

**Picturing Fairyland:
Illustrated Fairy Tale Books and
the Rise of the Child Reader-Viewer in the Victorian Era**

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Abstract

Picturing Fairyland: Illustrated Fairy Tale Books and the Rise of the Child Reader-Viewer in the Victorian Era

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Disney versions of fairy tales have largely overshadowed the pictorial diversity otherwise found in the long history of illustrated fairy tale books. When earlier variants of fairy stories do get unearthed, it is often only the texts that are scrutinized, while another limitation is the assumption that picture books and fairy stories have always been exclusively for children. This thesis revisits the neglected legacy of fairy tale illustration, arguing for the importance of pictures in how the stories were received, and asking how the same stories could be transformed through their pictorial re-telling. The question of whether fairy tales were destined for adults or children is a complex one, which involves shifting understandings of childhood itself. Addressing these questions, the thesis asks: How can the pictures in traditional fairy tale books (roughly 1690-1960) generate pathways of interpretation between the characters, their worlds, and generations of child and adult reader-viewers?

Part I provides an overview of fairy tale scholarship and the role accorded to illustrations. Beginning with French aristocratic storytellers such as Charles Perrault and Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy, and proceeding to the Grimms' proto-national and philological project, I then discuss English authors such as John Ruskin, G.K. Chesterton, and J.R.R. Tolkien, who defended fairy tales and fantasy more broadly. Andrew Lang's "Coloured Fairy Books," which assume a child-only readership, are a central focus, largely because issues of gender, sexuality, race, and an imperialist ideology are embedded in his project. This section also analyzes how concepts of childhood, including the "Romantic child," the "noble-savage child," and the "innocent child," are implicated in this history.

Part II proposes three aesthetic modes—the cute, the satirical, and the utopian—as a way to approach nineteenth-century Victorian fairy tale illustrations. As a diminutive of sorts to the major aesthetic category of the beautiful, the cute is associated with infantile characteristics (i.e. mammalian infants or other creatures with small bodies and large heads), and effeminized or miniature commodities. Cuteness is exemplified by Kate Greenaway's children inhabiting fantasy gardens, but could also be found in the representation of child-men in the satirical press. Visual satire is commonly associated with caricature, which deploys the art of exaggerating bodily features as political critique, but satire intersects with fairy tale illustration in numerous ways, not least because artists such as Richard Doyle and John Tenniel could be found both in *Punch* and in fairy tale novellas. Finally, the utopian is concerned with fairyland as a site of beauty, liberty, justice, and fulfilled desire – and is epitomized by the work of Walter Crane, whose socialist values emerge in political posters as well as fairy tale illustration. Throughout these three categories, I develop the concept of *interpictoriality* – as a way to track motifs and styles across multiple genres and forms of visual culture.

Part III narrows in on Cinderella's visual transformation, from the early versions by Perrault, d'Aulnoy, and the Grimms to English chapbooks and toy books, to fairy tale anthologies, and eventually to Disney. This discussion is informed by the debate between second-wave feminists Alison Lurie and Marcia Lieberman over the value of fairy tales for a

child reader. To move past the yes-or-no question of whether stories of passive and beautiful heroines support the indoctrination of young girls, I examine multiple examples of text and image interaction, and shifts in narrative focus, to show how images of female liberation and suffering have been integral to the story's appeal. To counter the impact of the Disney version, I emphasize the pictorial diversity embedded within the fairy tale book, and point to the agency of child and adult reader-viewers.

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Introduction

Richard Doyle's (1824-1883) coloured wood engravings in the coffee table book *In Fairyland, a Series of Pictures from the Elf World* (published in time for Christmas 1869, dated 1870) can be considered a pivotal, if not exceptional, example of a Victorian picture book, which emphasizes the pictorial over the textual. The only text was a poem by the Pre-Raphaelite William Allingham, chosen by the publisher. After publication, though, everybody involved—poet, illustrator, and critics—questioned the suitability of how the text and pictures fit together.¹ Too big for typical library shelves, this torso-sized volume of illustrations was a feat in Edmund Evans' contribution to mass printing technology.² A child would disappear behind it; but was it really meant for children? If current reader-viewers assume that historical fairy tale books were always for the exclusive enjoyment of children, and that Victorians were prudish, and that the entire fairy tale tradition was predetermined to resemble a Disney film, then the coloured plates in Doyle's original *In Fairyland* may come as a delightful surprise.

The sixteen coloured plates dominate the narrative space of the book and indicate the importance of the pictorial for the fairy tale genre. They provide a microscopic view of the fairies that had become familiar to a Victorian public in love with fairyland and its fairy tales. Naked water fairies and nymphs swim on water lilies, and travel with frogs, fish and ducks.³ Several groupings on smaller plates show customs and activities; in a game of hide-and-seek, one fairy kisses an elf, and runs away, leaving him crying (fig. 1).⁴ Another elf rejects her suitor,

¹ Jan Susina, "Like the Fragments of Coloured Glass in a Kaleidoscope': Andrew Lang Mixes Up Richard Doyle's 'In Fairyland,'" *Marvels & Tales* 17, no. 1 (January 1, 2003): 105.

² Edmund Evans, *Reminiscences of Edmund Evans*, ed. Ruari McLean (Oxford: Clarendon P., 1967), 76, 81, 84.

³ "Water-lilies and Water Fairies" in William Allingham, and Richard Doyle, illus., *In Fairyland: A Series of Pictures from the Elf-World* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, & Dyer, 1870), plate xi.

⁴ Doyle, "A Little Play, in three acts" in *ibid.*, plate viii.

and yet another steals the hat away from a mischievous man-child elf who has taken over a robin's nest (fig. 2). Through the clouds, the fairy queen appears, using a flower as her carriage. This scene is from "The Fairy Queen Takes a Drive," which is the raciest of the plates (fig. 3). The queen watches over her driver, a naked boy fairy who phallically rides upon the flower's stem while giant butterflies propel them through the air. The fairies' sexual expressivity, playfulness and the interspecies communication between fairies and animals is quasi-utopian in that they are free from everyday responsibilities. And, yet, in many instances playfulness borders on cruelty; fairies and elves yank and pull on birds' wings and steal robins' eggs.⁵

Published in the 1870s, this picture book represents the meeting point of the fairy tale as adult fare and its relegation to the middle-class children's bedroom. Eventually, the illustrations found in *In Fairyland* would be tampered with and relegated to the children's bookshelves. After Doyle's death, Andrew Lang copied, pasted, and re-arranged his images, and in so doing he cut out the elements associated with feminine sexual agency. The most erotic of the plates, "The Fairy Queen Takes a Drive," was not included in Lang's re-adaptation of Doyle's pictorial narrative for *The Princess Nobody* (1884).⁶ For this re-arrangement, Lang wrote a story about a disempowered princess and the heroic male prince who saves the day and gains his female bride—probably to serve as his prized possession.⁷ This narrative formula is typical of Lang's work as an editor of children's books—namely the "Coloured Fairy Books" (1889-1910), which will be addressed later in the thesis. Re-sized and adapted for mass dissemination in the

⁵ Silver discusses the fairy's cruelties in the paintings by Richard Doyle, Joseph Noel Paton, John Anster Fitzgerald, and Richard Dadd. Carole G. Silver, *Strange and Secret Peoples: Fairies and Victorian Consciousness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 158–166.

⁶ Susina notes the exclusion of this print in *The Princess Nobody*. Without discussing the sexual nature of the image, Susina suggests that Lang may have felt the plate to be too artificial. Susina, "Like the Fragments of Coloured Glass in a Kaleidoscope," 106.

⁷ Andrew Lang and Richard Doyle, illus., *The Princess Nobody: A Tale of Fairyland* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1884), <http://mcgill.worldcat.org/oclc/9045532>.

children's book market, *The Princess Nobody* became a commercially viable children's book, which anticipated Lang's series of coloured books.

Rather than downplay the importance of such picture books in relation to children's literature, I want to emphasize their significance within Victorian England's overarching culture. As such, this doctoral thesis examines the fairy tale's visual evolution as part of a history of publishing. My timeline leads from early publishing initiatives in France, Germany, and England to the "Golden Age of Children's Literature," which flourished in Victorian England up to World War I, and it extends to the early Disneyfication of familiar fairy stories.⁸ While addressing the Disney versions of fairyland adventures, the thesis asks questions about contemporary and historical modes of viewing. A twentieth-century attitude is described by children's literature scholar Naomi Woods whose former elementary school students preferred the "original" Disney version of Cinderella to Perrault's and the Grimms'.⁹ When the Disney princess films come to represent the quintessential version of traditional fairy tales, this shuts down an appreciation of the genre's pictorial wealth as found throughout its publishing history. Although animators of classic Disney era films (1930-1959) adapted images from book culture, the impact of these fairy tale movies, nonetheless serves to suppress the narrative diversity found in the history of the illustrated book.¹⁰

⁸ "Golden Age of Children's Literature," is a term used by scholars in children's literature to refer to a distinct time period when children's literature and illustrated children's book flourished. Jan Susina, "Children's Literature: Facts, Information, Pictures," *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood in History and Society*, 2004, http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/childrens_literature.aspx; "Golden Age of Children's Illustrated Books," *Children's Literature Review*, 2009, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/children/academic-and-educational-journals/golden-age-childrens-illustrated-books>.

⁹ Naomi Wood, "Domesticating Dreams in Walt Disney's Cinderella," *The Lion and the Unicorn* 20, no. 1 (1996): 25–49, 25.

¹⁰ Doyle's whimsical fairies were recycled into *Fantasia* and numerous nineteenth-century illustrations inspired princess films like *Cinderella*. Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal and Galeries nationales du Grand Palais (France), *Once Upon a Time: Walt Disney: The Sources of Inspiration for the Disney Studios*, ed. Bruno Girveau (Munich: Prestel, 2006).

How can the pictures in traditional fairy tale books (roughly 1690-1960), which inform the Disneyfied canon, generate new pathways between the characters, their worlds, and reader-viewers—consisting of both children and adults—while tapping into the productive potency of fantasy itself? It was in the 1690s that Charles Perrault first published stories, which would later be adapted by Disney. The resulting early French editions included two competing versions of the Cinderella story, which alongside the Grimms’ publications, would come to influence how the narrative took form in English publishing history. Alongside a discussion of early French and German source variants, the thesis focuses primarily on the Victorian era, which is when the illustrated book flourished in conjunction with fairy-inspired novellas and utopian novels, fairy lore, fairy paintings, and other forms of visual culture.

Richard Doyle is one of the many illustrators discussed; another key figure is the artist and committed socialist Walter Crane (1845-1915), and I compare the ideological and aesthetic differences between these artists’ narrative scenes. In the case of Walter Crane, it is rare that scholars consider his collective pictorial output both within and outside of the field of children’s literature.¹¹ He is one of three illustrators associated with the entrepreneurial printer Edmund Evans’ triumvirate of toy book artists (Walter Crane, Randolph Caldecott, Kate Greenaway). Children’s literature scholars have situated this triad as integral to the Golden Age of Children’s literature. Although Richard Doyle worked with Evans for the feat of printing *In Fairyland* in full colour, and although Doyle was a prominent illustrator in his day, he is not one of the triumvirate and current scholarly attention to his work is surprisingly scant.

¹¹ Morna O’Neill exceptionally draws attention to Walter Crane both as a children’s book illustrator and as artist with socialist inclinations. She emphasizes the importance of the latter over the former. Morna O’Neill, *Walter Crane: The Arts and Crafts, Painting, and Politics, 1875-1890* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

There are indeed a number of nineteenth-century illustrators who have not received much attention. Several critics (J.R.R. Tolkien, G.K. Chesterton, and more recently, Marcia Lieberman Alison Lurie, and Anna Smol) have looked at Andrew Lang's "Coloured Fairy Books," and yet the books' illustrators H.J. Ford and G.P. Jacomb-Hood are not part of the discussion. I consider the gendering of such illustrators in niche publishing areas and, in this way, I draw much-needed attention to the artists who depicted children and illustrated their books. Aside from the famous Kate Greenaway, I also refer to illustrations and a few select paintings by women: Maud Humphrey, Maria Louise Kirk, Adelaide Claxton, Mary Lightbody, Jessie Willcox Smith, Florence Anderson, Ethel E. Dell, Sylvia Pankhurst, and (more recently) Mary Blair and Disney's many un-credited female animators.

Based on a series of case studies of illustrations from various types of books, I am proposing that the analysis and historicization of doubled narratives (pictorial and textual) within publishing history can broaden the interpretive range of fairy tale scholarship. Drawing from literary studies (including children's literature), folklore studies, childhood studies, and book history, along with art history, I explore relationships between text and image, between early and later editions, and between reader-viewers and illustrated books. Firmly situating the importance of the pictorial (in light of a relative lack of sustained attention), this thesis is built on two contextual platforms, in particular: existing fairy tale scholarship, largely from the field of literary studies, and visually informed childhood studies. This introduction begins by defining the principal terms of the thesis related to fantasy and the fairy tale, childhood and the child's book; and it continues by outlining a methodological approach to studying the pictorial aspects of fairy tales.

1. Fantasy and the Fairy Tale

In cultural-linguistic terms, the word *faërie* from fairy tale emerged from the French *fée* and stems from the Latin *fae* and *fata*. Taken from medieval folklore, it is the root word for fantasy, for the magic and spirit of the tales; it is also the land, which makes the forests of enchantment possible.¹² Although many of the classical fairy tales were part of oral traditions, some of which have diverse cultural roots, the stories are also traceable in the modern European fairy book. The canonical corpus of traditional fairy tales travelled from eighteenth-century French aristocratic circles as well as the nineteenth-century Germanic middle class reading culture to Victorian England. In the eighteenth-century French salon culture, fairy tales became known as the *contes de fées* after Marie-Catherine d’Aulnoy coined the term. These stories were both written and adapted by members of the aristocracy who were aware of Greco-Roman myths and the Italian collections of Straparola and Basile. In the fairy culture of the Victorians, the French *contes de fées* and Germanic ‘household tales’ were translated into English books, where they were given the name “fairy tale.” The French and German tales, alongside Shakespeare’s fates, fairies, and furies, which themselves were deeply rooted in British folk culture, influenced the flourishing of the English fairy tale picture book in the nineteenth century. The fairy tale by any other name would not have the same cultural lineage.

By fairy tales, I am therefore referring to both the short folkloric stories adapted by Charles Perrault and the household tales collected by the Grimms as well as longer authored fairy novellas (literary scholars describe this second story type as the literary fairy tale). These stories were designed to open a fantasy world where human and animal protagonists go through a journey involving moments of enchantment and edification. Derived from diverse oral and

¹² J.R.R. Tolkien, “On Fairy-Stories,” in *On Fairy-Stories* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1966), 6–10.

textual sources, the Bible included, fairy tales have historically appealed to adults and children, to Christians and non-Christians, and to a spectrum of social classes and nations.¹³ Many aspects of the human condition related to fantasy, eroticism, innocence, violence, and social justice are intrinsically part of famous storylines. Aladdin, Cinderella, Snow White, Sleeping Beauty, Beauty and the Beast, Little Red Riding Hood, Hansel and Gretel are examples of short fairy tales stories that inspired newly authored and illustrated tales. Longer stories include Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy's "Finette Cendron," William Shakespeare's *A Midsummer's Night's Dream*, John Ruskin's *The King of the Golden River* and subsequent Victorian novellas—*Alice in Wonderland* by Lewis Carroll being the most famous. In short, fairy tales are central to the past three hundred years of European storytelling as found in the published book.

Dealing especially with the shorter stories, folklorists Antti Aarne (1867-1925) and Stith Thompson (1885-1976) developed a classification system based on the stories' essential characteristics. Cinderella is classified as the "Persecuted Heroine – type 510" and Beauty and the Beast is the "Search for the lost husband - type 425."¹⁴ Vladimir Propp (1895-1970) classified tales based on the morphology and narrative structure of specific stories. However, these two tales quickly show that a given story changes over time, and that its meaning is not static. For instance, the story of Beauty and the Beast is rooted in Cupid and Psyche, and Cinderella is rooted in an earlier Italian court culture version as well as in the Biblical story of Jacob and his brothers.

¹³ Jack Zipes, *Fairy Tale as Myth, Myth as Fairy Tale* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1994), 7.

¹⁴ Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, "425: The Search for the Lost Husband," Aarne-Thompson-Uther Classification of Folk Tales: Multilingual Folk Tale Database, accessed January 3, 2017, <http://www.mftd.org/index.php?action=atu&act=select&atu=425>; Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, "510: Cinderella and Cap O' Rushes," Aarne-Thompson-Uther Classification of Folk Tales: Multilingual Folk Tale Database, accessed January 3, 2017, <http://www.mftd.org/index.php?action=atu&act=select&atu=510>.

As folklorist Amie A. Doughty puts it, it is difficult to come up with a single definition for the fairy tale with its oral history and variations between stories and tale-types.¹⁵ These tales change over time and also according to cultural context. I relate these shifts to how the nature of fantasy, which is rooted in the fairy tale, can destabilise the rigidity of narrow definitions and reductive systems of categorizing tale-types. This rigidity includes the way that in the twentieth century fairy tales are often marketed and categorized as children's literature. Instead, the fairy tale becomes definable as a distinctive genre when the story unfolds at the crossroads between fantasy's expansive unknown, and the familiarity associated with a canon of household tales shared by past and current reader-viewers. I will demonstrate, moreover, that the intertextuality (and interpictureality) between utopian novels, Shakespearean plays, fairy novellas, and Disney films opens up the space for fantasy, and also complicates a straightforward taxonomy of childhood books.

2. Childhood Concepts and the Child's Book

In order to explore the bond between childhood and fairyland as it emerges in book culture, the question of what is meant by a child's book is important. Building on the critical work by scholars of children's literature (Lerer, Hunt, and Nodelman), I take a different position to Philippe Ariès (1914-85) who controversially stated that childhood did not exist before the seventeenth century. The English translation of Ariès' book *Centuries of Childhood* (1962) is influential for scholarly attitudes towards childhood; it indicates an ideological context for the tendency amongst children's literature scholars in the decades following his book to focus on

¹⁵ Tolkien, "On Fairy-Stories," 20; Amie A. Doughty, *Folktales Retold: Critical Overview of Stories Updated for Children* (London: McFarland and Company Inc., 2006), 7.

texts that were either exclusively marketed for children or at least thought to be.¹⁶ Moreover, Ariès asserted that Charles Perrault’s Christian moralism marked how the fairy tale was destined for children; only recently has the purpose of Perrault’s so-called children’s stories come into question.¹⁷

Another controversial position was introduced when the psychoanalyst Bruno Bettelheim (1903-1990) prescribed the Germanic fairy tale as a curative measure for modern children. Bettelheim concluded that the child’s subconscious behaves like fairy tale characters: he has interpreted the image of Cinderella slipping her foot into the empty shoe as the yonic and phallic working of a child’s inner desires and has interpreted Little Red Riding Hood’s punishment as justified because of her lack of modesty.¹⁸ Bettelheim linked uncontrolled emotions with childhood and unruly children with the deserved punishments of fairy tale characters. His work of interpreting the character’s inherent guilt, inner wishes, sexual thoughts, and aggressive drives was linked to his practice as a child psychologist. According to Maria Tatar’s critique, both the child-characters and his client children become “self-sufficient adults”, but only if they mature into the ultimate role of caring for their “unflawed elders” (regardless of whether their parents and stepparents were neglectful or abusive).¹⁹ Tatar and Jack Zipes have rightly critiqued Bettelheim’s ability “to know” and to manipulate the child’s subconscious.²⁰

¹⁶ Heather Montgomery, “What Is a Child: Childhood as a Modern Idea: The Influence of Philippe Ariès,” in *An Introduction to Childhood: Anthropological Perspectives on Children’s Lives* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 51–52.

¹⁷ For example, Ariès’ assertions inform Zipes position on Perrault as a children’s author in the first of two editions of his subversion book. Jack Zipes, *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion: The Classical Genre for Children and the Process of Civilization* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 13–14.

¹⁸ Jack Zipes, *Breaking the Magic Spell: Radical Theories of Folk and Fairy Tales* (London: Heinemann, 1979), 163, 171; Maria Tatar, *Off with Their Heads!: Fairy Tales and the Culture of Childhood* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), xviii.

¹⁹ Tatar, *Off with Their Heads!*, xviii.

²⁰ Zipes, *Breaking the Magic Spell*, 162; Tatar, *Off with Their Heads!*, xxii–xxiii.

It may seem odd that Ariès and Bettelheim assert the fairy tale's predetermined relevance for children when much of pre-nineteenth-century children's literature had little to do with fairy tales. However, the concept of childhood is itself pivotal to what constitutes a child's book. Based on the philologist Seth Lerer's work on the educational significance of children's books, I acknowledge that shifting notions of romanticized childhood have influenced children's publishing culture. In *Children's Literature* (2008) Lerer examines the relationship between the history of education and the book, arguing that by looking at the role of the book in this history of learning, a broader concept of Western childhood and the children's book develops.²¹ From antiquity to modern-day history children have used educational material, including grammar books, ABCs, Bibles, and courtesy books, to learn about themselves and their world. Lerer, however, admits that educational theories by John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau came to inform the production of children's books once an official book market dedicated to children was underway.²²

In "Defining Children's Literature," Peter Hunt states, "the concept of childhood is extremely complex."²³ He goes on to discuss "extreme versions of childhood, from the Romantic noble-savage child who is nearest to God, to the child seen as having been born evil as a result of original sin."²⁴ Additional definitions include the child of idyllic nature and the innocent girl who is unaware of her intelligence and sexuality. Art historian Anne Higonnet examines art and visual culture to address how childhood is linked to romanticization, sexuality, self-knowledge, and innocence. She refers to two main types of romanticized childhood: the first is the innocence

²¹ Seth Lerer, *Children's Literature: A Reader's History, from Aesop to Harry Potter* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 17.

²² *Ibid.*, 104–28, 130–131.

²³ Peter Hunt, "Defining Children's Literature," in *Only Connect: Readings on Children's Literature*, ed. Sheila A. Egoff (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 13.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

paradigm, whereby the “unknowing child” or “Romantic Child” is no longer presented like a miniature adult born of sin; the second is the “knowing child,” a controversial figure that challenges the older innocent concept through the introduction of sexual awareness.²⁵

Roger Cox’s history of childhood concepts is useful because it illustrates how Romantic and Enlightenment frameworks for imagining the child’s nature and growth (namely those espoused by Locke and Rousseau, and to some degree, Ruskin) are historically positioned, contradictory, and eventually, how these concepts overlap.²⁶ Based on these findings, it is important to recognize the difference between the lived experience of childhood and how childhood as a concept emerges out of children’s publishing history, which was largely anti-fairy tale during its onset in the eighteenth century. Where possible, I bring up the books that several key historical figures read when they were children (Lang, Chesterton, Tolkien, Ruskin) because what is experienced and remembered from childhood becomes part of the stories’ reader-viewership, and informs the book market years later.

This thesis therefore integrates several influential conceptualizations of childhood. Neither Locke nor Rousseau advocated for the pedagogical use of fairy tales for children, whereas the art critic, education reformer, and fairy tale writer John Ruskin did; I pay greater attention to Ruskin because of the nineteenth-century focus of the thesis. Because Locke and Rousseau remain important, and because I occasionally refer to ideas stemming from these earlier figures, the following briefly addresses how their childhood concepts came to inform the burgeoning market dedicated to children.

²⁵ Anne Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence: The History of Crisis of Ideal Childhood* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998).

²⁶ Roger Cox, *Shaping Childhood: Themes of Uncertainty in the History of Adult-Child Relationships* (London: Routledge, 1996), 52, 73, 112, 115.

John Locke (1632-1704) offered a behavioural model of education based on nurturing through example. His treatise *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693) is an Enlightenment response to the draconian understanding of sin and salvation amongst Calvinists, and it emphasizes rationality, moral behaviour, and civic virtue.²⁷ According to Lockean thought, though innocent and near to God, the child who is born into the world as a blank page can be easily swayed by vice or virtue.²⁸ Parents provide children with a protective umbrella, which shelters them from external influences. They give the child books, toys, and other objects that delight him into learning; and they introduce him into the polite and well-reasoned sphere of civilized conversation.²⁹ The pedagogical aim is to enable the child to become a virtuous and rational young gentleman for the service of society.³⁰

The educational philosophy of John Locke directly impacted the formation of the children's book industry, which would be targeted to both boys and girls. The publisher John Newbery (1713–1767) was a follower of Locke who opened the first publishing house which produced books explicitly for the edification of children.³¹ The Newbery publication of *Aesop's Fables for Children* (1775), *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* (1744), and *The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes* (1765) introduced Lockean ideas about the child's mind.³² According to Lerer, Locke's concept of the child persists in children's literature with stories in which playthings

²⁷ Ibid., 51, 53–54.

²⁸ Ibid., 53; Jamie Gianoutsos, "Locke and Rousseau: Early Childhood Education," *The Pulse* 4, no. 1 (2006): 8, 16.

²⁹ Seth Lerer, "Playthings of the Mind: John Locke and Children's Literature," in *Children's Literature: A Reader's History, From Aesop to Harry Potter* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 106–107; Gianoutsos, "Locke and Rousseau: Early Childhood Education," 3.

³⁰ Locke's treatise was designed in response to his friend Samuel Clarke who asked for advice on how to raise his son. Although focused on the raising of boys to become gentlemen, Locke advised Mrs. Clarke that for the most part his approach to education would be the same for both genders. John Locke, "Letter to Mrs. Clarke, February 1685," in *The Educational Writings of John Locke*, ed. James L. Axtell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 344.

³¹ Lerer talks about how the book industry began to integrate physical representations of the *tabula rasa* within its publications of books. Lerer, "Playthings of the Mind: John Locke and Children's Literature," 114, 120.

³² Ibid., 104–110.

come alive, and where animals talk, walk, and feel, and in books that help mould the reader's character into self-mastery.³³

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), the forefather of the Romantic Movement produced an alternative understanding of childhood, which has also influenced the production of children's books. In response to Locke's "blank page" model, Rousseau's pedagogical five-part novel *Émile* (1762) generated a romanticized concept of childhood. Rousseau thought that public education in France was failing because French society, in its Enlightenment ideals of progress, was faced with an endemic state of corruption marked by social inequality.³⁴ In his proposition for educational reform, Rousseau provides the following model for development. The boy's first teacher is nature herself, and there is one book that he is permitted to read before the age of twelve: the French translation of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1717).³⁵

Educated by nature, and versed in Crusoe's adventures, the young adult grows up and heads to town, where he will eventually find a virtuous wife. The girl named Sophie appears late in *Émile*'s story, and the stages of her education are less defined.³⁶ At an early age, she dresses sweetly without artifice and will continue to smell like flowers. She learns how to sing and dance without excessive training. Sophie is sensitive to cleanliness, exceptionally skilful with a needle, but dislikes cooking. By learning and helping her mother, she grows in wisdom, virtue and charm to eventually complement her future husband, run his household, and bear children. Together, *Émile* and Sophie serve as models for how society can be restructured. Despite

³³ Ibid., 109.

³⁴ Gianoutsos, "Locke and Rousseau: Early Childhood Education," 13–14, 16.

³⁵ Although the boy is the intended reader in *Émile*, Defoe's book soon became widely accessible to both genders in schoolrooms across Europe. Lerer, *Children's Literature*, 130.

³⁶ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile*, trans. Barbara Foxley (New York: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1974), 356–358.

Rousseau's emphasis on the boy's maturation, his ideas about girls are a part of the treatise, which numerous publishers printed and circulated widely.³⁷

By the nineteenth century, the book market was flourishing for a growing middle-class, which would grow to appreciate imagery of childhood. During this period, John Ruskin (1819-1900) fought against the moral decay associated with how the forces of industrialization could make ugly the city and its society. Turning the image of girlhood into a beacon of hope, he resisted the reality of feminine sexual maturation, and subsequently many Victorian authors and illustrators disputed his view on the child's sexuality.³⁸ As will be seen in Chapter 2, Ruskin was a complex historical personage, who also promoted a view of the girl's intellectual agency; as a virtuous reader-viewer she could read what she pleased (including the illustrated fairy tales that he had read as child). He also encouraged parents to allow girls to roam around in English gardens at will. Ruskin is also theoretically important for the Pre-Raphaelites and the Arts and Crafts Movement. Moreover, his influence can be felt in Victorian picture books' carefully crafted illustrations as well as in the fairy tale novellas that his *The King of the Golden River* (1851) inspired.

Throughout the Victorian era, this grouping of childhood concepts circulated, proposing different ways of viewing how children encounter books. Rousseau recommended *Robinson Crusoe* and the Newbery printing press recycled John Locke's views. Ruskin advocated for the

³⁷ The fictive dimensions of Rousseau's story become complicated when we also consider a biographical fact: he deposited his five illegitimate children at a hospital for abandoned children. Perhaps because he could not give them his ideal vision of childhood, Rousseau felt that it was for their own good. Regardless of whether Rousseau was hypocritical in his life's actions, it is worth questioning whether his ideas of the child's ideal upbringing were untenable to begin with, and instead best suited for the realm of fiction. See: Rachel G. Fuchs, *Abandoned Children: Foundlings and Child Welfare in Nineteenth-Century France* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1984), 63; "Jean-Jacques Rousseau," *Encyclopedia of World Biography* (2017), accessed January 6, 2017, <http://www.notablebiographies.com/Ro-Sc/Rousseau-Jean-Jacques.html>.

³⁸ U. C. Knoepfelmacher, *Ventures into Childland: Victorians, Fairy Tales, and Femininity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 5, 18.

picture book and the fairy tale's importance, and Victorian authors and illustrators of novellas proposed new ways of imagining the relationship between fairyland and childhood. By the end of the Victorian era, ethnologist and editor Andrew Lang promoted the imperialist view that his "Coloured Fairy Books" were an essential training ground for the white child's development. It is possible that the idea of the child as a noble savage emerges not from the Romantic Movement so much as from the intersection between Lang's ethnological context and his so-called child-friendly fairy tale books. In other words, the institutionalization of children's literature converges with the fairy tale.

3. Fairy Tale Scholarship: Jack Zipes

Following the revival of interest in fairy tales in the early twentieth century, literary scholarship developed in multiple ways. Informed by ethical premises, developed from Marxist, feminist and postcolonial perspectives, scholars began to examine a series of underlying power relations: ideology, race, ethnicity, nation, class, gender, and age. From a cultural Marxist point of view, the goodness of the fairy tale hinges on the tale's civilizing and subversive potential. Thus, they can be judged to be harmful when supremacist, Eurocentric and patriarchal values have an indoctrinating effect. Otherwise, the fairy tale can be celebrated as subversive if the possibility of self-autonomy is an integral part of the story's textual narrative. Here, I narrow in on Jack Zipes' critique of class relations and capitalism, which clearly articulates the dynamic between a so-called civilizing mission and the subversive possibilities of fairy tales.

Jack Zipes is one of the most cited scholars in fairy tale studies. His extensive work from the 1980s-2000s makes an essential contribution to fairy tale studies conducted in North America. Reconfiguring the disciplinary divide between adult literature, on the one hand, and Western fairy tales, which on the other hand were often belittled as the domain of children, Zipes

declares: “even though the fairy tale may be the most important cultural and social event in most children’s lives, critics and scholars have failed to study its historical development as a genre.”³⁹ Therefore, so-called children’s fairy tales should be taken seriously. According to Zipes, the fairy tale with its dominant bourgeois norms affects society as a whole. Because fairy tales have become increasingly directed towards children, they set standards of normative behaviour, which he associates with “Walt Disney’s civilizing mission.”⁴⁰ However, this ideological mission can be countered.

Breaking the Magic Spell (1979) is a foundational book where Zipes develops his theoretical framework. He describes the harm of this civilizing mission by referring to Frankfurt School theorist Max Horkheimer (1895-1973). In his 1934 ironic fairy tale commentary, Horkheimer maintained that typical fairy tales support the “operations of commodity fetishism in capitalist society.”⁴¹ Heroes, much like their readers who either become triumphant or tragic because of changes in their bank accounts, never fully emancipate themselves from the exploitative conditions that permit capitalism to dominate the commodities and cultural expressions of the “culture industry”.⁴² The use of fairy tales by the culture industry to pacify the masses is part of what Zipes is critical of. Zipes sees Disney as a driving force for American capitalism, and thus as proof of how capitalistic storylines foster behaviour that allows people to remain contented with the status quo. There is, nonetheless, an antidote to the pessimistic culture-industry view that fairy tales only offer false utopian promises. For this purpose, Zipes

³⁹ Jack Zipes, *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion: The Classical Genre for Children and the Process of Civilization*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006), 1.

⁴⁰ Jack Zipes, “Walt Disney’s Civilizing Mission,” in *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006), 193–212.

⁴¹ Zipes, *Breaking the Magic Spell*, 96–97.

⁴² Ibid.

relied on essays by fairy tale revivalists, namely, J.R.R. Tolkien, who was Catholic, and Ernst Bloch, who espoused Marxism.⁴³

In the *Art of Subversion* (1991; 2006), Jack Zipes further develops his theoretical framework. For each major geo-historical moment in the development of the Western fairy tale, Zipes contrasts the authors whom he deems responsible for the civilizing mission with those who present a subversive alternative. The lineage from Perrault to the Grimms, and Andersen (here, I would add Andrew Lang) to Disney exemplifies the civilizing mission. Accordingly, Disney's appropriation and sanitization of Perrault, the Grimms, and Andersen epitomises the repressive side of the fairy tale tradition.⁴⁴ Hans Christian Andersen solidified the canon's patriarchal ideologies for the bourgeois household in text-form, but Disney homogenized the fairy tale book in cinematic form, and he made his Americanized capitalist vision of happy-ever-after films attractive to a global audience. The Grimms (they appear on both sides of Zipes' spectrum) and writers such as Oscar Wilde and L. Frank Baum, along with twentieth-century Marxist and feminist authors, exemplify subversive alternatives to Disney.⁴⁵ This alternative grouping brings out the ability of both child and adult readers to subvert the status quo.

Zipes' work is at its most developed with regards to the impact of the German fairy tale in America. His framework for cultural subversion developed alongside his contextual analysis of the Grimms' stories and Disney's movies. However, when he discusses the Victorian fairy tale, he assumes that prudery and patriarchy inform Victorian society as a whole, but he neglects to critique how race, culture, and gender play out in Andrew Lang's books. Also, while he

⁴³ Zipes examines Bloch's "The Fairy Tale Moves on its Own in Time" (1930) and Tolkien's "On Fairy Stories" (1939). Jack Zipes, "Utopian Function of Fairy Tales and Fantasy: Ernst Bloch the Marxist and J.R.R. Tolkien the Catholic," in *Breaking the Magic Spell: Radical Theories of Folk and Fairy Tales* (London: Heinemann, 1979), 129–89.

⁴⁴ Zipes, *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion*, 2006, 29, 59, 81, 193.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 105, 169.

recognizes that Disney's moving pictures absorb their viewers, he is strangely inattentive to the pictures in nineteenth-century fairy books. These gaps in Zipes' extensive overview of the fairy tale in Euro-American history mark out space for further study.

3.1. Gender and Fairy Tale Scholarship

Feminist fairy tale scholarship is an important sub-field. Offering insights into how fairy tale scholarship has progressed, *Fairy Tales and Feminism* (2004) is an anthology that contributes to the development of methods used in the analysis of gendered power relations. In Donald Haase's introduction, he explains how this book is a follow-up to the feminist fairy tale anthology *Don't Bet on the Prince* (1986).⁴⁶ Both of these books respond to debates which arose as part of American second-wave feminism in the 1960s and 1970s. The earlier book, edited by Zipes, privileged the feminist critic Marcia Lieberman while excluding Alison Lurie's essays.⁴⁷ The journalist and children's book writer, Alison Lurie wrote about the subversive possibilities of an age-old matriarchal narrative tradition. She felt that the fairy godmother characters and adventurous girls would appeal to the feminist cause. In contrast, Lieberman wrote about the genre's harmful indoctrinating impact, and associated the gendered narrative patterns of passive heroines and active heroes with the acculturation of young girls. I will return to these two authors in Chapter 1 and Lieberman in Chapters 6 and 7.

Recent feminist-oriented research has moved away from Lurie and Lieberman's general statements on the power of fairy tales. Instead, there is a growing emphasis on the importance of

⁴⁶ Donald Haase, ed., *Fairy Tales and Feminism: New Approaches* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004), ix.

⁴⁷ Zipes discusses Lieberman and mentions feminists such as Andrea Dworkin and Hester Eisenstein who held similar views on the acculturation of children. Jack Zipes, ed., *Don't Bet on the Prince: Contemporary Feminist Fairy Tales in North America and England* (New York: Methuen, 1986), 3–5.

specific fairy tales and their authors' tacit understanding of maturation, class, culture, and especially gender. These scholars (Anne Duggan, U.C. Knoepfelmacher, Maria Tatar, Cristina Bacchilega) focus on shifting contexts for historical or contemporary moments of reception.

Historical work on French literature from the time of Charles Perrault in Absolutist France by Anne E. Duggan, in particular, complicates the view that a homogeneous and hegemonic patriarchal world order successfully suppressed women in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In *Salonnières, Furies, and Fairies* (2005), Duggan creates a nuanced account of gender relations as manifested in pivotal literary texts. In her work on the French roots of the fairy tale, pleasure, enjoyment, virtue, education, and vengeance inform the tension between class and gender. For Duggan, children are not integral to the intertextual relationship between Charles Perrault and Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy's source texts.

The question of the fairy tale's appropriateness for children presents a different set of issues for Maria Tatar. Her close reading of the seven editions of Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm's *Märchen* (1812-1857) addresses contemporary expectations that fairy tales for children should be tame, and free of violence and sexuality. In *The Hard Facts* (1987) and *Off with Their Heads* (1992), Tatar elaborates on the pivotal moments of violence found in the Grimms' fairy tales, which children would have read.⁴⁸ In fact, the Grimms reedited hundreds of their collected stories when faced with nineteenth-century criticism of the tales' appropriateness as literature and their suitability for a household readership.⁴⁹ At times the Grimms heightened the expression of violent moments to create a stronger contrast between the hero's tribulations and the villain's final punishment. They also erased mention of sexual taboos like incest and premarital sex.

⁴⁸ Maria Tatar, *The Hard Facts of the Grimms' Fairy Tales* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987), 222.

⁴⁹ Tatar, *Hard Facts*, xxiii, 18-21.

Tatar comments that when encountering stories like Hansel and Gretel, Cinderella, and Snow White, which feature the hero's trials and the villain's comeuppance, "children, who invariably count themselves among the downtrodden and underprivileged, identify and empathise with the protagonist."⁵⁰ Tatar does more than provide a window of speculation into why children may delight in violent stories. She emphasizes edition specificity, grounding her analysis of gender on observations about how both male and female characters behave, in specific versions of the story. Ultimately, she considers the "hard facts" by bracketing current assumptions about historical fairy tales and by taking a close look at what happens in the stories. These considerations inspire my study of Victorian illustrated fairy tale books, which draw from French and German sources.

Equally important in the study of gender is the way that masculine and feminine childhood constructs shift in fairy tale novellas. U.C. Knoepfmacher in *Ventures into Childland* (1998) looks at Victorian fairy tale novellas by male authors and lesser-known tales by female writers. He explains his strange finding that male authors tended to be more liberal—one could say subversive—with their use of fantasy and female authors tended to be more conservative.⁵¹ He suggests that both male and female writers responded to their own youth (girls stayed at home for a longer period and boys left earlier for work and education), and as adults, competed for their professional status as writers.⁵² More specifically, these writers (otherwise referred as the "six successors of Ruskin,") collectively challenged Ruskin's idealization of childhood as a space that resists maturation and sexuality.⁵³ And, while drawing from their own biographical

⁵⁰ Notably, Tatar differentiates anti-fairy tales that end in the punishment of underdog-type characters (i.e. "Jew in the Thornbush") from the majority of the Grimms' fairy tales. The majority of "true" fairy tales end in the seemingly just punishment of the wrongdoer-type characters. *Ibid.*, 21.

⁵¹ Knoepfmacher, *Ventures into Childland*, 9, 25, 33.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 25.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 5.

experiences, they diversified the ways in which fairyland and “childland” informed the development of the fairy tale novella.⁵⁴ Knoepfelmacher’s work emphasizes the importance of the intertextuality between Victorian writers to highlight the diverse views on maturation within the period’s fairy tales. The illustrations from many of these books (authored by Ruskin, Carroll, Thackeray, Rossetti, and Ingelow) are addressed in this thesis.

3.2. Postcolonial Feminism

Despite the stories’ cross-cultural histories, fairy tales have generally been studied as Western children’s literature, whereas Orientalist studies have had jurisdiction over the Arabian Nights. Post-colonial critiques of a passive, exotic, and even erotic East have been brought to bear on these stories. However, the art historians who have critiqued Orientalized representations (including depictions of women) have rarely been concerned with the fairy tale, per se. Similarly, the study of folklore within anthropology concerns itself with post-colonial questions, but not all folk tales are synonymous with familiar fairy tales. In other words, a significant gap in post-colonial considerations of historical fairy tales remains. Recognizing this issue of disciplinary compartmentalization, in *Fairy Tales and Feminism* (2004) Donald Haase describes the Western insularity of fairy tale scholarship. Haase states that “[p]rogress in feminist fairy-tale studies requires not only a determination to rethink the complexity of fairy-tale texts and responses to them but also a willingness to expand the field of inquiry across national and cultural boundaries.”⁵⁵

With the evolution of feminist awareness of cultural plurality, and of the lives of women either outside of Euro-America or from Indigenous or migrant backgrounds, writers and artists

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Haase, *Fairy Tales and Feminism*, ix.

have recycled texts from both the Arabian Nights and classic fairy tales to form contemporary novels—and I would add artworks. Cristina Bacchilega reconfigures feminism’s Western insularity in her text “Genre, Gender in the Cultured Reproduction of India as Wonder Tale.”⁵⁶ Here she discusses how the “Idea of India” and the wonderful “Orient” have been fused in the Eurocentric fascination with Indian storytelling traditions.⁵⁷ In contemporary intertextual fairy tale novels, however, authors work through the masculinized fantasy of Western hegemony and also attempt to overcome the gaze which seeks to tame the eroticized East. For example, Salman Rushdie integrates references to *The Wizard of Oz*, which ceases to appear as “Western” when its allure is compared to his wonder-filled India.⁵⁸ While Bacchilega asserts that there is an overarching “Idea of India” in the contemporary fixation with wonder tales, I am interested in highlighting how nineteenth-century fairy tales hosted Orientalized objects and racialized others.

4. Lack of Attention Given to the Pictorial

Aside from the importance accorded to the visuality of fairy tales in film studies—as found in the vast expanse of Disney scholarship (to be addressed in the concluding chapter)—the lack of sustained attention to the pictorial dimension of historical fairy tale books is surprising. It is, nonetheless, common for literary scholars to include illustrations in their studies without discussing them. For example, Bacchilega talks about the idea of India as a tamed and feminized wonderland in her critique of contemporary novels.⁵⁹ Meanwhile, an illustration of Scheherazade (the storyteller) in a sari kneeling before an attentive English child, taken from *Indian Fairy*

⁵⁶ Cristina Bacchilega, “Genre and Gender in the Cultural Reproduction of India as ‘Wonder’ Tale,” in *Fairy Tales and Feminism: New Approaches*, ed. Donald Haase, Series in Fairy-Tale Studies (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004), 179–97.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 180, 183–184.

⁵⁸ In reference to Salman Rushdie’s *Haroun and the Sea of Stories*. *Ibid.*, 184.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 180–181.

Tales (1892) hovers in her text without analysis and interpretation. Tatar emphasizes the importance of edition specificity within the German context of Grimms' fairy tales, and yet she includes various illustrations from French, German, and English publications, that were published either in France and England or decades after the Grimms' original seven books.⁶⁰ For example, as she discusses violence in the Grimms' version of "King of the Golden Mountain," English illustrator George Cruikshank's picture of jovial beheadings appears on the opposite page.⁶¹

Although Zipes gives little weight to the pictorial in his overview of the fairy tale genre in Western publishing, his books are filled with lovely illustrations. When he highlights the progressive homosexual undertones in Oscar Wilde's fairy tales, it is Walter Crane's print of the handsome prince that takes up an entire page.⁶² Several other illustrations from the Victorian era—such as Crane's picture of Beauty saving the Beast—appear more than once without much explanation as to why the image is so enticing to look at.⁶³ The book cover of *Victorian Fairy Tales: The Revolt of the Fairies and Elves* (1989; 2013) is another example.⁶⁴ It features an enhanced detail of Richard Doyle's little fairies that scramble up a leaf; they are presumably there to emphasize Zipes' point that everyday folk can revolt against the status quo, except that this is never spelt out by Zipes.⁶⁵ Exceptionally, Knoepfelmacher notes the sexual implications of different sizes of noses given to one character in Doyle's picture for two editions of Ruskin's *The*

⁶⁰ Tatar, *Hard Facts*, 4, 40, 41, 91.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 176.

⁶² Jack Zipes, *When Dreams Came True: Classical Fairy Tales and Their Tradition* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 136–137.

⁶³ Tatar, *Off with Their Heads!*, 156; Zipes, *Fairy Tale as Myth*, 18.

⁶⁴ This book is a collection of progressive Victorian fairy tales (gathered by Zipes), which includes Wilde's *The Happy Prince* and Lang's *The Princess Nobody*. Notably, attention to the cover image's narrative source—either *In Fairyland* or *Princess Nobody*—is not provided. Jack Zipes, *Victorian Fairy Tales: The Revolt of the Fairies and Elves* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

⁶⁵ Matthew Sweet, *Inventing the Victorians: What We Think We Know About Them and Why We're Wrong* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001), xii.

King of the Golden River.⁶⁶ However, consideration of how sexuality may shift within a story's sequence of images from one edition to another is wanting.

Nicola Bown and Carole Silver are the two principal scholars of British fairy lore; Bown looks at painting and poetry, Silver looks at folkloric and ethnographic texts, but both pay more attention to literature than to the books' pictures.⁶⁷ I will later return to how Silver situates Lang; and I will later consider Bown's valuable insights on fairyland paintings in relation to illustrations. For now, it must be emphasized that they both regard the late nineteenth-century picture books (Lang's fairy books for children exemplify this trend) as a symptom of the decline of the fairy's importance in Victorian England. Accordingly, the increased presence of fairy-lore in books marketed for children signalled a decreased recognition of the value of fairy tales for adults. Although not stated directly by Bown and Silver, this sense of decline may in part be because children's literature can readily be seen as inferior to adult literature. With that said, by reframing the importance of the illustrations, I am situating myself in dialogue with literary scholars who have allowed the study of fairylands to thrive.

5. Towards a Picture Book Methodology

Aside from monographs on particular artists and studies on the representation of the child's body, scholarship pertaining more specifically to images in picture books (many of which are not fairy tales) does exist. The survey is one approach in picture book studies, which Barbara Bader's *American Picture Book* (1967) and Joyce Whalley's *A History of Children's Book Illustration* (1988) exemplify.⁶⁸ These books summarize stories and discuss select images,

⁶⁶ Knoepfmacher, *Ventures into Childland*, 58–61.

⁶⁷ Nicola Bown, *Fairies in Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Silver, *Strange and Secret Peoples*.

⁶⁸ Joyce Irene Whalley, *A History of Children's Book Illustration* (London: Murray, 1988); Barbara Bader, *American Picturebooks from Noah's Ark to the Beast Within* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1976).

considering the picture's chronological order, place of origin, and stylistic tendency. Both surveys of picture books are useful for understanding trends in children's book market and for locating illustrations for future research. For example, Bader introduces the importance of Edmund Evan's triumvirate (Crane, Caldecott, Greenaway), but then does not discuss the fairy tale in her American focus.⁶⁹

Similar descriptive overviews of Victorian illustrations exist outside of the field of children's literature. Morna Daniels' *Victorian Book Illustration* (1998) looks at types of books—history books, religious books, everyday stories—and she provides introductory paragraphs for the illustrators. However, in her section “The Orient, fantasy, and the fairy world” a critical discussion of how Orientalism and fairy tale worlds overlap is lacking.⁷⁰ Christopher Wood's *Fairies in Victorian Art* (2008) thematically categorizes the fairy figure by dividing early and later Victorian pictures by well-known and lesser-known painters and illustrators. While juxtaposing fairy lore illustration and painting within his survey, Wood's book includes women artists (i.e.: Adelaide Claxton, Mary L. Gow, and Etheline Dell). Their images conceivably question the boundaries between the fairy tale meant for children and adults.

Although surveys have their uses, scholarship that has a more critical bent oscillates between word and image as the main storytelling element, but rarely considers both. As discussed above, literary studies tend to look at key themes and issues from the literary angle alone, ignoring the accompanying images in books.⁷¹ By contrast, an art historical approach may

⁶⁹ Bader, *American Picturebooks from Noah's Ark to the Beast Within*, 3–4.

⁷⁰ However, not all Victorian studies (i.e. by Simon Cooke and Julia Thomas) of visual culture are surveys. Thomas emphasizes that the illustrations in her study of Tennyson's illustrated books, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *Punch* magazine's depictions of the crinoline craze. These images were marked by stylistic influences from painting and related narrative arts, such as plays and novels that “cut across generic boundaries.” Julia Thomas, *Pictorial Victorians* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2004), 3.

⁷¹ However, it should be noted that I discovered many of the fairy tale illustrations by using references to stories in literary studies of the genre and by exploring various rare book libraries and digitization projects.

tend to narrow in on the illustrations, while leaving out the sequential flow of the storyline and the textual elements. There are insightful benefits to such an art historical approach as can be seen in Kazue Kobayashi's overview of the illustrations in the publishing history of the Arabian Nights, which does more than provide a survey.⁷² In making space for the pictorial, Kobayashi shows that there were multiple ways to envision the Orientalized other, and many of these held cross-cultural implications in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

An art historical approach may include illustrations within a discussion of how child-related imagery circulates from one medium to another.⁷³ Anne Higonnet's *Pictures of Innocence: The History of Crisis of Ideal Childhood* (1998) is a study of how children have been represented across the arts of painting, illustration, and photography over the past three hundred years. The crisis that she speaks of emerges from current expectations that children should be unaware of their sexuality to receive protection from abuse. The umbrella of innocence is supposed to protect them, but the imagery associated with this tendency can do just the opposite, through a failure to recognize the child's agency, awareness, and innate sexuality. According to Higonnet, the expectation of desexualized childhood innocence extends from eighteenth-century paintings to the nineteenth-century children's book illustrations by Kate Greenaway and Jessie Willcox Smith and to the twentieth-century photographs by Anne Geddes (to name a few artists).⁷⁴ She uses the terms "unknowing child" and the "Romantic Child" to signal how this

⁷² Kazue Kobayashi, "The Evolution of the Arabian Nights Illustrations: An Art Historical Review," in *The Arabian Nights and Orientalism: Perspectives from East and West*, ed. Yuriko Yamanaka and Tetsuo Nishio (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), 171–93.

⁷³ Genevieve Valteau looks at the influence that contemporary illustrators derive from the fine arts of painting. Genevieve M.Y. Valteau, "Degas and Seurat and Magritte! Oh My! Classical Art in Picturebooks," *The Looking Glass: New Perspectives on Children's Literature* 10, no. 3 (2006), the-looking-glass.net.

⁷⁴ Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence*, 22–30 and 52–58.

body of imagery signals a certain idea about innocence—one that is less about freedom from wrongdoings and more about the idealization of the sitter’s naivité in bucolic and wild nature.⁷⁵

Because of print culture’s mass-market circulation, the illustrations and calendar-worthy photos of pretty girls and infants who frolic in nature come into conflict with a more true-to-life way of representing children. Also located in the field of photography are Sally Mann’s controversial photographs of her semi-nude and defiantly posed daughters, which Higonnet describes as the knowing child. The critical point arises when the historically rooted “unknowing child” and the edgier “knowing child” confront adult expectations of childhood innocence.⁷⁶ Building on Higonnet’s study, I add the fairy figure to her typology of representations of children and consider how the fairy’s sexuality shifts from eighteenth-century paintings to nineteenth-century children’s book illustrations. While focusing on the picture books, I additionally explore the discrepancy between historical images and their historically positioned childhood concepts from contemporary expectations.

Although art historians (myself included) would be inclined to contend that our disciplinary interest in visuality has much to offer picture book studies, children’s literature scholar Perry Nodelman critiques an art historical approach associated with connoisseurship and art education. He specifically refers to a tendency in response to children’s literature to examine pictures in picture books as though they were singular works of art, designed to teach art appreciation.⁷⁷ He remarks that an alternative tendency pays too little attention to the visual.⁷⁸ He attributes this lack of attention to the ways that parents and teachers do not often teach the

⁷⁵ Ibid., 38–39, 75.

⁷⁶ Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence*.

⁷⁷ Perry Nodelman, *Words about Pictures: The Narrative Art of Children’s Picture Books* (Athens, GA.: University of Georgia Press, 1988), vii.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 5.

meaning-making potential of visual literacy.⁷⁹ An additional contributing factor is the common assumption that children are simplistic, and therefore that children's books with pictures—conceived of as either merely decorative or simply informative—are uncomplicated.

Arguing for the importance of examining the picture book's detailed elements, Nodelman in *Words about Pictures* (1998) addresses how text-dependent images produce meaning. He stresses visual literacy in his semiotic approach to picture books. While suggesting that “learned assumptions” are part of the “codes of signification,” he considers format, style, design, mood, atmosphere, layout, colour, directed tension, visual weight, depicted action, and the tension between word and image.⁸⁰ The question of how modern picture books, such as Maurice Sendak's *Where the Wild Things Are*, function as a whole, albeit for a contemporary audience, is useful for studies that aim to narrow in on the storytelling aspects. The hero and heroine's actions, their active and passive postures, as well as the chosen moment for narrative action (i.e. before, after, or during dragon slaying) all are significant visual elements to look for.

When Nodelman examines style (otherwise described as the book's overarching identity and feel), he suggests that artists develop their illustrations from a variety of visual sources.⁸¹ Contemporary illustrators such as Sendak, Errol Le Cain, Marcia Brown, Jack Kent, and Nancy Ekholm Burkert also re-use historical styles—Art Nouveau, Impressionism, Medievalism, and period fashions and interiors—which provides associative meaning for modern day viewers. For example, Brown's elaborate costumes for her *Cinderella* and her “energetic cartoons” place the figure in Charles Perrault's light-hearted “elegant late-seventeenth-century court.”⁸² But, Le

⁷⁹ Ibid., 36–37, 42.

⁸⁰ Ibid., xi.

⁸¹ Nodelman also suggests that the short texts in picture books depend on the images for their meaning, and not the other way around. Ibid., viii, 80.

⁸² Ibid., 82.

Cain's "exuberant style" and "sombre mood" place the figures in the "opulence" of Elizabethan England.⁸³ While these are interesting associations for a modern viewer to make, I focus on how historically founded aesthetic modes impact the stories themselves.

Addressing the assumption that picture books are for children, Nodelman's assertion that the convention of bright colours in "very small and very large books" automatically implies the child reader deserves to be elaborated upon.⁸⁴ When discussing Beatrix Potter's rabbits (one of the few historical examples in his study), he mentions how the large white margins create a focus for the emotive human-like quality of the clothed creatures, but he does not propose cuteness as a potential aesthetic mode (as I do later in the thesis.) When he mentions cartoons and caricatures, Nodelman generalizes their significance by stating that these simplifications of reality emphasize movement.⁸⁵ This thesis will elaborate on how the art of exaggeration relates to the cuteness factor found in fairy tale book illustrations and in the tradition of graphic satire. Finally, in a brief note about the wonder of fantasy-scapes, he mentions that sumptuous textures, which developed from the knowledge of oil painting, began with artists like Arthur Rackham and Edmund Dulac. I am specifically interested in the historical precedents to Rackham (whose illustrations are firmly situated in the field of children's literature) and of the utopian possibilities for imagining alternative worlds.

In *How Picturebooks Work* (2009), Carol Scott and Maria Nikolajeva respond to Peter Hunt's call for a meta-language by considering various textual and pictorial interactions in modern picture books.⁸⁶ These co-authors are interested in how picturebooks are complex because of the myriad of ways that these storytelling elements interact with each other. Textual

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 44.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 97.

⁸⁶ Maria Nikolajeva and Carol Scott, *How Picturebooks Work* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), 1-2.

and pictorial elements may harmonize with each other, deviate from the main storyline, and play either the primary or secondary role in presenting the narrative.⁸⁷ The tension between what the words and pictures do also frequently enhances the dynamic nature of picture books with their textual and pictorial characters. An awareness of the interaction between text and image is crucial; according to Nikolajeva, the more complex and even contradictory the dynamic between word and image, the more sophisticated the book.⁸⁸ And, while Nikolajeva argues that fairy tale books and ABCs are simple examples of books, because they restate the same stories and learning lessons, I contend that they are epistemologically and aesthetically rich.⁸⁹

Victorian scholars are perhaps more inclined to study nineteenth-century narrative culture as distinct from children's literature. In her study of how adult men were interested in fairyland paintings and poems, Nicola Bown pays close attention to the fairy's erotic appeal; fairies are part of a delightful irrational realm precisely because they are unlike classical images of the human body, which symbolize rationality. In other words, attention given to the fairy's size and bodily appeal is important. Also useful is Victorian scholar Julia Thomas' point that from painting and related narrative arts such as plays and novels, Victorian images and texts "cut across generic boundaries."⁹⁰ Thomas' study of various illustrations—Tennyson's illustrated books, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *Punch* depictions of the crinoline graze—is distinct from my fairy tale focus. However, the concept of shifting boundaries relates to the question of whether there was such a firm divide between children's and adult's literature and picture books (including *Punch*) in the nineteenth century.

⁸⁷ Ibid. 7.

⁸⁸ Words direct our attention from left to right (or vice versa) and are thus more or less "linear"; whereas, pictures "do not give us direct instruction as to how to read them," and are comparatively "nonlinear." Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 8-9.

⁹⁰ Thomas, *Pictorial Victorians*, 3.

The thesis' principal methodological aim is to understand and underline the importance of the pictorial in the history of fairy tales. Moreover, this serves to reinforce my contention that the fantasy component of fairy tales is part of the genre's vitality; and, that diverse historical illustrations expand the interpretive range, which in turn confirms the book's value as more than second-rate child's fare. My methodological approach integrates questions inspired by children's literature studies and fairy tale scholarship. While feminist-oriented scholars have influenced my understanding of the fairy tale's evolution and its subversive possibilities, here too my focus on how characters appear in both their visual and textual worlds is an extension of the existing scholarship. Illustrated figures may become allegorical stand-ins for concepts like death and liberation, while the eroticization of certain characters or situations changes from story to story. Throughout the thesis, I consider the pictorial diversity in the Victorian era in relation to a range of childhood concepts. And crucially, I introduce the notion of inter pictorial relationships between illustrations, publications, and related narrative genres.

Borrowing from the concept of intertextuality in literary studies, the inter pictorial will henceforth be understood as the shaping of an image's meaning based on references to another set of pictures.⁹¹ Rather than treat visuals as texts in this study of illustrated books, I am creating the distinction between the intertextuality of literary texts, text-image pairings, and the inter pictoriality between image-image interactions, which visually expand the story's elastic meaning. I want to suggest that adult reader-viewers were implicated in fairy tales via a kind of inter pictoriality, which expanded outside of the domain of children's literature.

⁹¹ Intertextuality is a term frequently used in literary studies. Through literary devices such as parody and quotation, but also through psychoanalytic and post-structuralist theory, a given text depends on others for its meaning. According to Allan, intertextuality signals the text's plurality of meaning in the eyes of the readers, and it also "foregrounds notions of relationality, interconnectedness and interdependence," such as between the dominant male discourse and the discovery of texts by marginalized writers (i.e. women and cultural others). The term has also been used in cinema and musicology, and to a lesser extent in art history to explore text-to-image relationships. Graham Allen, *Intertextuality*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2011), 5, 151, 170–171.

Similar images travel from the French context of the salon storytelling environment to English publishing with its chapbooks (not originally marketed for children) and toy books (marketed for children). Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* inspired the fairyland paintings discussed by Bown, and illustrations like those by Doyle become part of this narrative culture. Paintings of romanticized children, discussed by Higonnet, conceivably inform the origins of the domesticated infant fairy in book illustration.

Focusing on the inter pictorial way that imagery traversed distinctive publishing niches shows how fairy tales of the era could implicate adult reader-viewers. In the case of the fairy tale book illustrations, intersections arise with political cartoons, paintings of fairyland, the staging and publishing of Shakespearean plays, as well as toy books, natural history imagery, and the utopian novel. Recognizing that historical fairy tale illustrations were part of an extensive body of visual and material culture increases our understanding of how earlier viewers experienced these books. In the nineteenth century, disciplinary distinctions (i.e. between politics, literature, science, and the arts) were not yet solidified by today's standards. Visual styles migrated, which is why it is important to explore the interdisciplinarity of historical picture books.

My scholarship on fairy tale picture books, therefore, takes to heart a number of considerations, namely: the dynamic between author and illustrator, word and image, the specifics of publishing history—while I attempt to do justice to adult and child reader-viewers from the past and also the present. Further considerations include the power dynamic enacted by characters within the pictorial narrative, embedded concepts of childhood, and the stylistic appeal of the illustration (i.e. cute children and animals, satirical adults and fairies, and utopian glimmers of a better world). Thus, to take account of a fairy tale book as a whole, and to contextualize it in its period and stylistic mode, several of my chapters will analyse various

versions of the same tale. This attention to specific editions allows me to focus on issues, such as sexuality, gender and racial power dynamics—while also making space for the fantasy’s utopian possibilities.

Several questions come to light. Do the words and pictures tell different aspects of the story, its action moments, its settings, and its characters? What does the particular dynamic between word and image signify for the relationship between illustrator and author and their intended child and adult reader-viewer? What embedded concepts of childhood emerge from the stories, and how might greater attention to the illustrations’ aesthetic modes expand the range of interpretive possibilities?

5.1. Additional Conceptual Considerations: Fantasy versus Empathy

The question of whether fantasy is productive for self-other relations has fallen under scrutiny from a variety of theoretical lenses. Children’s stories have been read for biographic traces of the creepy male voyeurs and authors who pose untoward sexual fantasies about young innocent girls. This kind of reading has been applied to both Ruskin and Carroll’s stories.⁹² Similarly, several postcolonial critiques of Orientalism have sought evidence of Western sexual fantasies of dominion over the erotized Eastern other. Walt Disney’s fantasies allegedly have the power to indoctrinate young girls into becoming passive housewives and active consumers—buying the right clothes, shoes, and household items.

If reader-viewers are presumed to have little agency, it is because they supposedly identify with the principal character that most resembles them (i.e. stupid girls feel for the

⁹² Michael Patrick Hearn, “Mr. Ruskin and Miss Greenaway,” *Children’s Literature* 8, no. 1 (1980): 22–34, doi:10.1353/chl.0.0361; Jacqueline Labbe, “Illustrating Alice: Gender, Image, Artifice,” in *Art, Narrative and Childhood* (Sterling, USA: Threntham Books, 2003), 21–36.

passive teary-eyed princess). But, is this really what happens when reader-viewers become absorbed in a narrative and feel for characters and their experiences? While questioning the paradigm of the innocent blank-slate child, (decontextualized from Locke, it presumes the child's easy manipulation) it is helpful to turn to the concept of narrative empathy to address these anxieties and reclaim the importance of fantasy.

Suzanne Keen's *Empathy and the Novel* (2007) questions whether the act of reading novels will automatically generate empathy, and whether that empathy will then shape altruistic ends.⁹³ In other, words, she tests out the conditions under which readers feel and think, and then act. She distinguishes between a reader's empathy and that of the author's to demonstrate that how people feel and think about characters, and their worlds (both during and after the reading experience) is varied and complex. For example, readers might have different levels of emotional intelligence or have a different cultural background from the author, resulting in a different response.⁹⁴

Keen begins by examining the concept of empathy. In literary criticism, the term is understood to be act of sharing feelings (joy, pain, pity, pleasure) with others.⁹⁵ And, it is perhaps because of the assumption that emotions and cognition are antithetical to each other that critics of emotive stories find empathy suspicious. However, Keen is referring simultaneously to the reader's feelings towards the characters of the story, and the situations based in the novel or in real life that generate characterization. Moreover, she recognizes that by feeling for a character, a reader may, on the one hand, let down her guard, but on the other, she has already begun the

⁹³ Suzanne Keen, *Empathy and the Novel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

⁹⁴ Keen's article was written in anticipation of her book. Suzanne Keen, "A Theory of Narrative Empathy," *Narrative* 14, no. 3 (2006): 214.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 202.

cognitive process of searching to understand how and why characters feel and act the way that they do.

In phenomenologist Edith Stein's problematization of empathy, the empathizer (she who seeks to understand another self) first recognizes herself as a sensate being in the here and now.⁹⁶ The German word *Einfühlung* translates as "feeling into another," and for Stein (in the phenomenological tradition of Husserl) it also supports a deepened consciousness pertaining to a range of lived experiences, including other-awareness and self-awareness.⁹⁷ The 'self' is however made up of one's inner content; Stein is referring to the sum of one's experiences, memories, and fantasies as well as personality, psyche and spirit.⁹⁸ To continue the empathetic process, and it is very much a process in Stein's eyes, she states that "the 'content' of someone else's experience is tested through reflection, which reveals whether it is my own or someone else's."⁹⁹ In other words, the general ability to recognize others as separate selves informs the distinction between fantasy delusions and fantasy used as a foundation for self-other relations.¹⁰⁰

When a cultural artefact acts as an interface, the trace of an author's or artist's inner world manifested in his or her work causes an added theoretical difficulty; it is hard to ascertain what of the author's self is revealed in the reader's experience. Stein's insight corresponds to Keen's finding, namely that self-other understandings between readers become most active in reading circles. Here, questions about character identification, narrative situations, creative

⁹⁶ Edith Stein, *On the Problem of Empathy*, doctoral thesis, 1916, trans. Waltraut Stein, 3rd ed. (Washington, D.C.: ICS Publications, 1989), 8.

⁹⁷ Ibid., xviii; Alasdair MacIntyre, *Edith Stein: A Philosophical Prologue, 1913-1922* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007), 83; "Einfühlung," *Oxford Dictionaries*, 2015, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/einfuehlung>.

⁹⁸ Stein, *On the Problem of Empathy*, 8; Edith Stein, *Potency and Act* (Washington, DC: ICS Publications, 2009), 16–17.

⁹⁹ Stein, *On the Problem of Empathy*, 10; Marianne Sawicki, *Body, Text and Science: The Literacy of Investigative Practices and the Phenomenology of Edith Stein* (London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1997), 100.

¹⁰⁰ Antonio Calcagno, *The Philosophy of Edith Stein* (Pittsburgh, PA.: Duquesne University Press, 2007), 60; Stein eventually complicates the split between self and other when she discusses communities of persons and the problem of individuality. Stein, *On the Problem of Empathy*, 116.

interpretations, misunderstandings, and the story's larger socio-cultural significance foster reflection and discussion. Through role-play and other such activities, the genuine, empathetic process between those who do not see eye-to-eye can thrive. Keen, furthermore finds that it is in such interactive environments that readers might choose to act differently after the story has come to an end.

As for the individual reading experience, there is little evidence to suggest that authors can easily manipulate the future behaviour of readers who choose to enter their creative world. As noted by Tolkien (a figure to whom I return), even a child must find fairyland believable or worthwhile to take a leap into an alternate world and feel absorbed. When it comes to acknowledging the reader's agency, I side with Stein, Keen, Tolkien, and Zipes (with regards to his views on fantasy and subversion). And I suggest that fantasy can enhance the empathetic process, enabling self-other understanding. With this comes the realization that stories offer ways of imagining the world from multiple characters' perspectives. For example, a girl might identify with the adventurous prince and create alternative narratives for the passive princesses in *Sleeping Beauty* and *Cinderella*. Or she might identify with the humorous animals who scamper around the heroines in Disney films. Imagining ways of relating to the cast of fairy tale characters is part of fantasy's broader expanse of experiencing adventures, exploring curiosities, sexual awakening, and wonderment itself.

It is difficult to begin the empathetic process without the fantasist's skill of imagining how another (character, reader, or author) might experience the world. However, without the cognitive, sensorial, and emotive aspects of empathy, which in Steinian terms entails recognizing the lived experience of another as distinct, it would be difficult to differentiate private fantasies from someone's else's inner content. For these reasons, the trouble with reading malevolence

into an author's private realm and claiming its negative impact on vulnerable children is that it risks misunderstanding their proposed fairyland as well as the artist's vision. It also underestimates reader-viewer agency, which in turn, limits the scope of what fantasy can do. Fantasy fosters personal and collective liberation, and it suggests how the world might be different in visual terms, which is what many fairy tale picture books offer. Pictures, after all, add a narrative layer, which fosters thought, emotion, and increases the story's interpretive possibilities for children as well as adults. I now turn to the thesis' structure.

6. Outline of Chapters

The first of the three main sections in this thesis provides a historical overview. "Chapter 1: The Fairy Tale for Adults and the Limits of Andrew Lang's Fantasy-Scape" defines three phases of fairy tale scholarship. I historicize the impact of late Victorian Andrew Lang's "Coloured Fairy Books" series and question the attitude that the fairy tale was destined for children. Arguments over the value of the "Coloured Fairy Books" arise in the chapter's grouping of pivotal essays from each of the three phases, and Lang becomes a recurring figure throughout the chapter. The first phase was foundational because it involved the practice of collecting, gathering, and editing stories, and often served the study of cultural origins and linguistic ties. The stories adapted by Charles Perrault and Antoine Galland as well as the tales collected by the Brothers Grimm and Andrew Lang inform the pre-Disney fairy tale canon within publishing history. It should be noted here that Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy and Lang also wrote their own fairy stories. A closer look at Lang's "The Origin of Exogamy and Totemism" (1913) written within an ethnological context commences the analytical work of addressing reductivist notions of childhood in the chapter.

The second phase presupposes that the genre went into a decline even as some authors were attempting to revive the fairy tale for adults. Both G.K. Chesterton and J.R.R. Tolkien (whom I refer to as the revivalists), offer reasons in their respective “Ethics of Elfland” and “On Fairy Stories” essays for why the fairy tale had gone out of fashion, and why it should be renewed in the name of fantasy’s power to foster hope, renewal, and liberation. The third phase examines the stories for their underlying power relations (ideology, gender, and age, class, and race) and this readily leads to how the fairy tale tradition is currently studied. Having mentioned aspects of feminist scholarship in this introduction, here I focus on the debate between Marcia Lieberman and Alison Lurie. Lurie’s review “Fairy Tale Liberation” and Lieberman’s canonical essay “Someday My Prince Will Come” answer the question of whether the traditional fairy tale characters and narrative patterns in Lang’s book can serve the feminist cause. After questioning whether his series of coloured fairy tale books should be made to represent the pre-Disney tradition, the following chapter provides an overview of how fairy tale illustrations came to flourish in Victorian publishing.

“Chapter 2: Growing out of and into Fairyland: Victorian Pictorial Diversity” provides an overview of diverse Victorian fairy tale illustrations. Throughout the chapter I position the importance of the pictorial, not only within the “Coloured Fairy Books,” but also within a larger range of stories and their publishing histories. At the same time, I take a closer look at the evolution of the late nineteenth-century attitude whereby fairyland became synonymous with childhood, and the child was seen as the fairy tale’s primary reader-viewer. John Ruskin’s fairy tale-related essays and letters provide an entry point to a discussion of how idealized girlhood became central to fairyland. I furthermore explore the illustrations that accompany Victorian fairy tale novellas following Ruskin’s *The King of the Golden River*. Here I am building on the

work of U.C. Knoepflemacher whose literary study addresses the gender dynamic between male and female authors and their varied intertextual response to maturation in fairyland.

To illustrate narrative diversity on issues of sexuality, gender, but also racial difference, and Orientalism, novellas such as *Alice in Wonderland*, *Phantasies*, *The Light Princess*, *Mopsa the Fairy*, *The Happy Prince*, *Goblin Market*, and *The Rose and the Ring* enter into the picture. This chapter highlights the relationship between pictorial and textual narratives, and how the stories change from one edition to another. Illustrators include men and women, and even Ruskin as a child, and collectively they suggest that the Victorians hardly held a singular attitude toward age, gender, race, and sex. A closer look at how the illustrations foster moments of curiosity and wonder helps to question assumptions about the harmful impact of the fairy tales on young girls. The illustrators I introduce include George Cruikshank, Richard Doyle, Walter Crane, H.J. Ford, John Tenniel (the illustrator of the *Alice* stories), Maud Humphrey, Maria Louise Kirk, Laurence Housman, Edmund Dulac, and Arthur Rackham. In the hands of Walter Crane and H.J. Ford (one of Lang's illustrators) stories such as "Beauty and the Beast" and "Aladdin" acquire radically different meanings. With this overview, pictures become an integral part of diverse fantasy-scapes.

Richard Doyle's *In Fairyland* provides the historical cue for a set of shorter Victorian-focused chapters, which are organized around three paradigms: the cute, the satirical, and the utopian. "Chapter 3: The Cute" theorizes the place of the 'cute' in the toy books of the nineteenth century. Cuteness is understood to exist in the attraction to visual attributes associated with the infantile: large eyes, small size, and wobbly forms. While identifying several scholars who look at the ways that cute characteristics attract mothers to children and humans to animals, I am narrowing in on the theorist of art and culture Sianne Ngai. In her exploration of this diminutive

aesthetic category's significance in commodity culture, Ngai argues that intensely cute objects are packaged to attract shoppers. The excessive purchasing and handling of seemingly vulnerable commodified toys can turn everyday commodity fetishism into strong feelings of repulsion.

The chapter delineates what the cuteness factor in child and fairy-related imagery signifies for the commodity value, emotive appeal, and visual literacy associated with the coloured toy books of the nineteenth century. I am using Ngai's insight that there are gradations of cuteness, which child imagery and toy culture intensify. As such, the chapter traces the emergence of the cute from two trajectories: the child's body (discussed by Anne Higonnet) and the fairy body in paintings of the eighteenth century (studied by Nicola Bown). These seemingly unrelated groupings converge in the nineteenth century with illustrations by Kate Greenaway (Ruskin's protégée) and subsequent women illustrators who followed in her path as professional artists. The diminutive child and the erotic fairy eventually transform into the vulnerability of desexualized child-fairies in the illustrated fairylands of the late nineteenth century. In this study of how painting informs illustration, I question the feminine gendering which accompanied the production and reception of the cute. Adults, both men and women, remain part of the implied reader-viewers who contributed to this body of fairyland imagery—resulting in the so-called crisis of childhood innocence.

Although Doyle's coloured illustrations of fairyland relate to my discussion of fairies and children, the cute chapter focuses on the contributions by women illustrators. In "Chapter 4: The Satirical," I return to Richard Doyle alongside George Cruikshank and John Tenniel, looking at examples of how their fairy tales intersect with their work for the Victorian era satirical press. Cruikshank illustrated *German Popular Tales*, which many Victorians (Ruskin and Charles Dickens included) adored, and was also the principal illustrator for the *Comic Almanack*. Doyle

was one of the early illustrators for *Punch* (the period's most acclaimed satirical magazine), and he also illustrated William M. Thackeray's *The Rose and the Ring*. Tenniel took over Doyle's role at *Punch*, and soon began working on the now famous *Alice* stories. Because of this interchange, the satirical would become a dominant aesthetic mode within the Victorian era.

There are two ways of defining the kind of satirical illustration that arises in this period. The ideal satirist (as defined by G.K. Chesterton to whom I return to) has an eye for the absurdities of life: by using the art of role play, he holds accountable the foolishness of the targeted ideology's unquestioned principles even as he refrains from maliciously attacking the individual. However, the professional graphic satirists (like those studied by the art historian Dominic Hardy) may mercilessly lampoon individuals, especially their targeted politicians. For Hardy, the caricaturist who villainizes, sexualizes, cross-dresses, facially distorts, and does violence to the caricatured also exposes duplicity. Moreover, he identifies how graphic satires allow socio-cultural conflicts and contradictions to rise to the surface. Both these ways of defining the satirical can be found in the illustrations of the magazine known as *Punch*.

While drawing attention to the intertextuality between *Punch* cartoons and related toy book illustrations of Red Riding Hood and Babes in the Woods (to name two stories), I am building on the work of literary historian Claudia Nelson. In her study of the period literature, she argues that Victorians were well aware of the child-men and women that they could become; I develop this insight when analyzing *Punch* imagery of the child-men who fight and play like children, and who cross-dress as Cinderella, Tom Thumb, and fairy-winged characters. My intertextual analysis of scenes from *Punch*'s absurd fairy tale scenarios and related images in Crane and Caldecott toy books emphasizes role-play possibilities between opposing political

positions. The satirical quality in these illustrations was vital to politically engaged adults who were willing to critique themselves, others, and question the status quo.

Utopian fantasy is not without a satirical edge. From Thomas More's *Utopia* (1st English ed., 1551) onwards, utopian novels critique present-day society by making visible a nebulous place (u-topos: no place), in which humans might in future be released from their flaws and ordeals. "Chapter 5: The Utopian" defines the utopian mode based on the narrative structure and associated aesthetic experiences found in More's quintessential utopian novel, which inspired socialist-oriented utopian novels in the nineteenth century as well as utopian theories. Expanding from Jack Zipes use of socialist theorist Ernst Bloch's utopian perspective on fantasy fiction, I am following Tolkien and Fredric Jameson when I contend that the utopian appears in glimpses and glimmers. This contention engages the debate as to whether the utopian island—a paradoxical place of social equality, freedom from injustice, shared happiness—can be made visible. Arguing that it can, this chapter looks at the interplay between socialist utopian novels especially William Morris' *News from Nowhere*, and Walter Crane's overt use of the allegorical in political prints as well as in his fairy tale toy books. A utopian world glimmers in Crane's pictorial scenes of allegorical figures who express social awakening and freedom from the shackles of greed and subordination. The intersections between the fairy tale and the utopian novel offer a reminder of the fairy genre's productive potency for imagining a better world.

Collectively, Chapters 3 through 5 argue for the importance of the pictorial in the production and perception of Victorian picture books with their fairy bodies and fairylands. The cute, the satirical, and the utopian persist within Victorian culture's overarching love for narrative, and they also inform the look and feel of picture books. These modes possess different capabilities for generating the emotive and intellectual dynamic between text and image

interactions, and they create pathways between characters and reader-viewers, and between adulthood and childhood. The cute may cause delight or disgust, the satirical may prompt laughter and interest, and the utopian yields the promise for a happier life.

Section 3 of the thesis narrows in on one particular fairy tale as a way to bridge historical considerations and contemporary manifestations of the genre. Although the Cinderella story has received considerable attention over the course of the three phases of fairy tale scholarship, there is still more to say when it comes to the story's visuality. I begin by historicizing assumptions about Cinderella's beauty as an integral aspect of the character's passivity, which leads to a discussion of historical examples of the illustrated story chosen from archival research in British and Canadian rare book collections. While engaging with a feminist-oriented debate on whether the story liberates or oppresses the heroine, select case study illustrations help re-map how several Cinderella figures evolved in book culture before she was Disneyfied.

"Chapter 6: Cinderella and Her Many Slippers" counters the anti-Disney feminist lens in Marcia Lieberman's canonical essay "Some Day My Prince Will Come," which assumes that beauty and female passivity are inexorably linked within the fairy tale tradition. By looking at textual and pictorial narrative scenes from various book types (anthology, chapbook, toy book), this chapter expands the interpretive range for what beauty may have signalled to past reader-viewers who looked not only at the suffering heroine's victimisation, but also her liberation. Looking at early edition illustrations (1690-1900), here I am building on Anne E. Duggan's literary analysis of how Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy responded to Perrault's subdued heroine with two Cinderella-stories of her own. Translated variations of Perrault and the Grimms' versions of the story foreground the flourishing of Cinderella imagery in Victorian era books. Even though Perrault's story is considered the source of the more oppressive variant (according to Cullen,

Parsons, and Lieberman) there are significant variations in illustrated scenes of Cinderella reading by the fireplace, her shoe trial, and the transformation of her dress into a gown, and pumpkin into a coach. Eventually, the Cinderella story shifts in the Disney film because of the all-American girl and the emphasis on animal characters.

“Chapter 7: The Disney Version, or Cinderella’s Tale of Cat and Mouse” addresses how the early Disney version of princess stories—*Cinderella* mainly, but also *Snow White* and *Sleeping Beauty*—risk supplanting the genre’s rich pictorial diversity. While analyzing how the films adapt prevalent concepts of childhood, I am also considering insights from Disney scholars, including those who maintain Marxist and feminist positions. I also draw from David Whitley and Robin Allan in examining how Disney animation recycles moments of human-animal interaction from illustration history. The cute and satirical animals that populate Disney films complicate the question of the beautiful princess’ passive emotional state and the film’s impact on a supposedly gullible audience. In this final chapter, I consider how animality offers empathetic possibilities in such a way that asserts the liberating side of fantasy, even in Disney. The dynamic between Cinderella and her male and female mice companions, and the chase between the wild cat and anthropomorphized mice, are integral to the film.

Pictures matter, even in the Disney version. It is not only Disney’s contested impact as a purveyor of innocence and a shaper of American values on family and society, work and leisure, nature and culture that are at stake within Disney-related scholarship. When Disney’s pervasiveness and corporate agenda are taken deadly seriously—as Zipes alongside Jean Baudrillard, Louis Marin, and Henry A. Giroux have done—forecasts of doom and gloom usually prevail. It remains important, though, to question whether the aestheticization of Disney

heroines and animals can inform genuinely imaginative and generative pathways between different—primarily adult—audience members.

While addressing the issue of viewer agency, the conclusion points to the possibilities for future studies of how contemporary artists (including writers, illustrators, and film-makers) have revived the fairy tale. In this way, I end with a case study interview with the artist Sarindar Dwaliwal (1953-). Her work *the green fairy storybook* (2010) is a multi-coloured installation of books that references a book series that I refer to throughout the thesis: Lang's "Coloured Fairy Books." The global context of her work sheds new light on the books, despite Lang's vision of race, gender, and childhood. Moreover, her personalized narrative readdresses the more general attitude that the fairy tale forever belongs in the child's domain.

As I turn to the body of the thesis, I would like to emphasize the fairy tale's expansive nature. The roots and branches of each fairy tale can readily grow far away from their fairy tree; they may also fall, or rot, or be transplanted over land and sea, and tumble out of the child's nursery and become canonized and Disneyfied—or bud anew into books replenished in colour and freed of text.

Chapter 1: Fairy Tales for Adults and the Limits of Andrew Lang's Fantasy-Scape

The association of children and fairy-stories is an accident of our domestic history. Fairy-stories have in the modern lettered world been relegated to the “nursery,” as shabby or old-fashioned furniture is relegated to the play-room, primarily because the adults do not want it, and do not mind if it is misused.¹⁰¹

Writing in 1939, J.R.R. Tolkien was commenting on what had become a conventional attitude towards historic fairy tales—they were destined for children rather than adults. By historicizing Tolkien's argument about the relevance of fantasy for adults, this chapter sets out to unpack the fairy tale genre's exclusive association with children. Tolkien's critique of fairy tale books, which he encountered as a child (i.e. Andrew Lang's “Coloured Fairy Books”) is an extension of G.K. Chesterton's earlier attempt to valorize the fairy tale. These twentieth-century revivalists of the genre argued that an emphasis on hope, a love for the mysteries of life, and an openness to desire could offer adults the key to re-enter the fantasy doors to fairyland. For these thinkers, there are psychological and other social causes for the relegation of the fairy tale to the stagnation of the children's room. Tolkien's displeasure with unsophisticated fairy tale reading, Chesterton's distaste for the hubris of scientific determinism, and their combined awareness of a cultural malaise are factors that may account for a wider sense of indifference amongst adults to fairy tales at the turn of the twentieth century. Based on their own childhood memories of books marketed toward English children, their essays point to specific nineteenth-century fairy tale editors and books, which leads me to contend that there are also historical reasons, grounded in the publication of books, which drive the association between childhood and fairy tales.

This chapter examines three phases of intellectual inquiry into fairy tales. Phase one begins during the late seventeenth century with the intellectual pursuits of French aristocrats.

¹⁰¹ Tolkien, “On Fairy-Stories,” 34.

This phase continued into the mid-nineteenth century with cultural historians such as the Brothers Grimm, and culminated in the ethnological interest in fairy tales amongst several Victorians such as Lang. The work of adapting and collecting fantastic short stories characterizes this foundational phase. Its thinkers used their stories first to express universal notions of human nature, to study familiar and foreign languages, and by the nineteenth century to explore questions of human origins. As editors and writers, they also disseminated their collections so as to foster a collective sense of cultivation amongst their readers.

Phase two begins in late Victorian England and extends to pre-World War II Britain. In the culturally specific time frame of the anglicized fairy tale, Andrew Lang is central for linking phases one and two. Lang was a folklorist and ethnologist as well as a collector of stories explicitly destined for children's books. After the genre had stopped being considered popular reading, the essays by Chesterton and Tolkien triggered the fairy tale scholarship that re-examined the historical value of the genre, while Tolkien's fictional writing is of course tremendously important in shifting this ground. Writing in German at around the same time as Tolkien in the 1930s, Ernst Bloch should also be counted as a revivalist who argued that German folk and fairy tales presented a utopian vision of how underdog-type characters could inspire ordinary people. Set in the English-speaking world, an analysis of Lang as editor as well as Chesterton and Tolkien as respondents compose this chapter's Victorian focus.

An interest in fairy tales and their subversive and counter-productive potential for children, women, and society as a whole informs the third phase. By the 1960s, an interdisciplinary field of contemporary fairy tale scholarship emerged within the ideological climate of post-World War II American feminism and Frankfurt School Marxism. Dichotomized gendered labour division at work in consumer culture and popular media fuelled the context of

second wave feminism's assessment of the fairy tale's malevolence or benevolence. More specifically, the debate between Alison Lurie and Marcia Lieberman established a feminist framework for analyzing and interpreting the way that the narratives enacted gender relations.

1.1. Phase One: Storytelling and the Development of the Fairy Tale Canon

The collecting practices of fairy tales in the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century serve as the foundational material for fairy tale scholarship. Collections of short stories were amassed from the far reaches of the globe, conceivably from China, India, Russia, North Africa, and ancient Persia, but also locally from the folk, in the sense of a cultural body that includes the aristocracy, the lower classes and the emerging middle class.¹⁰² This constellation of fairy stories emerged from a range of sources, and was set into an ideological context associated with Western European books and eventually with North American films. Focusing on the Western lineage leading to Disney, the stories in question were adapted, collected, and published during the Enlightenment's emphasis on secular knowledge formation, which spilled over into the Romantic Movement's focus on the imagination, emotions, and the human psyche. During this formative period (1690-1900), the roots for today's distinct fields of sociology and anthropology, and folklore and literary studies were entangled.¹⁰³ This meant that collecting fairy stories served the study of human origins, the creation of national myths, and the modernization of European

¹⁰² Volk is the German word for folk, and in German it still carries the meaning of a cultural body of people.

¹⁰³ For example, folklore studies, which was seen as the study of the common people and their stories (or lore) developed with the rise folkloric societies in the nineteenth century, as well as the Grimms' studies. It is related to sociology, which with Emile Durkheim, only became a distinct academic discipline at the end of the century. Meanwhile anthropology was also emerging as a distinct academic discipline in the nineteenth century with E.B. Tylor, who emphasized the importance of culture, but drew from ethnography. Simon J. Bronner, "Folklore - Anthropology," *Oxford Bibliographies Online* (Oxford University Press, October 29, 2013), <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com>; Alexander Riley, "Émile Durkheim - Sociology," *Oxford Bibliographies Online* (Oxford University Press, July 27, 2011), <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com>; Henrika Kuklick, "Social Anthropology (British Tradition) - Anthropology," *Oxford Bibliographies Online* (Oxford University Press, January 11, 2012), <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com>.

languages, as well as the study of foreign languages, cultures, and civilizations, both within and outside of Europe.

The Arabian Nights were particularly influential for the formation of a European canon of fairy tales. Formed from a mixture of Eastern and Western sources, the Arabian Nights consists of approximately one thousand and one stories of varying lengths. Although the precise grouping of stories have shifted over time, the ancient Indian narrative device of the frame story is central to the Arabian Nights: to save herself from being murdered by her heart-broken virgin-killing husband, the Persian princess Scheherazade tells a nightly series of cliff-hanger stories.¹⁰⁴ The character Scheherazade takes on a particular role as narrator, that of bringing cultural memory and narrative history to life. Not only does she connect various groupings of sub-plots together, she brings memories from Mesopotamia, North Africa, and South to North Asian storytelling into Middle Eastern and European languages.¹⁰⁵ Much like European fairy tale anthologies, the Arabian Nights are a collection of short stories; they include elements of magic, erotic and violent moments, and moments of compassion.

The fact that the Arabian Nights share a variety of elements with the European fairy tale is an indicator of the shared history of Western and so-called “Oriental” storytelling. Scholars have noted how the frame story and the style and plot developments in Arabian Nights have influenced the development of Western literature. Evidence of this can be found in the work of medieval traveller Geoffrey Chaucer and the French aristocrat Marie-Catherine d’Aulnoy.¹⁰⁶ The Anglo-Indian Victorian William M. Thackeray frequently references the Arabian Nights as a

¹⁰⁴ For more on the image of Sheherazade in publishing history see: Margaret Sironval, “Image of Sheherazade in French and English Editions of the Thousand and One Nights (Eighteenth-Nineteenth Centuries),” in *The Arabian Nights and Orientalism: Perspectives from East and West*, ed. Yuriko Yamanaka and Tetsuo Nishio (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), 219–44.

¹⁰⁵ Melvin Bragg, *The Arabian Nights, In Our Time - BBC Radio 4*, accessed October 10, 2016, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b0081kdb>.

¹⁰⁶ Robert Irwin, *The Arabian Nights: A Companion* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1994), 96.

body of literature in his stories and novels.¹⁰⁷ Scholars of the Arabian Nights, typically from the branches of Oriental studies, suspect that certain tales such as “Aladdin” and “Ali Baba” were created in a Western eighteenth-century context (i.e. by Antoine Galland in his twelve volume publication, 1704-1717).¹⁰⁸ These two stories were published in Richard Burton’s English translation of Galland’s anthology *The Arabian Nights* (1885). “Aladdin” was additionally published in collections of European fairy stories. I will return to the question of how traces of the “Orient” feature in the fairy tale illustrations in the following chapter when I bring up art historical considerations of what Orientalism has come to mean.¹⁰⁹

European national self-creation and the study of the non-European “other” through Orientalism developed alongside the publication of short stories in the French context of the Enlightenment.¹¹⁰ An important leader of the *Moderne* in the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* Charles Perrault (1628-1703) and the Arabic chair of the College de France Antoine Galland (1646-1715) are central to the formation of story publications, their typology, and their study. Galland is responsible for the twelve-volume translation of *Les mille et une nuits* (1704-1717), which served to inform intellectual circles on the customs, religion, and general nature of the Arabic world. Perrault argued for the modernization of the French language and more importantly the value of localized French stories in contrast to those taken from antiquity. It is this modernization that led to the popularity of his publication of tales in *Contes du temps passé*

¹⁰⁷ Knoepflmacher, *Ventures into Childland*, 80.

¹⁰⁸ I have seen the attribution of these stories to Galland on several occasions. For one example, see: Yuriko Yamanaka and Tetsuo Nishio, eds., *The Arabian Nights and Orientalism: Perspectives from East & West* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), 5.

¹⁰⁹ The intersection between the Arabian Nights and the European fairy tale has been considered in literary studies. Anne E. Duggan, *Salonnières, Furies, and Fairies: The Politics of Gender and Cultural Change in Absolutist France* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 100, 245; Knoepflmacher, *Ventures into Childland*, 80; Zipes, *When Dreams Came True*, 43–44.

¹¹⁰ It is worth noting that Orientalism was originally understood to be the study of all things Oriental. Since Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1978), post-colonial criticism has identified Orientalism as a colonial project.

(1697).¹¹¹ The book's dedication letter to the Duchess of Lorraine valorizes the "childish simplicity" of the stories, which the author associates with the "humble households of ordinary people."¹¹² By emphasizing morality and by extolling the virtues of the folk, understood in this context as the ordinary people, the tales are conceivably meant to lessen the gap between classes. Both men's collecting practices were founded on the study of cultures learned through language: Galland's edited tales are about the exotic "cultural other," and Perrault's are about the "cultural self" in France.

Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy (1650-1705) attended the same circle of salons as Perrault. Although d'Aulnoy was the woman who coined the term *contes des fées*, and who revived an interest in the realm of magic and enchantment connected with classic literature and French opera, her fairy tales have only recently been given credence. As part of the feminist-oriented interest in asserting the historical role of women, Anne E. Duggan has recently emphasized the importance of d'Aulnoy, who gave the fairy tales of her day (in the late 1600s and early 1700s) a set of distinct characteristics, which differentiates her stories from folkloric forms of storytelling. D'Aulnoy's inspiration from the fairy-filled operas of Louis XIV differentiates the flair, mood, and motifs of her writing from classic literature and the Italian folkloric tradition.¹¹³ D'Aulnoy's tales can be regarded as a site of aristocratic female power, freedom, pleasure and amusement, and a love for language and the arts. Together, both Perrault and d'Aulnoy are pivotal influences on the genre's early institutionalization.

¹¹¹ Arthur Augustus Tilley, *The Decline of the Age of Louis XIV; Or, French Literature, 1687-171* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1968), 183.

¹¹² Bottigheimer includes a translated copy of Perrault's original 1695 dedication letter. See: Ruth B. Bottigheimer, *Fairy Tales Framed: Early Forewords, Afterwords, and Critical Words* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2012), 126.

¹¹³ Duggan, *Salonnières, Furies, and Fairies*, 226, 227, 230.

Publisher Claude Barbin had an illustrator (perhaps Antoine Clouzier) design the frontispieces for the first editions of d'Aulnoy's and Perrault's compilations, as well as illustrations for individual stories. The frontispiece for Perrault's *Contes du temps passé* (1695; 1697) shows a storyteller dressed in peasant clothes, clogs, and an apron. Small courtiers sit by the fireplace, listening attentively (fig. 4). The words *Contés de ma mère l'oyé* announce that the pictured storyteller is a 'Mother Goose.'¹¹⁴ In the frontispiece for d'Aulnoy's *Conte des fées* (both the 1698 and 1717 editions), a curtain in the engraving draws the reader's attention to the enthroned storyteller's status as a *salonnière* (fig. 5).¹¹⁵ A bird or feather crowns her, and makes her taller, and of greater importance to her entourage of dancing courtiers.

From the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, it would become typical for frontispieces to illustrate a maternal storyteller surrounded by chubby children. However, placed in the context of the salon storytelling environments, these early edition prints use the convention known as hierarchy of scale, and together they illustrate a social conflict. In the frontispiece for Perrault's *Contes du temps passé*, the Mother Goose mocks and even satirizes the elevated social position of women storytellers from the salons that Perrault attended; in contrast, the noble lady in d'Aulnoy's frontispiece reconfirms women's social status and feminine authority. The pictorial elements in the first and subsequent editions of Perrault and d'Aulnoy's tales have not been much discussed, and I will return to this issue in the later Cinderella chapter (Chapter 6).

The Germanic versions of fairy tales, known as *Kinder und Hausmärchen* (1812-1864) or "Children and Household Tales" included *Zaubermaerchen* or "enchanted tales." As a result, the household tale and the fairy tale became conflated in the German context. Collected and edited by the Brothers Grimm, these tales are significant in the development of the traditional corpus of

¹¹⁴ Perrault was not the first to use the term "mère l'oye." The term appears in Saint-Renier, *Les satyres de Saint-Regnier*, 1626. The seventeenth-century sense of the term appears to refer to women of the countryside.

¹¹⁵ The illustrations for both the 1698 and 1717 appear to be the same.

fairy tale picture books.¹¹⁶ Between 1812-1865, Jacob Grimm (1785-1863) and Wilhelm Grimm (1786-1859) published seven editions of their fairy tale anthology. There are over two hundred and ten stories in their collections. Their fairy tale work in the earlier editions is reflective of their broad scholarly interests in languages and folklore, as well as the anthropological aspects of Germanic cultural origins. Any study of the Grimms' significance to fairy tale scholarship must, of course, must acknowledge the intellectual context of their initial project, and the evolution of the tales in the German context. It is also important to address the illustrations included in their books, both in Germany and in England. First, second, and third editions are almost devoid of images.¹¹⁷ The second edition in 1819 contains only a frontispiece image by Wilhelm and Jacob's younger brother, Ludwig. Later publications adopted the format of the full-fledged picture book.

The Grimms' editorial project grew out of Jacob's interest in the philological links within Indo-European languages and Wilhelm's love of storytelling.¹¹⁸ Jacob Grimm drew on a range of mythologies in his analysis of linguistic similarities between the Greek and Latin Indo-European languages, proto-Germanic, and modern German dialects. In their exploration of the cultural and linguistic roots of the Germanic pre-Christian and medieval past, they adapted tales taken from literary sources circulating in Europe's aristocratic circles, from the Bible, and from varied Indo-European oral folkloric sources.¹¹⁹ The frame story in *Arabian Nights* and the animals in both *Aesop's Fables* and local German stories are some of their many influences.¹²⁰ Advancing the crossover between the collection of folklore and the study of language, previously seen in the

¹¹⁶ Zipes, *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion*, 2006, 139.

¹¹⁷ Tatar, *Hard Facts*, 19–20.

¹¹⁸ Christa Kamenetsky, *The Brothers Grimm and Their Critics: Folktales and the Quest for Meaning* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1992), 168–171, 239.

¹¹⁹ G. Ronald Murphy, *The Owl, the Raven, and the Dove: The Religious Meaning of the Grimms' Magic Fairy Tales* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 3, 107.

¹²⁰ Kamenetsky, *Brothers Grimm and Their Critics*, 90–91, 143, 146.

French context, the Grimms responded to Johann Gottfried Herder's call for a renaissance of Germanic folklore.¹²¹

A major source of influence on the Grimms, Herder (1744-1803) is a connecting figure between the German Enlightenment and Romantic Movement. As a proto-nationalist, Herder was an opponent of French absolutism as well as a critic of French fairy tales. Herder advocated for a patriotic national unity amongst the German folk, and to achieve this he developed the foundations for comparative literature and folklore studies, and re-worked folktales in his creative writing.¹²² Motivated by a similar sense of admiration for the German folk, the Grimms attempted to preserve, rather than re-invent, local stories.¹²³

For the purposes of generating a compelling body of literature in Germany, Jacob's linguistic sensibilities gave the stories their lyrical flow, puns, integration of dialects, and onomatopoeic moments.¹²⁴ The stylistic flair of the stories was integrated with Wilhelm's recording of storytellers such as their neighbour Dorothea Viehmann (1755-1816).

Paradoxically, though, her stories show an obvious influence from the tradition of French fairy tales. The Viehmann family came to Kassel due to the persecution of Huguenots in France.

Drawn by Jacob and Wilhelm's younger brother Ludwig, a portrait of Viehmann is the sole image in the preface to the second volume of *Kinder und Hausmärchen* in 1819 (fig. 6).

Depicted as old and wrinkled, kind yet stern, dignified yet of the everyday, her face opens up the Grimms' book of storytelling. Her relationship to the Grimms' project is revealing of the complex mix of foreign and national sources, which are integral to their collections. However,

¹²¹ The Grimms' fairy tales respond to Herder's concerns. With that said, there are differences between the Grimms' and Herder's views on the *Volk* and folklore. It would be inaccurate to say that their tales map onto Herder's theories. Ibid., 57–59; Tatar, *Hard Facts*, 19–20; Zipes, *Breaking the Magic Spell*, 93.

¹²² Kamenetsky, *Brothers Grimm and Their Critics*, 62; Zipes, *Breaking the Magic Spell*, 26.

¹²³ Kamenetsky compares the Grimms with Herder. She insists that the Grimms were more scholarly. Kamenetsky, *Brothers Grimm and Their Critics*, 57–60.

¹²⁴ Lerer, *Children's Literature*, 211–212, 216.

her portrait can give the impression that the tales are rooted in Germany's matrilineal folkloric culture, one that is independent of any foreign sources.

Changes in the later editions were made to suit a book market for the growing middle class. The publications evolved to become compelling reading for a new demographic, which was being defined by shifts in class relations and family structure.¹²⁵ After the Grimms' fairy tales were translated into English in 1823, they were adapted for British households, and received market success abroad. It is at this juncture that the brothers began to alter their tales as part of a new set of interests to suit a Protestant emphasis on hard work, modesty, and the mystical powers of God's justice. They wanted to tap into the market of household literature. Over the course of subsequent editions, which came into print between 1825 and 1857, their fairy stories became increasingly religious in symbolism, more violent in the combat between heroes and villains, and increasingly desexualized (especially where pregnancy and inappropriate fatherly affection is concerned).¹²⁶ During these shifts, pictures were added to illustrate many of the tales.¹²⁷ By 1857, the illustrated edition was so popular that it had become second only to the Bible in the circulation of books.¹²⁸ It is at this very moment that German publishing was coming into its own: contributions by acclaimed artists (Ludwig Richter, William Bush, Carl Offterdinger, Moritz von Schwind Arpad Schmidhammer, Otto Ubbelohde) now featured in the production of cherished illustrated books in Germany.

¹²⁵ Zipes, *When Dreams Came True*, 71; Zipes, *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion*, 2006, 61–62; Kamenetsky, *Brothers Grimm and Their Critics*, 114.

¹²⁶ Murphy, *The Owl, the Raven, and the Dove*, 107; Tatar, *Hard Facts*, 7,8,21, 45.

¹²⁷ Tatar, *Hard Facts*, 20, 91, 163; Regina Freyberger, *Märchenbilder--Bildermärchen: Illustrationen zu Grimms Märchen, 1819-1945: über einen vergessenen Bereich deutscher Kunst*, Doktorarbeit 2008 (Neu aufgelegt, Oberhausen: Athena-Verlag, 2009), 55, 62.

¹²⁸ Although Zipes discusses the popularization of the Grimms' stories over the course of their books' publishing history, he does mention that the illustrations in the 1857 edition may have been a contributing factor to the stories' near biblical status. Jack Zipes, "Who's Afraid of the Brothers Grimm? Socialization and Politicization through Fairy Tales," in *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006), 67.

Efforts to tame the role of fantasy in the name of civilized national cultures mark the first phase in fairy tale scholarship. Equally, though, fantasy continued to be introduced for the pleasure of reading, for artistic and intellectual pursuits, and for the dissemination of values. Fantasy—that core element of the fairy tale—is multivalent. The range of aristocratic and anthropological interests in fairy tales provides the context for French and German variations of such stories as “Cinderella,” “Red Riding Hood,” and “Sleeping Beauty,” which came into print and eventually circulated to Britain. This map of key coordinates for the fairy tale’s transnational history provides the context for the pre-Victorian development of the fairy tale canon. As of yet, there is no indication that the stories were ever exclusively meant for children.

Two exceptional pre-Victorian fairy books may give the false impression that childhood resides at the core of the development of the canon in France. During his time in court as the royal tutor, the Archbishop Fénelon (1615-1715) wrote several moralizing fairy stories, not for children in general, but for Louis XIV’s grandson. They were designed to teach Louis, Duke of Burgundy and Dauphin of France (1682-1712), how to behave with aristocratic conduct as heir apparent to the French crown. However, his childhood literature hardly represents the experience of the everyday child.¹²⁹ The other example is Marie Leprince de Beaumont’s (1711-1780) fairy book. During Beaumont’s time as a London governess, she re-adapted Villeneuve’s version of “Beauty and the Beast.” It must be emphasized that these are isolated examples. Prior to the popularization of fairy tales in Victorian England, fairy stories were designed for adults; and, if children were to be involved at all, the stories were part of the shared reading experience of a household. Nevertheless, Perrault, d’Aulnoy, the Grimms, and de Villeneuve, as well as the Orientalists Galland and Burton influenced the fairy tale’s initial canonicity in English

¹²⁹ Zipes, *When Dreams Came True*, 15.

publishing. When, where, and how did the bond between childhood and fairyland become normalized?

1.2. Phase Two: Stories for Children and the Myth of the Noble Savage

Contemporary sources are undecided as to when the exclusive association of the fairy tale with childhood occurred. As Jack Zipes asserts: “Never has the fairy tale ever lost its appeal to adults, and the fairy tale for adults or mixed audiences underwent highly significant changes in the twentieth century.”¹³⁰ Signalling a different view, fairy tale scholar Roger Sale states that the genre was not accepted as child’s fare prior to the mid-nineteenth century.¹³¹ In children’s literature studies, it is common to read statements like “[w]hile folk and fairy tales were not originally intended for children, they have become a staple of children’s literature since the early nineteenth century.”¹³² Another source in the history of children’s literature states: “it was not until well into the nineteenth century that fairy tales came to dominate the children’s book market.”¹³³

A scholar of Victorian fairy culture, Carol G. Silver claims that while fairy tales had reached their zenith of popularity at the end of the nineteenth century, they became unfashionable and exclusively associated with children by the 1920s.¹³⁴ In her study of Victorian fairy culture, she proposes that the factor most affecting adults’ gradual disenchantment with fairies was the ‘Golden Age of Children’s Literature.’¹³⁵ Accordingly, the Victorian children’s

¹³⁰ Ibid., 23.

¹³¹ Roger Sale, *Fairy Tales and After: From Snow White to E.B. White* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), 30–31.

¹³² Susina, “Children’s Literature: Facts, Information, Pictures.”

¹³³ Cynthia Burlingham, “Picturing Childhood,” Special collections of UCLA library, *UCLA Library Special Collections*, (1997), <http://unitproj.library.ucla.edu/special/childhood/pictur.htm>.

¹³⁴ Silver, *Strange and Secret Peoples*, 89, 185.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 185.

book “so ensconced the fairies in the nursery that it virtually dislodged them from their places in adult literature and art.”¹³⁶ According to Silver, Andrew Lang was one of the many figures within the larger context of the Victorian effort to naturalize supernatural forces presented within fairy tales. Silver’s analysis of Lang goes no further. She stipulates that her book is about the less well-known fairy material in adult culture, and not about children’s literature or popular fairy tales.¹³⁷

What is suggested, here, is that the fairy tale had entered the children’s side of an emerging division between children’s and adult’s literature by the late nineteenth century. Early in the year 1889, E.M. Field produced a historical survey of children’s books, titled *The Child and His Book*, and claimed that the realist story and novel had already begun to supersede the fairy tale in current reading.¹³⁸ It is during this later period when popular adventure stories, which feature young boys who defend the empire, came into vogue.¹³⁹ Published in time for the Christmas book market of that same year, Andrew Lang released his *The Blue Fairy Book* (1889), which would briefly reverse the tide. During the on-going release of books within the series, a poll titled “What Children Like to Read” (1898) was published in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. As a marker of Lang’s success within the Victorian book market, it was determined that the most age-appropriate material for ten-year-olds consisted of his fairy books.¹⁴⁰

Not long after *The Lilac Fairy Book* (the last of the series) came out in 1910, the fairy tale decreased in popularity; nonetheless, Lang’s biographer suggests that it “seems only right

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 4, 5, 35, 42, 45.

¹³⁸ E.M. Field via Green: Roger Lancelyn Green, *Andrew Lang: A Critical Biography*, A Bodley Head Monograph (London: Bodley Head, 1962), 81–82.

¹³⁹ Roger Cox identifies how new conceptions of childhood (i.e.: adventurous boyhood and sexually pure girlhood) emerged at the end of the Victorian era. This assertion is part of his larger claim that the Victorians had long expressed shifting notions of femininity and masculinity. Roger Cox, “The Child of the Victorians,” in *Shaping Childhood: Themes of Uncertainty in the History of Adult-Child Relationships* (London: Routledge, 1996), 136.

¹⁴⁰ Susina, “Like the Fragments of Coloured Glass in a Kaleidoscope,” 100.

that the name of Andrew Lang should still be linked most naturally and universally with fairy books.”¹⁴¹ According to children’s literature and fairy tale scholar Björn Sundmark, Andrew Lang “was the first British folklore specialist to compile a fairy tale anthology for children.”¹⁴² In other words, during the release of Lang’s series, the fairy tale became a part of the bookshelves in the child’s room, and it competed with everyday stories and adventure fiction. Lang’s fairy tales would also become central to the children’s literature section in libraries.

Within the larger context of the English children’s fairy tale’s emergence, I want to distinguish between a general association of fairy tales with the domain of children’s literature, and the explicit isolation of the child within a fairy realm divorced from adult interests. By the mid-nineteenth century, Perrault’s, d’Aulnoy’s, and the Grimms’ stories were republished for a mixed readership of children and adults. However, Lang’s fairy tale books were marketed specifically for children to be read by themselves. This marketing strategy, when combined with Lang’s particular concept of the child, cements the connection between fairy tales and childhood.

Tolkien identifies Lang’s child-concept as a “special kind of creature, almost a different race,” Smol describes it as a “savage child,” and Silver explains it as “fairy child.”¹⁴³ I take the position that Lang’s fairy tales address his intended readers as semi-civilized British children or noble savages. To support this claim, the following section looks at Andrew Lang’s nineteenth-century fairy tale project for children alongside his ethno-folkloric writings. I eventually aim to show how Lang’s imperialistic self-serving fantasy, can be transformed into a wider, more productive realm of fantasy. I then turn to several of the revivalists who reconsider the centrality

¹⁴¹ Green, *Andrew Lang: A Critical Biography*, 80.

¹⁴² Björn Sundmark, “Andrew Lang and the Colour Fairy Books,” in *Malmö University Electronic Publishing* (IRSLC Expectations and Experiences: Children, Childhood and Children’s Literature, Dublin: Malmö University Electronic Publishing, 2004), 1, <http://dspace.mah.se/dspace/>.

¹⁴³ Tolkien, “On Fairy-Stories,” 34; Silver, *Strange and Secret Peoples*, 7, 45, 187; Anna Smol, “The ‘Savage’ and the ‘Civilized’: Andrew Lang’s Representation of the Child and the Translation of Folklore,” *Children’s Literature Association Quarterly* 21, no. 4 (1996): 177, 178.

of Lang's fairy tales, namely: Chesterton, Tolkien, and Lurie. Their insights serve to expand a restrictive notion of fantasy by suggesting that the fairy's realm can liberate adults and children from oppressive forces located in the world they inhabit.

1.3. Andrew Lang

Andrew Lang (1844-1912) grew up fishing, playing, and reading in the Scottish borderland, and the fairy spirits of old became embedded in his childhood memories of the countryside. His nurse Nancy told old Scotch stories of the elves, fairies, boggles, witches, monsters of the lochs, and kelpies who inhabited the hillside and rivers. Adding to a love of the local oral tradition, Lang also read Shakespeare, Sir Walter Scott, and Thomas the Rhymer's fairy stories, as well as the *Arabian Nights* by the time that he was six.¹⁴⁴ However, not everything about being a child was pleasant for the shy and bookish Lang, who was bullied by "ignorant" schoolboys with far lower reading abilities than he. He recalls these "other savages" who propped him up on a tower of chairs only to hurl him down from his throne.¹⁴⁵ These early memories suggest that fellow boys could be like savages.

Maintaining his interest in fairy lore and in how literacy could promote cultural growth, Lang became central to the development of the childhood-based fairy tale. A leading member of the Folklore Society of London (1878), the multi-faceted Victorian Scotsman became an ethnographer and folklorist, a Scottish historian, a literary critic, and an advocate of classical literature. As mentioned, he was the collector and editor of a popular twelve-volume series of fairy tales known as the "Coloured Fairy Books" (1889-1910), which were marketed specifically for children (fig. 7). *The Blue Fairy Book* (1889)—consisting of a careful selection of canonical

¹⁴⁴ Green, *Andrew Lang: A Critical Biography*, 9.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 15 and 17.

fairy stories, which were illustrated and adapted from their earlier incarnations in the French and German tradition—launched the eleven subsequent collections of tales. Alongside his fairy series, Lang developed child-friendly versions of stories and histories. These books include *The Arabian Nights*, *The Blue True Storybook*, and *The Red True Storybook*, his adaptation of Richard Doyle's *In Fairyland* (which became Lang's *The Princess Nobody* for children), and his own literary tale, *The Gold of Fairnilee* (1888). Adding to the appeal of the fairy series with their brilliant coloured covers, hundreds of high-quality pictures by Lang's primary illustrator H.J. Ford appear throughout the books. Alongside Ford, G.P. Jacomb-Hood illustrated *The Blue Fairy Book*. I will return to how the illustrations complicate Lang's hierarchical system in the following chapter. My immediate concern here is to situate Lang's underlying imperialistic narrative within his folkloric and literary context and to question how his views inform his children's books.

Made to bypass the concerns of the parent and adult lovers of literature, Lang's child-friendly series provided British children with the necessary foundations to eventually read higher forms of literature. Lang geared his books toward the rudimentary reading level of a ten-year-old who would then move on to read the classics of Western civilization. Distinct from Perrault and the Grimms' source publications, Lang's fairy books were targeted specifically to the child reader rather than to salon-attendees and a heterogeneous household readership. One of Lang's marketing strategies was to design the prefaces with explanations that the tales were made to please and edify children, thus prompting the approval of the parent-buyer.¹⁴⁶ In this way,

¹⁴⁶ In the first preface Lang makes the claim that the stories have always been for children. Andrew Lang, H.J. Ford, illus., and G.P. Jacomb-Hood, illus., *The Blue Fairy Book*, 1st ed., Coloured Fairy Books (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1889), n.p., <http://archive.org/details/bluefairybook00langiala>; In a later preface, Lang makes the claim that the stories are for children because they are filled with harmless giants and monsters. Andrew Lang and H.J. Ford, illus., *The Green Fairy Book*, 1st ed., Coloured Fairy Books (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1892), x, <http://archive.org/details/greenfairybook01langgoog>; Lang emphasizes that the main goal of the books is to please children, and that he does not care about anyone else's criticism. Andrew Lang and H.J. Ford, illus., *The*

Andrew Lang (the editor) and his wife Lenora Lang (one of several translators) were responsible for simplifying plot complexity and language, as well as toning down the violence and weakening the female role in the European stories. I contend that Lang interlaced his collections with an underlying narrative that supported his ethnographic views on racial hierarchies.

While publishing a book a year on the children's market, he established his particular version of the fairy story's Western lineage leading up to his editorial contributions intended for the child reader. He also wrote introductions to Charles Perrault and the Grimms' respective groupings of tales, and alongside Marian Roalfe Cox, he positioned Perrault's version of "Cinderella" as the normative type amongst some three hundred variants.¹⁴⁷ There is enough evidence from Lang's various writings, which include his introductions, prefaces, and ethnological and folkloric articles, to confirm his binary views on human evolution. He viewed the civilized Aryan Victorian in contrast to the non-civilized savage, believed that the superior Victorian child was distinct from his primitive counterparts, contended that the human was clearly better than the animal, and distinguished between passive girls and active boys. A closer look at Lang's theories serves to extrapolate his notion of childhood, as imagined in his fairyland, and in relation to his vision of age-based, gendered, racial, and species hierarchies. The ensuing overview of Lang's ethnographic and folkloric theories shows how his primitivization of children in fairyland makes the exclusive association of childhood with Western fairy tales explicit.

Yellow Fairy Book, 3rd ed., Coloured Fairy Books (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1906), ix, <http://archive.org/details/AndrewLangsTheYellowFairyBook>; Lang states that he has softened the violence in the fairy stories so as to make them suitable for children. Andrew Lang and H.J. Ford, illus., *The Orange Fairy Book*, 1st ed. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1906), vi, <http://archive.org/details/AndrewLangsTheOrangeFairyBook>.

¹⁴⁷Andrew Lang and Marian Roalfe Cox, *Cinderella: Three Hundred and Forty-Five Variants of Cinderella, Catskin, and Cap O'Rushes* (Nendeln Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1892).

Children's literature scholar Anna Smol, who notes Lang's notorious Garden of Eden reference, takes up the Victorian ethnographic contexts for Lang's ideas. In a remark made to describe his role in the translation of stories for the "Coloured Fairy Books" Lang decries: "Eve worked, Adam superintended. I also superintend."¹⁴⁸ Indeed, he governed the translation work by his wife (Leonora Lang) and a dozen other female translators.¹⁴⁹ In her article "The 'Savage' and 'Civilized,'" Smol argues that Lang's basic understanding of the relationship between the "civilized" adult-world of superior men and the "savage" child-land of inferior children has come to dominate "current ways of thinking about the child and children's literature."¹⁵⁰ Smol has productively outlined the potentially harmful crossover between Lang's views on race, gender, and age, and the stories that he edited. However, it is important to clarify the particular childhood concept that Lang's writings are dependent on. Lang does propose that the British child and the savage are akin to each other, but not exactly in the terms suggested by Smol.

On one occasion Lang wrote that boys "will aid you in your selection of fly-hooks, and to be brief, will behave with much more civility than the tame Zulus or Red Men on a missionary settlement."¹⁵¹ While noting Lang's additional comparison between boys and a Polynesian prince who occasionally embraced "savagery," Smol is convinced that his passage on boys who evolve into civilized fly-fishers is unrepresentative of his views.¹⁵² After noticing how Lang's describes "non-European races" as childish, Smol uses this statement in her interpretation of Lang's views: for Lang, she states, "children are primitives; primitives are children."¹⁵³

¹⁴⁸ Smol, "The 'Savage' and the 'Civilized,'" 180; See also: Green, *Andrew Lang: A Critical Biography*, 38; Eleanor de Selms Langstaff, "Childhood Vision: Lang's Theory and Practice of Children's Literature," in *Andrew Lang* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978), 137.

¹⁴⁹ Whether Lang also thought of himself as governor over the men, especially over his illustrator H.J. Ford, who was a fellow cricket aficionado, is harder to ascertain.

¹⁵⁰ Smol, "The 'Savage' and the 'Civilized,'" 180–181.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 279 and 297.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 179.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

Smol understands the parallel that Lang draws between children and so-called primitive races as literal rather than analogical. For his hierarchical system to be consistent (even racist theories have a kind of logic), the connection must be understood as an analogy. For Lang, it is illogical for children and savages to be entirely equivalent in the hierarchical relationship that he will come to establish. He is furthermore describing the boy's capacity to aid adults in gentlemanly activities, and to act like the Polynesian Prince who also occasionally accepted a civilized approach to life. Based in part on Lang's childhood memories, but most especially on his ethnological theories, I propose that Lang's British child becomes a kind of noble savage attuned to the fairies of the local hills and lakes.

There are both differences and parallels between the bleaker memories of Lang's youth and how he imagined the place of childhood in the fairylands of book culture. The more delightful aspects of childhood are associated with youthful fishing outings when, he recalled, "two white fairy deer flit by, bringing us [...] back to Fairyland."¹⁵⁴ Associating fairyland with childhood's innocence, Lang tellingly describes the frontispiece in his introduction to Perrault's tales. It features a portrait of the Frenchman being laurelled by putti-like children. Lang states of these infants: "Though they do not, for the most part, know the name of their benefactor, it is children who keep green the memory of Perrault."¹⁵⁵ Despite Lang's precocity as a young reader, he imagines Britain's childhood as a site of unawareness ready to absorb his system of hierarchies.

¹⁵⁴ Green, *Andrew Lang: A Critical Biography*, 7.

¹⁵⁵ The Toronto Public Library's 1888 edition contains the illustrations that I am referring to. However, an 1888 edition that I consulted from McGill does not. Andrew Lang, *Perrault's Popular Tales* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888), vii, <http://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/detail.jsp?Entt=RDM1539433&R=1539433>.

1.3.1. Lang in his Victorian Era Ethnocultural Milieu

As a folklorist and follower of E.B. Tylor, Andrew Lang is firmly situated in the milieu of late-Victorian scientific culture and its prejudices.¹⁵⁶ His work on mythology, so-called primitive culture, religion, and classic literature grew out of a climate of debate on the essence of human nature and culture.¹⁵⁷ At issue were the questions: what makes so-called civilized and non-civilized humans different from the apes, and what makes European cultures distinct from each other, and the British Imperialists superior to the non-European cultures they were colonizing? The questions mark out divided views emerging from British anthropological circles on whether human groups should be considered equal, or whether they existed in a hierarchical order. By arguing for humankind's psychic unity, the Tylorian school of thought was reacting to a strand of ethnological supremacism—an outgrowth of social Darwinism—, which suggested that cultures have unequally evolved from their animalistic or primitive nature.

Although Terry Ellingson does not look directly at Lang or children's literature, his study of the noble savage in Victorian ethnology and twentieth-century anthropology provides an intellectual context, which is useful here as I set out to analyze Lang's hierarchical system. Ellingson's examination of anthropological sources in *The Myth of the Noble Savage* (2001) is extensive; he looks at Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and then focuses on the Victorian period with John Crawfurd and James Hunt, and their influence on E.B. Tylor. Notably, both Crawfurd and Hunt were high-ranking figures within nineteenth-century ethnological and anthropological

¹⁵⁶ Smol, "The 'Savage' and the 'Civilized,'" 177.

¹⁵⁷ Green, *Andrew Lang: A Critical Biography*, 70–71; Smol, "The 'Savage' and the 'Civilized,'" 179; Silver, *Strange and Secret Peoples*, 44–45; Terry Jay Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 1, 7.

societies, and from these positions of authority they institutionalized their justifications for racial supremacy.¹⁵⁸

A range of primary anthropological sources supports Ellingson's argument that the noble savage is a myth, in that the term was not used to suggest that American Indigenous groups were nobler than Europeans. He questions whether the term did originate with the romantic philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Rousseau discussed the idea of 'Man in the State of Nature' in his vision of equality in France's future. However, Rousseau's writings show no indication that he believed in noble savages, which is to say idealized Indigenous persons uncorrupted by civilization.¹⁵⁹ In this regard, the application of Ellingson's findings also extends to children's literature, with *Robinson Crusoe* being the one book that Rousseau advocated for young boys' edification. The novel does feature the native character Friday and the adventurer Crusoe. However, it is after Crusoe saves him, names him Friday, makes a loyal servant of him, and after he is transformed from his cannibalistic tendencies and converted into a Christian companion that Friday becomes ennobled.¹⁶⁰

In his examination of nineteenth-century ethnological writings, Ellingson shows that Crawford and Hunt tampered with the author-function of Rousseau's writings for the purpose of critiquing those who argued for the unity of the human race and the equality of men.¹⁶¹ Presumably motivated by the self-aggrandizing aims of Aryan supremacism—a worldview, which came to thrive in late Victorian ethnological societies—they attributed the “noble savage”

¹⁵⁸ John Crawford was elected President of the Ethnological Society of London (ESL) in 1861. James Hunt and Richard Burton founded the Anthropological Society of London in 1863, which broke from the ESL in order to study natural as well as cultural factors. “The Negro's Place in Nature” is an example of one of Hunt's papers.

¹⁵⁹ Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage*, 1–3.

¹⁶⁰ Lerer, *Children's Literature*, 129–130; Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, New ed., Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

¹⁶¹ Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage*, vx.

to Rousseau.¹⁶² By contrast, as Ellingson argues, the Tylorian school of thought internalized the hierarchical element in Crawford and Hunt's noble savage political coup. Accordingly, E.B. Tylor and his followers (which include Lang) fell into the trap of producing a non-egalitarian framework.¹⁶³ The Tylorian School held that "primitives," while part of the same race, were in suspended or arrested development. In other words, savages are human, but they are not yet noble; they are therefore not equal.

Andrew Lang thought that the fairy element in his collections of folktales from around the world and European classical tales were valuable fossils. It is this fossilization that bears Tylor's influence.¹⁶⁴ In *Primitive Culture* (1871), Tylor advanced the view that tribal cultures were "fossilized survivals of earlier evolutionary stages," which "Western man" had surpassed.¹⁶⁵ Lang extends Tylor's concept to his collection of classical fairy tales, seen as a sub-group of European folklore. Accordingly, the traditional European fairy tales, as well as the world folktales, contain linguistic and cultural fossils. The pairing of stories from around the world highlight humanity's universality as well as Western civilization's evolved superiority.

Despite an underlying insistence on human universality, and although Lang adapted E.B. Tylor's anthropological concept of cultural evolution, Lang's ethos appears to be more in line with Crawford and Hunt's imperialistic scientific self-exaltation than with Tylor's egalitarian aims.¹⁶⁶ Published posthumously, "The Origin of Exogamy and Totemism," (1913) is a synoptic

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, xiv.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 299.

¹⁶⁴ Smol, "The 'Savage' and the 'Civilized,'" 179.

¹⁶⁵ Sundmark, "Andrew Lang and the Colour Fairy Books," 6.

¹⁶⁶ Lang emphasizes the similarities between ancient stories from around the world in the orange preface. Lang and H.J. Ford, illus., *The Orange Fairy Book*, vi–vii; Biographer Langstaff, in particular, insists on the universal value of the collected stories. Eleanor de Selms Langstaff, *Andrew Lang* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978), 143.

version of Lang's prolific writings.¹⁶⁷ He produced a theory of cultural evolution based on naming. Totemic naming refers to how civilized and savage cultures name themselves and their neighbours; exogamy refers to how they breed. "'We' Aryan men," Lang states, "can tell the difference between ourselves, other humans and the animals, and between ourselves and savage tribal groups."¹⁶⁸ In contrast, he identifies savages by a mode of thinking, and by how they conceive of themselves to be totemic in the sense of united with animal spirits.¹⁶⁹ Nobler than the animals but less civilized than evolved cultures, Lang explicitly identifies the savage, whom he also refers to as the "Red Indian," not as a noble figure, but rather as lower in the chain of evolution than the patriarchal African tribe studied by his colleague Mr. Howitt.¹⁷⁰

In his view of inter-tribal marriage or exogamy, Lang imagines a hierarchy of differentiation between native groups whom he refers to in unflattering terms. Of the Itchumundi nation, Lang states, they "are in the most primitive state of social organization, with female descent and no sub-classes."¹⁷¹ Based on these observations, Lang comes to the conclusion that non-warring female cultures are incestuous; they remain insular in their mating and language. However, patriarchal warring cultures marry outside of their tribes, promoting the ability to tell the difference between animals and tribes.¹⁷²

From his position as a logical positivist and supremacist, we can infer that these fossils provide Lang with visible evidence of how his Aryan Scottish identity is also the basis for the British Empire's advancement from archaic forms of human development.¹⁷³ In line with his

¹⁶⁷ Andrew Lang, "Mr. Andrew Lang's Theory of the Origin of Exogamy and Totemism," *Folklore* 24, no. 2 (July 1913): 155.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 161, 164, 166.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 165.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 169.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 176.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 176–178.

¹⁷³ Langstaff, "Childhood Vision," 146.

writings on Mary Queen of Scots and his self-authored Scottish fairy tales, namely *The Gold of Fairnilee*, Lang privileges Scotland within a vision of British imperialism. In *Fairnilee*, set in the Scotland of James IV, during which time the Scottish countryside was under attack from the English, Lang draws from history as well as his personal memories of the Scottish borderlands—its ruins, grassy banks, wishing wells, and Nurse Nancy’s stories.¹⁷⁴ Two children, Randall and Jean, reawaken Nancy’s stories of fairies, boggles, and dwarfs in a vivid novella of adventure and treasure. The boy Randall is, however, the more adventuresome of the two. Jean follows him “like a little doggie,” and anxiously awaits him, but Randall pursues near death adventures in Fairyland.¹⁷⁵ When he returns to the house of Fairnilee on the River Tweed, which runs through the Scottish borderlands (where Lang had spent his youth), he transforms his family’s poverty with the gold that the Romans had taken from his ancestors, the Britons. In the end, the boy’s adventures establish his homeland as Scotland’s rightful and glorious domain.

While Scotland lies at the pinnacle of Lang’s imagination, we also know from his introduction to *Charles Perrault’s Popular Tales* (1888) that he saw French narrative culture as an ancestor to his vision of British fairy lore. These attitudes highlight an imperialistic system of self-aggrandizement. White European civilization conceptually tops other world cultures. And on the European side, he admires the fact that Perrault’s writings have fewer instances of human-animal identification. For Lang, this male author is conceptually superior to Marie-Catherine d’Aulnoy, whose heroes and heroines become bluebirds and white cats who speak in the language of animals. For Lang stories about heroic men who find the perfect prized bride rise above stories about strong female characters who identify with animals. Within non-European

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Andrew Lang, Scott, illus., and E. A. Lemann, illus., *The Gold of Fairnilee* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1888), 17, <http://archive.org/details/goldoffairnilee00langrich>.

world cultures, there are sub-hierarchies, which he places in this order: patriarchal war-faring cultures, cultures who identify with animals, insular and matriarchal cultures.

According to Carole Silver's study on the Victorians' intellectual and spiritual interest in fairies, Lang makes connections between his childhood beliefs in supernatural beings of the lakes and rivers and fairies as part of British cultural domain. She suggests that his analogy between children and savages positions the British as conceptually unique in their cultural archaeology. Accordingly, these children have direct access to the prehistoric past and English folklore, which arose from local countryside lore and abounded in its fairies.¹⁷⁶ It would seem that in Lang's overarching vision, fairyland becomes a proximal primitive domain for British children, albeit one that is temporary, because these same children can claim superiority over Indigenous groups on the far reaches of empire.¹⁷⁷

The extent to which a reader-viewer might grasp how Lang's hierarchical vision of European and non-European cultures maps onto the "Coloured Fairy Books" is somewhat more complicated—and I will return to this issue. However, his primitivization of childhood directly enters the preface to his *The Violet Fairy Book*. He states: "their taste remains like the taste of their naked ancestors thousands of years ago; and they seem to like fairy-tales better than history, poetry, geography, or arithmetic."¹⁷⁸ With these words, he associates British children with savages, and implicitly racializes fairyland. Children are developmentally close to the savages of the world, but are nobler because the boys amongst them face a future as civilized Victorians with domesticated wives.

¹⁷⁶ Silver, *Strange and Secret Peoples*, 7; 35; 42.

¹⁷⁷ Edward Salmon and Alfred Appleby Longden, *The Literature of the Empire*, vol. 11, *The British Empire* (New York: H. Holt, 1924), iiiiv–iv.

¹⁷⁸ Andrew Lang and H.J. Ford, illus., *The Violet Fairy Book*, 3rd ed., *Coloured Fairy Books* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1906), viii, <http://archive.org/details/AndrewLangsTheVioletFairyBook>.

An actual reader of Lang's fairy books would not necessarily have picked up on his views on totemism and exogamy, but these views governed how the editor established patterns in the edited stories for children, as evidence of cultural superiority. This is particular true when he positions matriarchy as inferior. Lang permits strong female characters in the non-European stories, but not in the European stories. The fact that there is no apparent logic to the order in which the Chinese, French, German, and English tales are intermixed in the "Coloured Fairy Books" suggests that the commonality between all world cultures in their love for stories could coincide with moments of gendered and racial hierarchies. It is also hard to ascertain the extent to which the source narratives were transformed from oral tradition and adapted in the exchange between local groups and ethnologists, and finally edited by Lang. In other words, the edited stories are not singularly governed by Lang's authorship or by the concept of childhood as noble savagery.

1.4. Responses to Lang and Fairyland's Revival

Thus far, this analysis of Andrew Lang has looked at how he imagined childhood, cultural otherness, and (to some degree) gender. My postcolonial consideration of how his ethnographic theories informed his books for children brings up the question of his limited empathetic range. If everyone (including adult readers) believed, along with Lang, that children were primitive versions of themselves who could be moulded by a system of fairy tales, there would be much cause for alarm. Indeed, it is disturbing to encounter the editor's troubling hierarchies and projections of cultural superiority. But focusing solely on Lang would limit the wider scope of what the fantasy component in fairy tales can accomplish, even in his "Coloured Fairy Books."

Acknowledging the discrepancies between authorship and readership helps to develop a wider perspective on how fantasy can be integral to renewal, hope, and liberation.

This is where it is useful to bring up Suzanne Keen's insights from her extensive empirical research on reader reception. Her study of narrative empathy confirms how there is a marked difference between an author, who creates believable feeling characters, and a reader, who relates to them by thinking and feeling in any number of ways.¹⁷⁹ A reader may become absorbed into the author's proposed creative world, but they may also reject the author's proposition, or misunderstand it.¹⁸⁰ Keen also suggests that how readers feel and think with regard to a fictive world may relate just as much to the sharing of cultural backgrounds as to personality and emotional intelligence.¹⁸¹

The following section introduces four responses to Andrew Lang's fairy tales, the first by two Englishmen (both Catholics, one a satirist and the other a philologist and fiction writer) who grew up while the stories were being released for the first time, and then by two American feminists who read the stories in adulthood when they were republished in the 1960s. The context for the reception of these two pairings shifts from the early twentieth century—during which period the fairy tale declined in popularity—to Disney's revival of the genre.

Although none of the four readers indicate a total absorption into Lang's limited fantasy-scape, their responses nonetheless help explain how Lang serves as a catalyst for the renewal of the fairy tale in the twentieth century. I argue in favour of a more encompassing understanding of fantasy by looking at G.K. Chesterton and J.R.R. Tolkien's revivalist essays on fairy tales. As young English boys who were presented with what was in vogue on the English book market,

¹⁷⁹ Keen, *Empathy and the Novel*, 130.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 69, 159.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 72, 79–81.

both Chesterton and Tolkien might represent Andrew Lang's intended readers (had they been noble savages). Their perception of the fairy tale books of their childhood provides an invaluable context for Tolkien's statement: "fairy-stories have in the modern lettered world been related to the 'nursery,' as shabby or old-fashioned furniture... relegated to the play-room."¹⁸²

These advocates of the genre emphasize the problem of the exclusive association between fairy tales and childhood. But, where Chesterton views his childhood experience of fairy tales as productive for adults to return to, Tolkien teases out editor Lang's low empathetic threshold towards children. Subsequently, the way that Lang's fairy tale books frame gender and age relations provides fodder for feminists Marcia Lieberman and Alison Lurie, who forged a new phase in fairy tale scholarship. What is fascinating about this grouping is how within each of these pairs, respondents hold similar cultural backgrounds and share similar values, but do not see eye to eye when it comes to their appreciation of Lang's stories for children.

1.4.1. G.K. Chesterton

G.K. Chesterton (1874-1936) read Lang's fairy books as they were being published during the late Victorian era; he was fifteen when *The Blue Fairy Book* (1889) was first released. As a young man in his thirties, Chesterton began to theorize the significance of the fairy tale in current English reading culture, before the last of the "Coloured Fairy Books" was released. Chesterton became a Thomistic scholar, cultural essayist, detective novelist, satirist, and journalist.

According to Chesterton scholar Alan Blackstock, despite the casualness of his writing style,

¹⁸² These lines from Tolkien are frequently quoted. Tolkien, "On Fairy-Stories," 34; Tatar, *Hard Facts*, 23.

Chesterton was a forerunner of several schools of twentieth-century literary criticism, including the close reading approach of New Criticism.¹⁸³

As a satirist, Chesterton's unique dialectical approach is as autobiographical as it is critical of seemingly opposing ideologies.¹⁸⁴ Reflecting on his rediscovery of fairy tales, he writes "I left the fairy tales lying on the floor of the nursery, and I have not found any books so sensible since."¹⁸⁵ It is from this particular introspective vantage point that he returns to the dusty fairy tale books of his nursery.¹⁸⁶ It is significant that Chesterton's childhood and adulthood correspond to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries respectively. This fits Silver's periodization of the process by which Victorian fairy tales became unfashionable and exclusively associated with children's literature. Lang's fairy books had come to take the place of a publishing culture that had once harnessed a widespread love of fairy lore.

Aiming to use the fairy tale to exalt the ordinary and to critique adult self-assuredness, G.K. Chesterton was nevertheless appreciative of his childhood reading. He proposes that certain adult intellectuals, typically scientific men in a disheartened English world (not unlike his younger adult self and much like his adversaries in English journalism), would do well to value the domestic sphere, review the rudimentary lessons of life, and re-read their nursery books.¹⁸⁷ The fairy tale possesses moments of the extraordinary in the ordinary, namely: "the vote,"

¹⁸³ Alan Blackstock, "Redeeming the Fallen Giants: Chesterton on Newman, Carlyle, and Ruskin," *Religion & Literature* 36, no. 2 (July 1, 2004): 25.

¹⁸⁴ For example, Chesterton analyzes puritanism and aestheticism, which he sees as two seemingly opposing ideologies. He uses the redeeming elements in the one to critique the other, and visa versa. G.K. Chesterton, *The Victorian Age in Literature* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1913), 40–41, 68–69, 198, <http://archive.org/details/victorianageinli00byuches>.

¹⁸⁵ G.K. Chesterton, "Ethics of Elfland," in *The Collected Works of G.K. Chesterton: Heretics, Orthodoxy, The Blatchford Controversies*, ed. David Dooley, vol. 1 (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1986), 261.

¹⁸⁶ Note that the term "nursery" is a common British term for the child's room. Both Chesterton and Tolkien use it. It appears to have recently gone out of date.

¹⁸⁷ Blatchford and Chesterton were journalistic adversaries. For over a six-month period in 1903, they rebutted each other in several English Newspapers. Blatchford wrote for *The Clarion*; Chesterton wrote for the *Daily News*, and *The Commonwealth*. David Dooley, "Introduction," in *The Collected Works of G.K. Chesterton: Heretics, Orthodoxy, The Blatchford Controversies*, by G.K. Chesterton, vol. 1 (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1986), 13, 15.

“common sense,” “ordinary morals,” “the instinct of sex,” and “birth.”¹⁸⁸ Reverence for humanity’s commonalities informs Chesterton’s critique of intellectual hubris, scientific determinism, and the denigration of all things within the domestic sphere: fantasy, sex, birth, and childhood books. By referring to Lang and also the Grimms’ fairy books, Chesterton does two things. First, his personal account of popular Victorian children’s literature serves to document times, locations and publications, and solidifies the childhood association with fairy tales. Second, and perhaps more importantly, he provides the first stage to re-evaluating the genre as something of value for adults.

In the chapter “Ethics of Elfland,” in his book *On Orthodoxy* (1908), Chesterton re-discovers a mentality that he had lost in his childhood.¹⁸⁹ Fantasy, that core of fairyland, becomes a reminder of his journey through life, which enables a full circle from childhood wonder to adult boredom, and to a mysterious re-immersion in fairyland.¹⁹⁰ That moment of renewal arises from within his nursery bookshelf. Nursery tales echo the leap into a world of wonder seen for the first time. As he reassures his reader, “These tales say that apples were golden only to refresh the forgotten moment when we found that they were green. They make rivers run with wine only to make us remember, for one wild moment, that they run with water.”¹⁹¹ With these words, Chesterton places value on the possibility of wild adventure arising within the domestic space.¹⁹² On the lingering elements of human sexuality within fairy tales of his nursery, Chesterton states: “[j]ust as we all like love tales because there is an instinct of sex, we all like astonishing

¹⁸⁸ Chesterton, “Ethics of Elfland,” 251, 252, 261, 257, 258.

¹⁸⁹ Chesterton’s main ideas for *Orthodoxy* stem from earlier journalistic pieces, which he wrote in 1903. Dooley, “Introduction,” 26, 28.

¹⁹⁰ As an aside on nomenclature, earlier in the English literary tradition elves and fairies referred to the same creatures; as such, Chesterton’s Elfland is simply another word for fairyland. Tolkien, “On Fairy-Stories,” 9.

¹⁹¹ Chesterton, “Ethics of Elfland,” 257.

¹⁹² Chesterton applies his notion of fantasy recovery in his novels, which includes the *Father Brown* detective series (originally published between 1910-1935) as well as the anarchistic half of the *Man who was Thursday* (originally published in 1908).

tales because they touch the nerve of the ancient instinct of astonishment.”¹⁹³ Fairyland generally comes to signify a world of renewal.

Chesterton also specifically refers to the “Grimm’s Fairy Tales” and “the fine collections of Mr. Andrew Lang” for the “pleasure of pedantry.”¹⁹⁴ Upon opening Lang’s *The Red Fairy Book* (1890) to “Jack and the Beanstalk,” Chesterton claims that this story re-teaches adults the lesson of moral courage. In other words, Chesterton bypasses Lang’s ethnographic bias in favour of his own reader’s empathy for fellow adults when he states: “giants should be killed because they are gigantic. It is a manly mutiny against pride as such.”¹⁹⁵ In the examples set by “Jack and the Beanstalk” and other tales, heroes and heroines may break the rules that make fairyland a fantastic place, but they are also gifted with the courage and humility to help restore mystical forces. In Chesterton’s Elfland, the magical interplay between human anarchy and supreme order generates the wonder of the fairy tale’s plot, as well as the mysterious journey of life, and it also offers personal renewal in the face of intellectual hubris.

Chesterton comments directly on the usefulness of the Grimms’ fairy tales to illustrate his point about the illogical use of causality in folklore studies, which predates the Victorian era. He brings up the Grimms, stating:

In fairyland we avoid the word “law”; but in the land of science they are singularly fond of it. Thus they will call some interesting conjecture about how forgotten folks pronounced the alphabet, Grimm’s Law. But Grimm’s Law is far less intellectual than Grimm’s Fairy Tales. The tales are, at any rate, certainly tales; while the law is not a law. A law implies that we know the nature of the generalisation and enactment; not merely that we have noticed some of the effects.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ Chesterton, “Ethics of Elfland,” 257.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 258.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 253.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 255.

Chesterton was reacting to a mode of thinking, which characterized the intellectual hubris among those who presume to know more than their science could prove.¹⁹⁷ This relates to the Grimms' conjectural use of foreign language and sense data to make definitive statements on other folks, a practice which is likely to produce falsehoods. Using the example of Grimms' Law, he suggests that English intellectual discourse, applied to sociological and folklore studies, muddied the distinction between natural laws and imagined laws. This critique could also help separate the common sense in the "Coloured Fairy Books" from Lang's omnipresent view, governed by imagined laws, of how cultures evolved from animalistic to civilized states.

At the centre of "Elfland," Chesterton sets up a dialogue that helps prove his point on the divide between bad science and the land of common sense. He turns his opponent into a character (a stand-in for a certain kind of reader) whom he names "Man of Science," and he invents a role-play scenario for him.¹⁹⁸ On scientific grounds, Man of Science opposes Elfland, because it is immoral and frivolous. However, the world starts to fall apart when Elfland's opponent is faced with one of the common characters in nursery tales: the witch. In the name of science, the Man of Science who opposes the morality of Elfland and its crew of characters says:

[c]ut the stalk, and the apple will fall," and the narrator interjects: "but he says it calmly, as if the one idea really led up to the other."¹⁹⁹ Contrasting with Man, "the witch in the fairy tale says, "[b]low the horn, and the ogre's castle will fall; but she does not say it as if it were something in which the effect obviously arose out of the cause."²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ This intellectual mood in Chesterton's day appears to be informed by the historian's fallacy, which maintains the presumption that something will happen again just because it has happened in the past. The intellectual climate that Chesterton refers to (in his exchange with Blatchford) may have derived from the decontextualization of Darwin's principles on chance leading to the potential of self-determination via natural selection. Or, it may have derived from the decontextualization of Newton's laws of movement. In popular culture Newtonian logic can suggest that all causal factors can become knowable using scientific methods. Set within their scientific contexts, Darwin and Newton's contribution to the questions of determinacy and indeterminacy is complex. See: Jacob Darwin Hamblin, *Science in the Early Twentieth Century: An Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2005), 83.

¹⁹⁸ Chesterton, "Ethics of Elfland," 254.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

Siding with the witch, Chesterton claims that she has greater sense than the Man of Science. Unable to understand the limits of his scientific knowledge within the witch's domain, certain intellectuals have lost all sense of life's mysterious forces, as well as their own ability to reason.²⁰¹

To summarize Chesterton's position, the nursery version of fairyland opens up the domestic sphere to the magic of the unexpected, to human sexuality, and to the transformative power of fantasy. Transformation exists both in the stories and in what happens to the characters, but also in the way that narrative situations can expand into a fantasized space and lead to the reader's interpretive agency. Chesterton's account of a witch who meets the Man of Science limits Lang's efforts to impose hierarchical theories onto the fairylands in the books he edited. What is fascinating in Chesterton's critique is that he decries the pseudo-science deployed by folklorists, if not also ethnologists, while arguing for the value of the collected fairy stories even if they remained within the category of children's literature.

1.4.2. J.R.R. Tolkien

J.R.R. Tolkien (1892-1973) read parts of Lang's fairy books as a child; he was twelve by the time that *The Brown Fairy Book* (1904), the ninth of the series, was released. However, Tolkien only came to pay greater attention to the place of the fairy tale in children's literature in the late 1930s, when he built upon G.K. Chesterton's revaluation. Both authors were interested in how the value of fantasy in literature could reawaken some of the more mysterious tenets of their

²⁰¹ It should be noted that Chesterton is not making the point that science and fairy tales are antithetical to each other. They are conceivably related. Later in the history of ideas, Albert Einstein commented on the importance of reading fairy tales and the importance of the imagination for science. Maria Popova, "Einstein on Fairy Tales and Education," *Brain Pickings*, March 14, 2014, <http://www.brainpickings.org/index.php/2014/03/14/einstein-fairy-tales/>.

shared Catholic spirituality, and both reacted to what they felt to be England's dried up cultural climate. Tolkien's intellectual inheritance from Chesterton is clear in his decision to refer to fairyland as Elfland; he also expands on the Chestertonian definition of fantasy. However, they held opposing views on the value of Andrew Lang's fairyland.

In that Chesterton wrote as a satirist in the public press and Tolkien as a fantasist in his novels, their attitudes toward the fairy tale's place in literature differed. Chesterton describes his sensitivity to admirable satirists—the satirist who laughs at himself while loving his adversaries (like Robert Browning), who passionately reacts to injustices (like Jonathan Swift, and later Charles Dickens), and who points out his enemies' strengths before pointing to their weaknesses (like Alexander Pope).²⁰² Informed by these three types of satirists, Chesterton antagonizes his enemies by proposing that certain adult intellectuals, typically scientific men in a disheartened English world (not unlike his younger adult self), would do well to value the domestic sphere, review the rudimentary lessons of life, and re-read their nursery books. But, he does not argue that fairy tales should be something other than children's literature. Although Elfland's vitality is a common thread, Tolkien contends that fantasy should be an integral part of reading material for adults to genuinely enjoy. To this end, Tolkien's treatise "On Fairy-Stories" functions as a blueprint for his own fantasy novels. This writerly vantage point explains why Tolkien is concerned that oversimplified fairy tale writing, in terms of style, plot, and setting, risk lowering an adult reader's fascination in the genre's epic potential. In short, Chesterton wants to make

²⁰² G.K. Chesterton, "On the Wit of Whistler," in *The Collected Works of G.K. Chesterton: Heretics, Orthodoxy, The Blatchford Controversies*, ed. David Dooley, vol. 1 (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1986), 170–171; Chesterton, G.K. "Martin Chuzzlewit." In *The Collected Works of G.K. Chesterton: Chesterton on Dickens*, 15:300–308. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1989.

satirical writing grand again, by laughing just as much at himself as he laughs with his enemies, whereas Tolkien seeks to rebuild the fairy tale's reputation by writing fantasy fiction of his own.

Tolkien is crucial for understanding the renewal of the fairy tale in the twentieth century. Ironically, it was as the Andrew Lang lecturer at the University of St. Andrews that Tolkien wrote "On Fairy Stories" (1939), an essay that re-positions fairyland for adults. The essay is informed by his work as an Oxford scholar of English literature and philology, and by his intellectual connection to G.K. Chesterton. But, it is also informed by his dislike of Lang's fairy tales, which he partially read and discarded as a child. The essay redefined the fairy tale while offering the theoretical basis for his own literary project: *The Hobbit* (first published in 1937) and *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy (written in spurts between 1937 and 1949).

Although adults had read fantasy fiction before Tolkien, the success of his novels in Britain and later in America cemented the genre of adult fantasy as a distinct marketing category now known as high-fantasy.²⁰³ Fantasy fiction that is directly influenced by Tolkien is distinct from overly simplistic children's literature. It frequently bears greater resemblance to adult-oriented genres such as Gothic, Romantic, and Utopian novels that might also have a fantasy component.

Tolkien decried the fairy tale's relegated status to the nursery and the dusty attic, as both sites are normally outside of the purview of adults. While identifying Lang as an impactful figure, Tolkien develops a new system of categorization, which has little to do with age-appropriateness. He considers beast fables, dream tales, tragedies, and histories to be unique types of narratives.²⁰⁴ Tolkien warns that if the reading material that both adults and children

²⁰³ Martin H. Greenberg and Jane Yolen, *After the King: Stories In Honor of J.R.R. Tolkien* (New York: Tom Doherty Associates, 2001), vii–viii.

²⁰⁴ Tolkien, "On Fairy-Stories," 58, 61.

share—novels, history books, scientific manuals, and fairy tales—were “left altogether in the nursery,” this material becomes “gravely impaired.”²⁰⁵ The place of the fairy tale in Chesterton’s distant childhood memory is proof of this danger; these stories were forgotten and then required retrieval, revival, and recovery.

Tolkien’s quarrel is with the poor fiction writer. Reflecting back on his childhood preference for books, Tolkien writes of immersing himself in geography and history, Norse mythology, and Shakespearean tragedies. In other words, Lang’s fantasy worlds had little impact on Tolkien as a child reader; his boyhood self was neither intellectually nor emotionally compelled by the “Coloured Fairy Books.”

Based on his childhood memories and his familiarity with his own children, Tolkien as an adult writer attacks the Langian idea that children are naïve and that they will believe anything.²⁰⁶ Furthermore, he picks up on how Lang’s preface to *The Green Fairy Book* strangely correlate children with their “naked ancestors,” a term that insinuates primitivization.²⁰⁷ Lang groups together children with Britain’s late ancestors when he declares that both possess unsophisticated tastes and aptitudes.²⁰⁸ In response, Tolkien questions Lang’s knowledge of other people, and he critiques how Lang’s books seem to conceptualize children as a separate class of men, akin to elves or another race. Even if Tolkien does not directly address Lang’s anthropological and imperialistic subtext, he refutes the idea that fairy tales should be dumbed-down for readers whom Lang labels as naïve.

A definition of fairy tales that is based neither on reductive childhood concepts nor folkloric science’s interest in origins comes into play with Tolkien. Accordingly, the purpose of

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 35.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 40.

²⁰⁷ Tolkien, “On Fairy-Stories,” 39.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

the fairy tale should be something other than the hunt for the cultural origins of the human race. Effectively attacking the Langian view of cultural evolution, Tolkien suggests that the history of the genre is complex, and that “three things: independent invention, inheritance, and diffusion, have evidently played their part in producing the intricate web of Story.”²⁰⁹ The acknowledgment of the fairy tale within a complex web of storytelling allows Tolkien to critique how Lang connected primitivized childhood to primitivized folklore. He then poses the question: “if adults are to read fairy-stories as a natural branch of literature—neither playing at being children, nor pretending to be choosing for children, nor being boys who would not grow up [i.e. Lang]—what are the values and functions of this kind?”²¹⁰ Tolkien answers this question by affirming the value of fantasy worlds that allow adults to re-enter Elfland.

For Tolkien, fantasy is the glue that holds all the structural elements of the tale together and it is the magic that awakens desire in the characters, if not also the readers, “satisfying it while often whetting it unbearably.”²¹¹ To be successful, Elfland must be artfully produced so as to stay true to the logic of its own realm, and, thereby, maintain belief once the reader is inside. In this way, there is more to inviting the intelligent child or adult reader to be caught up in the suspense of a fairy tale than merely making a fantastic claim, such as the sky is green or the grass is purple. The compelling nature of the invitation is key here; Tolkien sees the act of entering into the author’s creative world as a choice, which can result in the utopian sensation that communality and liberation are possible. Characters are at times enraptured by moments of arresting strangeness during their adventures and this can serve to carry the reader into the author’s fantasy world with all the danger and excitement that it holds.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 20.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 45.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 40.

In order to build his own fantasy world (one that opposes Lang's), Tolkien sets out to define its infrastructure through his distinctive terminology: "recovery," "escape," and "consolation" are foundational concepts. Tolkien begins by building on the Chestertonian concept of fantasy, which he refers to as "recovery."²¹² As a cornerstone for the writer to build a fantasy world, "recovery" enables both the characters and the reader to re-discover the objects in the household nursery, attic, and library with a renewed sense of intrigue. As finding that recovery is somewhat limiting, Tolkien enlarges his scope with the concepts of "escape" and "consolation." For Tolkien, fairy tales are made more real by the possibility that the arduous journeys of sorrow, hunger, poverty, injustice, and catastrophes are escapable.²¹³ A distinction is made between escape and escapism when Tolkien argues that his concept is not meant to endorse avoidance. On the contrary, "escape" is deemed positive when it is an act of revolt against the status quo, a heroic escape from injustice. Fantasy escape informs the act of becoming free from the confinement of a child's bedroom, from prison walls, from evil, and from the cruelty of dehumanizing forces. Alongside "escape," there is also "consolation" in the idea of being able to speak with beasts within the Edenic landscapes.

Tolkien applies his ideas about fantasy to his epic fairy tale worlds. He calls on his fiction reader to escape with the seemingly ordinary and reluctant hobbits of the Shire. The plot thickens when traditionally isolated groups—Men of the Medieval Rohan, Hobbits of the Shire, Elves of Rivendell, dwarves, and wizards—are given reason to come together and *communicate* with each other. These linguistically and culturally separated groups of creatures work together to defeat evil. Together they embark upon a perilous journey, they risk their lives and fight their deepest fears, earning their happy endings. In the end, the communicative aspect of Tolkienian

²¹² Tolkien, "On Fairy-Stories," 43, 57, 58.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 68.

consolation turns the awe and wonder of Chesterton's everyday recovery into the expansive space of *believable* happy ever afters. The epic fairy tale journey enables contentment in the everyday to be recovered; it offers adventure and ultimate consolation in the wake of life's deepest sorrows. Conceptually, fantasy expands beyond the nightmarish moments of dangerous encounters into the communal space of rejuvenation.

Despite the revivalists' argument in favour of the fairy tale's value for society at large and adults in particular alongside the integrity of the child-reader, the classification of the genre would remain largely unchanged until the third phase three of fairy tale scholarship was firmly set in place. Here I should mention that after the American release of Tolkien's books, Jack Zipes (a pivotal figure in the ongoing study of fairy tales) took the *Hobbit* as an exemplar of the socialist utopian function of fairy tales in a godless world (I will return to his reading in Chapter 5: The Utopian). The timing of Zipes' 1979 text on Tolkien, however, indicates that the market for fairy tales and fantasy in North America during the 1960s and 1970s directly informed the third phase of fairy tale scholarship. In the mid 1960s, American publishers released new editions of both fairy tale books and fantasy novels: Dover published a new series of Lang's "Coloured Fairy Books" and Ballantine and Houghton Mifflin published Tolkien's books. Children's books remained clearly secluded in their own niche. These books were released to an American public, which had become familiar with the fairy tale genre largely as a result of Disney adaptations, which had by then permeated their cultural landscape. Disney's full-length features, including the fairy tale films, were shown on television for the first time in the 1960s.

1.5. Phase Three: Subversion and Civilization: A New Set of Conditions

The American edition of the “Coloured Fairy Books” was central to the feminist debate, which launched the gender focus in phase three of fairy tale scholarship. Although both scholars saw the importance of female liberation, Marcia Lieberman attacked Alison Lurie’s support for the newly released editions of traditional fairy tales in the children’s book market. In addition, Lieberman’s conclusions on Andrew Lang’s fairy tales were linked to her understanding of the socio-cultural significance of Disney’s princess films. The emergence of second wave feminism in America brought with it a concern for sexual agency and the question of gendered labour divisions. Indeed, the superficial beauty standards and gender norms evoked by Disney’s *Cinderella* (1950) became increasingly contentious. While I want to suggest that subsequent feminist anthologies were too quick to exclude Lurie (also a revivalist), I now turn to an analysis of how both writers responded to Lang’s “Coloured Fairy Books” as a stand-in for traditional fairy tales.

Novelist and children’s literature scholar Alison Lurie wrote the articles “Fairy Tale Liberation” (1970) and “Witches and Fairies” (1971) for the *New York Review of Books*.²¹⁴ In her overview of recent books on the children’s publishing market—featuring new editions of Lang’s “Coloured Fairy Books” alongside versions of Grimms’ tales (illustrated by Walter Crane and Arthur Rackham)—she argues in favour of renewing the fairy tale as suitable material for what feminists should let their children read. Countering the trend in North America, which supported

²¹⁴ Alison Lurie, “Fairy Tale Liberation,” *New York Review of Books*, December 17, 1970; Alison Lurie, “Witches and Fairies,” *New York Review of Books*, December 2, 1971. Note that *New York Review* was this newspaper’s former name.

realistic and non-fantastical tales for children, Lurie asserts that everyday stories such as the one about a grocery man by Lucy Sprague Mitchell are boring.²¹⁵

Creating an argument about the suitability of fantasy adventures in the “Coloured Fairy Books” for girls, Lurie takes a feminist stance for her North American readership.²¹⁶ Lurie contends that, unlike the Disney films with their passive heroines, Lang’s fairy tale books facilitate female liberation because female characters go on adventures; it is Gretel who defeats the witch, for instance. Appealing to the women readers of her review, she asserts that the most powerful figure is that of the fairy godmother.²¹⁷ Lurie also reassures those seeking to buy liberating literature for their young girls that the tales are “safe” because Lang edited out sexual and violent content. The books serve as a feminist training ground because girls go on adventures under the gaze of a maternal fairy; I suspect that Lurie is likely referring to the Cinderella godmother in *The Blue Fairy Book* when she makes this statement, and I will return to this point in Chapters 2 and 6.

Fairy tales, Lurie asserts, are part a matriarchal tradition. Responding to initial feminist reservations about the genre, Lurie continues to assert that adventures featuring young girls are combined with the wisdom of old women, and indeed she believes they originated in old wives’ tales. Was Lurie merely projecting proto-feminist traces onto an entire tradition, including Lang’s tales? Lurie’s lack of systematic analysis of gender patterns makes it unclear as to

²¹⁵ As an aside, Lurie is speaking to a recurrent debate found in the history of children’s literature criticism. Since the emergence of an official book market for children, the question of whether the fairy tale, with all of its sexual and aggressive undertones and flights of fancy, is appropriate for children has long been a point of contention.

²¹⁶ Lurie, “Witches and Fairies,” 6; Marcia R. Lieberman, “‘Some Day My Prince Will Come:’ Female Acculturation through the Fairy Tale,” in *Don’t Bet on the Prince: Contemporary Feminist Fairy Tales in North America and England*, ed. Jack Zipes (New York: Methuen, 1986), 186.

²¹⁷ Lurie, “Witches and Fairies,” 9.

whether she perceived these matriarchal traces in the stories themselves or whether she has creatively re-imagined the potential of the fairies and heroines on her own terms.

Lurie does link the matriarchal line to women authors from the nineteenth to the twentieth century who have used elements from traditional fairy tales in their novels for their own subversive purposes.²¹⁸ Despite the lack of close reading of gendered relations across the hundreds of stories collected in the “Coloured Fairy Books,” this female lineage allows her to feminize Lang’s patriarchal tribalism. Instead, she considers everyone to come from “a tribe called childhood;” she then develops a top-down approach to what children should read, and how feminists will endorse these books.²¹⁹ On the basis of her feminist understanding of fairy tale matriarchy, Lurie believed that all radical feminists would agree that the classic fairy tale liberates women.²²⁰

Lurie was mistaken. Marcia R. Lieberman’s rebuttal was one that most feminists sided with, according to Zipes’ introductory comments.²²¹ Lieberman’s canonical essay ““Someday My Prince Will Come: Female Acculturation through the Fairy Tale,”” is a feminist analysis of Lurie’s main source: Lang’s *The Blue Fairy Book*. Although Lurie had insisted that feminists should look past the blue book, the first of the series, to the subsequent coloured books for instances of active female heroines, Lieberman did not comply.²²² Lieberman asserts that the fairy tales which are not directly linked to Disney versions are not worth analyzing because they have not had as extensive an impact on the children of America. Focusing on gender relations in “Cinderella,” “Sleeping Beauty,” and others, Lieberman asserts that these textually “beautiful”

²¹⁸ Lurie, “Witches and Fairies.”

²¹⁹ Lurie, *Don’t Tell the Grown-Ups*, 182; Smol, “The ‘Savage’ and the ‘Civilized,’” 181.

²²⁰ Lurie, “Fairy Tale Liberation.”

²²¹ Zipes, *Don’t Bet on the Prince*, 5.

²²² Lurie, “Witches and Fairies,” 6; Lieberman, “Some Day My Prince Will Come,” 186.

heroines are no different from those of the Disney versions. For, Lieberman, this acculturation foregrounds the films' detrimental effects and explains why women choose to be passive and contented in marriage.

When Lieberman proceeds to find evidence for her argument amongst a careful selection of European stories, she does not consider the illustrations, nor does she look at non-European heroines and villains. Lieberman critiques Lang's European fairy stories for their gender inequality, which she sees in the repetition of an underlying narrative structure. Repeatedly, the editor will lead the child-reader into glorifying the victimization of passive and beautiful female princesses. Lieberman presumes the child's gullibility, but offers astute observations on narrative gender patterns. The European heroines are preselected for their beauty, are pitted against intelligent but ugly female characters, and are rewarded by marriage. They become the active male hero's material reward.

However astute Lieberman is in pointing to the underlying and embedded sexism found in Lang's editorial practice in the European stories, she generalizes about the entire tradition, concluding that traditional fairy tales are bad for girls. She notes that Lang's female heroines—Cinderella, Gretel, and Felicia—much like Disney's Cinderella, frequently burst into tears. Lieberman states “the girl in tears is invariably the heroine; that is one of the ways the child can identify with the heroine.”²²³ Lieberman views little cause to differentiate between the heroine's and the reader's feelings nor does she comment on their cognitive capacity. Lieberman is alarmed by the idea that the girl-reader will dream of becoming the glorified victim. No wonder Lieberman blacklists Andrew Lang as a precursor to the Disney fairy tale's patterns of acculturation.

²²³ Lieberman, “Some Day My Prince Will Come,” 193–194.

This conflation of the reader and heroine ties into a common argument about the allegedly harmful effects of narrative empathy. According to Keen, critics of “narrative empathy” tend to assume that when readers feel for and identify with a character, these emotions draw them into a fictive realm, which prohibits their ability to critique real-world power relations.²²⁴ Although Lieberman does not use the term “reader’s empathy,” she relates the girl-reader’s inevitable sentimentalized emotional response to the suffering of female heroines, and argues that this informs the child’s “psycho-sexual identity.”²²⁵ But, as Chesterton asserts in his argument on Elfland as the land of common sense, a repeating pattern is not evidence of the cause and its effect. And Tolkien confirms this when he finds that Lang’s characters lack emotive credibility and that his fairy tales are therefore non-absorptive.

Marcia Lieberman was too quick to disregard all fairy tales. Meanwhile, Alison Lurie, in her argument concerning the book’s narrative—forgetting the role of her own interpretive agency—may have made an unfortunate decision in choosing Lang’s *The Blue Fairy Book* as the basis for her claim that all fairy tales offer the potential for female liberation. Lurie, nonetheless, presents several propositions that are essential for the reading of fairy tales as subversive. These include the idea that women may have historically empowered themselves as storytellers and that subversion, in part, depends upon one’s own reading and viewing; this can generate creative identification with heroines as well as villains, animals, fairies, and other supernatural beings. Lurie was also ahead of her time in her recognition of the intertextuality between the classic canon and its renewal in the history of the novel. In other words, the debate between these two figures established that female empowerment is one of the conditions for the traditional genre to remain vital in the twentieth century.

²²⁴ Keen, *Empathy and the Novel*, 147.

²²⁵ Lieberman, “Some Day My Prince Will Come,” 200.

Chapter Conclusion

A convincing answer to the question of whether fairy tales are detrimental to children and adults alike must take a range of variables into account, and is most definitely problematic if the primitivization of childhood and the polarized separation between children and adults of both genders remains. The failure to account for how assumptions about childhood inform fairy tale scholarship limits how publishing history is perceived. Informed by ethical premises, developed from feminist, Marxist, and subsequently post-colonial considerations, scholars began to examine a series of underlying power relations: ideology, race, ethnicity, nation, class, gender, and age. This chapter concludes in recollection of how text-focused fairy tale scholarship has undermined the importance of the pictorial, and this leads us into the beginning of the next chapter. I will soon insist that the dynamic between word and image is integral to fairyland's continued vitality as well as for how books construct various notions of childhood.

Although in one preface in the "Coloured Fairy Books" Lang hails his illustrator's contributions, neither Chesterton and Tolkien, nor Lieberman mention anything on how the visual may impact their view of the stories. However, when Lurie advocated for the fairy tale as an integral part of children's literature, pictures came to have a minor role.²²⁶ Lurie advises that small children begin with simple re-edited fairy books filled with pictures by Walter Crane and Arthur Rackham, and then move to Lang's fairy tales once they have reached a sufficient reading level. She mentions that Lang's books are illustrated, but does not describe how pictures might inform her assertions. Subsequent to this debate, sustained critique of Lang's fairy tales with all of their illustrations has become scant.

²²⁶ Lurie, "Fairy Tale Liberation," 43.

In summary, this chapter has provided an overview of how the fairy tale canon was forged in book culture as an expanding and retracting body of storytelling. I then turned to Lang's revision of the genre's historical lineage and its perceived value, showing how his "Coloured Fairy Books" were central to the establishment of a conventional attitude towards the fairy tale's audience: it was for children. Tolkien imagined a different kind of child reader from Lang's vision of noble savages and innocent fairies, one who becomes aware of fantasy's potential for recovery, escape and consolation. The danger that he sees in Lang's books has less to do with the ease of a child's indoctrination by whatever he reads and more to do with the problem of boredom and the book's lack of artistry. Moreover, as Chesterton has clearly highlighted, the co-creative space of fantasy can expand beyond the author's realm into the reader's imagination, forging scenarios with characters. That what readers see and feel is distinct from what the author/editor is illustrated by Lurie's identification with the fairy godmother as the very embodiment of a matriarchal tradition.

In the next chapter, I will turn to the illustrations. In keeping with the Victorian fairy tale publishing, the hundreds of pictures in the "Coloured Fairy Books" series—there are thirty-to-fifty per book—add levels of complexity to the stories. Images in the Victorian fairy tale books have the potential to either support or contradict the view of childhood as a site of diminished interpretive agency. How do self-other relationships, including those posited by Lang's theories, map onto his books for children when the images come into play? This question will be addressed in the following chapter, one of several with a Victorian focus, which sets out to rethink the twentieth- to twenty-first-century classification of fairy tale illustrations as exclusive to children's literature.

Chapter 2: Growing out of and into Fairyland: Victorian Pictorial Diversity

With the growth of the middle class in the Victorian era (1837-1901), an interest in collecting fairy tales grew, as did the appetite for new books, fantastic stories, utopian novels, as well as illustrations and paintings of fairyland, with its butterfly-winged fairies. By the late 1860s, a new craze for coloured books flourished, allowing the pictures to become as important as the texts. High-quality coloured illustrations, which possess narrative power of their own, embellished many of these books. Images of characters who venture into fairyland received an enlarged status on the page, and illustrations developed in quality and quantity—all of these factors stimulated consumer appeal and the growth of household libraries. While looking back on the flourishing of fairy tale books, I continue to question whether illustrations of fairylands found in picture books were historically destined for the singular amusement of children.

Several understandings of childhood developed with the Victorians—some of which live on to this day. The child envisioned as a noble savage is one such formulation (discussed in the previous chapter), which linked the less advanced reader, conceived of as the yet to be acculturated adult, to the fairy tale book. Other ideas contributing to reductionist understandings of childhood include the following: children are malleable blank slates lacking in interpretive agency, they are innocent as desexualized and non-aggressive beings, youth is synonymous with fairyland, and childhood is an animalistic space isolated from adulthood. Eventually, the exclusivity of the childhood pairing with fairyland would contribute to a deceptively straightforward reception: fairy tale pictures are for children, the child is simplistic, and therefore the fairy tale picture book is uncomplicated.²²⁷

²²⁷ Nodelman, *Words about Pictures*, 36–37.

Moving the possibilities for pictorial analysis forward, critical attitudes towards overly reductive concepts of childhood have led studies in children's literature to problematize the perspective that the picture book is simplistic.²²⁸ The work of historicizing how childhood as a concept appears in publishing culture and of analyzing the pictorial and textual narratives for harmony and contradiction results in a more complex understanding. It suggests that the relationship between youth—and by extension adulthood—to fairyland was lively and hardly static. I agree with recent scholars of children's literature (such as Perry Nodelman and Maria Nikolajeva) who focus on the picture book's capacity to generate codes of signification. I additionally want to address the visuality and narrative differences of fairy tale picture books, which expand outside of the child's domain.

While offering an alternate view of the Victorians and their fairy tales in visual studies—just as scholars Zipes, Nelson, and Knoepfmacher have done in literary studies—this chapter looks at how childhood came to be associated with fairyland. The previous chapter provided an overview of fairy tales in European publishing history; it also discussed fantasy's productive potential for a space of shared enrichment that could subvert malevolent forces. It also established that responses to the "Coloured Fairy Books" solidified what was becoming a conventional attitude: the fairy tale is the child's exclusive domain. While providing a historical overview of the illustrations, this chapter will discuss issues related to age, gender, and sexuality (previously brought up in relation to Lurie and Lieberman), as well as race, albeit within the narrowed scope of Victorian publishing. It seeks to uncover what the traces of gendered notions of childhood and cultural otherness signify.

²²⁸ Nodelman, *Words about Pictures*; Nikolajeva and Scott, *How Picturebooks Work*; Maria Nikolajeva, "Picturebook Characterisation: Word/image Interaction," in *Art, Narrative and Childhood*, ed. Morag Styles and Eve Bearne (Trentham: Stoke on Trent, U.K., 2003), 37–50; Labbe, "Illustrating Alice: Gender, Image, Artifice."

Common stereotypes attributable to the Victorians easily link up with how past generations are perceived. They were sexually prudish, straight-laced, stuffy and severe, they were racially biased in favour of Aryan men, and they successfully oppressed their women—it is these stereotypes of the Victorians, and of traditional fairy tales, that deserve questioning in this history of the pictorial.²²⁹ Significantly, John Ruskin imagined an English garden of fairy-like children to be part of a perfected, sin-free, and desexualized childhood. His ideas influenced discourse concerning childhood and adulthood as it arose from the Victorian fairy tale and its pictures. I begin with John Ruskin’s experiences as a child and adult reader-viewer, which then lead to the chapter’s visual material—novellas, anthologies of short stories, and toy books. Figures who were likely to question Ruskin’s views on sexuality and fairyland include Richard Doyle—the illustrator of Ruskin’s most widely read book during their lifetime, *The King of the Golden River* (1853).

Authors and illustrators of fairy tale novellas and short stories were aware of Ruskin’s ideas on art, education, childhood, and fairyland. Although many fairy tale novellas were published and re-edited after Ruskin’s example, Lewis Carroll’s *Alice In Wonderland* (1865) and *Through the Looking Glass* (1871) are the most widely discussed Victorian fairy tale novellas by current standards. The *Alice* stories are considered the quintessential Victorian fairy tale, and alongside Evans’ toy books, they are foundational to the ‘Golden Age of Children’s Literature.’²³⁰ They also form part of an ongoing debate, which questions whether the stories’

²²⁹ Prajna Parasher, “Mapping the Imaginary: The Neverland of Disney’s Indians,” in *Diversity in Disney Films: Critical Essays on Race, Ethnicity, Gender, Sexuality and Disability*, ed. Johnson Cheu (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2013), 38; Susie Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Culture, and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 194; Douglas Brode, “Racial and Sexual Identity in America: Disney’s Subversion of the Victorian Ideal,” in *Multiculturalism and the Mouse: Race and Sex in Disney Entertainment* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 113–114; Sweet, *Inventing the Victorians*.

²³⁰ Susina, “Children’s Literature: Facts, Information, Pictures”; Lauren A. Benjamin, “Vision in Wonderland,” *Pictures, Places, Things*, January 13, 2012, <https://picturesplacesthings.wordpress.com/tag/victorian->

sexual undercurrents and logical puzzles are better suited to adults.²³¹ This tension between adult and child readers and viewers of the *Alice* stories extends to illustrated fairy tale books from 1853 to the late nineteenth century. With this assertion in mind, artists who have received far less recognition than John Tenniel (the illustrator of the *Alice* stories), such as Richard Doyle, Maud Humphrey, Maria Louise Kirk, Laurence Housman, as well as Andrew Lang's illustrators, come to the forefront. This material provides a visual articulation of how the Victorians differed from Ruskin and finally from Lang in their views of gender and sexuality.

While providing an overview of pictorial diversity, this chapter traces how the association between childhood and the fairy tale evolved in ebbs and flows. At several junctures, it narrows its focus to a set of stark comparisons from Walter Crane's coloured toy books and Andrew Lang's "Coloured Fairy Books." Comparative analysis enables the work of Lang's principal illustrator, H.J. Ford, to be part of a larger discussion about divergent Victorian perspectives on gender and sexuality, as well as race. While looking at illustrated fairy tale books from Ruskin onwards—novellas, toy books, and anthologies—I am interested in this question: how can attention to the pictorial facilitate a deepened understanding of interrelated subject positions? The editor, publishing company, author, and illustrator—and, more generally, the Victorians—as well as specific twentieth- and twenty-first-century reader-viewers, have a role to play. Adults in their fear and love fantasy, their adoration of child characters, and their view of racialized others are integral to the aims of appreciation and critique.

culture/; Humphrey Carpenter, *Secret Gardens: A Study of the Golden Age of Children's Literature* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1985), x.

²³¹ Martin Gardner, "Introduction," in *The Annotated Alice: Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking Glass* (New York: World Publishing Company, 1971), n.p.; Ronald Reichertz, *The Making of the Alice Books: Lewis Carroll's Uses of Earlier Children's Literature* (Montreal; Buffalo: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 7.

2.1. John Ruskin's Fairyland and Beloved Childhood

John Ruskin (1819-1900) would exert a tremendous impact on the period's fairy tale discourse because of his critical writing about the genre, his celebration of fairy tale illustration, and because he himself was the author of a bestselling fairy tale story—*The King of the Golden River*. Ruskin has become a vortex in Victorian studies in that many roads point to him. This is because he wrote about a wide range of topics from architecture to economics and art criticism. In the Victorian era itself, Ruskin became known through his extensive social network; he was ritualistic about his daily practice of letter writing. Ruskin's influence on art, literature, and education is acknowledged.²³² As a result of the dissemination of his ideas through his work as the first Oxford Slade Lecturer in Fine Arts, he is now considered one of the fathers of the Aesthetic Movement, the Arts and Crafts Movement, and the Pre-Raphaelites.²³³ His efforts to privilege the ideological importance of beauty, labour, and learning contributed to these movements. Ruskin viewed beauty as a guide to truth in the wake of industrialization's negative impact on the moral fabric of modern life, and he felt that labour, like learning, should always be pleasurable.

The power that Ruskin gave to beauty as a pathway toward the truths of life relates not only to painting, but also to illustrations; he felt that pictorial impressions could, in the eyes of

²³² A small sample of Ruskin scholarship: Hilda Boettcher Hagstotz, *The Educational Theories of John Ruskin* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1942); Richard Martin Seddon, "Ruskin and Visual Media" (Doctoral thesis, Lancaster University, 2011); George P. Landau, "John Ruskin on Fantasy Art and Literature," *Victorian Web*, (1994), <http://www.victorianweb.org/authors/ruskin/ruskin7.html>; Loren Lerner, "William Notman's Portrait Photographs of the Wealthy English-Speaking Girls of Montreal: Representations of Informal Female Education in Relation to John Ruskin's 'Of Queens' Gardens' and Writings by and for Canadians from the 1850s to 1890s," *Historical Studies in Education* 21, no. 2 (December 3, 2009); Cristina Pascu-Tulbure, "Aesthetics of Desire: Ruskin, Burne-Jones and Their Sleeping Beauties," in *Sleeping Beauties in Victorian Britain: Cultural, Literary and Artistic Explorations of a Myth*, ed. Béatrice Laurent, vol. 33 (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2014), 150–79.

²³³ It should be noted that the "art for art's sake" motto is more closely aligned with Walter Pater (1839-1894) than with Ruskin's views on morality and beauty. Pater is associated with aestheticism's indifference to morality. Ruskin, however, maintained that beauty was deeply connected to metaphysics.

the visually-literate reader, develop the narrative implications of a scene.²³⁴ As part of his contribution to an appreciation of the pictorial, Ruskin famously championed painters and illustrators such as the leading Pre-Raphaelite Edward Burne-Jones as well as Kate Greenaway, who, like Walter Crane, was part of the Arts and Crafts Movement. It is now recognized that Ruskin's influence within the period extended to how writers remodelled the fairy tale, and—as I will emphasize—to how illustrators depicted the relationship between fairyland and childhood.

Ruskin's perception of how his own child-self figured in a vision of ideal childhood shifted over time. In fact, Joshua Reynolds' pupil James Northcote (1746-1831) painted an idealized version of Ruskin in *John Ruskin*, 1822 (fig. 8). Northcote takes after Reynolds (who was the President of the Royal Academy) in the grand-manner style of emphasizing the dignity of aristocratic and upper-middle-class children who stand at the centre of expansive wind-swept estates. The painting depicts a romanticized three-year-old Ruskin wearing a white dress with blue frills running among the birch trees at the base of a mountainous landscape with an excitable cocker spaniel.²³⁵ Despite the idyllic image, the painting would one day trigger Ruskin's unhappiness as a depressed man looking back on an unfulfilled life.²³⁶ When Ruskin recalls sitting for the portrait in *Praeterita* (first published in 1907), he brings up instances when his mother "whipped" him for bad behaviour; this treatment helped him to sit for hours.²³⁷ Diary entries and letters from the Ruskin family's earlier days highlight a disparity between the tenderness that both his parents felt towards him (they read and travelled with him), and his later memories.²³⁸ Despite his mother's desire that he should find happiness on his own, the negativity

²³⁴ Seddon, "Ruskin and Visual Media," 42.

²³⁵ Ruskin describes Northcote's portrait of himself as part of the Reynolds' manner. John Ruskin, *Ruskin: Selected Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 286.

²³⁶ Wolfgang Kemp, *The Desire of My Eyes: The Life & Work of John Ruskin*, trans. Jan van Heurck (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1992), 21.

²³⁷ Ruskin, *Ruskin: Selected Writings*, 286.

²³⁸ Kemp, *The Desire of My Eyes*, 11–23.

Ruskin recalls may be part of a deepened sense of failure to fulfill her expectations of career choice and marriage.²³⁹

Although there is an overarching negative mood in *Praeterita*, Ruskin's memories nonetheless include his father's generous spirit erring on indulgence, and his childhood travels with his parents to Scotland's blue mountains (pictured in Northcote's painting) and the Alps, as well as his childhood reading.²⁴⁰ Ruskin fondly recalls that his father, John James Ruskin, had a liberal literary taste for Romantic literature, while Margaret Cox Ruskin, his mother, fostered an Evangelical zeal that would later inform the lyricism, gusto, and urgency in his lectures. Drawing on the interests of both parents, John Ruskin grew up reading Shakespeare, the Romantics, George Cruikshank's editions of *German Popular Stories*, and the Bible.

Ruskin's writings on fairy tales from boyhood onwards came in a variety of forms: journal entry, fairy tale, anthology introduction, and published university lectures. As a twelve-year-old he illustrated a journal of his own poems (c.1829) accompanied by drawings of semi-grotesque goblin-like imitations of Cruikshank's illustrations (figs. 9-10).²⁴¹ Ruskin renders Cruikshank's wish-granting black dwarf in green, and names his boyish creation "gentleman."²⁴² Associating fairy tales with his own childhood reading and travels, Ruskin as a young man at Oxford wrote his one and only fairy tale, *The King of the Golden River*, which integrates elements of the Grimms' "Aschenputtel" and their "King of the Golden Mountain."²⁴³ Once again providing a link to his boyhood reading, Ruskin was asked by the publisher John Camden

²³⁹ "A Literary Causerie: Mr. Ruskin," *The Speaker: A Review of Politics, Letters, Science, and the Arts* VII (May 13, 1893): 544.

²⁴⁰ Ruskin, *Ruskin: Selected Writings*, xv, 286; Kemp, *The Desire of My Eyes*, 5–6.

²⁴¹ John Ruskin, "The Puppet Show: Or, Amusing Characters for Children, with Coloured Plates," c. 1829.

²⁴² Ruskin also floods the eyes of a bat-winged demon-like kelpie with rays of light. "The Old Fairy," and the Kelpie, and "The Dwarf" in *ibid.*, 4.

²⁴³ Jacob Grimm, Wilhelm Grimm, and George Cruikshank, illus., *German Popular Stories*, trans. Edgar Taylor (London: John Camden Hotten, 1869), 173–181 and 116–121, <https://books.google.ca/books?id=hCsHAAAAQAAJ>.

Hotten to provide the introduction to the 1869 re-edition of *German Popular Stories* with its beloved illustrations by George Cruikshank.²⁴⁴ With this lifelong interest in fairy tales, it is in Ruskin's later Oxford lecture of 1884 that he declares what fairyland illustration should look like.

Certain aspects of Ruskin's life hint at why he promoted a vision of fairyland that is desexualized, sinless, and associated with childhood. He wrote *The King of the Golden River* in 1841 for the thirteen-year-old Effie Gray who had challenged him to write a fairy story.²⁴⁵ The recipient of one of the original manuscript copies (as well as five additional published copies), Ruskin was enamoured with her; seven years later they were married.²⁴⁶ With the promptings of his father, Ruskin agreed to the book's publication in 1851 on the condition that his name be erased.²⁴⁷ The preface states that it was "written in 1841 at the request of a very young lady, and solely for her amusement, without any idea of publication."²⁴⁸ Suggested here is Ruskin's memory of Effie as a young girl and not as his wife. Whether it was because of the story's content or the personal memories that it may have awoken, Ruskin waited to affiliate his name with the book. An 1860 American edition reveals the author; by this time, Ruskin's marriage was over (for reasons of non-consummation).²⁴⁹ Indeed, young Effie was one of several prepubescent companions with whom Ruskin became smitten—suggesting his preference for the companionship of girls over women.

²⁴⁴ John Ruskin, "Introduction," in *German Popular Stories* (London: John Camden Hotten, 1869), v – xiv.

²⁴⁵ James S. Dearden, "The King of the Golden River: A Bio-Bibliographic Study," in *Studies in Ruskin: Essays in Honor of Van Akin Burd*, ed. Van Akin Burd, Robert E. Rhodes, and Del Ivan Janik (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1982), 35.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 38, 42.

²⁴⁷ Knoepfelmacher, *Ventures into Childland*, 40.

²⁴⁸ Dearden, "The King of the Golden River: A Bio-Bibliographic Study," 37.

²⁴⁹ As for Effie, she married the Pre-Raphaelite painter John Everett Millais, who produced numerous sentimental images of their daughters dressed up as blushing fairy tale figures like Cinderella and Red Riding Hood.

Ruskin came to see children as desexualized beings in his sentimental attachment, and this view is expressed when he promoted the image of idealized little girls in gardens.²⁵⁰ Exploring why Ruskin prompted this vision, some scholars allude to his own personal fears of women, while others, sympathetic to sexually molested children, have suggested another possibility: his fascination may have been caused by illicit sexual desires for the young.²⁵¹ While these all represent possibilities, it is also worth considering that a court of law, under the principle of innocent until proven guilty, would find the scholarly speculation insufficient for prosecution. Ruskin's idealization may have had other potential causes. Ruskin's stated abhorrence of industrialization's impact on English life might have prompted his vision of idealized little girls in gardens far from the city. Rather than continuing to speculate about Ruskin's private fantasies, the following continues this section on Ruskin by taking a closer look at a selection of his writings on pictures and fairy tales, while examining how he produced a model of fairyland connected to a sinless and desexualized childhood.

In "Of Queen's Gardens" (1865), for example, Ruskin advocates for the importance of allowing children, especially virtuous pre-adolescent girls, to read what they wish, and to freely roam gardens and libraries.²⁵² His anxieties about the girl-child's departure from this desexualized state appear in *Ethics of the Dust* (1866), as Anya Krugovoy Silver has discussed.²⁵³ In this book Ruskin implies that growing up is determined by one's remoteness to death and

²⁵⁰ Richard Dellamora, *Masculine Desire: The Sexual Politics of Victorian Aestheticism* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of California Press, 1990), 124; John Ruskin, "'Of Queens Garden' in Sesame and Lilies (1865)," in *Ruskin: Selected Writings*, ed. Dinah Birch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 155, 168; Krugovoy Silver, *Victorian Literature and the Anorexic Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 59–61.

²⁵¹ Anya Krugovoy Silver, "'A Caught Dream': John Ruskin, Kate Greenaway, and the Erotic Innocent Girl," *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* 25, no. 1 (January 1, 2009): 39, doi:10.1353/chq.0.1348; Hearn, "Mr. Ruskin and Miss Greenaway," 26.

²⁵² Ruskin, "Of Queens Garden," 163; Ruskin repeats this view in: Ruskin, "Introduction," xi.

²⁵³ Silver, "A Caught Dream," 37; Silver, *Victorian Lit. and Anorexic Body*, 59–61.

decay, and that womanhood puts an end to the purity and beauty of youth, and sullies the virtuous enchanted space of the pre-marital young girl.²⁵⁴ In his late Oxford lecture “Fairy Land: Mrs. Allingham and Kate Greenaway” (given in 1883, and published in his *Art of England* [1884]), Ruskin declares that certain naturalistic illustrations—of sinless children in gardens that are freed from the traces of the railroad—offer a vision of England’s future happiness.²⁵⁵ While imagining the children to be fairies and the country’s gardens to be England’s fairyland, he praises Greenaway’s book illustrations in particular.²⁵⁶ He also insists that women artists are capable of idealizing children in their book illustrations; Greenaway stands out amongst a male cohort of famed painters dedicated to child and fairy themes.²⁵⁷ Although these lectures connect illustrated fairyland with childhood, and thus serve as the roots for the fairy tale’s position as children’s literature, it is worth noting that a body of adult male students enjoyed the Oxford lectures themselves.²⁵⁸ Appealing to his audience, Ruskin’s lecture sets out his principles for the English garden as an alternative setting to city life.

Regardless of Ruskin’s insistence that the child should not be disturbed in her choice of reading, he nonetheless privileged the Grimms’ stories. In his introduction to *German Popular Tales* (the 1869 edition), Ruskin counters two trends in the children’s literature that emerged in the book market after his own fairy tale was well received. The first was the overly moralistic fairy tale that attempts to impart “specific doctrines,” which do not foster the child’s own

²⁵⁴ Silver, “A Caught Dream,” 37, 39; Silver, *Victorian Lit. and Anorexic Body*, 59–61; Ruskin, “Of Queens Garden,” 164–165.

²⁵⁵ John Ruskin, “Lecture IV: Fairy Land: Mrs. Allingham and Kate Greenaway,” in *The Art of England: Lectures given in Oxford* (New York: Garland Pub, 1979), 152, 154, 147.

²⁵⁶ Those in Victorian England’s literary and artistic community tended to know each other. For example, Helen Allingham and William Allingham, who wrote the poem that accompanies Doyle’s illustrations *In Fairyland*, were a couple.

²⁵⁷ Ruskin mentions Joseph Noel Paton, Joshua Reynolds, Ludwig Richter, Rembrandt, Vandyke Ruskin, “Lecture IV: Fairy Land: Mrs. Allingham and Kate Greenaway,” 129, 138, 140.

²⁵⁸ The simple fact that Ruskin’s last year as professor seems to correspond with the year women began to be admitted to the college in 1878 indicates that men were the primary audience members.

imagination.²⁵⁹ The second was the production of ugly stories that trouble “the sweet peace of youth with premature gleams of uncomprehended passion” because they are filled with “flitting shadows of unrecognized sin.”²⁶⁰ For Ruskin, the ideal fairy story shrinks the devil into playful grotesque creatures that can hardly do much harm, and it elevates the fairy creatures to the goodness associated with angelic spirits.²⁶¹ More specifically, he felt that if a text claimed that a fairy was good, the images should not show her riding mythical beasts. He condemns the example of a fairy riding a “matchless pair of white cockatrices.”²⁶² Such an illustration, in Ruskin’s mind, would be a false rendering of nature. Ideally, for Ruskin, books should be beautiful because of their true-to-life images, elevated use of language, and their ability to liberate the imagination.

It is true that Ruskin’s unwillingness to allow fantastical elements that appear wholly ungrounded in physical facts may limit the expression of the imagination. However, there is something vital about his concept that some illustrations can prompt the visually literate viewer to embark on adventures. It should be noted here (as Richard Martin Seddon has so discussed) that for Ruskin, visual literacy represents a higher form than its textual counterpart.²⁶³ In other words, the power of pictures to be educative is not limited to children and their choice of books. Writing about the power of pictures in geography books, Ruskin describes the excitement of entering into the mood of the imaginative artist’s rendered mental image and continuing the interpretive journey. When Ruskin views Turner’s topographical illustration of mountains and a road, for example, it is he as the art critic who imagines “teams of horses [...] little postchaises

²⁵⁹ Ruskin, “Introduction,” vi–vii.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, vii.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, xii.

²⁶² Ruskin, “Lecture IV: Fairy Land: Mrs. Allingham and Kate Greenaway,” 134.

²⁶³ Seddon, “Ruskin and Visual Media,” 42.

with small postboys, and a pair of ponies,” as well as the artist and himself traversing the path.²⁶⁴ The questions of what has occurred for the viewer to arrive at the illustration or painting and what will transpire next are pivotal to his mode of inquiry.

Using Ruskin’s writings, I want to suggest that Adelaide Claxton’s painting, *Wonderland* (c.1870), which shows a wide-eyed girl in an angelically-white dress reading Grimms’ stories by candlelight in a chair set in a library much too large for her, accurately represents what Ruskin advocates (fig. 11).²⁶⁵ The painting shows that the girl immersed in the delight of reading—well into the wee hours of the night—has already embarked on several fantastical journeys. Undisturbed by parental censorship, the adorable quality of the girl enraptured by seemingly harmless stories relates to Ruskin’s views on how children should be let loose in the libraries of country houses. *Arabian Nights*, *Night Side of Nature*, and *Lancashire Witch* are the legible titles among the books piled below her. From this body of presumably illustrated reading material, the ghosts of her imagination smoke up from the dimming candlelight, and after hours of reading, they leave by the window of the countryside house. The young girl is a representation of an adult imagining how childhood corresponds to fairyland; she also conjures actual readers who enjoyed the wonderlands in Victorian fairy tale novellas such as the *Alice* stories.²⁶⁶

2.1.1. *The King of the Golden River*: A Victorian Fairy Tale Novella

A girl—someone who was virtuous, free-spirited, and forever young—is by implication thought to be the ideal reader of Ruskin’s *The King of the Golden River*. The story about a kind boy called Gluck, who works mercilessly as the house servant for his selfish older brothers, is a

²⁶⁴ Ruskin, *Ruskin: Selected Writings*, 92.

²⁶⁵ Ruskin, “Of Queens Garden,” 165.

²⁶⁶ The title likely refers to the *Alice* stories. *Wonderland* was published just five years before, and its sequel would arrive in 1871.

prototype for how the fairy tale and fairyland are bound together with childhood. However much the story refers to the Grimms' "King of the Golden Mountain" and "Aschenputtel," Ruskin's male hero never succumbs to the violence of beheading his enemies, nor does the story celebrate the sexual implications of marriage. U.C. Knoepfmacher notes that at the story's end, it only takes "'three drops of holy dew' to convert Gluck into the harvester of the feminine Treasure Valley over which he presides, still unmarried, still pure and childlike."²⁶⁷ His reading of Gluck's resistance to maturation is largely based on the textual narrative, and it is worth questioning how this expands to the pictorial. According to the text, Ruskin's child-hero escapes the effects of growing up in the evilness of an industrial world represented by the protagonist's brothers. Whether the pictures also allow Gluck to escape maturation is another story.

Turning to the story's illustrations by Richard Doyle, it is evident that he has rendered Gluck as a forlorn and effeminized man. Framed by the window in a posture of pensive misery and with his delicate hair and facial features, Gluck looks similar to a melancholic Juliette (of *Romeo and Juliette*) (fig. 12).²⁶⁸ By contrast, Doyle depicts Gluck's brothers as fully-grown men who drink themselves into a stupor; Hanz and Schwartz, known as the Black Brothers, are muscular adult men who fight, drink, and find new ways to exploit the land and their younger brother (fig. 13). In the story, the brutes represent the forces of industrialization; they care for monetary profit rather than Gluck's wellbeing. Luring the older brothers with the promise of abundant gold, the wise King of the Golden River sends all three brothers on a journey filled with tests and tribulations; the righteous one will gain the ultimate reward: eternal youth and beauty.²⁶⁹ The journey through the Alps is depicted by Doyle as wild and menacing, but only

²⁶⁷ Knoepfmacher, *Ventures into Childland*, 68.

²⁶⁸ An example is Ludwig Richter's "Aschenputtel" in Ludwig Bechstein's *Deutsches Märchen*, 1853.

²⁶⁹ John Ruskin and Richard Doyle, illus., *The King of the Golden River*, 1st ed. (London: Smith Elder, 1851), 31.

when the Black Brothers blaze through. Nature is tamed and flourishing for the charitable Gluck, who is perhaps a stand-in for Ruskin in recollection of his childhood.²⁷⁰ The illustration of Gluck's charitable gesture of giving his last water droplets to a thirsty girl is telling (fig. 14). Flowers grow—a sign of spiritual fulfilment—even if the girl runs away, never to return. This last image in the pictorial narrative is one of separation and loss, which persists even within the Golden Valley—as the only girl in the story flees.

It was Doyle's illustration of the personified Esquire Wind that touched a nerve with Ruskin, however. The difference between the first and later editions is so blatant that even Knoepflmacher with his literary focus picks up on it. In the first edition, the Esquire Wind appears twice with an unusual nose; erected, it protrudes like a musical instrument that blows out the wind (fig. 15). While Ruskin suggested that the personified winds and rivers were potent masculine forces to be united to a feminine Treasure Valley (Knoepflmacher suggests as much), Doyle seems to have gone too far in the shape of the nose that stands in for and thereby makes visible the phallus.²⁷¹

In Ruskin's text, Gluck remains prepubescent, stays the same age, never marries, and subverts the masculine procreative drive. Faithful to the character's namesake (*Glück*, German for fortune and happiness), he gains the reward of happiness by living forever in the Treasure Valley's abundance. Ruskin's water imagery—"small circular whirlpool," "flowing streams," and the "moistened soil"—ensures that the valley acts as the maternal womb of humanity.²⁷² Indeed, stimulated by Gluck's love of nature, the Treasure Valley returns to her original state as

²⁷⁰ Knoepflmacher theorizes that Gluck is a stand-in for Ruskin. Knoepflmacher, *Ventures into Childland*, 38, 39, 69.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 67–68.

²⁷² John Ruskin and Richard Doyle, illus., *The King of the Golden River* (Boston: Mayhew & Baker, 1860), 66–68, <http://archive.org/details/kinggoldenriver01ruskgoog>.

a beautiful blossoming garden; the river's golden lining expands so that the earth yields plenty of corn. The hunger and poverty in the grownup world of the Black Brothers, who had once seen monetary wealth as the only kind of treasure, finally vanishes.

With this ending, it may not be surprising that Ruskin asked Doyle to produce a more natural nose for all subsequent editions (fig. 16). Although Ruskin promoted the careers of several artists—Turner, Burne-Jones, Cruikshank, and Greenaway—this was not the case for Richard Doyle. Nonetheless, Doyle's pictorial contribution added to the marketability of fairy tale books read by children. Meanwhile, the oversized phallic noses continued to feature in Doyle's works, such as his illustrations of lusting characters in William M. Thackeray's *The Rose and the Ring* (1854). Published by Smith, Elder and Co. as a follow-up to *The King of the Golden River*, to be ready in time for Christmas book sales, it seems probable that Doyle wittily responded to Ruskin's censorship with an over-abundance of odd nasal shapes.

2.2. On Sex and Gender: Beyond the Reaches of Ruskin's Childhood Fairyland

After Ruskin wrote his fairy tale, subsequent authors began to re-formulate how fairyland and childhood might be bound together. Focusing mainly on fairy tale texts rather than their images, Knoepfmacher positions *The King of the Golden River* as central to the formation of Victorian fairy tales popularized by men such as Lewis Carroll, George MacDonald, William M. Thackeray, and lesser-known tales by women such as Juliana Horatia Ewing, Christina Rossetti, and Jean Ingelow.²⁷³ When reader-viewers of Ruskin's stories became creative agents in their own right, a lively intertextual dynamic arose, helping the Victorian fairy tale novella to flourish. These Victorian authors did not necessarily share Ruskin's yearnings for a "pure and

²⁷³ Knoepfmacher, *Ventures into Childland*.

undifferentiated childhood Eden,” and they challenged his “resistance to maturation as well as his resulting idealization of a passive—and dubiously asexual” childhood.²⁷⁴

The diversity of Victorian fairy tales complicates expectations of how the Victorians saw sex and gender, but also race. Victorians were eclectic, at times eccentric, and hardly homogenous in their taste in literature, the visual arts, and in how they viewed the politics of house and country. As such, literature scholars who focus on Victorian fairy tales, and those who have singled out Lewis Carroll’s stories, bring up the topic of sex and gender, and Silver in her discussion of fairy lore brings up the issue of race. Here, I emphasize the importance of illustrations concerning the narratives’ treatment of these issues. The pictures add or detract from the stories’ underlying sexual and gendered dynamics; these factors determined whether books were published for the eyes of children, adults, or both. Just as Knoepfmacher picks up on the intertextual relation between Ruskin’s novella and the fairy tale novellas that followed, I want to focus on inter pictoriality—that is, how images once released into publications inform each other, especially as pertains to how gender and sexuality figure into fairyland. We have already seen, with the case of the nose in *The King of the Golden River*, how images can play this very role.

Sexuality, curiosity, and the expansive nature of fantasy worlds are major themes in George MacDonald’s (1824-1905) fairy tale novellas.²⁷⁵ MacDonald’s travelling heroes and heroines encounter human-like creatures in mysterious worlds that awaken curiosity and desire. In pointing to the importance of the sexual in MacDonald’s work, Humphrey Carpenter argues that there is more to MacDonald’s novel *Phantastes: A Faerie Romance for Men and Women*

²⁷⁴ Here, I am questioning whether the authors necessarily shared Ruskin’s nostalgia for an “undifferentiated childhood.” Knoepfmacher, however, claims that they did. *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁷⁵ Victorian fairy tale writers either knew each other or were aware of each other’s writings. George MacDonald was a personal friend to John Ruskin. MacDonald was also Charles Dodgson’s mentor. The theme of curiosity reappears in Dodgson’s (pen-named Lewis Carroll) *Alice* stories. MacDonald’s fictional worlds would later serve as inspiration to J.R.R. Tolkien and C.S. Lewis. Tolkien and Lewis were members of the literary group known as the Inklings who wrote fantasy fiction, while also drawing inspiration from writers like MacDonald.

(1858) than the interpretation that it is about the “holy mystery of sex.”²⁷⁶ This is because sexuality is part of the journey, or perhaps even the driving force, in discovering the desire for ‘other worlds.’ After waking up to find that the Fairyland of his fairy godmother has become more than a dream, *Phantastes*’ hero Anodos (evidently a twenty-two-year-old man as described in the text) is propelled through mystical forests, palaces, and seas. Anodos is attracted to the spirits of the trees, which turn into woman-like bodies. Some trees are mean-spirited seductresses and others save his life with sensual tenderness.

Although early editions of *Phantastes* were pictureless, Pre-Raphaelite Arthur Hughes (1832-1915) illustrated the 1905 edition. One might expect the illustrations to maintain the sensuality found in Hughes’ paintings of fleshy maidens who frolic in enchanted woods and gardens. Instead, a densely drawn etching of the beech tree rendered as a woman and the troubled Anodos suggests a maternal moment (fig. 17). The menacing clawing branches, and large paw print contrast with her soft grey tones. Textually, she is clearly to be understood as a sensual being when she claims that she feels like a woman some days.²⁷⁷ However, the illustration turns Anodos’ longings for beautiful and mysterious women into a pieta scene. The wet hair of the beech tree (pictured as a fully-grown woman) blends into the forest as she brings the awestruck Anodos (who, by contrast, appears the size of a small boy) into her lap to kiss and revive him.²⁷⁸ In the story’s celebration of sensuality and sexuality, this book’s version of fairyland (in the text more than in Hughes’ illustrations) subverts Ruskin’s asexual ‘childland.’

²⁷⁶ Carpenter, *Secret Gardens*, 79–80.

²⁷⁷ George MacDonald and Arthur Hughes, illus., *Phantastes: A Faerie Romance for Men and Women*, republication of 1905 edition (New York: Dover Publications, 2005), 29–30.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 67, 29–30, 41.

Although MacDonald proclaims to have written not for children but the childlike, several of his books were nonetheless marketed for children.²⁷⁹ Even in this context, such as with his Sleeping Beauty-themed *The Light Princess* (1864), hints of sexual desire visually and figuratively come to the surface. Invited to the christening, the fairy stepsister to the king curses the princess by making her physically and emotionally ungrounded, entirely unaware of the weight of world sorrow, while she regains weight only when she swims. This unusual set of circumstances makes it impossible to marry on land or to take anything seriously, which adds to the difficulty of courting her prince-lover. As a temporary solution, the lovers get close by swimming together, an episode suggestive of the playfulness of sexual desire, if not of sex itself.

In this case, early edition illustrations for *The Light Princess*—such as Maud Humphrey’s (1868-1940) two illustrations for the 1893 edition—heighten the mood of romance.²⁸⁰ The first picture illustrates the princess’ indifference to the prince and the second shows her request for a kiss (fig. 18). The saccharine style of popular nineteenth-century Valentine cards, like those by Ward and Co., find their way into Humphrey’s illustration, which feature plenty of ribbon, large eyes, rosy cheeks, and red lips to exaggerate the sentimental appeal.²⁸¹ Another illustration shows the princess leaning out of a rowboat and the prince who is swimming in the water; as she reaches out to draw his head toward her, she puckers her lips to kiss him (fig. 19). Pictorially, the characters’ mutual desire unites at the surface of the lake. In other words, the illustration

²⁷⁹ Martha C. Sammons, *War of the Fantasy Worlds: C.S. Lewis and J.R.R. Tolkien on Art and Imagination* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2010), 31.

²⁸⁰ Maud Humphrey became known for her images of young children. Her illustrations for *The Light Princess*, however, suggest that various forms of interpictoriality as exemplified between the Valentine card, the illustrated book, and post-cards of babies were emerging within the larger atmosphere of Victorian publishing. I will later pick up on the question of cross-fertilization between publication types.

²⁸¹ The digitized edition of *The Light Princess* that I first encountered online was enhanced with colour. When attempting to retrieve the images, I could not find the colour version.

visualizes this erotic interaction for the story's child reader-viewers.²⁸² Unlike Hughes, Humphrey's illustrations emphasize the elements of sexual desire described in MacDonald's text.

The use of intertextual referencing was integral to the flourishing of Victorian novellas, which was used to shift the story's gender dynamics. We find poet and novelist Jean Ingelow (1820-1897) responding to *Alice in Wonderland* with her *Mopsa the Fairy* (1869), a story that contained a matriarchal version of fairyland. Ingelow's starts her story with a simple-minded, yet curious boy named Jack. The boy climbs a thorn tree and enters its hollow; there, he finds a nest of fairies who find safety in his pockets.²⁸³ Soon the story offers the character a different kind of pathway through an equally wonderful fairyland. Jack journeys with the fairies to several foreign and magical lands; he bypasses pink flamingos, sea monsters, and a fairyland copy of himself. And he encounters more fairy-creatures that need comically winding up like mechanical toys, or that hide in the guise of parrots, bats, and deer. Unlike Lewis Carroll's Alice, Jack never remembers his dreams of childhood fantasy.

At first Jack treats his favourite fairy, the intelligent Mopsa, as a toy-like doll for his amusement but remains unaware of how his possessiveness impedes Mopsa's physical growth.²⁸⁴ Ingelow makes clear that Jack, whose touch temporarily stunts Mopsa, is unfit to be her equal as the ruler of fairyland.²⁸⁵ For example, Jack asks simplistic questions about fairyland, like about

²⁸² George MacDonald and Maud Humphrey, illus., *The Light Princess, and Other Fairy Tales* (New York; London: G. P. Putnam's sons, c1893), 33, 59, <http://archive.org/details/lightprincessoth00macd>.

²⁸³ Carpenter notes that Christina Rossetti in *Speaking Likeness* (1874) and Jean Ingelow in *Mopsa the Fairy* (1887) take after the fantastic quality found in the *Alice* books. Auerbach provides a detailed comparison between Jack and Alice. Knoepfmacher also compares Mopsa and Alice. See: Carpenter, *Secret Gardens*, 57; Nina Auerbach, *Forbidden Journeys: Fairy Tales and Fantasies by Victorian Women Writers* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 208–212; Knoepfmacher, *Ventures into Childland*, 281, 288–289.

²⁸⁴ Knoepfmacher's compares the theme of growth in Ingelow and Carroll's stories. He argues that Ingelow's is a calculated subversion of Carroll's. Knoepfmacher, *Ventures into Childland*, 290–293.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 281–282; Auerbach, *Forbidden Journeys*, 208.

its size, whereas Mopsa already understands the metaphysics that separate Jack's world from hers. When compared with the story's earlier emphasis on Mopsa's girlish shyness and Jack's authoritative stance over her, the later part of the story repositions Mopsa as a girl growing into her position as the "wise ruler" of her own fairyland.²⁸⁶ Aware of the burden of responsibility awaiting her, Mopsa prolongs her adventures with Jack. She plays with him, predicts his thoughts, tells him stories, and teaches him about fairy customs and the imagination. Meanwhile, her beauty increasingly arouses his interest in her.

The story hardly ends in marital romance. Mopsa eventually becomes a fully-grown and learned Queen. Signalling her growth and commitment to the kingdom, despite her sadness at the loss of Jack, she expels him. As Jack journeys back to his home, his would-be lover transforms into a kind of mother figure (one who witnesses the departure of boy-children).²⁸⁷ At the same time that the maternal quality found in fully-grown Mopsa's pathos channels a kind of lamentation, Mopsa becomes a matriarch of her own land.²⁸⁸

In a series of illustrations by Maria Louise Kirk (1860-1938) for the 1910-coloured edition, the fairy Mopsa stands out among her sisters and brothers. The fairies were once able to fit into Jack's pocket and sit in the palm of his hand, but Mopsa grows up to be a young pudgy-faced girl and then grows further still. Pictured in a garden with tiny fairies wearing daisy blossoms, a five-year-old Mopsa in a white frock daintily cowers under Jack's authoritative gaze and stance (fig. 18). In a subsequent illustration, fairyland's shimmering light glows upon

²⁸⁶ Auerbach describes Mopsa as wise because she quickly becomes more knowledgeable than Jack. Auerbach, *Forbidden Journeys*, 208.

²⁸⁷ Knoepflmacher, *Ventures into Childland*, 9.

²⁸⁸ Auerbach describes Mopsa's maternal sorrow. Auerbach, *Forbidden Journeys*, 208, 209–210.

Mopsa's face. She has developed a teenage body that is womanly and girlish; with Jack crouching before her, the crowned Mopsa has become the story's focal character (fig. 19).²⁸⁹ Instead of completing Mopsa's growth to adulthood, Kirk's pictorial conclusion returns back to Jack. She pictures the expulsion scene in a hazy purple sky with Jack fast asleep on the back of Jenny the albatross who carries him back to his realm (fig. 20).

It is not only Ingelow who positions fairyland as the domain of children (girls especially) who inhabit the fantasy worlds governed by the narrator's maternal voice. Textually, the story's gender dynamic questions whether boys, like Jack, can grow up to be selfless political rulers like Mopsa. Meanwhile, Kirk's concluding image of Jack's departure plays a role in making clear that Mopsa's world is not the rightful domain of boys in the aftermath of their sexual awakening.

It may come as a surprise to twentieth- and twenty-first-century reader-viewers—such as those who share Marcia Lieberman's opinion about the indoctrination of young girls—that the fairy tale tradition strays from hetero-normative marital happily-ever-afters where passive girls look pretty and often become wealthy.²⁹⁰ John Ruskin's *The King of The Golden River*, Lewis Carroll's *Alice* stories, and Jean Ingelow's *Mopsa the Fairy* are thus examples that challenge the idea that all Victorian fairy tales tend towards regressive notions of femininity. There are other examples too: Juliana Horatia Ewing's fairy stories for children promote female agency, offering a counter-example to Ruskin's effeminate Gluck, who never marries, as well as to Andrew Lang's stories that emphasize the legal authority of a father to select a prince for his daughter, in an exchange of wealth. In Ewing's "Good Luck is Better than Gold" (1880s), the farmer named Luck becomes a prince in possession of abundant gold, which puts him in a good bargaining

²⁸⁹ Jean Ingelow and Maria L. Kirk, illus., *Mopsa the Fairy* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1910), 13, 111, 136, 156, 175, 196, <http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/ingelow/mopsa/mopsa.html>.

²⁹⁰ Lieberman, "Some Day My Prince Will Come," 198–200.

position for the princess. A moment of dark humour shines through the text when, after the greedy King agrees to the exchange, Luck's neck breaks off by chance as he parades toward the marriage celebration.²⁹¹ The circumstances enable the princess to marry her suitor of choice.

Some fairy tales that celebrate beauty do not have heterosexual happy endings. Oscar Wilde's short fairy tale "The Happy Prince" (1888) begins with the unhappy prince, who once lived a life of pleasure, and has since become a talking statue.²⁹² In his hardened form, the prince witnesses the impoverished children, mothers, and playwrights in his city. Soon a swallow passes by (on his way to Egypt) and takes note of the prince. Because the bird pities the teary-eyed prince, he carries out the prince's requests into the dead of winter: he gives the statue's gold-plated armour and sapphire eyes to the poor until little remains of the statue's surface glory. When the swallow dies in the cold, the statue's lead heart also cracks. In the end, their heavenly love is transcendent and the city is embellished.

Walter Crane chose to depict the prince and the swallow at the beginning of the story, illustrating their first meeting when the statue is in the fullness of his beauty (fig. 23). Crane's gray-scale print shows the prince to be like Saint George on a pedestal guarding a city filled with aqueducts, towers, houses, and trees, but without any inhabitants to be seen. Garbed in metal plates with a sword and shield, the prince is a stoic statue who (according to the text) sees the poverty and suffering of his town. Under the light of the sun, the small black swallow is about to land upon the statue's shoulder. Pictorially, the bird looks up to the princely lips, which Wilde's

²⁹¹ The headpiece illustrates a Minerva-like floating head, and the tailpiece illustrates Luck hunting for a goose. It is not only the animal who loses its head. Juliana Horatia Ewing, A.W. Bayes and, and Gordon Browne, illus., "Good Luck Is Better than Gold," in *Old-Fashioned Fairy Tales* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1880), 2, 10, <https://archive.org/stream/oldfashionedfair00ewin#page/n3/mode/2up>.

²⁹² Oscar Wilde and Walter Crane, illus., "The Happy Prince," in *The Happy Prince and Other Tales* (London: David Nutt, 1888), 1–24, <http://archive.org/details/happyprinceother02wild>.

text will lead him to kiss. In the picture, these characters appear to be speaking to each other, and they will demonstrate that charity and the spread of beauty are essential to a good ending.²⁹³

Despite the way that Wilde literalized a heart-wrenching tragedy between lovers, the outlook for a better world to come remains. The relationship between the bird (gendered as male in the text) and the prince serves to highlight the difference between unrequited earthly love and the pure love of social charity. The lovers' effort to spread the prince's happiness through the destruction of superficial beauty is part of the redistribution of wealth. Meanwhile, Crane's illustration of the prince and swallow in their initial glory suggests that the beautification of the entire city awaits the hands of viewers to fulfil. In defiance of expectations for heterosexual marital happily-ever-afters, Wilde's ending and Crane's illustration suggest that the earth below and heaven above can unite in a happier, more loving, and beautiful place.

Happiness at the level of homosocial companionship is also a theme in Christina Rossetti's poem, not originally intended for children. The goblins of *Goblin Market* (first published in 1859) are a fairy race of merchantmen that provide the women characters, Lizzy and Laura, with a sensual and sexually dangerous experience that threatens their lives and puts their sisterly love to the test. Forewarned by sister Lizzy, Laura accepts the goblins' wares with high-spirited curiosity regardless of the price. In sexual terms that suggest impurity, Lizzy consumes the illicit fruit: "sucked and sucked and sucked the more...Fruits which that unknown orchard bore; She sucked until her lips were sore."²⁹⁴ In the end, the women gain both sexual and intellectual knowledge. They also ward off the threat of masculine sexual fantasies and regain a sense of authority in their home life. Rossetti's goblin-land highlights the darker side of sexual

²⁹³ Ruskin makes this point in *The King of the Golden River*.

²⁹⁴ Christina Rossetti and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, illus., *Goblin Market and Other Poems*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1865), 8, <http://archive.org/details/goblinmarketand01rossgoog>.

mystery. Through her poetry, she implies that twists of the tongue may be pleasurable to enunciate, but its content is foreboding.

The author's brother, the Pre-Raphaelite Dante Gabriel Rossetti, first illustrated *Goblin Market* (1st ed., 1862). He depicts the characters as full-bodied women and not as the young maidens of the poem. One illustration suggests a love relationship between Lizzy the protector and Laura the adventurer because of how the women sleep entwined in each other's bodies (fig. 24).²⁹⁵ Dante's illustration connects the sleeping women to a dream-bubble depicting the goblin's marching; these little men march to market, which is the setting where the poem's carnal moments take place. This detail accentuates the sexual implications of their embrace. The ambiguous relationship between the characters in the text and a more overt sexual relationship between the pictorially depicted characters confirm that different editions of a story could profoundly change how gender and sexuality were expressed.

2.3. How Dark is the Rabbit Hole, and the Curiosities That Alice Found There

Charles Dodgson (1832-1898) was a professor of mathematics at Christ Church Oxford and George MacDonald's mentee when he authored the novellas about Alice's adventures under the pen name Lewis Carroll.²⁹⁶ *In Wonderland* (1865) and *Through the Looking Glass* (1871) are filled with unusual characters (talking animals, the Mad Hatter, Humpty Dumpty, Tweedledee, and so forth) who are integral to the journey between sense and non-sense, actuality and fantasy, and the textual and the pictorial.²⁹⁷ Sir John Tenniel (1820-1914) was a political cartoonist for *Punch* when he created his famous illustrations of the *Alice* stories, leading Queen Victoria to

²⁹⁵ Ibid., frontispiece.

²⁹⁶ From here on, I am calling the author of the *Alice* stories by his intended pen-name.

²⁹⁷ The influence from MacDonald as mentor (mentioned earlier) can be felt by how Carroll draws on the importance of curious encounters.

later knight him for his artistic achievements. The pictorial narrative by Tenniel has recently had to compete for attention with Carroll's notorious photographs of young girls. Carroll took many photographs of the girl Alice Liddell (to whom he dedicated his stories), along with the MacDonald, Millais, and other Liddell girls whom he photographed clothed as well as in various states of undress, including fully nude.²⁹⁸ With this imagery in mind, what does it mean if readers-viewers are to journey into Wonderland?

Of all the Victorian fairy tale novellas of the period, the *Alice* stories have received the most scholarly attention.²⁹⁹ Scholarship on Lewis Carroll shows that the journey down the rabbit hole and to the other side of the looking glass shifts in mood between the seriousness of death and sexuality and the whimsicality of curiosity and discovery. Ronald Reichertz's study shows how the *Alice* stories are profoundly intertextual, drawing on biography, nursery rhymes, English history, geography, natural history, moral guidebooks, and the Bible. I would like to introduce intertextuality into this discussion.³⁰⁰ Intertextual connections can be made between types of picture books, which include natural histories, botanical illustrations, Tenniel's pictures and Carroll's photographs. To address these connections, as well as the question of what Tenniel's Alice sees in Wonderland, I want to introduce some scholars who have considered the pictorial ramifications of the story.

In "Illustrating Alice" (2004), Jacqueline Labbe looks at what Tenniel's pictorial Alice and Carroll's textual Alice signify in terms of the constructed nature of gender. In Labbe's

²⁹⁸ Anne Higonnet, *Lewis Carroll* (London; New York: Phaidon, 2008), 109–110.

²⁹⁹ There has been an abundance of attention given to the *Alice* stories. Carpenter points out the challenge of looking at the story with fresh eyes. Gardiner suggests that almost any assumption about the story can easily be built up with evidence. For example, Auerbach argues that the textual Alice is of greater importance to the pictorial. I argue for the opposite. Carpenter, *Secret Gardens*, 53; Lewis Carroll and John Tenniel, illus., *The Annotated Alice: Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking Glass* (New York: World Publishing Company, 1971), n.p.; Nina Auerbach, "Alice and Wonderland: A Curious Child," *Victorian Studies* 17, no. 1 (1973): 31–47.

³⁰⁰ Reichertz, *The Making of the Alice Books*, 7–12.

position, Lewis Carroll's Wonderland is less about the subversive potential of fantasy and more about how Alice is moulded into subservient femininity.³⁰¹ Labbe takes note of how Alice's curiosity is subdued by the Queen of Hearts, how she is trapped in the White Rabbit's House, and how the Mad Hatter and company humiliate and ignore her. Possibly suggestive of emotional abuse, Alice forgets who she is in this world of punishment, and becomes a "submissive, obedient, quiet young woman."³⁰²

The illustrations allegedly entomb the child into a girlhood that is subservient to the male creative agent's desires. Labbe suggests that Tenniel, who illustrated how Alice's body grows to be too large or shrinks to become too small, interpreted Carroll's desires that Alice Liddell stay young and never grow up. Labbe points to the pictorial moment *In Wonderland* when girlish Alice's neck sprouts up to the sky, and her body is violently stretched (fig. 25).³⁰³ She also considers that Alice as pictured in *Through the Looking Glass* resembles a doll-like version of a "Pre-Raphaelite woman" with adult-style pearls and budding breasts (fig. 26).³⁰⁴ In Labbe's conclusion, the pictorial Alice is the product of oppressive adult-male sexual fantasies. One wonders whether Carroll's photographs informed Labbe's interpretation.

Lewis Carroll's photographs were rediscovered in the twentieth century, and profoundly changed how he and his famous stories were perceived. As an example, Carroll's *Beggar Girl* (c.1862) is a photograph of Alice Liddell whose clothing drapes off her shoulders (fig. 27). It is true that the sensual nature of the photographs has scandalized some into reading the *Alice* stories as expressions of erotic energy that tie the author's masculine fantasy to the girl

³⁰¹ Labbe, "Illustrating Alice: Gender, Image, Artifice," 23, 24, 28.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, 27.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, 29–30.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 34.

protagonist who resides within it.³⁰⁵ However, art historians Carol Mavor and Anne Higonnet argue that Carroll photographed his girl-models with defiant stances and assertive glares.³⁰⁶ Indeed, he sometimes pictured girls and women in the intellectual pursuits of reading and looking through telescopes.

Nonetheless, Carroll's sensual photographs of Alice Liddell have become part of the visual culture associated with the story's underlying site of fantasy. Nina Auerbach begins her article "*Alice in Wonderland: A Curious Child*" (1973) with a description of Tenniel's illustrations, only to dismiss the illustrator's Alice.³⁰⁷ As compared to the Alice of the text, whose characterization recalls Alice Liddell in the photograph, Auerbach finds Tenniel's illustrated Alice to be far less dark and sensuous.³⁰⁸ Auerbach relies on Carroll's work when she considers Alice's fall down the rabbit hole, the sensuality of her appetite, her tendency to cheat, and the animals' fears of being eaten.³⁰⁹ To Auerbach, Carroll's Alice(s) from both the text and the photographs reveal a heroine who represents the troubling characteristics of human nature. Alice may have fallen from grace, she might be sexually self-aware, and she might also be relatively innocent.³¹⁰

Just how oppressive is *Wonderland*? Wandering down the path of darkened metaphoric associations, the rabbit hole easily becomes the lens of the artist/author's desirous gaze, and a pedophilic understanding of the story would confirm the character's victimization.³¹¹ In light of

³⁰⁵ Higonnet, *Lewis Carroll*, 8.

³⁰⁶ Ibid., 8–9; Carol Mavor, "Between Eating and Loving an Alicious Annotated Fairy Tale," in *Alice in Wonderland: Through the Visual Arts*, ed. Gavin Delahunty and Christoph Benjamin Schulz (Tate Publishing, 2011), 81–96.

³⁰⁷ Auerbach, "*Alice and Wonderland: A Curious Child*," 31.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 35.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 40–41.

³¹⁰ Ibid., 46–47.

³¹¹ Gardner describes a tendency of sex-focused readings (i.e. by Pyllis Greenacre). Gardner, "Introduction," n.p.

how the photographs have scandalized modern viewers, one way of viewing the *Alice* stories entails projecting one's anxieties onto Carroll's photographs and by extension Tenniel's illustrations as a means of interpreting how gender and female sexuality is enacted in Carroll's texts.³¹² Yet, such a sex-focused reading risks truncating the complex power dynamics between character and author/illustrator, as well as the whimsical nature of Wonderland.³¹³ Curiosity includes the desire of sexual knowledge, but it is not defined solely by it. The curious person looks, cares for detail, searches, hungers for knowledge, questions, and wanders around. In other words, curiosity takes the root sense of *cura* or care for observing detail, and it also grows into wonder.³¹⁴

Curiosity and wonder (as per the famous lines "curious and curiouser") resonate throughout the pictorial narrative.³¹⁵ Alice's encounter with the caterpillar illustrates the experience of curiosity as shared by the character and the reader-viewer (fig. 28). She possesses facial characteristics associated with expression of curiosity, wonder, surprise and astonishment: wide eyes, a focused stare, raised eyebrows, and a gaping mouth. Desirous with hunger Alice wants to change size again when she finds a mushroom. In Tenniel's drawing, the attention to detail—in the mushroom trunk and the grass blades and bluebells (known in the period as fairy

³¹² It should be noted that Carroll, for his part, claims to have spent time with his young girl friends with a clear conscience, and with the permission of their parents, whilst maintaining the view that a girl's sexuality is part of her humanity and her innocence. Cox, "The Child of the Victorians," 159.

³¹³ Fostering a compassionate understanding of the author and illustrator's wonderland means acknowledging the potential for Carroll's innocence. Unlike Ruskin who proposed marriage to his young girl friends, the evidence (even in letters and diaries written by his young companions) that Carroll's romantic desires extended beyond the photographs is much more elusive; we do not know if Carroll had sexual desires (either conscious or repressed) for young Alice caught in his wonderland. Compassion opens up the space for acknowledging the agency of his female friends, and the generations of girls, boys, and adults who have enjoyed the illustrated *Alice* books.

³¹⁴ "Wonder, N.," *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed January 31, 2017, <http://www.oed.com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/view/Entry/229936>; "Curious, Adj.," *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed January 31, 2017, <http://www.oed.com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/view/Entry/46040>.

³¹⁵ Alice is curious or wonders about something every couple of pages. "Curious" appears 18 times, "Curiosity" appears 5 times, and "Wonder" appears 15 times in *Wonderland*. "Curious" appears 8 times, "Curiosity" 5 times, and "Wonder" appears 15 times in *Through the Looking Glass*.

flowers) that surround it, and the caterpillar on the mushroom cap—looks remarkably similar to botanical and entomological illustrations.³¹⁶ However, here, the mushroom stump has become a small tree in proportion to the girl.³¹⁷ Alice has raised her herself on tiptoes, and pokes her wide eyes and nose up on the mushroom cap, which is when she sees the Alice-sized caterpillar. The caterpillar defies expectations of the known world as it is represented in scientific books. He smokes an elaborate hookah, talks, and answers the questions that Alice poses.³¹⁸

The incongruity between limitless knowledge of the natural world and limited knowledge creates the parameters for Alice's experience of wonder. Furthermore, she, alongside her viewers, sees many things that are anomalies to the world that we live in. Wonderland can be considered as a distorted-Eden in that Carroll rearranged biblical references into a new plotline.³¹⁹ Following Alice's original fall down the rabbit hole, there are two subsequent referential moments to Eve from Eden: Alice takes her cues to "Eat Me" and "Drink Me" in a garden; later the pigeon suggests that the young girl is just like a serpent because both eat eggs.³²⁰ The fall at the beginning of Wonderland is also, therefore, a return to the site of wonder and curiosity. Eve eats the apple in exchange for knowledge, which is sexual in nature, but this also points to a world yet to be discovered.

Tenniel's pictures allow reader-viewers to see the world anew, with eyes open to wonder. A lizard flies up a smoking chimney, animals and the Mad Hatter guzzle tea, a mythological

³¹⁶ For more on how botanical illustrations grew in popularity during the Victorian era see: Ann B. Shteir, *Cultivating Women, Cultivating Science: Flora's Daughters and Botany in England, 1760 to 1860* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

³¹⁷ Carroll and John Tenniel, illus., *The Annotated Alice*, 66.

³¹⁸ More could be made of the caterpillar's somewhat phallic body in a Freudian analysis. However, such an approach might undermine the broader meaning of Wonderland as a site of curiosity.

³¹⁹ Alice's original fall can be likened to the fall from grace and expulsion. However, in Genesis, the temptation by the serpent and the consumption of fruit occur before the fall. The lines "Eat Me" and "Drink Me" simultaneously reference the bread and wine at Christian communion as well as the fruit of paradise. Part of the wonder in Wonderland relies in the uncertainty as to whether Alice is entering or leaving an Eden-like place.

³²⁰ Carroll and John Tenniel, illus., *The Annotated Alice*, 30–31, 75–76.

griffin dances with a cow-hoofed teary-eyed turtle, and a lobster coifs himself.³²¹ His illustrations turn the seriousness and didacticism found in moral education books and informational picture books (natural histories, entomology, botany) into grounds for play. Tenniel expands on Carroll's story in that it is in his drawings that playing cards argue with each other as they paint roses, a flamingo croquet mallet gets angry with Alice, chess pieces run off the board, and a horsefly is pictured as a rocking horse with fairy wings and a domino torso.³²²

Tenniel's illustrations of Alice and the Jabberwocky in *Through the Looking Glass* are particularly subversive. In Carroll's text, when Alice reads the poem in the looking-glass book, she encounters a "beamish boy" who slays a mysterious beast, identifiable by his large jaws and claws.³²³ Pictorially, an inversion of expectations on traditional gendered heroism takes place, for it is Alice who prepares to slay the fierce beast (fig. 29). Tenniel's Jabberwocky emerges from the dark woods with massive bat wings, reptilian tail, snake's neck, dinosaur feet, spider claws, and a rabbit-toothed fish head.³²⁴ With her flowing locks of hair, her petite calves and thighs and arms, Tenniel's Alice proposes a tiny girlish model in the role of monster killer—somewhat like her male predecessors (David of David and Goliath, and Jack of Jack and the Beanstalk).

The question of how to identify with Alice and the characters from her world, whether to take growing up seriously, and whether sexuality comes into play is therefore complicated—facilitating multiple readings. The multiplicity of possible perspectives explains why the illustrated *Alice* stories have a lengthy history of republication, serving the enjoyment of girls, boys, and adults. Tenniel's caricature of power-dynamics, ranging from the Queen of Heart's

³²¹ Ibid., 62, 94, 135, 139.

³²² Lewis Carroll and John Tenniel, illus., *Alice's Adventures In Wonderland* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1865), 46, 49, <http://archive.org/details/AlicesAdventuresInWonderland>; Lewis Carroll and John Tenniel, illus., *Through the Looking-Glass, and What Alice Found There* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1871), 56, https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Through_the_Looking-Glass,_and_What_Alice_Found_There.

³²³ Carroll and John Tenniel, illus., *Alice Stories*, 197.

³²⁴ Ibid., 198.

tyrannical rule to her court's flat-faced subservience, is part of what makes girlish Alice's questions within an absurd world compelling.³²⁵

2.4. On Taking the Pictorial Seriously in Publishing History

This chapter has thus far addressed illustrations that accompany fairy tales. The examples provide a more sophisticated vision of how the Victorians saw sex and gender in post-Ruskinian books, which were originally intended for child and adult reader-viewers. However, there is more to taking the pictorial seriously than a nod to the fact that nineteenth-century fairy tale books often contained illustrations.³²⁶ Images can carry the weight of the story and emphasize or downplay the mood of romance, the absurdities of life, and the foreboding danger that drives the plot. Arthur Hughes' illustrations for *Phantastes*, Maud Humphrey's for *The Light Princess*, John Tenniel's for the *Alice* stories, and Maria L. Kirk's for *Mopsa the Fairy* suggest as much. Due to the importance of the pictorial, different versions of the same story can transform the narrative's relationship to its viewers, which is why the various editions of a story matter. First editions may be bound in leather, contain few if no images, and be placed squarely in the adult book market. In some cases, only later versions become illustrated; and, in other cases, illustrators recycle scenes, and these agents of the publishing process tellingly cut and add narrative elements.

³²⁵ The illustration that accompanies the following line is one such example. "Nonsense!" said Alice, very loudly and decidedly, and the Queen was silent" Carroll and John Tenniel, illus., *Alice's Adventures In Wonderland*, 48.

³²⁶ For example, Zipes notes that nineteenth-century fairy tales often contained illustrations. But, he does not account for the images in his analysis of the Victorian fairy tale's subversive potential. Jack Zipes, "The Flowering of the Fairy Tale in Victorian England," in *When Dreams Came True: Classical Fairy Tales and Their Tradition* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 111–33; Jack Zipes, *The Enchanted Screen: The Unknown History of Fairy-Tale Films* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 8.

Most editions of Lewis Carroll's *Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) are accompanied by John Tenniel's illustrations, which played an integral role in the story's popularity as a book for children that adults could appreciate.³²⁷ In John Davis' introduction to Alice's illustrators, he notes that while "Carroll was alive, few artists had either the wish or the opportunity to compete with Tenniel."³²⁸ Even within the nineteenth century, whilst the textual story was initially received lukewarmly (in reviews prior to 1888), the illustrations by John Tenniel became all the rage.³²⁹ Soon after the story spread in popularity in England and America, the nursery book version, *Nursery Alice* (1890), was edited to accommodate the enlargement of twenty selected illustrations for the amusement of the five-year-old child reader-viewer.³³⁰

The distinctions between the 1865 illustrations and the fully-coloured toy book provide a sense of why the earlier version was so fascinating to viewers in the period.³³¹ Hardly minor, the adjustments not only make Alice look facially and corporally younger; her eyes are big, her eyebrows inexpressive, and her body is flattened, but the colour has also washed away her negative emotions ranging from anger to confusion.³³² Alice no longer looks horrified when she cradles the Queen of Hearts' (pig) baby; she is now a girl with a toy doll.³³³ The excluded images from this edition enforce the view that she is a happy girlish child who experiences no harm. No longer does Alice almost drown in her pool of tears, nor does she facially express her anger when she grows to be too big for the White Rabbit's house. She no longer sees the doormouse stuffed

³²⁷ Graham Ovenden, ed., *The Illustrators of Alice in Wonderland and Through the Looking Glass* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972), 9.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

³²⁹ Carpenter, *Secret Gardens*, 68.

³³⁰ Lewis Carroll and John Tenniel, illus., "Tenniel's Illustrations for The Nursery Alice (digitized Images from the 1890 Original)," *The British Library*, 2016, <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-nursery-alice>.

³³¹ *Ibid.*

³³² *Ibid.*, images 3; Carroll and John Tenniel, illus., *The Annotated Alice*, 31.

³³³ Carroll and John Tenniel, illus., "Nursery Alice," image 11; Carroll and John Tenniel, illus., *The Annotated Alice*, 31.

into a teapot or the Cheshire cat's floating head. The Queen, who threatens to behead her subjects, is no more.³³⁴ These changes served Carroll's intentions to produce a version that was suitable for the smallest of children.³³⁵ Subsequently, Arthur Rackham (1867-1939) illustrated the 1907 edition of *Alice in Wonderland*. His fantastical forests, girlish Alice, and scenes devoid of violence show that the story had come to embody a domesticated notion of childhood, which differed from the one imagined by Tenniel and cherished by Victorian reader-viewers.³³⁶

An even greater shift in the intended reader-viewership occurs with the publishing history of Rossetti's *Goblin Market*. Following the first edition illustrations of mutually caressing women by Gabriel Rossetti, illustrator Laurence Housman (1865-1959) was unabashedly sexual in his 1893 rendition of Lizzy's experience in goblin land. "Cat-like and rat-like, Ratel and wombat-like," his fantastical goblins conform to the text.³³⁷ In a medley of animal and human limbs, dishes of fruit and branches, these beastly men kiss, squeeze, caress, and stretch her. Pictorially, Lizzy is wide-eyed, either out of horror, astonishment, or pleasure (fig. 30). Possibly suggestive of the plight of force-feeding and aspirations to freedom felt by women in the suffrage movement, the danger of sexual liberation and the forced consumption of the fruits of melancholy unite in Housman's illustration. Such a contextual reading lines up with Housman's possible intentions to give his support for women's suffrage.³³⁸

³³⁴ Carroll and John Tenniel, illus., *The Annotated Alice*, 40, 58, 103, 108.

³³⁵ Knoepfelmacher suggests that small nursery book version served Carroll's purpose of addressing his fears that Alice Liddell would shrink from his grasp. Knoepfelmacher, *Ventures into Childland*, 10; British Library comments that Carroll adapted the story into a nursery book for five-year olds. Carroll and John Tenniel, illus., "Nursery Alice."

³³⁶ Lewis Carroll and Arthur Rackham, illus., *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, reprint of the 1907 edition, 2009, 50, 51, 74, 75, 84, 85, 158, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/28885?msg=welcome_stranger.

³³⁷ Christina Rossetti and Laurence Housman, illus., *Goblin Market* (London: Macmillan, 1893), 40, <http://contentdm.baylor.edu/cdm/ref/collection/ab-wpc/id/85127>.

³³⁸ Housman interestingly developed a male faction that supported the woman's suffrage movement. John Simkin, "Men's League for Women's Suffrage," *Spartacus Educational*, 2014, <http://spartacus-educational.com/Wmen.htm>.

Rackham also interpreted the 1933 edition of Christina Rossetti's *Goblin Market*. Rackham's illustrations emphasize the innocence of Lizzy and Laura's sisterly embrace. He also reduces the size and menacing nature of the goblins and concludes with an illustration of maternal storytelling.³³⁹ Both of these examples by Rackham (*Alice in Wonderland* and *Goblin Market*) reveal shifts in the pictorial response by different artists to a given author's source story. When compared to the *Alice* stories, Christina Rossetti's poem, originally not for children, went through an even greater series of illustrative transformations that repositioned the tamed girl body in the domain of children's literature. Rackham's illustrations indicate that a new category of children's books was emerging, one which fostered the literary fairy tale, but which downplays, in visual terms, the child's (especially the girl's) aggressivity and sexuality. In other words, twentieth-century versions of the stories show that even fairy lore originally intended for adults became part of children's literature.

The gradual taming of the female body would also persist in the recycling of images in books originally intended for children. The coloured Alice book is a late nineteenth-century example of the toy books that were marketed explicitly for children. Lang's compendium of "Coloured Fairy Books" (1889-1910) also turned the fairy tale anthology into the exclusive domain of children's literature. Several of H.J. Ford's illustrations for Lang's fairy books reuse the layout, characterization, and narrative scenes from earlier toy book material. Ford likely recycled images from Walter Crane's fully-coloured toy book versions of fairy tales, albeit with a very different mode of expressing self-other power relationships. The gender distinction in

³³⁹ Christina Rossetti and Arthur Rackham, illus., *Rackham's Illustrations for Goblin Market* (digitized Images from the 1933 edition)," *The British Library*, 2016, image 3 and 4, <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/goblin-market-illustrated-by-arthur-rackham>.

versions of the Beauty and the Beast stories can be addressed through a comparative analysis of images by Walter Crane and those made by Andrew Lang's illustrators.

2.4.1. Scenes of Beauty Saving the Beast

Walter Crane's fully coloured toy book, *Beauty and the Beast* (1875), features a sexually dominant Beauty straddling the Beast at a climactic moment (fig. 31).³⁴⁰ Beauty has come to the Beast's rescue of her own accord, and the scene in question invites the viewer to construe what is transpiring. The monkey-faced guardians of the wild estate in the illustration have led her by their torch into the night; here, the Beast—wearing a blood-red courtly hunting jacket—lies in the darkened forest by the hedge where wild roses grow. Beauty has clambered onto his dying body. As she braces her arms over his torso, the skirts of her brightly coloured day dress with their yellow sunflower pattern cloak his loins. His knee shifts upward, suggesting that her left calf and thigh have intertwined between his legs. Touched by her pleading desire for his life, the Beast opens his eyes and fanged jaws.

With Beauty's brightness, the night light of the background turns into daybreak, slumber into awakening, and poppies and daisies grow around the lovers. All of this suggests that the death of the Beast and the culture that he represents has transformed from the threat of lifelessness into *le petit mort*. The characters' corporeality in a Garden of Eden setting confirms the reading of sexual awakening. The Edenic reference found in Crane's picture books—in the wallpaper featuring the nude Eve, the tree of knowledge and serpent, which were found in the Beast's aristocratic home—also confirms the climactic moment as one of copulation. It should be noted here that far from condemning the woman's actions by making her Eve-like semblance

³⁴⁰ Walter Crane, *Beauty and the Beast*, 2nd ed.? (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1875), verso 6, <https://archive.org/details/beautybeast00cra>.

into a grotesque temptress, Crane's references to Eden (repeated in the wallpapers in several of his toy books) tend to celebrate romantic love, curiosity, and erotic desire.³⁴¹

H.J. Ford illustrated the same scene for Lang's *The Blue Fairy Book* (1889). Although he copied the general positioning of the figures found in Crane's illustrations, the lively mood of feminine sexual agency has all but disappeared. The Beast is portrayed as a dead lump of fur rather than as a man come to life, Beauty's legs are carefully repositioned so that she piously kneels by his side, and the garden has dried up in the colourless image (fig. 32).³⁴² Beauty loses her sexual agency in this scene as well as her power as heroine. Ford adds scenes where Beauty bows submissively in the financial agreement of marital exchange made by her father and the Beast. In a reversal of how Crane saw the heroic Beauty, Ford's illustrated story concludes with the Beast saving himself; a boy heroically emerges out of his beastly costume with the raised arms of a winner, thus exposing his white male triumphalism.³⁴³ This is a moment where the white male hero dis-identifies from his animality, and thereby ties into Lang's ethnographic ideas. The narrative distinctions between Ford and Crane's illustrations suggest that men of the era held different views on the power relationship between men and women. Both of these illustrators also pictorialized racial relations, which the following section narrows in on.

³⁴¹ Walter Crane, *Bluebeard* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1873), 2, <http://archive.org/details/Bluebeard00Cran>; Walter Crane, *Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp*, 2nd ed.? (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1875), 5–6, <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028355/00001/citation>; Crane, *Beauty and the Beast*, 4–5.

³⁴² Lang, H.J. Ford, illus. and G.P. Jacomb-Hood, illus., *The Blue Fairy Book*, 117.

³⁴³ The image of the man emerging out of his beastly costume does not appear in the first edition. Heiner refers to an edition published by Spottiswoode and Co. where it does appear. Because the book's source has been damaged, bibliographic details are missing. Searching for this mysterious publication merits further investigation. Heidi Anne Heiner, "Illustrations of Beauty and the Beast by H.J. Ford," fairy tale database, *Sur La Lune Fairy Tales*, 2007, <http://surlalunefairytales.com/illustrations/beautybeast/fordbeauty.html>.

2.5. How the Pictorial Matters to Race Relations

Antoine Galland's selection of Arabian Nights' stories published in the early eighteenth century appeared in the context of Oriental studies. These translated stories, as well as subsequent publications of non-European folkloric stories, fostered the study of foreign languages and exotic stories, lands, people, and cultural artefacts. In particular, the "Alibaba" and "Aladdin stories," which Galland likely wrote in the style and mood of the stories that he translated, have traversed from translations his *Les mille et une nuits* into collections of European fairy tales.³⁴⁴ Andrew Lang similarly included non-European folkloric stories alongside European fairy tales in his "Coloured Fairy Books" for children. Aladdin scenes allowed illustrators to picture Oriental worlds. Based on this imagery, it is worth asking: what do these traces of the East and the representation of ethnically diverse bodies signify when they appear in the European publishing culture of illustrated fairy tales?

Scholars from America and Britain, who have looked at Europe's nineteenth-century Orientalism, have often addressed historical practices of collecting exotic objects and representing sexually available women with their black slaves in Eastern fantasy-scapes. In her cornerstone essay, art historian Linda Nochlin relates Edward Said's critique of Orientalism to painting; her reading of the infamous Orientalist painter Jean-Léon Gérôme's *Moorish Bath* (1870) hinges on the artist's realist rendering. The ethnographic attention to details—the "Turkish tiles," "Cairene sunken fountain," and "Mamluk coat-of-arms"—are part of what makes this documentary-type painting troublesome.³⁴⁵ This pictorial realism camouflages

³⁴⁴ Aboubakr Chraïbi, "Aladdin," in *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Folktales and Fairy Tales: A-F*, ed. Donald Haase, vol. 1 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008), 21–23; Yamanaka and Tetsuo Nishio, eds., *The Arabian Nights and Orientalism*, 4–5.

³⁴⁵ Linda Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," in *The 19th Century Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Vanessa R. Schwartz and Jeannene M. Przyblyski (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), 33–59, 49.

gruesome historical realities in what had become a period of conquests, including the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Escaping history, the painting invites the projection of private sadistic fantasies—self-gratification at the expense of others—onto the seemingly untouched East. The invitation for arousal and conquest occurs at the bath: a black Sudanese servant girl offers the pearly-white body of a sexually available nude woman up to the viewer’s colonial gaze. Poignant as Nochlin’s critique of select Orientalist paintings may be, to assume that any trace of non-European cultures within the Western imagination indicates oppression would be to go too far.

While mentioning that Gérôme’s *Moorish Bath Scene* was reproduced for the 1907 Edward Burton-translated editions of *The Arabian Nights*, Kazue Kobayashi makes room for an alternate sensibility.³⁴⁶ She separates the imperialist enterprise associated with the painting from how the illustrators (artists like William Harvey, Albert Letchford, and Walter Crane) produced scenes for various publications of *The Arabian Nights*. She suggests that ethnographic detail could be part of genuine interest in Arabic culture.³⁴⁷

A taste for Japanese objects also developed in Europe, which Kobayashi highlights when she arrives at how the thick outlines in Crane’s *Aladdin* (1875) integrate techniques from Ukiyoe-e woodcut prints. Due to the widespread European confusion concerning the difference between all things Japanese and Chinese, Kobayashi looks past the awkwardness that fellow Japanese might feel with how the style renders the hero as a Chinaman. Accordingly, “the artist is not to be blamed.”³⁴⁸ As Kobayashi suggests, traces of otherness in European pictures and texts might also be part of an elaborate network of cross-cultural interaction. Alongside the possibility

³⁴⁶ Kobayashi, “The Evolution of the Arabian Nights Illustrations,” 175.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 177.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 182.

of asserting one's dominion over others and failing to understand differences, there is always the human proclivity for genuine curiosity.

Several factors complicate the assumption that Victorians were racially united in their colonial gaze over the world of foreign beings and objects. Across the breadth of Victorian illustration, pictorial traces of the Orient and the West appear in a variety of black and white and coloured illustrations of supernatural beings, heroes, villains, servants and guests. Some of these figures evoke various concepts of otherness through the use of physiognomic differences and skin-tones. Yet, the characters' appearance was only one way of expressing racial unity or difference. It is also of interest that traces of exotic eastern objects move from the Arabian Nights into the publication of fairy tales. Variations between illustrations imply Victorian England's complicated relationship to supernatural beings, tamed and untamed animals and children, and to ethnic groups from the colonies and beyond the reaches of the British Empire.

The non-European figure takes on shifting meanings in Victorian illustration through representations of various magicians and genies associated with the Aladdin story. For instance, George Cruikshank illustrated the Grimms' variation of the story in "Blue Light" (recall fig. 10). Cruikshank's magician of the lamp is a small black-skinned genie wearing a turban. The smallness of the figure's body appears to undermine his supernatural power.³⁴⁹ The otherness of Arabia may be mysterious, but the magician is small and unthreatening. Interestingly, this is the illustration that child-Ruskin reproduced as a green gentleman, which signifies a productive failure to consume the derogatory racial coding (recall fig. 9).³⁵⁰ The genie does not take human form in Walter Crane's version, but his wealth-granting abilities are hinted at in the decorative

³⁴⁹ Grimm, Grimm, and George Cruikshank, illus., *German Popular Stories*, 1869, 168.

³⁵⁰ Ruskin, "The Puppet Show."

appeal and harmony between design elements in the Japanese indoor gardens and Chinese cityscapes.³⁵¹

In Jacomb-Hood's illustrations for "Aladdin" in *The Blue Fairy Book*, the wish-granting genie appears as a bat-winged fully-grown man with scaly legs, and the malevolent magician is represented as a seemingly everyday-looking Arab wearing a *keffiyeh*.³⁵² Taking human form and having grown in size, the genie in H.J. Ford's illustration in *The Arabian Nights* rises out of the smoke as a blackened figure with large claws and horns on his head. This disparate series of illustrations indicates shifts in encounters with foreign and supernatural creatures.

Victorian illustrators did not see eye-to-eye on the racialized distinction between self and other. Richard Doyle's illustrations for *In Fairyland* (1870) suggests racial divisions, based on custom, habitat, and physical characteristics between the winged fairies of the ponds and the dwarf-like non-winged elves of the mountains.³⁵³ This distinction collapses in the interspecies marriage between an elf-prince and a fairy queen. In his illustrations for William M. Thackeray's *The Rose and the Ring* (1854), Doyle shows black servants placing a heavy helmet on their master who kneels in the process. The pictures of the white male hog of a lord—named Hogginarmour—reveal a greedy buffoon who cares for nothing but his insatiable appetite for power, land, goods, and people.³⁵⁴

Some illustrators (Cruikshank, Housman, and Dulac) and authors (Dickens and Ewing) emphasized racial and gendered segregation in their depictions of supernatural beings. Although women appear as human, men become racialized goblins in Housman's illustrations for *Goblin*

³⁵¹ Crane, *Aladdin*, 1–2 and 3–4.

³⁵² Lang, H.J. Ford, illus., and G.P. Jacomb-Hood, illus., *The Blue Fairy Book*, 73.

³⁵³ Allingham and Doyle, *In Fairyland*, 15, 39.

³⁵⁴ William Makepeace Thackeray and Richard Doyle, illus., *The Rose and the Ring*, reprint of the 1854 edition, *Children's Classics* (London: Bloomsbury, 1994), 98, 68.

Market. Men are of a beastly race, albeit Orientalized, in Edmund Dulac's "Beauty and the Beast" (1910).³⁵⁵ In other models, the racialization of dwarfs implies the ethnocultural other. Cruikshank's illustration for Juliana Horatia Ewing's "Amelia and the Dwarfs" (1870) depicts a violin playing dwarf who seduces young girls, drawing them into his lair. Silver describes Cruikshank's dwarf in question to be "hairy, bearded, hook-nosed, large-headed, and small-bodied."³⁵⁶ She likens the representation of stereotypical dwarves to how Victorians, by the 1880s, associated miniature bestial humans to alien races of supposedly separate origin.³⁵⁷ This is especially the case for African Pygmies, and actual dwarves who acted in fairy plays like *Tom Thumb*.³⁵⁸

The London-based Frenchman Edmund Dulac (1882-1953) illustrated several anthologies of deluxe books with full-page length coloured illustrations of European fairy stories in which the non-European resurfaced. A small black-skinned turbaned figure (à la Cruikshank) appears as a child-sized servant in Cinderella's palace (1910).³⁵⁹ Dulac orientalized many of his elaborately colourful European fairy tales.³⁶⁰ Fantasy's other-worldliness in "Nightingale" (1911) emanates from Dulac's glittering starlit skies, Chinese lanterns, Asian clothing, and the trees and bridges that make up Japanese gardens.³⁶¹ In "Beauty and the Beast" (1910), the beautiful pale-faced Beauty and the furry-eared green monkey-faced Beast both wear turbans. Dulac's illustrations show that the Victorians could align both European and non-European humans with animal and hybrid bodies. As such, recognizing pictorial diversity opens larger questions.

³⁵⁵ Heidi Anne Heiner, "Illustrations by Edmund Dulac," fairy tale database, *Sur La Lune Fairy Tales*, 2007, image 3, <http://www.surlalunefairytales.com/illustrations/illustrators/dulac.html>.

³⁵⁶ Silver's description of racialization could also suggest anti-Semitic caricature. Silver, *Strange and Secret Peoples*, 125.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 128.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 129.

³⁵⁹ Heiner, "Illustrations by Edmund Dulac."

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*

When does the representation of persons of colour in European fairy tale books (such as Dulac's), and the depiction of Oriental clothing, lamps, or gardens signal the use of fantasy as a site of oppression? The representation of exotic objects—carpets, tiles, textiles, patterns, and spices—alongside people of colour might suggest an imperialistic enterprise of taking and accumulating. Readers might use these objects to foster the desire for journeys to foreign lands. To this end, John Potvin in *Oriental Interiors* (2015) highlights how the very act of embarking upon spatiotemporal journeys to the imaginary Orient and to colonized lands could signal colonial appropriation as usual, but not without complication. Curious about the co-mingling of commodity goods from foreign lands in European homes and gardens, Potvin argues that “oriental interiors” tend to foster identity negotiations, which complicate the perception of the West as masculinized oppressor and the East as feminized victim.³⁶² Kobayashi also complicates the way of addressing the pictorial journey towards foreign lands of the European imagination. She has suggested that it is possible for artists to have used Japanese printing techniques and floral patterns (as Crane did) and to recycle available depictions of cultural otherness as a statement of genuine curiosity in world cultures.³⁶³ The larger question of what Oriental traces and racial otherness signify implicates many persons: the illustrator, author, and editor who generated the narratives, and past and present reader-viewers who interpret the images. The wider pictorial context in which racial otherness appears in European illustration history leads me to take a closer look at the illustrations in Lang's end of century “Coloured Fairy Books.”

³⁶² Examples of objects discussed include: tropical palm plants from the Caribbean, exotic woods from French Africa, fine Chinese porcelains Japanese bronzes, and so forth. Displaced within European literary spaces about the Orient or within Orientalized interiors, such objects from foreign lands are perceived as hybridized with European tastes, styles, and morals. John Potvin et al., *Orientalism's Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography*, ed. John Potvin, Objects/histories (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 6, 10, 12, 15.

³⁶³ Kobayashi, “The Evolution of the Arabian Nights Illustrations,” 181–182.

2.6. Racialization in Andrew Lang's "Coloured Fairy Books"

Named for the colour of their covers—Blue, Red, Green, Yellow, Pink Grey, Violet, Crimson, Brown, Orange, Olive, and Lilac—the “Coloured Fairy Books” consist of a mix of European traditional fairy tales (many of which contain fairy figures) and non-European folktales. The books are enticing objects that carry stories taken from the four corners of the globe into England’s nurseries; the covers’ unique colour-coding are designed to embellish the child’s bookshelf, while intricate prints enhance the stories. G.P. Jacomb-Hood’s illustrations are limited to *The Blue Fairy Book* (1889), whereas H.J. Ford illustrated the entire set of anthologies, as well as *The Arabian Nights* (1898). I want to argue that there is a distinction between the representation of heroines of European and non-European descent, which implicates Lang, the two illustrators, and by implication, visually literate children and adults.

Building upon my text-focused analysis of Andrew Lang in Chapter 1, the question of whether the images produced by both artists support his ethnographic vision now deserves further consideration. Lang thought that animal disassociation and the presence of white female fairies are two factors that separate stories of the civilized world from those of the so-called dying races. As exemplified by Ford’s illustration of the Beast, who emerges out of his furry costume, Lang’s stories glorify European male protagonists as they dis-identify with animals. More than human-animal species differentiation, the illustrations in “Coloured Fairy Stories” relate to Lang’s ethnographic and gendered hierarchies, which he based on the perspective that old folk and fairy tales are like fossils that illustrate evolutionary processes.

H.J. Ford’s impish dwarfs, evil magicians, and subservient slaves tend to contrast with pale-faced European heroes and heroines. When fairies appear in his illustrations for European sourced stories, they are notably white-skinned and European, with beautiful wings to decorate

their backs. In his illustration for “Fairy Gifts,” for example, he depicts a tiny feather-winged fairy with a chariot of butterflies, and he similarly depicts the moment when Thumbelina gets her crown and insect wings (fig. 33).³⁶⁴ By contrast, he will interpret the ethnographic stories by showing a variety of male characters in an unfavourable light. In “Bronze Right,” the crafty and money-hungry magician is identified as a Jew in the text, and he is pictured as old and black when he comes to trick the princess.³⁶⁵ In “Hok Lee” dozens of miniature half-naked dwarves are depicted with exaggerated eye squints (a racial stereotype of those with the epicanthic fold from Asia) and long claws (fig. 34). They laugh at the sight of Hok Lee dancing, jumping, and making a fool of himself.³⁶⁶ In “The Witch and her Servants,” Iwanich, the white hero, grabs the long beard of the evil black magician (pictured with large claws), and he hurls this villain into the air (fig. 35).³⁶⁷

In such ways, Ford’s illustrations reinforce Lang’s ethnographic views. His engravings represent a variety of stereotypes, including: the damsels in distress and the white man’s heroic defeat of evil characters such as the black “African Magician” or the Sultan’s father. In contrast, Jacomb-Hood’s illustrations for *The Blue Fairy Book* destabilize the overarching scheme of male supremacy. In several of his pictures, princes bow in submission to princesses, including the smart princess metamorphosed as a white cat (fig. 36).³⁶⁸ In contrast to miniature fairy figures, Jacomb-Hood depicts the authoritatively poised godmother in “Cinderella” with butterfly wings (fig. 37).³⁶⁹ I will return to how Jacomb-Hood’s illustrations complicate the text in the Cinderella

³⁶⁴ The carriage is reminiscent of Doyle’s In Fairyland, albeit without the same flair for the female figure’s sexual empowerment. Lang and H.J. Ford, illus., *The Green Fairy Book*, 65; Allingham and Richard Doyle, illus., *In Fairyland*, 23.

³⁶⁵ Lang, H.J. Ford, illus., and G.P. Jacomb-Hood, illus., *The Blue Fairy Book*, 9.

³⁶⁶ Lang and H.J. Ford, illus., *The Green Fairy Book*, 232.

³⁶⁷ Lang and H.J. Ford, illus., *The Yellow Fairy Book*, 219.

³⁶⁸ Lang, H.J. Ford, illus., and G.P. Jacomb-Hood, illus., *The Blue Fairy Book*, 166.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 67.

chapter. While suggesting that Jacomb-Hood's work might subvert Lang's hierarchical vision, the hundreds of pictures produced by Ford nonetheless provide an overarching sense of the gendered and racialized patterns within the books.

A careful examination of Ford's illustrations for the world stories (not of European origin) highlights how Lang may have used the images to confirm his views on cultural evolution. As discussed in Chapter 1, not all tribal cultures are equal in Lang's mind. In the North American First Nations story "Little and Big Brothers," the malevolent bear chieftain transforms some hunters into his bear-servants (fig. 38). Before the group of bears die, the benevolent she-bear in Ford's illustration changes some of the hunters back to their original form, a suggestion that the culture is rising toward a more civilized state. This transformation would seem to support Lang's hierarchy: North American Indigenous groups rank higher on his scale than Australian Indigenous groups, but white men rank the highest.

The rise out of animality toward a more cultivated state does not occur in the illustrations for the Australian Indigenous story of the "Bunyip." Ford creates a scene where feather-bottomed little black men steal the lake monster's fish-bodied and feline-headed baby (fig. 39). As these black-skinned figures rush away, the man who carries the baby Bunyip on his back transforms into the shape of the animal that weighs him down. Such illustrations correspond to Lang's view that tribes who identify with animals are part of the so-called dying races. In the preface to *The Brown Fairy Book*, Lang explains his perspective when he tells his child readers that the Australian Indigenous people are responsible for their own decline and that they were easily frightened. He states that the "Bunyip" is a story made by "uneducated little ones, running about with no clothes at all in the bush, in Australia."³⁷⁰ He goes on to tell his readers that they

³⁷⁰ Andrew Lang and H.J. Ford, illus., *The Brown Fairy Book*, 4th ed., Coloured Fairy Books (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1910), vii, <https://archive.org/details/arabiannightsen00fordgoog>.

can get documentary evidence of these uncivilized ways, through the photographs in an ethnographic book. Suggesting that these people were part of a dying race, he states: “You may see photographs of these merry little black fellows before their troubles begin in ‘Northern Races of Central Australia’ by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen.”³⁷¹

The illustrations that accompany Lang’s “Coloured Fairy Books” are therefore important when considering gender and racial intersectionality. The role that gender plays in the images becomes significant considering that at least one second-wave feminist (Alison Lurie) assumed that the entire fairy tale tradition was naturally matriarchal. Perhaps Lurie had the authoritative stance of Jacob-and-Hood’s fairy godmother in mind. As per Marcia Lieberman’s claim that a pattern of passive femininity describes the textual narrative (also discussed in Chapter 1), it is equally true that Ford’s illustrations of women in the European fairy tales often reiterate passive poses (figs. 40-42).

I contend that certain non-European tales in Lang’s books reinforce patriarchal attitudes, but only if a textual analysis of Lang’s viewpoint is privileged over Lang’s interpretation of female characters in the illustrations. The hero in the textual part of the Soudanais story “Samba the Coward” is undoubtedly the man Samba (fig. 43).³⁷² The character eventually learns to be brave when he defends his wife’s tribe from the invading Moors, and this might signal patriarchy as usual were it not for the images. Ford’s illustration shows Samba’s wife, dressed in animal skins, to be the most heroic of the two. Unlike Ford’s passive heroines and miniature fairies in the European fairy tales, she takes action. Pictorially, this beautified woman deliberately uses her arm strength to pull her cowering husband into the light of day. When compared to the

³⁷¹ Ibid.

³⁷² Andrew Lang and H.J. Ford, illus., *The Olive Fairy Book*, 1st ed., Coloured Fairy Books (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907), 111, <http://archive.org/details/olivefairybook00lang>.

racialization of non-European men in Ford's illustration of the pitiful Bunyip men, he has taken on a different approach in his depiction of the non-European woman. The Samba image may align with Lang's previously discussed racial hierarchy in that he ranked matrilineal societies lower than non-white patriarchal ones. While this is dependent upon viewing the images from Lang's frame of reference, the editor and his illustrators were never meant to be the only reader-viewers.

2.7. The Pictorialization of Aladdin's Racial Identities: Crane versus Ford

I want to conclude this chapter by comparing the racialization of characters in the Aladdin stories, in the illustrations made by Walter Crane and H.J. Ford. There is a remarkable similarity between Crane's *Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp* (1875) and Ford's subsequent black and white illustrations for Andrew Lang's *The Arabian Nights* (1898) for children. Recalling Crane's earlier *Beauty and the Beast* and Ford's later version, the similarities in the case of Aladdin suggest another example of Ford's borrowing and adapting illustrations. For example, a black-skinned magician with a misshapen body and a basket of lamps features in Crane's toy book *Aladdin* and he reappears in Ford's "Aladdin"—the version in *The Arabian Nights* (figs. 44-45). However, a scene where Aladdin's mother and his black slaves submissively bow before the sultan's throne—the place of Aladdin's future power and wealth—is not part of Crane's suite of images, and only appears in Lang and Ford's compilation (fig. 46).

Once Crane's schema for racializing heroism and villainy comes into view, these two versions highlight the distinction between racial segregation and the possible celebration of human unity. Walter Crane's *Aladdin* is a romance between a hero and heroine who travel through a sequence of beautiful Japanese-style gardens. On his journey toward the palace, one

scene features Aladdin as *condottiere* (an image of a man on horse associated with courtly conduct during the Renaissance). Aladdin's eyes suggest an Asian visage, and he also wears a rounded Kasa (a traditional Japanese hat).³⁷³ Heroically, the elegant figure leads his black servants through the streets; they hand out the abundant wealth brought forth by the lamp to the working-class villagers of the African and Asian world (fig. 47). This image connotes a kind of class-defying cosmopolitanism, which accords with Crane's commitment to the socialist motto "workers of the world unite."³⁷⁴

While Crane's illustrations might in this sense be interpreted as a vision of global equality, his *Aladdin* may well be read in a negative light: on horseback, Aladdin is positioned as hierarchically superior to the black servants, whose presence invokes the history of black slavery. Furthermore, the homogenization of world cultures articulated in the European confusion of all Asian and Middle Eastern identities is disturbing by today's standards of cultural awareness.³⁷⁵ But are these illustrations from the artist who had depicted Beauty's rescue of the Beast merely an example of the white man's vision of self-aggrandizement and cultural domination?

It is much more interesting to read Crane's illustrations as part of a nineteenth-century utopian effort that could imagine ethno-cultural diversity, human unity, and the breaking down of racialized class hierarchies. For example, the wealth given to the people of the streets may well be read as a parade for the abolition of racial hierarchies. At the very least, racialization in

³⁷³ Kobayashi notes that textually Aladdin is meant to be a Chinese boy, but that the illustrations suggest more of a Japanese feel. Kobayashi, "The Evolution of the Arabian Nights Illustrations," 182.

³⁷⁴ Walter Crane's *Solidarity of Labour* print is dedicated to "The Workers of the World." The image is featured on the front page of "News from Nowhere (chapt XVII)," in *The Commonweal: Socialist League*, May 24, 1890.

³⁷⁵ One might add that although there is some racial mixing, the saving figure is lighter skinned, which might light to the issue of racial hierarchies based on skin-tone. Indeed, it is rare to see upper class heroes and heroines of black complexion in Victorian era fairy tale books.

his illustrated stories filled with villains, heroes, heroines, and servants shows that Crane did not idealize white racial supremacy. Courtiers from China, India, South Africa, Russia, and Britain fill the ball scene in Crane's *Cinderella* toy book (1873) (fig. 48).³⁷⁶ There are two footmen in his *Frog Prince* (1874); one is a large-mouthed laughing black man, and the other is a pale-skinned giggling redhead (fig. 49).³⁷⁷ In other words, servants, courtiers, princes, and princesses may be from Europe and beyond.³⁷⁸ As exemplified by Crane's *Bluebeard* (1873), his villains are not always black, male, animalistic, and decrepit.³⁷⁹

By contrast, Ford's pictures for Lang's "Aladdin" focus on the story about the acquisition of the lamp, the hero's constant demands for more wealth, and his struggles with the magicians.³⁸⁰ However, this is not the only power dynamic enacted in the story. Paired with Lang's text, the illustrations exalt in the oppression of Africans turned into slaves. The textual qualifiers of "Africanness," "falseness," and "wickedness" correspond with the pictures of the black-skinned magician brothers.³⁸¹ Ford appears to have readapted scenes from Crane's *Aladdin* according to a distinctly different ideological agenda. After the first black-skinned magician tricks the palace girl into exchanging the old magic lamp for a new one, Ford's last illustration in the story shows the defeat of the second magician (fig. 50). Aladdin has stabbed his rival who, in Ford's version, now falls head first out of the window while, in the foreground, Aladdin holds his adoring pale-faced wife in firm embrace.³⁸² Ford chooses to depict the Africans either as

³⁷⁶ Walter Crane, *Cinderella* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1873), 4–6, <http://mcgill.worldcat.org/oclc/16070723>.

³⁷⁷ The juxtaposition between the two is interesting, since the foolishness of the white character could serve to undercut the racial stereotyping of the black man and render both as images of humour or buffoonery.

³⁷⁸ Walter Crane, *The Frog Prince* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1874), 3–4, <https://archive.org/details/frogprince00CranA>.

³⁷⁹ Walter Crane, *Bluebeard* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1873).

³⁸⁰ Andrew Lang and H.J. Ford, illus., *The Arabian Nights Entertainments* (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1898), 306, <https://archive.org/details/arabiannightsen00fordgoog>.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 313, 315.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, 309, 313.

subservient slaves or as a threat to be exterminated (figs. 45, 46, and 50). In the end, a personification of Africa's blackness dies in the background and the new pale-faced prince reigns supreme over the Arab father-in-law. In contrast, in Crane's version the Orientalized hero and heroine dance in the loose embrace of a waltz as they move away from the magician whom they have worked together to destroy in what becomes a world of redistributed wealth (figs. 47 and 51).

Chapter Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I have emphasized that Victorians did not hold unanimous views on supernatural characters—fairies, goblins, dwarfs, genies, magicians—and their gendered and racial kinship to Anglo-Saxons—and that it is by looking more closely at the pictorial content of fairy tales in their edition-specificity that the complexity of these views has come into focus. Whether by introducing new content, or by nuancing representation of racialized and gendered bodies, illustrations add to the meaning of the fairy tales in different ways. Pictures can emphasize or understate moments of wonder, curiosity, fear, and arousal, just as much as they can divert or confirm the text's take on characters in their social interactions, adventures, and sexual agency. The pictorial range of characters in their maturation journeys indicates that Victorians did not achieve a consensus as to what the child and adult are at their core, or whether the white man was more culturally evolved. Instead the pictures expand the interpretive range onto such questions as whether humanity was or could become unified in the future, and the role of the Victorians, their progeny, animals, and supernatural beings in fantasy-scapes.

Section Two: Aesthetic Modes

This section continues to trace how the association between childhood and the fairy tale evolved in ebbs and flows. The Victorian era launched the carefully crafted picture book into what is now known as the Golden Age of Children's Literature (mid-nineteenth century to the end of World War I). The fairy tales that became part of this golden age of visually enriched books were tied to a widespread Victorian interest in pictorial narrative, mysterious fairies, childish adults, idealized children, and otherworldly fairylands. Their collective cultural value was not only a product of a thriving publishing industry and the private property of the middle-class, which at times oriented itself towards the amusement of children. Indeed, the craftsmanship of full-page illustrations had much to offer: the nostalgic expression of childhood's preciousness, a visual engagement with unjust labour conditions, and suggested pathways toward a better world. Based on the referential relationship between distinctive pictorial narratives, which emerged out of seemingly unrelated publishing markets and literary genres, the chapters in this section propose three aesthetic modes—the cute, the satirical, and the utopian—that generate different pathways between adulthood and childhood.

It is more than coincidental that Richard Doyle and John Tenniel developed a satirical style in their fairy tale illustrations. The discussion of sex, gender, and race in the previous chapter brought up Doyle's illustrations for the fairy tales that John Ruskin and William P. Thackeray wrote, as well as Tenniel's now famous illustrations for Lewis Carroll's Alice books. Both these artists also worked in the male-dominated niche of the satirical and humorous magazine. The illustrators of periodicals, such as *The Comic Almanack*, *Punch*, and *Fun*, were fundamental to the production of widely popular fairy tales that flourished in the Christmas book markets from the 1820s into the twentieth century. The commonalities found in these illustrators'

contributions to children's fairy tale books and politically conscious humoristic magazines, can be seen in the cartoonist's style of exploiting the sketch sequences to emphasise visual narrative—actions and facial reactions, bizarre scenarios, and caricatures of adults.

By contrast, illustrators who aestheticized the “cute” category in the vein of John Ruskin's fairyland dream of little English girls, had developed their niche in publishing for the children's book market. These artists, most of whom were women, including the previously discussed Maria L. Kirk, created illustrations that emphasized the infantile characteristics of the child and the domesticity of fairyland gardens. With the expansion of this book market in the nineteenth century, women writers, as well as illustrators, continued to assert their authority in a world where they had to compete with the profitable books made by witty male fantasy authors and illustrators.³⁸³ When considering that illustrations emerged out of niche publishing environments, what would it mean to expand on the issue of gendered professionalization amongst writers? A competitive atmosphere may explain why many of the women in the publishing industry continued to write moralistic and realistic stories and continued to tone down the fantastical quality of fairy tales as Knoepfmacher suggested.³⁸⁴ And yet, when considering visual equivalences, the masculine creation of the satirical seen in opposition to the feminine production of the cute provides too broad a brushstroke.

Just how masculine is the satirical and feminine is the cute? A closer look at questions of production and reception, which accompany these visual narratives, provides nuance. Illustrators of the nineteenth century, both male and female, borrowed some of the tropes of the infantile

³⁸³ It could be argued that these women illustrators also served to maintain matriarchal authority figures in the domain of children's literature. This resonates with the beginnings of the market for children's literature: women writers may have been inspired by critic, Sarah Trimmer (named Guardian of Children's Literature), asserted the importance of their opinions on what children should read.

³⁸⁴ Knoepfmacher, *Ventures into Childland*, 25.

child-body forged by academic painters from the preceding century. In response to this infantilized body, men, like Ruskin, found refuge in cute fantasylands. Women scholars—Ngai especially and also Higonnet—have been the most interested critics in the contemptuous responses that this aesthetic category’s child-like characteristics often elicits. Recycling visual material, male illustrators oftentimes availed themselves of fairy tale references and childish imagery of the child-man in order to critique the stature of fellow Victorian men.

The resulting satirical cartoons were made for a public sphere of women and men alike. Theatregoers who saw Shakespeare’s fairy play *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* (a favourite amongst the Victorians) and ballets featuring fairy-dancers formed a dual-gendered public.³⁸⁵ In other words, it would be short-sighted to assume that salon-goers who saw Joseph Noel Paton’s prize-winning fairyland paintings and the readers of fairy tale novels were men alone. In the nineteenth century, women, often from the rising middle class, played a vital role in the consumption of visual material culture and the development of public literacy. Some were also beginning to become economically independent as artists and writers in their own right.³⁸⁶

The crude distinction between the emotive and feminized allure of the cute and the intellectual and masculinized appeal of the satirical has a use. Given that men contributed to the children’s book market, this distinction between gendered domains of production informs my re-evaluation of the assumption that children were the primary target viewers of fairy tales. It also provides a framework for nuance—one that approaches how the Victorians saw idealized childhood and adult childishness, as well as the difficulties of maturation, the weight of

³⁸⁵ For example, Wood’s discussion of popular theatre and ballet there is no indication that women were excluded. Christopher Wood, *Fairies in Victorian Art* (Suffolk, Woodbridge: Antique Collectors Club Limited, 2008), 24, 52.

³⁸⁶ Martyn Lyons, “New Readers in the Nineteenth Century: Women, Children, Workers,” in *A History of Reading and Writing in the Western World* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 311–469.

masculine social responsibility, the pedestal of motherhood, the desire for escape, and the child-like hope for a better world. Reassessing Victorian narrative culture also necessitates a broadening of current perceptions of fantasy to include its generative role, and this means taking a closer look at the utopian value in fairy tales, including those toy books marketed towards children.

Although I will argue that many of the coloured picture books that depict otherworldly fantasylands and happy-ever-after stories breath with the spirit of utopianism, it must be admitted that the utopian is the most elusive of these three modes. In the nineteenth-century context of the Arts and Crafts Movement, the utopian tends towards the beautiful, but resists stable aestheticization. The socialism that drove Walter Crane's overarching practice (wallpapers, political posters, painting, and toy books) connects to the role of the utopian novel. Socialist utopian literature satirizes the period's present conditions, which include social inequality, unjust labour conditions, and capitalism itself.

Edmund Evans (also the printer of Doyle's *In Fairyland*) printed Walter Crane's coloured toy books. As part of the commercial publishing industry, Evans' toy books were designed to attract and charm middle-class buyers, and were thus marketed to maximize sales. Crane's fairy tale contributions were marketed alongside Kate Greenaway's cutesified girls in English gardens and Randolph Caldecott's action-packed folktales. Studies of these artists as a triad known as Evans' triumvirate within the academic field of children's literature have done little to highlight Crane's urgent political message for social change. Instead, the political compatibility of their distinctive voices is seldom questioned beyond stylistic considerations, and the interpictoriality of the illustrations rarely explored.³⁸⁷ While focusing on Crane and

³⁸⁷ Despite isolating the public reception to each artist's toy book, their work is still joined together as a cohesive unit in. Examples include: Anne H. Lundin, *Victorian Horizons: The Reception of the Picture Books of*

Greenaway in particular—two artists who are central to the tradition of English picture books for children, it is worth asking: just how cohesive were the images by the triad within the larger scope of print culture? The interpictureoriality between their toy books, British fairyland paintings and stories, political cartoons, and utopian novels brings out an apparent tension in the implied age-related status (adult versus child) of reader-viewers.

The co-existence of the cute, the satirical, and the utopian provides this section with a platform for addressing the dual child-adult reader-viewership (adults especially) of the fairy tale books which resided upon nineteenth-century bookshelves. The following three chapters look at the cute, the satirical, and the utopian respectively, sketching out a theoretical understanding of each of these three modes. The chapters attend to historical precedents and overlaps within visual culture, and they highlight how these categories inform Victorian fairy tale picture books. While expanding the scope of the toy book's relevance well beyond the child's room, the illustrations, I argue, come to play a central role in a tug of war of sorts. They indicate a push and pull as to whether fairy tales were to become exclusively destined for children.

Walter Crane, Randolph Caldecott, and Kate Greenaway (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2001); Bader, *American Picturebooks from Noah's Ark to the Beast Within*, 3, 4.

Chapter 3: The Cute

“Higgledy, piggedy, see how they run! Hopperty, popperty! what is the fun?”³⁸⁸

—Kate Greenaway

Fluffy puppies and kittens that play with boundless energy are cute; wide-eyed infants with button noses, pudgy arms and legs that crawl into a world that is new and marvellous are cute; onomatopoeic verse that mimics infantile speech is cute—at least to some. By this same token, small toy books that illustrate playful girls masquerading as animals and fairies in cultivated gardens approach the ultimate aestheticization of cuteness amongst commodity goods. The idea of ultimate cuteness foregrounds a cultural-economic claim—initiated by Sianne Ngai—that there is such thing as gradations of the cute, and even too much cuteness. In such an instance of hyperbolic cuteness, a child might squish, squeeze and pull its favourite stuffed animal, rendering the toy face monstrous, its head decapitated, and then he may proceed to drop it, leave it behind in a dusty attic, and forget it. Excessiveness easily transitions into the grotesque and then the discarded. These examples—the puppy and kitten, the child and her toy—are characterized by the infantile. As an aesthetic category that takes the form of the diminutive applied to creatures and inanimate objects, cuteness depends on the object’s child-like characteristics. Most importantly, it depends on how the viewer-consumer responds emotively to the vulnerability inherent in all things cute.

How cuteness has been defined in the sciences, and more recently in the humanities, informs a variety of emotive subject-object relationships, and this characterizes the production, perception and consumption of cuteness. A brief overview of cuteness theory frames the importance of the toy book in the socio-economic atmosphere of the nineteenth century. More

³⁸⁸ Kate Greenaway, *Under the Window: Pictures & Rhymes for Children* (London: Routledge & Sons, 1878), 10, <http://archive.org/details/underwindowpictv00greerich>.

specifically, the representation of cutesified child-imagery (described by Higonnet as the Romantic child) became central to commercially viable toy books of the nineteenth century. Its proliferation indicates the basis for an ever-growing demand for cuteness, which would eventually reform the otherwise mischievous and erotic fairy figure from British art, folklore, theatre, and literature. Bridging art historical and literary scholarship, I will draw out the connection between distinct modes of representing children and fairies in eighteenth-century painting. This will then inform my reading of how the child became a fairy in the carefully crafted toy book. This sub-chapter historicizes the convergence of the child's body with the fairy's corporeality, and this serves to address a tendency toward a protectionist response to the cutesified creatures in fairyland picture books.

3.1. What is Cuteness, Theoretically Speaking?

The *Kinderschema* is foundational to the development of cuteness studies in the sciences and social sciences. In the 1940s, zoologist and ethologist Konrad Lorenz defined the 'child schema' as the set of visible characteristics associated with the infant. He argued that the infant's cuteness factors—pudgy bodies, large eyes, high foreheads, small stature, and wobbly movement—motivates caretaking behaviour in parents, which in turn supports the evolutionary function of survival.³⁸⁹ Subsequent scientific studies, including research conducted in the 2000s, tend to

³⁸⁹ Konrad Lorenz as cited in: Melanie L. Glocker et al., "Baby Schema in Infant Faces Induces Cuteness Perception and Motivation for Caretaking in Adults," *Ethology: Formerly Zeitschrift Fur Tierpsychologie* 115, no. 3 (2009): 257–63; Melanie L. Glocker et al., "Baby Schema Modulates the Brain Reward System in Nulliparous Women," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 106, no. 22 (2009): 9115–19, doi:<http://dx.doi.org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/10.1073/pnas.0811620106>; Jessika Golle et al., "Sweet Puppies and Cute Babies: Perceptual Adaptation to Babyfacedness Transfers across Species.," *PloS One* 8, no. 3 (2013): e58248, doi:<http://dx.doi.org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/10.1371/journal.pone.0058248>; Sprengelmeyer R et al., "Cutest Little Baby Face: A Hormonal Link to Sensitivity to Cuteness in Infant Faces," *Psychological Science* 20, no. 2 (2009): 149–54.

agree on this schema as an objective identification of cute characteristics, which manifest themselves in humans, including adults, other mammalian animals, and even objects.³⁹⁰

Quantitative approaches to cuteness are used in studies that test how cuteness triggers biological response mechanisms. For example, a 2009 neuroscientific and psychological study tested whether hormones in men and women of various ages is a predictor for the perception of cuteness.³⁹¹ Although the tested age groups confirmed the child schema as an affective phenomenon, Sprengelmeyer and his team found that the women of childbearing years (as evidenced by female hormone levels) were more adept at differentiating gradations of infant-like qualities.³⁹² This study is certainly not alone in its suggestion that adults (especially women) are biologically predisposed to caretaking behaviours.³⁹³

Scientific research is, however, unclear on how the perception of cuteness factors into social behaviour in children, women, and men. Studies show how cuteness affects hormones (as per Sprengelmeyer et al.'s 2009 study) and how cuteness triggers reward mechanisms in the brain (as per Glocker et al.'s 2009 studies). However, interdisciplinary scholar Joshua Paul Dale rightly points to a gap between cuteness studies that demonstrate immediate biological effects and what the responses actually mean for human behaviour. In "The Evolution of Cute Affect" (2017), Paul Dale argues that caretaking is but one behavioural response to cuteness in both humans and animals.³⁹⁴ He hypothesizes that cuteness helps to ease fear, to lower aggression, and

³⁹⁰ Glocker et al., "Baby Schema in Infant Faces Induces Cuteness Perception and Motivation for Caretaking in Adults"; Glocker et al., "Baby Schema Modulates the Brain Reward System in Nulliparous Women"; Golle et al., "Sweet Puppies and Cute Babies"; Sprengelmeyer R et al., "The Cutest Little Baby Face."

³⁹¹ Sprengelmeyer R et al., "The Cutest Little Baby Face."

³⁹² Ibid.

³⁹³ Glocker et al., "Baby Schema in Infant Faces Induces Cuteness Perception and Motivation for Caretaking in Adults"; Glocker et al., "Baby Schema Modulates the Brain Reward System in Nulliparous Women."

³⁹⁴ It should be noted that Paul Dale is skeptical of Lorenz' research agenda. He notes how Lorenz' research is foundational to the study of cuteness, and also outlines his allegiance to the Nazi party. He suggests that Lorenz views on cuteness perception as a kind of human instinct are enough to make the ethologist's research on geese and other birds suspect. Joshua Paul Dale, "The Appeal of the Cute Object: Desire, Domestication, and Agency," in *The Aesthetics and Affects of Cuteness*, by Joyce Goggin et al. (New York: Routledge, 2017).

to generate positive feelings. Ultimately, cuteness supports socialization, which signals the adaptability and possibly also the agency of various species, including humans and domesticated canines.³⁹⁵ Collectively, these quantitative studies suggest a natural side, and also a cultural side (as per Dale's study), to the perception of the cute and the responses that these perceptions trigger. At the same time, they also position the perception of cuteness in a positive and nurturing light.

Alternatively, the affective qualities of the cute have become a concern in scientific studies of animals which address how neotenic (a zoological word for baby-like) mammals gain far more attention than reptiles (an issue relevant for ethical choices in animal protection).³⁹⁶ Although the emotive impulse associated with the characteristics of mammalian cuteness inform an integral behavioural dynamic, scientific studies have yet to address feminine and masculine roles in producing the cute as a consumable object that warrants attraction and repulsion.³⁹⁷ Initiating the turn toward the cultural ramifications of cuteness, Stephen Jay Gould, an evolutionary biologist, showed how the growth of Mickey Mouse's appeal corresponded to his increasingly baby like characteristics (i.e. big eyes and high foreheads).³⁹⁸

The cute has also recently come to hold a place in aesthetic theory. Since the Enlightenment, this branch of philosophy has long been occupied with the grandeur of the sublime and the truthfulness of the beautiful for their "theological and moral resonances."³⁹⁹ The

³⁹⁵ Ibid.

³⁹⁶ Mark J. Estren, "The Neoteny Barrier: Seeking Respect for the Non-Cute," *Journal of Animal Ethics* 2, no. 1 (2012): 6–11, doi:10.5406/janimalethics.2.1.0006.

³⁹⁷ Artists such as Mark Dion, have nonetheless, recycled cutified plush toy animals in artworks that comment on the environmental ethics of consuming, transplanting, and discarding flora and fauna. See: Dion Mark, *Wheelbarrow of Progress*, Toy stuffed animals, white enamel on red steel, wood and rubber wheelbarrow, 1990.

³⁹⁸ Stephen Jay Gould, "A Biological Homage to Mickey Mouse," in *The Panda's Thumb: More Reflections in Natural History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2010), 95–107.

³⁹⁹ Sianne Ngai, *Our Aesthetic Categories: Zany, Cute, Interesting* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012), 18.

powerful feelings and positive sense of resolution in the sublime experience, or the positive sense of pleasure that arises in desiring the beautiful object, have arguably lost their earlier resonances.⁴⁰⁰ As cultural theorist Sianne Ngai points out, it is increasingly common to have contradictory, muted, and ambivalent feelings towards art, literature, and consumer goods.⁴⁰¹

In *Our Aesthetic Categories: Zany, Cute, Interesting* (2012), Ngai argues that a different set of categories—the interesting, the cute, and the zany—aptly describe the quotidian experience of consumer culture from the mid-twentieth century onwards. Despite their disparate roots in historical genres, Ngai uses a range of philosophers (including Kant and Burke, and especially Marx and his followers) to position the discursive importance of these three aesthetics.⁴⁰² She argues that these categories can no longer be dismissed as minor when they are seen to converge within the conditions of labour, exchange, and consumption in world that is saturated with consumable goods, ads, and performances, and related creative works.⁴⁰³ The “merely” interesting, the “insignificance” of cuteness, the “ineffectiveness” of zaniness have become pervasive in a “hyperaesthetized” world.⁴⁰⁴ More than the zany work of exaggerated labour in American sitcoms and the merely interesting that prolongs conversation about

⁴⁰⁰ Increasingly, humanities scholars (especially critics of art and culture) have become resistant to aesthetic judgments, which presupposes the “extra-aesthetic” or godly basis for the elevated status of select artworks over others cultural products. The beautiful and the sublime are furthermore receiving less and less attention in art and literary criticism. *Ibid.*, 22, 55.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁴⁰² The zany has its roots in the servant character *zanni* who appears in the sixteenth century *Comedia del'Arte*. The interesting has roots in a style of poetry known as *das Interessante*, whereby Romantic ironists of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries were interested in an aesthetic that could be more discursive than the beautiful. The cute appears to be a far more recent category, which coincides with “a crucial mid-century shift in the public conception of the domestic realm.” *Ibid.*, 14, 15.

⁴⁰³ For example, the zany abounds in performances of “desperate labouring”: it encapsulates a myriad of over the top work-related gestures, which could lead various characters such as Lucy from the 1950s American sitcom *I Love Lucy* to self-inflicted physical harm. Ngai, for instance, refers to the scene where Lucy frantically attempts to keep up with her task of packaging chocolates as the conveyor belt increases its speed. As the conveyor belt speeds up Lucy is force to quickly swallow vast quantities of chocolate in order to keep up the appearance of efficient work. [This itself is a reference to Charlie Chaplin’s *Modern Times*, parodying Fordist work practices and industrialized labour]. *Ibid.*, 13, 15, 23.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 18, 20, 110.

conceptual art of the 1960s and 1970s, I am interested in Ngai's take on the cute as an aesthetic that triggers the consumption of commodities.

In her chapter "The Cuteness of the Avant-Garde" Ngai views the cute as a twisted "commodity aesthetic." Cuteness fosters the perception of the commodity's power to speak to consumers as though "the commodity itself" could be likened to interchangeable female characters, each of whom are momentarily sexually desired.⁴⁰⁵ Alternatively, cuteness responds as though it were an irresistible infant who might say something like "pick me up, I am yours" to the consumer. In such an instance, both the commodity and the consumer may be feminized.

Integrating Marxist and feminist considerations, Ngai states:

The commodity aesthetic of cuteness is thus a kind of commodity fetishism, but with an extra twist. For while Marx's account emphasizes the phantasmatic intercourse of commodities with other commodities [...] cuteness resolves around the fantasy of a commodity addressing the "guardian" in the one-on-one, intimate manner associated with lyric poetry. The cute commodity flatteringly seems to want us and only us as its mommy.⁴⁰⁶

By referring to "us as its mommy," Ngai is building from Lori Merish's (1996) argument that the perception of cuteness is not biological but gendered and culturally engrained. Consumer goods were meant to appeal to women by appealing to their learnt sensibilities, empathic impulses, and maternal instincts.⁴⁰⁷ For Ngai, cuteness also appeals to men and women, and to the infant who aggressively distorts its plush toys.

⁴⁰⁵ Karl Marx does not exactly use the word "cute." Ngai, however, suggests that Marx is picking up on how there is something "indecently 'cute' about the commodity itself." She cites Marx's likening to the commodity good as the "sexually interchangeable characters in *Don Quixote*. This is an instance where Marx is referring to "commodity fetishisms' personification of the commodity." Ibid., 60-61.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., 64.

⁴⁰⁷ Lori Merish, "Cuteness and Commodity Aesthetics: Tom Thumb and Shirley Temple," in *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*, ed. Rosemarie Garland Thomson (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 185-206.

Cuteness encompasses more than the positive impulsive feelings towards “the ‘unformed’ look of infants,” “the amorphous and bloblike” toys, and the wobble of women in high-heals.⁴⁰⁸ In the form of a consumer object, it generates intense desires for ownership and protection; the resulting impulse supports the power relationship between seemingly empowered consumers and needy objects. The cute manifests in the desire to compulsively buy just as a mother may rush to her wide-eyed needy child. It conceivably fosters the desire to possess the novelty of the child-like and animal-like, and to force these goods—i.e. adorable leather shoes, small purses, and fur hats and coats—to submit to the human body.⁴⁰⁹

The theorization of the cute specifically in a commodity context ultimately spurs Ngai’s anti-capitalist repulsion to consumer goods.⁴¹⁰ For Ngai, “our empathy” toward commodified objects can quickly transform into an “aversion” to their transitioned forms as “gelatinous matter,” “sperm,” “infant goo,” “toy shit,” and even “poo.”⁴¹¹ This link between anti-capitalist critique and the modern toy industry is spelt out in modern poetry’s emphasis on “toy shit” (as per Edison’s *The Toy Maker*) and contemporary art’s attack on American capitalism via cutesified wide-eyed toys.⁴¹² Unless a critical painter or poet renegotiates cute commodities, and to which I would add the clever heroine and reader-viewer, Ngai highlights the negative emotive reaction to cuteness.⁴¹³

⁴⁰⁸ Ngai, *Our Aesthetic Categories*, Ibid., 30.

⁴⁰⁹ Ngai describes how some of these fetish garments become motifs in poet Harryette Mullen’s *Trimnings* and Gertrude Stein’s *Tender Buttons*. Ibid., 67-68.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., 66, 67, 85–86.

⁴¹¹ The transitioned form is described by Karl Marx as “gelatinous matter,” by Gertrude Stein as “infant goo,” and “S*PeRM**K*T” by Russell Edson as “toy shit,” and by Ngai as “poo.” Ibid., 67, 68, 71.

⁴¹² Modern poets to engage with the cute in Ngai’s study include Robert Creeley (1926-2005), Gertrude Stein (1874-1946), and Russell Edson (1935-2014). Pop artists to engage with the Japanese variation of cuteness (*kawaii*) include Yoshitomo Nara (1959-) and Takashi Murakami (1962-). Ibid., 63-73 and 78-86.

⁴¹³ Ibid., 62–63, 78–86.

While working with Ngai's pivotal contribution to studies of cuteness, minor aesthetic categories, and gendered consumerism, it is important to note that her work is more concerned with the conditions of late capitalism than with the nurturing possibilities within human behaviour. Scientific studies stand to contrast with her ambivalent analysis of "mommy-like" affections towards commodities (toys, but not toybooks). Such studies of cuteness tend to emphasize the positive swell of emotion associated with the gendered perception of cuteness—presumably leading to maternal caretaking behaviour, if not also to play and socialization within and across mammalian species. This implicates the way that women (as per scientific findings) are more adept at and more stimulated by their ability to pick out gradations of cuteness, but it does not exclude men in the attraction and repulsion to all things cute.

The possibility that cuteness could simultaneously prompt nurturing and damaging reactions in the consumer—as well as the reader-viewer—towards the cutesified body is vital to this chapter. Nevertheless, the ways in which men and women are implicated in the production, perception, and consumption of cuteness may be complicated in this study by emotional awareness, human relationships, and the rationale for consuming books. Most especially, the representation of the cute bodies in their vulnerability and agency (sexual or otherwise) adds to the affective appeal of the category. In recalling reader-viewer agency, as well as the impulse to care for other beings (children as well as animals), both negative and positive emotional reactions to cuteness can coexist. In this chapter I want to ask: where might the human in its love for stories and its capacity for diverse cognitive and emotive responses tie into the desire for consumable objects?

The insights from several scholars allow me to address the significance of the child's body in toy book illustrations as part of the perception of cuteness. Although Ngai is more

concerned with contemporary rather than historical manifestations of cuteness, she nonetheless suggests that the word “cute” emerged as a stylistic descriptor in American newspapers of child-like and feminized objects (including that of a tiny boy, the compact house, and charming socks, especially in the modern toy industry).⁴¹⁴ Both Ngai and Merish point to the end of the century as the point at which cuteness “achieved mass cultural expression” in the transformation of the American home.⁴¹⁵ Yet the stylistic processes at work in the cutsification of the cute body were part of earlier developments in the arts. Peter Heymans (2012) suggests that the advent of cuteness as an aesthetic category developed as a result of the Romantic painters who rendered women and children.⁴¹⁶ I show how the cutsification of the body began prior to Ngai’s analysis of mid-twentieth century aesthetics and consumer culture.

To address the historical specificity of nineteenth-century cuteness, it is also important to consider a number of related socio-economic developments. These include the appreciation of novelty, increased spending power, lowered family sizes, the feminization of the domestic sphere, the maternal role in prolonged child-rearing (especially of girls), and the cult of the child. Boys of the middle class—Edmund Evans himself is a primary example—left home at an earlier age to gain valuable work experience in an industry-related trade such as commercial printing.⁴¹⁷ As the middle class prospered, childhood became increasingly seen as a special life stage worth protecting, cherishing, and adoring because it fostered intellectual and social growth. It is in this

⁴¹⁴ Ngai additionally points to the development of modern German toy manufacturers, drawing on Walter Benjamin, and mechanical child-like dolls designed by American manufacturers in the 1890s (citing a specific ad in an American newspaper). More generally, she references the plush toys and cutsified merchandise that became popular in Japan after WWII, which in turn supports her analysis of contemporary Japanese pop art. *Ibid.*, 59, 73-78.

⁴¹⁵ While arguing that cuteness had achieved “mass cultural expression” in comedic spectacles near the end of the nineteenth century, Lori Merish additionally suggests that a cute commercial style entered the distinctly feminine consumer sphere earlier in the century. Ngai describes this phenomenon as a “bastion of commercialism.” *Ibid.*, 15; Merish, “Cuteness and Commodity Aesthetics,” 194.

⁴¹⁶ Heymans does not mention any specific painters’ names when he makes this assertion. He does however suggest that these paintings are from the Victorian era. Peter Heymans, “Cute and the Cruel,” in *Animality in British Romanticism: The Aesthetics of Species* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 112.

⁴¹⁷ Evans, *Reminiscences of Edmund Evans*, v, 4–7.

setting that Victorians popularized images of the child at play in the safety of an English countryside garden and of the child enraptured by a book.

3.2. Pre-Nineteenth Century Foundations

Cute was once an eighteenth-century British colloquial term for cleverness and shrewdness, as laid out in the Oxford English Dictionary.⁴¹⁸ It would later appear in nineteenth century American newspapers in reference to smart American girls, to small houses, and little socks.⁴¹⁹ It is now used in common English to refer to all things that are attractive, and charming, and its usage has steadily increased from the nineteen sixties, with new variation such as cutesy and cutesify emerging.⁴²⁰

From an art historical perspective, the aestheticization of cuteness describes a series of shifts found in the representation of the body. Various bodies undergo a transformation from relatively to especially cute and tamed, and from the erotically potent to the sexually vulnerable. Characteristics of the infantile may apply to different types of child-body representations without embodying its full expression in commodity culture. In the history of painting, children have been used as models for cupids, cherubs, the Christ-Child with Madonna, as well as Puck and other fairy creatures. They have been represented as aristocratic miniature adults and as the generic girl and boy child in nature. Many of these figures may be both pudgy and small, but also

⁴¹⁸ “Cute, Adj.,” *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed September 12, 2017, <http://www.oed.com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/view/Entry/46355?rskey=k2Jsvh&result=3>.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁰ Cutesify is not yet in the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), but is presented as a commonly used word on multiple online dictionaries. Cutesy is however a word in the OED. Meanwhile, Google trends’ *Ngram Viewer* illustrates the increasing use of “cute” and “cutesy.” *Ibid.*; “Cutsey,” *Google Ngram Viewer*, accessed September 12, 2017, https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=Cutesy&year_start=1800&year_end=2000&corpus=15&smoothing=3&share=&direct_url=t1%3B%2CCutesy%3B%2Cc0; “Cute,” *Google Ngram Viewer*, accessed September 12, 2017, https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=cute&year_start=1800&year_end=2000&corpus=15&smoothing=3&share=&direct_url=t1%3B%2Ccute%3B%2Cc0.

powerful in their sexual potency and in their implied knowledge of human experience: cupid shoots love arrows, cherubs announce heavenly news, and Puck instigates love triangles and miscellaneous mischief. This body of child-like imagery would become highly influential in nineteenth-century print culture, which fed a growing appetite for the cute.

Anne Higonnet addresses many of these bodies in *Pictures of Innocence* (1998). This first major art historical study to create a typology of the child's body traces the representation of the romanticized child over the past three hundred years (1700-1990). Higonnet addresses how early depictions of the child alone in nature establish characteristics that support the romanticization of children. Her analysis grapples with images associated with the myth of innocence.⁴²¹ She links historical imagery of the child of nature who is representatively unaware of her sexuality to current desires about how children should be represented. She contends, that such depictions, which proliferate in popular commercial photography (i.e. Anne Geddes calendars), encourage nefarious fantasy, deny the problem of the pedophilic gaze, and refute the reality that children are more sexually aware than many of today's adults would like to admit. To this effect, Higonnet ascribes the pudgy infantile qualities of children to the Romantic child.⁴²² While I draw from this important study, it should be mentioned that Higonnet does not use the term "cute," nor does she discuss the fairy as a specific way of representing the child's body.

Higonnet links characteristics of romanticized imagery, which I would qualify as cuteness factors, to a particular concept of childhood. According to Higonnet, the Romantic child is desexualized, sinless and located in nature; for her purposes, it informs a contemporary

⁴²¹ Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence*, 38; Higonnet builds her conceptual framework for the concept of "innocence" on the work of James Kincaid, which in turn likely stems from the work of Neil Postman. James R. Kincaid, *Child-Loving: The Erotic Child and Victorian Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1992); Neil Postman, *The Disappearance of Childhood* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1982).

⁴²² Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence*, 38-39, 75.

polemic on innocence (guiltlessness of the adult viewer vs. unawareness of the child).

Higonnet's conceptual framework for the Romantic child is reminiscent of Ruskin and the intensely cute Greenaway imagery that he defended, even if she is brief in mentioning this connection. Although she does not elaborate on Ruskin's contributions to the history of childhood concepts, Higonnet does discuss Kate Greenaway as a key artist, whose illustrations exemplify the spread of the romantic idea of childhood into modern and contemporary print culture. But where she sees prototypical examples of the Romantic child from the eighteenth century represented in Greenaway, I want to suggest that the aestheticization of cuteness is also at play.

The characteristics associated with the cute begin to emerge in the eighteenth-century paintings of child types.⁴²³ Joshua Reynolds and his pupil, James Northcote, alongside Thomas Gainsborough and Thomas Laurence, portrayed children to be cute in the sense of more infantile and less like miniature adults.⁴²⁴ Their paintings of pre-marital rosy-cheeked girls (sexually conscious) and resourceful boys (future property owners) in semi-wild landscapes located in aristocratic estates and seaside beaches only partially embody characteristics of cuteness. These representations only suggest a certain level of vulnerability, disempowerment, and mollification in the safe confines of tamed nature. The eighteenth century also saw the recycling of Renaissance images of the Madonna gazing at the Christ-child surrounded by navel-less cherubs.⁴²⁵ This kind of imagery inspired the portrayal of upper-class women in the secularization of the cult of mother and child. It highlights the perceiver of the cute, and her object; but the maternal body frames and protects the child, and restrains the external viewer's

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴²⁴ In Chapter 2, I referred to Northcote's portrait of young Ruskin.

⁴²⁵ Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence*, 19, 40–43.

unmitigated consumption of the child's cuteness. Anticipating the ever-growing desire for the cute object, these sets of child imagery would be copied, recycled, and re-adapted in nineteenth-century print culture.⁴²⁶ In what follows I attempt to show how the cuteness factor connects the production of child imagery from the eighteenth-century paintings of children and fairies to new trends in the construction of childhood.

3.3. Troublesome Fairy Bodies

As we have seen, the fairies of England were initially imagined as eroticized and mischievous child-men and women, but would eventually change from potent beings to helpless, infantilized children. This gradual process can be seen as fairies moved from adult-oriented narrative culture—painting, theatre and literature—to the domain of children's literature. The fairy Puck stands out as an unpredictable semi-benevolent spirit-creature who emerges from European folklore onto the English stage via Shakespeare; he plays tricks on mortals, occasionally helps with house chores, and uses his musical wiles to seduce maidens into the forest. In one of the earliest chapbook examples (1629), Puck is a flute-playing, furry goat-legged man with a sizable erection (fig. 52). If this folkloric Puck could come to life, his distant kin in the boy-child named Peter Pan would surely shock him; Peter of Neverland refuses sexual potency alongside all aspects of adult life, whereas Puck embraces sexuality.

As an essential part of the fairy's visual evolution, William Shakespeare's plays became a suitable narrative subject for artists associated with the Royal Academy. This institution positioned the resulting fantasy paintings by Henry Fuseli (1741-1825) and Joshua Reynolds (1723-1702) alongside the history paintings that occupied the top of the hierarchy of the genres

⁴²⁶ Higonnet describes the reproduction and mass circulation of Romantic child imagery in the nineteenth century. *Ibid.*, 51–52.

in the Academy. Characters in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* became integral to these painted narratives, with artists depicting the quarrelsome Fairy Queen and King (Oberon and Titania), Oberon's mischievous underling named Puck, and Titania's entourage of helpmates. Fuseli and Reynolds both eroticized the image of Puck, who began, however, to take on boyish and infant-like forms, even as Titania began to appear as a tiny fairy.

Nicola Bown in *Fairies in Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature* (2006) discusses how during the eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries a masculine interest in fairies grew in tandem with a lessening interest from women writers and viewers. She argues that Fuseli's miniature naked female fairies set the precedent in the production and reception of fairy paintings which privileged the interests of male viewers in their desire to break free from rationalism and responsibility.⁴²⁷ Because classical proportions were thought to embody masculine rationality during the Enlightenment, Bown's interpretation relies on the disproportionality of Fuseli's figures. She relates his defiance of the ideally proportioned male body to the critique of reason's tyranny over the passions.

For Bown, an understanding of women's lessened interest in fantasy entails viewing Fuseli's paintings in light of Mary Wollstonecraft's writings, including her novels, and the poems by her contemporaries (Mary Robinson and Hester Thrale Piozzi) who wrote about the deathly ramifications of a life led by fancy's "airy wings" of pleasure.⁴²⁸ Following fantasy to its impassioned ends ultimately entails poetic references to the loss of reason, feminine virtue, and even life itself.⁴²⁹ Bown highlights the gendered difference with male artists, such as Fuseli, who

⁴²⁷ Bown, *Fairies in Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature*, 18, 21, 23, 24, 28.

⁴²⁸ Both Mary Robinson in *Ode to the Muse*, 1791 and Hester Thrale in *British Synonymy*, 1794 refer to the pleasures of fancy's flight. *Ibid.*, 37.

⁴²⁹ Bown refers to how Robinson's *Ode to the Muse* ends with the line "In APATHY's cold arms to die." *Ibid.*, 37-38.

could afford to embrace fantasy in their critique of rationality. Women poets could not; aware that “unbound dangerous fancy” could hinder their rights and reputations, these poets attempted to rebind fantasy to reason in their writings.⁴³⁰

The gendering in Bown’s study highlights the importance of adults as primary viewers of the visual arts, which flourished in England’s public sphere. Moving her attention to the Victorian era, she applies her assertion—that fairy-inspired literature and painting privileged male viewers and artists rather than indifferent women—albeit in a changed socio-cultural context. The incentive to produce and delight in the fairies of fairyland had less to do with Romantic artist Fuseli’s attack on unfettered rationality, and more to do with how fairyland could stand in for the imagination, and for how fairy folklore could figure into a local landscape threatened by the age of industrialization.⁴³¹

While Bown contributes to a larger argument about the importance of the fairy subject to the wider socio-cultural and intellectual atmosphere, it is worth questioning whether women from the eighteenth century, and by extension the nineteenth century, including those who flocked to the salon presentations of academic paintings, were all as disinterested in the subject of fairies as she suggests. On the one hand, Bown has productively set aside the fairy of children’s literature, yet, on the other, this immediately limits how the fairy character would have appealed to women (or disturbed them), whether intellectually or emotionally. This issue can be addressed by looking at fairy paintings and illustrations with the cuteness factor in mind.

If the aforementioned scientific studies on male and female observers are to hold merit when considering the question of gendered viewership, it follows that women would have been

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, 28, 37.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, 43, 45, 69.

apt at appreciating the cuteness factor in Joshua Reynolds' *Puck* (1789) (fig. 53).⁴³² The fairy depicted is a seemingly cute, pudgy and naked infant set among flowers. Although he is the sly cause of Titania's seduction by a donkey man, here little Puck wobbles on a mushroom, smiles, and perhaps delights in what has occurred in the forest behind him: the limp limbs of Titania's post-coital body can be seen in the distance. The emotive appeal of Puck's cute infant body and his surprising un-infant like actions are not mutually exclusive of each other.

The male fairy re-appears in Romantic painter Henry Fuseli's *Puck* (c.1790) as a disproportioned bat-winged man instead of an infant (fig. 54).⁴³³ Fuseli has truncated the carefully proportioned manly limbs (arms, legs, torso, and penis) associated with the neo-classical mode of representing rationality.⁴³⁴ Yet, this man-creature is not entirely disempowered when he charges through the air, unleashing a storm of destructive passions in a Shakespearean summer turned into a darkened dream, which includes a panicked horse. A similar attack on rationalism emerges with a full cast of male and female figures who feature in other Fuseli paintings: *Titania and Bottom* (c.1790) and *Titania's Awakening* (c.1790).⁴³⁵ In both paintings, the Fairy Queen Titania is naked, and she is a diminutive as compared to the monstrously large Bottom (an ogre in size). Yet, Titania reigns over this darkened irrational fantasy-scape of unleashed passions, half-awake maidens, and strange creatures; they include father time on a leash, the cloaked figure of death, and grimacing elephant-headed goblins (fig. 55). It is unclear whether fantasy empowers the fairies, who yield authority over space and time, or whether Puck and Titania's irrationality and child-like size disempowers them.

⁴³² Bown mentions Reynolds, but focuses on Fuseli. *Ibid.*, 19.

⁴³³ According to Bown the whereabouts of this particular Puck painting are unknown. *Ibid.*, 211.

⁴³⁴ Bown notes how the figure is antithetical to the Vitruvian man. She also comments on his "African face," which I do not quite see, as well as his bat like wings. *Ibid.*, 26, 27.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, 22–23.

It is worth asking once again how women of this period would have understood these fantasy-scapes. Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1791) may provide insight on how women of the period responded to the representation of the female body as diminutive, beautiful, and irrational. Circumstantially, Wollstonecraft wrote her article at the exact time that Fuseli's paintings were made, at which point he was her lover. Peter Heymans, in his reflections on the roots of cuteness' aestheticization, refers to such romantic paintings. He cites Wollstonecraft's treatise on women, relating it to the beauty of women and their thoughts on disempowerment.⁴³⁶ Heymans uses the term "cute" and relates it to Wollstonecraft's passage in which she laments how women's "strength of body and mind are sacrificed to libertine notions of beauty."⁴³⁷ Wollstonecraft relates the feeling of incarceration in the female body to the sociological predicament of educated women; if they elevate themselves through marriage, they are then expected by their male counter-parts to behave like children or animals. Heymans is suggesting here that Wollstonecraft was reacting against the infantilization of women, both in the sense of the space allotted to their small Titania-like bodies and the denial of their intellect. Directly addressing Fuseli's paintings, Bown suggests that since Wollstonecraft warned against succumbing to the passions, it is unlikely that she would have appreciated Fuseli's painted fantasies of irrational women.⁴³⁸ Whether early feminists like Wollstonecraft were entirely indifferent to erotic and diminutive male and female fairies is another story.

The exclusion of women artists from the study of the nude figure and the difficulties they faced in trying to enter the Royal Academy and to exhibit publicly are perhaps some of the reasons why women only began to paint eroticized fairies publicly at the turn of the century.

⁴³⁶ Heymans, "Cute and the Cruel," 112.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*, 112.

⁴³⁸ Bown, *Fairies in Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature*, 18.

Ethel E. Dell painted a unique version of Titania's Bower, titled *Titania's Moonlit Bower*, c.1905.⁴³⁹ This painting is a vivid demonstration that a woman artist could paint the glowing pink flesh of some forty female nudes who sleep, frolic, and caress in a broad range of reclining, kneeling, and seated poses. Dell's abundant nudity decutesifies a subject that had long occupied Victorian female artists. In part because of the adult focus of her study, Bown misses out on the importance of child imagery and picture books by women.⁴⁴⁰

3.4. A Victorian Cast of Fairy Figures

Eventually, numerous Victorians, women not to be excluded, fell in love with the fairies of fairyland. In the 1820s butterfly-winged fairies began to appear in a flourishing market of paintings that continued to reference Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, but that also included new textual sources, such as Keightley's *The Fairy Mythology* (1828) and Thomas Moore's *Irish Melodies* (1848). Many of these paintings found a middle-class viewership and even gained the attention of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.⁴⁴¹ Puck as a plump butterfly-winged baby in lush nature took root in Victorian art, alongside the little nude fairy women who flutter across scenes of untouched nature.⁴⁴²

At times, Victorian fairies could be cruel to their own, to humans, and to other animals. Edward Hopley's *Puck with a Moth* (c.1854) shows a fleshy infant who takes great pleasure in stabbing a helpless moth with his massive spear, presumably to repurpose the wings for himself

⁴³⁹ I came across this painting in Wood, *Fairies in Victorian Art*, 139.

⁴⁴⁰ Reproductions of paintings by women artists (including Dell, Claxton and Lightwood) are included in Woods' survey. Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century women painters of fairy subjects also include Sophie Anderson, Lara Gwenllian James, Kathleen Wallis Coales, Honor C. Appleton and Kate Cameron. See: *Ibid.*, 24, 38, 138.

⁴⁴¹ Wood, *Fairies in Victorian Art*, 51.

⁴⁴² Significantly, Thomas Stothard's frontispiece for Alexander Pope's satire *Rape of the Lock* (1789) commenced the trope of the fairy with butterfly or moth wings attached to the body. This differentiated the fairy as a distinct creature from bird-winged angels, cupids, and bat-winged demons. Bown, *Fairies in Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature*, 46, 47.

and perhaps to flee from the destruction of his natural habitat (fig. 56).⁴⁴³ Cutesified, but hardly tamed, his wide-legged posture furthermore transforms the spear into a phallic extension as a train in the background wreaks havoc in the English countryside. Expressing the continued desires of the (now explicitly masculine) predatory imagination, Richard Dadd and John Ansgar Fitzgerald's paintings emphasize the cruelties of male fairies towards animals and female fairies; in one of Dadd's paintings, descending bat-wings eerily encroach upon Titania's exposed pearly-white flesh.⁴⁴⁴ In this vein, Richard Doyle's illustrations for *In Fairyland* (1870), which contains full coloured illustrations of naughty and flirtatious fairy children, is a light-hearted alternative to Dadd's nightmarish fairy paintings, the difference being that Doyle's illustrations form part of a picture book, which illustrates female sexual agency.⁴⁴⁵

The most acclaimed fairy painter of the Victorian period, Joseph Noel Paton (1821-1901), produced lush fantasy worlds, which were expansive and wild. His painting, *The Quarrel of Oberon and Titania* (1849), shows Shakespeare's quarrelsome fairy queen and king surrounded by naked butterfly-winged helpmates who frolic in a variety of sexual poses, through scenery of lush plants, exotic flowers, and giant trees (fig. 57).⁴⁴⁶ The diminutive and sexually-enticing female nudes may well privilege the male viewer—giving credence to Bown's claim—and, yet, the abundance of carefully executed fruits and flowers that have come alive with mystical fairies would surely have captivated women and girls as well.⁴⁴⁷ Nestled into tight corsets, caged in crinoline, and flounced in fabrics, women of the period may also have appreciated the free play of these unclothed beauties. Furthermore, the painting's attention to

⁴⁴³ Ibid., 42.

⁴⁴⁴ For more on Dadd and Fitzgerald see: Ibid., 109–118 and 149–156.

⁴⁴⁵ Silver briefly mentions the scene “Triumphal March of the Elf-King” from Doyle's books. And she sees a “Hitchcockian battle between elves and crows” in it. Silver, *Strange and Secret Peoples*, 158–159.

⁴⁴⁶ Joseph Noel Paton's *The Quarrel of Oberon and Titania* (1849) and his *The Reconciliation of Oberon and Titania* (1849) are related paintings.

⁴⁴⁷ Bown, *Fairies in Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature*, 91, 95–97.

flora and fauna could have engaged those members of polite society into what was considered appropriate conversation for the public sphere. Bug-eyed baby goblins pout, huddle, hide, and stare-out from the dandelion weeds, lily pads, and mushroom tops. Some of the cutsified figures, such as the large-eyed changeling child, are protected, while others, such as the owl, are squeezed and molested.

If women are to be recognized as viewers and for their role in producing fairylands, then the illustrated book cannot be underestimated. Artists and writers placed the fairy in spaces for scientific discovery, learning, entertainment, and escapism. It is in this domain that women could become professionals who were economically and even intellectually independent from fathers, husbands, and sons. Related to the accuracy given to plant life in Joseph Noel Paton's paintings, the search for the fairies of nature engages the careful observational work needed for botanical and entomological illustration and for new discoveries.⁴⁴⁸ In the domain of child-oriented publishing, science educator Arabella Buckley wrote *The Fairy-Land of Science* (first published in 1879) and a Mr. J. Cooper carried out her instructions for the illustrations.⁴⁴⁹

Buckley suggests to her child readers that their appreciation for fairy magic found in instances of nature's transformations—such as the thorn shrubs that thicken overnight in “Sleeping Beauty”—can support the sense of wonderment in scientific discovery.⁴⁵⁰ The fairyland in the real world appears when the child opens her eyes to what the forces of nature have done. In Buckley's metaphorical language, fairies represent these forces, even when they do not figure in Cooper's pictures. Rather, the images are a combination of scientific diagrams,

⁴⁴⁸ There was a growing interest amongst women in the Victorian era in scientific books and botanical illustrations for children. Shteir, *Cultivating Women, Cultivating Science*, 62, 86.

⁴⁴⁹ Arabella B. Buckley and J. Cooper, illus., *The Fairy-Land of Science* (London: E. Stanford, 1880), vi, <http://archive.org/details/fairylandscience00buckiala>.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 6–7.

botanical and entomological depictions of flowers and bees, as well as nature scenes featuring coastal storms, sunlit beaches, ice-filled caverns, waterfalls, and valleys. The illustrations support the author's message that the real world is filled with twice the wonder of the worlds found in fairy tales.

There are also a number of fiction writers (discussed in the previous chapter) who wrote about fairylands for children as well as for adults. And, although painters like Joshua Reynolds established the infantile characteristics associated with the cute in fantasy and portrait painting, it is the illustrators who exaggerated these traits. At the hands of one particular commercially successful illustrator, Kate Greenaway, the fairy child became cutesified and commodified. However, it should be emphasized that while the aestheticization of cuteness proliferated within select books on the children's book market, adults continued to be reader-viewers of painted, illustrated, and staged fairylands. The following takes a closer look at the cutesification of the child and Greenaway's impact on fairyland illustration.

3.5. The Cute and the Toy Book

Contracted by the joined publishing houses of Routledge and Warne and Co in 1865, the entrepreneur and printer Edmund Evans (1826–1905) developed a chromolithographic printing press that “revolutionized the field of children's books.”⁴⁵¹ With the incentive to improve the quality of toy books illustrations, Evans and his triumvirate of artists—Walter Crane, Kate Greenaway, and Randolph Caldecott—established the importance of coloured picture books in the “Golden Age of Children's Literature.”⁴⁵² The triad of artists responsible for illustrating fully

⁴⁵¹ Gordon Norton Ray, “Edmund Evans,” in *The Illustrator and the Book in England from 1790 to 1914* (New York: Dover Publications, 1976), 149.

⁴⁵² Geoffrey Wakeman, *Victorian Book Illustration: The Technical Revolution* (South Devon: David & Charles: Newton Abbot, 1973), 14–15; Evans, *Reminiscences of Edmund Evans*, xvii, xviii, 32; Lundin, *Victorian*

coloured toy books, also created ABCs, nursery rhymes, Aesop's fables, birthday books and fairy tale books; these became widely disseminated gift items when made available for 6 pence each.

Reviewers within the period were enthralled by the novelty of the books. They used words like “pretty,” “charming,” “dainty,” and “homely,” which is to say all the nineteenth-century British equivalents for the term “cute.”⁴⁵³ Some viewed the coloured strawberries, flowers and babies as plumper and more luscious than their real life counterparts.⁴⁵⁴ The quasi-edibility of these illustrations offered the adult the opportunity to enjoy the images and buy their children “the prettiest pictures imaginable.”⁴⁵⁵ When considering the wish fulfilment that these illustrations promise, were adult consumers subconsciously attracted to the prospect of satiating their appetites for strawberries and plump baby flesh? Or, did they desire the betterment of the children to whom they gifted these books? Alongside the objective of fostering literacy in the young, there is always the possibility that parents yearned for children to be even cuter than they already were.⁴⁵⁶

Toy books created the image of the malleable child who might not grow out of childhood. The cutesification of the child in toy book illustrations reinforces this development. In Walter Crane's ongoing collaboration with Evans, his early coloured toy books established the depiction of the pudgy baby. Crane's *Baby's Opera* (1877) opens with an image of the wise infant; he wears spectacles, reads a book on his own, and multi-tasks with his toy hammer (fig. 58). After producing *Baby's Bouquet* (1878), Crane disappointed his publisher and public who “clamoured

Horizons, 7–9; Susina, “Children's Literature: Facts, Information, Pictures”; “Golden Age of Children's Illustrated Books.”

⁴⁵³ Lundin, *Victorian Horizons*, 173, 176–177, 191, 194.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 171.

⁴⁵⁶ By the time of this flourishing toy book market, a Lockean concept of childhood had long been established. It posited that a reader's behaviour could be moulded by what they read.

for more babies and music.”⁴⁵⁷ He did not continue with imagery of self-aware infants. I have previously mentioned that it is common to view Evans’ triumvirate, which includes Crane, Kate Greenaway, and Randolph Caldecott, as a cohesive unit. However, Crane’s subsequent illustrations will enter a later discussion of how the fairy tale is linked to utopian impulses. Caldecott’s contribution most resembles the style found in satirical illustrations. Meanwhile, it is Greenaway’s images that appear most suited to the idea of children in harmless fairylands.

Kate Greenaway (1846-1901) recycled eighteenth-century images of children dressed in little white dresses, but her child imagery was released from the maternal glare and embrace found in mother-child imagery. Her stylized art and floral decor generated a market for a new class of toy books.⁴⁵⁸ Greenaway children appear less like persons in the process of sexual and intellectual maturation when compared to how infants, children, and adults figure in Caldecott and Crane’s characters. Her imagery represents a Ruskinian concept of ideal childhood, which locates sexual obliviousness and freedom from evil in English gardens.

Greenaway’s *Under the Window: Pictures and Rhymes for Children* (1st ed., 1878) is filled with little children with free-flowing garments and stylized flowers. As though they had been her live dolls, Greenaway designed the clothing that she had the daughters of her friends wear. The garments are miniaturized versions of what pre-industrial Regency women would have worn. In the illustrations, large hats and bonnets heighten the pudgy qualities of their faces, and their flattened bodies showcase loosely fitted clothing (figs. 59-61). For the most part, these quasi-dolls show no signs of harming others, themselves or of being hurt by villains, nor do they show any ambition of finding a life partner with whom to face the world’s difficulties.

⁴⁵⁷ Lundin, *Victorian Horizons*, 77.

⁴⁵⁸ Crane, who subsequently attempted to distance himself from Greenaway, recognized this new class of books. Walter Crane, “Toy Books,” in *The Decorative Illustration of Books Old and New*, 3rd ed. (London: Chiswick Press, 1905), <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/40250/40250-h/40250-h.htm>.

A diminutive of the book for adults, the toy book in itself is a cute commodity object. Greenaway's work, however, accentuates the characteristics of cuteness in multiple ways. Greenaway's rendering of the faces and bodies downplays the sexuality of her child models and fosters a sense of playful movement that is equally contrived to fit an ideal of childhood.⁴⁵⁹ The illustrated children spend their entire day at play: they fish, pick flowers, have tea, sing and follow the geese. Each action accompanies the utterance of infantile verses: "Higgledy, piggledy, see how they run! Hopperty, popperty!?"⁴⁶⁰ Illustrations accentuate cuteness through the tameness of the child's body, the docility of country animals, the well-ordered gardens that surround Greenaway's Queen Anne style house, the spread of floral details throughout the pages, and the infantile mode of utterance in the verse.⁴⁶¹

The success of the Greenaway product enabled the aestheticization of cuteness to spread through print culture from postcards to illustrated children's books, magazines that advertised children's books, toys, soap and Greenaway-styled clothes. Mass circulation of this so-called romantic imagery relates to the crucial point on Greenaway that Higonnet makes; as the art historian states: "Greenaway was able to remodel the image of the child's body so effectively because her style lent itself not only to printing, but also to easy reproduction."⁴⁶² This remodelling that flattens three-dimensional bodies and flowers to the picture plane began with *Under the Window*, the toy book that launched Greenaway's career.⁴⁶³ Greenaway also became known for her Birthday books, which indicates that the nineteenth-century consumer had come

⁴⁵⁹ Ngai connects short poems with "babbling" words with the cute. Ngai, *Our Aesthetic Categories*, 88–89.

⁴⁶⁰ Greenaway, *Under the Window: Pictures & Rhymes for Children*, 37.

⁴⁶¹ The Queen Anne house, which features in Greenaway's illustrations for *Under the Window*, is a testament to her professional success as a woman illustrator working in the nineteenth century.

⁴⁶² Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence*, 54.

⁴⁶³ The first and second editions of *Under the Window* sold 90 000 copies. Lundin, *Victorian Horizons*, 175.

to celebrate childhood as a special state in life. This, in turn, fed the social conditions for perceiving cuteness within commodity goods.

Other popular books filled with girls in white dresses who roam through English gardens include *Marigold Garden* (1885) and the *Pied Piper* (1888). Although the poem in *Pied Piper* originally concerned the plague, the illustrations show how childhood lives on in green pastures with blossoming apple trees even after the call of death.⁴⁶⁴ Illustrations from Greenway's popular books ignited the phenomenon of *Greenawaisme* (a French term).⁴⁶⁵ This meant the stamping of cutesified girls, sanctioned or otherwise, on merchandise: "tea towels, embroidery kits, china figurines, wallpaper, stationery, dolls, doilies, soaps."⁴⁶⁶ The commercial success of Greenaway's desexualized little girls in little gardens inspired British and American illustrators and the fairy figure and the child converged in illustrations from the 1880s onwards.⁴⁶⁷

The cutesification of the child as a fairy in illustrations designed for children became the next new thing in the 1880s. It is surprising to discover that Greenaway was one of the early illustrators of children's books to tame the fairy boy. Greenaway scholars do not typically discuss her fanciful illustrations of fairy-winged infants. Her less discussed illustrations for other publishing houses, namely her rosy-cheeked Valentine Day greeting cards for Ward and Co, and her fairy children in *A Doll's Tea Party* (1895) for Lothrop Publishing Company, stand outside of the phenomenon of *Greenawayism*. However, they are nonetheless significant in the historical transformation of the fairy child in print culture. For the tea party book, she chose to illustrate the honeybee as a fairy boy with butterfly wings. The picture enlivens the lines: "The honey-bee,

⁴⁶⁴ Kate Greenaway and Robert Browning, *The Pied Piper of Hamelin* (London: Frederick Warne, 1888), <http://archive.org/details/piedpiperofhamel00brow2>.

⁴⁶⁵ Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence*, 54.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁷ Her less discussed rosy-cheeked Valentine Day greeting cards and her fairy children would also serve as a precedent for the representation of the fairy child and characters in fairy tales.

that restless rover, Hummed in the heart of the scented clover.⁴⁶⁸ The bee in the form of a naked boy is the size of the tiny clover, which he dances upon (fig. 62). Unlike earlier representations of naked Pucks, this nude boy is extra small, and his uplifted thigh carefully hides his private parts.

Illustrations of Greenway-type garden children (fairies in the Ruskinian sense of idealized England), as well as the phenomenon of the fairy-child (represented with wings), spread from England to North America.⁴⁶⁹ Directly inspired by Greenaway, the American illustrator Jessie Willcox Smith (1863-1935) specialized in the representation of the clean and comely girl-child. Dressed in a frilly white dress, the girl child washes herself, reads by the window side, and sits on her mother's lap, and she eventually becomes a character in her own fairy tale books.⁴⁷⁰

Several illustrators, including Willcox Smith, transformed the bodies of fairy tale heroines and fairy beings into small children. In her "Beauty and the Beast" (1911), Beauty is a young girl who sips tea with the Beast, who has non-threateningly become a toy monkey (fig. 63). Maria L. Kirk in *Mopsa the Fairy* cleverly shifted the cutesification of the garden girl fairies to the boy who never fully grows out of his boyish stature. Florence Anderson specialized in the child fairy who appears throughout *Little Folks* (1915). Fully clothed bird-winged and butterfly-winged children flutter alongside naked babies through the Milky Way and frolic in floral gardens (fig. 64). These child figures blend into the colours of earth and land. The page layout

⁴⁶⁸ Kate Greenaway, *Doll's Tea Party* (Boston: Lothrop Publishing Co., 1895), 24, <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00083796>.

⁴⁶⁹ Higonnet points to several of Greenaway's followers—Jessie Willcox Smith, Elizabeth Shippen Green, Clara Burd, Maud Humphrey, and Bessie Pease—who disseminated images of chubby flower children in American advertisements and magazines. She does not discuss the fairy child, which prevailed as subject in twentieth-century commercial illustrations by women artists. Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence*, 62, 68–69, 71.

⁴⁷⁰ This is the kind of imagery marked the cult of the girl child associated with the late nineteenth-century development of the Purity Movement. Cox, "The Child of the Victorians," 149, 153.

suggests that fairyland is as expansive as childhood and only quasi-limited to the page's white margins held in the hands of child and adult viewers.

M.T. Penny Ross (1881-1937) leaves the background of his fairyland blank and this technique focuses our attention on the child fairy. In his picture books (1912-1914), he centrally positions infants and toddlers with a few leaves or flowers for garnish.⁴⁷¹ He outfits them as individual flowers, vegetables, butterflies, and mammals. These are images that intensify vulnerability by exaggerating the pudginess of the child's limbs and cheeks (fig. 65). Flora and fauna envelop the child, and these coverings package their cuteness for maximum consumable appeal. This kind of picture would contribute to an ever-growing market of child imagery mass-produced in print culture up to the present day. Penny Ross' infants directly anticipate Anne Geddes' (1956-) photographs from the 1980s and her widely circulated calendars (1990s to present). Geddes' photographs present children as tiny fairy infants who live in fantasylands that have been cut off from the gritty reality of conception and umbilical cords.⁴⁷²

Thus far the chapter has outlined how the cute fairy and the cute child converge in illustration history. While these illustrations implicate an increasingly feminized viewership, Nicola Bown suggested that, in early twentieth-century literary works, fairyland could continue to ignite a masculine interest. Bown's research highlights how British soldiers from the military front (presumably from the Second Boer War, 1899-1918) flocked to a fairy play, Walford

⁴⁷¹ Elizabeth Gordon and M.T. Penny Ross, illus., *Flower Children: The Little Cousins of the Field and Garden* (Chicago: P. F. Volland & company, 1910), <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/006610082>; Elizabeth Gordon and M.T. Penny Ross, illus., *Bird Children: The Little Playmates of the Flower Children*, 6th ed. (Chicago: P.F. Volland & Co., 1912), <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009573478>; Elizabeth Gordon and M.T. Penny Ross, illus., *The Butterfly Babies' Book* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1914), <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100592440>.

⁴⁷² Although Geddes' images do not represent the harsh realities faced by some children, she has used her art for philanthropic initiatives: funds for the prevention of child abuse and vaccines to prevent diseases that impact infant mortality. "About Anne," *Anne Geddes*, accessed December 19, 2016, <http://www.annegeddes.com/new-page-2-1/>.

Graham Robertson's *Pinkie and the Fairies* (1908).⁴⁷³ She mentions that the director of the play perceived that the soldier audience was using the play for cathartic purposes—that they sat in the theatre where they would “wallow in their tears.”⁴⁷⁴ A fairyland unburdened by war brought out feelings of childhood memories, and of England's green pastures, an idealized homeland that these soldiers had lost. This example proves that although cuteness was often gendered as feminine, men were cable of consuming cuteness too. In other words, they were part of a complex subject-object relationship, which gives expression to vulnerability. With that said, the masculine interest in cute child bodies was nothing new. Earlier in the century, John Ruskin praised Kate Greenaway's depictions of garden children, including the drawings she gifted to him.⁴⁷⁵ With great delight, he praised her images because “the radiance and innocence of reinstated infant divinity showered again among the flowers of English meadows.”⁴⁷⁶

By the end of the nineteenth century, the erotic fairies from two centuries before were largely tamed, becoming carefully groomed little children— moulded and outfitted by mother-type illustrators. Nonetheless, the strange vivacity found in Victorian fairyland paintings resurfaces with the painter Ethel Dell, as mentioned above, as well as in the illustration work of Arthur Rackham—indeed, his practice marks the end of the Golden Age of Children's Literature, just prior to WWI. His illustrations for a deluxe version of J.M. Barrie's *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* (1906) include a variant of Reynolds' baby Puck, who similarly sits on a mushroom (fig. 66).⁴⁷⁷ As a less virile sibling to Puck, Rackham's Peter Pan blows his pipes so as to

⁴⁷³ Bown does not mention which war. If Robertson were referring to the play's earliest showings in 1908, then it would have been the Second Boer War. However, Robertson's autobiographic manuscript, which Bown cites was published in 1931. The reference could have been to WWI.

⁴⁷⁴ Bown, *Fairies in Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature*, 172.

⁴⁷⁵ Ruskin considers Greenaway's fairy illustrations to be superior to Joseph Noel Paton's paintings. Ruskin, “Lecture IV: Fairy Land: Mrs. Allingham and Kate Greenaway,” 130.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 140.

⁴⁷⁷ J. M Barrie and Arthur Rackham, illus., *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1906), <http://mcgill.worldcat.org/oclc/6954574>.

encourage morphologically ambiguous creatures in Neverland to dance. Peter Pan's thighs hide his genitals, and his eyes remain partially closed, rendering him relatively unaware of the mischief that had arisen in the fairylands of bygone days. Hinting that sexuality can reawaken, subsequent illustrations show a Neverland filled with fluttering teenage girl-fairies. These lightly clothed fairies gracefully dance, fly, and swim, but they do not complete their acts of seduction.

3.6. Are the Tamest of Fairylands Really That Safe?

The domestication of fairyland comes as part of an effort to rid fantasy worlds of the dangers of aggressivity and eros. Fairies were once naked child-men and women who played, danced, flirted, explored, feasted, stole robin's eggs, slaughtered owls, murdered and engaged in sexual intercourse. These tendencies, which relate to the creaturely experience of being human, re-emerge in the interpictureliarity between fairyland painting and illustration. In this regard, Anne Higonnet argues that imagery that takes away the child's sexuality and awareness also attracts danger. She effectively poses this question: paintings and illustrations of girls in white dresses who amuse themselves in gardens are attractive, but to whom? She suggests that as sites of allure, adults can project their fantasies onto the child, which transforms the easy consumption of the unprotected child into the "site of violation."⁴⁷⁸ This sexual violation of "innocent" children, as Higonnet insinuates, is but one extreme reaction to the cutesification of the child's body.

Focusing on adult viewers of child imagery, Higonnet has opened the question of whether the tamest of childhood illustrations are safe for children. For her, the child represented as desexualized and unaware of itself masks the issue that children are sexual beings; this, consequently, hides the problem that perverted men fetishize this purity. In response to this

⁴⁷⁸ Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence*, 38. See also: Kincaid, *Child-Loving*.

increasingly topical threat, her analysis of the Romantic child is reactionary, even while she remains protective of the vulnerability and agency of children. However, we have also seen that innocently cute creatures could appeal to soldiers, and in this case, were not these adults yearning for relief from their state-sanctioned masculine aggression? The danger to children does not in all certainty lie in the adult desire for cute fairies; there is more to the yearning heart than pedophilic desires and more to fantasy than the furies of destruction. Rather, processing vulnerability through fairyland can at times be a productive aspect for adults.

In this trajectory from the Pucks of Shakespearean painting to the fairies of children's picture books, cutesification has offered one of several paths toward understanding the connection between childhood and adulthood as an uneven and evolving process, one that opens up ways of viewing the excitement and dangers in fairyland. Just as cuteness was latent in many Victorian paintings, it is not the only aesthetic category that would describe the fairy's presence in the vast expanse of fairyland.

Chapter 4: The Satirical

“Satire may be mad and anarchic, but it presupposes an admitted superiority in certain things over others; it presupposes a standard.”⁴⁷⁹

—G.K. Chesterton

In their truest form, satires strive toward the collective well-being of society. In his “In Elfland” essay and related writings, Chesterton associates these common ideals with England’s democratic leanings and finds them expressed in the foundational satires of the English literary tradition. Recalling Chesterton’s thoughts (discussed in Chapter 1), Elfland for him was a space of golden rules for courage, hope, and humility. His “sunny land of common sense” could support an appreciation for the humanity that is common to all, including the ordinary things that the individual should do for himself, such as converse with political opponents, re-read fairy tales, “vote” and “blow [...] one’s own nose”.⁴⁸⁰ As a contribution to the satirical tradition, “In Elfland” satirizes adult self-assuredness amongst those who denigrate humanity’s commonalities; it proposes a semi-fictive space where everyday experiences transform from the muddled realm of the political into something superior. There are visual ramifications to Chesterton’s conceptualization of the satirical, which I use in this chapter to explore the relationship between the satirical press and the illustrated fairy tale. Before visual satire can be investigated, the first question is: what do he and others take the satirical to mean?

Satire is generally understood to encompass writings that poke and prod at social problems without the obligation of coming to a resolution.⁴⁸¹ More specifically, the satirist sees the “absurdity in the logic of some position,” extracts it, and follows the logic, at times

⁴⁷⁹ G.K. Chesterton, “Suicide of Thought,” in *The Collected Works of G.K. Chesterton: Heretics, Orthodoxy, The Blatchford Controversies*, ed. David Dooley, vol. 1 (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1986), 245.

⁴⁸⁰ Chesterton, “Ethics of Elfland,” 250, 251, 252, 254.

⁴⁸¹ Amy Wiese Forbes, *The Satiric Decade: Satire and the Rise of Republicanism in France, 1830-1840* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010), xv.

anarchically, via the techniques of exaggeration and incongruity to its end—so that all can see.⁴⁸² He holds the foolishness of the targeted individual’s unquestioned principles, national mythos, or ideology accountable; this means that the powers that might destroy the discursive space of the collective good are kept in check.⁴⁸³ While the satirical is often motivated by the political and the philosophical (as in Chesterton’s case), the satirist’s use of unexpected juxtaposition leads to overlaps with the work of the humourist, who implicates himself in the “entanglements and contradictions of human life.”⁴⁸⁴

Describing satire in the English literary and journalistic traditions, Chesterton claims that the art of satire had died by the end of the nineteenth century.⁴⁸⁵ From his position as a journalist for the *Illustrated London News* in the early twentieth century, he was faced with the reality that professional satirists resorted to acts of mere mockery.⁴⁸⁶ This explains Chesterton’s efforts to disambiguate humour from acts that induce cruel laughter.⁴⁸⁷ Writers of his day lampooned their target to death, thus leaving little to no room for dialogue or opposition from the satirized. In so doing, they fell from the ideal of common things, which he associates with the ideal of

⁴⁸² Chesterton, “Martin Chuzzlewit,” 301.

⁴⁸³ Chesterton is not alone in his view that the satirical possesses discursive and democratic potential. See: G. K. Chesterton, “Pope and the Art of Satire,” in *Twelve Types* (London: Arthur L. Humphreys, 1902), 45–62, https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Twelve_Types; Forbes, *The Satiric Decade*, xxvii; Dominic Hardy, “Caricature on the Edge of Empire: George Townshend in Quebec,” in *Efflorescence of Caricature, 1759-1838*, ed. Todd Porterfield (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 11–30.

⁴⁸⁴ For Chesterton’s thoughts on the distinction between wit, humour, and satire see: G.K. Chesterton, “Humour,” *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1928; repr., Non-Sense Literature Blog, n.d.), <https://nonsenselit.wordpress.com/g-k-chesterton-humour-1938/>.

⁴⁸⁵ Chesterton, “Pope and the Art of Satire,” No pages in this digitized version.

⁴⁸⁶ *Illustrated London News* (the world’s first illustrated newspaper, 1842-2003) is one of several periodicals, which emerged in the Victorian era.

⁴⁸⁷ Hardy describes the relationship between humour and satire to encompass a range of essays on humour in the visual arts. Accordingly, funny satire that disrupts the targeted subject’s public image may serve the purpose of triggering “individual and social experiences of laughter.” Yet, this kind of laughter may occur at the expense of someone else’s dignity. Dominic Hardy, “Humour in the Visual Arts and Visual Culture: Practices, Theories, and Histories,” *RACAR: Revue d’Art Canadienne/Canadian Art Review* 37, no. 1 (March 2012): 1.

democracy.⁴⁸⁸ These ideals re-emerge when ordinary men and women vocalize their reasoned thoughts, and healthy debate ensues in the “street” and “tavern.”⁴⁸⁹

The art of satire had already been established in the craft of satirical writing. For historical examples of satire as an art, Chesterton looked back to the writings of Alexander Pope, Jonathan Swift, and Charles Dickens.⁴⁹⁰ His view of what the pure satirist *does* helps frame the qualities of the satirical in the best light, and it also presupposes that there is a difference between the art of satire and the work by professional satirists in English journalism. Artfully, the pure or ideal satirist targets the absurdity, but leaves the man and woman intact; this means that throughout this battle of wits, the power and dignity of the opponent is recognized and the standard of common humanity is maintained.⁴⁹¹ The writer who aims to target political and ideological positions in fair play with his opponent is a pure satirist.

While paying greater attention to the visual, this chapter looks at satire in the context of the Victorian obsession with fairyland. Most importantly, the chapter investigates what these shifts between the satirical ideal and its imperfect reality meant for the dichotomy between childhood and adulthood in the nineteenth century. It then focuses on how the intertextuality between fairy tales and satirical illustration developed, first with George Cruikshank and then with Victorian England’s popular satirical magazine known as *Punch*. Before arriving at the Victoria-era, I briefly consider the publishing domains associated with visual satire, which

⁴⁸⁸ On democracy and ale see: G.K. Chesterton, “The Age of Chaucer,” in *The Collected Works of G.K. Chesterton: Thomas Carlyle, Leo Tolstoy, Robert Louis Stevenson, Chaucer*, ed. Russell Kirk, vol. 18 (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1991), 194; On debate as essential to democracy see: G.K. Chesterton, “Mystical Belief and Popular Government,” in *The Collected Works of G.K. Chesterton: The Illustrated London News 1911-1913*, ed. Lawrence J. Marlin, vol. 29 (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1988), 222–26..

⁴⁸⁹ G.K. Chesterton, “Suicide of Thought,” 235; G.K. Chesterton, “The Common Vision,” in *The Collected Works of G.K. Chesterton: What's Wrong With the World, Superstition of Divorce, Eugenics and Other Evils*, vol. 4 (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1987), 97–99.

⁴⁹⁰ Chesterton, “On the Wit of Whistler,” 170–171; Chesterton, “Pope and the Art of Satire.”

⁴⁹¹ Chesterton, “On the Wit of Whistler,” 170–171; Chesterton, “Martin Chuzzlewit,” 301.

includes, but is not limited to caricatures in the popular press and the frontispieces for literary satires. I am asking what literary satire's visual kin looks like and whether it agrees with the ideals of satire.

4.1. Locating Satire's Visual Kin

The contentious hierarchical status of the fine arts over the graphic arts in visual studies is one reason for the belated interest in locating satire's visuality.⁴⁹² Diana Donald explains that graphic satirists have long been perceived as "low painters" in part because of the bawdy appeal of their work.⁴⁹³ Moreover, this lowly status led to a competition of sorts with the "high painter"—resulting in frequent references to elite Enlightenment painting in print culture. Recently, the resulting graphic satire from the eighteenth century onwards have gained scholarly attention in the context of visual studies, which have become critical of hierarchies within the arts. Such scholars focus on the public press and the standalone satirical print as foils to idealized political figures found in painting.⁴⁹⁴ The now out-dated rigidity of the boundaries between literary studies and art history is one another reason for this surge of scholarly interest in the uses of pictorial satire.⁴⁹⁵ Art historian Dominic Hardy, building on scholarship pertaining to artists such as

⁴⁹² Scholars from the field's historians and literary studies from the 1990s have considered caricature as a primary source document. The extent that these studies probe into questions of the graphic satire's visual implications is unclear. See: Forbes, *The Satiric Decade*, xix, xxi, xxvii.

⁴⁹³ Diana Donald as quoted in Julia Skelly, "The Politics of Drunkenness: John Henry Walker, John A. Macdonald, and Graphic Satire," *RACAR: Revue D'art Canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 40, no. 1 (2015): 75.

⁴⁹⁴ For examples of recent studies that explore the relationship between sixteenth- to early eighteenth-century caricature see: Hardy, "Caricature on the Edge of Empire: George Townshend in Quebec," 11–30; Peggy Davis, "Le Serment Des Horaces Face à La Satire Graphique," *RACAR: Revue D'art Canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 37, no. 1 (2012): 26–40; Christina Smylitopoulos, "Portrait of a Nabob: Graphic Satire, Portraiture, and the Anglo-Indian in the Late Eighteenth Century," *RACAR: Revue D'art Canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 37, no. 1 (2012): 10–25.

⁴⁹⁵ Dominic Hardy, "A Metropolitan Line: Robert Lapalme (1908-1997), Caricature and Power in the Age of Duplessis (1936-1959)" (doctoral thesis, Concordia University, 2006); Mike Goode, "The Public and the Limits of Persuasion in the Age of Caricature," in *Efflorescence of Caricature, 1759-1838*, ed. Todd Porterfield (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 117–36. See also: Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth: His Life, Art and Times* (2 vols., New Haven, CT, 1971).

William Hogarth, explains that prior to the proliferation of political critics in the public press, satire had long been “good natured, circumspect, and above all restricted to text.”⁴⁹⁶

Nonetheless, written satire has had a meagre visual counterpart found in the frontispieces that accompanied famous satirical works by Horace, Juvenal, Zakani, Chaucer, Swift, and Pope. For example, Thomas Stothard’s frontispiece for Alexander Pope’s satire *Rape of the Lock* (1789) includes a bishopric fairy (circumstantially the first butterfly-winged fairy of its kind) who looks down upon the aristocratic men and women.⁴⁹⁷ The object of the satire—the inability to differentiate priceless values (i.e. female dignity and Biblical teachings) from mere valuables (i.e. puffs, powders, and a lock of hair) —is far more obvious in the text than in the image (fig. 67). While text and image are good-natured and also light hearted (the godly authority figure is a tiny mitre-hatted fairy), neither descends into the realm of mere mockery. In addition to these literary frontispieces, traces of visual satire may additionally extend into popular performing arts (i.e. comic theatre, opera *buffa*, and pantomimes), if not also Romantic paintings as exemplified by painter Fuseli’s critique of Enlightenment corporeal ideals.

Caricature is, nonetheless, typically considered written satire’s visual cousin. Dominic Hardy notes that both English and French graphic satire involved sexual innuendo, word-to-image play, and facial and bodily deformation. Deploying such strategies, graphic satire enables socio-religious and socio-political conflicts in the nation’s mythos to rise to the surface and inform social transformations.⁴⁹⁸ In his monograph on the Canadian caricaturist Robert Lapalme, Hardy analyzes how the artist visually violated political figures by cross-dressing and costuming

⁴⁹⁶ Hardy, “Caricature on the Edge of Empire: George Townshend in Quebec,” 12.

⁴⁹⁷ Stothard’s frontispiece is the precursor to the Victorian trope of the fairy with butterfly wings. Bown notes that this frontispiece “has the first winged fairies, airy sylphs derived from Paracelsus’ theory of elemental spirits.” Bown, *Fairies in Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature*, 45–47.

⁴⁹⁸ Hardy, “A Metropolitan Line: Robert Lapalme,” 1, 11.

them, thus associating politicians with villains such as the fairy tale figure known as Bluebeard.⁴⁹⁹ Describing the visual characteristics of Lapalme's oeuvre, Hardy states: "registers of violence, skin colour, uncertain gender roles, sexuality, corporeal decay and hierarchies of spoken language combined throughout this body of work."⁵⁰⁰ Hardy shows that caricature holds the seeds of historical debates even if it also fosters a "bloodthirsty" view of its political targets.⁵⁰¹

In the English context, graphic satire prior to the Victorian era (and soon afterwards, as in Chesterton's time) was part of a populist art that was either applauded or criticized for its vulgarity and use of stereotypes of disempowered men. The caricatures that grew to prominence during the pre-Victorian Georgian era, by such artists as James Gillray and Thomas Rowlandson became objectionable by Victorian standards. According to Henry J. Miller, the "main objection to Georgian caricaturists was their indulgence in personality: their bitter attacks; scurrility; impugning of individual characters; and ruthless exploitation of private vices to damn public figures."⁵⁰² Rather than maintain the tradition of carefully crafted visual "libels," a select group of Victorians sought to reclaim visual satire, to rid it of its former vulgarities, and to reclaim it to suit a "respectable humour."⁵⁰³

In this effort to locate visual satire, I have suggested that graphic satire can either fall into the unscrupulousness of mere mockery or rise to reach the ideals of democratic discourse, which values the exchange between political positions and oppositions from the public. I argue that both attitudes can coexist as possibilities and converge in semi-tamed Victorian era political

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., 224–225.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., 23.

⁵⁰¹ Hardy, "Caricature on the Edge of Empire: George Townshend in Quebec," 13.

⁵⁰² Henry J. Miller, "John Leech and the Shaping of the Victorian Cartoon: The Context of Respectability," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 42, no. 3 (2009): 269.

⁵⁰³ Ibid., 268.

cartoons. With the rise of Victorian England popular periodicals, we find Victorian anxieties, inequalities, personalities, and contradictions in the negotiation of these two satirical extremes.⁵⁰⁴

4.2. George Cruikshank's Cartoons and the Fairy Tales

It would be difficult to foreground the intertextuality between the illustrated press and the fairy tale in Victorian England without acknowledging George Cruikshank (1792-1878) for his legacy in nineteenth-century print culture. Taking after his father, the graphic satirist Isaac Cruikshank, Cruikshank junior illustrated a wide range of satirical subjects both as self-publisher and for established humorous periodicals (visual material largely designed for adults' purview). Much of Cruikshank's overtly satirical prints feature visceral bodily functions and ailments, and they take the mighty of high society (pompous, boisterous, and rotund) down a peg or two. By showing politicized scenes of city life, Cruikshank developed a style that emphasized narrative action and unusual scenarios. Cartoonish characters fall through the ice with sugar and brandy, and shoot love arrows at their neighbours (figs. 68-69). The illustrations highlight facial reactions (fear, glee, and delight) and they bring out the incongruity between the propriety expected of Englishmen and women and their follies taken to the extreme. His oeuvre sets the stage for a style which traversed from graphic satire into fairy tale picture book illustration.

As a prolific artist, Cruikshank produced hundreds of full-page plates for a general (adult) public, giving topical events an unusual spin.⁵⁰⁵ In his early prints for the periodical *The Scourge, a Monthly Expositor of Imposture and Folly* (1811-1816) nineteen-year-old Cruikshank began to target political and social issues with a flair for the absurd. After illustrating his most acclaimed

⁵⁰⁴ On differentiating satire from stereotype see: Allan J. Ryan, *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony in Contemporary Native Art* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 9 & 168.

⁵⁰⁵ Cruikshank's illustrations can be found in various periodicals, including the *Scourge, a Monthly Expositor of Imposture and Folly* and *The Comic Almanack*.

book a few years later, *German Popular Stories* (vol. I: 1823, vol. II: 1826), Cruikshank became famous enough to initiate his own periodical venture known as *The Comic Almanack* (1835-1855). In an example from this magazine, he satirizes the fashion tendency known as the “crinoline craze,” which encouraged women to wear dresses big enough to fill a room (fig. 70).⁵⁰⁶

Some of the illustrations may be playful and light-hearted, but the moral aim is inherently satirical. As Cruikshank explains: “Let us not forget that quackery, knavery, bigotry and superstition always merit exposure and castigation.”⁵⁰⁷ Despite this statement, not all of Cruikshank’s prints act in fair play—at least not by contemporary feminist standards. For example, he made fun of women’s efforts to gain the vote by suggesting that state balls would take over state politics (fig. 71). Cruikshank’s (and his author friend Charles Dickens’) satirical exchange on female liberation will be returned to in Chapter 6.

A similar kind of energy to his work for the satirical press characterizes Cruikshank’s illustrated contributions for the first English translation of the Grimms’ stories (fig. 72). Indeed, the immediate answer to what connects Cruikshank’s graphic satire to his illustrated fairy tales for *German Popular Stories* (1823; 1826) is his highly energetic style. In her doctoral thesis (2009) on the visual evolution of the Grimms’ pictures in their German context, Regina Freyberger takes note of Cruikshank’s action-packed images. She also brings up a letter exchange between the book’s translator, Edgar Taylor, and the Grimms over Cruikshank’s illustrations. According to Freyberger’s analysis of this correspondence, although Wilhelm Grimm responded with politeness, he felt that the illustrations in the English translation made a

⁵⁰⁶ George Cruikshank, illus., “Splendid Spread,” in *The Comic Almanack; an Ephemeris in Jest and Earnest, Containing Merry Tales, Humorous Poetry, Quips, and Oddities* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1850), 313, <http://archive.org/details/comicalmanackeph02cruik>.

⁵⁰⁷ Hilary Evans and Mary Evans, *The Life and Art of George Cruikshank, 1792-1878: The Man Who Drew The Drunkard’s Daughter* (New York: S. G. Phillips Inc., 1978), 67.

mockery of the sincerity of the literary narrative, which holds to the drama of family relationships, and to the ideals of faith and salvation.⁵⁰⁸

When considering the Grimms' perspectives, Cruikshank's frontispiece for *German Popular Stories* can be regarded as an Englishman's impression of folkloric naïveté in Germany. Gathered around the hearth's fire-pot and its menacing shadows, listeners of all ages respond to their storyteller with faces filled with fright, excitement, and laughter (fig. 73). Cruikshank has in all likelihood caricatured one of the Grimm brothers. Book in hand, the pictured storyteller is laughing so hard he can hardly sit on his chair, in spite of the fact that the Grimms' stories themselves are not terribly funny.

In the context of the English translation, the expressive illustrations seem to make light of the general mood of seriousness associated with upper-middle-class high-mindedness. According to the English prologue to *German Popular Stories* (1823), the illustrator and translator felt that the German source text evoked the innocence of fairies, and that this would revitalize children's bookshelves.⁵⁰⁹ They assert that the Age of Reason emphasized the serious pursuit of knowledge in the form of chemistry, mathematical, and moralistic books.⁵¹⁰ For example, moral tales in Sarah Fielding's *The Governess*, 1784, Maria Edgeworth's *The Parent's Assistant*, 1795, and later in *The First Principles of Polite Behaviour*, 1825, emphasize charitable conduct and polite behaviour.⁵¹¹ By contrast, Cruikshank's light-hearted imagery easily satirizes the dryness associated with the moralistic and instructional books that typified English children's literature

⁵⁰⁸ Freyberger, *Märchenbilder--Bildermärchen*, 58–62.

⁵⁰⁹ Jacob Grimm, Wilhelm Grimm, and George Cruikshank, illus., *German Popular Stories, Translated from the Kinder Und Hausmärchen, Collected by M.M. Grimm, From Oral Tradition*, trans. Edgar Taylor, vol. 1 (London: Baldwin, 1823), iv, https://books.google.ca/books?id=LWAVAAAAQAAJ&pg=PR1&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹¹ "Moral Lessons for Children," *The British Library*, accessed December 20, 2016, <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/moral-lessons-for-children>.

during the Age of Enlightenment.⁵¹² Signalling a shift in expectations of what household reading in the Victorian home could look like, Cruikshank was praised by Ruskin in his introduction to a later edition of *German Popular Tales* (the 1869 edition). Cruikshank's skilful attention to light and shadow in the medium of woodblock printing was part of the stories' appeal.⁵¹³

Cruikshank's illustration for the "The Travelling Musicians, or The Waits of Bremen" typifies his approach in *German Popular Stories* (fig. 73). Animals fly through the air, the donkey, dog, chicken, and cat crash through the window, toppling a wine goblet, a bench and other furnishings, thus destroying the peaceful country house dinner. The artist's decision to focus on this scene detracts from the bucolic description of the animals, who in the textual narrative, live peacefully ever after. The image exemplifies how the pictorial narrative can entertain a readership despite its supposed dependence on the text.

Although much of Cruikshank's illustrations for *German Popular Stories* are light-hearted, the "Jew in the Bush" is an exception, which is deplorable by today's standards. Awaiting a dangling noose, the accused figure is understood via the text to be a greedy wandering Jew. Pictorially, the Aryan judges and townsmen and women in the town square are apparently (fig. 74) having a great time, dancing and jumping in the lead-up to the hanging. The illustration for this anti-Semitic story positions the stereotyped Jew as the butt of the joke, although Cruikshank hardly glorifies the townspeople, who are neither distinguished nor self-composed.

⁵¹² At the end of Field's chapter on moral tales, the author mentions that moral books, like those by Maria Edgeworth, have grown out of popularity because of how they were "too heavily weighted with didacticism." E.M. Field, *The Child and His Book: Some Account of the History and Progress of Children's Literature in England* (London: Wells Gardner Darton and Co., 1892), 272.

⁵¹³ Ruskin, "Introduction," iii.

Up until the 1850s Cruikshank's illustrations for periodicals tended to be far clearer in their satirical targets than his contributions to child-oriented stories. Although Cruikshank had previously varied his range of reformist interests, he would soon become preoccupied with a singular objective. Biographers Hilary and Mary Evans name "political harassment; the adulteration of food; bureaucratic pretentious; humbug in all its manifestations," as Cruikshank's principal satirical targets.⁵¹⁴ However, as the biographers note, Cruikshank developed a vendetta against the over-consumption of alcohol, which would inform the rest of his career. He wanted to rid the world of alcohol. After becoming a member of the Total Abstiners, he championed the cause in his artistic output in various periodicals from 1848 onwards.⁵¹⁵ *The Bottle* (1848) is a satirical pictorial narrative on excessive drinking, which shows how the man who drinks gradually loses all, including his family and mental sanity (fig. 75). The Abstiners' cause then informed his reworking of the fairy tale theme.

George Cruikshank adapted four fairy stories to the anti-alcohol cause—"Puss in Boots," "Jack and the Beanstalk," "Hop-o-my-Thumb," and "Cinderella"—in his compilation titled *Cruikshank's Fairy Book* (1st ed., 1853). For example, the giant ogre in "Hop-o-my-Thumb" is much like the alcoholic in his earlier satirical attack on alcoholism in that both drink cup after cup from a large bottle.⁵¹⁶ Paired with the description of the ogre's drinking habit, the fairy tale illustration suggests that alcohol is what leads him to cannibalize children (fig. 76). With a wide-open mouth the giant ogre in this illustration prepares to eat Tom and his siblings. A compositional line of action draws the viewer's attention from the bottle (located on the table) to the tip of his knife which points upwards as his eyes bulge out in the direction of Tom, his meat

⁵¹⁴ Evans and Evans, *The Life and Art of George Cruikshank, 1792-1878*, 127.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁵¹⁶ George Cruikshank, *The Cruikshank Fairy-Book: Four Famous Stories* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1911), 126–129, <https://archive.org/stream/cruikshankfairyb00cru/#page/n7/mode/2up>.

morsel. Unlike common variants of the Tom-Thumb story, the ogre's violent actions illustrate how alcohol is a catalyst of social evils. Throughout Cruikshank's adapted fairy stories, villains, such as the ogre in "Tom-Thumb" and the giant in "Jack and the Beanstalk" are monstrous drinkers. They differ from the good characters; Jack the hero chooses a "good drink of water" and Cinderella's fairy godmother (whom I will return to in Chapter 6), has the fountains cleansed of "strong drink."⁵¹⁷

Despite the fact that Cruikshank's personalized fairy tales were received coldly outside of the temperance movement (i.e. by Dickens and Ruskin), he nonetheless transformed the place of the pictorial in the publishing market. It is safe to assume that the graphic satirists working from the 1840s onwards would have been familiar with *German Popular Stories* (1823; 1826), if not also Cruikshank's diverse artistic contributions (such as *Punch and Judy*, 1828), from their childhood onwards. Furthermore, his full-page illustrated magazine *Comic Almanack* (1835-1855), replete with responses to topical events, had set the standard for fast-turnaround graphic satire in Victorian-era periodicals. In short, two developments are difficult to imagine without this artist. The first is the development of skilfully illustrated fairy tale books, and the second is the Victorian era satirical press. Regardless of whether Cruikshank was invited to join the most widely distributed satirical periodical known as *Punch* or not, *Punch* illustrators referenced his oeuvre. Cruikshank would however remain busy as the principal contributor to his own periodical, *The Comic Almanack*, which expressed his teetotaling views.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid., 72, 81, 121, 195.

4.3. Victorian Punch: The Professionalization of Graphic Satirists

In the Victorian era, the satirist became professionalized as a result of England's expanding readership, and a politically inclined, ever-growing middle-class. These illustrators deployed the satirical for the better, for the worse, and for the sake of displaying social problems, often with a Victorian sense of humour. The significance of *Punch*, also known as the *London Charivari* (1841-1992; 1996-2002), cannot be underestimated. In Ronald Pearsall's study of Victorian wit and humour, he singles out the magazine as the most prominent among the Victorian period's humourist periodicals.⁵¹⁸ Like many periodicals that emerged in the nineteenth century (*Illustrated London News* included), *Punch* lived on long after its heyday in the Victorian era.⁵¹⁹ What made the magazine so popular was its steadfast production of satirical illustrations, which were typically called the "big cuts" (short for large woodcuts). One member, John Leech, referred to them as "cartoons," thus coining the modern usage of the word for graphic satires found in the public press.⁵²⁰

These large high-quality prints were born out of a lively discussion around the magazine's editorial table. Patrick Leary in his study of *Punch's* laddish atmosphere emphasizes this point. He describes the importance of the magazine brotherhood's Wednesday ritual of lively debate and "loose talk" over drinks, cigars, and dinner.⁵²¹ These all-male gatherings of the editors, writers, and illustrators had a decision-making purpose, which generated the cartoon's

⁵¹⁸ Ronald Pearsall, *Collapse of Stout Party: Victorian Wit and Humour* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975), 4.

⁵¹⁹ *Punch* was rebound in the late nineteenth-century in a three-volume series known as *Mr. Punch's Victorian Era*. *Mr. Punch's Victorian Era: An Illustrated Chronicle of the Reign of Her Majesty the Queen (1841-1859)*, vol. 1 (London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Company, 1887), <https://books.google.ca/books?id=tso-AAAAYAAJ>; *Mr. Punch's Victorian Era: An Illustrated Chronicle of the Reign of Her Majesty the Queen (1860-1875)*, vol. 2 (London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Company, 1888), <https://books.google.ca/books?id=ico-AAAAYAAJ>; *Mr. Punch's Victorian Era: An Illustrated Chronicle of the Reign of Her Majesty the Queen (1876-1887)*, vol. 3 (London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Company, 1888), <https://books.google.ca/books?id=Os1AAQAAMAAJ>.

⁵²⁰ Patrick Leary, *Punch Brotherhood: Table Talk and Print Culture in Mid-Victorian London* (London: The British Library, 2010), 45.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*, 28.

scenarios and mood.⁵²² Although the contributors were published under the authorship of Mr. Punch (the magazine's mascot), the cartoons themselves were the product of debate. It is also relevant that *Punch* underwent a significant shift in members in the 1850s.⁵²³

After the 1850s, the magazine became increasingly racially biased as well as anti-Catholic. Richard Doyle quit in 1853 on religious grounds, while the magazine's English-on-Irish racism must have contributed to an uncomfortable work environment. Thackeray, one of *Punch*'s authors, quit at around the same time as his friend Doyle. After Thackeray criticized his colleagues for the callousness that had led to Doyle's departure, his own contributions dropped in the 1850s, following the magazine's serialization of *Vanity Fair*.⁵²⁴ *Punch* would enter a new editorship at the moment when, in 1853, John Tenniel took over from Doyle as the principal illustrator for the full-page cartoons.

Punch's illustrators throughout the Victorian era made use of narrative actions (tobogganing, fighting, playing), and facial reaction, unusual scenarios, word-to-image puns, allegory, and inter pictorial and intertextual references. This playful formula for disseminating national and international news resulted in success; *Punch* became a staple of typical middle-class parlours, and was also a favourite of Queen Victoria. What I want to emphasize, here, is that although this broad demographic appeal would have encompassed those who did not see eye to eye, they, like the round table of writers, artists, and editors, were likely to enter into the conversation. Indeed, the visual and textual literacy which *Punch* artists and writers presumed of their male and female reader-viewers would have enhanced the magazine's appeal and the

⁵²² Women satirists during the Victorian did exist. May Kendall (1861-1941) is an example.

⁵²³ Leary, *The Punch Brotherhood*, 2, 3, 25.

⁵²⁴ Leary provides the official reasons for Thackeray's departure: disgruntlement with wages, lack of recognition with anonymous writing and clashes with Douglas Jerrold. In other words, Thackeray did not see eye to eye with his colleagues on numerous issues. *Ibid.*, 24–25; William Makepeace Thackeray and Marion Harry Spielmann, *The Hitherto Unidentified Contributions of W. M. Thackeray to "Punch": With a Complete and Authoritative Bibliography from 1843 to 1848* (New York: Harper & brothers, 1900), 10.

possibilities for debate. *Punch* published issues on such topics as African American slavery and its abolition, the Indian and Irish questions, as well as the issue of woman's suffrage. A closer look at some of *Punch*'s illustrations indicates some of the magazine's humour, politics, and prejudices.

4.4. Fairy Tale Crossovers in the Victorian *Punch*

Designed by Richard Doyle, the signature cover page of the 1840s remained as the magazine's frontal image for over a hundred years (fig. 77).⁵²⁵ At the center of the composition, Mr. Punch sits at an easel to paint his costumed dog Tobias, who despite his worried eyes becomes the proud grinning lion in the portrait. As a mascot who represents the satirical self of the magazine, Mr. Punch is himself a comic puppet figure: he wears an elfish hat and his stuffed body is contained by a striped gown. Mr. Punch's hooked nose protrudes from his face, his smile stretches across it, and his sideways glance invites the viewer to look at the chaotic activity performed by the impish, goblin, and fairy-like men and women who circulate around him. A full cast of mischief making figures move upwards from the classical frieze at the base of Mr. Punch's stage, they move up towards the magazine's titular lettering, and back down again.

While the cover image is indeed light-hearted, I contend that it also evokes the spirit of democratic ideals, which includes a free yet accountable press.⁵²⁶ The composition's upward and downward movement recalls Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*, albeit in a secular and whimsical light. The little figures of different shapes and sizes are neither fully angelic nor entirely demonic

⁵²⁵ Simon Cooke, "Richard Doyle and the Front Cover of 'Punch,'" *Victorian Web*, May 13, 2015, <http://www.victorianweb.org/art/design/books/cooke12.html>.

⁵²⁶ Forbes also connects the satirical to society's democratic potential. She argues that the satire encouraged public debate and that it facilitated "opposition politics." She associates these positive ramifications with how satires "are not fixed and absolute" in their meaning, "but rather multiple and open to interpretation." Forbes, *The Satiric Decade*, xv, xxvii, xxi.

as they take on the fairy's role as mischief-makers. Under the eyes of public scrutiny, they use arrows and quill pens to poke and prod at the men, presumably the politicians of their social world. As muses flutter, dance, and rise, men precariously dangle and others fall in their efforts to climb to the top. One of Doyle's hand-sized fairies pokes Mr. Punch, while they also prepare the donkey's head from *A Midsummer's Night's Dream* to place upon his likeness as the portly man in the freeze. There is the sense that the press is free to portray society with whimsy, but that even Mr. Punch is held accountable to his viewers.

Even if Britain had a long journey ahead towards greater inclusivity with extending the right to vote to men of various classes and to women, there is something powerful about the cover image. The picture hints that English society has long had the capacity to see its own image, to judge itself, to share opposing opinions, and to discuss the current state of affairs. Although the cover of *Punch* joins the satirical to democratic ideals, the ensuing pages showed that *Punch* illustrators would do many things: mock the racial other, laugh at the self, absorb the cute, and capitalize on a love of fairy tales amongst its adult viewers.

Most significantly for this study, *Punch*'s full-page cartoons often linked the satirical to fairy tale and nursery tale imagery, and its caricatures of child men toy with expectations about responsible adults. Turning past the cover page, international affairs come to the forefront of *Punch*'s cartoons. Countries become the animals of nursery rhymes: Britain the lion, France the frog, Russia the bear, and India the tiger (figs. 78-79).⁵²⁷ The Russian bear hugs a turkey, raising the question of whether the Turkish country is safe from Russia during the Crimean War (fig. 78). The lion fiercely attacks the tiger who guards its prey (a dead English mother and child), and

⁵²⁷ "The British Lion Smells a Rat," Feb. 26, 1856, and "The French Game of Leap-Frog," Jan., 31, 1857 in *Mr. Punch's Victorian Era (1841-1859)*, 1:223 & 251; "The British Lion's Vengeance on the Bengal Tiger," *Punch*, August 22, 1857, <http://library.csun.edu/SCA/Peek-in-the-Stacks/punch>.

this acts as a commentary on the unarmed European civilians who were massacred during the Indian Mutiny, which was part of a rebellion against British rule.⁵²⁸

Frequently represented at the centre of international relations and home politics, Queen Victoria had both a zoo and a nursery to contend with. As head of state, she appears as the political mother figure cum Victorian ideal of femininity, and within national affairs, she resides over the childishness and absurdity of male-dominated politics. In the anonymous illustration “Royal Nursery Rhymes,” (Jan. 1, 1843), Queen Victoria as Mother Hubbard goes to the cupboard to find it bare; she sees a deficit of goods with paper bills requiring tax increases (fig. 80). The dogs, bird, and cat, all of whom have politician’s heads, do not get their bones and treats. Victoria would appear again and again, greeting politicians, foreigners, and everyday English folk. She remained one of the most adult characters amongst a cast of child-men who had entered the nursery tale of politics.

Throughout the Victorian era, *Punch* illustrations re-positioned nursery rhymes alongside fairy tales and beast fables in the avowedly adult arena of politics. These images indicate that nursery stories and fairy tales were not only on the minds of mothers, nurses, governesses, and children. With stories like Shakespeare’s *A Midsummer’s Night Dream*, *Frankenstein*, “Tom Thumb,” “Cinderella,” “Beauty and the Beast,” “Little Red Riding Hood,” “Aladdin,” “Babes in the Wood,” and eventually *Alice in Wonderland* ingrained in the culture, *Punch* illustrators were able to reuse the imagery from these books in surprising ways that deviate from the expected storyline—which required that fellow Victorians possess an in-depth knowledge of popular

⁵²⁸ The illustration, “The British Lion’s Vengeance on the Bengal Tiger,” would have triggered the outraged felt back in Britain. This travesty spurred British vengeance against the rebels, leading to further brutalities towards Indians.

literature and imagery.⁵²⁹ This intertextuality is what gave *Punch* its flair as a humorous magazine interested in current affairs. The cross-fertilization between *Punch* illustrations and illustrated stories from popular culture—fairy tales, folk tales, Shakespeare plays, Gothic fiction, and nursery rhymes—positioned the fairy tale as central to the epoch’s visual culture.⁵³⁰

4.5. Falling from the Ideals of Adulthood into the Punchbowl

Where the upper classes had long relied on numerous servants for domestic chores, the success of the rising middle class called for a pragmatic, if not also moralistic, gendered division of labour. Ideally, men were supposed to deal with the pressures of adulthood: to be selfless and courageous, to marry, to provide for the family, and to do what is right for the future of society. Meanwhile women were to be respectable wives, companions to their husbands, caring mothers, and industrious managers of the domestic sphere. Although these gendered ideals informed the culture, Victorians were well aware of the resulting pressures: many feared the failures to uphold these standards. If the Victorian novel could represent the child-men and child-women that they risked becoming, the cartoon, too, could perform a similar task. By satirizing gender ideals with a touch of humour, *Punch*’s illustrations could turn adults, who faltered from the self-composure of Victorian adulthood, into a series of absurd child-men and child-women.

In her literary study of Charles Dickens alongside lesser-known Victorian authors, titled *Precocious Children and Childish Adults* (2012), Claudia Nelson argues that the Victorians were anxious that they too could become child-men who would fall short of the ideals of the

⁵²⁹ *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* reappears in *Punch*. “Scenes from *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*,” Feb. 5, 1856, in *Mr. Punch’s Victorian Era (1841-1859)*, 1:227; “Oberon and Titania,” Apr. 16, 1862 *Mr. Punch’s Victorian Era (1860-1875)*, 2:49.

⁵³⁰ This is because so many of the references are decade specific, which means that interpretation and appreciation of the wit and humour is readily lost over time.

responsible god-like *paterfamilias*.⁵³¹ In Nelson's study of fictional characters in such Dickens' novels as *David Copperfield* and *Bleak House*, various types of child-men can be either tragic heroes or villains. One type of child-man is the effeminate protagonist who, though caring, insightful and compassionate, is for psychological or physical reasons never able to sexually commit or find a mate. Another type is the self-interested villain who cares only for monetary gain, thus ignoring familial and social obligations. Evocative of the post-Darwinian fear of the "limited extent to which humankind has evolved beyond the animal," the child-man may also take on the form of a delinquent or racial other.⁵³² Such child-men in Gothic fiction appear infantilized in their irrationality and less evolved from the so-called rational Victorian man. But, child-men can also demonstrate the selfishness of the English child, acting like a savage who might not be tamed, or even resembling the Frankensteinian criminals who threaten society.⁵³³ Given the importance of child-men to Victorian social standards and anxieties, the written word was not the only way that the child-man took shape in the Victorian imagination.

Most of *Punch's* illustrations contend with child-men in different guises that may complicate a Victorian sense of the self (as superior) and other (as inferior). Throughout the magazine's publication, the satirists typically subjected their fellow men to a higher level of lampooning than women. The magazine's respectability may owe to the fact that middle-class women—wives, daughters, and sisters—were typically viewed as man's more virtuous or motherly counterpart.⁵³⁴ *Punch* writers and illustrators targeted the man, but kept the ideal adult woman intact, and this served the humourist's technique of incongruity. A politician may appear

⁵³¹ Claudia Nelson, *Precocious Children and Childish Adults: Age Inversion in Victorian Literature* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 39.

⁵³² *Ibid.*, 67.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, 76, 59.

⁵³⁴ Women are led by an ass-headed man in "Strait Waistcoat: Worked by the Women of England for the Opponents of National Defense" (Feb. 10, 1853). *Mr. Punch's Victorian Era (1841-1859)*, 1:152.

twice as childish because he is made to stand under the gaze of a stern mother. This distinction between idealized women and mischievous men also appears on the signature cover page and throughout *Punch* cartoons. It is the male politician, and not the female muses and fairies, who becomes child-bodied, child-faced, or effeminized in woman's clothes. Masculine disfigurement and anthropomorphisms are typical of many cartoons. With the head of a man and the body of an animal (bird, dog, cat, or reptile), he becomes creaturely and even monstrous.

Pudgy-bodied and giggling, the child-man with the greatest presence throughout the magazine is Mr. Punch himself, the magazine's mascot, who as previously suggested represents the self of the magazine. Not only is Mr. Punch the eponymous character who creates the magazine's large cut (as pictured on the cover), he also speaks as a principal character in the accompanying texts, remarking on events as though he presented the stance of magazine's collaborative authorship.⁵³⁵ He appears alongside Victoria as well as allegorical figures like Justice, Death and Freedom, anthropomorphized animals like England the lion, and a cast of English politicians. He also appears with famous characters who stand in for political positions.

Mr. Punch was bound to be a popular character in a respectable Victorian magazine in part because of his inter pictorial lineage with high and low comedic theatre. The broad grin and hooked nose on the puppet stem from the prominent-nosed *Pulcinella* character from the Italian *commedia dell'arte*, which became a source of inspiration for the violent yet wildly popular form of street theatre known as Punch and Judy. George Cruikshank contributed illustrations to a short

⁵³⁵ Henry Miller describes how the magazine fostered the professionalization and social respectability the cartoonist. A contributing factor was the way that the cartoons and descriptive texts were designed as a result of collective decision-making. Leary, however, emphasizes that the magazine's cover image of Mr. Punch illustrating the large cartoon could never fully represent the magazine as a univocal entity. Miller, "John Leech and the Shaping of the Victorian Cartoon, 277-278; Leary, *The Punch Brotherhood*, 36-37.

history of the show, which circulated widely.⁵³⁶ As though to suggest that political life was much like a puppet show, Doyle reused this figure and gave him a different personality than the puppet from the popular entertainment.⁵³⁷ Indeed, we can imagine how Doyle and fellow cartoonist John Leech saw their work to be more in the likeness of the mischievous Shakespearean character than in the outrageous antics of Punch the wife beater. The magazine's Mr. Punch is far more Puck-like in his disposition: both he and Puck stir the muck and are semi-benevolent towards humans who are no less childish than themselves. Pictured with butterfly wings and wand in hand, Mr. Punch even dresses up as Puck in cartoonish spin off of a "Scene from A Midsummer Night's Dream."⁵³⁸

Victorian England's child-men were thus a recurrent motif in the magazine. The grown men in the cartoon, titled "Who Shall Educate" (1853), act and look much more childish in their game of swords than the concerned children who watch.⁵³⁹ *Punch* illustrators frequently characterized America, England's unruly child, by shrinking his body into a pudgy fist-fighter who refuses to acknowledge Father England's adult size.⁵⁴⁰ Child-men play with toys as they skirt responsibility; this is the case with many of the illustrations, such as "The 'Montagne Russe'" (April 17, 1854), which concerns the British Ambassador to Russia, Sir Hamilton Seymour. He rides down a steep slope in a toboggan labelled "despotism."⁵⁴¹

The next day (April 18, 1854) Mr. Bright, the pacifist in the debate on England's role in Crimea, is made to appear as a child who throws a temper tantrum (fig. 81). Amidst a playground

⁵³⁶ The play was first published with Cruikshank's illustrations in 1827. John Payne Collier and George Cruikshank, illus., *Punch and Judy*, 5th ed. (London: Bell & Daldy, 1870), <http://archive.org/details/punchandjudywit00unkngoog>.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*, 75–77.

⁵³⁸ John Leech?, "Scene from A Midsummer Night's Dream," Feb., 5 1856, in *Mr. Punch's Victorian Era (1841-1859)*, 1:227.

⁵³⁹ "Who Shall Educate," Apr. 23, 1853, in *Mr. Punch's Victorian Era (1841-1859)*, 1:157.

⁵⁴⁰ John Leech, "What? You Young Yankee-Doodle, strike you own Father!," Apr. 19, 1846 in *ibid.*, 1:43.

⁵⁴¹ "The Montagne Russe," Apr. 17, 1854 *ibid.*, 1:174.

of war toys, cannons, broken toy soldiers, and drums, Bright looks much like a wind-up toy himself. The fully-grown men in the room pacify him with a turbaned pull-toy (i.e. a Turk), which mechanically draws up its arms and legs. The inscription “He shall have a little Turk to pull to pieces—that he shall” highlights *Punch*’s racial biases within an image which also displays the childishness of Victorian men.⁵⁴² Disraeli appears earlier with a similar pull-toy (March 12, 1852)—although this time without the racism—in an illustration that uses the child metaphor to describe internal politics (fig. 82). The illustrator has turned Disraeli’s nominal Chief into the toy.

Punch is filled with illustrations that show men fighting their wars like children playing with toys. In other instances throughout the magazine, they cry like schoolboys being taken off to school, and they recoil from stern Mother Hubbard types. They ride on top of trains and slide upon toboggans, and float around in the sea in teapots. These so-called adult men play leapfrog, they steal money from the public as though it was candy, and they wear animal clothes and cross-dress. They are like children preparing for the stage.

The illustrators cross-dressed the male politician when they represented him as various heroines, and this feminizes the man, whereas shrinking him into the bodies of little heroes from fairy tales and nursery rhymes infantilizes him. In this regard, Irish politician Daniel O’Connell appears re-contextualized in the “Irish Tom Thumb (slightly altered from the design of George Cruikshank)” (Feb. 5, 1844).⁵⁴³ In the *Punch* version, Lord Brougham is cross-dressed as Queen Dollalolla, and O’Connell’s lawyer is the thumb-sized Tom (fig. 83). Another fairy tale-inspired

⁵⁴² “Pets of Manchester School,” Apr. 18, 1854 in *ibid.*, 1:175.

⁵⁴³ I have yet to correctly trace *Punch*’s reference to Cruikshank’s design. Cruikshank does, however, refer to Tom Thumb as a political figure in “Court of Young England,” 1845, in *The Comic Almanack, Second Series*, 1844-1853, vol. 2 (London: Chatto and Windus, 1878), 82. <https://archive.org/stream/comicalmanackeph02cruipage/312/mode/2up>.

cartoon (unrelated to troubles in Ireland) implies that the politician Lord John Russell is the right fit for the job. In this pictorial moment of word-to-image play, he becomes Cinderella at her shoe trial: the shoe fits (fig. 84).

As previously mentioned, the illustrations produced after 1850 display an increasingly intolerant position toward cultural others. Representations of the Irish, black American slaves, the Chinese, the Inuit, First Nations, and Indians all figure in *Punch*.⁵⁴⁴ Doyle's earlier cuts accepted O'Connell's Irish leadership as integral to England's Irish question. But, in Tenniel's "The Irish Frankenstein" (1882), Irishness is equated with a blood-hungry giant Frankenstein with an ape-like mouth.⁵⁴⁵ In Doyle's pre-1850 "Land of Liberty," white Americans fight in court and church.⁵⁴⁶ They shoot each other over land, enslave and lynch black men and women, hoard tax dollars, and tear down monuments. The picture spells out that this land might be what the Americans call liberty, but it is in fact everything but that. Situated in *Punch*'s post-1850s imagery, Tenniel's "Oberon and Titania," (April 5, 1863) illustrates Titania (from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*) as a stand-in for the state of Virginia. Her changeling child (also in reference to Shakespeare's play) has become a black child who, in the cartoon, is caught in between America's inter-state dispute on slavery and abolition. Tenniel's cartoon likens Titania's guardianship over the changeling to Virginia's protectionist attitude towards its slaves.⁵⁴⁷

When *Punch* became increasingly Classically Liberal and more racist, it valued a laissez-faire domestic economy and was critical of international trade agreements and allegiances. This

⁵⁴⁴ Victorian attitudes toward the Chinese also shift from the pre-1850 period to the post-1850 period in the magazine's editorial history. The Chinese ambassador is a plump foreigner with long nails, and later the nails of the Chinese Emperor are sharpened as he squats as though in the act of defecation. John Leech, "The Presentation of the Chinese Ambassador," Dec. 17, 1842 in *ibid.*, 1:15; "New Elgin Marbles, Nov. 24, 1860 in *Mr. Punch's Victorian Era 1841-1887 (1860-1875)*, 2:19.

⁵⁴⁵ John Tenniel, "The Irish Frankenstein," in *Mr. Punch's Victorian Era (1876-1887)*, 3:179.

⁵⁴⁶ Richard Doyle, "The Land of Liberty," Dec. 4, 1847 in *Mr. Punch's Victorian Era (1841-1859)*, 1:59.

⁵⁴⁷ John Tenniel, "Oberon and Titania," Apr. 5, 1862, in *Mr. Punch's Victorian Era (1860-1875)*, 2:49.

shift explains why the previously mentioned portrayal of Disraeli with his pull-toy on (March 12, 1852) could be relatively benign while at a later date Tenniel attacked him for his politics, and perhaps also for his middle-class Jewish background. In Tenniel's "New Crowns for Old Ones, Aladdin" (Mar. 20, 1876), an exchange takes place; Victoria offers Disraeli the English crown, and he offers her a chest of gifts and riches as well as a massive crown befitting the Empress of India (fig. 85). But, Disraeli has wandered into Victoria's court with swaths of turbans that weigh down his head in this Orientalized anti-Semitic stereotype of the money-hungry and wandering Jew. His huge face, menacing grin, and hunched body transform the politician into the evil magician from Aladdin. By contrast, when Disraeli reached the height of his success in English politics, Tenniel countered by turning him into an elated effeminate fairy who pirouettes like a ballerina with butterfly wings.⁵⁴⁸

If *Punch* had undergone changes in attitude, which signalled a descent from pure satire to mere mockery, could *Punch* illustrations nonetheless foster an interest in dialogue? To address this question of exchange between oppositional positions, I take a closer look at the inter pictorial moments between children's book fairy tales and the *Punch* version of "Babes in the Wood" and its renditions of "Red Riding Hood."

4.6. The Punch Version of the Fairy Tale

One anonymous graphic satirist evokes a foreboding sixteenth-century Norfolk folktale turned nursery rhyme for comic urgency in "Who Shall Educate?" (April 4, 1853).⁵⁴⁹ In the source story known as "Babes in the Wood," two dying parents leave their son and daughter to the

⁵⁴⁸ John Tenniel, "The Political Egg Dance," Jun. 29, 1867, and "Paradise and the Peel," Jan. 26, 1874 in *Mr. Punch's Victorian Era (1860-1875)*, 2:150 & 283.

⁵⁴⁹ Compared to "Hansel and Gretel," this story of infanticide is darker and older than the German variant.

guardianship of their brother, the children's uncle. The uncle takes the inheritance and further disposes of his responsibility by paying two ruffians to kill the children, who end up dying of hunger. Randolph Caldecott's illustrations for the toy book version (1st ed., 1879) show the ruffians arguing in the forest over the babes' lives (fig. 86).⁵⁵⁰ The milder of the two, the one who favours leaving the children in the woods, slays his companion (fig. 87). The reworked scene in *Punch* (unsigned) presents the moment when the ruffians fight over whether they should kill the babes swiftly or leave them in the forest to die slowly (fig. 88).

In the *Punch* version, the scrawny thief and his rotund companion fight with toy swords labelled "Dissent" and "High Church." This labelling turns the nursery rhyme into a satire concerning the two main groups who were debating whether to secularize state education. The punch line arises in recollection of the nursery story's ending: the girl and boy child (pictured as Young England) will die if no decision is made. Despite the difference in opinion amongst these thuggish politicians, the illustration depicts a social concern, which implicates the voting public over the welfare of England's children.

The illustration's careful attention to detail, the ridiculousness of the thieves, and the thickness of the woods resembles Randolph Caldecott's earlier toy book. Although Caldecott captures the thieves' thuggery in their bulging eyes, red cheeks, and clenched fists, the final picture of this story is far from comedic. Rabbits, foxes and birds bury the child bodies in the leaves and attend the funeral in the woods.⁵⁵¹ Turning back to the scene with the thugs in both versions, I am suggesting that it was not only artists, such as Caldecott, who could adapt a

⁵⁵⁰ Randolph Caldecott, *Babes in the Wood* (London: Frederick Warne, 1880), <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/19361/19361-h/19361-h.htm>.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 30–31.

Punch-like style for their children's books, but also that *Punch* illustrators drew from the vivid imagery of nursery books.⁵⁵²

As an illustration that satirizes a child-focused deadly conflict, *Punch*'s "Babes in the Wood" is one of many such pictorial scenarios that recurred in the magazine.⁵⁵³ The re-working of narrative scenes to express the magazine's stance toward current news shows one way that the mood of *Punch* changed, while it maintained an inherently polemical link to the fairy tale tradition. When fairy tales like "Red Riding Hood" appeared in *Punch*, the didacticism associated with the English translation of Perrault's tales was re-directed into the arena of political discourse. In Ebenezer Landell's "Royal Red Riding Hood, and the Ministerial Wolf" (Sept. 12, 1841,) Queen Victoria is dressed as Little Red Riding Hood, and the new Lord of the Treasury Sir Robert Peel is the wolf-bodied man (fig. 89). Peel greedily looks up to the Queen from the bottom of "Mount Peelion."⁵⁵⁴ With her pet wolf by her side, this woman-sized Red Riding Hood may not be unaware of her power. She has filled her basket with the words "place," "patronage," and "power," which serve to undermine the naiveté associated with the pre-pubescent heroine.⁵⁵⁵ The recycled story asks what it means for politicians to act in the shoes of Red Riding Hood, and what it is like to wear the furs of the wolf. Victoria poses as the exploratory girl who yields much power. Meanwhile, Peel as the wolf and the leader of the majority political party desires her favour. Referencing the source story line, the wolf wants to consume the girl's bounty—which now consists of money, power, and a coddled place in parliament—but is helpless without her.

⁵⁵² Desmarais characterizes Caldecott's work as comedic, lively, and filled with puns, antics, and even difficult subject matter. Robert J. Desmarais, *Randolph Caldecott: His Books and Illustrations for Young Readers* (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 2006), xiv, xv, 94.

⁵⁵³ A similar fight scene reappears in "Babes in the Wood," May 28, 1859 in *Mr. Punch's Victorian Era (1841-1859)*, 1:306.

⁵⁵⁴ "The Royal Red Riding Hood," Sept. 12, 1841 in *Mr. Punch's Victorian Era (1860-1875)*, 2:10.

⁵⁵⁵ "The Royal Red Riding Hood," Sept. 12, 1841 in *ibid.*

Some fairy tales repeatedly appear, as is the case with “Red Riding Hood.” John Tenniel’s wolf in “Old Story” (Jan. 19, 1884) is much more reminiscent of Walter Crane’s toy book version of the story (1875) than of the earlier *Punch* illustration of Peel as a measly pet dog of a wolf (figs. 90-91).⁵⁵⁶ Like the toy book illustration, Tenniel’s wolf is larger, and his fanged jaws and salivating tongue make him ferocious. No longer Victoria and Peel, the hooded girl and wolf intensely lock eyes. Playing with viewer expectations of Crane’s toy book version, Tenniel has labelled the wolf’s top hat with the word “socialism,” and placed American socialist Henry George’s pamphlet “Progress and Poverty” (1879) in the wolf’s pocket. This poorly dressed wolf becomes a stand-in for socialism, which *Punch* sees as a vicious foreign ideology that will consume the goods as well as the girl. As a wolf, socialism has a renewed relationship with Red Riding Hood. According to the accompanying poem, her second name is “Breadwinner,” which relates to how she pictorially carries a basket of wages.⁵⁵⁷ These signifiers transform her into a symbol of England’s workingmen.

Although the illustration implies a propagandistic stance on the wave of socialism spreading across Europe, the picture posits that the underlying issue has yet to be resolved by Red Riding Hood or England’s breadwinners. By representing the male public as Red Riding Hood, Tenniel via *Punch* on the one hand suggests the ease with which political pamphlets might manipulate England’s workingmen. On the other hand, the defiant stare of the girl back at the wolf also suggests that England’s men are not without agency. When *Punch*’s Red Riding Hoods are seen collectively, empowerment and disempowerment become two possibilities presented to

⁵⁵⁶ Tenniel and Crane were highly aware of each other’s work. As a younger man Crane notes how he admired Tenniel’s drawings, which were mounted “in the window of the old *Punch* office.” Later, in the 1880s, Crane notes that after had made a cartoon for *Justice*—featuring Capitalism as a Vampire—that Tenniel re-interpreted this image. Crane states that Tenniel “applied the vampire idea to the Irish home rule question and Nationalist Movement and against both, of course.” Walter Crane, *An Artist’s Reminiscences* (London: Methuen, 1907), 50 & 263.

⁵⁵⁷ *Mr. Punch’s Victorian Era (1876-1887)*, 3:221.

the magazine's diverse reader-viewership, which add to the doubts raised by Mike Goode that the role of caricature is always to sway public opinion.⁵⁵⁸ In the lively political arena of nineteenth-century Britain, some would invariably side with the wolf, whether he be Robert Peel or Socialism, others would side with Red Riding Hood, whether she be Victoria or England's voting and non-voting publics.

Any position that the illustrators and authors espoused implied that a counter-stance existed among its viewership. This hypothesis is especially logical when it comes to the issue of socialism in England. In 1884, socialism was not as foreign to England as Tenniel's illustration might imply. Henry Hyndman initiated the Social Democratic Federation in that year, and an offshoot of this society was the Socialist League, with its own political magazine that Walter Crane illustrated. The resulting web of pictorial ideas located between Crane's fairy tale toy book and his oppositional illustrated political magazines makes Tenniel's likely re-use of Crane's toy book version of "Red Riding Hood" ironic. Aided by the use of labelling, which fostered the production of allegorical figures for the socialist cause, Crane would return to contrasting imagery of heroic and villainous fairy tale characters to develop a pro-socialist political allegory. What I am suggesting here is that anyone interested in carefully crafted prints, domestic politics, world events, and creative adaptations of fairy tale figures, would have been a keen reader-viewer of *Punch*. Walter Crane fits this bill, and I will talk more about him under the category of the utopian (to be discussed in Chapter 5).

As *Punch* from 1853 onwards became increasingly biased against foreigners, foreign policy, the working classes and women, various counter-positions were ignited through the growth of other politically conscious periodicals. In other words, reader-viewers of *Punch*

⁵⁵⁸ Goode, "The Public and the Limits of Persuasion in the Age of Caricature," 119–120, 127.

became creative agents in their own right in periodicals connected to specific movements including woman's suffrage, chartism, socialism, anarchism, and the temperance movement.⁵⁵⁹ The dialogue between periodicals is nowhere more evident than in *Fun* (1861-1901). This publication adapted the large cut for its purposes and became known as the poor man's *Punch*, or "Funch" in Thackeray's words.⁵⁶⁰ Not only did the illustrators compete at live events with each other, but *Fun* also deliberately produced an opposing image to their competitor's growing fear of the working class.⁵⁶¹

Mr. Punch may confirm the assumption that Victorians were bigoted, racially intolerant, and sexist. But, as I have emphasized, *Punch* cartoons from before and after 1853 provided a discursive space where the possibility of role-play and opposition becomes visible. Additionally, there is also the possibility that the satirist's sense of the white Victorian man as a child and animal hybrid can provide nuance. Cross-dressing may ignite a sense of self-conscious humour within the formation of self-other relationships in England. To this end, the interpictureliarity between child's fare and political satire re-ignites the possibility of role-play imagined through childhood memories of playing dress-up. Men become Red-Riding Hoods, Cinderella, Aladdin, and more. This peculiar tendency for *Punch* to recycle fairy tale characters for political commentary would come to signify oppositional ways of viewing the illustrations. In other words, prejudice and self-criticism were not mutually exclusive in this magazine.

⁵⁵⁹ Women's periodicals were numerous. They include: *Women's Suffrage Journal* (1870-1890). Socialist leaning newspaper include: *Northern Star*, a chartist newspaper (1832-1852); *Commonweal* (1885-1890); *The Anarchist* (1890-1970); *The New Age*, a literary magazine associated with the Fabian Society (1894-1938). See: Lee Jolliffe, "Women's Magazines in the 19th Century," *The Journal of Popular Culture* 27, no. 4 (March 1, 1994): 125-40.

⁵⁶⁰ Alvin Sullivan, *British Literary Magazines: The Augustan Age and the Age of Johnson, 1698-1788* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1983), 135.

⁵⁶¹ Pearsall, *Collapse of Stout Party*, 16; Alvin Sullivan, *British Literary Magazines: The Victorian and Edwardian Age, 1837-1913* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1984), 135.

4.7. On How to Grow up Amongst Childish Adults

The interpictureoriality between the Victorian period's humorous magazines, exemplified by *Punch*, and the illustrations in fairy tale books blurs the borders between fairyland and the political realm. It suggests that the characters in fairy tales can be both child's fare and adult's fare. As previously suggested, this cross-fertilization was essential for the development of nineteenth-century fairy tale illustration. As was the case of Ebenezer Landell, who produced the magazine's first Red Riding Hood, early *Punch* illustrators developed their own style of showcasing narrative action by rendering characters with increased verisimilitude. Artists who developed the quality of the toy book—Crane and Caldecott—would have been aware of the magazine's technique of joining allegorical figures to narrative action for political effect.

Meanwhile, *Punch* artists who also produced Victorian era children's books could continue to find inspiration in the widely circulated illustrated toy book fairy tales. From the magazine's run in the Victorian era onwards, these artists include Richard Doyle and John Tenniel, and later Arthur Rackham. The caricature of adults as child-men and crossdressers relates to Doyle's contributions to fairy tale books (especially *The Rose and the Ring*), whereas the fantastical nature of otherworldly beasts and humans in unusual situations informs Tenniel's contributions to the *Alice* stories. Nearing the conclusion of this chapter, I narrow in on the interpictureorial quality of these illustrated fairy stories.

4.7.1. *The Rose and the Ring*

When William M. Thackeray's *The Rose and the Ring* (1st ed.: published December 1854 and dated 1855) begins, Valeroso has usurped the throne in the kingdom of Paflagonia; he has

overstepped his role as regent, and has stolen the crown from his young nephew Giglio.⁵⁶²

Meanwhile, the infant princess Roselba of the neighboring kingdom of Crim Tartary loses her little shoe when she escapes nobleman Padella's act of regicide. After lions raise her to a walking age, she wanders into Paflagonia and becomes known as Bestina, a Cinderella-like maid and abused plaything to Angelica, Valeroso's daughter. Fairy Blackstick thickens the plot; she has bequeathed the two noble ladies (Valeroso and Padella's wives) with gifts—a rose and a ring—, which make the bearers irresistibly attractive to the opposite sex. Over the course of the story, these fairy items fall into various hands, resulting in a comedic series of love triangles involving the four young royals (Roselba, Giglio, Angelica and Padella's son Bulbo), the threatening men of the older generation, and the maid.⁵⁶³

The Rose and The Ring is as much a romantic fairy story as it is a parody of nobles who behave childishly. The older generation of adult character prioritizes their personal pleasures and whims at the expense of others, which is what makes them immature. Valeroso is a comedic king who lacks self-control, such as when he spastically gives out orders to behead his kin.⁵⁶⁴ However beautiful in Valeroso's mind, the narrator describes Queen Valeroso as “stout” and weak-minded when it comes to setting the wellbeing of her young carefree nephew Giglio (the rightful heir) above her fondness for garments, games, and even scandal.⁵⁶⁵ The social climbing maid, Gruffanuff, plays an ambitious game when, as the ring-bearer, she beguiles Giglio into signing

⁵⁶² William Makepeace Thackeray and Richard Doyle, illus., *The Rose and the Ring, Or, The History of Prince Giglio and Prince Bulbo: A Fire-Side Pantomime for Great and Small Children*, 1st ed (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1855), <http://archive.org/details/roseringorhistor00thacrich>.

⁵⁶³ There is even a character named Hedzoff in Thackeray's story who, as the soldier servant to the King, emphasizes the threat the characters, such as Giglio and Bilbo, may be beheaded at any moment. This threat is reminiscent of the hysterical violence in Grimms' “King of the Golden Mountain” and anticipates the Queen's orders in Tenniel's *Alice in Wonderland*.

⁵⁶⁴ Thackeray and Doyle, illus., *The Rose and the Ring*, 56–57.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

away his marital rights to her.⁵⁶⁶ But, after Giglio and Rosalba respectively educate themselves and experience hardships, they mature into young adults.⁵⁶⁷ They learn to seek justice in a world of childish adults, and they eventually find each other attractive without the effect of fairy gifts.

Richard Doyle's illustrations enhance the comedic flair of Thackeray's childish adults. Pictorially, King Valeroso's position of royal authority looks ridiculous; he has a gaunt face with a large protruding nose and his nephew's crown wobbles on top of his head with a massive diamond (fig. 92). He is one of several lecherous adult male characters. Kings Valeroso and Padella (both with large noses) and the heavily armoured Hogginarmo (mentioned in Chapter 2) relentlessly lust after others who do not return their advances.⁵⁶⁸ Meanwhile, the heroic child character Giglio's growth is not without its stumbling blocks. Pictorially, he is shown using a warming pan to flatten Valeroso into a pancake (figs. 93-94).

Child-women take on different bodily forms. Barborosa Gruffanuff happens to look a lot like the cross-dresser from *Punch's* adaptation of Cruikshank's "Tom Thumb." The sharp jagged jaw lines and thick eyebrows on her elongated face and the thin rectangle of a body make her manly in a way that defies classical proportions of masculine and feminine ideals (figs. 95-96). Queen Valeroso retains her rounded child-like face, which, much like her body, has grown plump with her uncontrolled habit of eating dozens of eggs for breakfast. Comparatively, Gruffanuff is a masculinized child-woman, whereas Queen Valeroso remains feminine in her plump childishness (fig. 95 & 97). Both characters throw temper tantrums, and desire instant gratification, even if it is at the expense of others. These women differ from Rosalba who first appears as a chubby dancing girl and later grows up to be an elegant princess (fig. 97).

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., 48.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., 24, 90.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid., 14-15, 46, 56.

Rosalba's wild upbringing and her love for learning can be related to Thackeray's efforts to amuse and educate his daughters—for whom he wrote the story.⁵⁶⁹ Far less cynical a story than the hero-less *Vanity Fair* (where no one matures), this story posits that maturation and love are possible in an otherwise childish world of self-serving adults. The hopeful quality in Doyle and Thackeray's fairy tale farce may draw from the child-men of *Punch*, but there is a stark distinction. Illustrations and serialized novels in *Punch* often turn politicians into greedy, lusty or monstrous child-men. And when the satirist offers a ladder toward maturation, as Doyle does in the magazine's frontal image, it is an unstable one. By contrast, the cute little Rosalba and Giglio mature in their attitude toward others, marry, and live happily together in what becomes a far less tyrannical society than the one they grew up in. There are no genuine happily-ever-afters in *Punch*, only a continuum of pictorial cliff-hangers without resolution.

4.7.2. The *Alice* Stories

Punch also employed John Tenniel whilst he worked on the two *Alice* books. Characters, creatures, and scenarios from these seemingly distinct publications (satirical magazine and novella) blend into each other. Although Carroll scholars and fans dispute the source for the Mad-Hatter's facial identity, I am not the first to note that Disraeli's face especially resembles the side-profile of the Mad-Hatter at the tea party in Wonderland.⁵⁷⁰ Occasionally portrayed with a top hat, Disraeli was one of Tenniel's favourite subjects. Tenniel characterizes the Mad-Hatter

⁵⁶⁹ Thackeray's wife suffered from postpartum depression, suicidal attempts, and did not significantly improve despite Thackeray's efforts to find a cure. With his wife living in various asylums, Knoepfelmacher mentions that Thackeray's experience was very much that of a single parent father. He contends that Thackeray designed this fairy story to amuse his two daughters, and in so doing he generated a foil to both Ruskin's desexualized fairy story and his own earlier writings. Accordingly, Thackeray additionally balances the wishful spirit of Ruskin's *The King of the Golden River* with Thackeray's earlier mockery of his own wishful characters (i.e. in *Vanity Fairy* and *Rebecca and Rowena*). Knoepfelmacher, *Ventures into Childland*, 75–80.

⁵⁷⁰ Davis notes that Tenniel drew his Wonderland characters from real-life people. He mentions that the White Knight's whiskers were made to look like *Punch* colleague Horace Mayhew's. Davis, *Illustrators of Alice*, 9.

in *Alice* and Disraeli in *Punch* with wispy hair, an eager outward glare, a large jaw, a jagged nose, and thin-lips (figs. 98-99). It is not unfathomable that Tenniel extended his fascination with the absurdities of political life into the power struggles between Alice, the unconquerable Queens, and their unpredictable subjects. After all, several unusual animals in *Punch*—the Jabberwock, a racoon in a tree, white rabbits with clocks—strongly resemble the creatures in *Alice*—the Jabberwocky, the grinning Cheshire cat in the tree, and the timid white rabbit.⁵⁷¹

In Tenniel's cartoon, "The Monster Slain" (Mar. 4, 1872) the Claimant takes the form of the Jabberwock, who, with the head of a man and the body of a monstrous reptile, has already been defeated: he lies helplessly in a foetal position (fig. 100). The illustration refers to the inheritance claimant in the lengthy Tichborne case; Thomas Castro who was unable to support his claim with sufficient evidence and suffered the consequences: he was eventually charged with perjury and served a ten-year prison sentence. In the cartoon, the attorney from the trial stands on top of the enormous reptilian mound, and this tiny man uses the sword of "justice" to stab the helpless monster in the groin. Meanwhile, Mr. Punch approvingly rejoices from the sideline as an observer. This inter pictorial moment of monster slaying suggests that Tenniel was far more of a pure satirist in his contribution to the *Alice* stories than in his cartoons for *Punch*. Alice had prepared to slay her Jabberwocky, an archetypal reptilian of fear, revealing that little girls can be powerful agents in the backwards politics of fairyland (recall fig. 29). But in the cartoon, a now defenseless person has been stabbed (this is no gentle poke), leaving little room for fair play with the illustrated opponent and even less space for Mr. Punch to question the claimant's innocence.

⁵⁷¹ Reference to the timidity of the white rabbit appears in "Little Victims," Aug. 28, 1880 in *Mr. Punch's Victorian Era (1876-1887)*, 3:127; reference to the Jabberwocky appears in "The Monster Slain," Mar. 4, 1872. Reference to the Cheshire cat in the tree appears in "Colonel Bull and the Yankee Coon" Jan. 11, 1862 in *Mr. Punch's Victorian Era (1860-1875)*, 2:44 & 243.

There are notable differences between Tenniel's contributions to the *Alice* stories and his cartoons for *Punch*. His political cartoons do not emphasize the opportunity for heroism and happy endings. Increasingly, Tenniel's cartoons became announcements about the outcome of topical events, court cases and so on, rather than pleas for further discussion. Nonetheless, unusual encounters with animal-like humans (diplomatic coons in trees, victims as rabbit-headed men, culprits as monsters) make the events in question interesting to look at.

This "blending," which occurs in Tenniel's oeuvre involves another transfer point from *Punch* illustrations back to Victorian fairy tales. *Punch* illustrator John Tenniel hybridized animal and human types with the anatomical acuity of scientific illustration, and he relays the incongruity of power relations. He transferred these skills in his illustrations for Lewis Carroll, adding emotive appeal to the anger and curiosity of the famed Alice. All of these details provided a new standard in the quality of picture book illustration via the *Alice* stories. From the *Alice* books onwards, illustrated fairy tales would use satirical techniques for witches and other frightening creatures who evoke the dangers (evils, fears, and death) that make fairy tales awe-inspiring.

Linked to caricature, the satirical in its visual manifestation makes characters and creatures comedic, ugly, and grotesque, and scenarios strange and intriguing. It can also generate laughter—unexpected, incongruous, exaggerated, and absurd propositions are part of the humourist's arsenal of techniques. But, in visual or written form, satire's deeper or purer function emerges with its socio-cultural impact. Dependent upon reader-viewers, this occurs when the story holds human follies and erroneous assumptions accountable in the space of discourse and proposes a degree of fair play between opponents in the playground of politics. By defying their own expectations of what adult men should look like in the eyes of society,

including its own mother-figures, the magazine could appeal to a Victorian sense of respectable humour and a willingness to engage with the politics of a rapidly changing world. The satirical illustrations by *Punch* illustrators have hopefully also toyed with twenty-first-century expectations of fairy tales in Victorian society. Beyond the satirical mode's ability to conjure up prejudices and visualize social injustices lies the utopian desire for a better world.

Chapter 5: The Utopian

Wherfore not Utopie, but rather rightely my name is Eutopie,

*a place of felicitie.*⁵⁷²

—Thomas More

The journey towards a place of felicity in nineteenth-century fairy tale picture books offers another way in which the assumed divisions between child and adult reading material can be rethought. More specifically, the utopian threshold—that which shows how the malaise with current conditions can be turned into hopes for a better world—appears in Walter Crane's illustrated fairy tales. Among Crane's brightly coloured toy books, his *Sleeping Beauty in the Woods* (1876) glimmers with the desire for a happier society. Although this pictorial version of the familiar story reinforces the heteronormative storyline—a prince on the hunt seeks out his passively sleeping bride-to-be—the utopian undercurrent Crane provides turns the journey into something more. The colours of a world freed of the dull greys of industrial smoke weave their way into the pathless forests, mysterious gardens, hidden courtyard, and into the home and bedroom (figs. 101-105).

Depicted as a mythological adventurer wearing a stylized breastplate, the king's son travels through this otherworldly realm on a white horse, which is when he encounters the aged farmer. Hard at work with an axe in hand, the worker points the king's son toward the court of slumber yonder in the mountains. As if the far-off enchanted palace had been expecting this hero, the woods open and the sharp thorns turn away.⁵⁷³ He then discovers a society of sleeping courtiers, musicians, and soldiers. The soft flowing blue gowns and the rough glistening chainmail and helmets caress the bodies of women and men. The people, their hound, a cat, and

⁵⁷² Thomas More, *Utopia*, trans. Raphe Robynson (Cambridge: University Press, 1556), 171, <https://archive.org/download/moresutopiatrby00ropegoog/moresutopiatrby00ropegoog.pdf>.

⁵⁷³ Indicating Crane's interest in mythological figures, the prince looks a little like a Perseus or an Adonis.

peacocks have held their slumbering postures—upon window ledges, steps, rounded archways, and doorways—for a hundred years. This alternate world vibrates with colour: lush greens thicken the encroaching forest, giant red poppies have grown wall-high, and the whites and yellows warm the textiles, bricks and Greek columns with sunlight. This view of a secluded society about to awaken to the figure and idea of Beauty has spread across two pages.

The seventh fairy, the one who had cast the spell of death, reappears throughout this picture book as a darkened and cloaked figure (figs. 102-103). Characterized by the traditional traits associated with the allegorical figure of Death (toppled hourglass and cloak), she crouches and hovers over the dormant princess, and she lingers in the background, weaving the seal of fabric that cordons off the castle's ruins from strangers. Despite the hold that the fairy has over civilization's decay, the prince continues to move forward. He spreads apart the thick yellow drapery (printed with black crows and red roses), which leads him into the blueness of the page—the unknown. As the story unfolds, the bed-ridden princess awakens, and then members of society slowly begin to yawn and stretch their arms and legs. These elements—the death-like slumber and awakening, the journey and the arrival, the suggestion of allegorical figures, and the happier place of abundance (possibly signifying a redistribution of wealth)—raise this question: to what extent can the utopian intersect with the pictorial fairy tale?

5.1. Intersections between Fairy Tales and Utopian Narratives

Utopian novels flourished in the nineteenth century at the height of industrialization. Factories, urbanization, and mechanized labour changed the look and feel of city life. In the printing industry, top-grossing publishing houses, which supported the popularization and pictorial quality of fairy tale books, expanded their influence. Socialist and other independent presses also

grew. Dystopian novels such as Richard Jeffries' *After London* (1885) offered a view of society worse off than the present. Together, the utopian novel and its broken-mirror image in the dystopian novel attempt to counter the perceived causes of civilization's potential destruction, which is to say the conditions of social malaise and ugliness pinpointed by a given author.⁵⁷⁴ The authors' views on technology, social hierarchies, institutions (governmental, religious, and legal), and ideologies (especially socialism, capitalism, and nationalism) all become relevant to the genre. Meanwhile, the happy utopian places are the "islands" that resemble the outcomes of many fairy tale endings—featuring social justice, freedom, and equality—which are made possible for a select fictional community.

In order to address the intersection between fantasy and utopianism in the fairy tale picture book and the utopian novel, it is worth momentarily turning to the narrative construction of the prototypical utopian novel: Thomas More's *Utopia* (Latin: 1515, English: 1551; 1556). Seemingly more politically-inclined than the fairy tale, More's novel begins with a conversation on current affairs between the councillors of European states, and as a foil to the first half, the traveller Raphael shares his recollections of the ideal island (*utopia* means "nowhere" in Greek), which has disappeared from sight.⁵⁷⁵ This place of felicity features rich agricultural landscapes, and mysterious cities designed for optimal functionality. Directly concerned with a vision of equality, justice, and emancipated labour, the happy utopians devote themselves to the pleasures of music, charity and introspection, collectively working to meet each other's needs.⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁷⁴ Peter Stansky, "Utopia and Anti-Utopia: William Morris and George Orwell," *The Threepenny Review*, no. 10 (1982): 3–5; For more on the dystopian as mirror image of the Utopian see: Peter Fitting, "A Short History of Utopian Studies," *Science Fiction Studies* 36, no. 1 (2009): 121–31.

⁵⁷⁵ Thomas More, *Utopia*, ed. Ronald Herder (New York: Dover Publications, 1997), 1–28.

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 29, 34, 37, 49.

More's *Utopia* promises a better world in an imagined secluded place while critiquing the present with its satirical tone directed toward social inequalities in England and beyond. The satirical mode is what links More's alternative vision of an ideal island to his critique of real sixteenth-century politics. The first half of *Utopia*, consisting of a contemporary conversation in Europe, is followed by a recollection of the island. The gap between these sections implies the sublime experience in the boundless uncharted waters; the journey leading to the island's protective ship-sinking borders and back to present day England also suggests the island itself can disappear from human knowledge. The shifting boundaries between knowability (present conditions) and unknowability (future and distant possibilities) provide the narrative construction of *Utopia*. Several of the characteristics of this novel served as the foundations for the socialist outlook in William Morris' political views, and inspired his utopian novels in the late nineteenth century, and I want to argue that they also reappear in the fairy tales of the same period.⁵⁷⁷

5.2. Visual Dimensions of Utopia

Utopian theory tends to be concerned with the political potential and limitations of re-imagining equality, justice, and freedom. Karl Marx criticized several "utopian" branches of nineteenth-century socialism, though. Marx used the term "utopian" to describe the distinct problem of mere wishful thinking, which arises when idyllic visions of equality fail to address the historical

⁵⁷⁷ Morris' *Dream of John Ball* (1888) is generally considered a forerunner to his *News from Nowhere* (1890), the latter of which draws inspiration from More's *Utopia*. Crane relates More's claims in *Utopia* to the claims that Morris makes about labour in *News from Nowhere*, and he also notes how "London 'as we know it' disappears" in the novel. See: Walter Crane, *William Morris to Whistler; Papers and Addresses on Art and Craft and the Commonweal* (London: G. Bell & Sons Ltd., 1911), 41, 11. Hampton notes the parallel between the classless communities freed of the monetary system in both utopian novels. See: Christopher Hampton, "The Feast's Beginning: *News from Nowhere* and the Utopian Tradition," in *William Morris & News from Nowhere: A Vision for Our Time*, ed. Stephen Coleman and Paddy O'Sullivan (Bideford, Devon: Green Books, 1990), 45. Vita Fortunati picks up on Morris' reading of More's book as resisting the "birth of the capitalist system." Both authors evoke the feeling of belonging to the land. See: Vita Fortunati, "The Rhetoric of Dissent in William Morris' Utopianism," in *Visualizing Utopia*, ed. M. G Kemperink and Willemien H. S Roenhorst (Leuven; Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2007), 79.

means of addressing class conflict.⁵⁷⁸ To left-leaning scholars of the late nineteenth century onwards, the communist promise of a better place in the aftermath of socialist revolutions, which in Marxist terms would replace feudalism, capitalism, and nascent socialism, has become lost to history.⁵⁷⁹ This has made it easier to imagine the dystopian over the utopian.

Re-invigorating Marxist thinking, Fredric Jameson in particular has returned to the politicization embedded in the narrative concept that More founded in his novel. In an effort to be hopeful, despite the twentieth-century conditions of late capitalism (seemingly here to stay), Jameson suggests that literature, especially the dystopian novel, can prompt readers to imagine how their lives might be different.⁵⁸⁰ However, for Jameson, it is not the form of man-made attempts at utopias that matters so much as the *desire* for utopia.⁵⁸¹ Jameson also agrees with Robert C. Elliott that the utopian and satirical are connected: on the one hand, the utopian contains “the satirist’s rage at fallen reality” and on the other hand, “all satires carry a utopian frame of reference.”⁵⁸² The emphasis that Jameson places on the satirical rather than the fully-realized happy place of equality and justice leads to the question of whether the utopian can be immediately experienced or indirectly visualized.

In the scholarship on the utopian literary genre, attention to utopia’s visuality tends to be scant. Nonetheless, Kemperink and Roenhorst, the editors of *Visualizing Utopia* (2007), concretely address the genre of utopian literary and artistic production. They elaborate on how the internal contradictions within the utopian affect the visions imagined by authors and artists,

⁵⁷⁸ Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, 1847, 8, 9, 56, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1847/poverty-philosophy/>; Frederic Jameson, *The Jameson Reader*, ed. Michael Hardt (Malden Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2004), 361–63.

⁵⁷⁹ This sense of the ideal communist society being lost to history can be felt as early as William Morris. William S. Peterson, *The Kelmscott Press: A History of William Morris’s Typographical Adventure* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1991), 73.

⁵⁸⁰ Tom Moylan, “Introduction: Jameson and Utopia,” *Utopian Studies* 9, no. 2 (1998): 1–7.

⁵⁸¹ Jameson, *The Jameson Reader*, 25, 146–47; Moylan, “Introduction,” 3–4.

⁵⁸² Jameson, *The Jameson Reader*, 330–31.

largely of the nineteenth century. Contradictions emerge from novels that do any of the following: a) imagine a future place, which is propelled by technology, but once advancement is reached, inhabitants reside in pastoral stasis, b) espouse anarchistic equality, but require the strength of a leader to reach and sustain egalitarian ideals c) use religious symbolism to emphasize the power and purity in atheistic utopias.⁵⁸³ The authors of *Visualizing Utopia* suggest the difficulty in picturing the happy place of social justice, peace and equality, while they nonetheless acknowledge the importance of a utopian mindset in diverse styles of art, ranging from the Neo-impressionist to modernist city plans. The difficulty of visualizing utopia echoes Louis Marin, who, in the 1990s used a semiotic approach in his proposition concerning utopia's visual frontiers, concluding that the utopian experience can exist in the margins between the knowable and the unknowable.⁵⁸⁴

The island of Utopia captures a twofold problem: first, visualizing a future or distant place, and then convincing others that one man or woman's vision will bear the fruits of happiness. The question is seemingly simple: can the distant or future island of Utopia become visible and be understood as an aesthetic experience? Drawing from the narrative characteristics of the utopian novel, and current scholarly perspectives that touch upon the issue of visibility, I would like to address the shifting aesthetic conditions that allow for glimmers of the utopian. The importance of the island's appearance and disappearance creates the possibility for the utopian to become visible while resisting stable aestheticization.

⁵⁸³ M. G Kemperink and Willemien H. S Roenhorst, eds. *Visualizing Utopia* (Leuven; Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2007), xvi–xvii.

⁵⁸⁴ Louis Marin, "Frontiers of Utopia: Past and Present," *Critical Inquiry* 19, no. 3 (1993): 397–420.

5.3. The Fairy Tale: Utopianism or Fantasy

A few scholars have in fact paid attention to the intersection between the pre-Disneyfied fairy tale and the concept of utopia. Ernst Bloch (1885-1977) was one of these exceptions, writing about a particular utopian function of characters in fairy tales, folktales, and film.⁵⁸⁵ In particular, he investigates how many of these everyday heroes—the youngest child, the farm boy, the orphan, the abused stepsibling—have the courage to fulfill their own wishes. Bloch takes note of how many stories commence with the protagonist’s dissatisfaction with the current conditions of greed and exploitation associated with capitalism.⁵⁸⁶ Dissatisfaction sets them on their journey towards revolutionary possibilities. And if the larger reading public identifies with the little heroes and heroines, then socialist reform might spread beyond the confines of the book.⁵⁸⁷

Jack Zipes, in his chapter “Utopian Function of Fairy Tales and Fantasy: Ernst Bloch the Marxist and J.R.R. Tolkien the Catholic” (1979), develops a socialist and utopian understanding of the fairy tale. With the common interest of defending fantasy against the “same dragon of dehumanization,” otherwise referred to as capitalism, Zipes compares seemingly opposing visions articulated in pivotal essays, which supported the revival of the fairy tale genre.⁵⁸⁸ He contrasts Ernst Bloch’s Marxist hopes for a godless utopia on earth with Tolkien’s Catholic hope for salvation in a fallen world that is both secularized and industrialized. Bloch saw the fairy tale’s prevalent rags-to-riches theme as a way of envisioning a possible secular utopia, which he otherwise referred to as a godless religion. However, as a historian and literary theorist of fairy tales in the aftermath of Disney, Zipes takes issue with Bloch’s rose-coloured lens, which

⁵⁸⁵ For Bloch’s “The Fairy Tale Moves on its Own Time” (dated to 1930, and translated in its entirety into English) see: Zipes, “Utopian Function of Fairy Tales and Fantasy,” 133–135.

⁵⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 139.

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 139, 144.

⁵⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 150.

homogenizes the redeeming power of all fairy and folk tales (undifferentiated from each other).⁵⁸⁹ To critique Bloch, Zipes redeploys Tolkien's point that not all fairy tales have equal merit.

However, he does take up Bloch's notion of self-formation for a reading of the utopian possibilities in Tolkien's *Hobbit*. Approaching the story as a bona-fide fairy tale, Zipes makes much of Bilbo as an everyday character. He is like a middle-class grocer amongst the dwarf-miners, skilled workers and the dragon-capitalist exploiter, and he is every bit the typical American who would rather reside on their sofa watching TV than question the status quo.⁵⁹⁰ However ordinary and reluctant he is, Bilbo steps outside of his comfort zone, wins the respect of various social groups, and becomes a socialist hero of sorts when he helps to redistribute the dragon's hoard of stolen wealth, and reconciles the class-conflict between Dwarves, Elves, and Men.⁵⁹¹ Everything but the ending achieves the atheistic socialist ideal of communal living associated with secularized religion, which is essential to Bloch's theory that hope can persist in a godless world. Bilbo retires to the comfort of a male-dominated society, and this impedes the fantasy novel's utopian thrust; Zipes attributes this failing to the limitations set by Tolkien's belief in a Christian God.⁵⁹²

Establishing the basis for future analysis, Zipes aims to rescue the anti-capitalist stance in Tolkien's work, and by extension classic fairy tales, from the commodification of fantasy. This notion of commodification can be applied to the easy consumption of Tolkien's novels and filmmaker Peter Jackson's subsequent cinematic adaptations. However, for Zipes, it mainly refers to Disney's exploitation of classic fairy tales. On this basis, Zipes distinguishes between

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid., 135.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid., 152.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid., 154, 152.

⁵⁹² Ibid., 154.

stories; subversive utopian fairy stories defy the capitalist and patriarchal status quo, whereas others support the ongoing “civilizing mission,” which results in a kind of indifference toward institutional powers felt to be higher than the self. While paying greater attention to the fairy tale in its current and historical formation, Zipes is one of several scholars (including Jean Baudrillard and Louis Marin) to critique all things Disney.⁵⁹³ And, in these socialist-leaning attacks against Disney, the terms “false utopian” and “anti-utopianism” are frequently used to trouble capitalistic notions of happiness.

While there are productive consequences to Zipes’ use of the utopian concept to study fairy tales, the overlaps and distinctions between the utopian novel and the fairy tale become buried. In other words, the utopian, especially in its socialist incarnation, has shifted outside of the domain of utopian literature to represent a socio-cultural ideal, its possible manifestations, and its troubles. However, just as differentiating types of tales in the fairy and folk genres is important for Zipes, so is it important to consider the utopian not just in a given critic’s vision for a better world, but also in its literary foundations. Tolkien’s fiction writing is not generally considered part of the genre of utopian novels, but they do have utopian tendencies. If the pictorial crossovers between genres are to be appreciated for their aesthetic attributes and underlying subversive potential, then the narrative components that define the utopian novel and the fairy tale are integral. At this juncture, I ask: what happens when the utopian novel or picture story and the fairy tale are seen side-by-side?

⁵⁹³ Jean Baudrillard, “America After Utopia,” *NPQ: New Perspectives Quarterly* 26, no. 4 (Fall 2009): 96–99; Louis Marin quoted in: Zipes, *The Enchanted Screen: The Unknown History of Fairy-Tale Films*, 25; Adelaide H. Villmoare and Peter G. Stillman, “Pleasure and Politics in Disney’s Utopia,” *Canadian Review of American Studies* 32, no. 1 (January 2002): 82; Zipes, “Walt Disney’s Civilizing Mission,” 191, 209; Tison Pugh, “Introduction: The Disney Middle Ages,” in *The Disney Middle Ages: A Fairy-Tale and Fantasy Past*, ed. Tison Pugh and Aronstein (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 1.

There are several points upon which the fairy tale and the utopian novel either converge or enhance each other. The utopian island corresponds to the otherworldliness in fairy tales. The island can be likened to the fairy tale's happily-ever-after (the ultimate place of rest), its mysterious landscapes, and its beautiful cities. Travel, which the utopian novel implies, but does not describe, is integral to the fairy tale's plot. The dangers that lurk in the woods, mountains, lakes and streams test the principle characters' patience, courage, and hope. The sublime experience, which awakens the fear of the unknown, lies on the edge of Utopia. It exists in the gap between the present conditions and the propulsion forward toward the happier place. But, in fairy tales, the sublime is encountered again and again, in the journey through perilous realms, and in the confrontation with psychic fears, monstrous giants, ferocious beasts, and death itself. The satirical moments, which are directly tied to the descriptive critique of unjust property and labour relations in the utopian literary genre, can be seen at the beginning of many fairy stories when characters are dissatisfied with their status in life.⁵⁹⁴

The island and the places of rest within fairy tales integrate visual traits that shift between moments of knowability and unknowability during the journey toward undiscovered fantasy worlds. In the utopian novel it is common for characteristics such as freedom from harm, abundant nature, and hiddenness to be reintegrated into futuristic stories that are also about shifts in government structures. This relates to Tolkien's point that the core of fantasy rests in two desires.⁵⁹⁵ Beyond the act of creating "Other-worlds," he says that what is most integral to fantasy is the very possibility of glimpsing into *faërie*. The glimpses stir up desire itself,

⁵⁹⁴ Tolkien separates the satirical from the fairy tale. However, he was not attempting to theorize the overlap between the utopian novel and the fairy story. Bloch and Zipes explore the overlap between a socialist utopia and the subversive potential of fairy stories. Tolkien, "On Fairy-Stories," 12; Zipes, "Utopian Function of Fairy Tales and Fantasy."

⁵⁹⁵ Tolkien, "On Fairy-Stories," 10, 22, 40-41.

“satisfying it while often whetting it unbearably.”⁵⁹⁶ Although this recalls Jameson’s view that desire for the utopian is more important than the actual shape of utopia, in the fantasy genre, Tolkien uses his terms “Sub-Creative Art” and “Secondary World” to refer to the physical places where the adventures occur.⁵⁹⁷ The shape of the mountains, oceans, forests (small, large, or immense) can matter a great deal to the characters as they are propelled forward into the unknown. This experience of the long and trying journey, for Tolkien, is coupled with a lesser desire for unburdened place where humans might understand the language of animals in a world freed of harm and aggression, and where escape from exploitation and rest from the journey may be fully experienced.⁵⁹⁸

Related to the margins between knowability and unknowability, in the fairy tale, familiarity comes in the form of family feuds, everyday characters, and unhappiness with the status-quo; unfamiliarity comes in the form of mystical occurrences, frogs who turn into princes, swans who turn into brothers, swords that carry out wishes, paupers who become kings, death that turns into sleep, and miseries that flee away. In utopian moments, familiarity comes in the form of present socio-economic conditions, whereas the unfamiliar lingers in the gap between present conditions and a better society. Envisioned through dreams and conversations, utopia may take on shifting forms ranging from the satirical to the beautiful and the sublime. The appearance of that glimmering island takes vivid shape at the points of intersection between the fairy tale picture and the utopian narrative of the nineteenth century.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid., 40–41.

⁵⁹⁷ For Tolkien, the writer’s “Sub-Creative Art” is what generates the “Secondary World” of fiction. Ibid., 47, 48.

⁵⁹⁸ Tolkien specifically refers to “the ‘primal desires’ [...] of men to hold communion with other living things.” He relates this historic desire to the human ability to understand the language of animals, which can easily be read as a reference to Eden (especially in light of his later references to the Christian Gospel and the Primary Art of Creation. Ibid., 15, 71-72.

5.4. Awakenings in *News From Nowhere*

Among the utopian novels that flourished in the nineteenth century, *News from Nowhere* (1890), by the socialist and Arts and Crafts movement leader William Morris, stands out for how it connects the political ideals of the utopian with the beautiful.⁵⁹⁹ Going against the grain of the period's technophilic utopias like in *Looking Backwards*, first-person narrator William Guest goes to bed after a conflictual meeting with fellow socialists and wakes up in Nowhere, a future England somewhat like his, but not quite.⁶⁰⁰ The waters surrounding England, itself an island, have lost their pollutants and the land has been restored to its pre-industrial beauty.⁶⁰¹ The rivers are again filled with salmon, parliament has become a dung heap, and church buildings are repurposed.⁶⁰² Historic factories, which were once used to exploit the workers, now enable the inhabitants to perfect the arts and crafts of their choosing.⁶⁰³ They work for pleasure rather than in subservience or for the acquisition of property. Women housekeepers, the boatman, the weaver, and craftspeople are described as healthy, robust and beautiful; they enjoy life, work, food, sex, and good conversation with strangers.⁶⁰⁴

Morris draws from the ideals in Thomas More's book, albeit in a distinctly socialist context. Morris re-published More's book and he named *Utopia* as one of the principal inspirations for his own novel. Fundamental commonalities include the importance of justice and equality, medieval-esque hospitality and social charity, and friendship. Peaceful disagreement, a

⁵⁹⁹ Nineteenth-century utopian novels: Étienne Cabet, *The Voyage to Icaria*, (1842), Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *Vril, the Power of the Coming Race*, (1871), Samuel Butler, *Erewhon*, (1872), Mary E. Bradley Lane, *Mizora*, 1880-1, Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backwards* (1888), William Morris, *News from Nowhere*, (1891) King Gillette, *The Human Drift*, (1894), Alexander Craig, *Ionia*, (1894), William Dean Howell's "Altrurian trilogy," *A Traveler from Altruria*, (1894), H.G. Wells, *A Modern Utopia*, (1905).

⁶⁰⁰ William Morris, *News from Nowhere* (Hammersmith: Kelmscott Press, 1893), 1-3, <http://archive.org/details/newsfromnowhere01morr>.

⁶⁰¹ The pastoral and the beautiful are seen as one in the same in Stansky, "Utopia and Anti-Utopia," 3-5.

⁶⁰² Morris, *News from Nowhere*, 1893, 9, 165, 104.

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*, 64-65.

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 19, 81, 119.

practical remedy against one man's utopianism turning into another's totalitarianism, is rare within the utopian novel, and yet, not all of More's tolerant utopians are Christianized, and several of Morris' resistant characters are nostalgic for the excitement of the nineteenth-century competitive market. Morris, however, has imaginatively abolished institutional religion, the justice system, kingship, and slavery. He also emphasizes collective non-hierarchical governance, and the importance of beauty as part of the functional. Unlike More's ascetic leanings—with the total abolition of property and class distinction—the Englishmen and women in Morris' *Nowhere* make beautifully crafted objects that they wear themselves or willingly give to others. This better place of social equality and youthful energy with its bountiful landscapes, pleasant weather, welcoming country homes, buildings of different styles and periods, and the honestly expressed attraction between its men and women are part of Guest's vision of the beautiful.

Based on Guest's description of *Nowhere*'s inhabitants, it could be argued that *Nowhere* brings the fairy tale figures from the Briar Rose paintings by Morris' fellow artist friends to life. Caught in a wonderful dream, Guest describes women with loosely fitted medieval garb and flowing dark hair and men with hardy musculature and ornate belt buckles. One character even chooses to walk around with carefully crafted armour. Slumbering soldiers and voluptuous women also appear in Walter Crane's toy book *Sleeping Beauty in the Wood* (1876), as well as in Edward Burne-Jones' small *Briar Rose* series (1871-1873) and his *Legend of Briar Rose* (1885-1890), a series of large panel paintings. Morris, who wrote the inscriptions below Burne-Jones' large Briar Rose paintings at the time when his utopian novel was nearing publication, was likely to have had these slumbering figures in mind for *Nowhere*'s inhabitants.⁶⁰⁵ O'Neill remarks that

⁶⁰⁵ Far less of a political activist than Morris, Burne-Jones' rendering of the beautiful slumbering figures was nonetheless culturally complex. *Sleeping Beauty*-themed in fact paintings span Burne-Jones career as a painter. The

Morris' wording for the accompanying poem hints that the painted figures will awaken from their thorny prison when the time is right.⁶⁰⁶ Paired with Burne-Jones' *Council Room* panel, Morris' verse "when fate shall take her chain away" anticipates the writer's vision for a socialist reawakening. Morris' principal character just so happens to be waiting in a politicized dream.

Among these friends and fellow artists and craftsmen, there is much more overlap in the ideological basis for the artistic work and the publishing practices of Crane and Morris. Walter Crane first met William Morris in 1870 during his experimental years in children's publishing, and in the 1880s they became friends and colleagues, members of the Socialist League, and contributors to its newspaper, *The Commonweal*.⁶⁰⁷ Crane created a front-page image for *The Commonweal* (May 24, 1890), which is where Morris' *News from Nowhere* was part way through its publication as a serialized novel (fig. 106). Designed in connection with a specific chapter of the novel—Morris' "How the Change Came"—Walter Crane's peace-themed illustration "Solidarity of Labour" is placed dead centre in the newspaper's double column layout.⁶⁰⁸ In the image, the workers from Europe and the fringes of the Empire have joined hands in Crane's utopian vision of pure socialism; they are farmer-hatted, turban-wearing, and liberty-tuqued men. There is little need to uphold the tools of labour, for a freer world makes recreation possible. Their tools—axes, shovels, and scythes—fall to the ground. A woman with a halo

large panel paintings were based on a series of smaller paintings, which Burne-Jones painted between 1871-1873, during which time he was closely acquainted with John Ruskin who had become increasingly melancholic. Pascu-Tulbure argues that the images of the female character named Rose, who lies in temporary slumber rather than eternal death, were meant to console Ruskin in his grief over the young Rose Latouche (1848-1875). Rose was one of Ruskin's pupils and his second love. Much of George MacDonald's correspondence with Ruskin relates to the question of Rose and her well-being. John Ruskin, "Herne Hill: Dear George MacDonald," August 11, 1872, T 35, Ruskin Archives; Pascu-Tulbure, "Aesthetics of Desire."

⁶⁰⁶ O'Neill, *Walter Crane*, 160.

⁶⁰⁷ Crane, *An Artist's Reminiscences*, 103–4, 253.

⁶⁰⁸ Morris and Walter Crane, illus., "News from Nowhere (chapt XVII)," cover page.

inscribed with the words “freedom” has risen to the top of the world, blown her horn, and banners with the names of the world’s continents have fallen.

As part of Crane’s cosmopolitanism, not evident in Morris’ *Nowhere* which he localized to England, Crane implies that a socialist utopia can spread across the world.⁶⁰⁹ Walter Crane’s global island tellingly emerges from the middle of the novel, from the blood-filled revolutionary chapter. By placing a visual image of hope in the reader-viewer’s hands, it counters feelings of dismay with current labour conditions.⁶¹⁰ In this juxtaposition between Morris’ text and Crane’s image, the illustrated workers hold the globe in place as though to prevent the sinking of utopian socialism into the part of the text which describes the gloomiest parts of history.

5.5. Crane and Morris: Socialist Friends and Craftsmen

Crane and Morris were also leading members of the Arts and Crafts movement. Driven by the socialist-leaning utopian ideals of social equality, just labour, and freedom from the capitalist forces of industrialization, the movement’s membership, which was led by male figures, but also included women who worked from home, took an active stance against the perceived ugliness of cheaply made goods produced by machines. They abhorred the injustice that good workers were trapped in debased conditions. The movement’s guilds strove to integrate the arts of book design, metal work, wallpaper, and stained glass within the everyday. As part of the effort to bring the utopian place of felicity into the present, its members worked to beautify their crafts under optimal conditions. By uniting craftsmen from different arts, the movement elevated the status of

⁶⁰⁹ Crane was interested in the world at large without himself being an imperialist. Pippa Biltcliffe, “Walter Crane and the Imperial Federation Map Showing the Extent of the British Empire (1886),” *Imago Mundi* 57 (2005): 63–69.

⁶¹⁰ Serialized novels were printed sequentially in sections. Unlike frontispieces found in books, the principal image for this edition of the story appears half way through the narrative as it was issued in *The Commonweal*.

the decorative in order to counter the hierarchical status of painting that was viewed as the medium for the wealthy.⁶¹¹

Both Walter Crane and William Morris strove to unite art with the practice of everyday life, even if they expressed differences of opinion on the utopian role of art within the current capitalist system.⁶¹² In their respective practices, they differed as to whether illustrated arts and books—the political cartoon, the commercially published fairy tale book and the utopian novel—could provide society with a vehicle for collective change. These differences were first expressed in the early years of their friendship as colleagues. They both produced works in the style of the Arts and Crafts movement for American heiress Catharine Lorillard Wolfe’s home, which she named Vinland after her Norse ancestry. Morris provided decorative details, which included images and stained glass details and Crane painted a narrative sequence.⁶¹³

Crane’s dining hall cycle for Vinland is based on Henry Wadsworth Longfellow’s poem *Skeleton in Armour* (poem: 1841 and paintings: 1881-1883). The poem romanticizes the story of a Viking who kidnaps a Norse king’s daughter and makes her his bride, flees over stormy seas, lives contented for a time in the Americas, and finally perishes by the sword under a tower.⁶¹⁴ The paintings tell a different kind of story, which introduces Crane’s political vision to the project.⁶¹⁵ Art historian and leading Crane scholar, Morna O’Neil argues that Crane radicalizes the look and feel of the workers. She even evokes a dystopian dynamic in her descriptions of this

⁶¹¹ O’Neill, *Walter Crane*, 53, 83.

⁶¹² On the differences of opinion between Morris and Crane on the role of art see: Hampton, “The Feast’s Beginning: News from Nowhere and the Utopian Tradition,” 55. O’Neill, *Walter Crane*, 95, 109-112. Smith, “Developing a Public Language of Art,” 20-22.

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁶¹⁴ Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and Poetry Foundation, “The Skeleton in Armor (1841),” *Poetry Foundation*, 2017, <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems-and-poets/poems/detail/44648>.

⁶¹⁵ O’Neill, *Walter Crane*, 91–92.

painting in its elite setting, but does not outright apply these terms.⁶¹⁶ Pictorially, the Viking becomes an anti-hero in the new land: as an architect, he supervises the craftsmen. In becoming mere workers, they are alienated from the design of the tower, which is itself an ode to an elitist civilization.⁶¹⁷ To a certain extent, the gloomy paintings delegitimize the poem, which might otherwise be used to mythologize the proprietor's ancestral heritage in a new land.

If O'Neil is right that the muscles of one of the craftsmen who represents the allegorical figure of labour are weighed down by the burden of lifting stones for a civilization that is about to collapse in *Skeleton and Armour*, then it is worth taking the analysis a step further.⁶¹⁸ I would suggest that utopia's broken mirror image is at work in the dystopian story that Crane's *Skeleton in Armour* narrates. The dark and gloomy colour palette emphasizes the unhappy ending for a civilization that has alienated intellect from labour. The foreboding ending, which is set in an imagined reality that is worse off than the present, might (as O'Neil suggests) have been Crane's deliberate choice for the eyes of Catharine Lorillard Wolfe's select dinner companions.⁶¹⁹ Meanwhile, the stained glass sequence of the sun and moon, the arrival of the Viking ship, the Norse gods and adventurers, provided by Morris and Co. (no longer in situ), would have glowingly enhanced the sphere of private wealth.

In Morris' ideal society, this contradiction between elite patrons and socialist craftspersons would not exist. The houses that Morris designed with beautified floral wallpapers and Gothic stained glass windows, such as those in *Vinland* and in *Nowhere*, would someday be for the everyday man and woman. Yet, faced with political realities, such as the brutal

⁶¹⁶ This is because she agrees with scholars (such as Terry Eagleton) who have analyzed how utopian mindsets "explain the compromised fate of British socialism, a movement seemingly poised for victory but always limited...by its own nostalgia." O'Neill, *Walter Crane*, 16-17.

⁶¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 83. 92.

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 53-54.

government response to workers during the Trafalgar Square Riots (1887), Morris soon became increasingly uncertain that he would witness an ideal communism during his lifetime.⁶²⁰ He came to the “unhappy conclusion that individual craftsmen [...] were powerless to change the fundamental structure of a corrupt capitalist society; only political action, culminating in revolution, could bring about the root-and-branch transformation that was required.”⁶²¹ To continue his battle with the capitalist system, Morris nonetheless optimized his working conditions—ultimately favouring his writings and lectures over the visual appeal of his art to convey his socialism.⁶²²

The difference between the two artists can be otherwise expressed by the question of how beauty was to be politicized. More of an optimist, Walter Crane was convinced that the socialist message could spread through the visual dimensions and circulation of art, even within the capitalist system.⁶²³ Unlike Morris, Crane was an educator who believed “that education, not revolution, was the main way forward.”⁶²⁴ For his brightly coloured public art (murals for public buildings and cartoons for newspapers), Greg Smith explains that Crane adapted his pedagogical use of explanatory illustration into a symbolic language, which eventually relied on “allegorical truths” that could convey the path toward “Peace.”⁶²⁵ While both craftsmen believed that beauty united with truth leads society to freedom, their differences go some way to explain how and why Morris and Crane worked independently from each other in two different publishing milieus: the independent press and commercial publishing.

⁶²⁰ David Cody, “Morris’s Socialism,” *Victorian Web*, 1987, last modified Dec. 15, 2002, <http://www.victorianweb.org/authors/morris/wmsocialm.html>.

⁶²¹ Peterson, *The Kelmscott Press*, 73.

⁶²² *Ibid.*, Cody, “Morris’s Socialism.”

⁶²³ Greg Smith, “Developing a Public Language of Art,” in *Walter Crane: Artist, Designer and Socialist* (London: Lund Humphries, 1989), 13–23.

⁶²⁴ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁶²⁵ *Ibid.*

5.6. Kelmscott Publishing and the Early Publishing of *News from Nowhere*

After a period of socialist activism in the 1880s, Morris retreated into the countryside with a new initiative: the independent Kelmscott Press (1891-1896). The fifty books produced by the Kelmscott press include his own novels, works by the Romantics including Tennyson and Shelley, and the medieval authors who inspired him, such as Chaucer and More. Several of the Kelmscott books contain full-page woodcuts by Edward Burne-Jones. Crane created only one full-page illustration for Morris' *The Story of the Glittering Plain* (1893) that shows a woman who reads in a thick forest as a princely man approaches.⁶²⁶ Collectively, these books transform elements of medieval manuscript design such as thick page borders, illuminated capitals, calligraphy-like font, and ornate covers, into carefully crafted books.

In Kelmscott Press editions, including More's *Utopia* and Morris' *News From Nowhere*, foliage from the bucolic countryside weaves into the capital block lettering. The decorative motifs are carefully chosen so as to function with the story, and their relative simplicity strays from certain tendencies in the decorative arts, namely the ostentatious display or decoration for the glorification of individual wealth. Produced in the real-world town of Kelmscott, which also appears in *Nowhere*, the Kelmscott books served the craftsman's delight in merging art with the everyday. However, as luxury novelty items within the nineteenth-century economic system—many of the books were limited to 300 copies—and as semi-precious items, they were constrained in their ability to spread a socialist vision to the masses.

⁶²⁶ William Peterson describes a clash of styles between Morris' "dark medieval" designs and Crane's illustration for this book with its "delicacy and grace." William Morris and Walter Crane, illus., *The Story of the Glittering Plain* (Hammersmith: Kelmscott Press, 1894), frontispiece, <http://archive.org/details/storyofglitterin00morr>; Peterson, *The Kelmscott Press*, 156.

Rare books like the Kelmscott Press version of *News from Nowhere* (1893) have exceptional covers (fig. 107).⁶²⁷ The book is bound in green leather, and a gold leaf embossed border of interlocking waves frames a floral motif that encircles an island-like circular center. Given that book design was incredibly important to Morris, I propose, here, that the form and design of the book, which is to say how a novel is released more generally, can change the mood of a story, if not also the function of *utopos* in a utopian novel. The novel carries the name of Moore's *Utopia* in that both the setting and the book's cover or frontispieces contain island-like forms.⁶²⁸ By contrast, the earlier serialization of *News from Nowhere* in the Socialist League's newspaper, *The Commonweal*, was a very different material context.

5.7. Walter Crane's Utopian Allegory

From the 1880s and into the 1890s, Walter Crane continued to be overtly political, while maintaining his practice in the decorative arts, and his illustrated fairy books. As a contributing illustrator to a number of newspapers—*Clarion*, *Pall Mall Budget*, *Justice*, *Labour Leader*, *The Comrade*, and *The Commonweal*—he was able spread his message in the context of his socialist cause.⁶²⁹ Expanding from O'Neil's insights on the importance of allegories in Crane's oeuvre, used by her to elevate the artist's status from *mere* children's book illustrator, I want to emphasize the importance of allegorical figures, which help develop a pictorial version of the

⁶²⁷ *News from Nowhere* was republished in both the U.S. and the U.K. at least ten times between 1890 and 1908. William Morris, *News from Nowhere*, 10th ed. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1908), <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/3261/3261.txt>.

⁶²⁸ For a discussion of the frontispieces in the first editions of More's *Utopia* see: Marin, "Frontiers of Utopia."

⁶²⁹ Crane's message would have reached a wide audience. *The Comrade* was an English-language newspaper that was established in India, circulated in Britain and gained international attention. *The Clarion*, *Labour Leader*, *Justice*, and *The Commonweal* were socialist newspapers. *Justice*, which went by the motto "Organ of the Social Democracy," was the Social Democratic Federation's newspaper; the Socialist League founded *The Commonweal*. *The Pall Mall Budget* published weekly collections of articles, which had first appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette*; this newspaper wavered between liberal and conservative leanings. O'Neil mentions that Crane published political cartoons for "*Clarion*, *Justice*, *Labour Leader*, and *Commonweal*." O'Neil, *Walter Crane*, 5.

utopian narrative. Because so much of the utopian is about providing an ideological message that guides society from an imperfect to a perfected state of being, I argue that allegories in Crane's political practice can pictorialize the utopian narrative, which glimmers within his fairy tale books.⁶³⁰ This is the case even if the bright colours, meant to appeal to children, distinguish Crane's toy books from the narrative quality in his political and oftentimes satirical posters.

In Crane's illustrations for socialist newspapers and socialist communities, he repurposes the narrative motifs of allegory and the technique of gradual revelation for his utopian vision.⁶³¹ When illustrations depicting or representing the human form appear in Crane's oeuvre, they do not merely represent individuals. Rather, as a function of socialist allegory, Crane developed what I would describe as "concept-characters" such as Labour, Freedom, Death, Capitalism, Socialism, and Beauty.⁶³² His overt political illustrations are labelled with the names of these characters whose actions and identities collectively reveal specific messages.

When seen collectively, Crane's body of overtly political work forms a socialist utopian narrative that implies a three-part storyline. The concept-characters have a role to play in the past, present, and future. The role of Capitalism is already known to be a crippling force. Based on Labour's struggles for Freedom in the present, there are two starkly different possibilities for the future (fig. 108). Society will become freer and life will be renewed by Socialism or the workers will meet their death under Capitalism. It should be mentioned that these temporal

⁶³⁰ The allegorical figure from the Renaissance up to and including its appearance in *Punch* becomes a stand in for Time, Justice, Death, Eros, and the Seasons. These traditional idea-figures have long provided artists with a means of articulating messages made for interpretation that may be ecclesial and/or political.

⁶³¹ By gradual revelation, I am referring to the technique of gradually revealing facts about characters and their worlds as the story progresses. It is commonly used in the Bible, but is also critical to the narrative tension in diverse genres, such as fantasy and detective fiction. For example, Strider from *Lord of the Rings* eventually finds out that he is the rightful king of Gondor. Darthvader is eventually revealed to be Luke Skywalker's father in *Star Wars*. Revelation as a narrative technique is also directly tied to the concept of Truth or *Althea*, which is revealed. For example, based on key pieces of information at a crime scene, the murderer is finally found out. In the case of the allegorical, key pieces of symbolic information come together so that the artist's message is revealed.

⁶³² Concept Character: a way of referring to an allegorical figure within a given narrative.

phases in Crane's visual version of a utopian novel are based on what he depicts rather than on the timeline in which he produced and circulated the images.⁶³³

Central to his satire of social conditions in the past and present, Crane established the visual character traits which would link the traditional allegorical figure of Death (a menacing clocked figure) to Capitalism. In his caricature of *The Capitalist* (c.1890), for example, a flying allegorical figure of Death emerges from distant smokestacks (fig. 109).⁶³⁴ The figure's bat-like wings expand into the smoggy clouds as he hovers over the scene of capitalism's havoc.

Adorned with every unnecessary gadget and metallic plate imaginable, the portly Capitalist rampages on horseback into the foreground of a mud-soaked land. The details of the horse—darting eyes, flaring nostrils, and most of all, the smoke that emerges out of the crown of his head—emphasize the gloomy future. Bare-footed liberty-tuqued Labour and a ragged worker reach toward the reins and bit.⁶³⁵ But the imposing Capitalist, who yields a large baton, steers the equine creature, and pushes the only surviving workers out of the path and to their impending death. Based on the narrative action, character traits and labelling, the didactic message in *The Capitalist* verbally translates into something like this: Cloaked by Death, the Capitalist has rampaged through the land and destroyed the worker's livelihood.

⁶³³ Archives housing Crane's work, the Whitworth Gallery in Manchester U.K., and the Huntington Gallery in California U.S., keep the artists original drawings and artist proofs. Further archival research, which looks into the range of socialist periodicals within the period, is likely to uncover more of Crane's work, as well as more of the circulation context for Crane's work.

⁶³⁴ O'Neil notes that the drawing was likely to have been planned for the 1897 May Day issue of the *Labour Leader*. However, only the drawing's accompanying poem "The Craftsman Dream" were published in this issue. According to O'Neil both the poem and the image were published in the second printing of Walter Crane's *Cartoons for the Cause*. Ibid., 198. This pamphlet was designed as a "souvenir of the International Workers and Trade Union Congress, 1896." This publication was originally a 15-page pamphlet: Walter Cane *Cartoons for the Cause, 1886-1896: A Souvenir of the International Socialist Workers and Trade Union Congress* (London: 4th International Socialist Congress, 1896), <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004719202>.

⁶³⁵ The term "bit: is part of the bridle. It is the metal bar placed in the horse's mouth. It puts pressure on the horse's gums, and attached to the reins, the bit helps steer the animal.

According to Crane's visual narrative of socialism's potential in the present and future, it is possible for the worker's conditions to change. Labour is either pictured as a muscular man (an Atlas type figure) holding the weight of the world's capitalists; or he is a weakened man whose body has become limp in a defeated posture.⁶³⁶ Labour might enter into a sleep-like death, but he can also join the workers of the world when they wake up and dance. However, Labour cannot journey and awaken toward a socialist utopia without being allegorically paired with Freedom. The winged angel figure who awakens the dormant labourers (male sleeping beauties) by blowing her horn is Freedom. Often labelled, and often holding a horn (as both Sleeping Beauty and the Prince do), she appears again and again.⁶³⁷

In the act of moving present social conditions toward a better future, the angelic-winged figure is also pictured in Crane's *The Capitalist Vampire* (1885), appearing in *The Comrade*.⁶³⁸ Here, Labour takes on the form of the over-burdened worker (fig. 110). Collapsed into the stones that he has dug out, the man's dormant heart is eaten by a carnivorous bat, inscribed with the words "capitalism." Fortunately for the worker, a winged angel bears the banner of "Socialism," and blasts her horn so that he may awaken. Capitalism is deeply connected to the wings of Death, just as Socialism is connected to Freedom's role in the utopian dream of a renewed life and world.

The future in Crane's political picture is defined by two opposing possibilities: freedom under socialism or deathly imprisonment under capitalism. A future governed by capitalism alone looks like *Death and Commerce* (c.1890), another illustration likely published in *The*

⁶³⁶ O'Neil comments on the importance of the Atlas figure. Atlas becomes the figure of Labour who holds up the weight of the world. O'Neill, *Walter Crane*, 93, 96, 97.

⁶³⁷ Freedom appears throughout Crane's oeuvre. See: O'Neill, *Walter Crane*, 3, 110, 140, 147.

⁶³⁸ Walter Crane, "The Capitalist Vampire," frontispiece in *The Comrade, 1903-1904*, vol. 3-4 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Reprint Corp., 1970).

Labour Leader (fig. 111). Here, a cloaked figure (Death again) caresses the rider's gut.

Meanwhile, Commerce has sucked the life out of the land and a spooked horse crushes the skulls of a fallen civilization. Alternatively, Crane pictures *all* the craftsmen and women who arrive at a utopian ending in *The Triumph of Labour*. Dedicated to the "wage workers of all countries," the print was published in *Pall Mall Budget* to commemorate the International Labour Day on May 1, 1891.⁶³⁹ The elaborate, multi-figured composition presents a celebratory procession whereby Labour has been freed of the weight of the globe. There is song, dance, several figures representing freedom, a cornucopia of fresh food, socialist banners and plenty of flowers, even if there is no colour.

5.8. The Utopian that Glimmers in Walter Crane's Fairy Tale Books

More than any of Crane's paintings and in-situ murals, or his socialist posters, caricatures, and drawings, his children's books had the power to gain the admiration of a larger viewership of men, women and children. Their wide circulation matched Crane's intentions to spread his ideas about a future utopian community. In several ways, Crane's children's books were constructed as little houses, featuring the arts and crafts that Crane was known for, namely: wallpaper patterns, interior design, public murals, wood-block prints, book design, and painting. The covers of Crane's toy books, such as *The Bluebeard Picture Book* (the 1867 edition), and *Baby's Own Aesop* (the 1887 edition) are designed with little windows and doors. The title page of *Household Stories* (1882) is a three-storied gabled house designed with a tiny door for the child who holds the key (fig. 112).⁶⁴⁰ When *Household Stories* is viewed as a metaphorical house, the six full-

⁶³⁹ Labour is paired with Freedom in: Walter Crane, "The Triumph of Labour," May 1, 1891, illustration in *Pall Mall Budget*. <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O708315>.

⁶⁴⁰ Walter Crane, *The Blue Beard Picture Book: Containing Blue Beard, Little Red Riding Hood, Jack and the Beanstalk, Sleeping Beauty* (London; New York: George Routledge and Sons, the Broadway, Ludgate, 1867),

page illustrations—“Sleeping Beauty,” “Six Swans,” “Rapunzel,” “Faithful John,” “Almond Tree,” and “Robber Bridegroom”—become doorways to the rooms within. These windows and doorways reveal traces of Crane’s urgent political message.⁶⁴¹

In following Ruskin’s views on education—that beauty leads society (children as well as adults) to freedom—Crane carefully tweaked familiar story lines with his textual edits and symbolic pictures.⁶⁴² In his version of Cinderella, the story ends with the stepsisters learning from their beautiful sister how to work. In other words, if these sisters were capitalists who sat around while oppressing others at the beginning of the story, they do not remain so by its end. Crane also shifts the storyline in the cautionary fairy tale of “Bluebeard.” Keys decorate wallpapers and furnishings and several inscriptions—upon the locked chest and castle turret—show the words “Gardez le Clef” (fig. 113).⁶⁴³ The fairy tale’s *moralité* is no longer an admonition directed towards curious women who unlock doors. “Keeping the key” serves to encourage a shift in property relations between Bluebeard, another hoarder of wealth (not unlike *The Capitalist*), and his bride’s family and friends. It suggests the importance of discovering and retaining knowledge.⁶⁴⁴ To lose the key, something that adults are perhaps more prone to do, suggests the failure to see the glimmer of utopia within the interior of Crane’s fairy tale books.

<http://mcgill.worldcat.org/oclc/406321280>; Walter Crane, *The Baby’s Own Aesop* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1887), <http://archive.org/details/babyquotsownAes00Cran>.

⁶⁴¹ Walter Crane, *Household Stories from the Collection of the Brothers Grimm*, trans. Lucy Crane, 1st ed. (London: Macmillan, 1882), p. r. 20, v. 43, r. 72, v. 93, r. 128, v. 175, r. 186, 198, v. 213, r. 236, <http://archive.org/details/householdstories00grimrich>.

⁶⁴² Much like the Victorian writers who adapted Ruskin’s childhood-fairyland in their own writings, differences in views on the child’s sexuality emerge amongst the illustrators. Unlike Ruskin and Greenaway who corresponded with one another (as evidenced by John Ruskin Library and Research Center), the connection between Ruskin and Crane is less direct. As evidenced by Crane’s notes (in John Rylands Library’s archives on the artist), he drew inspiration from Ruskin’s lectures on architecture. Crane’s toy books suggest that he tends to view the child reader-viewer as far more sexually aware than Ruskin might like to think.

⁶⁴³ “Gardez le Clef,” which should be la Clef, translates as keep the key.

⁶⁴⁴ In Crane’s illustrations, the hoarder of various material goods overlaps with his vision of the Capitalist. Further studies might consider how this differs from how Karl Marx discusses hoarders as those who fetishize and accumulate gold and silver. Karl Marx, “Money, Or the Circulation of Commodities,” in *Economic Manuscripts*:

Several characters in Crane's fairy tale books possess traits of the allegorical figure of Freedom. In his political posters, from the 1880s onwards, Freedom is characterized as a winged angel who comes to the service of Labour by awakening him (fig. 114). Once awoken, men and women wear the liberty tuque, and they dance, feast and celebrate. The instrument of awakening, the horn, appears in the waist belts of the prince and princess in *Sleeping Beauty in the Wood*, and one of the courtiers sleeps upon her harp. Freedom-like figures appear in other stories too. The winged angel is the harp (a sound instrument of potential awakening) in *Jack and the Beanstalk*, and she becomes Cinderella's Fairy Godmother (figs. 115-116). Characters from working-class backgrounds, such as Jack the farmer, Cinderella the household servant, and Puss' friend the Miller's son, feel satisfaction and reach towards freedom for a better social environment. The endings are filled with feasts and celebrations.

In Crane's version of *Jack and the Beanstalk*, the quest for freedom is central to Jack's journey from total poverty to true wealth. Impoverished, starving and adventurous, Jack's beans sprout up into the unexpected. Eventually, he finds that there is a prize better than silver and gold, and so he rushes back to the giant's hoard (hoarding is understood as a typical characteristic of the Capitalist) to retrieve a harp. The harp's sound box happens to be carved in the form of the winged figure of Freedom. At the height of the adventure, Jack is pictured escaping the grips of the giant; he climbs back up the beanstalk, and so does the freedom figure; it is only when the harp is bound to his back that Jack is prepared to beat the Giant. Akin to the figure of Labour, Jack's muscular calves are prominent and he also carries a giant axe in his

Capital Vol. I - Chapter Three, ed. Frederick Engels, trans. Samuel Moore, vol. 1, 1887, sect.3.a., <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/ch03.htm>.

hand. Emphasizing the relationship between freedom and labour, Crane would later adjust the cover image by placing the liberty tuque upon Jack's head.⁶⁴⁵

The concept-character of Beauty has a subtler presence in Crane's political posters, and is more directly represented in his illustrated fairy tales. She takes the form of a woman in two toy books: *Beauty and the Beast* (1874) and *Sleeping Beauty in the Woods* (1876). The scene of Beauty awakening from bed additionally appears in "Sleeping Beauty" as one of the full-page images in his Grimms' anthology (1882), and again in his panel paintings for the *Briar Rose* (1905) cabinet. Yet, Beauty is also more than a fairy tale character; she is the most complex of all Walter Crane's concept-characters. When Crane was looking back on his life's work, he wrote this of Beauty: "She is indeed a Psyche in art, both seeking and sought, to be finally won by devotion and love [...] This search for Beauty is the purely inspiring artistic purpose."⁶⁴⁶ In the artist's mind, Beauty is a character as well as what the artist-as-Labour strives for. He describes how beauty emerges from the body and its skeletal structure, from textures and fabrics, colours and motifs, and from the natural world and the life of a city.⁶⁴⁷ Crane saw beauty in the delicateness of line united to the integrity of form, and in the patterns and colours that enhance the surface of material. In other words, she presents herself when oppositional forces harmonize, which is what happens in the otherworldliness of Crane's fairy tales.

Crane pictorialized Beauty as the guiding force in the page sequencing of *Beauty and the Beast* (the 1890 edition). The front and end pages that sketch the principal characters were added in this edition (fig. 117). In the front page, the outline of Beauty steps into the book's empty wall panels, seeking to unite with the story as it unfolds, and with the outline of the Beast who bows

⁶⁴⁵ Walter Crane, "Jack and the Beanstalk" (*Artist Proof for The Red Riding Hood's Picture Book*), Paper, c.1898, <http://gallerysearch.ds.man.ac.uk/Detail/46988>.

⁶⁴⁶ Walter Crane, *Line and Form*, 5th ed. (London: Chiswick Press, 1914), 62.

⁶⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 42.

toward her in the end page. This particular outcome, where the beastliness of the aristocratic man submits to Beauty, is only made possible by the full-coloured pages within the book. The Beast, another hoarder-type, is perhaps Crane's most satirical figure in his toy book series. Pictured chasing the father from his land, the raised posture of the well-dressed Beast (a white European aristocrat in disguise) is imposing and his fangs are menacing, but his furry head is almost cute. The midpoint of the story features the disguised man among his hoard of wealth (musical instruments, a chandelier and animal rug, ornate wallpapers and vases) as a comedic looking bore, possibly also a conversational bore (fig. 118). On the other side of the large sofa, Beauty leans away. Eventually they find each other in the garden (this scene was discussed in Chapter 2). The sequencing of the pages unites line to form, form to colour, the decorative patterns to the figurative characters, and the pictorial to the narrative. Much like how Crane saw the psyche of art, the Beast chases Beauty and then he learns to be led by her. Art, which was once restrained by artifice is freed, and this signals that society might also one day be freed.

In Crane's work, greedy hoarders (the Beast, Bluebeard, the evil magician, the giant, the ogre, and the seventh fairy) possess some of the Capitalist's characteristics, such as malevolence, the threat of death, and ostentatious wealth. Yet, the satirical quality made so blatant in Crane's figure of the Capitalist fades away in his toy books. Cheery primary colours hide the sharp lines of the satirist's quill. Menacing characters may have hooves and claws as feet, but they are also made to look comedic in their bravado (fig. 119-121).

The blues, reds, greens, and yellows that enliven Crane's illustrated castles, farmlands, stately and middle-class homes with their interiors, exteriors, and gardens all contribute to the otherworldliness of fantasy. The desire for a safe and abundant land where humans learn the language of beasts, associated with the longing for a pastoral or Edenic land, unites with ventures

into the unknown. Painted on wallpapers, the moment of Eve's curiosity in the lush Garden of Eden appears in *Beauty and the Beast* and *Bluebeard* (figs. 122-123). The black cat in *Puss in Boots* paws the Miller son's shoulder, presumably to speak with him and console him. As part of fantasy's great expanse, hardworking, generous and freedom-loving characters venture out into unknown castles and lands, defeat the forces of death and greed, and strive for a better future, one that ultimately intersects with Crane and Morris' utopian desire to awaken.

5.9. Visualizing Fairy Tales in *News from Nowhere*

There is reason to believe that Walter Crane's fairy tales appear in Morris' *News from Nowhere*. When looking at the wall paintings, "queer old world myths," and fairy tales in the Hall of Bloomsbury, Guest blushing avoids Clara's gaze. He specifically mentions three of the Brothers' Grimm stories, stating:

Well, I scarcely expected to find record of the Seven Swans and the King of the Golden Mountain and Faithful Henry, and such curious pleasant imaginations as Jacob Grimm got together from the childhood of the world, barely lingering even in his time: I should have thought you would have forgotten such childishness by this time.⁶⁴⁸

In order to see the illustrations that Morris imagined as wall paintings, it is worth taking a closer look at publishing history for references to "King of the Golden Mountain," "Frog King" and "Six Swans." Although Crane never illustrated "King of the Golden Mountain," George Cruikshank did in his *German Popular Stories*. Cruikshank's illustration of heads floating above bodies corresponds to the conversion in Morris' chapter "How Change Came" about war and revolution (fig. 124). Crane did illustrate "Frog King" and "Six Swans" in *Household Tales*, and we are invited to imagine how painted versions of these are what Morris conjures up for his

⁶⁴⁸ Morris, *News from Nowhere*, 1893, 144.

novel.⁶⁴⁹ In Crane's version for one of the Grimms' stories, it is Henry, the devout servant to the Frog King, who becomes the final figure: Henry is pictured as freed from iron shackles (fig. 125). In another story, his "Six Swans" features a classically poised sister who throws six shawls over her swan-brothers (fig. 126). The fabric is lifted in the wind; this is the moment just before her brothers are freed from their captivity in the bodies of birds. Crane's illustrations are surely the kinds of pictures Morris had in mind for *Nowhere*; these images of freedom hint that utopia could emerge visually in fairy tale illustrations.

Conclusion to Section Two: The Cute, Satirical, and Utopian Chapters

This chapter has addressed how utopian desire intersects with the fairy tale, offering glimmers of utopian islands with their fruitful possibilities. These glimmerings are evident in Walter Crane's diverse work: his overtly political prints, his fairy tale toy books designed for children, and even the fairy tale paintings that decorate *Nowhere's* dining halls. Eventually, Crane's fairy tale books came to be considered mere child's fare. This is exemplified in Mary Lightbody's painting, *Fairy Tales* (1880), where a girl can be seen stepping on Crane's toybook version of the *Frog Prince* (figs. 127-128). As mentioned earlier, Crane also designed a series of baby books, and consumers collected his toy books as part of the gifts made available by Evan's triumvirate. Not only were Crane's contributions frequently associated with the cutesification of toy books, they also came to be overshadowed by triumvirate artist Kate Greenaway's overwhelming popularity.

Of these aesthetic modes—the cute, the satirical, and the utopian—the cute appears to be the most straightforward. The cute generates the desire to purchase carefully packaged commodity goods and qualifies the need to escape the hardships of reality into the tamed realm

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid., 144; Crane, *Household Stories*, 36, r. 198.

of bucolic nature. Utopian socialism posits that there is a pathway toward a better world, where adults may regain lost time, labour, and energy, but it does so as part of a critique of capitalism. Although not typically described as a caricaturist, the graphic technique of exaggeration is fundamental to satirical illustration. It appears in Crane's rendering of Capitalist concept-characters. As illustrated by the difference between Crane's cartoon of the monstrous Capitalist, Tenniel's of the fiendish Socialist wolf, and Doyle's cutesified child-men, the graphic satirist fosters cognitive self-critique and perpetuates the discourse between opposing political camps.

The cute, the satirical, and the utopian are aesthetic modes that can be appreciated for their distinctive affective, stylistic, and discursive attributes. While at times converging within Victorian publishing contexts, published materials, namely the utopian novel, the political magazine and the toy book, should be considered inter pictorially for this reason. The visual crossovers between adult-oriented caricature, fantasylands, utopian novels, and fairy tales take twenty-first-century reader-viewers a step closer toward the adults and children of the Victorian era and their fairylands.

Section Three: Cinderella

The cute, the satirical and the utopian—arose as three distinct modes in the publishing culture of the Victorian era. The categories were not mutually exclusive: the shape-shifting qualities of the utopian make it verge on the satirical and the sublime, while cuteness and satire overlap on many occasions. This section focuses on Cinderella, and while the utopian, satirical and cute continue to be relevant, the question of beauty becomes important. Following the diverse manifestations of the beautiful in Victorian illustrated fairy tale books, including the books that express elements of Walter Crane's socialist utopia; Disney princesses are often associated with a more narrow understanding of beauty as artifice. Thus far, we have seen that the beautiful was essential to John Ruskin's vision for a better and more educated society, as well as to the aims of the aesthetic movement, the Pre-Raphaelites, and the Arts and Crafts movement. As per Victorian fairy tale novellas, such as those by George MacDonald, the beautiful forest spirits awaken desires for a love interest and they even entice heroes and heroines on their journeys into mystical landscapes. The beautiful moments in fairy tale adventures might include sexual awakening in lavish gardens, and the redistribution of wealth, which, as in Oscar Wilde's "The Happy Prince," beautifies the city.

Disney's Cinderella (who first appeared in 1950) reinforced a narrowly defined female beauty; the character's smooth skin, bright blue eyes, modelled body, and elegant gown represent an image of femininity. Her transcendence into a fashionable maiden, whose marriageability is enhanced as a result, has enabled feminists to associate her beauty with the servitude that she never fully escapes. According to second wave feminist critics who work in the same vein as Marcia Lieberman, the beautiful heroine's ultimate worth is her domesticated marital status. It is true that a jail cell casts shadows onto Disney Cinderella's pretty face when

her stepmother subjects her to household servitude.⁶⁵⁰ However, the heroine's beautified exterior was not always a signifier of marital incarceration in other versions of the fairy tale. The beautification of Disney's Cinderella is only a small part of the character's visual evolution, as it moved from Victorian publishing history to twentieth-century animated film.

By narrowing in on how the Cinderella story evolves both textually and pictorially in publishing history, this last section of the thesis connects the historical fairy tale to the transformation of the genre under Disney. The Cinderella story, as it is popularly known from Walt Disney's animation, evolved from earlier iterations found in the French Rococo salons. In fact, it was the *salonnier* Charles Perrault who wrote the French version titled "*Cendrillon ou la Petite Pantoufle de verre*," in 1695.⁶⁵¹ The 1950s animation titled "*Walt Disney's Cinderella*" credits the "original classic by Charles Perrault."⁶⁵² This is the version with the fairy godmother, the pumpkin that turns into a carriage, the loss of the glass slipper, and the prince who rescues the domestic servant. This section addresses the question of whether critics, artists and viewers perceive beauty as a liberating or oppressive force. Does Cinderella's beauty imprison her or is there much more to the affective possibilities of the beautiful suffering heroine in her diverse pictorial manifestations? The text-to-image pairings within specific editions of the story, the narrative sequences across the story's publishing history, as well as the inter pictorial re-emergence of the cute and the satirical in the Disney film, all open up the interpretive lens.

⁶⁵⁰ Robin Allan, *Walt Disney and Europe: European Influences on the Animated Feature Films of Walt Disney* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 208.

⁶⁵¹ The earliest illustrated "Cendrillon" that I was able to consult was from a digitization of the 1697 edition. Charles Perrault, "Cendrillon," in *Histoires Ou Contes Du Temps Passé*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Claude Barbin, 1697), fr.wikisource.org.

⁶⁵² Full title: *Walt Disney's Cinderella: A Love Story with Music, Greatest Show Since Snow White*

Chapter 6: Cinderella and Her Many Lost Slippers

The principal fairy tale character of this chapter transforms from a humiliated figure in sooty rags into a glorified woman in a stately ball gown. Broken down as Cinder and Ella, her names—and the ragged clothes that pick up soot from the servile labour around the hearth—are covered in ash and cinders. Despite her legitimate place in society and in her home, maternal and sisterly family members cut ties with her. The siblings reject their father's favourite child, subjecting her to a state of servitude, while the fairy figure transforms her abject appearance. Concerned with unveiling her identity, the prince in the story inquires after the mystery woman who beguiled him on the ballroom floor. The slipper that gets lost along her way comes to stand in for the character known as Cinderella (also Aschenputtel, Centronella, Cendron, and Cendrillion).

There are many tales that are similar to the most well-known versions of the Cinderella story.⁶⁵³ At the heart of the many variations rests a tale about a persecuted heroine.⁶⁵⁴ Stories about suffering heroines appear in ancient Eastern cultures, and derive from Semitic, Indian, and Chinese sources. From the 9th century BCE, “Yeh-Shen and Her Fish Mother” is one of the earliest known stories to contain a similar plot sequence to the modern European Cinderella, namely the Grimms’ “Aschenputtel.” In earlier European narrative circles, the Italian courtier Giambattista Basile included “Centronella” in his *Pantermone* (1634-1636), which took the frame-story convention. The Italian court stories and Eastern narrative traditions were known in the storytelling culture of the Rococo salons. Among these sources, the French and possibly also

⁶⁵³ Heidi Anne Heiner locates Cinderella variants of diverse cultural origins. Heidi Anne Heiner, “Tales Similar to Cinderella,” fairy tale database, *Sur La Lune Fairy Tales*, 1999, <http://www.surlalunefairytales.com/cinderella/other.html>.

⁶⁵⁴ A pivotal contribution to folklore studies, the Aarne-Thompson classification system is a typology of stories based on their narrative content. The system categorizes the Cinderella story as the persecuted heroine type (tale AT 510A). Tatar makes additional links between AT 510A, AT 510B, and AT 706, which connects Cinderella and Snow White. Tatar, *Off with Their Heads!*, 126, 127; “510: Cinderella and Cap O’ Rushes,” Aarne-Thompson-Uther Classification of Folk Tales: Multilingual Folk Tale Database, accessed January 3, 2017, <http://www.mftd.org/index.php?action=atu&act=select&atu=510>.

the German Cinderella(s) offer a clear starting point for the story's pre-Disney pictorial evolution.

Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy, Charles Perrault's contemporary, offers the most significantly subversive version of the story. She directly responded to Perrault who had arguably created a misogynistic version, and she defended her feminine social status with the story "Finette Cendron," (1st ed., 1698), in which the horse-riding Cendron saves the day by showing up at the palace, entering into diplomatic negotiations, and defending the interests of her sisterhood. Another popular iteration belongs to the Grimms; they edited "Aschenputtel" (1st ed., 1812) for their nineteenth-century middle class readership. Translated into English, the Grimms' version is the more violent of the literary narratives covered in this chapter. Moments such as when the birds pluck out the eyes of the stepsisters have led a more modern audience to wonder about the context in which children once encountered violent stories.⁶⁵⁵

In English publishing culture, Perrault's and the Grimms' stories were not only reprinted, but they were also revised and recompiled, as well as illustrated a number of times. Select publishers of English picture books gradually subdued the violence shown towards Cinderella and then toward her stepfamily, and, in this regard, Disney's retelling of Perrault's "Cinderella," inherits a cutesified rendering of the birds from the Grimms' version. Tamed birds appear as Disney Cinderella's helpmates, and the animators add the chase of cat and mouse. With that said, Perrault's "Cendrillon" is especially central to this overview of how the Cinderella story evolved in publishing history and became animated as a Disneyfied fairy tale.

Given the importance of the pictorial for storytelling and interpretation, I set out to address the lack of sustained attention to Cinderella's visual evolution. With that said, I

⁶⁵⁵ Tatar addresses the fascination for violence in children's literature, which includes Cinderella stories: Tatar, *Off with Their Heads!*, 5–7, 120–139.

acknowledge the importance of Bonnie Cullen’s first pictorial overview, which looks at the dynamic between word and image in English translations of Perrault’s *Cinderella*. For Cullen, illustrations add “another level of interpretation,” and to this end, she interprets Cinderella’s passive behaviour in the images, and historicizes their relationship with “beauty” as a visual and textual descriptor. According to Cullen’s straightforward timeline, 1850-1950 is marked by the normalization and beautification of *Cinderella* by Victorian illustrations of Perrault’s translated story. She concludes that this version dominated variations of the story, and it became a vehicle for a repressive “Victorian ideal of femininity,” which the Disney version then recycled.⁶⁵⁶ Rather than neatly assume that beauty is part of the patterns that repress the character’s agency (as I suggest Cullen amongst others have done)—I propose an inter pictorial approach to specific narrative scenes, one that is more or less chronological, and which acknowledges the existing intertextual ways of approaching the *Cinderella* story.

This chapter uses as case-studies a sampling of illustrations from significant Canadian rare book collections (McGill’s Children’s Collection of Rare books in Montreal and the Osborne Collection of Early Children’s books in Toronto) and from major British rare book collections (the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the Ruskin archive at the John Ruskin Library in Lancaster, and the Walter Crane archive at the John Rylands Rare Book Collection in Manchester). Case studies from these libraries are important, as many textual and visual versions of *Cinderella* have never been digitized. Alongside these notable collections, I have also turned to online image archives, including the digitization of historical editions of *Grimms’ Fairy Tales* in English by D.L. Ashliman, and the *Cinderella* image bank by librarian Heidi Anne Heiner at

⁶⁵⁶ Bonnie Cullen, “For Whom the Shoe Fits: *Cinderella* in the Hands of Victorian Writers and Illustrators,” *The Lion and the Unicorn* 27, no. 1 (2003): 72.

SurLaLune Fairy Tales.⁶⁵⁷ There is thus an expansive range of material for accessing Cinderella's evolution.⁶⁵⁸

Charles Perrault's version has been viewed as a normative variant that has successfully oppressed girls and women within patriarchal gender norms. However, throughout this thesis I have resisted the notion that picture book fairy tales achieve a single moralizing purpose and the successful indoctrination of innocent children. Returning to the issue of gender relations, this chapter asks: what the suffering and glorified Cinderella may have meant to previous reader-viewers. In this way, I consider the affective and aesthetic dimension of the source texts and images in the French versions, which foreground the figure's shift into English publishing history. Before focusing on Cinderella imagery, the chapter begins by situating a current understanding of the character's visual evolution within fairy tale scholarship. It concludes by considering how a return the Grimms' version might further complicate a straightforward map which begins with the Victorian beautification of Perrault's version and ends with the story's most oppressive rendering of the heroine, Disney's *Cinderella*.

6.1. Cinderella Travels through Fairy Tale Scholarship

Writers, collectors, and editors of fairy tales, namely Charles Perrault, the Brothers Grimm, and Andrew Lang, included variations of the Cinderella story in their compilations, which served their studies of philology, modern languages, and folklore. In Andrew Lang's collaborative study with Marian Cox, titled *Cinderella: Three Hundred and Forty Five Variants* (1892), the authors

⁶⁵⁷ D.L. Ashliman, "Grimms' Fairy Tales in English: An Internet Bibliography," *Professor D.L. Ashliman's Website at the University of Pittsburgh*, February 16, 2015, <http://www.pitt.edu/~dash/grimm-engl.html>; Heidi Anne Heiner, "Illustrations of Cinderella," fairy tale database, *Sur La Lune Fairy Tales*, 1999, <http://www.surlalunefairytales.com/illustrations/cinderella/index.html>.

⁶⁵⁸ In tandem with my experience in rare books, I have additionally consulted some editions of the story as they can be found in digital libraries, namely: Internet Archive and Hathi Trust.

claimed that the English translation of Perrault's story is the normative version.⁶⁵⁹ However, this claim is hardly neutral; the contributions from Perrault's female contemporaries are deliberately ignored in Lang's introduction to *Perrault's Popular Tales* (1888). Lang was aware of d'Aulnoy's authored fairy novellas, and of the Grimms' work, and yet he declares Charles Perrault as the heaven-sent author of the English child's fairy tales.⁶⁶⁰ To emphasize Lang's glorification of Perrault, the frontispiece depicts children who place laurels around the acclaimed author's portrait (fig. 129). As proof of his gender biases, Andrew Lang writes, "Even when abridged and stripped of their frippery Madame d'Aulnoy's tales hardly compete with Perrault's masterpieces."⁶⁶¹ Lang has furthermore contributed to the perception of Perrault's version as normative by recycling the story of Cendrillon in his "Coloured Fairy Books" for children.

Several early twentieth-century essayists used the Cinderella story in their arguments for the revival of the fairy tale tradition. G.K. Chesterton argued that Lang's version of the story in *The Blue Fairy Book* demonstrated how the strange forces of causality—the transformation of pumpkins and so forth—could revive an appreciation for the mysteries of everyday life.⁶⁶² Although J.R.R. Tolkien did not discuss Cinderella in particular, he theorized that taking the hardships of a compelling hero in earnest would compel readers to believe that a happy ending could offer release from the suffering in the world. From the German philosophical tradition, Ernst Bloch situated characters like Cinderella (presumably the Grimms' version) as one of the little people who, discontented with the greed of capitalism, has the courage to rise above her

⁶⁵⁹ Marian Roalfe Cox and Andrew Lang's folklore study looks at Cinderella stories, which appeared in oral cultures and in the history of the book. They normalize Perrault's version and additionally suggest that it is possible for similar stories to independently appear in different parts of the world. *Cinderella*, vii.

⁶⁶⁰ Lang, *Perrault's Popular Tales*, vii.

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.*, xi–xii.

⁶⁶² G.K. Chesterton additionally picks up on the biblical implications of Cinderella with what he calls the lesson of *exaltavit humilis* (humility glorifies). It refers to Luke 1:46–55, which is the basis of the *Magnificat*. G. K. Chesterton, "The Ethics of Elfland," 253.

situation.⁶⁶³ All of these thinkers refer to Cinderella's attributes of genuine humility, hope, and courage when they argued that men and women, as well as boys and girls, could find a greater place for the fairy tale in their hearts.

6.1.1. Cinderella's Feminist Journey

Good-temper and meekness are so regularly associated with beauty, and ill-temper with ugliness, that this in itself must influence children's expectations. The most famous example of this associated pattern occurs in Cinderella, with the opposition of the ugly, cruel, bad tempered older sisters to the younger, beautiful, sweet Cinderella.⁶⁶⁴ —Marcia Lieberman

Integral to the development of fairy tale scholarship in the twentieth century, Alison Lurie and Marcia Lieberman held an initial debate on the value of the genre in the 1970s, and Walt Disney's *Cinderella* was central to their discussion (addressed in Chapter 1). In Alison Lurie's interpretation, the fairy godmother in Andrew Lang's *The Blue Fairy Book* signals that the genre is rooted in women's folkloric culture, and that it is therefore good for girls, and it should speak to all feminists.⁶⁶⁵ Lieberman countered this interpretation; analyzing the European stories in Andrew Lang's *The Blue Fairy Book*, which reveal similar patterns to the Disney version, she concluded that the traditional fairy tale is antithetical to the image of female liberation.⁶⁶⁶

According to Lieberman's view of the Disney version of the story, the heroine's beauty predetermines that she is meek and humble. But, the stepsisters' and stepmother's uglification is part of a systematic devaluation of the strong female lead. These narrative patterns serve the powerful male hero who will rescue and marry her.⁶⁶⁷ Ultimately, the chosen heroine's

⁶⁶³ Bloch's "The Fairy Tale Moves on its Own in Time" included in: Zipes, "Utopian Function of Fairy Tales and Fantasy," 135–136.

⁶⁶⁴ Lieberman, "Some Day My Prince Will Come," 188.

⁶⁶⁵ Lurie, "Fairy Tale Liberation"; Lurie, "Witches and Fairies."

⁶⁶⁶ Lieberman, "Some Day My Prince Will Come," 185, 186, 208.

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 188–189.

victimization leads children to identify with Cinderella and to want to be like her; they will therefore become acculturated victims in turn. For these reasons, Lieberman argues that all traditional fairy tales are antithetical to the image of female liberation.

Following Lieberman's assertive declarations, the association between beauty and passivity became a theme within fairy tale scholarship (based on the three phases discussed in Chapter 1). In light of how the story of the suffering heroine has fostered much interest, often to the exclusion of images over the past three hundred years, there is much reason to question this reading of beauty within patterns of acculturation. Here I address how this particular feminist-oriented anti-Disney lens comes to limit understandings of Cinderella's visual evolution.

A bias against Cinderella has come to inform contemporary literature and scholarship. Vanessa Joosen discusses the canonical status of Lieberman's essay in "Marcia K. Lieberman's 'Some Day My Prince Will Come'" (2011). Joosen asserts that Lieberman's view of the harmful nature of the traditional Cinderella story has influenced numerous revised suffering heroine novels and short stories that emerged after 1970.⁶⁶⁸ In defiance of Disney Cinderella's porcelain face, model-like body and passive demeanour, subsequent literary works tell the story of a heroine who is ugly or dull in appearance, mindful in behaviour and assertive in actions.⁶⁶⁹ These patterns (identified by Joosen) show that Lieberman's view of Disney's *Cinderella* as representing a lingering status quo has largely remained unquestioned in the decades following the 1970s. Joosen argues that this body of modern literature may be progressive to a degree, but

⁶⁶⁸ Vanessa Joosen, "Marcia K. Lieberman's 'Some Day My Prince Will Come,'" in *Critical and Creative Perspectives on Fairy Tales: An Intertextual Dialogue Between Fairy-Tale Scholarship and Postmodern Retellings* (Detroit, Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 2011), 51–52.

⁶⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 65, 70, 74.

that much of it also positions Disney as representing what constitutes traditional fairy tales and regressive gender norms.⁶⁷⁰

Linda Parsons, in “Ella Evolving” (2004), continues Lieberman’s argument while contributing to a more nuanced discussion about the story’s principal variations. Accordingly, she contends that Perrault’s version of the story encourages girls to obsess over their looks, but that other versions, such as the Grimms’ “Aschenputtel,” offer “alternative positions to occupy.”⁶⁷¹ Parsons notes the heroine’s refusal to submit to unquestioned injustices, how tears of mourning genuinely connect readers to her journey towards empowerment, and how the prince chooses to love her for her inner beauty.⁶⁷² Although Parsons critiques the obsession with superficial beauty, she does not consider any illustrations.

As fairy tale feminism has progressed, the pictures in historical picture books have gained a degree of importance. Addressing the visual aspect, Bonnie Cullen in “For Whom the Shoe Fits” (2004), looks backwards from the Disney film, the version that she asserts everyone is familiar with. She asks this question: given Andrew Lang and Marian Cox’s findings in *Three Hundred Variants* that there were some three hundred suffering heroine stories, why has Perrault’s version of the story prevailed?⁶⁷³ Based on the number of English translations of the Perrault version available in the National Library of London’s collection, Cullen asserts that Perrault’s “Cinderella” is the version that came to dominate the Grimms’ and d’Aulnoy’s stories, which are considerably more sympathetic in their treatment of the protagonist.⁶⁷⁴

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid., 85.

⁶⁷¹ Linda T. Parsons, “Ella Evolving: Cinderella Stories and the Construction of Gender-Appropriate Behavior,” *Children’s Literature in Education* 35, no. 2 (June 2004): 135.

⁶⁷² Ibid., 145–46.

⁶⁷³ Cullen, “For Whom the Shoe Fits,” 58.

⁶⁷⁴ Cullen does not consider the publishing history of any given publication when she asserts that Perrault’s version became the dominant form. Many of the anthologies, including of the Grimms’ stories, were republished several times.

For Cullen, beauty becomes the aesthetic that finds expression in the Disney version, and which she associates more with the Victorian mindset than with Charles Perrault.⁶⁷⁵ She views the pictorial evolution of Perrault's pumpkin version of the story in England as oppressive because the figure of Cinderella consistently displays the meekness associated with Victorian ideal femininity.⁶⁷⁶ For Cullen, the illustrations demonstrate beauty when they show the heroine as serene and prayerful, and thus complacent.⁶⁷⁷ Henry Cole's "Cinderella" in the *Home Treasury* (1847) anthology of stories for children is an example; the heroine is seen kneeling by the fire with an inward gaze and clasped hands (fig. 130).⁶⁷⁸

Cullen is also referring to the heightened contrast between the increasingly beautiful bride-to-be and the uglified stepsisters (fig. 131). According to her, the caricatured stepsisters and the beautified Cinderella began to appear in mid-century English publications. Accordingly, when Victorian illustrations gave the heroine a beautiful visual form, Cinderella lost her capacity for action and her vivacious personality. It is these allegedly Victorian ideals of passive femininity, which Disney reinforced in his film. Cullen's assumptions about the Victorians, and her use of a biased anti-Disney lens, in other words, explain how she sees the action-packed fast-running Cinderella in earlier chapbooks and in George Cruikshank's illustrations as more empowering than the beautiful Cinderella in Walter Crane's toy book (figs. 132-133).⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁵ Cullen, "For Whom the Shoe Fits," 71–72.

⁶⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 72.

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 72, 77.

⁶⁷⁸ There are additional Cinderella images in the Oxford version of the book, which suggests that one of the following two copies has been catalogued with erroneous bibliographic details. Notably, not all of the books from this period were printed with complete bibliographic information. Henry Cole, ed., *A Book of Stories from The Home Treasury* (London: J. Cundall, 1847), <http://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/detail.jsp?Entt=RDMDC-37131013237599D&R=DC-37131013237599D>; Henry Cole, *A Book of Stories from the Home Treasury* (London: J. Cundall, 1847), http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/OXVU1:LSCOP_OX:oxfaleph016751521.

⁶⁷⁹ Cullen, "For Whom the Shoe Fits," 66, 69.

It is hard to bracket the experience of numerous adults and children, who take Disney's *Cinderella* to be the original version of the story, when analyzing the story's visual evolution. That said, Parsons and Cullen have moved beyond some but not all of the assumptions found in Lieberman. Both consider that there is more to the Cinderella story than the Disney version, and Parsons posits an alternative emotive response to "Aschenputtel." Cullen is aware that beauty is not the principal aesthetic attribute in early illustrations of translated editions of Perrault's story. She also argues that there is a subversive dimension to d'Aulnoy's version of the story (which was not originally intended for children), but does not explore this any further. She questions whether the illustrations, in general, might have something more to offer. I also ask this question in a revised overview of Cinderella's visual evolution, which acknowledges possible discrepancies between the subject positions of twenty-first-century viewers and those of past generations.

6.2. Text and Image: The Story Environments for Two Cinderellas

Before turning to developments in English publishing history, it is important to return to the salon environment within which fairy tales emerged. In contrast to 1970s feminist assumptions on the negative impact of traditional fairy tales, Anne E. Duggan in *Salonières, Furies and Fairies* (2005) recognizes the salons as sites of female empowerment, thereby providing an alternate feminist perspective.⁶⁸⁰ As was described earlier, the salons of Rococo, France, offered

⁶⁸⁰ Several scholars emphasize the importance of the salons for women. See: Evelyn Gordon Bodek, "Salonnières and the Bluestockings: Educated Obsolescence and Germinating Feminism," *Feminist Studies* 3, no. 3/4 (Spring-Summer 1979): 186; Allison Stedman, *Rococo Fiction in France, 1600-1715: Seditious Frivolity* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2013), 28, 68; Lewis C. Seifert, *Fairy Tales, Sexuality, and Gender in France, 1690-1715: Nostalgic Utopias* (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

women an entry point into fairyland.⁶⁸¹ Distinguished guests wrote stories and letters and became characters in each other's fantasies where they were either exalted or chastised.

The Cinderella figure entered the pages of the modern picture book from the storytelling milieu of Rococo salons in France. The storytelling rooms would have glittered with the light refracting from mirrors and windows onto lavish gowns, jewels, festive paintings, and furnishings.⁶⁸² The rooms themselves offer a glimpse of the world that Cinderella's authors and readers belonged to.⁶⁸³ The human subjects of the Rococo paintings within these salon rooms were often fantasy characters from classical mythology, and these figures parallel those imagined by the *salonières*. The famed *salonières* include Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy whose published fairy stories respond to Charles Perrault's 'Mother Goose' tales.⁶⁸⁴

6.2.1. Perrault's "Cendrillon"

Charles Perrault's 'Mother Goose' anthology—the alternative name for *Contes du temps passé*—contains the literary story of "Cendrillon" (1685; 1687). The story situates Cendrillon as one character among other female family members: the "proud" stepmother, who rules over her husband and strips Cendrillon of her fancy garments, and the stepsisters who vainly spend their time fixing their trimmings by the mirror. The story then explains that the heroine proves herself after her stepmother subjects her to the most abject work of the house, such as cleaning the

⁶⁸¹ Seifert suggests that in this period the terms *conteuse* and *salonnière* became fused within a space where women defended their authority. He mentions Bernard, L'Héritier, and d'Aulnoy as key storytellers. Duggan emphasizes the importance of Scudéry and d'Aulnoy as key storytellers. Seifert, *Fairy Tales, Sexuality, and Gender in France, 1690-1715*, 8–9; Duggan, *Salonnières, Furies, and Fairies*.

⁶⁸² Based on Mary Vidal's work on Watteau, I would say that there is an inter pictorial relationship between Sébastien Leclerc's frontispieces for Madeleine de Scudéry books (*Conversations nouvelles sur divers sujets*, 1684 and *Nouvelle conversations de morale dédiées au Roy*, 1688) and Watteau's paintings, which look back to the glory days of the salons. Mary Vidal, *Watteau's Painted Conversations: Art, Literature, and Talk in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 85–94.

⁶⁸³ For more of a sense of what these spaces looked like, it should be noted that Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy held her salon gatherings at the Chateau St. Cloud.

⁶⁸⁴ Online traces of the 1695 edition are difficult to find. Indicating that there were probably more copies of the 1697 edition that were printed. Goyeau in his introduction to a nineteenth-century compilation suggests that Perrault's tales only became public in 1697. Charles Perrault et al., *Le Monde Enchanté: Choix de Douze Contes de Fées*, ed. Félix-Faure Goyeau (Paris: Nelson, 1883), xii–xiii.

chambers.⁶⁸⁵ As a lesson in obedience, the fairy godmother also orders Cendrillon around. She tells her to find mice, rats, a lizard, and a pumpkin so that she can transform them into horses, footmen, a coachman and coach. Textually and pictorially, Cendrillon then attends the ball.⁶⁸⁶

Antoine Clouzier's main illustration for Perrault's Cinderella story (the 1687 edition) depicts Cendrillon and her Prince at the ball (fig. 134). She is bundled in fabric, suggesting her modesty. He wears a transparent military vest, which suggests that he may be a brave hero. They greet and depart from each other in this synoptic image—meaning that the characters appear more than once in the actions, which take place within a single scene. When the heroine enters the scene of courtiers and musicians, the prince asks her to dance. In the second instance, she departs and loses her slipper, and he bows to pick it up. Cendrillon's clothes weigh her down in her clumsy effort to run, and her panicked arm flies up into the air.

Perrault locates female virtue in marital chastity, fecundity, and in spousal obedience; these views inform his “Cendrillon.”⁶⁸⁷ The textual story ends when the prince finds Cendrillon more beautiful than before because somehow her goodness has been proven. However, the ending is not quite the end—a *moralité* is offered. Supplementary texts, called “*moralités*,” were appended to the stories to offer insight on Perrault's authorship and should not be confused with the ‘moral of the story’ endings found in English translations, which were re-adapted for children. The first *moralité* repeats the surface message of the story, and it states that although beauty may be a rare treasure for women, it is the grace that comes from Cendrillon's fairy godmother's instructions which makes the character superior to her well-groomed stepsisters. The ultimate *moralité*, which typically does not appear in the English translations, further unravels the surface meaning of the literary narrative and is suggestive of Perrault's views on women (otherwise found in his *Apologie*). The last *moralité* reads as follows:

⁶⁸⁵ Duggan describes how Perrault tends to subject his good female characters to “abject conditions.” Duggan, *Salonnières, Furies, and Fairies*, 248.

⁶⁸⁶ The 1697 edition is available online. Although it includes copies of the illustrations, other details such as the original typography and pagination have been erased. Perrault, “Cendrillon.”

⁶⁸⁷ Duggan, *Salonnières, Furies, and Fairies*, 221, 225.

*C'est sans doute un grand avantage,
D'avoir de l'esprit, du courage,
De la naissance, du bon sens,
Et d'autres semblables talents,
Qu'on reçoit du ciel en partage ;
Mais vous aurez beau les avoir.
Pour votre avancement ce seront choses vaines,
Si vous n'avez, pour les faire valoir.
Ou des parrains ou des marraines.*⁶⁸⁸ (Perrault's words from the 1697)

Perrault has now separated the masculine attributes of “spirit, courage and good sense,” which come from the heavens, from the first *moralité*, where feminine gifts were given from the magical abilities of the fairies.⁶⁸⁹ By implying that the fairy godmother might just be a rich relative, Perrault diminishes the magical power that the character had in giving Cendrillon the gifts of clothes, beauty, and grace.⁶⁹⁰ The honour that the author gives to the equal status of human godparents, rather than to supernatural fairies as persons of higher authority, provides Cendrillon with the path to advancement. In the last line, the godmother loses her title as a fairy to the godfather who gains his power from the heavens.⁶⁹¹ Thus, God's authority transfers to Perrault himself who, as the moralizing author, stands for an austere version of the *paterfamilias*.

When viewed with the text, the pictorial narrative enforces Perrault's story. As Cendrillon glances back at the prince, the textual narrative responds to the image. Perrault's voice tells the reader that Cendrillon must flee so as to obey the godparent's command to be home by midnight. The picture becomes a moment of entrapment, because as the pictorial Cendrillon tries to escape the prince, she heads towards the godfather in the *moralité*. In this way, the combination of two moralizing epilogues confirms Perrault's oppressive vision for aristocratic women.

⁶⁸⁸ Perrault, “Cendrillon.”

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid. My translation: All spirit and courage, good sense and good birth that we receive from the heavens would be without a doubt an advantage. But, to truly advance, if you do not value [the authority of] your godfathers and godmothers, than these attributes and other similar talents will be but vanities.

⁶⁹⁰ Duggan, *Salonnières, Furies, and Fairies*.

⁶⁹¹ Knoepfelmacher notes how the authority transfers from the fairy godmother to the godfather at this point in the *moralité*. U. C. Knoepfelmacher, “Introduction: Literary Fairy Tales and the Value of Impurity,” *Marvels & Tales* 17, no. 1 (2003): 20.

6.2.2. D'Aulnoy's "Finette Cendron"

Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville, Baroness d'Aulnoy's (1650-1705) anthology *Les Contes des fées* (1697) was published two years after Perrault's moralizing compendium. Her courageous, beautiful, and noble heroines counter Perrault's Cinderella-types, and her ornate writing style challenges her rival's efforts to modernize the French language. Looking at early French editions of both *Contes du temps passé* and *Les Contes des fées* side-by-side, Duggan highlights the "intertextualities."⁶⁹² She states: "d'Aulnoy playfully integrates elements from Perrault's tales in such a way as to subvert the ideology conveyed through them."⁶⁹³ These items include the pumpkin, which is unique to Perrault's "Cendrillon," and the red cloak, which comes specifically from his version of "Le Petit Chaperon Rouge," and not from the earlier Italian Cinderella stories. D'Aulnoy limits the written space given to moments of straightforward material transformation—such as when the pumpkin turns into a coach—and Duggan sees the repurposing of story details in d'Aulnoy's "Oiseau Bleu" as satirical in nature.⁶⁹⁴

D'Aulnoy's "Finette Cendron" is an additional parallel story to Perrault's "Cendrillon."⁶⁹⁵ The king's other daughters, Fleur-d'Amour and Belle-de-Nuit, turn against their blood sister Finette Cendron, who is their father's favourite daughter. It is not that Cendron is more beautiful than her sisters in this story; rather, the sisters are under-loved by their father, and especially by their mother. Notably, they are all named for their beauty: the 'Refined Cinder Girl,' 'Love Flower,' and 'Beauty of the Night.' Having run out of essential provisions, the queen resorts to leaving the three to die in the forest.⁶⁹⁶ This fundamental moment of parental neglect from both parents (the father is also responsible) causes wickedness in the adult children. The direness of

⁶⁹² Duggan, *Salonnières, Furies, and Fairies*, 202.

⁶⁹³ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁴ Duggan takes d'Aulnoy "Oiseaux Bleu" to be the principal parallel stories to Perrault's "Cendrillon." Although she mentions "Finette Cendron" she does not analyze this story. Ibid., 203, 214.

⁶⁹⁵ The story should appear in the fourth volume. Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy, "Finette Cendron," in *Les Contes de Fées*, vol. 4 (Paris: Barbin, 1698), <http://www.lescontesdefees.fr/contes-et-auteurs/mme-d-aulnoy/finette-cendron/> The original pagination is not provided in the digitized copy.

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid.

the circumstances contrasts with, and even refutes, Perrault's idea that physical vanity and other sins automatically explain why ungoverned women characters behave in nefarious ways.⁶⁹⁷

As this prolonged story continues, the disowned and impoverished sisters leave Cendron to a state of rags and ashes during their attempts to find a prince. However, they cannot regain their status without their sister's goodness, tenacity, and strategies. Meanwhile, the fairy is part of the background fabric of the story. More than a beautiful figure who does nothing but groom herself, she is a consoling maternal surrogate who offers help as needed. Out of maternal concern, the fairy warns Cendron to be wary of helping her abusive siblings who will continue to take advantage of her. However, Cendron helps her sisters, even if it means that she disobeys the fairy godmother's wishes. Unlike the fairy godmother in Perrault's "Cendrillon"—who orders her goddaughter around like a servant—d'Aulnoy's fairy godmother tries to prevent her goddaughter from subjecting herself to the abuse of her sisters.⁶⁹⁸

The corresponding illustration (in the second edition, 1698) depicts the scene just after the fairy sends a white horse in time for Finette Cendron to escape from servitude (fig. 135).⁶⁹⁹ The illustration of the sisters includes the horse-riding Finette Cendron, who charges toward the castle. She is pictured bare-footed and outfitted with the garments that she had previously found in a deep treasure chest filled with the fairy's mysterious presents. Meanwhile, the other sisters are pictured speaking among themselves by the edge of the forest; this is also the moment when Fleur-d'Amour and Belle-de-Nuit recognize that the most graceful dancer at the ball was the

⁶⁹⁷ Prior to Duggan's contribution to French fairy tale literature Jack Zipes (her doctoral advisor) assumed that Perrault and d'Aulnoy wrote fairy tales for children, and that d'Aulnoy in particular was constrained by patriarchal gender norms associated with beauty. In the later edition of his work, Zipes gives d'Aulnoy much more credit as an author. Zipes, *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion*, 1991, 14–16, 37; Zipes, *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion*, 2006, 19, 23.

⁶⁹⁸ Several scholars note the importance of "Finette Cendron" as a proto-feminist story. See: Cullen, "For Whom the Shoe Fits," 60; Jacques Barchilon, "Adaptations of Folktales and Motifs in Madame d'Aulnoy's Contes: A Brief Survey of Influence and Diffusion," *Marvels & Tales* 23, no. 2 (2009): 356–57; Duggan, *Salonnières, Furies, and Fairies*, 214.

⁶⁹⁹ Blogger James (an anonymous rare books librarian) has also encountered confusion as to whether the 1698 and 1717 editions are identical. *Contes de fées* is a multivolume series, which was re-edited. If images from volume 1 in a later edition appear to be the same as digital traces from volume 1 of the earliest edition, then this increases the likelihood that the books were republished with the same source images. James, "Rare Frontier," *Rare Frontier*, accessed January 3, 2017, <https://rarefrontier.wordpress.com/>.

sister whom they had enslaved. This picture is remarkable because it presents our valorous Finette Cendron as akin to a female knight on horseback, albeit with a gown befitting her station.

Beauty corresponds to inner nobility in part because the illustration of female empowerment corresponds to the textual ending. As a political leader who unites two kingdoms, Cendron questions the existing political establishment and negotiates the terms of her marriage. The prince who in the text “mopes” (as Knoepflmacher puts it) over Cendron’s velvet red slipper is not much of a prize.⁷⁰⁰ Instead, the real gem of the story is the message that female solidarity can prevail over sibling rivalry both in the home and in the context of inter-state decisions. In the end, the under-loved sisters recognize that Finette Cendron has loved them. Once this form of familial love prevails, female authority is strengthened in solidarity. This helps to restore the girls’ former kingdom in an act of peace with their parent’s rivals. Kingdoms unite, the sisters marry well, and together they reassert the fantasy space of salon culture’s sisterhood.

In short, beautification associated with female empowerment is satirized in Perrault’s source version, but praised in d’Aulnoy’s response. Finette Cendron is textually beautiful, and visually, she charges forward on horseback to rescue her female kin. In contrast, Perrault’s depiction of Cendrillon’s beauty is merely part of his understanding of how women can be good marriage partners. In other words, these textual narratives and illustrations highlight the difference between what beauty signifies for proto-feminist d’Aulnoy and the patriarchal Perrault within the Rococo storytelling environment.

6.3. English Publishing History: From Chapbook to Toy Book

English chapbook publishers of the Cinderella story chose Perrault’s tales over d’Aulnoy’s. Due to their simplified language, brevity, and straightforward plots, Charles Perrault’s folktales became part of a populist tradition. In obedience to Louis XIV’s censorship laws, the king’s former printer, Nicole Oudot, became the publisher of the French chapbooks. These cheaply

⁷⁰⁰ Knoepflmacher, “Introduction: Literary Fairy Tales and the Value of Impurity,” 21.

made books were marketed with blue covers and became known as the *Bibliothèque bleue* (1602-1830). This is another reason why Perrault's Cendrillon, rather than d'Aulnoy's Finette Cendron—who questions the king's authority—became the main character of both the French and English chapbooks. For pennies or less, chapmen sold these cheap mass-produced books on their trade routes through the countryside.

The ball scene from Perrault's anthology drew the attention of London-based and rural publishing houses. The illustration of Cinderella at the ball—with a raised arm—was then copied, perhaps from the same printing block.⁷⁰¹ Reprinted images typified the chapbook, which rarely credited the artist, but often recognized the publisher and printer. In this process of reproduction, the question of the character's suffering and liberation was often at stake.

The chapbook titled *Diverting History of Cinderella* (1793) was printed anonymously with woodcuts in Mozley's publishing house in Gainsborough. The last words of the book trivialize Cinderella's suffering by suggesting that an unromantic understanding of marital partnership is what confirms a woman's ultimate worth. The words state: "To your Advancement in the World will prove Of any Use, if Godsiresmake Delay Or Godmothers, you merit to display (fig. 136)."⁷⁰² I suggest that this strangely worded last line signifies the following: A woman's worth (or advancement) in life as in marriage is only valuable until she displays it (becomes pregnant), which is how she shows her merit. This limiting condition for female worth positions the husband who sires his future legacy into a position of higher value than his wife.

This edition includes the same ball scene adapted from Perrault's anthology, and several additional images (figs. 136, 137-138). The illustration of Cinderella crying profusely before her marriage turns the story of the suffering heroine into one that mocks any prospect of female

⁷⁰¹ *A Pretty Book for Children, or, An Easy Guide to the English Tongue: Perfectly Well Adapted to Their Tender Capacities, and Is Design'd as Well for the More Easy Instruction of Those That Can but Just Read, as for the Entertainment of Others That Are a Little Advanced*, 10th ed. (London: John Newbery in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1761), 74.

⁷⁰² *The Diverting History of Cinderilla, Or, The Little Glass Slipper: Embellished with Cuts* (Gainsbrough: Mozley's Lilliputian Book Manufactory, 1793), 30.

liberation. Nonetheless, the rough grain of the wood engraving emphasizes the girl's torment, which suggests that some reader-viewers might feel for the character and react against the gender discrimination evident in the story. Alternatively, as a result of Cinderella's association with the French aristocracy, lower-class English reader-viewers might enjoy tearful Cinderella's fall from her noble status. However the book was interpreted, Mozley had it printed numerous times.

For a series of re-issued chapbooks between 1800-1815, the Derby printers and publishers (Mozley and Sons, and Thomas Richardson) added several scenes into the spectrum of Cinderella-related illustrations. One reprinted image depicts the message of female subordination (fig. 139).⁷⁰³ Cinderella appears seated in a wide-legged posture that foreshadows sex and birthing. One hand is pressed against her breast, and the other holds up a glass shoe, thus emphasizing Cinderella's sexuality.

A comment of Cullen's, which she makes in regard to Perrault's original text (but not the images), applies much more to this English version than to the French source. Asserting that the shoe's materiality can be taken to represent Cinderella's pre-marital virginity (the glass becomes a signifier for the hymen), Cullen states: "The slipper, evoking female virginity, is made of glass in his tale. Not only is it fragile and extremely pure, but Perrault hints that visual proof will be necessary."⁷⁰⁴ In the English illustration, the slipper is raised in the air, and is thus the focal point of a scene that concerns inspection, or a shoe trial. The king's servant sits with one leg positioned between Cinderella's.⁷⁰⁵ He inspects the legitimacy and virginal worth of the prince's future bride, which intensifies the misogyny associated with Perrault's story.

⁷⁰³ *The History of Cinderella, Or, The Little Glass Slipper* (Derby: Thomas Richardson, 1800), 12; *The History of Cinderella, Or, The Little Glass Slipper* (Derby: Thomas Richardson, 1800), 25, http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/OXVU1:LSCOP_OX:oxfaleph016751618; *The History of Cinderella, Or, The Little Glass Slipper* (Derby: Mozley and Sons, 1815), 14.

⁷⁰⁴ It is unclear whether Cullen had any images in mind when she made this statement about Perrault's text. Perhaps, she had the Disney version in mind. Cullen, "For Whom the Shoe Fits," 59.

⁷⁰⁵ It is a servant to the king and not the prince who shows up to the shoe trial in several versions of Perrault's Cinderella, including this one.

Despite the fact that the early English Cinderella chapbooks are now catalogued in a children's book collection, it is highly questionable as to whether they were originally meant for a child audience. The publisher John Newbery (1713-1767) is acknowledged to be the first publisher to market books for children. Through the children's publishing market, he and critic Sarah Trimmer (1741-1810) turned John Locke's views on parenting into a trend. In their adaptation of Locke's ideas, the parent maintains a protective umbrella over the child's play. The parents reward virtuous habits such as obedience by giving gifts, and these gifts include the picture book amongst other toys. Trimmer felt that Newbery children's books should be seen as separate from lower-class chapbooks, which frequently contained crude French fairy tales.⁷⁰⁶ Both maintained anti-fairy tale positions: writing at the time of the Romantic poets and artists (such as Henry Fuseli), Trimmer feared that fantasy's superstitious forces could sway the child's delicate mind.⁷⁰⁷ This position on fantasy explains why Cinderella was adapted for children.⁷⁰⁸

Wrapped in orange and green Dutch floral papers, *A Little Pretty Pocket Book for Children* (1761) was redesigned in hardbound form (figs. 140-142). Surprisingly, Newbery's publication in its tenth edition contains the Cinderella story, and includes the scene of Cinderella running away from the ball (much like the picture found in Perrault's source text).⁷⁰⁹ However, unlike the English chapbooks from the same period, this book was intended for the unsullied hands of the upper-middle-class child who would also read the included biblical stories. In the

⁷⁰⁶ Karen Rowe E., "Virtue in the Guise of Vice: The Making and Unmaking of Morality from Fairy Tale Fantasy," in *Culturing the Child, 1690-1914: Essays in Memory of Mitzi Myers*, ed. Donelle Rae Ruwe (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2005), 29, 58; M.O. Grenby and Mitzi Myers, "A Conservative Woman Doing Radical Things: Sarah Trimmer and the Guardian of Education," in *Culturing the Child, 1690-1914: Essays in Memory of Mitzi Myers* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2005), 138.

⁷⁰⁷ In children's literature studies, Newbery is considered the "Father of Children's Literature," and the critic Sarah Trimmer is closely identified with the periodical that she founded known as *The Guardian of Education*. Shirley Granahan, *John Newbery: Father of Children's Literature* (Edina, Minnesota: ABDO Publishing Co., 2009); Grenby and Myers, "A Conservative Woman Doing Radical Things: Sarah Trimmer and the Guardian of Education."

⁷⁰⁸ This was the period when fantasy-scapes could be associated with French fairy tales, or with the Shakespearean fairyland paintings by Henri Fuseli and Joshua Reynolds, and the writings of women poets. Mary Wollstonecraft, Mary Robinson, and Hester Thrale Piozzi, described the dangers of fancy's fury.

⁷⁰⁹ Lerer examines Newbery's books, which follow Lockean principles, and he assumes that these books do not contain fairy tales. This is the case for earlier editions of *Pretty Pocket Book*, but not for the 10th edition. Lerer, *Children's Literature*, 209-227.

context of filial obedience, the godmother in the Newbery book is no longer a fairy, but instead she represents the parent who moulds the child's moral behaviour. This new context for the illustrations emphasizes parental authority within the devout home.⁷¹⁰

Newbery's gift books are commonly recognized as precursors to the fully coloured toy books that flourished in Victorian England. However, the integration of the chapbook and children's book is a necessary part of this development. Sold for 6 pence, *Langley's History of Cinderella* (1821) is an example of an early toy chapbook meant for children. While drawing on the parental emphasis in the fairy-free Newbery tradition, this version is fairy-friendly and light-hearted. The fairy godmother hovers near the title above the cover illustration of Cinderella (fig. 143).⁷¹¹ As the cinder child reads a book of her own by the fireplace, the fairy's legs dangle down from the ceiling.

In this comparison of stories as they enter into book formats—anthology, chapbook, and toy book—we see that the burgeoning of quality children's toy books alongside the common cheap book initially corresponded to different versions of Perrault's story, for two obviously different classes of readers. The Newbery books wanted the child reader to be educated, and for mothers and fathers alike to be privileged in their parental authority. The early chapbooks had a wider readership, which extended to travellers and members of the working class.

There is no predominant stylistic mode in these books, although the cute and the satirical exist in various states of latency. The birthing-like shoe trial scene does make a mockery of women, suggesting the satirical, whereas hints of cuteness emerge in London publisher Langley's *History of Cinderella* (1821) with the little godmother's legs dangling down as though she were Santa coming out of the chimney to gift reading material. Although not integral to the

⁷¹⁰ Filial obedience is emphasized in this book in part because of the inclusion the story (paired with an illustration) where Abraham sacrifices his son. *A Pretty Book for Children*, 54.

⁷¹¹ *Langley's History of Cinderella and Her Glass Slipper* (London: Langley, 1821), http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/OXVU1:LSCOP_OX:oxfaleph016751668.

textual storyline, a little kitten also appears in this version and subsequent toy books (including Walter Crane's) as a companion to Cinderella as she reads by the fireplace (figs. 144-145).

Despite the eventual development of clearly defined aesthetic modes in illustrated fairy tale books from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the chapbooks with their rough style would continue to be published in the countryside. For example, it is conceivable that the chapbook-style toy book, *The History of Cinderella* (c. 1860), which was published in a small Yorkshire town, satirizes poor parenting. The stern-faced stepmother punishes Cinderella with a stick in her hand; by contrast, the good godmother consoles the child by giving her a tissue to blow her nose (figs. 146-147). Yet, such a reading of the emotionally abusive parent who causes the child to suffer depends on distinguishing between the two mother figures.⁷¹² The ambiguity in this chapbook style imagery relates to a lingering question over how the godmother should be represented if she is a consoling figure, teacher, and moral guide.

6.4. The Dickens-Cruikshank Exchange

A satirical mode of depicting Cinderella and the fairy godmother was nonetheless clearly at stake in an exchange between George Cruikshank and Charles Dickens. We have seen that Cruikshank is responsible for two fairy tale compendiums: *German Popular Stories* (1823; 1826) and *Cruikshank's Fairy Stories* (1853). Dickens' memory of his own childhood enjoyment of Cruikshank's earlier illustrations of the Grimms' stories, as well as his collegial friendship with the illustrator, serves as the backdrop to a battle of sorts between his words and Cruikshank's images. By the 1850s, Cruikshank had begun to dedicate his work to the temperance movement and he also irritated friends and family with the vehemence of his moralizing position.⁷¹³

⁷¹² The stern-faced mother figure could be the stepmother with a stick in hand. However, the stick could be read as a magic wand, which would suggest that she is the godmother. The mother figure who watches Cinderella cry may have been the one to induce the tears, which suggests that she is the stepmother. Or she may have been the one to bring the handkerchief that Cinderella blows into, which suggests that she is the godmother.

⁷¹³ Evans and Evans, *The Life and Art of George Cruikshank, 1792-1878*, 133-34.

For the “Cinderella” story in *Cruikshank’s Fairy Stories* (1853), the illustrator transformed the fairy godmother into a cute dwarfish witch. She hops from scene to scene as she guides the pleasant-looking Cinderella (figs. 148-149). In this version, the dwarfish fairy later convinces the king that the wedding and society as a whole would be better off with a fountain that overflows with water—not wine. However satirical and cutesified in appearance, the witchy godmother becomes Cruikshank’s true heroine; textually, she transforms wine into water for the wedding.⁷¹⁴ Moreover, the lavish illustration of the well-attended ceremony takes the fairy tale happily-ever-after ending in earnest; it contrasts with other illustrations in this compendium, which satirize alcoholic tendencies by turning drinkers into ogres (as discussed in Chapter 4).⁷¹⁵

In response, Dickens wrote “Frauds and Fairies” (1853)—a satirical version of Cruikshank’s “Cinderella.” This un-illustrated Cinderella wears bloomers, attends political meetings, marries, and convinces everyone to eat and drink as she does.⁷¹⁶ In other words, Dickens turns his satirical Cinderella into Amelia Bloomer; she was a suffragette and advocate of the temperance movement whose name is associated with bloomer pants. However, Dickens’ direct target is Cruikshank’s reuse of the fairy tale to support excessive moralism. For Dickens, Cruikshank was like Bloomer: both felt that others should eat and drink like them to be good human beings.

To what extent does this exchange underline a Victorian ideal of femininity, which successfully repressed women? Answering this question, Cullen picks up on Dickens’ ending to “Frauds and Fairies.” After Cinderella gives women the right to vote, Dickens concludes: “the whole of her sex [...] thus came to be always gloriously occupied with public life and [...]

⁷¹⁴ George Cruikshank, “Cinderella and the Glass Slipper,” in *The Cruikshank Fairy-Book: Four Famous Stories* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1911), 196–199, <https://archive.org/stream/cruikshankfairyb00cru/#page/n7/mode/2up>.

⁷¹⁵ Cruikshank, *The Cruikshank Fairy-Book: Four Famous Stories*, 133 & 197.

⁷¹⁶ Charles Dickens, “Frauds and Fairies,” *Household Words, A Weekly Journal Conducted by Charles Dickens*, October 1, 1853, <http://www.victorianweb.org/authors/dickens/pva/pva239.html>.

nobody dared to love [them].”⁷¹⁷ Cullen reads this as evidence that Victorians equated femininity with passivity, and that Perrault’s “Cinderella” became a vehicle through which women’s efforts to participate in public life could be downplayed.⁷¹⁸ Such a reading fails to recognize the point of Dickens’ satire, which is his critique of fairy tales used for self-serving moralistic diatribes. What is interesting, however, is Dickens’ suggestion that the suffragette movement could claim the Cinderella figure. This possibility coincides with the emphasis on the heroine’s beauty in subsequent toy books.

6.5. Viewing Beautiful Cinderella and the Ugly Stepsisters in Colour

Colour changed the pictorial quality of the toy book, and the colourful fairy tale toy books became part of the child-oriented consumer market at the centre of children’s literature in Victorian England. In the 1860s, the publisher George Routledge’s printer Edmund Evans—who innovated in the field of colour printing—and the previously discussed Walter Crane—who was a specialist in fairy tale illustration—set the trend. Routledge’s publishing competitor Frederick Warne followed the example of the full-page coloured fairy tale toy books, producing his own series with Aunt Louisa (the pseudonym for Laura Valentine) as the author. Each page contains its own pictorial narrative.

Successful enough to be re-published, at least two of several editions (the 1857 and the 1868) of Aunt Louisa’s *Cinderella* reveal different pictures of female-oriented relationships. In the earlier 1857 edition, Harrison W. Gunston illustrated a cover depicting the fairy-winged godmother transforming Cinderella’s rags into a fur-lined medieval robe.⁷¹⁹ The shoe trial is the subject of one of the subsequent illustrations, in which two agreeably faced stepsisters stand

⁷¹⁷ Ibid., 100; Cullen, “For Whom the Shoe Fits,” 72.

⁷¹⁸ Cullen, “For Whom the Shoe Fits,” 72.

⁷¹⁹ Aunt Louisa and W. Gunston, illus., *Cinderella*, Aunt Louisa’s London Toy Books (London: Warne & Co, 1857), http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/OXVU1:LSCOP_OX:oxfaleph016751231. Page numbers not available on the microfiche version of this book. For this reason, the Bodleian Library did not grant me “courtesy of” permission to reproduce my black and white photographs.

behind Cinderella as the king's servant bows towards her. As a result of its female authorship, Cullen names the Aunt Louisa book story as an exception to the patriarchal use of the beautiful heroine story from the mid-century onwards.⁷²⁰ However, she does not describe the illustrations or the book's publishing history.

Drawn by an anonymous illustrator, the 1868 edition stands out because it represents the female characters in a polarizing light.⁷²¹ The stepsisters are made ugly using exaggerated features—one has a pudgy nose and the other an elongated face—and the fairy godmother is turned into a long-nosed witch with a pointed hat.⁷²² In the final illustration, when the prince presents his bride to the king and queen, a statue of a vicious lion glares and grimaces at Cinderella, and the mask on the king's rod is held to her face. Unlike the illustrations in the first edition, here evil is associated with ugliness, maternal authority is mocked with a witch (perhaps taking after Cruikshank's example), and Cinderella is kept in check. The difference between the 1857 and 1868 editions of Aunt Louisa's *Cinderella* brings up an assumption that has arisen in feminist scholarship on fairy tales: that the beautification of Cinderella's physical body is antithetical to female agency. On the one hand, both books beautify the female heroine in accordance with a contemporary fashion market. On the other, only the 1868 edition's illustrations imply that the stepsisters' ugliness makes them bad.

It is easy to assume that past readers and viewers were literalists who identified with the protagonists in their picture books and thereby absorbed the underlying narrative without question. How then can we account for the women and children who would have encountered both pictorial versions? Reader-viewers would have had their own views on the role of mothers

⁷²⁰ Cullen's citation is for an 1878 edition, which was illustrated by Gunston. In other words, the 1857 edition (consulted by me) and 1878 edition (consulted by her) may contain the same set of illustrations. Cullen, "For Whom the Shoe Fits," 80.

⁷²¹ Aunt Louisa, *Cinderella*, Aunt Louisa's London Toy Books (London; New York: Frederick Warne & Co; Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong, 1868), http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/OXVU1:LSCOP_OX:oxfaleph016751223. See above note regarding the absence of page numbers and permissions.

⁷²² The depiction of the fairy godmother as a witch appears in earlier nineteenth-century children's chapbook-toy books (format cross-over). This trend possibly dates back to Cruikshank's 1853 *Fairy Library*. However, the satirical context has now changed from glorifying the dwarfish anti-alcohol fairy to one that may question the place of matriarchal authority.

within the middle-class family, and Queen Victoria (1819-1901) the nineteenth-century monarch. Imaginative speculation is useful here to suggest that women and children could have identified with the story's entire cast of characters in surprising ways.

6.6. Cinderella's Suffering and the Suffragette's Cinderella

Many of the scenes pictured in Cinderella stories are repeated from one publication to another, but the stylistic conventions and ideological assumptions that determine the treatment of gender, class, and age often change. The scene where Cinderella loses her shoe at the ball occurs in Perrault's pictorialized French anthology of 1697. It is repeated in the Newbery, as well as in some chapbooks, and is then readapted with George Cruikshank's temperance story. The shoe trial can imply the inspection of Cinderella's virginal worth as a future mother (as in the chapbook), and it can also show the subservience of servants to the monarch (as in some of the toy books and the *Home Treasury* publication of fairy and folktales). The stylistic and iconographic qualities of scenes that depict Cinderella in a state of persecution or liberation produce the empathetic conditions for understanding the various ways in which the character might relate to her godmother (not always a fairy), stepsiblings, stepmother, and prince, and also how she might appear to her child and adult viewers.

One interesting scene is that of Cinderella, pictured in her domestic servitude, situated by the fireplace (figs. 150-152). In some illustrations we see Cinderella with a book, and this emphasizes the possibility of a child's liberation through knowledge and education. Without the book, her work and abject state are emphasized. The meaning of this scene can also change dramatically according to the printing techniques and style, from the unrefined roughly-hewn lines in early publishing, to the high-quality coloured printing of Walter Crane's toy books, to the more expressionistic style of G.P. Jacob Hood's illustration for Andrew Lang's series.

The fireplace scene, as it appears in Walter Crane's toy book *Cinderella* (1873) and Andrew Lang's *The Blue Fairy Book* in the "Coloured Fairy Books," reveals the ideological

framework of their respective projects. Earlier chapters of the thesis have emphasized that Crane was a committed socialist, and his fairy tale toy books functioned as allegories. The fairy godmother in his adaptation of Perrault's story becomes the allegorical figure of Liberty. Cinderella is thus a working-class Beauty waiting to be liberated, and the stepsisters are capitalist figures who possess only the veneer of beauty. In Crane's version of the fireplace scene, Liberty finds Cinderella sitting in working clothes by the fireplace; she has taken a break from her chores and waits with fist to chin and elbow to knee in the iconic pose for thought (fig. 153). Using his socialist aesthetic, Crane has united his labour as artist with Cinderella's household work to create a clean-cut image that intends to liberate society from unjust labour relations. But not everyone will come to see the utopian possibilities for a better society in this version.

In contrast to Crane's socialist views, Lang was a defender of imperialism and implicitly a racist (as discussed in Chapter 1). His stories are attempts to tame children, fairies, women, and the remnants of supernatural forces. Lang combines his narrative voice with the fairy godmother's words, so that when she orders the speechless Cinderella to obey, Lang has in a sense used the fairy to mould the child into obedient submission to his agenda. In his textual narrative, Lang makes the "poor girl" so tearful that Cinderella becomes voiceless.⁷²³ This outburst of tears is an example of how girl characters in his European fairy stories cry at the first sign of difficulty and then wait for help. Textually, they are sentimentalized precisely because the basis for strong emotions appears incongruous with the circumstances.

The Cinderella images that correspond to this text were illustrated by G.P. Jacomb-Hood, and are inserted into Lang's editorial project with its repetitive narrative patterns (fig. 154). In Lieberman's view, the textual moment of tears is a pivotal instance of how Lang's overly emotional characters are victims; the stories threaten to make girls believe that obedience is necessary to increase one's status through marriage.⁷²⁴ A superficial glance at cinder girl's

⁷²³ Lang, H.J. Ford, illus., and G.P. Jacomb-Hood, illus., *The Blue Fairy Book*, 64.

⁷²⁴ Lieberman, "Some Day My Prince Will Come," 191.

sadness may well have supported Lieberman's position on how this story has little to offer its woman-viewers. I have also suggested (in Chapter 1) that the fairy godmother illustration in this story may have informed Alison Lurie's assertion that the stories in Lang's books inherit the matriarchal authority of the folktale. A fairy godmother in classical garb with large butterfly wings looks down upon Cinderella with parental sternness, and with the pumpkin patch in the background, Cinderella crouches by a treasure chest of new clothes (recall fig. 37).

Returning to Jacomb-Hood's version of the fireplace scene, what is striking is how the gargoyle mounted on the fireplace becomes a menacing beast, staring down at a miserable, bookless Cinderella. Lang's Cinderella is trapped within his world of Victorian male patriarchal supremacy, and to some extent Jacomb-Hood's illustrations reinforce this position. However, when regarded on their own, the images might well serve the empathetic function of acknowledging the self and other, in moments of suffering as well as liberation. In Jacomb-Hood's illustrations of Cinderella, the black pool of roughly worked lines echoes the emotive state of the impoverished cinder girl with her ragged hair and clothes (fig. 154). The expressionistic lines that describe the cavernous hearth show that the work of cleaning up and beautifying the home is far from complete. As she stares out toward the reader-viewer, she responds in a shoulder-hunched posture of exasperation and self-protection. Requiring the aid of good parents, this child is pictured as a member of the labouring class who suffers under the gargoyle's cruelties, inflicted by a number of possible agents both inside and outside of the diegetic world: Lang the editor, Cinderella's stepmother, and conceivably, oppressive figures in the child-reader's life. Unlike beautified images of Cinderella within a clean and stylized home, this image emphasizes rather than trivializes the hardships of life.

Walter Crane's heroine is pictured in the very space of domestic labour. When this image is viewed from an anti-Disney stance and feminist lens, beauty conjoined with domesticity is part of an oppressive scenario. Cinderella's face does not reveal distress; apparently without complaint, she has cleaned the fireplace tiles, heated the home, prepared a meal, and put away all

of the dishes. Based on these pictures, what can twenty-first century viewers make of how Victorian girls viewed and enjoyed Crane's toy books? We can do well to acknowledge that first-wave feminists, Sylvia Pankhurst and her sisters, Christabel and Adela, recall enjoying Walter Crane's toy books.⁷²⁵ Young Sylvia would have been eight years old when the first of several toy book versions of Crane's adaptation of Perrault's "Cinderella" was released.⁷²⁶

Later in life, not only did Sylvia Pankhurst become one of Walter Crane's students, but she also borrowed his images of Cinderella (as Labour) and the fairy godmother (as Liberty) (figs. 155-156). Lisa Tickner's study of suffragette art, which includes the work of Pankhurst, argues that Crane's socialist allegory in *Triumph of Labour* directly influenced Pankhurst's angel and the sowing women.⁷²⁷ I would go further to suggest that Pankhurst adopted the allegorical female figures, not only from Crane's overt political prints, but also from his toy books, for the suffragette cause. Several existing considerations have led me to this assertion on the subversive power of Cinderella imagery in her work.⁷²⁸

Pankhurst oversaw the illustrated prints for the suffragette magazine, *Women's Dreadnought*, which includes the front-page image *Peace and Famine* (June 1919).⁷²⁹ The liberty angel's feather-patterned wings are much like the fairy's wings from Crane's *Cinderella* toy book (fig. 157). Additionally, the protest badges that Pankhurst designed feature the winged liberty figure and the classically draped bare-footed figure who sows new seeds onto the world's soil (fig. 158-159). Unlike her sisters, Sylvia aligned herself with the labour movement, and also

⁷²⁵ Lisa Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign 1907-14* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 32, 285.

⁷²⁶ Crane, *Cinderella*; Walter Crane, William Routledge, and Louis Napoleon Parker, *The Children's Musical Cinderella: Told in Familiar Words to Familiar Tunes* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1879), <http://mcgill.worldcat.org/oclc/775606405>; Walter Crane, *Cinderella Picture Book: Containing Cinderella, Puss in Boots, Valentine and Orson* (New York: Dodd, Mead and company, 1911), <http://archive.org/details/cinderellapictur00cran>.

⁷²⁷ Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women*, 32.

⁷²⁸ It is also worth remembering that although Dickens' "Frauds and Fairies" may appear to satirize the suffragette movement, the polemical quality of an Amelia Bloomer-like Cinderella figure in this text acknowledges that the suffragettes might be able to repurpose the Cinderella figure.

⁷²⁹ Although Sylvia Pankhurst would have overseen this image, there are conflicting sources as to whether she or Joseph Southall illustrated it.

sought out global women's solidarity through connections in India.⁷³⁰ As such, the suffragette's agency derived both from the beautified labouring woman as well as the Liberty fairy-figure. This is in marked contrast to earlier textual and pictorial variations of a Cinderella who embodies suffering in the form of victimization without recourse to liberation.

There is another remarkable parallel with the suffragette movement; the act of shoe-throwing depicted at the wedding ceremony in Walter Crane's toy book shares certain similarities with a newsworthy moment for suffragette protesters. In Crane's story, the court of townsmen and women throw old slippers as the married couple ride away in a carriage so that all may be happy in the end (fig. 160). Although throwing shoes at the wedding wagon is part of an old tradition, meant to signal the wish for the couple's good fortune, in the context of Crane's anti-capitalist politics, the scene also conveys a sense of nineteenth-century sabotage.⁷³¹ Earlier in the century, disgruntled French workers threw their *sabot* (a wooden clog) into industrial machinery as a way of revolting against unfair labour relations. This would not be the last incident of shoes used in protest.

Suffragette shoe-throwing occurred during a meeting of the Prime Minister with his cabinet at Guildhall in 1909. Alice Paul and Amelia Brown, disguised as cleaners, cried out "Votes for Women!" and threw their shoes, shattering the administrative building's stained-glass windows.⁷³² Like many of the suffragettes, Paul was punished with months of hard labour and torture. In light of this real-life effort to sabotage unfair gender relations, the representation of Cinderella as a suffering woman might signal activists' efforts as much as it signifies oppression.

⁷³⁰ "Sylvia Pankhurst," Academic database, *Making Britain: Discover How South Asians Shaped the Nation, 1870-1950*, accessed August 13, 2016, <http://www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/makingbritain/content/sylvia-pankhurst>.

⁷³¹ K. Bradley Penuel, Matt Statler, and Ryan Hagen, "Sabotage," *Encyclopedia of Crisis Management* (London: SAGE Publications, 2013), 849.

⁷³² Lynda G. Dodd, "Parades, Pickets, and Prison: Alice Paul and the Virtues of Unruly Constitutional Citizenship," *Journal of Law and Politics* 24, no. 4 (2008): 339–443; Katherine H. Adams and Michael L. Keene, *Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign* (Champaign, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 12–14.

6.7. “Aschenputtel” versus *Cinderella*

We have seen how illustrated versions of Perrault’s “Cendrillon” travelled from the French editions to English chapbooks and toy books from the eighteenth-century onwards. An overview of Cinderella’s visual evolution would not be complete without the Grimms’ version in English publishing history. “Aschenputtel” in *German Popular Stories* (vol. 2: 1826) was not one of the tales chosen by Cruikshank for illustration.⁷³³ In the English book market, this story would remain without illustrations for several decades in the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, the satirical nature of Cruikshank’s illustrations prompted the Grimms to produce a picture book version for the German-speaking public, which would reinforce the solemnity of their text. Wilhelm Grimm, who was interested in the marketability of future editions for the German household, politely admitted the value of Cruikshank’s action-packed scenes in a letter correspondence, which Freyberger’s research has brought to light.⁷³⁴ For the 1825 edition, Wilhelm had his youngest brother Ludwig draft a series of illustrations to suit the romance of the literary narrative while upholding their ideals of faith and salvation.⁷³⁵

The Grimms’ “Aschenputtel” story emphasizes the heroine’s hardships, and the strength that she gains from mourning her mother’s death.⁷³⁶ When Aschenputtel’s tears dampen the soil, a hazel tree grows and attracting the doves, it also grants her wishes. Ludwig’s illustration plays with the symbolic use of light and shadow (fig. 161). Light shines into an ecclesial doorway that frames the distant hazel tree, and as doves flutter into the darkened interior, light drenches

⁷³³ Jacob Grimm, Wilhelm Grimm, and George Cruikshank, illus., *German Popular Stories: Translated from the Kinder Und Hausmärchen*, trans. Edgar Taylor, vol. 2 (London: Baldwin, 1826).

⁷³⁴ Freyberger, *Märchenbilder--Bildermärchen*, 58.

⁷³⁵ *Ibid.*, 63–66.

⁷³⁶ The Grimms’ story was published with various edits from 1812 to 1850. These German texts are available on Wikisource, but without the original typeface or illustrations. The text for the 1825 edition is not available. Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, “Aschenputtel,” in *Kinder Und Hausmärchen*, Wikisource: La Bibliothèque Libre, 1812, [http://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Aschenputtel_\(1812\)](http://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Aschenputtel_(1812)).

Aschenputtel's serene face. With a backdrop of dishes, a broom, and water jugs, she sits near the floor in order to separate the good peas from the bad ones. The birds are there to help her work against her stepmother's false promise that she can go to the ball on the condition that she completes an impossible task. Located in the light, the doves and the tree (associated with death and new life) recall the Holy Spirit and the Christian cross just as they remind Ashenputtel of her mother's spiritual presence in her trials.⁷³⁷

Subsequently, pictorial editions of the Grimms' fairy tales began to flourish in Germany, largely in the Biedermeier style of sweet children in bucolic landscapes. It was not until *Household Stories* (1853) that Edward Wehnert illustrated the first English translation of the Grimms' "Aschenputtel."⁷³⁸ The adaptation is in keeping with the preface, which assures the audience that the stories have been adapted to pass the scrutiny of "English mothers" and to be suitable for their children.⁷³⁹ The Cinderella picture emphasizes the serenity of the heroine's piety, and the text downplays the moments of suffering (fig. 162). The violence of the eye-plucking ending vanishes, as does the labour-intensive pea picking.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, illustrations from both versions could inform each other. The beautification of the saintly Cinderella whose introspection characterizes Ludwig Grimm and Edward Wehnert's illustrations, and by the 1850s, illustrated versions of Perrault's story came to pay greater attention to Cinderella's composure. Additionally, these pictures relate

⁷³⁷ Parsons suggests that the birds and the tree are symbols that mark how the stories are rooted in a "matriarchal tradition." I contend that the religious symbolism is equally presented in the story. Parsons, "Ella Evolving," 147.

⁷³⁸ Wehnert's print appears in several editions of *Household Stories* (London: Addey and Company, 1853); (London: David Bogue, 1857); (London: Routledge, Warne, 1861); (Boston: Crosby and Nichols, 1862); (Philadelphia: Porter and Coates, 1869); (London; Routledge and sons, 1879). However, there is no Cinderella story in this last edition.

⁷³⁹ Edward H. Wehnert, illus., *Household Stories: Collected by the Brothers Grimm*, vol. 1 (London: Addey and Co, 1853), iv, <http://www.archive.org/stream/householdstorie01grimgoog#page/n0/mode/2up>.

to what was a growing trend: the representation of girls who could freely play in English gardens and find solace in their reading.

Several additional factors complicate a straightforward word and image timeline. There are twists and turns in the history of how Cinderella evolves from the French versions of the story to the illustrations in Victorian picture books, and finally to Disney's film. The way that the story engages with gender, class, and age partly depends on book format: the hardbound anthology, the chapbook, and the toy book. Of the three principal source variants—by Perrault, d'Aulnoy, and the Grimms—Perrault's version is the only one that traverses all three book formats. The Grimms' version of the story appears in England from 1823 onwards in hardbound anthologies.⁷⁴⁰ Within the nineteenth century, a variety of cinder girls circulated in the colourful toy books and hardbound books, and many of these books contained pictures.

Chapter Conclusion

The heroine's liberation from suffering was therefore integral to the Cinderella story's visual evolution. Typical narrative scenes from Perrault-inspired variants—showing Cinderella's servile labour, the fairy godmother's aid, the ball scene, and the shoe trial—might either glorify the heroine's submission or predict her ultimate freedom from oppression. Curiosity as to how earlier reader-viewers responded to the expressive, roughly-hewn, serene, and or sentimentalized images has led me to better understand that there were multiple ways of understanding the story and its characters. The multivalence implicit in historical ways of viewing is important, because it complicates a contemporary understanding of Disneyfied beauty.⁷⁴¹

⁷⁴⁰ I have not yet found a nineteenth century example of the Grimms' version of the story in toy book form, chapbook, or single story hardbound book.

⁷⁴¹ Several scholars have noted that the Disney version of Cinderella has generated a cultural memory block on alternative variations: Wood, "Domesticating Dreams in Walt Disney's Cinderella," 25; Jack Zipes, "Breaking

As she wrote in her beautified Rococo domestic milieu, the proto-feminist Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy adorned and empowered the Cinderella figure with luxurious clothing as well as the virtue of courage, presumably to the satisfaction of other like-minded *salonnières*. In the context of the English publishing tradition of the 1700s, upper-middle-class mothers read Newbery books to children who learned to obey authority figures. Indeed, association with the fairy godmother could support matriarchal authority in an otherwise patriarchal world. There are also extensive possibilities for children and adults to relate to the characters in ways that depart from the literary narrative. The scene of Cinderella running from the ball can become her grand escape from her oppressors, and it is this escape from oppression that makes the story compelling to some. And, to others, the grieving Aschenputtel is an opportunity for genuine empathy and identification, and not merely a matter of victimization. Interpretation depends on many factors, such as whether or not the reader-viewer sees the images strictly in relation to what the textual story has to offer.

Most notably, evidence concerning historical reader-viewers emerges in the instances where authors and illustrators directly responded to each other. The proto-feminist d'Aulnoy's horse riding Finette Cendron responds to Perrault's Cendrillon. Ludwig Grimm's Aschenputtel engages with the Grimms' text, but also offers an alternative to George Cruikshank's playful style. Dickens satirizes Cruikshank's Cinderella. And, suffragette Sylvia Pankhurst adapts the utopian element in Walter Crane's toy book for the suffragette cause. These examples highlight how oppressive and liberatory renderings of the Cinderella character have coexisted within the evolution of various formats.

the Disney Spell," in *Fairy Tale as Myth, Myth as Fairy Tale* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1994), 72; Karlyn Crowley and John Pennington, "Feminist Frauds on the Fairies?: Didacticism and Liberation in Recent Retellings of 'Cinderella,'" *Marvels & Tales* 24, no. 2 (2010): 297; Joosen, "Marcia K. Lieberman's "Some Day My Prince Will Come," 50–51.

This chapter has demonstrated that there is tremendous complexity in the development of the Cinderella story. There is, therefore, ample reason to develop new pathways with which to understand the representation of suffering and liberation. Fairy tales offer a gamut of oppressive forces—greed, jealousy, grief, exploitation, poor parenting, poverty, political inequality, over-consumption of substances, abusive gender relations, and capitalism—from which one might be liberated. Despite this evidence of Cinderella’s multiple pictorial possibilities, the twentieth- and twenty-first-century interpretive environment is faced with cultural amnesia regarding the character’s significance for girls and women. Given the third-wave feminist motivation to value the female agency in girls and in women and in the heroines from yesterday and today, I ask: why are we so stuck, always looking at fairy tales through a Disneyfied lens?

Chapter 7: The Disney Version, or Cinderella's Tale of Cat and Mouse

Evocative of the storytelling tradition, the voice of a maternal narrator reading from a gold-bound picture book to a captive audience commences Disney's motion picture *Cinderella* (1950). Illuminated with a shining light, the book opens and the storyteller begins by saying, "Once upon a time in a faraway land."⁷⁴² These are the words inscribed upon the first page of this picture book, which illustrates the fanciful gardens and dwellings in a kingdom of "romance and tradition."⁷⁴³ The camera zooms in on the homes of the future couple: Cinderella's dream castle (also the Disneyland castle based on Neuschwanstein in Bavaria) and the stately home of her childhood (figs. 163-164).⁷⁴⁴ The watercolour illustration then turns into an animation: young Cinderella strokes a horse at the garden fountain by her father's side, with her loyal puppy nearby. Meanwhile, the "cold, cruel and bitterly jealous" stepmother Lady Tremaine looks down upon this picture of father-daughter affection. Glaring down from the window ledge, she strokes her black kitten Lucifer, and her "vain and selfish" daughters stand by her side.⁷⁴⁵

After the death of her father, Cinderella awakens as a grown woman. Initially reduced to rags, she delights in her dreams of a prince and castle. Songbirds make her bed, mice help her to bathe, and she gets ready for the chores and work of the day. The mice in this early morning scene are curiously humanized as lady-types: they speak, wear dresses, sit with crossed legs, and contribute to the domestic labour. A series of antics between Lucifer and the adventurous men-

⁷⁴² Walt Disney, *Cinderella*, directed by Clyde Geronimi, Wilfred Jackson and Hamilton Luske (1950; Los Angeles, CA: Walt Disney Productions, 2005), DVD.

⁷⁴³ Walt Disney, *Cinderella*.

⁷⁴⁴ Animator Mary Blair travelled to Europe to obtain design inspiration from farmhouse interiors and from Rococo paintings with their fountains and sweeping willow trees. Robin Allan, *Walt Disney and Europe: European Influences on the Animated Feature Films of Walt Disney* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 209.

⁷⁴⁵ Walt Disney, *Cinderella*.

mice along with the labour of the women-mice are part of the plot. At the end of the film, the animation returns to the last pages of the picture book. The closing illustration is a snapshot of the happy married couple; the last words “and they lived happily ever after” hover under their kiss in the carriage. In the end, the golden book closes.

These opening and closing scenes generate a kind of film-book, which re-formats the traditional storybook. Drawing from the appeal of the book as integral to the authority of the traditional storyteller, Walt Disney announces that his *Cinderella* is adapted “from the original classic by Charles Perrault.” While retaining Perrault’s classic elements—the glass slipper and pumpkin transformation—Disney’s additions and sub-plots deviate from the source. More specifically, animals dominate much of the film. This alteration makes the movie distinct from variations of the Cinderella story (including Perrault’s), which French, German, and English publishers had previously disseminated. In other words, the Disney version does more than animate the heroine and the villainous stepfamily.

The animation brings the human character’s animal kin to life. The mice, birds, dog, and horse appear as Cinderella’s familiars whereas the cat behaves as an intermediary between Cinderella and Tremaine. Collectively, the animals engage in antics and chase scenes, but more importantly they generate empathetic pathways into the story. The animals are selective about whom they associate with in the human world, just as the human audience may be choosy about which characters they relate to. The devices of the film-book and the representation of animals in their relationships with humans are repeated in the animated fairy tale films released during Walt Disney’s reign as producer, master-designer, editor, and overseer of his company.

Walt Disney (1901-1966) sought first to entertain and then to educate the American public. During the 1930s, he co-founded the company with his brother Roy, travelled to Europe

for pictorial inspiration, and collected European fairy tales, nineteenth-century picture books, and related imagery. Robin Allan has mapped out the range of Disney's pictorial sources in *Walt Disney and Europe* (1999), which I later draw upon. While working to stay afloat in the cutthroat world of American cinema in its early decades, Disney experimented with technologies that could turn the imagery from illustrated books of the past into moving pictures. As an experimenter and entrepreneur, Disney sought to harmonize animated movement with sound and colour in his short films, many of which included animal and fairy tale themes. After the critical and commercial success of Disney's first feature film, *Snow White*, the company shifted toward educational films in support of the war.⁷⁴⁶

Riding the post-WWII sense of American triumph, a significant shift in Disney's perceived role as an entertainer took place in his highly profitable *True Life Adventure* series (1948-1960) of educational films, which I will later return to. Indeed, his renewed role as "edutainer" (part educator, part entertainer) was defined by a conservative motto: "for all that is good for the family and our country."⁷⁴⁷ Disney oversaw *Snow White* (1937) *Pinocchio* (1940), *Cinderella* (1950), *Alice in Wonderland* (1951), *Peter Pan* (1953) and *Sleeping Beauty* (1959). Fairy tale films produced after 1960, such as *Aladdin* (1992), are part of the Eisner era and fall outside of this thesis's focus on the historic picture book and its revival.⁷⁴⁸

Some of the most prominent heroines from the fairy tale genre re-awaken in Walt Disney's fairyland as slender, pale-skinned women who sing and dance, communicate with farm

⁷⁴⁶ This shift towards the educational was hardly neutral. The company stood to gain economically by it. Travis Brandon Roy, "The Edutainer: Walt Disney, Nature Films, and American Understandings of Nature in the Twentieth Century" (M.A. thesis, Temple University, 2015), 12, <http://0-search.proquest.com.mercury.concordia.ca/pqdtglobal/docview/1712680011/abstract/8A5A3617EB5B49C7PQ/4>.

⁷⁴⁷ Steven Watts quoted in Beverly Lyon Clark, "The Case of the Disney Version," in *Kiddie Lit: The Cultural Construction of Children's Literature in America* (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 5; The term "edutainer" in reference to Disney appears throughout Roy, "The Edutainer."

⁷⁴⁸ Films like *Little Mermaid* (1989), *Aladdin* (1992), *Beauty and the Beast* (1991), *Pocahontas* (1995), and *Mulan* (1998) fall under Michael Eisner's direction of the company from the mid-1980s to the early 2000s.

and forest animals, daydream, and wait either to grow up or for their prince to show up. Collectively, the princess triad (Snow White, Aurora from *Sleeping Beauty*, and Cinderella) exemplify the Disney version of stories about women prior to their marriage to a prince. *Snow White* and *Sleeping Beauty* are films about heroines who awaken from a death-like sleep, whereas Cinderella awakens from a good night's rest. The stories are distinguishable by their supporting cast of characters—dwarves and forest animals in *Snow White*, fairies and a dragon in *Sleeping Beauty*, domestic and farm animals in *Cinderella*. Disney's *Peter Pan* and *Alice* are different types of tales, which question the desirability of growing out of childhood. This concluding chapter focuses on the significance of Disney's *Cinderella* and the dichotomy between wildness and domesticity enacted by her animal friends. By exploring what the animals do inside Disney's brand of animated picture books, I address how his films embrace the wildness and domestication of the animal world, and, by extension, childhood. Before beginning this interpretation, I first return to feminist critiques of Disney's *Cinderella*, and how the films might educate children.

7.1. Going Beyond a Second Wave Feminist Critique

The revulsion displayed by ardent feminists towards Disney's princess creations raises the question as to whether the company's version of fantasy is productive for children and society as a whole. The argument that girls will attempt to behave and resemble Disney heroines seems most plausible in relation to the *Cinderella* film. Disney *Cinderella*'s face is devoid of conflicting emotions; she seems complacent, and her expression does not change, even when she is beckoned by the constant ring of bells for hot tea or ordered to do laundry.

Here I recall Marsha Lieberman, who has written about the Disney princesses who sexually mature into brides, and singles out the Cinderella figure in her influential essay.⁷⁴⁹ In Lieberman's argument, Cinderella has been made to stand in for the so-called traditional fairy tale heroine because she is passive and good, predestined for marriage because of her beauty, and her willingness to do *all* the household chores. Girls will identify with the protagonist and seek to act and look like her—that is, they will beautify themselves with the right clothes and cosmetics.⁷⁵⁰ However, if Cinderella is guilty of encouraging young girls into domestic servitude, thus maintaining patriarchal gender norms (Lieberman asserts as much), something else is assumed in this kind of critique: the idea of the child's mind as a blank slate.⁷⁵¹

The challenge of moving beyond a positivist style of analysis entails the identification of ideological frameworks, which underlie simple cause-and-effect assumptions about the image's impact on viewers. Vanessa Joosen critiques Lieberman's impactful essay and finds her assumptions about childhood and traditional fairy tales maintained by subsequent authors. Joosen declares that traces of a "tabula rasa" notion of childhood coincided with children's literature and feminist theory, and Lieberman's attack on Disney.⁷⁵² If innocent behaviour and intellectual simplicity have come to describe the traditional Cinderella, which is to say Disney's heroine, than the historical character's impact should be questioned in the context of visual culture as well.⁷⁵³ Not everyone, including children, read Disney's films as "totalizing narratives."⁷⁵⁴

⁷⁴⁹ Lieberman, "Some Day My Prince Will Come," 188, 190–193.

⁷⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 187.

⁷⁵¹ Lieberman, "Some Day My Prince Will Come," 200.

⁷⁵² Joosen, "Marcia K. Lieberman's "Some Day My Prince Will Come," 52.

⁷⁵³ For an additional critique of the blank slate concept see: Steven Pinker, *The Blank Slate: The Modern Denial of Human Nature* (New York: Penguin books, 2003).

⁷⁵⁴ For more on child agency in response to Disney's films see: Clark, "The Case of the Disney Version"; Karin Beeler, "DVD Screen Culture for Children: Theories of Play and Young Viewers," Academic blog, *Screening the Past*, (November 2011), <http://www.screeningthepast.com/2011/11/dvd-screen-culture-for-children-theories-of-play-and-young-viewers/>.

Expanding from a feminist conceptual framework involves recognizing viewer reception, including emotive factors which generate empathic responses. Also, there are risks attached to discarding Disney films altogether: to do so would be to forget the film's powerful visual appeal.

Recognizing the importance of the viewer's agency, recent Disney-related scholarship has focused on the subversive and countercultural possibilities invited by the characters and imagery deployed in Disney's fairyland.⁷⁵⁵ For examples, Tison Pugh notes the implicit homosexuality of the pirate characters who appear again and again in Disney's medieval lore; Naomi Wood notes the homosocial dynamic between Gus and Jack in *Cinderella*.⁷⁵⁶ Significant for this chapter, David Whitley contends that Snow White's interaction with the natural environment questions the Western master narrative that mankind will succeed in its struggle to control and domesticate the destructive forces of nature, even death and decay.⁷⁵⁷ In this film, it is the animal characters who bring complexity to Snow White's fairyland, and they add to the value of re-viewing Disney for the enjoyment of critical encounters with the characters.

Focusing on a dynamic between the wild and the tamed, I argue alongside Whitley that animality in Disney is the most redeeming feature of the princess triad, which includes *Cinderella*. In other words, the issue of gender relations becomes one of many points of inquiry that coexists with questions of animality; the combination of human and animal relations are of utmost importance if fantasy's possibilities are to remain vital for a twenty-first-century viewership of the film-book. The following section takes a closer look at childhood and

⁷⁵⁵ Wood, "Domesticating Dreams in Walt Disney's *Cinderella*"; Pugh, "Introduction: The Disney Middle Ages"; David Whitley, *The Idea of Nature in Disney Animation: From Snow White to WALL-E*, Second Edition, Ashgate Studies in Childhood, 1700 to the Present (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012).

⁷⁵⁶ Pugh, "Introduction: The Disney Middle Ages," 10; Wood, "Domesticating Dreams in Walt Disney's *Cinderella*," 41.

⁷⁵⁷ Whitley, *The Idea of Nature in Disney*, 21.

educational concepts, which inform Disney's images, as well as the pictures of the heroines and animals themselves, and the film-books that contain them.

7.2. Disney: Education and Childhood

The conceptualization of childhood, innocence, and education as expressed in Disney's outlook has shifted over time. Addressing the issue of the Disney Company's corporate image, Giroux and Pollock in *Disney and the End of Innocence* (2012) investigate how the corporation strategized from the Eisner era onwards while hiding behind a veil of childhood innocence.⁷⁵⁸

They write: "innocence in the Disney universe becomes an atemporal, ahistorical, apolitical, and atheoretical space where children share a common bond free of the problems of adult society."⁷⁵⁹

These co-authors expose how the company hid its self-serving corporate interests by relying on the notion that wholesome family fun is integral to American values; their critique shatters the false veneer of innocence. They expose the company's underlying motives and actions, such as its expansion into the media sphere and scholastic system and its systematic exclusion of non-conformist sub-cultures.

Giroux and Pollock's focus on the company's corporate agenda leaves childhood in an ahistorical and theoretical void. If escape into Disneyland represents the very site of America's childhood, then where does this childhood go if Disney's purported innocence is destroyed? The question of what this exposure comes to mean for the earlier Disney era, as well as for the connective tissue between childhood and adulthood, is left unanswered. In previous chapters we

⁷⁵⁸ Giroux and Pollock define innocence, and by extension childhood, somewhat ironically. These terms are defined on the basis of what the Disney Corporation claims to offer through its educational initiatives. Disney-owned films, books, and newspapers, promote innocence as a problem free space where children and adults alike can passively consume. Henry A. Giroux and Grace Pollock, *The Mouse That Roared: Disney and the End of Innocence*, Updated and expanded ed. (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010), 6, 7, 22-24, 32.

⁷⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 32.

have seen that childhood is associated with innocence, but the way innocence is framed within childhood is highly contested.⁷⁶⁰ Addressing Disney specifically, Giroux and Pollock associate innocence with naiveté. Rather than focus on the current confusion over whether innocence is best understood as the absence of the corporation's self-serving activities, as the passive consumption of Disney products, as family fun spend in theme-park naturescapes, or as childhood itself, I am interested in how Westernized childhood figures into the earlier Disney era.

It is worth momentarily returning to the historical lineage of maturation theory. Derivations of John Locke's nurture model and Jean-Jacques Rousseau's nature model are among the salient concepts of childhood, which inform the Western tradition of children's books, and eventually Disney's films. The idea that a book can mould a child's habits derives from Lockean theory.⁷⁶¹ Although Locke suggested that the nascent mind was a like a "white paper devoid of all characters, without ideas," the terms "blank books" and "blank slates" recall John Locke's theories of experiential learning, but without his emphasis on self-mastery.⁷⁶² As a type of training book for learning how to write, *tabulae rasae* were initially used in ancient Roman education.⁷⁶³ This imagery of erasable writing tablets comes to suggest that the child's mind is a blank book to be written upon, and this gives rise to the idea that unknowing children can easily be moulded because of their naiveté.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau countered Locke when he posited that nature should be given priority as an educator. Nature will teach the ideal boy industry and resourcefulness as well as

⁷⁶⁰ As we have already seen, childhood innocence can signal freedom from sexuality and aggression (John Ruskin), immunity from particular wrongdoings in the eyes of the law, a site of manipulation, lack of experience and cognitive awareness, and naiveté (Newbery, Trimmer, Lurie and Lieberman).

⁷⁶¹ Lerer, "Playthings of the Mind: John Locke and Children's Literature," 114–115.

⁷⁶² Pinker, *The Blank Slate*, 5.

⁷⁶³ Lerer, *Children's Literature*, 24, 113.

attunement to his emotions and imagination. Emotions derive from time spent in nature and from sexual love. Rousseau suggested that if children are granted time in the purity of nature then society will ripen. Unfeeling rationalist methods that produce “fruit which will be rotten before it is ripe” should be avoided.⁷⁶⁴ Once the boy matures, he will stumble upon the virtuous girl (whom he will marry). This meeting is essential because, for Rousseau, boys do not innately love virtue in the way that girls do.⁷⁶⁵ In short, the boy should be attuned to his essential self, open to emotions from sexual love, learn to thrive in the natural environment, and prioritize feelings over reason in the process of education.

Traces of Lockean and Rousseauian ideas appear recycled in Disney even if these philosophers found the fairy tale to be unsuitable reading material for children. There is a connection between Disneyfied innocence, which Giroux rejects, and the blank-slate notion of the child’s capacity to be educated.⁷⁶⁶ Disney allegedly intended to redefine children as the “crucible of ideal American culture” when he made the statement: “I think of a child’s mind as a blank book.”⁷⁶⁷ Connections between Rousseau’s ideas and Disney’s princess films can be felt in the separation of gender roles—the prince is represented as the saviour and the princess a virtuous woman—as well as by the role that nature plays in the story’s setting.

Relevant to the princess films, Lockean theory inscribes habit formation in an already domestic sphere, and Rousseau extracts the child from domesticity and places him in nature. This core distinction between the philosophers describes the difference between nature as an educator (in the *Snow White* film) and the cinematic book as a mechanism for mind inscriptions (in

⁷⁶⁴ Rousseau, *Émile*, 54.

⁷⁶⁵ Cox, *Shaping Childhood*, 71; Gianoutsos, “Locke and Rousseau: Early Childhood Education,” 11, 17.

⁷⁶⁶ Etymologically, the correct root of innocence is *in-nocere*—freedom from guilt and evil. It is easily confused with the root of ignorance, which *in-noscere*—“not knowing.” See: “Innocent,” *Online Etymology Dictionary*, accessed May 14, 2014, <http://www.etymonline.com>; “Ignorant,” *Online Etymology Dictionary*, accessed May 23, 2014, <http://www.etymonline.com>.

⁷⁶⁷ Giroux and Pollock, *The Mouse That Roared*, 17.

Cinderella). In the following, I contend that related ideas on nature and nurture are pertinent to the formation of Disney's fairy tale heroines' capacity to portray Disney's ideals and then to educate America.

7.3. Snow White as Different Heroine in the Princess Triad

A variation of the Romantic concept of childhood—found in Rousseau—re-emerges in Disney's *Snow White*.⁷⁶⁸ It is not the prince who develops from boyhood to manhood by learning from nature. Instead, the girl's journey towards maturation is central to the stories that concern a heroine isolated in a forest of animals who develops a general kindness and knowledge of the natural world. Snow White rewards the dwarfs' spirit of industry not only by the charitable act of cooking and cleaning for them, but also by acting as their teacher and guide. Shifting into her now matured role as an educator, she teaches these child-like cottage dwellers how to clean up after themselves and how to behave less like dirt-loving animals. Maintaining her innocence (here characterized as the incapacity to harm others), Snow White's blushing cheeks, red lips, and curiosity bolster her allure. Meanwhile, awareness of her sexuality is made implicit in the girl's intimate songs, dance, dreams, and her awakening from deathly slumber.

As the story of the nature princess develops, Snow White's work as household labourer moves into the forest. Engaged in some light sweeping, Snow White is far more occupied by her song "Whistle While you Work" than in her chores (recalling Rousseau's *Sophy*). While dancing and holding her broom, Snow White's light-spirited lyricism encourages the birds and squirrels to get into the dirt and leftovers and do the brunt of the household chores. Although Aurora from *Sleeping Beauty* is derivative of Snow White (they both spend time immersed in nature, fall into

⁷⁶⁸ Walt Disney, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, directed by William Cottrell and David Hand (1937; Los Angeles, CA: Walt Disney Productions, 2009), DVD.

a death-like slumber, and awaken with a kiss), Aurora is far more of a princess of leisure. She never gets her hands dirty nor does she experience nature's uncontrollable winds or foreboding marshlands.

Unlike Snow White, Cinderella does not grow up in a Rousseauian manner. This is in part because the film skips the heroine's maturation process into womanhood, and therefore implies that she has already received an education in Disney-style American values. The already-domesticated Cinderella is a very different kind of teacher if she is a pedagogue at all. Her educational approach involves letting the mice learn from her sewing books independent of her instruction. This neglect might be unintentional on her part, as Cinderella has no time to spare. Produced in 1950, during Disney's shift to his self-appointed role as preserver of American values, *Cinderella* presents an educational model which is much more ideological in nature. Indeed, the film presents a patriarchal model of ideal femininity. In this regard, the story revisits some of the elements of Perrault's version of the tale.

7.4. Cinderella: All-American Girl

The Disney adaptation of Charles Perrault's "*Cendrillon*" domesticates the heroine in a vein of emotional manipulation that is comparable to what Perrault himself had undertaken. As discussed in the previous chapter, Perrault wanted to vex his readership of aristocratic women; he suggested that male heroes should put female characters of rank in their place, that women give up their wealth and power, and he hoped that France would become linguistically united, male dominated, and altogether pious. In the same way that Perrault's version sneered at feminine political power in the salons of the eighteenth century, the Disney version reaffirms

patriarchal control over the ideal woman of the 1950s; he also affirms his capitalist vision of American labour relations.

Of the princess triad, it is Cinderella who especially puts her back into the work. On hands and knees, she scrubs the floors and stairs. Meanwhile, Lucifer adds to her misery by splashing dust upon his paws to sully the cleanly mopped floors. Soap bubbles reflect her repetitive motions, and show that her tasks multiply endlessly. She also never delegates, not even to the animal helpers who come to her aid of their own accord. In other words, Disney's *Cinderella* is not an exact retelling of the Perrault original; unlike Cendrillon, she works toward a capitalistic version of the American dream where hard work generates material reward.

Rather than presume too much of Walt Disney's fairy tale heroines in their power over impressionable girls, Jack Zipes launches his attack on characters who masquerade as Disney in disguise. Because Disney's films deploy repetitive plot-patterns that support the grand narrative of the capitalist-as-hero, most films feature a crew of hardworking characters who come to represent both Disney's animators and, by extension, hard-working Americans. Among these character-types, one enterprising man or animal stands out. Whether it is the lead pig in the *Three Little Pigs* or, the prince in the princess-triad films, the all-powerful character stands in for Disney himself.⁷⁶⁹ These lead characters direct others and gain most of the credit.

Following Zipes' reading of labour relations in *Snow White*, the mice in Cinderella could come to stand in for the crew of animators while the prince (like Disney) takes all the glory. Zipes argues that "Prince Disney" is a capitalist manipulator and demi-god: he attempts to control his staff and civilize society, adults and children alike. This characterization lays the foundation for Zipes' critique of Walt Disney's "civilizing mission," or, differently put, his false-

⁷⁶⁹ Zipes, *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion*, 2006, 202.

utopian capitalism.⁷⁷⁰ In Disney films lies the false promise that hard-earned money can buy the right shoes, gown, castle, chariot, and ultimate happiness.⁷⁷¹

It is only recently that public and academic interest has turned towards the work of Disney's principal animators and its hundreds of support illustrators (many of whom were unnamed women).⁷⁷² Walt Disney's single lead female animator, Mary Blair, designed both Cinderella and Alice as white, blue-eyed, idealized American girls. It should not be surprising that they look alike. Much like a doll, Cinderella's face is a blank slate: it is smoothed of all wrinkles, expresses mild contentment, and shows neither fear and anger, nor deep sorrow and joy. As Robin Allan asserts:

Cinderella (1950) is an all-American girl, and though more skilfully animated than her predecessor Snow White, is just as two-dimensional. She reflects the nineteenth century's image of passive femininity, as in the Cinderellas of Burne-Jones and Millais, as well as the post-war concern that America's women should return to their pre-war domestic subservience.⁷⁷³

Accepting subjugation, Disney's Cinderella expresses contentment even when bogged down in her household chores. Up until and including the moment when she is told she cannot go to the ball and breaks down in tears—something the audience hears rather than sees—the character's face shows little sign of suffering. She seems happy enough to embrace a mountain of extra washing. More time for cleaning means more time for singing with all the longing that

⁷⁷⁰ For more on dystopia in Disney see: Adelaide H. Villmoare and Peter G. Stillman, "Pleasure and Politics in Disney's Utopia," *Canadian Review of American Studies* 32, no. 1 (January 2002): 81–104; Jean Baudrillard, "America After Utopia," *NPQ: New Perspectives Quarterly* 26, no. 4 (Fall 2009): 96–99; Henry A. Giroux and Grace Pollock, "Introduction: Disney's Troubled Utopia," in *The Mouse That Roared: Disney and the End of Innocence*, Updated and expanded ed. (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010), 1–16; Jack Zipes cites Louis Marin's *Utopics* in: Jack Zipes, "Walt Disney's Civilizing Mission," in *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006), 191, 209.

⁷⁷¹ Jack Zipes, "De-Disneyfying Disney: Notes on the Development of the Fairy Tale Film," in *The Enchanted Screen: The Unknown History of Fairy-Tale Films* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 26.

⁷⁷² Cristen Conger and Caroline Ervin, *The Women Behind Disney*, Stuff Mom Never Told You, accessed June 21, 2016, <http://www.stuffmomnevertoldyou.com/podcasts/the-women-behind-disney/>.

⁷⁷³ Robin Allan, "Disney's European Sources," in *Once upon a Time: Walt Disney: The Sources of Inspiration for the Disney Studios*, ed. Bruno Girveau (Munich: Prestel, 2006), 160.

her Disneyfied daydreaming entails. She is not a pedagogue of the natural world; Cinderella is an all-American domesticated girl.

Before sweeping the Cinderella story aside as one of Disney's two-dimensional narratives, Allan suggests that the model for *Cinderella* might be *Snow White*.⁷⁷⁴ After all, the Pre-Raphaelite theme of the beautiful woman in death-like slumber was one of the sources for the eponymous character of Disney's *Snow White*, a woman on the verge of sexual awakening. However, given the character's appearances and Euro-American sources, they could not be more different. Several years older than Snow White, the homegrown all-American Cinderella is far less curious and self-aware (emotionally, cognitively, and sexually) and far more two-dimensional. As reviewers have noted, this heroine is more like the "nice girl" on cereal box ads.⁷⁷⁵ Her slender yet shapely body might be associated with these ads. Post-war pretty girls in ad campaigns for innumerable products and services, ranging from cars and houses to cleaning powders, cooking equipment, and pantry items, all appear ecstatic. With a radiant smile, Cinderella does, after all, hand out grain-nuggets to chickens, which also serve as breakfast for the all-American mice.⁷⁷⁶

However, as an emblem of Disney's American cause, Cinderella's class transcendence (rags to riches) toys with the hope of rewarded labour and the promise of abundance in family life. With her inter pictorial significance rooted in American branding, it is not unreasonable to argue that Cinderella anticipates the Barbie doll, which first emerged in 1959, coinciding with *Sleeping Beauty*'s release. She also echoes the 1950s beauty queen, Miss America ideal of the white middle-class unmarried woman who develops singing talent, wears a ball gown and makes

⁷⁷⁴ Allan, *Walt Disney and Europe*, 210.

⁷⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷⁶ Walt Disney, *Cinderella*.

a show of social charity across the nation. If it were not for the mice and cat, which were part of Disney's larger vision of nature and education, it might be nearly impossible to feel anything for Disney's Cinderella.

7.5. A Disney Brand of Animality in Cinderella

When Disney said that his moving pictures could educate the public, it is unclear whether he was referring primarily to wildlife documentaries or his animated fairy tales. During the 1940s and 1950s, Disney would become best known for his highly profitable *True Life Adventure* series (1948-1960), which funded his animated fairy tales, including *Cinderella* (released in 1950).⁷⁷⁷ Both the fairy tale films and documentaries of this era contain a moralistic, if not propagandistic, coding.⁷⁷⁸ According to several critics, the films are anything but innocently educational.⁷⁷⁹ Watts asserts that the documentaries generate a sentimental attachment to the conservative building blocks of monogamy and family life in America.⁷⁸⁰ Bolstered by Disney's corporate rhetoric, America becomes the mightiest nation where the best "worker animal" prevails. Here it is worth taking a closer look at how the documentaries stage animal behaviour.

7.5.1. Nature Films

In the *Adventure Series*, the narrator acts as a storyteller who transforms nature scenes into stories of human culture. The beaver builds his winter house with "persistent resolve" in *Beaver Valley* (1950). Meanwhile, otters flounder in their attempt at ice-skating and triumph at

⁷⁷⁷ Roy, "The Edutainer," 15.

⁷⁷⁸ These wildlife documentaries circulated in the school system as educational material. *Ibid.*, 45–46.

⁷⁷⁹ Whitley, *The Idea of Nature in Disney*, 33–34; Steven Watts, *The Magic Kingdom: Walt Disney and the American Way of Life* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 304; Janet Wasko, *Understanding Disney: The Manufacture of Fantasy* (Cambridge: Malden, MA: Blackwell Press, 2001), 146–51.

⁷⁸⁰ Watts quoted in Whitley, *The Idea of Nature in Disney*, 33.

tobogganing; they use their pudgy bellies to glide down snow mounds. Finally, these animals find warm and comfortable homes and settle down. The documentary closes with the coyote, a predator of both the hard-working and playful animals. Although his villainy is suggested, the coyote's humanness is also diminished; he is more animal than human. The wild beast journeys endlessly, "wandering through the misty fog."⁷⁸¹

Families are a focal point in *Nature's Half Acre* (1951). The camera frames Pappa and Mamma birds as providers of berries, dragonflies, and caterpillars. Meanwhile, the narrator insists: "mother love is expressed in patience and devotion."⁷⁸² The storyteller in *The Vanishing Prairie* (1954) describes dirt-digging prairie dogs as "diligent settlers" who build and maintain underground cities for their families; we shall later see that these animals are not unlike the human-mice in Disney's *Cinderella*.⁷⁸³ Collectively, these segments have a didactic message. The moral lesson is that America is home to the settlers, workers, and members of those stable families who prosper and engage in recreational sports in nature while staving off predators of home and country.

However contrived, the nature documentaries play with the power of opposites—nature and culture, mind and body, emotion and cognition, work and pleasure, male and female, adult and child. These opposites create narrative tension in the stories and serve as foundations for moralistic education. In this exchange, the spectator's anticipated interest in the animals' pudgy bodies and human-like activities governs the Disney formula. It would be hard not to feel some emotive response to scenes of seal pups at play. However staged, the films invite the exploration

⁷⁸¹ Walt Disney, *Beaver Valley*, True Life Adventures series, directed by James Aalgar (1950; Burbank, CA: Walt Disney Productions, 2006), DVD.

⁷⁸² Walt Disney, *Nature's Half Acre*, True Life Adventures series, directed by James Aalgar (1951; Burbank, CA: Walt Disney Productions, 2006), DVD.

⁷⁸³ Walt Disney, *The Vanishing Prairie*, True Life Adventures series, directed by James Aalgar (1954; Burbank, CA: Walt Disney Productions, 2006), DVD.

of interspecies connections, especially when considering post-humanist questions: what does it mean for the human to decentralize its gaze and imagine what the animal hears, smells, and feels?⁷⁸⁴ Aspects of this interplay between the human and animal inform animated princess films to varying degrees.

7.5.2. Animals in *Snow White*

Disney produced *Snow White* prior to taking on the role of propagandistic educator during WWII; he produced *Cinderella* at the same time as the nature series. Drawing attention to *Snow White* and the forest wildlife, Whitley singles this film out when he contends that the animals may offer more than mere escapism; they can allow audiences to “think as well as feel.”⁷⁸⁵ I want to review Whitley’s discussions of the interplay between cultivation and wild nature in *Snow White*, here, in order to extend this discussion to *Cinderella*.

When *Snow White* runs away from the Evil Queen and enters the swampland, something happens. In Whitley’s reading, life and light as symbolized by *Snow White*’s lively demeanour and death and shadows as symbolized by the Queen’s destructive tendencies are the two sides of nature’s dominant forces, which converge in the swampland.⁷⁸⁶ Running through the forest—a perilous realm filled with the shadows of death, menacing trees, and ravenous vultures—*Snow White* is immersed in fear and darkness, which characterizes the Queen’s dominion. Eventually, *Snow White* and the forest animals lock eyes in the night. Darkness turns to lightness, awakening, and rebirth in a lush and lively forest. Vital to the image of wild nature

⁷⁸⁴ Donna Jeanne Haraway, *When Species Meet*, Posthumanities 3 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 22; Cary Wolfe, *Animal Rites: American Culture, the Discourse of Species, and Posthumanist Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 3.

⁷⁸⁵ Whitley, *The Idea of Nature in Disney*, 16.

⁷⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 20–22.

in *Snow White*, this scene is cited by Whitley in his argument that the heroine never achieves total dominion over her animal friends nor does she desire to.⁷⁸⁷

Snow White has the emotive capacity to share in the feelings of her animal companions.⁷⁸⁸ The cuteness factor (determined by their large eyes and high foreheads) suggests the animals' partial domestication, but this element of sameness also draws the baby-faced princess and animals into a relationship of curiosity and mutual attraction. Communication exists at both an emotive and sensorial level: when she looks into the droopy eyes of the birds, deer, squirrels, raccoons, quails, and turtle, she comes to understand their chirps, squeals, and squeaks. Meanwhile, they are attuned to her love for song and understand her need for human shelter.

Whitley also contends that the forest creatures remain as animals and Snow White as human.⁷⁸⁹ Squirrels, birds, and human move and behave much like their real-life counterparts, and humans and animals recognize each other as other.⁷⁹⁰ They sleep in separate spheres (tree trunk and cottage), and when the creatures enter the human dwelling to help with the cleaning, they bolt at the sight of those who might cause them harm: the witch and dwarfs.⁷⁹¹ Turning to the scene of spring-cleaning, Whitley delights in the details. He notes how squirrel tails playfully brush dust under the carpets and how the deer licks the plate clean.⁷⁹²

Much as it was telling to consider why *Cinderella* was singled out in Lieberman, it is also revealing to consider why Whitley chose *Snow White* as his focus. Although a similar cast of songbirds, owl, deer, and squirrels re-appear in *Sleeping Beauty*, and the birds, in particular,

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid., 25–26.

⁷⁸⁸ Walt Disney, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, directed by William Cottrell and David Hand (1937; Los Angeles, CA: Walt Disney Productions, 2009), DVD.

⁷⁸⁹ Whitley, *The Idea of Nature in Disney*, 26.

⁷⁹⁰ Walt Disney, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, directed by William Cottrell and David Hand (1937; Los Angeles, CA: Walt Disney Productions, 2009), DVD.

⁷⁹¹ Whitley, *The Idea of Nature in Disney*, 25.

⁷⁹² Ibid., 30–31.

appear clothed in *Cinderella*, these two later films offer far less potential for Whitley's subversive re-readings. After listening to Princess Aurora's dreams, the creatures in *Sleeping Beauty* lead the prince toward her. They rob his clothes: the rabbits hop away with his boots, the owl flies off with his cloak, and the squirrel holds his hat, thus forming a hair extension with its furry tail.⁷⁹³ For Whitley, however, *Sleeping Beauty* is merely derivative of *Snow White*.

What is surprising, however, is that despite Whitley's insights into the wild side of Snow White's animal friends, he finds little that is redemptive in *Cinderella*. Rather, he argues that the realm of the domestic defines the identities of the mice. They speak in squeaky voices, wear clothes, and Disney has further domesticated them through their predilection for teacups (fig. 165).⁷⁹⁴ This extreme cutesification of the animal is beyond Whitley's limits for a genuine engagement with nature.⁷⁹⁵ He rejects the mice struggling in a competitive environment, as well as Lucifer that "round tub of fur that passes for a cat."⁷⁹⁶ Considering the cat's blood-soaked demise, my immediate retort is "Poor Lucifer!" I loved Lucifer as a child, and will soon take a closer look at his subversive potential within the rich pictorial tradition that Disney has drawn upon.

7.5.3. Cinderella's Entourage of Mice

The sentimental quality of the animals in *Cinderella* offers the most direct pathway for empathizing with Disney's heroine. Empathy entails feeling for another person or creature in the attempt to understand them. Therefore, emotions are joined to the reader-viewer's cognitive

⁷⁹³ Walt Disney, *Sleeping Beauty*, directed by Clyde Geronimi (1959; Los Angeles, CA: Walt Disney Productions, 2012), DVD.

⁷⁹⁴ Whitley, *The Idea of Nature in Disney*, 35.

⁷⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 33–34.

⁷⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 35.

ability to discern the boundaries between sameness and difference as well as the threshold between the self and others. In this way, the film's animal characters—women-mice, men-mice, and creaturely cat—help to nuance the question of who plays the roles of the empathizer and the empathized. Collectively, the lady-mice along with Jaq and Gus take pity on Cinderella in situations when she is punished or ordered around.

It is from the mice characters' parody of the stepfamily's relentless demands that the audience can internalize Cinderella's overbearing workload. Jaq, the leader of the mouse clan, sets up the animal plot of the story when he leads the group to pity Cinderella, their mother-figure, the one who clothes and feeds them with whatever scraps she can spare. Jaq laments and begins the sing-along to Cinderella's cutthroat work environment: "Night and day it's Cinderelli. Make the fire, fix the breakfast, wash the dishes, do the moppin."⁷⁹⁷ The seamstress lady-mice chip in empathetic verse: "And the sweepin and the dustin. They always keep her hoppin. Keepa busy. They fix her. Work. Work. Work. Poor Cinderelli."⁷⁹⁸ In a quick shift from sorrow (sadness felt for someone else) towards joy, they see that the solution is to make the dress for her.

Even if Disney codifies labour according to gender, it is not hard to see why fans of the film find these creatures compelling. The women-mice work together with the birds (minor creatures who sing, do chores, wear vests, and chirp). Following instructions from a textile book, the women-mice weave together fabric while singing (fig. 166). One dress-wearing lady-mouse feels empowered in her role when she pronounces: "let the women do the sewing, you [pointing to Gus and Jaq] go fetch some trimmin."⁷⁹⁹ Following orders, the adventuresome men-mice not only hunt for food, in this instance they also scurry frantically in the race to find resources:

⁷⁹⁷ Walt Disney, *Cinderella*.

⁷⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

trimmin, beads, and ribbon. The men-mice would not be half as interesting if it were not for their personal dragon: the cat.

7.5.4. Cat versus Male Mice

Ward Kimball (1914-2002), considered to be the most defiant of Disney's principal animators by the other eight old men, designed the feline Lucifer.⁸⁰⁰ The cat is responsible for keeping the mice on their toes; he provides the film with its meticulously plotted gags and chase scenes. Lucifer's attempts to rid the Tremaine household of mice offer a subplot to what some children and adults might see as a "mushy love story." As a humorous character, he sits on a string of pearls and drags them along under his butt as he clammers toward Jaq, the mouse, only to get a button catapulted onto his nose. Lucifer's pink nose is constantly a source of pain.

Unlike the bond between Cinderella and the mice, there is a different kind of animal-human relationship between Lady Tremaine and her beloved feline. Far less humanized, the cat is much like the semi-villainized coyote in *Beaver Valley* (1950); both retain their wild ways and remain as animal characters.⁸⁰¹ Lucifer is far more cat-like than vindictively human-like in that his motivations are that of a mouse hunter. He enjoys the physical experience of being alive such as restorative slumber, affection, and the hunt for dinner. He wakes up from his catnaps with large black claws ejected, and he either waits under tables or behind doorways to ambush his prey. He actively stalks the mice with his belly to the ground so as to be ready for the chase.

⁸⁰⁰ Disney's core animators from the classic era are commonly referred as the nine old men. Kimball was one of the nine. Don Peri, *Working with Disney: Interviews with Animators, Producers, and Artists* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2011), 47, 95.

⁸⁰¹ Wasko notes how in the *True Life Adventure* series some animals take up the role of villain. Wasko, *Understanding Disney*, 149.

Lucifer looks wretchedly miserable when Cinderella scolds him for chasing mice and when she holds him by the scruff of his neck (fig. 167).

Eventually, the final battle scene separates the humanized mice from the creaturely cat. In this scenario, the pace picks up once Cinderella is locked in the tower; the stepsisters hurry to jam a tiny slipper onto their giant feet, Jaq and Gus risk their lives to retrieve the key from Tremaine, and then they haul the key up endless flights of stairs, all before the Duke leaves. As the men-mice arrive at Cinderella's door, Lucifer pounces on Gus and traps him with the key in a bowl. The hardworking animals retaliate: Jaq bites the cat's tail, a militia of mice charge with pitchforks, birds shatter dishes onto the cat's head, and canine Bruno rushes to the rescue. Arriving, he growls at the cat, snaps at him, and petrified Lucifer jumps onto the window ledge, and falls from the tower. In the uncut version of the film, Lucifer's death is definitive. Splat—a carpet of blood leaks out from under him (fig. 168). Cinderella then escapes and arrives on time for her shoe trial (fig. 169).

Presumably added in by the character's animator, Kimball, the dramatic touch of the splattered blood has the power to stir an emotional response against the men-mice. It is at this moment of pathos that the mice as stand-ins for Americans assert an internal contradiction and offer a point of discussion. As human-like creatures, they feel for Cinderella, but they are also capable of celebrating when a hapless animal falls to his blood-soaked death. The mice are Cinderella's supporters, they are not meant to have feelings for the cat, and, as human-types, they feel superior to him. But this is not how all viewers, including myself, would relate to the film's characters from the death scene onwards.

In the end, Jaq and Gus parade into victory with courtly outfits, elated at Cinderella's glory. Unfortunately, Disney's idealization of the American men-mice, who have transcended

their work-a-day environment, overpowers the earlier scenes of the women's craftsmanship. I ask myself what might the dozens of unnamed women animators have done if they had more control of the women-mice? After all, the stepsisters tore up the dress that the women-mice created, Disney's magical wand took all the credit for the gown, and at the end of the story they were merely left at home in the now cat-free domestic sphere. What if the wildness in the cat was allowed to thrive? What if the heroine's suffering was less repressed? Emotive attention to the human-mice and the animal-cat—partly satirical, partly cute and mostly cat-like—could encourage audiences who relate both to the mice and to the cat to enter into dialogue.

7.5.5. Animality and Race

Thus far, the analysis of human-animal relationships has focused on nature and culture, as well as on gender. However, a study of Disney's fairy tales would not be complete without acknowledging the issue of race. Racial relations are barely visible in the all-white cast of human characters who feature in Disney's princess triad. Instead, otherness is played out primarily as a function of human and animal characteristics. In several Disney films, the anthropomorphization of animals functions as a form of racialization, and in others, race is linked to exoticized foreign princesses and uglified villains. There remains ample room for further post-colonial considerations of how animality and racial relations intersect in Disney films.⁸⁰²

In Prajna Parashar's discussion of race in *Peter Pan* (1950), she draws a connection between America's relationship to Indigenous people and the Victorian child, who desires to

⁸⁰² Douglas Brode suggests that the grotesque Indian chieftain in *Peter Pan* does not make the film racist because of how the white patriarch Hook is also caricatured. Douglas Brode, "Racial and Sexual Identity in America: Disney's Subversion of the Victorian Ideal," in *Multiculturalism and the Mouse: Race and Sex in Disney Entertainment* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 25–26.

escape its repressive nursery and gain colonial control over others.⁸⁰³ Although Parashar notes that racism in Disney takes the form of “pasting racial stereotypes on anthropomorphized animals,” Parashar does not take the study of animality further.⁸⁰⁴ The lost boys from Peter Pan’s Neverland wear animal skins and become the raccoon, bear, squirrel and skunk of the forest, creatures that climb and crawl through trees and live in tree trunks.⁸⁰⁵ These cutesified animal children live side-by-side with Neverland’s Indigenous people. The half-naked group of “Indians” are grotesque amalgamations of various ape-like species; they have the baboon’s facial stripes and the Gorilla’s facial structure. The contrast between the animal children and the tribal group is striking, regardless of whether it represents Victorian repression.

In addition to the human-to-human gender and racial dynamic found in films of the Eisner era, *Aladdin* (1990), *Pocahontas* (1995), and *Mulan* (1998) also feature human-like animals and animal familiars, such as Aladdin’s monkey, Jasmine’s tiger, and Jafar’s parrot.⁸⁰⁶ For a more complete post-colonial study of animality in Disney’s fairy tales, I would want to consider shifts in the representation of animals, women, and ethnic others in films produced throughout the classic Disney and later Eisner eras of the company.⁸⁰⁷

⁸⁰³ Parasher, “Mapping the Imaginary: The Neverland of Disney’s Indians,” 38–39.

⁸⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁸⁰⁵ Walt Disney, *Peter Pan*, directed by Clyde Geronimi, Wilfred Jackson, Hamilton Luske and Jack Kinney (1953; Los Angeles, CA: Walt Disney Productions, 2007), DVD.

⁸⁰⁶ For a post-colonial critique of *Pocahontas*, albeit one that does not address animality, see: Sardar Ziauddin, “Walt Disney and the Double Victimization of *Pocahontas*,” *Third Text* 37 (Winter 1997-1996): 17–26.

⁸⁰⁷ Rebecca Miller considers animality and race in films such as *Dumbo* (1941) and *Lady and the Tramp* (1955). However, Disney’s fairy tale films are outside of her corpus. Rebecca Erin Miller, “The Animated Animal: Aesthetics, Performance and Environmentalism In American Feature Animation” (Doctoral thesis, New York University, 2011), 29.

7.6. Moving Pictures: Sources

If the pictorial is to be taken seriously, then admitting that there is much more to Disney's animation than repetitive plotlines is crucial to understanding its appeal and power. The visuality of Disney's early fairy tales does much more than illustrate a beautiful passive woman who works her days in hopes of a prince who will save her from an ugly and conniving villain, and provide her with material reward (a combination of Lieberman's and Zipes' suggestions). The appeal of classic Disney animals has much to do with these films' aesthetic formation, the cuteness factor being but one aspect of their complex impact.

The vitality of animated characters and their worlds relies on Disney's act of picking and choosing from a variety of European sources and multiple pictorial traditions. Walt Disney collected hundreds of nineteenth-century fairy tale picture books during his European travels to England, France, and Germany.⁸⁰⁸ London became Disney's preferred destination for pictorial inspiration after WWII.⁸⁰⁹ The range of links between European sources and Disney's animated films is extensive: eerie forest scenery mirrors that found in German expressionistic and Romantic painting; absurd scenarios are reminiscent of political cartoons; and anthropomorphized characters resemble the cuteness of children's books. Princesses move into the light and are cast in the shadows of the villains (à la film noir).⁸¹⁰ Using a variety of visual moods from a wide range of sources provides Disney animations with pictorial tension.

These sources served as the inspirational backbone for his storyboard method of transforming short stories into full-length feature fairy tale films. According to Allan, Disney's formula for expanding the plotline developed over time by consulting varied European sources

⁸⁰⁸ Allan, *Walt Disney and Europe*, 7, 14.

⁸⁰⁹ The imagery from his travels in 1935 led to *Snow White*. However, the archival trace for the specific sources for *Cinderella*, *Alice*, *Peter Pan* are more difficult to find. *Ibid.*, 7.

⁸¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 210.

and by animating the characters' fluid movement. The introduction of "meticulously plotted gags culminating in a chase scene," leading to the final battle, and the happily-ever-after, became essential to the formula's narrative.⁸¹¹ For example, plotted-gag type moments in *Cinderella* revolve around Lucifer, who traps mice in teacups, and the final chase scene involves the dog who hunts the cat.

The interplay between the satirical and the cute is of particular importance. Not only was Disney indebted to the nineteenth-century illustrators who popularized satirical modes of anthropomorphism, but also it is worth noting that several of Disney's animators in the 1930s had backgrounds as political cartoonists.⁸¹² It should be added that by the 1940s, satire was homegrown in the Disney studios. Ward Kimball created two satirical cats: Lucifer in *Cinderella* and the Cheshire cat in *Alice*.⁸¹³ Their mouths transform at key moments from the animal-like to exaggerated grins that mock and taunt the seemingly innocent heroes and heroines. The liveliness of these animals is significant because the length of the animated story depends upon their quirks, wildness, and efforts to defy authority.

Scenes from Beatrix Potter's illustrated books are the principal picture book source that Allan identifies for *Cinderella*.⁸¹⁴ Potter (1866-1943) specialized in the cutesified human-animal; Potter outfitted her rabbits, cats, and mice in coats, dresses, and hats, and so did Disney's animators. Disney's seamstress mice resemble Potter's lady-mice who curtsy and sew little

⁸¹¹ For example, the Cheshire Cat's interaction with Alice (i.e. how he sends her astray) is part of the Disney version. Plotted gag type moments in *Cinderella* revolve around Lucifer, who for example traps the mice in teacups. *Ibid.*, 16.

⁸¹² Satirical artists to specialize in the anthropomorphized animal include: Ernest Griset (1843-1907), Grandville (1803-1847), John Tenniel (1829-1914), Edward Lear (1812-1888). Joe Grant (1908-2005) was a satirical artist for *Los Angeles Record*, Albert Hurter (1882-1942) and Joe Grant (1906-1995) produced comic art before they joined Disney. Allan, "Disney's European Sources," 102-4; Allan, *Walt Disney and Europe*, 28-29.

⁸¹³ The artist's feline companion was the model for both of these cats. "Lucifer," *Disney Wiki*, accessed December 30, 2016, <http://disney.wikia.com/wiki/Lucifer>.

⁸¹⁴ Allan, "Disney's European Sources," 104-7.

buttons onto jackets (fig. 170-171).⁸¹⁵ Additionally, a cat keeps mice in a teacup in Potter's *The Tailor of Gloucester* (1902); drawing from this source, Kimball brings the cat's play with teacups to life in his Lucifer who grins, waggles his tongue, and waves his paws in anticipatory delight. The scene combines the cute and the satirical, and it exemplifies one of the many moments in Kimball's oeuvre where his animation transitions from the creature character's fluid and realistic animal-like movement into an absurd scenario featuring cartoonish facial features.⁸¹⁶

Although Lucifer is the least human-like of the film's animals, the anthropomorphism of Disney's animals was by this time (1950) becoming a characteristic feature. Identical songbirds appear throughout the princess triad, but in *Cinderella*, they sing and wear little vests. With *Snow White* as the exception, the animal characters in Disney's animations (not just the princess films) increasingly dress up, walk, talk, think, and express emotion.⁸¹⁷

While I agree with Allan that the early Disney aesthetic and its animals generate appeal, I want to go further, by addressing the question of how Disney homogenized pictures from fairy tale book history. In accordance with his focus on textual narratives, Zipes implies that Disney successfully used pictures to make audiences forget about the literary tradition.⁸¹⁸ Sceptical about Disney's pictures, he asserts that in the cinema, "viewers are brought together to be entertained and absorbed rather than to be engaged in reflection. The narrative quality of comfort takes over, and the encouragement to do otherwise does not present itself."⁸¹⁹

⁸¹⁵ Allan identifies this connection between the film scenes and Potter's illustrations. Allan, *Walt Disney and Europe*, 104, 106; Allan, "Disney's European Sources," 104–5.

⁸¹⁶ Lucas Seastrom, "Ward Kimball and Lucifer the Cat," Independent historian's blog, *University of Walt Disney*, (August 2013), <http://animstudies.blogspot.com/2013/08/ward-kimball-and-lucifer-cat.html>.

⁸¹⁷ Rebecca Millar argues that Disney's lack of differentiation between the human and the animal signals humankind's growing encroachment into the animal's wildlife. Miller, "The Animated Animal."

⁸¹⁸ Zipes, *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion*, 2006, 197.

⁸¹⁹ Zipes, "Breaking the Disney Spell," 94–95.

Given that Zipes decries the detrimental absorptive effect of the moving picture, this chapter arrives at a crossroads. Is Disney's re-use of picture book imagery to revive the fairy tale for the better or not? Nuanced answers will likely go beyond an either/or scenario. As such, it is possible that Disney's film-books have homogenized the picture book tradition, resulting in an appealing aesthetic, and that the picture book, alongside the literary fairy tale, has thus largely been replaced. It is also possible that the juxtaposition between satirical and cute animal-like creatures, as was the case with Kimball's cats, offers a basis for expanding the viewer's interpretive range of Disney films. While continuing to address the film's pictorial importance, the following section takes a closer look at the film-book.

7.7. The Codex: Towards a Concluding Contention

At issue is how the Disney version alters the fabric of the page-turning book, turning the books of old into spectres of the library bookshelf and erasing the pre-Disneyfied pictorial tradition from cultural memory. At the beginning of *Cinderella*, a glowing light shines upon a golden codex, and as this ethereal light expands, the book opens. The *Cinderella* book is the kitschiest compared to other film-books—the cover looks like fool's gold covered in fake gems—and several opening and closing scenes share its device of the storybook opening. The distinctions between these books, which feature within the films, suggest the power that the Disney canon might yield over cultural memory. The books featured in the princess-triad films and in *Pinocchio* (1940) and *Alice* (1951) further confirm Disney's attempt to appropriate the fairy tale book.

Much more of a deluxe book than a child's plastic toy, *Snow White* opens with the image of a white leather-bound codex (fig. 172-173).⁸²⁰ As part of the illuminated quality of the handcrafted book, a little squirrel grabs at the letter S in Snow White's name, and a dove, chipmunk, bird, rabbit, and a cleaning brush (topped with a crown) also ornament the page. These details locate the authenticity of Disney's fairy tale in a codex, which has recorded the bygone stories of America's European past. The published fairy tale may well be rooted in medieval and ancient cultures, but before the late seventeenth century, the stories were not recognized as fantastical fairy tales. In his discussion of fairy tale narratives in Disneyland, Pugh describes Disney's brand of medievalism as an "inherently flexible reinterpretation of history guided not by dates and facts but by an asynchronous nostalgia for fairy tales and fantasies set in the past, while inspired by an American view of the future."⁸²¹ This film-book is a prime example of Disneyfied medievalism.

Building on this nostalgic allure, Disney's authority over the fairy tale's history is memorialized in *Sleeping Beauty*. Filmed in live-action before the animation begins, is a gothic-style lectern in front of an iconic medieval tapestry (fig. 174).⁸²² Unlike the plastic medievalism of the *Cinderella* book cover, here a seemingly authentic tapestry shows a unicorn and lion guarding the candlelit book. The book shimmers with gems and opens to an illuminated manuscript page of a medieval castle on gold overlay. The display of this book, which seemingly features the quintessential version of the story, is able to epitomize the bygone allure of Disney's fairy tale project. According to Disney lore, the unicorn tapestry used for the film comes from

⁸²⁰ Walt Disney, *Snow White*.

⁸²¹ Pugh, "Introduction: The Disney Middle Ages," 5.

⁸²² Walt Disney, *Sleeping Beauty*.

the Cloisters in the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Art,⁸²³ which suggests that the *Sleeping Beauty* book scene was designed to inscribe Disney's canon into America's European cultural heritage.⁸²⁴

The details in Disney's opening scene of the Pinocchio story offer an additional vision of Disney's efforts to attach the entire fairy tale genre to his name. Before the Pinocchio book opens upon the carpenter's desk, the camera lens shows Disney's plans for the fairy tale canon (fig. 175).⁸²⁵ There are other fairy tale books on the desk, and their spines are strategically titled "Cinderella" and "Alice in Wonderland." These closed books advertise forthcoming films prior to their release dates. Moreover, they suggest that Disney was carving out his hold on the fairy tale tradition, picture by picture, and story by story.

In the case of Disney's *Alice in Wonderland*, an unusual type of book appears within the story itself (rather than during the opening and closing scenes).⁸²⁶ The anthropomorphized students of the law at Alice's trial jot down the Queen's judgements by writing the proceedings on *tabulae rasae*. These are a precursor to the page-turning codex, and they also integrate the concept of the child's mind as a blank slate (figs. 176-177). This detail hints at the erasure of the literary tradition, in that soon the written word disappears from the tablets, and Disney's picture book takes over Alice's mind and fate. She is fated to be caught in the Disney version, which presents a space where history is forever out of order.

⁸²³ Bob Thomas, *Disney's Art of Animation: From Mickey Mouse, To Hercules* (New York: Hyperion, 1997), 104–105.

⁸²⁴ Although Disney lore attributes this tapestry to the Cloisters in New York, I contend that further attention to the details indicates that the Disney version is a hybridization of the *Lady of the Unicorn* cycle housed in the Musée national du Moyen Âge in Paris.

⁸²⁵ Walt Disney, *Pinocchio*, directed by Norman Ferguson and T. Hee (1940; Los Angeles, CA: Walt Disney Productions, 2009), DVD.

⁸²⁶ Walt Disney, *Alice and Wonderland*, directed by Clyde Geronimi, Wilfred Jackson and Hamilton Luske (1951; Los Angeles, CA: Walt Disney Productions, 2016), DVD.

The page-opening book that features in the early fairy tale films visualizes the way in which Disney's canon absorbs the picture book tradition. The writing-tablets of erasure, the allure of quasi-medievalism, and the appropriation of museological sites of cultural memory suggest that Disney might have succeeded in taking over the fairy tale's pictorial history. However, by analyzing the emotional content provided by animal characters, this chapter has pointed to an alternative reading, which could counteract the threat that Disney might permanently cast a shadow over the picture book's rich narrative culture. It is my concluding contention that greater attention to childhood and educational concepts, which inform Disney's images, as well as the pictures of the heroines and animals themselves, can generate empathetic appeal and critical encounters with Disney's fairy tale princess films.

Thesis Conclusion and New Beginnings

1. Value of Fairy-Tale Fantasy

Fantasy can have negative associations: these range from passion's violent triumph over reason to dangerous male fantasies, from Western domination over cultural others and wild nature to the seduction of capitalism's false promises. These negative connotations may be interpreted as fairyland's shadowy crevices, but they do not account for the rich imaginative universe that the fairy tale fantasy has offered illustrators, authors, and reader-viewers. While dismantling the notion that fairyland was entirely innocent to begin with, this study's driving question has been to ask what fantasy—the land of *fée*—has been able to offer. Indeed, I have been asking: How can the pictures in traditional fairy tale books (roughly 1690-1960) generate pathways of interpretation between the characters, their worlds, generations of child and adult reader-viewers, and fantasy itself?

This study has favoured a Tolkienian understanding of fantasy in its expanded form: the idea that fantasy, when well-constructed, opens a space for hope in a better world. Fairy tale fantasy reworks a primordial desire to one day re-communicate with animals in their cryptic language, and to see the world anew. Connected to utopian impulses, fairy tale fantasy offers a believable escape from the forces of injustice, and is integral to the processes of emancipation. In taking the pictorial seriously, this thesis has situated the potency of fantasy in the journey into the unknown, the subversion of the status quo, the provision of hope in a world of suffering, along with aesthetic pleasure, all of which give rise to imaginative and conversational possibilities.

The history of the fairy tale book itself offers one of the most vital reminders for how fantasy can survive as a productive force. Reading circles (to which I add viewing circles) used

fantasy narratives to imagine a better world. Indeed, the book itself became part of a platform for creative production. Reader-viewers of d'Aulnoy, Perrault, and the Grimms' illustrated stories, whether in the eighteenth-century salon, the nineteenth-century parlour and pub, or in twentieth- and twenty-first-century cinemas and living rooms—discovered that empathetic interpretation occurs alongside the potential for fantasy's communal and liberatory possibilities. While it is possible to indirectly engage with a number of children and adults of the Victorian era through their essays, pictures, and stories, we are limited in the discovery of specific interpretations from a wider range of historic reader-viewers who have not left traces of their thoughts. Nonetheless, the illustrations provide a framework for an empathetic exchange, not only with the illustrators and their characters, but also with generations of reader-viewers. In this way fiction has the power to increase empathetic capacity, through the joys and suffering of the characters in their pictorial worlds.

2. Fairy Tale Pictures

This study of the fairy tale's visual evolution in Euro-American narrative culture has given weight to the pictorial. By expanding upon existing intertextual considerations by literary scholars who have studied fairy tales, the thesis has built an approach to the picture book that emphasizes edition-specificity and interpictoriality—leading me to appreciate the genre's trove of visual riches and discuss its various internal power structures. Although there are many threads that connect the texts from early publications to the Disney version, fairyland becomes that much more fascinating when illustrations from throughout its publishing history come to light as part of the story.

The Victorian-focused chapters examined illustrations in fairy tale novellas and interrelated periodicals, childhood imagery, Shakespearean fairyland paintings, satirical cartoons,

utopian novels, chapbooks, toy books, and fairy tale anthologies—visual material from both within and outside of the context of children’s literature. My overview of first and subsequent editions of illustrated novellas, when combined with comparative case-studies—Walter Crane’s illustrations compared with H.J. Ford and G.P. Jacomb-Hood’s, for instance—highlighted how oppositional views on gender, sexuality, race, and ideology are integral to the genre’s diversity.

By bracketing certain biases about the Victorians—that they were *all* prudish, racially prejudiced against others, and adverse to female empowerment—and by bracketing related assumptions about Victorian fairy tales, the thesis has opened up ways of engaging with fairy tale characters in their pictorial diversity. To this end, I have troubled the assumptions that the Victorians were all sexually repressive and aimed to be colonizers in the vein of Andrew Lang, that Lewis Carroll and John Ruskin produced a pedophilic gaze, that all Victorian women passively accepted male dominance, and that children have held little agency when viewing Disney’s fairy tale princess films. While critiquing a homogenizing approach to the Victorians, I have not left out the problematic racial and gender relations within the fabric of the genre, going back to its Orientalist influences.

My analysis of Victorian-era print culture led me to nuance the role of gender in niche publishing venues such as male-dominated satirical magazines and female-friendly children’s books. These publishing contexts, namely the satirical press and the children’s toy book, have led to the proposition of three aesthetic modes: the cute, the satirical, and the utopian. These modes emerge in delightful moments like the child-men of *Punch*, the utopian glimmers of a better world in Crane’s allegorical illustrations and house-like toy books, and when the Cinderella figure was redeployed for the suffragette cause. The interplay between them also

crucially highlights ambiguities around whether the fairy tale was to be more for adults or children.

The emphasis on visual variations between retellings and publication forms led me to pay greater attention to the Cinderella figure's evolution in illustrations leading up to her Disneyfication. Greater awareness of the genre's illustration history can counter the stranglehold that the Disney Corporation has on the contemporary fairy tale canon. The earliest of Cinderella illustrations were situated within the battle of ink between Charles Perrault and proto-feminist d'Aulnoy. Pictorially, Cinderella charges ahead on horseback in d'Aulnoy's "Finette Cendron" and, conversely, she runs away from the ball in Perrault's "Cendrillion." Subsequently, gender issues of political empowerment and liberation recur in the development of chapbooks and toy books in English publishing history. Illustrations of the suffering heroine in different book formats within the Victorian era troubled the anti-Disney understanding of female beauty as locked into an unbroken pattern of oppression.

Comparative analysis of the pictorial shifts in publishing history, when combined with an inter pictorial approach, has broadened my twenty-first-century perspective on how self-other relations are enacted in the visual stories of the past. Recognizing the cute, the satirical, and the utopian as three recurring aesthetics supported a deeper awareness of how attachment to and distance from the characters and their worlds can continue to open up an interpretive range which includes yet expands beyond the base storyline and text. Indeed, the study of inter pictoriality could expand further. While considering Tolkienian distinctions between the moralistic beast fable (where humans masquerade as animals) and the fairy tale (where humans and animals re-communicate), there is presumably more to say on how animality and racial relations intersect. And by adapting an inter pictorial methodological approach, which bridges

book history and art history, there is much more to say about the dynamic between the human and the animal within the colourful and black and white illustrations from various picture books, including natural histories, medical books, and geography books. Given the diversity of illustrations in historical picture books, the extent that we are still stuck with the notion that the fairy tale canon is a stable entity hinges on questions of reader-viewership and agency.

3. Questions of Reader-Viewership and Agency

Andrew Lang and Walt Disney's and versions of the fairy tale canon should not be taken to represent the whole. The view of the fairy tale canon as unchanging denies reader-viewers' agency, and denies the subversive potential of the stories and their images. Over the past three hundred years, authors and illustrators have responded to each others' practices, and reader-viewers are not without minds and agency of their own when it comes to the human, animal, and supernatural beings who figure in colourful and black and white fairylands. As such, close attention to the images has offered alternative possibilities for understanding a story's underlying age, gender, race and animal relations, and for travelling into the author and illustrator's creative worlds alongside a diverse cast of princesses, stepmothers, witches, goblins, fairies, mice, cats, and birds.

How much credit adults give children as creative agents in part depends upon the constructed nature of childhood. I opened up this issue by asking: how, when, and who fostered the association of the fairy tale with children, and how did the bond between fairyland and childhood come to be? After intertextualizing Andrew Lang's "Coloured Fairy Books" within a broader history of his ethnographic theories, and by also considering twentieth-century reactions to the author, it became evident that an attitude toward the child as exclusive reader-viewer prevailed at the end of the nineteenth century. By expanding on this question of age-based

viewership, the thesis has considered how books support historically situated concepts of childhood. Prevalent concepts include those inspired by John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau's philosophies, John Ruskin's aesthetic ideals (which influenced alternative perspectives in the Victorian era), Andrew Lang's ethnographic theories, and Walt Disney's Edutainment industry.

Pictures act conjointly with textual narratives, and at times viewers and illustrators diverge in their imagining of how a scenario might continue. To this end, I extended my critique of Andrew Lang's theories of racial superiority by suggesting that reader-viewers might not interpret H.J. Ford's illustrations in the way that Lang would have liked. Lang, who theorized about the white male hero's dis-identification from animals in his vision of cultural evolution, was likely to assume that Ford's illustrations confirmed that sense of superiority over female, ethnic characters, and animal characters. How a child may interpret Ford's images of heroes, heroines, and animals is another story however. This possibility for viewer agency (whether from the vantage point of children or critics of Disney) was later emphasized when animality came to light as a central element of Disney's visual plot-patterns; the wild cat and humanized mice have a role to play in how reader-viewers might enrich their emotive and cognitive experience. In addition to troubling the notion that fairy tale books were always for children, I have also suggested that adults may continue to reclaim these books.

4. Fairy Tales and Contemporary Art

To conclude this project, I would like to turn to a contemporary artwork by Sarindar Dhaliwal (1953-) that takes up the legacy of fairy tales. A number of artists (Paul McCarthy, Wolfe Lenkiewicz, Kiki Smith, Anna Gaskell, and Dana Dal Bo are only a few of a long list) have taken up the fairy tale thematically in recent years, creating paintings, photographs, sculpture,

films, performances, and installation. Dhaliwal is amongst a group of artists (Kristi Malakoff, Susan Hoerth, Su Blackwell, and Peter Callesen) who have more specifically revived the book as an object of inquiry, creatively destroying their textual content, and making space for sculpted narrative scenes, and personal memories from books once read in childhood.

Dhaliwal's *the green fairy story book* (2010) consists of fourteen books, which open to a world of colour (figs 178-179). A variation of the blank book, the paper pages are filled, not with words and images, but with vibrant greens, reds, oranges, and purples. Despite this blankness, she references Andrew Lang's "Coloured Fairy Books" with this work, and the text on the books' spines hints at a renewed narrative. When closed and vertically lined-up, the spines' inscription suggests an entirely different set of stories than those that filled the pages of Lang's *The Green Fairy Book* (1892).⁸²⁷ The books in her contemporary book sculpture are designed to remain closed, even if they revive cultural and localized memories from her journey from India to the experience of being an immigrant child with an appetite for fairy books in London.

In the final days of my writing my thesis, I visited Dhaliwal in her artist's studio. Over conversation and tea, I think back to her reading the golden text, inscribed upon the green ribbon of colour, which travels along the spines of her *the green fairy storybook*.⁸²⁸ She reads the spinal inscription on her multi-coloured books, which states:

Once upon a time there was a little girl who loved learning to read, sitting on the floor between the stacks in the public library, surrounded by piles of books the green fairy book, the yellow fairy book, the red, the blue, the lavender fairy book. She's convinced, many years later, that there was even a violet, lilac and a purple book, and this early love of colour is reflective in much of her later life "gamboge, heliotrope, rose madder madder lake. This work represents a resolution of sorts; a coming home to the place where all the narratives she has written began."⁸²⁹

⁸²⁷ The onlooker would not be able to read the sentences of the book's distinctive colour arrangement if placed out of order.

⁸²⁸ Sarindar Dhaliwal, Toronto, interview by Rachel Harris, July 22, 2016.

⁸²⁹ Ibid.

It soon becomes clear that the artist is the author of her own sets of stories, and that a nonlinear approach to storytelling is essential to this work. The next thing that Dhaliwal describes is how she acquired the hand-made coloured paper from an artisanal paper factory in Pondicherry; she associates this town with anti-British colonial-era activist Sri Aurobindo's ashram.

When asked about the politics of Andrew Lang's stories, Dhaliwal asserts that she did not design the installation as an overly theoretical postcolonial critique of Andrew Lang's "Coloured Fairy Books." While acknowledging the importance of the local within the artist's perspective, I would point to the remarkable irony that Lang's late Victorian imperialist project could be turned on its head in the eyes of an artist looking back on her childhood memories as one of London's many racialized immigrants. Given that my own family are of an Indian immigrant background (from Bangalore), I was eager to listen to the autobiographical significance of the work, and to question how the erasure of Lang's stories from the pages of Dhaliwal's *the green fairy story book* might signal the revival of the fairy tale tradition in the twenty-first century.

The artist emphasizes the importance of transforming ugly and painful memories, such as those of her trying, if not also traumatic, mother-daughter relationship. Dhaliwal tells of how her well-meaning mother restricted her from reading. The restriction led her to seek out Andrew Lang's books. She voraciously read them one after the other and this turned the public library into a place of solace, learning, and imagining. The ornate coloured covers of Andrew Lang's "Coloured Fairy Books" were like the colours of the world, providing young Dhaliwal with an escape from the mood of grey London. Meanwhile, the repeating narratives of heroes (regardless of their gender or race) who rise from their difficulties very much speak to the challenges associated with living as an Indian girl in London in the 1950s and 1960s. Lingering memories of her mother's imposed Punjab customs, which seemed to make little sense without explanation

in an English city, and her parent's resistance to literacy, combine in Sarindar Dhaliwal's memories. These memories are the threads that bind the work and that give its colours symbolic value.

The varied hues of Dhaliwal's *the green fairy storybook* are also part of her explorations into how coloured book installations can exude the transcultural concept of the Akashic library.⁸³⁰ She explained to me that this library is a mystical storehouse where everything is recorded from every single angle, thus offering the consolation of happiness within an otherwise bleak world. Accordingly, the colours "gamboge, heliotrope, rose madder madder lake," which are not titles from Lang's series, expand beyond the fantasy world that the stories offered her as a child. They put her memories of her mother and the immigrant experience into a different perspective. In Dhaliwal's books, red, blue, lavender, yellow, green, orange, and green resolve the memories of her mother, and this recalls the way that many fairy tales deal with trying and loving family relationships. Colour revives a warmer mood, transforms grey memories, and provides a positive outlook toward India, a maternal homeland of hot sun, spices, and ornate sari patterns.

Colour may have at one time signalled Andrew Lang's imperialistic project, with his voyeuristic gaze over the countries of the world. However, Sarindar Dhaliwal's sculptural book installation shifts the power from Lang's hierarchical vision of world cultures to address alternative histories that are as localized as they are globalized and diasporic, and as personalized as they are part of a collective history. In *the green fairy storybook's* narrative, the

⁸³⁰ Akasha in Sanskrit refers to the ether, and it is also a term used within the epistemological and metaphysical systems of India philosophical schools, such as Navya-Nyāy and like and Vaiśeika. Occultists westernized the term, which is how the Akashic Record came to refer to an ethereal record keeping system, consisting of pictorial memories from all events (including thoughts and feelings). S.R. Bhatt, "NYĀYA-VAIŚEIKA," ed. Brian Carr and Indira Mahalingam, *Companion Encyclopedia of Asian Philosophy - Credo Reference* (Routledge, 2002); "Akashic Record," *Britannica Online*, 2015, <http://academic.eb.com/EBchecked/topic/11415/Akashic-record>.

London library floor transposes her bleaker experiences into a colourful vision of her maternal ties to land and home. Related to the expansive possibilities of fantasy, these pages evoke the wider sea of ethereal knowledge. Colour becomes like the grand expanse of fairyland, as well as referring to India. The artist has allowed her girlhood self to return the Westernized fairy tale to her Indian roots, but not without complicating the cultural outsider's idealizations of India as a feminized, tamed, and exoticized wonderland.⁸³¹ When considering the possibility of her future travels, she laments the ongoing strife in India for poorer children, especially girls. And so, somewhere between these colourful autobiographical pages and the more grisly memories of a nation's past and present, there is something of the utopian, which vibrates in full colour.

This active engagement with fairy tale memories reasserts that we must continue to question the assumption that girls are easily indoctrinated by patriarchal narratives, manipulated by their feelings for victimized heroines, and that they only identify with oppressed and beautified white princesses. Memories of readership agency suggest that the textual blankness of the sculpture's coloured pages diverge from the concept of the child as a blank slate. In this way, *the green fairy storybook* is a contemporary art example of how the fairy tale book continues to play out fairyland's lingering importance for adults. Nonetheless, the textual and pictorial absence within the pages of work also signals the way that the fairy tale with all its historical variation may become increasingly difficult to access.

Given the reader-viewer's experiences, there is all the more reason to reaffirm the tradition of the book in its meaning-making possibilities. We can continue to recognize that children can and do become active participants, if not also subversive interpreters when they

⁸³¹ Here India is a different kind of wonderland from the tamed and feminized concept described by Christina Bacchilega in her post-colonial critique of the fairy tale element in contemporary Oriental novels (referred to in the introduction). Bacchilega, "Genre and Gender in the Cultural Reproduction of India as 'Wonder' Tale."

imagine alternative scenarios and ask “what if?” In this line of active engagement, adults, as well as children, can better rediscover that element of fantasy, which grows when retrieving the wealth of the fairy tale picture book.

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- . *The Vanishing Prairie*, True Life Adventures series. Directed by James Aalgar. 1951. Burbank, CA: Walt Disney Productions, 2006. DVD

Image Appendix

Images: Introduction



Figs. 1 and 2 Richard Doyle, “She runs away, and this is his condition: A Little Play in Three Acts,” and “Climbing” illustrations in *In Fairyland: A Series of Pictures from the Elf-World* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1870), plates viii & iii. Courtesy of John Ryland’s Library Children’s Printed Collection, R198978.



Fig. 3 Richard Doyle, “The Fairy Queen Takes a Drive,” illustration in *In Fairyland: A Series of Pictures from the Elf-World* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, & Dyer, 1870), plate 8. Source: University of Florida, Baldwin Library of Historical Children’s Literature, <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00025040/00001/1j> (Accessed September 9, 2016).



Fig. 6 Ludwig Grimm, “Dorothy Viehmann,” frontispiece detail in *Kinder und Hausmärchen*, vol. 2, (Berlin: Reimer, 1819). Source: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dorothea_Viehmann#/media/File:Dorothea_Viehmann.JPG (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 7 Coloured Book Covers for Andrew Lang, “Coloured Fairy Books,” (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1889-1910). Sources: varied sources on Pinterest, <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/245868460883510482/>.

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Fig. 8 James Northcote, *John Ruskin*, Oil on linen, 1822, National Portrait Gallery. Digital Source: Digital Image and Slide Collection, Concordia University.



Fig. 9 John Ruskin, “The Dwarf,” drawing and detail in *The Puppet Show: or, Amusing Characters for Children* (Autograph Manuscript, c.1829), 8. Courtesy of The Morgan Library & Museum, New York.



Fig. 10 George Cruikshank, “Blue Light,” illustration in Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm in *German Popular Stories* (London: John Camden Hotten, 1869), 169. Source: <https://books.google.ca/books?id=hCsHAAAAQAAJ> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 11 Adelaide Claxton, *Wonderland*, Watercolour, c.1870. Digital Source: Concordia University Digital Image and Slide Resources.



Figs. 12 and 13 Melancholic Gluck, and the Black Brothers. Richard Doyle, illustrations in John Ruskin, *The King of the Golden River*, 1st. (London: Smith Elder, 1851), 24 & 22. Courtesy of The John Ruskin Library and Research Center, Lancaster University, UK, A3, 2b.



Fig. 14 A thirsty girl. Richard Doyle, illustration detail in John Ruskin, *The King of the Golden River*, 1st. (London: Smith Elder, 1851), 51. Courtesy of The John Ruskin Library and Research Center, Lancaster University, UK, A3, 2b.



Fig. 15 Esquire Wind's long nose. Richard Doyle, frontispiece detail in John Ruskin, *The King of the Golden River*, 1st. (London: Smith Elder, 1851). Courtesy of The John Ruskin Library and Research Center, Lancaster University, UK, A3, 2b.



Fig. 16 Esquire Wind's short nose. Richard Doyle, frontispiece detail in John Ruskin, *The King of the Golden River* (Boston: Mayhew & Baker, 1860). Source: Harvard University, <http://archive.org/details/kinggoldenriver01ruskgoog> (Accessed September 12, 2016).



Fig. 17 Arthur Hughes, "I felt two large soft arms thrown round me from behind," illustration in George MacDonald, *Phantastes: A Faerie Romance*, republication of 1905 edition (New York: Dover Publications, 2005).



Figs. 18 and 19 Maud Humphrey, illustrations in George MacDonald, *The Light Princess, and Other Fairy Tales* (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1893), 33 & 59. Source: New York Public Library, <http://archive.org/details/lightprincessoth00macd> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Figs. 20, 21, and 22 left to right: Maria Louise Kirk, “She Learnt Nearly all of that Evening,” “They cam and alighted in a row upon the Coil, and Turned into Diamonds Directly,” and “In three minutes they were floating among the clouds,” illustrations in Jean Ingelow, *Mopsa the Fairy* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1910), 156, 174, & 251. Source: University of Minnesota, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/umn.31951002161889b> (Accessed December 22, 2017).



Fig. 23 Walter Crane, “The Happy Prince,” frontispiece in Oscar Wilde, in *The Happy Prince and Other Tales* (London: David Nutt, 1888). Source: Harold B. Lee Library, <http://archive.org/details/happyprinceother02wild> (Accessed September 12, 2016).

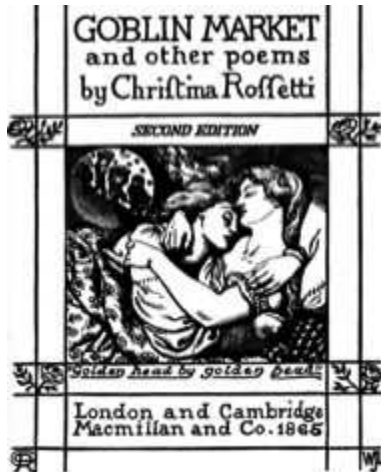


Fig. 24 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, frontispiece in Christina Rossetti, *Goblin Market and Other Poems*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1865). Source: Harvard University, <http://archive.org/details/goblinmarketand01rossgoog> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 25 *left* John Tenniel, “Goodbye feet,” illustration in Lewis Carroll, *Alice’s Adventures In Wonderland* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1865). 11. Source: Community Texts, <http://archive.org/details/AlicesAdventuresInWonderland> (Accessed May 5, 2017).

Fig. 26 *right* John Tenniel, illustration in Lewis Carroll *Through the Looking-Glass, and What Alice Found There* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1871), 184. Source: https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Through_the_Looking-Glass,_and_What_Alice_Found_There (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 27 Lewis Carroll, [Alice Liddell as] *The Beggar Girl*, Albumen print, c.1862. Digital Source: Digital Image and Slide Collection, Concordia University.



Fig. 28 John Tenniel, "Advice from a Caterpillar," illustration in Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures In Wonderland* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1865), 25. Source: Community Texts, <http://archive.org/details/AlicesAdventuresInWonderland> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 29 John Tenniel, “And hast though slain the Jabberwok,” illustration in Lewis Carroll *Through the Looking-Glass, and What Alice Found There* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1871), 23. Source: https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Through_the_Looking-Glass,_and_What_Alice_Found_There (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 30 Laurence Housman, illustration in Christina Rossetti’s *Goblin Market* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1892), 45. Source: <http://www.victorianweb.org/art/illustration/housman/2.html> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 31 Saving Scene. Walter Crane, illustration in *Beauty and the Beast* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1875), 5-6. Source: San Francisco Public Library, <https://archive.org/details/beautybeast00cra> (Accessed March 21, 2013).



Fig. 32 Saving Scene. H.J. Ford, illustration in Andrew Lang, "Beauty and the Beast," *The Blue Fairy Book*, 1st ed, Coloured Fairy Books (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1889), 117. Source: University of California Libraries, <http://archive.org/details/bluefairybook00langiala> (Accessed September 12, 2016).



Fig. 33 H.J. Ford, illustration in Andrew Lang, "Fairy Gifts," *The Green Fairy Book*, 1st ed., Coloured Fairy Books (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1892), 65. Source: American Libraries, <http://archive.org/details/greenfairybook01langgoog> (Accessed September 13, 2016).



Fig. 34 H.J. Ford, "Hok Lee," illustration in Andrew Lang, "The Story of Hok Lee and the Dwarfs," *The Green Fairy Book*, 1st ed., Coloured Fairy Books (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1892), 323. Source: American Libraries, <http://archive.org/details/greenfairybook01langgoog> (Accessed September 13, 2016).



Fig. 35 H.J. Ford, "Iwanich seizes the Magician by his beard and dashes him to the ground," illustration in Andrew Lang, "The Witch and her Servants," *The Yellow Fairy Book*, 3rd ed., Coloured Fairy Books (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1906), 176. Source: Community Texts, <http://archive.org/details/AndrewLangsTheYellowFairyBook> (Accessed October 7, 2016).

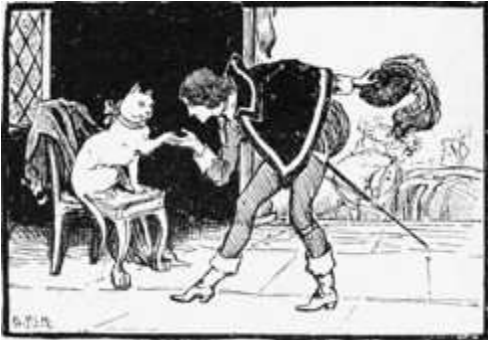


Fig. 36 Prince bows to princess. G.P. Jacomb-Hood, illustration in Andrew Lang, "The White Cat," *The Blue Fairy Book*, 1st ed., Coloured Fairy Books (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1889), 166. Source: University of California Libraries, <http://archive.org/details/bluefairybook00langiala> (Accessed September 12, 2016).



Fig. 37 Authoritative Fairy Godmother. G.P. Jacomb-Hood, illustration in Andrew Lang, "Cinderella," *The Blue Fairy Book*, 1st ed., Coloured Fairy Books (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1889), 67. Source: University of California Libraries, <http://archive.org/details/bluefairybook00langiala> (Accessed September 12, 2016).



Fig. 38 H.J. Ford, "How the boys were half turned into bears," illustration in Andrew Lang, "How the Little Brother set Free his Big Brothers," *The Brown Fairy Book*, 1st ed., Coloured Fairy Books (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1904), 138. Source: Harvard University, <http://archive.org/details/brownfairybook00langgoog> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 39 H.J. Ford, “The Bunyip,” illustration in Andrew Lang, “The Bunyip,” *The Brown Fairy Book*, 1st ed., Coloured Fairy Books (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1904), 73. Source: Harvard University, <http://archive.org/details/brownfairybook00langgoog> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 40 H.J. Ford, illustration in Andrew Lang, “Prince Hyacinth and the Dear Little Princess,” *The Blue Fairy Book*, 1st ed., Coloured Fairy Books (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1889), 15. Source: University of California Libraries, <http://archive.org/details/bluefairybook00langiala> (Accessed September 12, 2016).



Fig. 41 H.J. Ford, “King Loc Carries Abeille away from her Mother,” illustration in Andrew Lang, “The Story of King Loc,” *The Olive Fairy Book*, 1st ed., Coloured Fairy Books (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907), 57. Source: New York Public Library, <http://archive.org/details/olivefairybook00lang> (Accessed October 1, 2016).



Fig. 42 H.J. Ford, "The Princess carried off by the Bees," illustration in Andrew Lang, "Rossanella," *The Green Fairy Book*, 1st ed., Coloured Fairy Books (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1892), 53. Source: Americana, <http://archive.org/details/greenfairybook01langgoog> (Accessed September 13, 2016).



Fig. 43 H.J. Ford, "Samba found skulking by his wife," in Andrew Lang, "Samba the Coward," *The Olive Fairy Book*, 1st ed., Coloured Fairy Books (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907), 111. Source: New York Public Library, <http://archive.org/details/olivefairybook00lang> (Accessed October 1, 2016).



Fig. 44 left Walter Crane, illustration in *Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp*, 2nd ed.? (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1875), 4-5. Source: University of Florida, Baldwin Library of Historical Children's Literature, <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028355/00001/citation> (Accessed May 4, 2017).



Fig. 45 right H.J. Ford, "The African Magician gets the Lamp from the slave," illustration in Andrew Lang, "Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp," *The Arabian Nights Entertainments* (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1898), 309. Source: New York Public Library, <https://archive.org/details/arabiannightsen00fordgoog> (Accessed September 13, 2016).



Fig. 46 left H.J. Ford, "Aladdin's mother brings the slaves with the forty basins of gold before the sultan," illustration in Andrew Lang, "Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp," *The Arabian Nights Entertainments* (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1898), 303. Source: New York Public Library, <https://archive.org/details/arabiannightsen00fordgoog> (Accessed September 13, 2016).

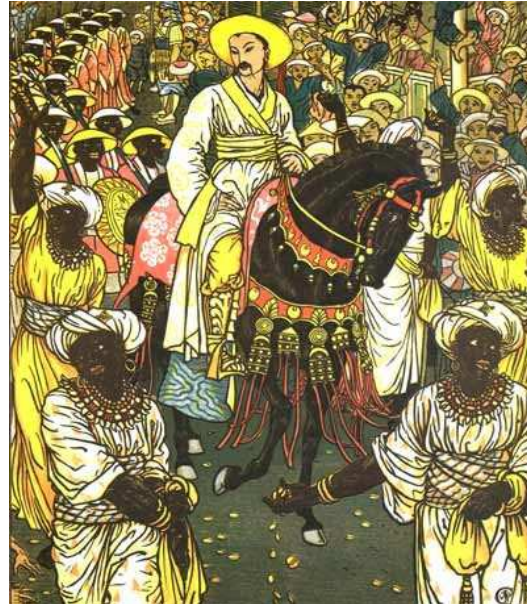


Fig. 47 right Walter Crane, illustration in *Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp*, 2nd ed.? (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1875), 3-4. Source: University of Florida, Baldwin Library of Historical Children's Literature, <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028355/00001/citation> (Accessed May 4, 2017).



Fig. 48 Walter Crane, illustration in “Cinderella,” *Cinderella Picture Book: Containing Cinderella, Puss in Boots, Valentine and Orson* (New York: Dodd, Mead and company, 1911) 4-6. Source: New York Public Library, <http://archive.org/details/cinderellapictur00cran> (Accessed March 31, 2017).



Fig. 49 Walter Crane, illustration in *The Frog Prince* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1874), 3-4. Source: New York Public Library, <https://archive.org/details/frogprince00CranA> (Accessed October 01, 2016).



Fig. 50 *left* H.J. Ford, “The Death of the African Magician,” illustration in Andrew Lang, “Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp,” *The Arabian Nights Entertainments* (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1898), 313. Source: New York Public Library, <https://archive.org/details/arabiannightsen00fordgoog> (Accessed September 13, 2016).



Fig. 51 *right* Walter Crane, illustration in *Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp*, 2nd ed.? (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1875), 5-6. Source: University of Florida, Baldwin Library of Historical Children's Literature, <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00028355/00001/citation> (Accessed May 4, 2017).

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Fig. 52 Anonymous, "Robin Goodfellow: His mad pranks and merry jests," Title-page illustration, 1629. Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Puck_\(mythology\)#/media/File:Puck_1629.JPG](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Puck_(mythology)#/media/File:Puck_1629.JPG) (Accessed, May 5, 2017).



Fig. 53 Joshua Reynolds, *Puck from a Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1789, reproduced by Samuel Cousins (engraver). Source: © The Trustees of the British Museum, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=969775001&objectId=1606380&partId=1 (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 54 Henry Fuseli, *Puck*, 1799, reproduced by James Parker (engraver). Source: © The Trustees of the British Museum, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=165144&partId=1&searchText=midsummer+night%27s+ dream,+fuseli&page=1 (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 55 Henry Fuseli, *Titania and Bottom*, c.1788-1790, Oil on canvas, Tate Gallery, London. Digital Source: Digital Image and Slide Collection, Concordia University.



Fig. 56 Edward Hopley, *Puck and a Moth*, c.1854. Digital Source: <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/425027283555718380/> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 57 Joseph Noel Paton, *Quarrel of Oberon and Titania* and detail, 1849, Oil on canvas, National Galleries of Scotland. Digital Source: Digital Image and Slide Collection, Concordia University.



Fig. 58 Baby with hammer and book. Walter Crane, frontispiece and detail in *The Baby's Opera: A Book of Old Rhymes, with New Dresses* (London and New York: Frederick Warne and Co., 1900). Source: Smithsonian Libraries, <http://archive.org/details/babyquotsopera00cran> (Accessed May 5, 2017).

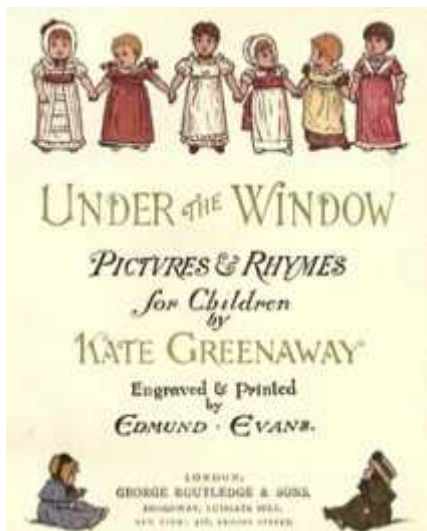


Fig. 59 Kate Greenaway, frontispiece in *Under the Window; Pictures & Rhymes for Children* (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1878). Source: University of California Libraries, <http://archive.org/details/underwindowpictv00greerich> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 60 Kate Greenaway, “Three little girls sitting on a rail,” illustration in *Under the Window; Pictures & Rhymes for Children* (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1878), 62. Source: University of California Libraries, <http://archive.org/details/underwindowpictv00greerich> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 61 Kate Greenaway, “You see Merry Phillis that dear little maid,” illustration in *Under the Window; Pictures & Rhymes for Children* (London: Routledge & Sons, 1878), 17. Source: University of California Libraries, <http://archive.org/details/underwindowpictv00greerich> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 62 Kate Greenaway, “The laughter sprite,” illustration in *Doll’s Tea Party* (Boston: Lothrop Publishing Co., 1895), 24. Source: University of Florida, Baldwin Library of Historical Children’s Literature, <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00083796> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 63 Jessie Willcox Smith, “Beauty and the Beast,” illustration in Anna Alice Chapin, *The Now-A-Days Fairy Book* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1911). Source: <http://www.surlalunefairytales.com/illustrations/beautybeast/smithbeauty.html> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 64 Florence Mary Anderson, “It was very cold in the Milky Way,” illustration in *Little Folks: The Magazine for Boys and Girls* (London: Cassel and Co., Ltd., 1915). Source: <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/173107179399812606/> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 65 M.T. Penny Ross, “Tiger Swallow-Tail,” illustration *The Butterfly Babies’ Book* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1914), 11. Source: Ohio University, <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100592440> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 66 Arthur Rackham, “Peter Pan in the fairies’ orchestra,” illustration in J. M Barrie *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1906), 66. Courtesy of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University Library.

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Fig. 67 Thomas Stothard, “Belinda smiled, and all the world was gay. All but the sylph,” frontispiece in Alexander Pope, *Rape of the Lock*, 1789. Digital Source: Concordia University Digital Image and Slide Collection.



Figs. 68 left and 69 right George Cruikshank, “Hard Frost,” 1836, and “February—Valentines Day,” 1837, illustrations in *The Comic Almanack, First Series*, 1835-1843, vol. 1 (London: Chatto and Windus, 1878) 42-43 and 78-79. Source: Boston Public Library, <http://archive.org/details/comicalmanackeph01cru> (Accessed February 28, 2017).



Fig. 70 George Cruikshank, "Splendid Spread," 1850, in *The Comic Almanack, Second Series*, 1844-1853, vol. 2 (London: Chatto and Windus, 1878), 313. Source: Boston Public Library, <https://archive.org/stream/comicalmanackeph02cru/#page/312/mode/2up> (Accessed February 26, 2017).



Fig. 71 George Cruikshank, "Rights of Women or the Effects of Female Enfranchisement," 1853 in *The Comic Almanack, Second Series*, 1844-1853, vol. 2 (London: Chatto and Windus, 1878), 384-385. Source: Boston Public Library, <https://archive.org/stream/comicalmanackeph02cru/#page/n547/mode/2up/search/384> (Accessed February 26, 2017).



Fig. 72 George Cruikshank, frontispiece in Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *German Popular Stories*, trans. Edgar Taylor, vol. 1 (London: Baldwin, 1823). Source: https://books.google.ca/books?id=LWAVAAAAQAAJ&pg=PR1&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false (Accessed August 21, 2014).



Fig. 73 left George Cruikshank, "The Travelling Musicians, or The Waits of Bremen," illustration in Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *German Popular Stories*, trans. Edgar Taylor, vol. 1 (London: Baldwin, 1823) 14-15. Source: https://books.google.ca/books?id=LWAVAAAAQAAJ&pg=PR1&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false (Accessed August 21, 2014).

Fig. 74 right George Cruikshank, "Jew in the Bush," illustration in Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *German Popular Stories*, trans. Edgar Taylor, vol. 1 (London: Baldwin, 1823) 166-167. Source: https://books.google.ca/books?id=LWAVAAAAQAAJ&pg=PR1&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false (Accessed August 21, 2014).



Fig. 75 George Cruikshank, “Fearful Quarrels, and Brutal Violence are the Natural Consequences of the Frequent Use of the Bottle,” illustration in Charles Mackay, *The Bottle* (London, 1847) plate vi. Source: British Library Digital Collections, <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-bottle--a-series-of-temperance-themed-illustrations-by-george-cruikshank-with-poetry-by-charles-mackay> (Accessed February 28, 2017).



Fig. 76 George Cruikshank, “The Giant Ogre discovers Hop’ o my Thumb...” illustration in *The Cruikshank Fairy-Book: Four Famous Stories* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1911) 133. https://archive.org/stream/cruikshankfairy_b00crui#page/n7/mode/2up (Accessed August 13, 2016).



Fig. 77 Richard Doyle, “Punch,” Sept. 10 1859, cover illustration in *Punch*. Source: <http://www.victorianweb.org/art/design/books/4.html> (Accessed February 26, 2017).



Fig. 78 Anonymous, “Turkey in Danger,” Mar. 29 1853, cartoon in *Mr. Punch’s Victorian Era (1841-1859)*, vol. 1 (London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Company, 1887), 155. Source: <https://books.google.ca/books?id=tso-AAAAYAAJ> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 79 Anonymous, “The French Game of Leap-Frog over the British Lion,” Jan. 31, 1857, cartoon in *Mr. Punch’s Victorian Era (1841-1859)*, vol. 1 (London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Company, 1887), 251. Source: <https://books.google.ca/books?id=tso-AAAAYAAJ> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 80 Anonymous, "Royal Nursery Rhymes," Jan. 7, 1843, cartoon in *Mr. Punch's Victorian Era (1841-1859)*, vol. 1 (London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Company, 1887), 17. Source: <https://books.google.ca/books?id=tso-AAAAYAAJ> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Figs. 81 and 82 Anonymous, "Pets of Manchester School," Apr. 18, 1854, and "The Game of Speculation," Mar. 29, 1852, cartoons in *Mr. Punch's Victorian Era (1841-1859)*, vol. 1 (London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Company, 1887), 175 & 129. Source <https://books.google.ca/books?id=tso-AAAAYAAJ> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 83 Richard Doyle?, "The Irish Tom Thumb," Mar. 9, 1844, cartoon in *Mr. Punch's Victorian Era (1841-1859)*, vol. 1 (London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Company, 1887), 25. Source <https://books.google.ca/books?id=tso-AAAAYAAJ> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 84 Richard Doyle?, "Cinderella, or Lord John Trying it on Again," Feb. 20, 1851, cartoons in *Mr. Punch's Victorian Era (1841-1859)*, vol. 1 (London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Company, 1887), 111. Source <https://books.google.ca/books?id=tso-AAAAYAAJ> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 85 John Tenniel, "New Crowns for old ones, Aladdin," Mar. 20, 1876, cartoon in *Mr. Punch's Victorian Era (1876-1887)*, vol. 3 (London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Company, 1888), 6. Source: <https://books.google.ca/books?id=Os1AAQAAMAAJ> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 86 and 87 Randolph Caldecott, “With one another they did fight, about the children’s life,” and “And he that was of mildest mood, Did slay the other there,” illustrations in *Babes in the Wood* (London: Frederick Warne, 1880), 22 & 23. Source: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/19361/19361-h/19361-h.htm> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 88 Anonymous, “Who Shall Educate?,” Apr. 23, 1853, cartoon in *Mr. Punch’s Victorian Era (1841-1859)*, vol. 1 (London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Company, 1887), 156. Source <https://books.google.ca/books?id=tso-AAAAYAAJ> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 89 Anonymous, “The Royal Red Riding Hood,” Sept. 12, 1841, cartoon in *Mr. Punch’s Victorian Era (1841-1859)*, vol. 1 (London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Company, 1887), 10. Source <https://books.google.ca/books?id=tso-AAAAYAAJ> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 90 left John Tenniel, “The Old Story,” Jan. 19, 1884, cartoon in *Mr. Punch’s Victorian Era (1841-1859)*, vol. 3 (London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Company, 1888), 221. Source: <https://books.google.ca/books?id=Os1AAQAAMAAJ> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 91 right Walter Crane, illustration in *Little Red Riding Hood* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1875), 2. Source: Smithsonian Libraries, <http://archive.org/details/LittleRedRiding00Cran> (May 5, 2017).



Fig. 92 Richard Doyle, “Here Behold the Monarch Sit,” illustration in William Makepeace Thackeray, *The Rose and the Ring*, 1st ed. (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1855), 6. Source: University of California Libraries, <http://archive.org/details/roseringorhistor00thacrich> (Accessed Mar., 3 2017).



and knocked down the King as flat as a pancake; after which, Master Giglio took to his heels and ran away, and Betsinda went

and knocked down the King as flat as a pancake; after which, Master Giglio took to his heels and ran away, and Betsinda went off screaming, and the Queen, Gruffanuff, and the Princess, all came out of their rooms. Fancy their feelings on beholding their husband, father, sovereign, in this posture!



Figs. 93 left and 94 right Richard Doyle, “Burning with Love will knock you Down,” and “Fancy their feelings on beholding their husband, father, sovereign, in this posture!” illustrations in William Makepeace Thackeray, *The Rose and the Ring*, 1st ed. (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1855), 55. Source: University of California Libraries, [Error! Hyperlink reference not valid.](#) (Accessed Mar., 3 2017).



Fig. 95 Richard Doyle, “Gruffanuff, and her What her Station,” illustration in William Makepeace Thackeray, *The Rose and the Ring*, 1st ed. (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1855), 9. Source: University of California Libraries, [Error! Hyperlink reference not valid.](#) (Accessed Mar., 3 2017).

Fig. 96 Richard Doyle?, “The Irish Tom Thumb,” detail of figure 83.



Fig. 97 Rosalba dances, Giglio watches, King and Queen Valeroso and Angelica are side-by-side, Gruffanuff stands in the background. Richard Doyle, “How the Little Beggar Baby” illustration in William Makepeace Thackeray, *The Rose and the Ring*, 1st ed. (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1855), 22. Source: University of California Libraries, <http://archive.org/details/roseringorhistor00thacrich> (Accessed Mar., 3 2017).



Fig. 98 *left* Disraeli. John Tenniel, “Good Bye,” cartoon detail in *Mr. Punch’s Victorian Era (1860-1875)*, vol. 2 (London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Company, 1888), 301. Source: <https://books.google.ca/books?id=ico-AAAAYAAJ> (Accessed May 5, 2017).

Fig. 99 *right* John Tenniel, “A Mad Tea-Party,” illustration in Lewis Carroll, *Alice’s Adventures In Wonderland* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1865), 39. Source: Community Texts, <http://archive.org/details/AlicesAdventuresInWonderland> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 100 John Tenniel, “The Monster Slain: And hast thou slain the Wagga-woek? Come to my arms, my Beamish Boy,” cartoon in *Mr. Punch’s Victorian Era (1860-1875)*, vol. 2 (London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Company, 1888), 243. Source: <https://books.google.ca/books?id=ico-AAAAYAAJ> (Accessed May 5, 2017).

Images: Chapter 5



Fig. 101 Walter Crane, illustration in *The Sleeping Beauty Picture Book: Containing Sleeping Beauty, Bluebeard, The Baby's Own Alphabet* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1911), 4-5. Source: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, <http://archive.org/details/sleepingbeautypi0cran> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 102 The seventh fairy as the allegorical figure of Death. Walter Crane, illustration detail of figure 101.



Figs. 103, 104, and 105 Walter Crane, illustrations in *The Sleeping Beauty Picture Book: Containing Sleeping Beauty, Bluebeard, The Baby's Own Alphabet* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1911), 1, 3, 6. Source: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, <http://archive.org/details/sleepingbeautypi0cran> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 106 *left* Walter Crane, “Labour’s May Day: Dedicated to the Workers of the World,” Cover page illustration in William Morris, “Chapter XVII” of *News from Nowhere*, printed in *The Commonweal*, May 24, 1890, (London: London Socialist League Office, 1890) 161. Source: University of Michigan, <http://archive.org/details/0544678.0006.001.umich.edu> (Accessed May 5, 2017).

Fig. 107 *right* Book Cover for William Morris, *News from nowhere, or, An epoch of rest: being some chapters from a utopian romance* (Hammersmith: Kelmscott Press: London: 1893). Source: Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/49038168/> (Accessed May 04, 2017).



Fig. 108 Walter Crane, “Labour’s May Day: Dedicated to the Workers of the World,” detail of figure 106.



Fig. 109 left Walter Crane, [Alternate Design for *The Capitalist*], Pen and pencil, c.1890. Source: © *Courtesy of the Huntington Art Collections, San Marino, California.*



Fig. 110 right Walter Crane, *Untitled* [Drawing for *The Capitalist Vampire*, 1885], Ink on paper, n.d. Source: © *Courtesy of the Huntington Art Collections, San Marino, California.*



Fig. 111 Walter Crane, *Death and Commerce*, Pen and ink, c.1890. Source: The Whitworth, University of Manchester, <http://gallerysearch.ds.man.ac.uk/Detail/42643> (Accessed May 5, 2017).

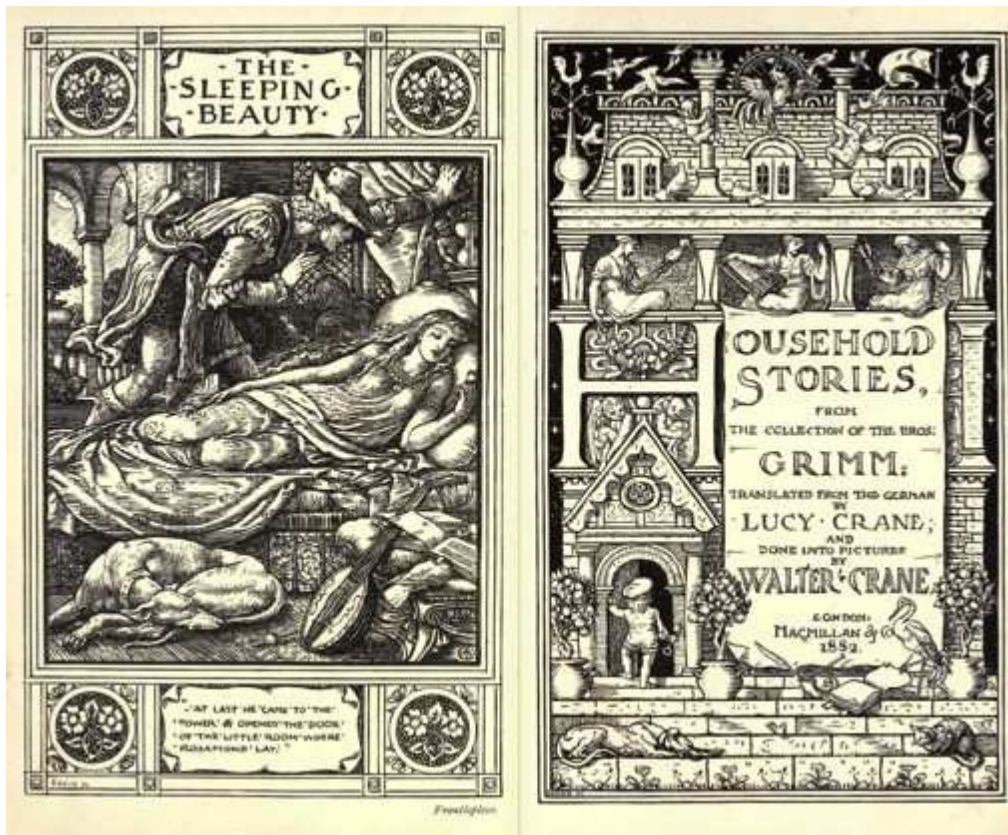


Fig. 112 Little house. Walter Crane, frontispieces in *Household Stories from the Collection of the Brothers Grimm*, trans. Lucy Crane, 1st ed (London: Macmillan, 1882). Source: University of California Libraries, <http://archive.org/details/householdstories00grimrich> (Accessed October 1, 2016).



Fig. 113 Walter Crane, “Gardez le Clef,” illustration detail in *Bluebeard* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1873) 6. Source: Smithsonian Institute, <http://archive.org/details/Bluebeard00Cran> (Accessed October 11, 2016).



Fig. 114 Freedom. Walter Crane, “Labour’s May Day: Dedicated to the Workers of the World,” detail of figure 106.



Fig. 115 Freedom Figure! Walter Crane, illustration from *Jack and the Beanstalk* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1875). Source: http://www.wikiwand.com/en/Jack_and_the_Beanstalk (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 116 Freedom Figure! Walter Crane, illustration in “Cinderella,” *Cinderella Picture Book: Containing Cinderella, Puss in Boots, Valentine and Orson* (New York: Dodd, Mead and company, 1911) 2. Source: New York Public Library: <http://archive.org/details/cinderellapictur00cran> (accessed March 31 2017).



Fig. 117 Walter Crane, front and back pages in *Beauty and the Beast* (London: John Lane, 1890). Source: New York Public Library, <http://archive.org/details/beautybeast00cran> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 118 Walter Crane, illustration in *Beauty and the Beast* (London: John Lane, 1890), 4-5. Source: New York Public Library, <http://archive.org/details/beautybeast00cran> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Figs. 119 *left* Menacing Beast. Walter Crane, illustration in *Beauty and the Beast* (London: John Lane, 1890), 1-2. Source: New York Public Library, <http://archive.org/details/beautybeast00cran> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 120 *right* Menacing Bluebeard. Walter Crane, illustration in *Bluebeard* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1873) 4-5. Source: Smithsonian Institute, <http://archive.org/details/Bluebeard00Cran> (Accessed October 11, 2016).



Fig. 121 Ogre. Walter Crane, "Puss in Boots," illustration in *Cinderella Picture Book: Containing Cinderella, Puss in Boots, Valentine and Orson* (New York: Dodd, Mead and company, 1911) 7. Source: New York Public Library: <http://archive.org/details/cinderellapictur00cran> (accessed March 31 2017).



Fig. 122 Garden of Eden. Walter Crane, illustration in *Bluebeard* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1873) 2.
 Source: Smithsonian Institute, <http://archive.org/details/Bluebeard00Cran> (Accessed October 11, 2016).



Fig. 123 Garden of Eden. Walter Crane, illustration in *Beauty and the Beast* (London: John Lane, 1890), 3-4.
 Source: New York Public Library, <http://archive.org/details/beautybeast00cran> (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 124 George Cruikshank, “The King of the Golden Mountain,” illustration detail in Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *German Popular Stories*, trans. Edgar Taylor, vol. 1 (London: Baldwyn, 1823) 178-179. Source: https://books.google.ca/books?id=LWAVAAAAQAAJ&pg=PR1&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false (Accessed August 21, 2014).⁸³²



Fig. 125 Walter Crane, “Frog Prince,” tailpiece in Walter Crane, *Household Stories from the Collection of the Brothers Grimm*, trans. Lucy Crane, 1st ed. (London: Macmillan, 1882), 36. Source: University of California Libraries, <http://archive.org/details/householdstories00grimrich> (Accessed October 1, 2016).

⁸³² Pagination for the “King of the Golden Mountain” illustration in the digitized version of the book is off. This image should be between pages 173-174.



Fig. 126 Walter Crane, "The Six Swans," illustration in Walter Crane, *Household Stories from the Collection of the Brothers Grimm*, trans. Lucy Crane, 1st ed. (London: Macmillan, 1882), 198-199. Source: University of California Libraries, <http://archive.org/details/householdstories00grimrich> (Accessed October 1, 2016).



Fig. 127 Mary Lightbody, *Fairy Tales*, Oil on canvas, 1880. Digital Source: Digital Image and Slide Collection, Concordia University.



Fig. 128 Walter Crane, illustration in *The Frog Prince* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1874), 4-5. Source: New York Public Library, <https://archive.org/details/frogprince00CranA> (Accessed October 1, 2016).

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Fig. 129 Adolphe Lalauze, “Charles Perrault,” frontispiece in Andrew Lang, *Perrault’s Popular Tales* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888). Courtesy of The Osborne Collection of Early Children’s Books, Toronto Public Library.



Fig. 130 Prayerful Cinderella by the Fireplace. John Absolon, “Cinderella,” illustration in Sir Henry Cole (pseudonym Felix Summerly), ed., *A book of Stories from the Home Treasury* (London: McLean, Cundall, c. 1847) 5. Source: Toronto Public Library, <http://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/detail.jsp?Entt=RDMDC-37131013237599D&R=DC-37131013237599D> (Accessed May 10, 2017)



Fig. 131 Walter Crane, illustration in *Cinderella* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1873), 1. Courtesy of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University Library.



Fig. 132 George Cruikshank, “The prince picking up Cinderella’s glass slipper,” illustration in “Cinderella,” *The Cruikshank Fairy-Book: Four Famous Stories* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1911), 183. Source: New York Public Libraries, <https://archive.org/stream/cruikshankfairyb00cru/#page/n7/mode/2up> (Accessed March 3, 2017).



Fig. 133 Walter Crane, illustration detail in Walter Crane, *Cinderella* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1873), 3. Courtesy of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University Library.



Fig. 134 Antoine Clouzier, “Cendrillon,” Headpiece illustration in Charles Perrault, “Cendrillon, Ou La Petite Pantoufle de Verre,” in *Histoires Ou Contes Du Temps Passé* (Paris: Barbin, 1697). Source: Wikisource, [https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Histoires_ou_Contes_du_temps_pass%C3%A9_\(1697\)/Cendrillon](https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Histoires_ou_Contes_du_temps_pass%C3%A9_(1697)/Cendrillon) (Accessed May 6, 2015).



Fig. 135 Antoine Clouzier?, “Finette Cendron,” Headpiece illustration in Marie-Catherine D’Aulnoy, “Finette Cendron,” in *Les Contes de Fées*, vol. 4 (Paris: Barbin, 1698). Source: *Les Contes de Fées du XVIIe Siècle*, <http://www.lescontesdefees.fr/contes-et-auteurs/mme-d-aulnoy/finette-cendron/> (Accessed January 4, 2017).

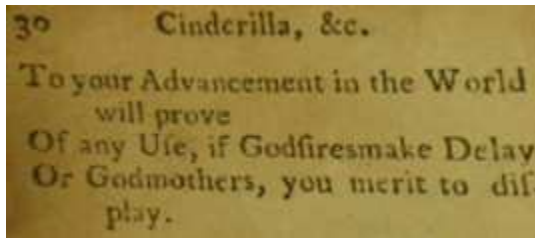


Fig. 136 Last words. Excerpt in *The Diverting History of Cinderilla, Or, The Little Glass Slipper: Embellished with Cuts* (Gainsbrough: Mozley's Lilliputian Book Manufactory, 1793), 30. Courtesy of Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto Public Library.



Figs. 137 and 138 Ball scene, and Cinderella crying. Anonymous, illustrations in *The Diverting History of Cinderilla, Or, The Little Glass Slipper: Embellished with Cuts* (Gainsbrough: Mozley's Lilliputian Book Manufactory, 1793), 11 & 18. Courtesy of Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto Public Library.



Fig. 139 Cinderella in a wide-legged posture. Anonymous, illustration in *The History of Cinderella, Or, The Little Glass Slipper*, (Derby: Thomas Richardson, 1800), 25. Courtesy of Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Opie C 827.



Fig. 140 Book Cover for *A Pretty Book for Children, Or, An Easy Guide to the English Tongue : Perfectly Well Adapted to Their Tender Capacities, and Is Design'd as Well for the More Easy Instruction of Those That Can but Just Read, as for the Entertainment of Others That Are a Little Advanced*, 10th ed., (London: John Newbery in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1761). Courtesy of Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto Public Library.



Fig. 141 Ball scene. Anonymous, illustration in "Cinderella," *A Pretty Book for Children*, 10th ed., (London: John Newbery in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1761), 74. Courtesy of Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto Public Library.



Fig. 142 Anonymous, "Of Abraham offering up his son..." illustration in *A Pretty Book for Children*, 10th ed., (London: John Newbery in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1761), 54. Courtesy of Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto Public Library.



Fig. 143 Anonymous, Title-page in *Langley's History of Cinderella and Her Glass Slipper* (London: Langley, 1821). Courtesy of Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Opie C 831.



Figs. 144 and 145, Hints of cuteness. Detail of figure 143, and figures 116 and 154.



Fig. 146 Mother-figure. Anonymous, illustration in *The History of Cinderella* (Otley, Yorkshire: Publishing & Stationary Co., c.1860), 3. Courtesy of Opie Collection of Children's Literature, Opie C 825.



Fig. 147 Mother-figure. Anonymous, illustration in *The History of Cinderella* (Otley, Yorkshire: Publishing & Stationary Co., c.1860), 2. Courtesy of Opie Collection of Children's Literature, Opie C 825.



Fig. 148 George Cruikshank, “The pumpkin and the Rat and the mice and the lizards being changed by the Fairy into a coach, horses, and servants to take Cinderella to the Ball at the Royal palace,” illustration in “Cinderella and the Glass Slipper,” *The Cruikshank Fairy-Book: Four Famous Stories* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1911), 173. Source: New York Public Libraries, <https://archive.org/stream/cruikshankfairyb00cruip#page/n7/mode/2up> (Accessed March 3, 2017).



Fig. 149 George Cruikshank, “The fairy changing Cinderella’s kitchen dress into a beautiful ball dress,” illustration in “Cinderella and the Glass Slipper,” *The Cruikshank Fairy-Book: Four Famous Stories* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1911), 173. Source: New York Public Libraries, <https://archive.org/stream/cruikshankfairyb00cruip#page/n7/mode/2up> (Accessed March 3, 2017).



Figs. 150, 151, and 152 Cinderella by the fireplace. Details of figures 146, 143, 130.



Fig. 153 Fireplace scene. Walter Crane, illustrations in Walter Crane, *Cinderella* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1873), 1 & 2. Courtesy of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University Library.



Fig. 154 Fireplace scene: G.P. Jacomb-Hood, illustration in Andrew Lang, *The Blue Fairy Book*, 1st ed., Coloured Fairy Books (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1889), 65. Source: University of California Libraries, <http://archive.org/details/bluefairybook00langiala> (Accessed September 12, 2016).



Figs. 155 and 156 Cinderella (as Labour) and fairy godmother (as Liberty). Details of figure 153.



Fig. 157 Sylvia Panhurst? or Joseph Southall?, "Peace or Famine—Which?," Cover image in Sylvia Pankhurst, ed., *Woman's Dreadnought*, June 1917. Sources: http://www.sylvia pankhurst.com/sylvia_the_artist/sylvias_campaigning_art.php# and <https://www.search.connectinghistories.org.uk/Details.aspx?&ResourceID=1949&PageIndex=1&SearchType=2&ThemeID=16> (Accessed May 5, 2017). Courtesy of the Museum of London.



Figs. 158 and 159 Sylvia Pankhurst, *Angel of Freedom*, 1911, and Sylvia Pankhurst, *Votes for Women Logo*, c.1900. Source: http://www.sylvia pankhurst.com/sylvia_the_artist/sylvias_campaigning_art.php# (Accessed May 5, 2017). Courtesy of the Museum of London.



Fig. 160 Slippers. Walter Crane, illustrations in *Cinderella* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1873), 7 & 8. Courtesy of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University Library.



Fig. 161 Ludwig Grimm, “Aschenputtel,” illustration in Brüder Grimm, *Kleine Ausgabe der Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Berlin: Reimer, 1825). Source: http://de.grimmbilder.wikia.com/wiki/Datei:Aschenputtel_Ludwig_Emil_Grimm_1825.jpg (Accessed May 5, 2017).



Fig. 162 Edward H. Wehnert, “Cinderella,” illustration in *Household Stories: Collected by the Brothers Grimm*, vol. 1 (London: Addey and Co, 1853), 110. Source: Oxford University, <http://www.archive.org/stream/householdstorie01grimgoog#page/n0/mode/2up> (Accessed February 2, 2015).

Images: Chapter 7



Fig. 163 Cinderella Book. *Cinderella*, Walt Disney Productions, 1950. DVD screenshot.



Fig. 164 Cinderella book. Mary Blair (animator and water-colourist), scene in *Cinderella*, Walt Disney Productions, 1950. DVD screenshot.



Fig. 165 Jaq and Gus in a teacup. Scene in *Cinderella*, Walt Disney Productions, 1950. DVD screenshot.



Fig. 166 Women-mice sing and sow. Scene in *Cinderella*, Walt Disney Productions, 1950. DVD screenshot.



Figs. 167 and 168 Lucifer. Ward Kimball (animator), scenes in *Cinderella*, Walt Disney Productions, 1950. DVD screenshot.



Fig. 169 Shoe Trial. Scene in *Cinderella*, Walt Disney Productions, 1950. DVD screenshot.



Fig. 170 *left* Mice sewing the mayor's coat. Beatrix Potter, illustration for *The Tailor of Gloucester*, c.1902. Digital Source: Digital Image and Slide Collection, Concordia University.



Fig. 171 *right* Beatrix Potter, "Lady Mouse curtsying in front of a teacup," watercolour and pencil, 1903. Digital Source: Digital Image and Slide Collection, Concordia University.



Figs. 172 and 173 Snow White Book. Scenes in *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, Walt Disney Productions, 1937. DVD screenshot.



Fig. 174 Sleeping Beauty Book. Scene in *Sleeping Beauty*, Walt Disney Productions, 1959. DVD screenshot.



Fig. 175 Pinocchio Book. Scene in *Pinocchio*, Walt Disney Productions, 1940. DVD screenshot.



Fig. 176 and 177 Blank-Slate. Scene in *Alice and Wonderland*, Walt Disney Productions, 1951. DVD screenshot.

Images: Conclusion

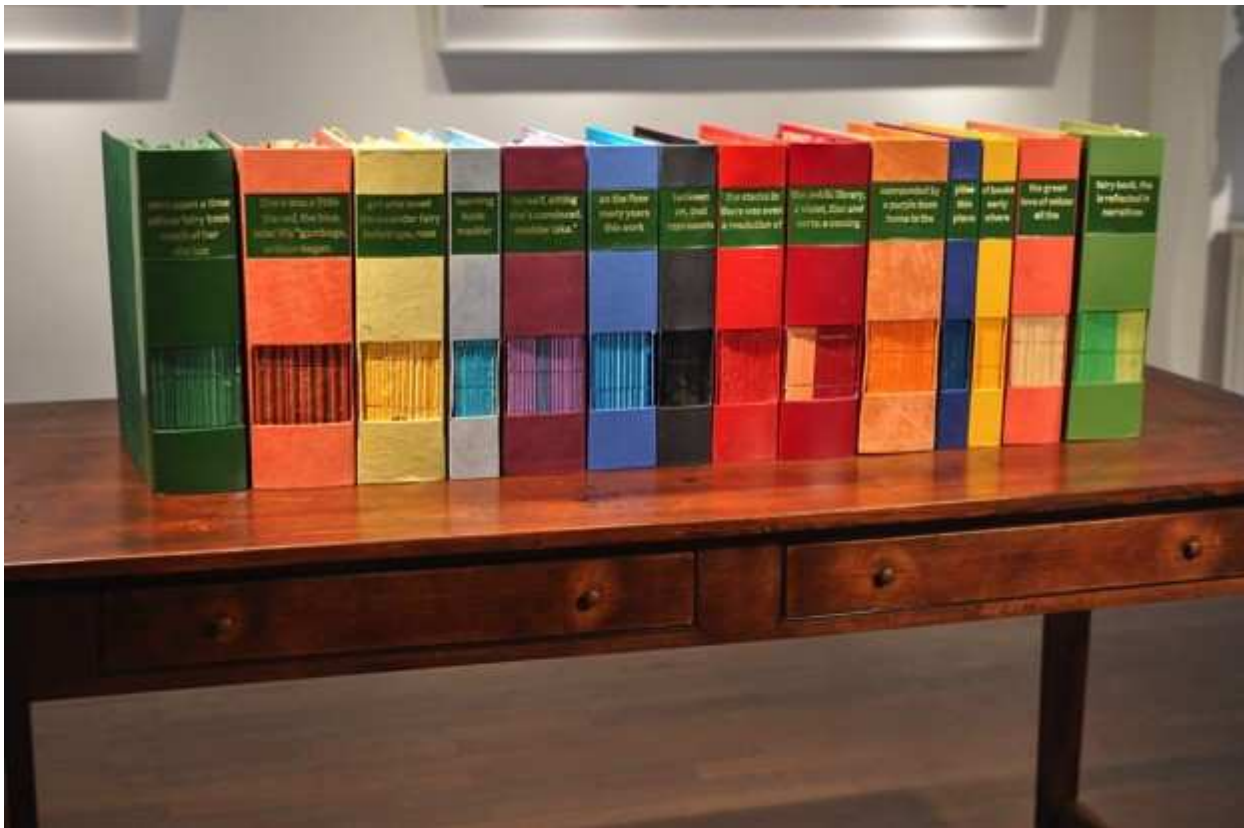


Fig. 178 Sarindar Dhaliwal, *the green fairy storybook* (front view), bookwork, 35.5 x 142 x 35.5 cm, 2009. Photo Source: courtesy of © Sarindar Dhaliwal.



Fig. 179 Sarindar Dhaliwal, *the green fairy storybook* (back view), bookwork, 35.5 x 142 x 35.5 cm, 2009. Photo Source: courtesy of © Sarindar Dhaliwal.