retain my mental equilibrium rather than enrol myself as a candidate for the possession of psychic powers in order to see and play with fairies in my garden.” He also insisted that “There were people who would not believe in the existence of fairies, whatever evidence was produced, but they were ill-informed” (#107). It seems that many of the articles which were free from judgement and simply reported about the Cottingley Fairies would play the role of “informing” these unbelievers.

## **Conclusion**

“The Cottingley Fairies” has tended to be considered the event that brought disgrace on A. C. Doyle. Previous research has emphasized that there were polarized public reactions, for or against, to the authenticity of fairy photographs. However, if we look into the Gardner’s “scrapbooks,” the press’s reaction was far more complicated than that research has allowed for.

As discussed above, there were four types of reactions: reporting without judgement (65 articles in total), supporting views (15), criticism (22) and obtaining more information (15). Combining the first and the last types, most of the articles neither opposed nor agreed with the genuineness of fairy photographs. By repeating Doyle and

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Gardner's explanation, reporting their personality amicably, or adding new information to their investigation, these newspaper articles disseminated and developed knowledge of fairies. Even the critics did not share a monolithic view. Some feared that the photographs would blur the distinction between objective fact and subjective imagination, and some were opposed to the genuineness because the fairies in the photographs were not like what they had seen before. In addition, as was the case in the article numbered 108 and 28, the criticism made it possible for Gardner to explain about fairy photographs in more detail by refuting the critical opinions raised. Of course, there were several articles which criticized Doyle and Gardner's credulity, but they were not dominant, at least in the scrapbooks.

Considering the ratio of the four types above, as Doyle noticed, most of the press limited itself to the role of delivering the "facts" to public as if our today's journalism broadcasted "police officers arrested a criminal." By playing into the role of accumulating knowledge of fairies, it might be said that the press initiated the public into the world of fairies.

#### **List of Articles in "Scrapbooks"**

No.	Title	Date	Headline	Country	Type
1	City News	29 Jan. 1921	THE FAIRY WORLD.	England	1-a
2	Daily News	28 Apr. 1921	"FAIRY" PHOTOGRAPHS.	US	3
3	<u>St. Andrews</u> <u>Citizen</u>	5 Feb. 1921	A "FAIRY TALE" ABOUT FAIRIES.	England	1-b
4	[People's Journal ?]	5 Feb. 1921	GNOMES IN DEN O'MAINS Dundee Woman's Belief in the Fairies	England	1-b

			REMARKABLE PHOTOS		
5	Glasgow Evening Times	27 Jan. 1921	ENTER THE FAIRIES. Piping and Dancing to Little Girls. PRETTY PICTURES.	England	1-b
6	Psychic News	6 Mar. 1971	No fairy tale	England	4-b
7	<u>Illustrated</u> <u>London News</u>	16 Sep. 1922	HOAX OR REVELATION? PHOTOGRAPHS OF FAIRIES.	England	4-a
8	New York City Telegraph	4 Feb. 1927	n.h.	US	1-b
9	Daily Express	n.d.	PHOTOGRAPHS OF "FAIRIES." HOW THEY WERE TAKEN BY GIRLS IN A WOOD.	England	4-b
10	[Sportsman ?]	Mar. 1921	PICTURES OF YORKSHIRE'S "LITTLE PEOPLE" FAIRIES FILMED	England	1-b
11	<u>Yorkshire Post</u> <u>and Leeds</u> <u>Intelligencer</u>	7 Oct. 1921	FAIRIES AND PHOTOGRAPHY.	England	1-b
12	Herald	17 Mar. 1921	Seeing & Believing	England	3
13	<u>St. Andrews</u> <u>Citizen</u>	5 Feb. 1921	COUNTRY NOTES.	England	1-b
14	Daily News	3 Jan. 1923	FAIRY PICTURES.	US	5

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15	St. Paul Daily News	10 Apr. 1927	ST. PUL TO HEAR OF REAL FAIRIES Londoner Says He Has Proof They Exist; Exhibits Photos.	US	1-a
16	[Daily News ?]	n.d.	MIXTICISM.	US	3
17	Westminster Gazette	19 Sep	NEW BOOKS. THE SCIENCE OF FAIRIES.	England	3
18	Yorkshire Weekly Post	n.d.	"FAIRY PHOTOGRAPHS."	England	4-b
19	<u>Daily Herald</u>	3 Mar. 1921	PHOTOGRAPHS OF FAIRIES. EXPERT'S REPORT ON DEMONSTRATION NO OBVIOUS FAKING	England	1-b
20	N. Y. C. Herald Tribune	3 Feb. 1927	Scientist Nears Proof of Fairy, Assorts Briton Sir J. C. Bose, of Calcutta, to Show Sprites as Life Force in Nature, Gardner, Theosophist, Says Here Claims Photo Evidence Secretary of English Society Will Show Slides To-night of Cloud-like 'Gnomes'	US	1-b
21	Daily Express	12 Jan. 1921	WHERE DO FAIRIES GO IN THE WINTER TIME?	England	2-a



22	Daily Express	23 Dec. 1920	PHOTOGRAPHS OF "FAIRIES". HOW THEY WERE TAKEN BY GIRLS IN A WOOD.	England	4-b
23	San Jose Mercury Herald	1 Feb. 1928	10-Year Old Boy "Sees" Fairies Prodigy Converses With Them "Nature-Spirits" Are Described	US	2-b
24	[Chicago ___]	n.d.	Briton in U.S. to Prove Fairies ___	US	1-a
25	[___ Gazette]	3 Mar. 1921	WHAT FAIRIES ARE. AN EXPLANATION OF THEIR FUNCTIONS IN LIFE. "DEAR LITTLE THINGS."	England	1-b
26	San Jose Mercury Herald	24 Mar. 1927	San Jose Introduced to Fairies Londoner Shows Gnome Photos Declares Spirits Plant Builders	US	1-b
27	<u>Leeds Mercury</u>	7 Oct. 1921	FAIRIES IN YORKSHIRE.	England	1-b
28	Westminster Gazette	30 Nov. 1920	'FAIRY' PHOTOGRAPHS A REPLY FROM MR.	England	4-b

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			GARDNER. MORE NEGATIVES TAKEN.		
29	Manchester City News	15 Jan. 1921	Fairy Photos	England	1-b
30	[ ]	23 Dec. 1920	PHOTOGRAPHING THE FAIRIES. Test Exposures Which are Kept Secret. WOODLAND VISIONS. Spiritualists Investigate Girls' Camera "Phenomena."	England	4-b
31	Daily News	28 Apr. 1921	"FAIRY" PHOTOGRAPHS.	US	3
32	[ ]ntreal, Canada]	2 Feb. 1921	Conan Doyle Says Fairies Are Real.	Canada	1-b
33	n.t.	n.d.	FAIRIES TO ORDER. MAJOR HALL- EDWARDS CHALLENGE TO MR GARDNER.	England	3
34	n.t.	n.d.	DISCOVERY OF FAIRIES VISITOR'S THEME TONIGHT	US	1-a
35	n.t.	n.d.	THE NEW FAIRYLAND. Latest Pastime for Amateur Photographers.	England	3

36	Birmingham Mail	21 Feb.	FAIRY PHOTOGRAPHS. MR. E. L. GARDNER'S LECTURE IN BIRMINGHAM	England	3
37	Cavalcade	19 Jan. 1946	There Are Fairies	US	1-b
38	Daily Express	Dec. 1922	FAIRIES "BEYOND ALL DOUBT." SIR A. CONAN DOYLE "CORROBORATED."	England	4-b
39	South Wales Argus	27 Nov. 1920	FACTS AND FAIRIES.	England	3
40	The Northern Echo	n.d.	THE POKE PEOPLE.	England	2-b
41	Express [Daily Express ?]	4 Nov. 1927	FAIRY RESEARCH SOCIETY. ATTEMPT TO PROVE THAT THEY EXIST.	England	2-a
42	New York City Times	3 Feb. 1927	SHOWS PHOTO OF ELVES.	US	1-a
43	Light (magazine)	1922	THE OBSERVATORY. LIGHT ON THINGS IN GENERAL.	England	2-a
44	Daily News	20.Dec.1920	PHOTOGRAPHS OF FAIRIES. Story of Little Girls with Camera Among Elves.	US	1-b

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45	N. Y. C. Herald Tribune	3 Feb.1927	Scientist Nears Proof of Fairy, Assorts Briton Sir J. C. Bose, of Calcutta, to Show Sprites as Life Force in Nature, Gardner, Theosophist, Says Here Claims Photo Evidence Secretary of English Society Will Show Slides To-night of Cloud-like 'Gnomes'	US	1-b
46	[Truth ?] (magazine)	12 Jan. 1921	n.h.	England	3
(46)	Truth (magazine)	5 Jan. 1921	n.h.	England	3
47	Truth (magazine)	21 Feb.	THE COTTINGLEY FAIRY TALE.	England	3
48	[Truth ?] (magazine)	n.d.	n.h.	England	3
49	Truth (magazine)	1 Dec. 1920	n.h.	England	3
50	The Dundee Advertiser	21.Feb.1921	GLIMPSE INTO "REAL" FAIRYLAND Little Folk in Modern Attire	England	1-b
51	Light (magazine)	Sep. 1922	THE RETURN OF THE FAIRIES.	England	1-b
52	Scotsman	31 Jan. 1921	REMARKABLE PSYCHIC	England	1-b

			PHOTOGRAPHS.		
53	Daily News	28 Mar. 1927	"Peter Pan" of Real Life, Who Believes Fairies Really Exist, Will Bring Evidence to St. Paul	US	1-a
54	[__ News Herald]	3 Feb. 1927	English Theosophist Here to Tell of Fairies ——Has Photographs of Them	US	1-a
55	Saint Paul Pioneer Press	13 Apr. 1927	LECTURER SPEAKS ON FAIRIES, SHOWS PICTURES OF TINY, INVISIBLE PEOPLE	US	1-b
56	Daily Mail	n.d.	A "SPIRIT" PHOTOGRAPH.	England	2-b
57	n.t.	n.d.	ARE THERE REAL FAIRIES? BOY WHO COULD SEE "VISIONS."	England	2-a
58	Times	3 Mar. 1921	WHAT FAIRIES MAY BE LIKE. FLOWER DUTIES. PHOTOGRAPHS FROM YORKSHIRE.	England	1-b
59	Daily News	n.d.	THE REAL FAIRIES.	US	3
60	[__]	5 Jan. 1946	n.h.	---	1-b
61	Psychic News	27 Feb. 1971	Women who took fairy p__ refuse to be shaken 53 YEARS LATER THEY STAND BY	England	4-b

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62	n.t.	n.d.	THE COTTINGLEY "Fairies."	England	2-a
63	Western Mail	29 Nov. 1920	SCIENCE V. ROMANCE.	England	5
64	<u>St. Andrews</u> <u>Citizen</u>	5 Feb. 1921	A "FAIRY TALE" ABOUT FAIRIES.	England	3
65	n.t.	n.d.	Fairies or Fairy Tales? Lecture at the Town Hall.	---	3
66	Sketch	13 Feb. 1971	Fairy tale is a mystery story, too	England	1-a
67	[__ Sunday America]	Feb.21	FAIRIES REAL? PERUSE THIS Theosophist Lectures in Atlanta on Visibility of Dancing, Intangible Forms.	US	1-b
68	[Manchester__]	21 Feb. 1921	DO FAIRIES REALLY EXIT? WHAT DOES THEOSOPHY SAY?	England	1-a
69	Daily News	Nov. 1921	BANISH SANTA CLAUS?	US	3
70	<u>Daily Herald</u>	23 Dec. 1920	IN SEARCH OF FAIRIES They Only Appear to the Young and Good "D.H." MAN'S VIGIL	England	4-b
71	Daily News	15 Feb. 1922	SCIENCE AND THE OCCULT.	US	5

			French Savant States His Belief. ACADEMY SENSATION.		
72	Birmingham Mail	n.d.	FAIRY PHOTOGRAPHS. MR. E. L. GARDNER'S LECTURE AT BIRMINGHAM	England	3
73	Evening News Leeds	7 Oct. 1921	FAIRY PHOTOS. Leeds Lecturer on the Marvels of Elf-land	England	2-b
74	[__ Gazette]	3.Mar.1921	WHAT FAIRIES ARE. AN EXPLANATION OF THEIR FUNCTION IN LIFE. "DEAR LITTLE THING."	England	1-b
75	Kansas City Post	20 Apr. 1923	Of Course There Are Fairies.	US	2-a
76	n.t.	n.d.	Conan Doyle Has Fairy Photographs	England	1-b
77	Daily Express	n.d.	FAIRIES TO BE FILMED. SEQUEL TO MYSTERY PHOTOS OF THE TINY FOLK. DAINTY EXPERIMENT.	England	1-b

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78	n.t.	n.d.	FAIRY SECRET OUT Australian Artist's Picture Show A LITTLE GALLERY OF GREAT CHARM	England	2-b
79	Japan Chronicle	28 Oct. 1922	THE SCIENCE OF THE FAIRIES.	Japan	3
80	[__ton Independent]	17 Sep. 1921	Fairy Tales.	England	1-a
81	[New York City __]	3 Feb. 1927	Man Who Believes in Fairies Here	US	1-a
82	n.t.	n.d.	"FAIRIES AT THE BOTTOM OF OUR GARDEN." REMARKABLE STORY UNFOLDED AT NORTHAMPTON.	England	1-b
83	<u>New York</u> <u>Tribune</u>	15 Apr. 1922	Elfin Pictures of 'Real' Fairies Shown by Doyle Butterfly-Winged "Little People" With Children's Faces, Caught Playing Pipes of Pan, He Says Attests Their Genuineness Two Girls Who Took Them Psychically Gifted, Avers Sherlock Holmes Creator	US	1-b



84	<u>Yorkshire Evening Post</u>	3 Jan. 1921	A SEANCE FOR FAIRIES AT COTTINGLEY. PUZZLING PHOTOGRAPHS. PICTURES SAID TO HAVE BEEN TAKEN IN THE WOODS.	England	4-a
85	[__ N. Y.]	27 Apr. 1923	FAIRY PHOTOS DISPLAYED BY THEOSOPHIST Have Bobbed Hair, Short Skirts, Pictures Taken by Children Show MADE IN ENGLISH GLEN Sympathetic Study Urged in Producing Better Plants, Flower	US	1-b
86	Daily Dispatch	1921	HOW TO BRINGING YOUR OWN FAIRIES. TINY FOLK WHO WORK AND PLAY SEX PROBLEMS SOLVED.	South Africa	1-b
87	Daily Express	1920	PHOTOGRAPHS OF FAIRIES? STORY OF SNAPSHOTS TAKEN BY TWO CHILDREN.	England	1-b

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			EXPERTS' VIEWS.		
88	[Sunday ___]	12 Jun. 1958	This is a True Fairy Story!	England	1-b
89	<u>Leeds Mercury</u>	26 Nov. 1920	PHOTOGRAPHS OF FAIRIES. Snapped' By Girls in Yorkshire.	England	1-b
90	New York City Journal	4 Feb. 1927	Children Proved that Fairies Are Real	US	1-b
91	Willesden Chronicle	29 Apr. 1921	"THE COMING OF THE FAIRIE" MR. GARDNER'S WONDERFUL LECTURE.	England	1-b
92	Sunday Express [Daily Express ?]	27 May. 1921	There Are Fairies. The Little People of Dartmoor— and a German Gnome.	England	4-b
93	[ ]	1920	FAIRIES—REAL AND IMAGINARY. A COTTINGLEY PHOTOGRAPH	---	3
94	Kansas City Journal	19 Apr. 1927	PETER PAN WAS RIGHT— GARDNER Pictures of Pixies, Gnomes, Sylphs and Brownies Are Shown Here.	US	1-b
95	[ ]	17 May. 1921	n.h.	---	1-a

96	Musselburgh News	18 Mar. 1921	n.h.	England	2-a
97	n.t.	n.d.	n.h.	England	2-b
98	Herald Los Angels	15 Mar. 1927	Fairy Photos and How to Take 'Em	US	1-b
99	Daily Express	25 Nov. 1920	FACTS ON FAIRIES.	England	1-b
100	Daily Express	25 Nov. 1920	MODERN MAGIC.	England	5
101	[Kansas City ___]	14 Apr. 1927	ENGLISH THEOSOPHIST ASSURES US FAIRIES ACTUALLY DO EXIST IF WE CAN SEE THEM Research Reveals Pulsing Forms, but They Have "Intelligence of Kittens."	US	1-b
102	Herald Los Angels	15 Feb. 1927	n.h.	US	1-b
102	Evening Herald Los Angeles	15 Mar. 1927	n.h.	US	1-b
103	Musselburgh News	18 Mar. 1921	LECTURE ON FAIRIES.	England	1-b
104	Westminster Gazette	27 Nov. 1920	'FAIRY' PHOTOGRAPHS A CHALLENGE TO SIR A. CONAN DOYLE. "FAKE" OR TRUTH?	England	3
105	Westminster Gazette	30 Nov. 1920	'FAIRY' PHOTOGRAPHS A REPLY FROM MR. GARDNER	England	4-b

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			MORE NEGATIVES TAKEN.		
106	Westminster Gazette	12 Jan. 1921	DO FAIRIES EXIST? INVESTIGATION IN A YORKSHIRE VALLEY. COTTINGLEY'S MYSTERY. STORY OF THE GIRL WHO TOOK THE SNAPSHOT.	England	4-a
107	Westminster Gazette	21 Jan. 1921	A FAIRY SUN-BUTH. MORE REMARKABLE PHOTOGRAPHS OF SPIRIT FORMS. "FAIRIES EVERYWHERE."	England	4-b
108	Daily Express	1921	PHOTOGRAPHS OF FAIRIES? STORY OF SNAPSHOTS TAKEN BY TWO CHILDREN. EXPERTS' VIEWS.	England	1-b
109	Herald	4 Dec. 1920	THINGS THEOSOPHICAL: REAL PHOTOGRAPHS OF REAL FAIRIES & GNOMES	---	2-a

110	[N.Y. Herald — ]	30 Jan. 1927	Fairies Exist, Says Gardner Showing Photos English Theosophist Arrives To-day on Samaria for Series of Lectures; Doyle Based Book on His Studies	US	1-b
111	Evening Herald	14 Mar. 1921	PLANT FAIRIES DESCRIBED BY LOS ANGELS VISITOR British Scientist Claims He Has Real Photos of Tiny Folks in Woodland Frolic	US	1-b
112	South Wales Argus	21 Nov. 1920	n.h.	England	1-b
113	<u>Pall Mall</u> <u>Gazette</u>	3 Mar. 1921	FAIRIES, OR WHAT? SEVERE TEST OF MYSTERY PHOTOGRAPHS. MR. SINNETT'S THEORY ASTRAL WORKERS IN SCHEME OF NATURE.	England	1-b
114	Psychic News	27 Feb. 1971	Sherlock Holmes would approve Conan Doyle's research	England	1-b

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115	New York Evening Post	n.d.	CHAMPION OF ELFS STRUTS HIS STUFF Mr. E. L. Gardner of England Speaks Tonight to Convert America to Fairyland AM ECTOPLASMIC MATTER	US	1-b
116	[New York Evening Post ?]	n.d.	n.h.	US	1-b
117	<u>Daily Herald</u>	3 Mar. 1921	PHOTOGRAPHS OF FAIRIES EXPERT'S REPORT ON DEMONSTRATION NO OBVIOUS FAKING	England	1-b
118	Evening Herald	23 Feb. 1927	Ever See Fairies? Here's a Man Who Has Photographs of Them Close Friend of Conan Doyle Brings Pictures Here Which He Says Are Genuine and Taken by Children in England	US	1-b

119	Cape Argus	25 Nov. 1922	CAPE TOWN LINK IN A WORLD CONTROVERSY. STARTLING SEQUEL TO AN "ARGUS" ARTICLE. "FRANCES OF THE FAIRIES," PROVES TO BE FORMER WOODSTOCK GIRL. REMARKABLE LETTER IN SUPPORT OF SIR A. CONAN DOYLE.	South Africa	2-a
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Legend of “Types”

- 1-a. Announcements of forthcoming lectures or TV programs (12 articles in total)
- 1-b. Descriptions of fairy photographs or articles, books, and lectures (53)
- 2-a. Supporter’s views (9)
- 2-b. Other fairy sightings (6)
- 3. Critical views (22)
- 4-a. Investigations (3)
- 4-b. Statements of the people concerned (12)
- 5. Any other articles (4)

**Notes**

1. Frances insisted to her last that the last fifth photograph was genuine and she saw real fairies (Griffiths 58).

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2. This speculation was, during exchanging emails, made by an archivist of the Special Collections at the University of Leeds in response to my question of the source of the scrapbooks (22 Oct. 2018).
3. She was the key figure in two of the major women's suffrage societies in Britain, the militant Women's Social and Political Union and the United Suffragists. She also helped found the latter and became editor of the *Votes for Women* during the First World War. She wrote for newspapers including the *Daily Herald* and was on the *Herald*'s staff for some years from 1915 (John 5-6).

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